

# Fourth International

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## Oil embargo: civil war on agenda



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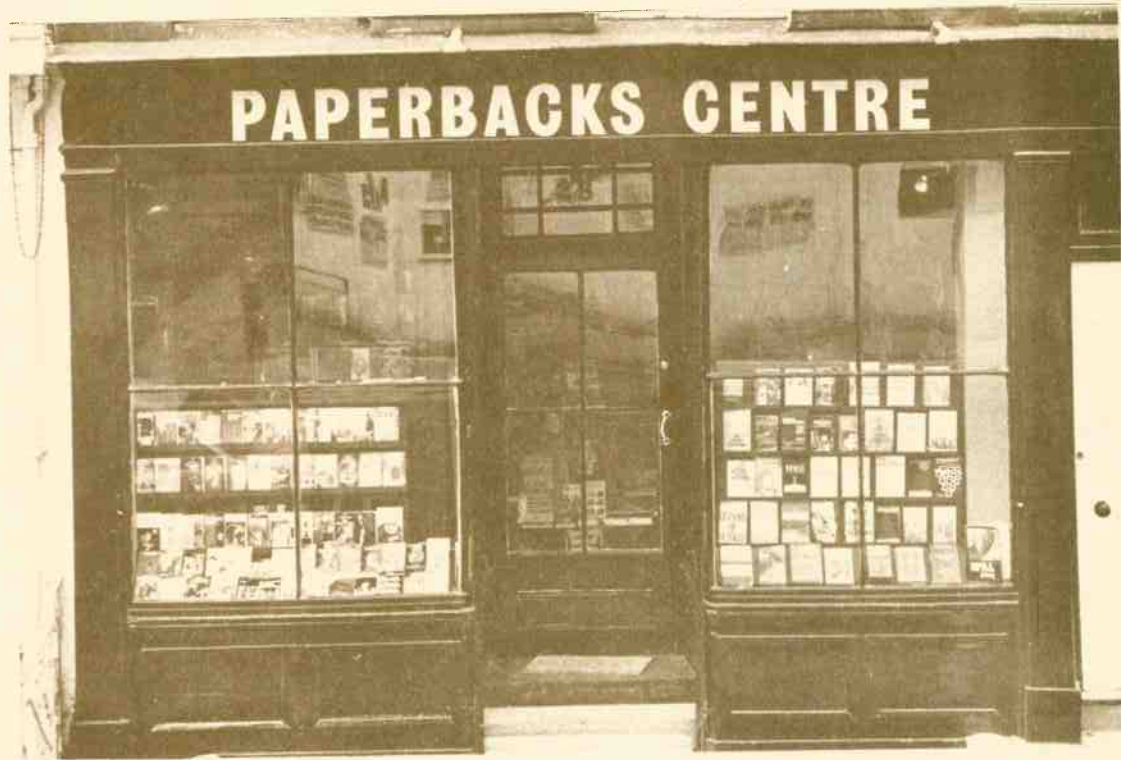
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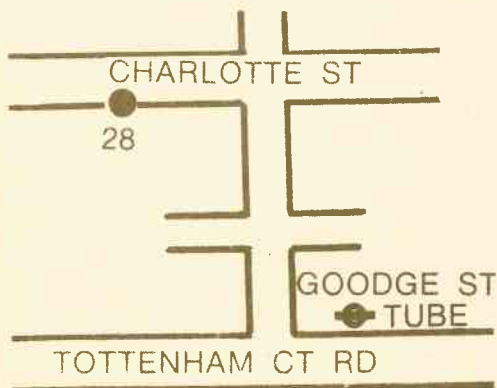


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# Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM

VOLUME 8 NUMBER 3 WINTER 1973

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## Oil embargo: civil war now on agenda

THE RE-OPENING of the Arab-Israeli war and the cut-back in oil supplies to which it has led, has opened up a new, explosive and absolutely decisive stage in the development of the post-war capitalist, political and economic crisis. By threatening to disrupt all trading relations between the capitalist political and economic crisis. By threatening immediate sense a situation in which each ruling class is faced with a task which becomes ever more urgent—the preparation for civil war against the working class. Chile, and more recently Greece, are in no sense whatsoever isolated political developments. They represent the real face of capitalism and its preparations for the working class. Indeed, the manner in which the Tory government in Britain has organized for the struggle against the miners—the declaration of a state of emergency; the mobilization of special detachments of police etc.—indicates that preparations for civil war are now well advanced in all the major capitalist countries.

The impact of the oil crisis in Japan is a warning to all workers of the situation which now confronts it. With a threatened cut-back in oil supplies of nearly 40 per cent, the Japanese economy is now faced with complete disruption and the severest break-down in its leading sectors. The already-announced ten per cent cut in all industrial production by the Tanaka government is only the first, immediate, impact of the reduced oil supply. A rapidly deteriorating balance of payments position and a huge outflow of capital over the last months, have forced the Japanese twice during November alone to devalue the yen. But such devaluations—made necessary by growing American competition in Japanese markets resulting from the dollar's devaluation—can have no impact on exports when the most basic energy source, oil, is no longer available.

But Japan merely reflects, in acute form, the crisis into which the oil embargo has plunged the economy of western Europe. It is a crisis which for the working class brings the prospect of immediate unemployment on a scale far greater than anything since the end of the last war. The car industry epitomises the extent of the crisis facing industry throughout the Common Market; reduced oil and petrol supplies spell ruin for this industry more than any other, but to add to the crisis are the rapidly escalating interest rates within Europe and the severe contraction of

credit—on which again the motor industry is directly dependent for its sales—which such interest rates must bring.

The decision announced in mid-November finally to end the two tier gold market also reveals very clearly the nature of the period which the working class of every country must now face. First introduced after the March 1968 gold crisis, the two tier system was a last, if forlorn, attempt by the capitalist system to find some solution, however temporary, to the world monetary crisis while it prepared its battle against the working class. Under the two-tier system some semblance of order and stability was still maintained in so far as an 'official' gold market was retained in which the major governments of western Europe and the United States would buy and sell gold at a fixed price. Meanwhile a 'free' market was allowed to develop alongside it where the gold price was determined purely through the forces of demand and supply. The fact that the two tier market has been scrapped is a recognition that there can be *no* solution to the crisis of the world money system, recognition that all schemes based on the creation of Special Drawing Rights ('paper gold') are now finished. It is recognition that the time has arrived to prepare openly for civil war against the working class, to take from it, by naked force, every right it has gained along with the standard of living it has won for itself in struggle against capitalism. It is from this standpoint that every single development within the capitalist system, in every country, must be judged.

The ending of the two-tier gold market places an immediate question mark against the stability of the entire Euro-dollar and Euro-bond market, markets which have provided a vast pool of credit for European industry. The ending of a fixed gold price and the establishment of a market price for gold which is now over twice the old 'official' level means that the basis on which credits were raised within Europe are now completely disrupted. Again it is a development which brings with it the prospect of immediate bankruptcy for sections of European industry who have borrowed heavily from the Euro-dollar market and are at the same time now faced with interest rates which have no precedent in the history of post-war capitalism.

The move to end the two-tier system was also bound up with the oil crisis. For the Americans now have the power to sell their gold for oil should they so chose. The four leading Arab oil producers have built up considerable dollar reserves, now estimated at around \$9,000m. It was the continual devaluation of the dollar since 1971, which, by reducing the value of these reserves and at the same time reducing the dollar price of oil, forced the Arab bourgeoisie into their retaliatory measures. Should sections of the Arab nationalists now demand payment for oil in gold, the Americans know that not only are they relatively less dependent on imported oil than the Europeans, but that they alone have sufficient gold reserves to pay for it. The oil crisis thus not merely aggravates enormously the contradictions between the capitalist countries: it brings to a head once more, in the acutest form, the antagonisms between Europe and America. European prosperity after 1945 depended entirely upon the stability of American capital and the dollar. The dollar was the basis of the inflationary boom. The ending of the two-tier system and with it the ending of the last formal link between paper currency and gold brings into the sharpest relief an international monetary system in which the equivalent of only 15 per cent of all the reserves of the industrial countries (in total around \$121,000m) are now gold-based. For capitalism, and particularly for European capitalism, only one solution is on the agenda: the destruction of credit on a vast scale, a destruction which must inevitably precipitate conditions of civil war against the working class as it already has done in Chile and even more recently in Greece.

It is, we repeat, from *this* standpoint, that every political development in each country must be grasped by all sections of the International Committee. The working class has now entered a period in which it will be called upon to prepare for power under the leadership of the revolutionary party. Every development in world economy—rising interest rates, balance of payments crises, stock market slides (such as the recent and severe ones in London and Wall Street) must each be seen as a *reflection* of this basic, inescapable and convulsive crisis.

It is of course true that these political developments—the highest expression of which is the crisis of leadership in the working class—are produced by the economic crisis of the capitalist system. But there is no *mechanical* relationship between economics and politics in such a period. Since August 1971 in particular, the economic and monetary crisis has been a virtually permanent feature of capitalism. But it is precisely because the economic crisis is so deep, so insoluble and permanent, that political events and crises play such a crucial role. The political crisis—reflected for example in the outbreak of fighting in the Middle East—now has the most direct, immediate and profound effect on the entire stability of the capitalist system. This was how Trotsky summed up the position in the

period after World War I, a summary which carries even more force for today:

'What have we in Europe in the post-war period? In economy—irregular, spasmodic curtailments and expansions of production, which gravitate in general around the post-war level despite great technical successes in certain branches of industry. In politics—frenzied oscillations of the political situation towards the Left and towards the Right. It is quite apparent that the sharp turns in the political situation in the course of one, two, or three years are not brought about by any changes in the basic economic factors, but by causes and impulses of a purely *superstructural* character, thereby indicating the extreme instability of the entire system, the foundation of which is corroded by irreconcilable contradictions.' (*Third International After Lenin.*)

It is now that the fundamental, counter-revolutionary nature of revisionism can be grasped. For the essence of revisionism is to denigrate the role of the subjective factor in politics, to deny the absolutely critical nature of the struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership within the working class movement. For it is precisely in a period of sharp, unexpected and violent changes in the political situation that the role of the Party assumes its most vital historical importance. Any tendency merely to make a fetish of the 'strength of the masses', while ignoring the crisis of leadership which becomes ever more acute within the working class, would become the height of treachery.

This subjective factor of leadership becomes in this period, the greatest objective material factor of all. There can be no doubt whatsoever that this crisis has assembled all the conditions which make possible the rapid growth of the forces of the International Committee in every country. On the one hand the capitalist class is in an extremely weak and vulnerable position. Britain once more provides the clearest example of this weakness; the Heath government has been forced to prepare for its decisive battle with the working class not from a position of strength but from one of weakness, a weakness which has in turn produced serious divisions within its ranks. On the other hand, the working class remains enormously powerful, undefeated over the last 25 years and absolutely determined to fight to preserve and extend all its many gains of this period. But it is a class unconscious of this great strength, a class still dominated by the bankrupt reformists and Stalinists. Now is the supreme test for the International Committee. Its entire political work, particularly over the last decade in the fight against revisionism in all its forms, has been a preparation for this decisive period of class battles on which the fate of the working class will be decided. It now faces the supreme test of history: to take those theoretical conquests into practice in the struggle to build powerful and mass revolutionary parties in every single country where it is presently organized as well as in those countries to which it must now extend its forces.

# Solidarity with Greek workers, students! Down with junta!

THE INTERNATIONAL Committee of the Fourth International calls on its sections and on the workers of all countries to act without hesitation in solidarity with the workers and students of Greece, subjected since November 17 to bloody repression and martial law.

On the night of Friday November 16, the students occupying the Athens Polytechnic in struggle for their democratic demands were joined by thousands of workers from the factories and building sites. A quarter of a million demonstrated on the streets in support of the students. From the countryside, peasants marched towards the capital but were cut off by the armed forces.

In the subsequent tank assault and the junta's repressions, between 150 and 200 were killed. The junta and its organs lie when they give the official figures as only nine killed. This is why they clashed with relatives of the dead at the crematorium. The junta admits 800 arrests under the martial law regulations; the real figure is 2,000, and only a few have been released. The rest face military tribunals and arbitrary sentences.

The reactionary forces want to portray the events as simply a student protest which went a bit farther than normal. Yet of 600 arrested in the Polytechnic itself, 500 were workers. Of 100 known to have been tried so far, only two were students. The six sentenced to four years' prison are all workers.

A great mass movement has undoubtedly begun, and it will not stop because of the repressions. The bourgeois press lies when it repeats the junta's claim that 'law and order have been restored'.

Behind this mass movement is an irreversible and accelerating inflation. Far from the military regime having resolved any of the nation's problems, the rate of inflation is so steep that every protest, let alone organised working-class action, leads to a civil war situation.

The junta's promises of elections and democratic liberties are a deception and a trap, designed only to recruit the bourgeois democrats and the Stalinists directly into the service of the regime.

In an economic crisis where not a single concession can be afforded, it is essential that the working class is prepared politically and organisationally for the struggle for power.

The Stalinists deliberately left the masses leaderless in the struggle. They were looking only for an alliance with the bourgeois

democrats against the independence of the working class, the whole manoeuvre to be carried out with the permission of the junta.

All wings of the Stalinist movement withdrew from the action. Their supporters left the Polytechnic on Friday evening, leaving the students in a spontaneous struggle where the junta's provocations could be successfully carried out.

All the centrist groups played a role which in effect assisted the provocations. Having opposed the necessary political and theoretical preparation over the past years, these centrists reverted to adventures, with their demonstrative defiance of the tanks.

These were the desperate gestures of centrists who for years had rejected the principled struggle against the Stalinists and for independent leadership. All these forces share responsibility for the complete confusion and unpreparedness of the thousands who turned out to fight the junta on November 16 and 17.

All the dangers of absence of revolutionary leadership which appear in the day-to-day struggles of the working class are expressed in acute and highly dangerous forms as civil war comes on the agenda.

The Greek section of the International Committee was able to play its part in the struggles of November, and has now the task of rapidly training the vanguard of the Greek working class on the basis of these great experiences.

As we have already stressed, the new stage of the struggle, forced on by massive inflation, will continue to go forward. It was highly significant that, after the entry of thousands of workers into the Polytechnic on November 16, the student radio station began to move from bourgeois-democratic slogans to demands for a workers' and peasants' government and for General Strike. All over Greece workers stopped work in sympathy with the students without any guidance from the Communist Parties.

Like the bourgeois liberals, the Stalinists have declared that their members had nothing to do with the actions, but they 'support' the students. What is this but a virtual instruction to Communist Party members and supporters to avoid the struggle, and a request to the junta for acknowledgement of their right to proceed unhampered?

The working class of Greece, united with the students and peasants, will need above all to cast off this Stalinist leadership and all the illusions in 'democratic' politicians which it cultivates. Right at the point where the social contradictions pose the question of a situation of dual power in the very near future, the Stalinists seek for an opening to some sort of Popular Front.

The Stalinists aim for the Popular Front as the ultimate alternative to fascism as a form of bourgeois rule. They try to create the conditions for it by collaborating with the junta in every effort to prevent the achievement of political independence by the working class.

The very first task of the Greek section of the International Committee is to recruit and train the most advanced Greek workers. Only a revolutionary leadership can take the working class forward in a period when power is posed, and prevent great defeats.

We must start from the fact that the junta, after six and a half years of power, suppressing all democratic rights, condemning the vanguard to imprisonment, torture and exile, has proved utterly incapable of destroying the fighting capacity of the working class.

The Stalinists are now called upon to head off this mass movement with the tactic of Popular Front. Trotskyism in Greece must arm the advanced workers politically with the instruments to defeat this treachery.

If the Stalinists make a protest against the repressions, it is only to give themselves credibility for their future Popular Front betrayal. The principal task of the Trotskyists is to expose in practice the complete bankruptcy and class collaborationist policy of Stalinism by demanding that they break completely with the bourgeois political alliance of the Centre Union and the other capitalist politicians and fight for a workers' and peasants' government which will nationalize industry and banks under workers' control and end inflation and unemployment.

As in 1944-1945 Greek Stalinism serves the foreign policy interests of the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy who are determined to sacrifice the Greek working class on the altar of a European detente and peaceful co-existence with imperialism in the Balkans.

A defeat for the junta would give a powerful impetus to the anti-bureaucratic struggle of the East European and Soviet workers and raise again the solidarity and unity of these workers through the demand of a Socialist Balkan Federation.

**In every country, industrial action to black all supplies to the Greek regime!**

**Demand release of all political prisoners, revocation of all sentences, and the end of martial law immediately!**

**The special courts must be dissolved!  
Mass demonstrations against the repressions!**

**Down with the junta!  
For a workers' and peasants' government in Greece!**

**Break from the treachery of the Greek Stalinists—build the Greek section of the International Committee!**

**In every country build the alternative revolutionary leadership which will be able to lead the working class to power and overthrow its 'own' bourgeoisie! This will provide the greatest support for the Greek working class.**

**Long live the Workers' International League—Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International!**

International Committee  
of the Fourth International  
November 22, 1973.

# Defend the working class of Chile

'DEFEND your democratic rights not through Popular Fronts and parliament, but through the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of workers' power. Place no confidence in Stalinism, social democracy, centrism, revisionism or the liberal bourgeoisie, but build a revolutionary party of the Fourth International whose programme will be the revolution in performance.'

These are the lessons which are being written in blood by the heroic Chilean proletariat as the tanks and the execution squads of the Chilean bourgeoisie take their murderous toll, and while the Stalinist, Socialist and Liberal bourgeois leaders scour the barracks for a sympathetic general or prepare to make their peace with Chile's new masters.

The working class will never forget the unequal yet inspiring resistance of the Chilean workers who showed, not for the last time, that they are the only revolutionary force in Chile confronting imperialism and the native capitalists. But it will never forgive the Stalinist and Socialist leaders, whose political cowardice and base treachery alone enabled the Chilean bourgeoisie to follow the example of Indonesia, Greece, Bolivia and Sudan.

These events testify in the most sanguinary way to the crisis of working-class leadership and the enormous dangers which confront the working class as a result of the collapse of the world monetary system and the August 15, 1971, measures of Richard Nixon.

Stalinism once again stands condemned as the most consistent defender of bourgeois property and the bourgeois state and the most vicious enemy of the political independence of the working class

in its struggle for the defence of basic democratic rights.

From the inception of Salvador Allende's regime in November 1970, the whole weight of the Moscow bureaucracy has been used to bolster the reactionary and weak Chilean bourgeoisie and disorientate the working class through the instrumentality of the Chilean Communist Party.

If in 1970-1971 the military was unable to seize power and had to wait three years to execute its plans, we can say categorically that this was because it required the planned and systematic political disorientation carried out by Stalinism before the conditions were created for the coup. The chief ideological weapon of the Chilean Stalinists in preparing the conditions for the coup was the Menshevik theory of a two-stage revolution and the bankrupt concept of a 'peaceful parliamentary road to socialism' through Popular Fronts—both of which disarmed the working class and prevented its mobilization at the crucial moment.

Ignoring the effects of the world monetary and economic crisis, which brought Allende to power in the first place, and consciously playing down the reactionary class nature of the capitalist state, while exaggerating and distorting the reformist inclination of a small section of the Chilean bourgeoisie, Chilean Stalinism became the hangman of the Chilean revolution.

NO DEFENCE of the Chilean working class is possible without an unveiling of the lies, half-truths, and outright distortions resorted to by the British and European Stalinists to cover up the causes of the defeat and play down the magnitude of its consequences.

Having made a major contribution to the deception of the Chilean workers by uncritically supporting every reformist retreat by Allende, the European Stalinists now try to present the Chilean events as

tragic but historically inevitable. The last thing these reformist bureaucrats desire is an honest examination of the Chilean events.

Their fear and contempt for the working class is so great that they will not dare to make the slightest criticism of their policies. On the contrary—the Chilean defeat will encourage them to pursue the 'peaceful road' more vigorously.

Typical of these statements is the attempt of Mr John Gollan, secretary of the British Communist Party, to whitewash the Chilean events in the 'Morning Star': 'The people of Chile will never give up the struggle; for the Popular Unity government and President Allende have started political changes which, come what may, are historically irreversible, not only for Chile, but for the Latin American revolution as a whole.' (September 15, 1973.)

This is a gross Stalinist distortion aimed at conditioning dissident Party members to accept the idea that the defeat is not a decisive one, and that the revolution is in any case 'irreversible'.

On the contrary there was nothing irreversible or accidental about the events which led to Allende's downfall. This is a Stalinist fraud—the same kind of fraud that was perpetrated by Stalin on the Comintern after the Shanghai Massacre in 1927.

Every stage of the Chilean catastrophe was determined by the crisis of working-class leadership, the bankruptcy of Stalinism and Chilean social democracy. This bankruptcy was expressed in an absolute refusal to expropriate totally the Chilean capitalists and a complete prostration before the capitalist state dressed up as the defence of '100 years of congressional democracy in Chile'.

This policy is identical with the policy of British Stalinism—'The British Road to Socialism' and of Stalinist parties all

over the world. That is why the Chilean defeat is of immediate and vital importance for Marxists in every country. To cover up this defeat with the rationalization of 'irreversibility' is not only to libel the working class of Chile, but is also the conscious preparation for bigger defeats in Europe and elsewhere.

In this sense the lessons of Chile are universal and apply with particular relevance to those countries like Italy and France where Stalinism dominates the labour movement and uses its reactionary doctrine of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'advanced democracy' to lull the masses and permit fascism and the capitalist state to prepare their attacks.

The entire history of 20th century Latin America, as well as the rich experience of the European working-class movement from the Paris Commune, has shown with ruthless clarity that the capitalist state is not neutral, but the expression of the collective will of the ruling class—a machine for the coercion of one class by another. The sole function of the state is the defence of capitalist property relations.

In the epoch of the decline of capitalism—imperialism—the conflict between the productive forces and the property relations is enormously intensified and, to the same extent, the state's role of intervening in the social and economic life of every country is enhanced. The apparatus of repression—the bodies of armed men—as Engels defined the state machine—assumes a disproportionate size and the attack against basic democratic rights becomes a pervasive feature of capitalist rule. If the working class fails to create a revolutionary party and overthrow the state, then the transition to fascism and Bonapartism becomes inevitable.

This was the lesson of Germany, Italy and Spain in the 1930s.

The Watergate exposures have revealed the enormous menace which the uncontrolled growth of the repressive state machine represents in US society, with the decline of US imperialism expressed in colonial wars and world-wide subversion.

In Britain the 'Littlejohn affair', the Ulster occupation and the reactionary legislation of the Tories against workers' rights have proved indubitably that there can be no talk of a 'peaceful transformation' of the capitalist state. It must be destroyed and replaced by the dictatorship of the working class.

This was the principal task which faced the Allende coalition in 1970, but which Allende, aided by the Stalinists, consistently evaded.

NO POPULAR regime could co-exist with the Chilean armed forces which were led by the most reactionary representatives of the capitalists and landlords. Every one of their leaders was a CIA-trained professional reactionary.

Instead of dissolving Congress, the senate, and the armed forces and instead of creating a popular militia whose power would be derived from the workers' and poor farmers' councils, the Chilean Stalinists became the principal defenders of bourgeois 'law and order' through the creation of the Popular Front government.

In a recent seminar organized by the Stalinist journal 'World Marxist Review', the spokesman for Chilean Stalinism, Banchero, clearly stated his party's attitude to the state: 'A distinctive feature of the revolutionary process in Chile is that it began and continues within the framework of the bourgeois institutions of the past . . . In Chile, where an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, and anti-feudal democratic people's revolution is now under way, we have essentially retained the old state machine. Government offices are staffed mainly with the old officials . . . The administration exercises its functions under the guidance and control of the popular government . . .

'The armed forces, observing their status of a professional institution, take no part in political debate and submit to the lawfully constituted civilian power. Bonds of co-operation and mutual respect have evolved between the army and the working class in the name of the patriotic goal of shaping Chile into a free, advanced, and democratic land.

'Ultra-left elements clamour for the immediate "introduction" of socialism. We hold, however, that the working class will gain full power gradually: it will be in step with our gaining control of the state machine that we shall begin to transform it into the interests of the further development of the revolution.'

Banchero was preceded by the British Stalinist, Idris Cox, who also preached the 'Peaceful Road':

'In Britain, the question is often put, but mainly by ultra-left elements, whether we can achieve our aim without the use of armed force or civil war. No one can give a guarantee that this will not happen, but it is our view that with the change in the balance of world forces, and the weakened position of the British ruling class, it is unlikely that it would use armed force to defy the results of a democratic election.'

Cox's apology was more succinctly expressed by Pablo Neruda, Stalinist poet and Chilean ambassador to Paris: 'As for our army, we love it. It is the people in uniform.'

The statements of Banchero and Cox vividly illustrate the bankruptcy of Stalinism and their readiness to co-operate with the capitalist state against the working class. They are also the most blatant attack on Lenin's teachings on the state.

How far Cox is removed from and opposed to Lenin's most important writings on the state is revealed by the following quotation from Lenin's famous article on the Constituent Assembly:

'In mockery of the teachings of Marx, those gentlemen, the opportunists, including the Kautskyites, "teach" the people that the proletariat must first win a majority by means of universal suffrage, then obtain state power, by the vote of that majority, and only after that, on the basis of "consistent" (some call it 'pure') democracy, organize socialism.

But we say on the basis of the teachings of Marx and the experience of the Russian revolution:

The proletariat must first overthrow the bourgeoisie and win for itself state power,

and then use that state power, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an instrument of its class for the purpose of winning the sympathy of the majority of the working people. (Lenin, 'Collected Works', Vol. 30, p. 263.)

Contrary to Cox, the decline of the British ruling class, like that of the Chilean rulers, does not make the state more amenable to working-class change but instead intensifies its reactionary and repressive functions. This is an inexorable law of history.

The real authors of this reformist strategy however are not to be found in Britain or Chile, but in the bureaucratic centre in Moscow. In the interests of their foreign and home policy the Soviet bureaucracy have been the principal champions not only of a 'peaceful road' but, more important, of a new and more flexible approach to the armed forces in Latin America.

For generations it has been a tradition of the Latin American socialists and even some sections of Stalinists to treat the army with hostility and suspicion—but this attitude conflicts with the policy of the USSR bureaucracy, which is to recognize and trade with every military dictator whether it be Franco (Spain), Papadopoulos (Greece), or Lon Nol (Cambodia). Hence in the recent past the Soviet 'theorists' have been busy conditioning their Latin American colleagues to work with and under the army.

To do this they have tried to obscure the class character of the army and its essentially repressive role. In the November 1970 issue of 'Comment', a certain Dr Shugolovsky wrote a lengthy article which spelt out in a definitive way the new line, which found its bloody sequel in Chile.

Great harm is done to the liberation movement by vulgar anti-militarism which calls for the elimination of the armed forces, describing all military leaders without discrimination as stooges of imperialism and reaction. It should be kept in mind that the reactionary elements frequently make good use of such sentiments. The American sociologist Martin Nidder polled the Ecuador military and established that one of the reasons for their anti-communism is their conviction that the communists wish to disband the army and replace it by a people's militia [sic].

The responsible revolutionary forces have a positive programme for the army to counteract the false imperialist propaganda. Not only do they admit the existence of patriotic and anti-imperialist tendencies in the armed forces, but they declare their wish to see the army a renewed and democratized force serving the nation and the national interest. It is the opinion of the Communist Parties that the healthy forces in the armies must play an important role in the liberation movement and in effecting deep social changes. The Communists strongly oppose vulgar anti-military views, and any manifestation of sectarianism (!!) in relation to the military, because these simply add grist to the reactionary mill.

Although presented as a theoretical analysis, this article is a clear instruction



to sceptics in the CP. In the same way it must be recalled that the late Stalin instructed the Chinese Communists in the 1920s to subordinate themselves to the Kuomintang army of Chiang Kai-shek on the grounds that it was modern, progressive, even revolutionary. This bureaucratic theory led directly to the greatest massacre of Communists that China has witnessed—the Shanghai massacre.

The hostility of these Soviet anti-Marxists to 'a people's militia' and their love of a professional army of potential Chiang Kai-sheks and Numeirys is an unmistakable indication of the thoroughly reactionary nature of Soviet bureaucracy today.

IN CHILE this question was given additional significance by the fact that both Congress and the Senate were dominated by the right-wing Christian Democratic and Nationalist parties, both of which were dedicated to the overthrow of Allende.

The Christian Democrats—led by the CIA nominee, Eduardo Frei—utilized the bogus legitimacy bestowed on Congress and the Senate by Allende to the utmost, to slow down and obstruct his reformist legislation, while at the same time preparing a concerted plan of attack. In this plan their main allies were the Stalinists, who backed to the hilt Allende's consistent refusal to build a workers' militia. At the height of the September 1972 Cabinet crisis, Allende made especially clear his determination to stamp out extreme left-wing opposition to his Fabian reforms and expressly rejected the idea of a people's militia.

'There will be no armed forces here other than those stipulated in the constitution. That is to say, the army, the navy and the air force. I shall eliminate any others if they appear.'

On the scale of history the meagre reforms of Allende which aroused great hopes in the workers and peasants and middle class weighed far less than the betrayal of these aspirations through an enforced respect for constitutional legality.

The reactionaries in the opposition were thus able to integrate their plans more effectively with the 'gorillas' of the armed forces, the foreign creditors and the expropriated monopolies. Using their constitutional majority in the two houses and building on the growing disillusionment in the country with Allende's failure to stem inflation, the opposition put into operation its first stage of its plan: to force the resignation of radical ministers and bring in the officers. After the January 1972 by-elections Allende was forced to drop his socialist Minister of the Interior, while his plans for the reform of the two-chamber system were effectively blocked by the opposition.

In June 1972 more pressure and secret talks between government and opposition produced another cabinet crisis when Allende fired his left-wing economics minister Pedro Vuskovic and dropped his nationalization plans. This predictably had the full support of the Stalinists who, as in Spain in 1938, had become the extreme right-wing of the coalition. The Stalinists accused Vuskovic of 'destroying business confidence'. At the same time they advocated a 'dialogue' with the Christian

Democrats and the acceptance of the oppositionists' phoney programme on 'workers' participation' in place of nationalization.

Stalinist union leader Figuero welcomed this corporatist plan in glowing terms: 'Participation must be expressed NOT in the ownership of the firm's property by their workers, but in an effective and active role in management and planning.' This exhortation was combined with an organized drive for greater productivity and 'voluntary work'. (Reported in Workers Press, April 1, 1972.)

In August 1972 the 'peaceful road' took a rude battering when shopkeepers clashed with the police in Santiago—the Stalinists immediately used this as a pretext for demanding the banning of the extreme left-wing groups like MIR in the south with the pathetic plea that these actions of the left wing 'would furnish a pretext for military intervention'.

The enormous hostility of the Stalinists to any group on the left which didn't toe the Allende line found a brutal expression in August 1972 when Stalinist members of the police attacked an MIR (left-wing) stronghold outside Santiago and killed five peasants.

By the end of 1972 the reaction was ready for its second phase. This was the lorry-owners' strike in the south against nationalization. After four weeks, Allende not only capitulated to the reaction, but also agreed to bring three generals into his cabinet, and for the second time dropped another Interior Minister. The most prominent of the appointments was General Mario Prats—head of the Armed Forces and notorious anti-working class reactionary. The Interior Minister—Del Canto—was dropped because he permitted 'illegal occupation' of private industries by workers. This shift to the right was inexorable.

This was not only a signal victory for the reactionaries, but a significant gain for the Stalinists who all along fought against any factory occupations or land seizures and ruthlessly opposed any struggle which was not controlled by them or Allende.

All over the world, the Stalinist lie machine went to work to distort the meaning of these ominous charges. 'Comment' (Nov. 1972), the British CP journal, did not hesitate to defend Allende—and Prats:

'Is this not a sign of weakness? Or a surrender? Or a betrayal? . . . the entry of these officers into the government, strange though it seems, is an indication that the right wing has been outmanoeuvred and defeated in this engagement of the class battle'.

In the same way that Sukarno in Indonesia tried to balance left against right in his doomed cabinet, Allende rewarded the Stalinist Figuero with the job of Minister of Labour.

The remarks of 'Comment' show the enormous depths of duplicity of the Stalinists in this period. Prats is an astute conspirator who fought successfully for the retention of the US military mission in 1969 and for good relations with the US Navy. Unlike the Stalinists, Prats, as the following speech made on his inauguration shows, was under no illusions

about the peaceful roads to Santiago:

'Workers must refrain from struggling for higher wages, and must not go on strike . . . If the strikes were to become widespread, the government would be transformed into a completely repressive dictatorship . . .' Prophetically Prats concluded that such an outcome would be much worse than Uruguay because those repressed 'would not be a small group like the Tupamaros but the whole people'.

BEHIND the growing intrigues of the opposition, the arrogance of the generals, the mounting vacillation of President Salvador Allende and the capitulation of the Stalinists during 1972-1973 lay the insoluble crisis of Chilean and world capitalism.

When Allende took power, Chile was in the throes of a major economic and financial crisis which has since been considerably exacerbated. The Central Bank's reserves had dropped from \$500m to \$280m and by April 1972 were estimated to be no more than \$60m. At the same time Chile's foreign debts exceeded \$3,000m, most of which was subject to scrutiny by European central bankers.

Failure to repudiate this massive national debt, coupled with the continued drop in copper export prices, meant that Allende had to devalue the Chilean escudo four times in two years. The servicing of foreign debt alone amounted to almost \$300m for one year. The collapse of Bretton Woods, and the cutback in US foreign aid ended all hope of the Chilean capitalist economy ever being solvent. Allende's and the Stalinists' compromise with foreign creditors encouraged the native reaction to increase the pressure to stop all further nationalization and prepare openly for counter-revolution.

Demonstrations of workers and students against the right wing were condemned by the Stalinists, while Allende occupied himself with praising the hated Carabineros — the élite of the police force used for attacks against workers and squatters.

Allende's words express clearly the awe — not to say the impotence — of the petty-bourgeois doctor before the machinery of the capitalist state and his complete lack of confidence in the working class:

'Not for nothing is the motto of the Carabineros "Order and Fatherland". Order, based on moral authority, in the correct carrying out of duties, which in no way applies the negation of hierarchy. In fact you have a sense of discipline and hierarchy which grows on the conception that this government has of social discipline and the use of public force.' (Workers Press, May 11, 1972). It was precisely this 'sense of discipline and hierarchy' which led the Presidential Guard of Carabineros to surrender when the military coup took place.'

In September 1972, Allende dismissed any prospect of military coup: 'I believe my government is the best guarantee of peace. Here there are elections and freedom. Ninety per cent of Chileans do not want an armed confrontation.'

The remaining 10 per cent, however, did not share Allende's Stalinist illusions. New groups like the semi-fascist 'Freedom and Fatherland' front began openly to arm against the regime while the

landlords in the south created private armies to impose summary 'justice' on peasants. Under the terms of the October 1972 settlement with the opposition, moreover, Allende conceded an invaluable weapon to the reaction by freeing Chile's 155 radio stations and prevented a compulsory link-up with the state network.

By 1973, the Stalinists' policy of 'moderation and conciliation' had disillusioned the industrial workers and for the first time the copper miners began to strike for more wages. This was a serious sign of the crisis, but with the advice of the Stalinist Ministers. Allende attacked the working class in the most vicious manner.

On his return from Moscow in January 1973, Allende attacked striking copper miners as 'real monopoly bankers, asking for money for their pocket without any consideration for the situation in the country'.

In the same speech, Allende revealed that the foreign debt had gone up in two years from \$3,000m to \$4,020m and admitted further that parliament should have been dissolved at an early stage. This was the price of the 'peaceful road'.

Here too the Stalinists showed their hand. When the copper miners of the huge nationalized El Teniente copper mine struck for 70 days for wage rises the Stalinists opposed Allende's overtures to the miners as 'vacillation' and 'highly inadmissible' and encouraged the regime to use water cannons and tear gas on demonstrating miners. The province of O'Higgins — the area of the strikes — was put under military control.

At the same time Allende made a proposal to bring back the army generals who resigned their posts in March 1973. The purpose of this move was clear: Allende and the Stalinists wanted to use the army against the working class, even though their party leaders were convinced that a coup was being prepared by the opposition for August or September!

In June 1973, the right wing made their first attempt at power in the aftermath of the copper miners' strike. This attempt of the Second Armoured Regiment failed, but it showed how extremely vulnerable the regime was to a coup.

THIS ATTACK stimulated the working class to go into action, to seize factories and to strengthen the assemblies of rank-and-file workers which sprang up in October to November 1972.

The reaction of the Chilean Stalinist leader, Luis Corvalan, to the abortive coup of June 29 testified to the panic of these traitors when they saw the handwriting on Allende's wall. Gone was the complacency and euphoria, but instead there existed a terrified paralysis before the army: 'The revolt was quickly contained, thanks to the prompt and determined action by the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the loyalty of the armed forces and the police . . . We continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed institutions. Their enemies are not amongst the ranks of the people, but in the reactionary camp.' (Marxism Today, September 1973.)

Even at this late hour, the situation could have been changed by resolute and

decisive leadership — instead Chilean workers were exhorted to place their faith in the shadow of the Chilean capitalists.

'Avoidance of civil war is and will continue to be the principal political task of all Chileans, followers of the government or not, who believe in the necessity of maintaining the class struggle . . . at the level at which until today it has developed [sic]. For this we value not only the voice of the working class, but also the words expressed by the church and the rectors of the universities.' [Ibid.]

And what did the rectors have to say on this momentous question?: 'Many tests demonstrate that we can achieve justice without breaking the moral unity of our state, nor the basic values of our nationality.'!!

To this humbug and deception, Corvalan servilely responds: 'We comply if not word for word, with the spirit which flows through such a declaration, from such high exponents of university culture and education.' (Emphasis added.)

In contrast to the 'high exponents of culture', the exponent of the class struggle, V. I. Lenin, long ago scathingly attacked those philistines who thought that acute problems of the class struggle could be solved by means of formal democracy. 'Such problems are actually solved by civil war if they are acute and aggravated in struggle.' (Lenin, 'Collected Works', Vol. 30, p. 267.)

The Chilean Stalinists, however, followed a course which was not only false but worse still, contradictory: As Corvalan wrote: 'The patriotic and revolutionary slogan must be: "No to civil war! No to fascism".' But fascism is civil war against the workers and the existence of the capitalist state carries in it the potential danger of civil war against the working class. By renouncing civil war and leaving the struggle in the hands of the reactionary bourgeois officers, Chilean Stalinism only facilitated and expedited the defeat of the workers.

'Nothing increases the insolence of fascists so much as "flabby pacifism" on the part of the workers' organizations. Nothing destroys the confidence of the middle classes in the working class as temporizing passivity and the absence of the will of struggle.' (Trotsky, 'Whither France,' p. 19 LSSP edition).

But the Chilean workers were to receive an even more ominous blow. In this desperate search for allies, the Chilean Stalinists began to make the most opportunist appeals to the ranks of the fascist and extreme nationalist parties. Corvalan unashamedly begged the followers of Pablo H. Rodriguez, the fascist, for a 'dialogue' to avoid civil war, to 'unite our country, to avoid artificial divisions between Chileans, who have a common interest'. The fascists predictably treated Corvalan's entreaties with contempt and derision . . . and pressed on with the preparation of civil war.

As the workers became increasingly sceptical of the regime and began to organize spontaneously in self-defence, the right stepped up its preparations and spoke openly about following the 'Indo-

nesian road'. Chile's major bourgeois daily, 'El Mercurio', spoke gloatingly on July 27 about the 'spontaneous and horrible' massacre in Indonesia which, in its opinion, 'wasn't really so horrible' because it made Indonesia into 'one of the leading nations in southern Asia, in which the economy has been stabilized and order prevails'.

Frei, former president, openly called for the crushing of the 'parallel army' growing in the factories. In this situation only the most resolute action of the government in arming the workers, disbanding the army, and alerting the whole working class to struggle could have prevented a coup or smashed it. The government and the Stalinists did the contrary.

An 'arms control law' passed in the October 1972 crisis was reactivated in order to prevent the arming of the workers. In the navy and army, the right-wing officers used the apathy, passivity and indifference of the Stalinists to harangue and indoctrinate the ranks and prepare for insurrection. Allende's fervent appeals to the army only increased the determination of the generals to put a quick and ruthless end to the experiment in the 'peaceful road'.

The final attack on the President's palace on September 11 thus became the culminating blow in a plan which was conceived only because of the acquiescence of the government and the Stalinist party. Like Hitler and Franco, General Pinochet won by default, because of the treachery of Stalinism.

ONE FINAL question must be addressed to Stalinists. Why is it that no Stalinist leader will dare answer the most vital question posed by the defeat: Why did the urban middle class and with it, the middle and lower ranks of the army turn so violently against the regime? If the 'peaceful road' and 'respect for legality' is the only guarantee of winning the middle classes why did it fail so disastrously in Chile?

To blame this on the CIA intrigues or the tendency of the middle class to always support the military regimes, as the Stalinists now imply, is to revile Marxism and conceal the treachery of Popular Frontism. As Trotsky wrote:

'The petty bourgeoisie is distinguished by its economic dependence and its social heterogeneity. Its upper strata is linked directly to the big bourgeoisie. Its lower strata merges with the proletariat and even falls to the status of the lumpen proletariat. In accordance with its economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie can have no policy of its own. It always oscillates between the capitalists and the workers. Its upper strata pushes it to the right; its lower strata, oppressed and exploited, are capable in certain conditions of turning sharply to the left.'

In periods of acute crisis and an absence of revolutionary leadership 'the petty bourgeoisie', continues Trotsky, 'begins to lose patience. It assumes an attitude more and more hostile towards

its own upper stratum. It becomes convinced of the bankruptcy and the perfidy of its political leadership . . . It is precisely this disillusionment of the petty-bourgeoisie, its impatience, its despair, that fascism exploits . . . The fascists show boldness, go out into the streets, attack the police, and attempt to drive out parliament by force. That makes an impression on the despairing bourgeoisie.'

Trotsky's words are a precise description of the petty bourgeoisie under Allende. They are, in fact, corroborated by the 'Financial Times' reporter's description of the plight of the middle class in Chile: 'Chile firmly remains in the forefront of world inflation . . . Item: Last month the over-worked employees of the National Mint called a strike. Through their good efforts the money supply had soared by 830 per cent since Dr Allende took office. As all other Chilean workers, their wages had been raised by 26 per cent in January 1971, by 22 per cent in January 1972, by 100 per cent [sic] last October and by 60 per cent in April. And yet, said a spokesman for the strikers: "We're all under a terrible psychological strain. We handle more money than any bank and what we take home hardly buys us enough to eat."' (FT June 29, 1973.)

The petty bourgeoisie were the first casualties of the coalition's policy of trying to appease the working class with subsidies while promising increased productivity to the industrialists, curbing nationalization drastically and refusing to repudiate the huge burden of foreign debt incurred by the previous pro-US Frei government.

The net decrease of purchasing power and of consumption was felt most keenly within the lower middle class: 'The lower classes, which are Dr Allende's principal supporters, are catered to by the state which gives them first priority for basic items. If they are not so well off as during Dr Allende's first year, they are demonstrably better off than ever before. At the other end of the scale, the rich can afford to shop in the black market for goods which, reflecting the black market dollar, are often up to ten times the officially set price. But no one looks after the petty-bourgeoisie—too rich to be subsidized and too poor to pay the black market pirates.

. . . And as the pie shrinks in absolute terms, the potential of the state to continue to subsidize the poor and the working class is reduced.'

The big capitalists wanted a full-scale devaluation of the escudo or a full-scale wage freeze coupled with a diversion of import dollars from foodstuffs to capital goods. The workers on the other hand wanted more nationalization, workers' control and an end to the parliamentary fraud.

Allende and the Stalinists baulked at both alternatives and were trapped in their own contradictions. It was only a matter of time before the imperialists and the junta struck. As an epitaph to Allende's government we would sug-

gest the following quotation from Lenin: 'The proletariat cannot achieve victory if it does not win the majority of the population to its side. But to limit the winning to polling a majority of votes in an election **under the rule of the bourgeoisie** or to make it the condition for it, is crass stupidity or else sheer deception of the workers. In order to win the majority of the population to its side the proletariat must, in the first place, overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize state power; secondly, it must introduce Soviet power and completely smash the old state apparatus, whereby it immediately undermines the rule, prestige and influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois compromisers over the non-proletarian working people. Thirdly, it must **entirely destroy** the influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois compromisers over the **majority** of the non-proletarian masses by satisfying **their** economic needs in a revolutionary way at the expense of the exploiters.'

TO DEFEND the Chilean working class is to assimilate the vital lessons of this period and to build a new revolutionary leadership, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky.

While it is true that Stalinism played a major role in the Chilean defeat, it is impossible to analyse it in isolation from the role of the centrists and revisionists who played the role of willing and unwilling accomplices to Stalinism.

The centrists of the MIR (Movement of Revolutionary Left), who had a considerable following among the landless peasantry in the south, did not take a principled attitude to Allende and created great confusion in the peasantry. Their policy of 'critical support' to Allende meant in practice capitulation to the Popular Front. Like the POUM in Catalonia in the Spanish civil war, this group withdrew its opposition to Allende in the March 1973 congressional elections precisely when a bold challenge to the Stalinists and Socialists and a demand for a workers' and farmers' government could have rallied the majority of workers and poor peasants.

The revisionists of the Unified Secretariat played an even more ignominious role. The 'Militant' (paper of the United States Socialist Workers Party), in its issue of September 4, 1973, laments: 'But there is still no party that can take up this example (popular control of production) and spread it throughout the cordones (labour assemblies) and throughout the country.'

Why doesn't the SWP tell its readers what happened to the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party of Chile), section of the Unified Secretariat, which abandoned the International Committee and joined the USFI to support the revisionist theories of Mandel and Hansen, theories which liquidated Trotskyism in Latin America and substituted for it the ideas and methods of Guevara and Castro? Why does not the SWP recall that it was itself the main protagonist of this political line?

Is it not a fact that the Trotskyist party was destroyed in Chile, not by Stalinism or any junta, but by the conscious application of the revisionist theory that revolutions could be successfully made without the building of a Marxist Party?

Was it not the leader of the POR, Luis Vitale, who, in 1962, on the eve of the infamous Pabliste Re-unification Congress, declared in the following words this complete abdication of the struggle for a Marxist party and power?

'The new generation is developing in a different world and a more different Latin America. The Cuban revolution has broken the old prejudices, has shown that the triumph can be achieved in any Latin American country, that the imperialist counter-revolutionary oligarchy can be destroyed, that the traditional parties, reformists and Stalinists, can be overruled by broader revolutionary movements, and has shown once again that the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus. . . .' (History of the Workers Movement. Santiago, Chile, 1962.)

The Chilean defeat, however, will change nothing in the revisionist Secretariat. Far from their learning any lessons, these events drive them closer to bureaucracy, the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. That is why the revisionists of the International Marxist Group, for example, have no hesitation in marching with the Stalinist champions of the Popular Front in Britain in the demonstration against the Chilean junta—and for the Popular Front in Chile.

Revisionism has certainly reached a new stage in its degeneration. By marching with the Popular Front they have identified themselves openly with the counter-revolutionary preparations of Stalinism and the bourgeoisie. To fight Stalinism and Castroism is to politically destroy revisionism.

The ICFI rejects completely the spurious demand of the Stalinist Gollan that the Tories do not recognise the junta. Heath and Pinochet are partners in imperialist repression and must be exposed for what they are.

The IC calls for the maximum solidarity of the international working class to black Chilean shipping and goods, and secure the release of all political prisoners as well as the cessation of the summary executions of the junta. At the same time we demand of the USSR government and the eastern European regimes that they break all diplomatic and economic ties with the Chilean junta and give every aid to the embattled workers of Chile.

- Down with the military junta of Chile!
- Down with the Popular Front!
- Down with Stalinism!
- Long live the Chilean workers!
- Build the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

September 18, 1973

# For the defeat of imperialism and Zionism in the Mid-East war

THE WAR in the Middle East, fought out by the armed forces of the Arab nations and Israel, is a war between imperialism and the Arab peoples, victims of centuries of colonial oppression and exploitation. There can be no question that the international working class must fight in solidarity with the Arab masses and their armies against the armies of Israel, puppets of imperialism.

Imperialism in the Middle East fights desperately to preserve its exploiting interests. The international monopolies of America, western Europe and Japan who own the oil fields of the Middle East, direct their governments to send great arms supplies and military personnel to aid Israel because billions of dollars profit are at stake and because oil supplies are required to service capitalism's industry in every field.

Millions of Jewish people, primarily European workers, for generations have been tragically and treacherously misled into migrating to Israel. The imperialist backers of the Zionist state did this for one purpose: to provide themselves with a military and political bulwark against the revolution of the Arab workers and peasants which threatened to expropriate the oil companies, just as the Suez Canal was nationalized.

For this purpose the imperialists and their agents in the Israeli government will sacrifice many hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives as well as those of the Arab peoples.

Many Jewish people, victims of fascism and anti-Semitism and deprived by the reformists and Stalinists of any confidence in the working class to solve their problems in a revolutionary way, turned to Zionism. The Fourth International, and Trotsky in particular, warned of the terrible fate which awaited those who went to Israel: During World War II he wrote:

'The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people . . . The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into

a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system.' (June 1940)

Today Trotsky's words have been borne out, but an entirely new situation exists. The Israeli state now stands as the immediate obstacle to the forward march of the Arab masses. Unquestionably this advance is part of the world movement for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The workers and peasants of Israel have no future except by joining in the anti-imperialist struggle, alongside their Arab brothers! In the present war in the Middle East this means that the workers and poor peasants in Israel should oppose their own government and its war and work with the Arab peoples for the defeat of Israel in the war.

The task of revolutionaries in Israel is to campaign in the working class for this policy, the policy of revolutionary defeatism. Not one of the problems of the Jewish workers in Israel can be resolved by the bourgeois state, even if Israel scored a military victory, a thing which could be done only with hundreds of thousands of deaths. The workers will either be permanent cannon-fodder for imperialism or revolutionary fighters alongside the Arab peoples. Should Dayan and Meir win, they will move towards military dictatorship.

Behind the renewed offensive of the Arab peoples is the international capitalist crisis. For the last ten years the imperialist powers have tried to turn the brunt of the economic crisis on the colonial peoples, reducing their standards of living drastically and encouraging the setting up of military and right-wing regimes.

The position of the native ruling class in these countries is that they are now forced to give expression to the aspirations of the masses for expropriation of the imperialist exploiters.

The nationalist bourgeoisie cannot carry through this struggle to the end. They will seek to use the pressure and self-sacrifice of the masses to arrive at a new

compromise with imperialism, giving them more revenues and thus more leeway in dealing with the masses inside their own countries.

The working class in the Arab countries must give every support to the military campaign for the defeat of Israel, but the essential task is to prepare the independent programme and action of the working class, above all through the construction of revolutionary parties, sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

At the same time the US, western European and Japanese imperialists fear the coming together of the revolutionary struggles of the colonial peoples and the workers of the metropolitan countries. Never since World War II have the colonial peoples relented in their fight against imperialism, despite the genocidal war in Vietnam and the vicious repression in Kenya, Algeria, Bolivia, Indonesia, and scores of other colonial countries.

Now their struggle is renewed in the Middle East, in Thailand, in Latin America, at a new level of intensity, given an impetus by the same incurable inflationary crisis which brings the workers of the advanced countries into revolutionary struggles with the capitalist state.

Middle-class critics of capitalism and their reformist friends in the workers' movement have cultivated the imperialist-inspired myth that the oil problem is an environmental one, an 'energy crisis'. On the contrary it is a problem of imperialism, of the last stage of capitalism, of the clash between the productive forces and the capitalist production relations. The imperialists seek to 'solve' this crisis temporarily by imperialist war. In fact it can be solved only by the socialist revolution. The national liberation movements are contributing to this socialist revolution.

This is why the Marxist movement stands unconditionally for the victory of the Arab states in the present war. We do this within the strategy of permanent revolution: the national and democratic revolution can be carried through only by

the leadership of the working class, which must take power and go on to the socialist revolution, part of the world socialist revolution.

In this connection the war aims of the Arab states must be rejected as entirely inadequate to the real content of the struggle. The withdrawal of the Israelis to the pre-1967 frontiers is an immediate but hopelessly limited aim.

The outstanding problems are the expulsion of the imperialists from the Middle East, the taking over of the oil companies, and the restoration of the land and the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. These are the aims for which a Marxist leadership fights when it supports the war against Israel.

In the same way, it is only working-class leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle, the leadership of a Marxist Party, which can ensure a correct revolutionary policy towards the future of the Jewish people in Israel.

The talk of a 'holy war' against the Jews, the call to wipe out the Israeli people, will not carry forward the interests of the Palestinian Arabs. It is a method of preventing the Arab workers from marching under their own banner of socialist internationalism.

The Israeli state has reactionary Zionist origins and it serves a reactionary purpose. This state must be overthrown in the interests of Jew and Arab alike. But the Jews in Israel have the right to be recognized as a nation. Their common struggle with the Arabs must give rise to a Palestinian state in which the national rights of the Jews are fully recognized.

Should the Jews in such a state wish to secede and form a separate state, they must have the right to do so. Marxists would oppose such secession, as they would in any other country, but insist on the right of a minority nationality to secede.

In the struggle against imperialism in the Middle East, the Stalinist bureaucracy has played an extremely reactionary role. Anxious above all to preserve the compromise relations with imperialism, the bureaucracy through the Communist Parties has sought to reconcile the Arab masses to the continued existence of the Zionist state, and has worked against any preparation for the struggle. It fears, above all, that the struggle of the masses will upset the 'balance of power'.

More important still, the bureaucracy opposes any political independence or independent leadership for the Arab working class. Instead it provides military assistance to the Arab governments controlled to a volume which it hopes will place the Middle East in a state of equilibrium and preserve its relations with imperialism.

With this policy, the Soviet bureaucracy has permitted the Israelis to build up their military machine and their lines of imperialist support and make the present struggle more bloody and protracted, while the bureaucracy engages in secret diplomacy to assist the imperialists in arriving at the new settlement they require.

All those in the labour movement who subordinate themselves in one way or another to this Stalinist deception of 'peace' and 'detente' with imperialism are guilty of confusing and betraying the working class.

Thus the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad and the Israeli Palestine Socialist Action, whose statement is carried in Britain by the newspapers of the revisionist International Socialists and International Marxist Group (Section of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat), limit themselves to just refusing to take up arms for Zionism.

This is contrary to all internationalist principles. The working class cannot be neutral. From the international working-class standpoint the Arab struggle is entirely justified and must be unconditionally supported. This determines the responsibility of the Israeli workers as well as those of every country. In Israel it means a definite struggle to turn the working class, including those in uniform, against their own government.

To reduce this struggle to the individual protest of conscientious objectors to military service is to end up as just the pacifist wing of Zionism itself.

Throughout the world, Jewish workers are being pressed from all sides to sympathize with and support the Israeli armies. Such support runs directly counter to the interests of these workers.

The capitalist backers of Israel are exploiters and class enemies of Jewish workers in Israel and in every other country. Just as non-Jewish capitalists exploit the workers of all religions and nations, so do Jewish capitalists. The future of Jewish workers is bound up entirely with the struggle to overthrow imperialism and Zionism.

For the working class, Arab and Jewish alike, the aim must be a Socialist United States of the Middle East achieved through the overthrow of imperialism and Zionism and based on the expropriation of the oil companies and all foreign capitalist holdings and great landed estates. It is in this framework that the national aspirations of the Arab and Jewish workers will be settled, and in no other.

The lessons of the outbreak of imperialist war in the Middle East go far beyond that region alone; they are international. So deep are the contradictions in the imperialist crisis now that 'peaceful' solutions to them no longer exist.

Chile one month, Middle East war the next! Counter-revolution, fascism and war—it is for these that the capitalist class prepares in the crisis.

In every case the reformist and Stalinist advocates of 'peaceful, parliamentary roads to socialism' are holding back the working class from uniting behind socialist policies.

They collaborate with the ruling class in seeking capitalist 'solutions' to the inflationary crisis, always granting invaluable time to the capitalists for their real preparations and lulling the working class to sleep.

Not only in the Middle East, but in every country, the building of independent revolutionary parties, sections of the International Committee of the capitulation against the workers of Ire-

question of the hour. In the present struggle the task of those building the revolutionary party is to fight for the maximum solidarity with the Arab armies against the state of Israel. What does this mean?

● Transport, aircraft, dock workers must place an embargo on all shipments of arms and equipment to Israel.

● The reformist supporters of Israel in the labour movement such as the Labour leaders in Britain, must be opposed by building the alternative leadership. They have the same bi-partisan policy with capitalism against the workers of Ireland and every other oppressed nation. And they will turn the sword against their own working class.

● The Stalinist bureaucracy and its 'communist' parties, who turn every movement in the interests of compromise with imperialism, must be exposed and defeated in the labour movement.

● All possible efforts of propaganda, demonstration and industrial action must be led and supported in unconditional support of the Arab people and the Arab armies.

● Black all arms supplies to Israel!

● Long live the Arab revolution!

● Arab and Jewish workers unite against imperialism and Zionism!

● Down with Stalinism, collaborator of the imperialists!

● For the victory of the Arab armies over Israel!

● Build the International Committee of the Fourth International!

International Committee of the Fourth International Thursday October 18, 1973.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS

**The Fifth World Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International will be held on April 2-6, 1974. All sections of the International Committee will begin immediately the discussion among their members.**

Never before have the preparations for a conference of the Fourth International been carried out under conditions so favourable for the building of the revolutionary movement.

Never before have the problems of the working class in every country demanded so unquestionably the building of parties which can prepare and lead the struggle for working-class power.

The Fourth Conference of the International Committee in April 1972 based its perspectives on the unprecedented economic crisis resulting from the August 1971 measures of Nixon and the US ruling class. All the political relations between the classes were irrevocably disrupted by the abandonment of the post-war Bretton Woods agreement.

The class struggle in every country must henceforth conflict with every device by which the capitalist state and its bureaucratic agents in the working class had regulated the class relations in the post-war period. It was therefore the responsibility of every section of the International Committee to turn out into the working class, to build the movement and develop revolutionary

cadres from the new forces thrust forward by the crisis.

The great changes since our Fourth Conference are more than a confirmation of the correctness of that perspective. America, the greatest capitalist power, directly responsible for the decision to smash the post-war 'settlement', is in the throes of a political and constitutional crisis without historical equal. The results of all the years of economic expansion and domination find the American ruling class unable to resolve this crisis of authority. So deep is the crisis that the organized working class, through its unions, takes a giant stride into politics by mounting the campaign to remove the President.

So universal are the results of inflation and trade war resulting from the August 1971 decisions that the masses are thrown into the most basic struggles simultaneously in all the advanced countries and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Every single one of these struggles is driven on by the world crisis, and every struggle adds new fuel to the struggle in other countries.

The capitalist state in every country is forced to come out openly as the destroyer, not the protector, of basic democratic rights and basic living standards. The Stalinist bureaucracy knows that this internationalization of the crisis and of the conditions for proletarian revolution opens up a completely new prospect for the political revolution of the workers in the deformed and degenerated workers' states, and so they move even closer to the most reactionary imperialist circles.

Every defence of basic rights

and basic questions now poses the building of revolutionary parties to lead the working class to power. The Transitional Programme which bridges the gap between the unpreparedness of the masses and the maturity of the objective situation is the only Programme on which such parties can be constructed.

In Britain, the founding of the Workers Revolutionary Party shows beyond doubt that these changed conditions make possible the leap from the leagues and groups, necessarily largely propagandist in character, of which the Fourth International has consisted, to revolutionary parties. The working class is emerging from the conditions of defeat imposed on it by imperialism and Stalinism in the 1920s and 1930s. The perspective held out by our 1972 conference was correct: that the parties which our movement set out to build in 1938 can now be built by a resolute turn, on the basis of a conscious struggle for dialectical materialism, to the working class in this crisis.

Since April 1972, new sections of the International Committee have been built and their experience must form an invaluable basis for the discussion and decisions of our 1974 conference. It is imperative that the sections make a balance-sheet of all this experience. Only on the foundation of the struggle for dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism, the foundation of our revolutionary practice, was it possible to break decisively from the revisionism of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and lay the

basis for the building of young sections in a number of countries. In the years since the break, those like the OCI who broke with dialectical materialism have experienced only theoretical bankruptcy, splits and rejection of the continuity of the Fourth International.

It is 20 years since the International Committee came into existence. It was necessary in 1953 to make a decisive break with the revisionism of Pablo and his tendency. They worked to liquidate the Trotskyist movement into the Stalinist parties, on the spurious grounds that 'mass pressure' would force these parties to overthrow capitalism.

The fight against this liquidationism has been thoroughly

vindicated, not only in the building of independent parties and sections by the International Committee, but also 'negatively', by the recent even more open return of the Pabloite leadership to this very same revision of Marxism, the rejection of the foundation of an independent Fourth International.

They glorify the Popular Front of the Chilean Stalinists, which played the role of executioner's assistant against the Chilean working class. They raise directly the question of reforming the Communist Parties instead of defeating Stalinism as the main world counter-revolutionary force.

We have no doubt that genuine revolutionary forces,

misled and trapped until now by the false claims to 'Trotskyism' of these revisionist leaders, will now consider as a matter of urgency the decision of the International Committee to convene its conference in April 1974, and that they will seek ways of participating in the pre-conference discussions.

In January 1974, the draft political perspectives resolution for this conference will be circulated to all sections of the International Committee and to all tendencies in political sympathy with the International Committee in order that they can participate in the pre-conference discussion.

**International Committee of  
the Fourth International.**  
November 10, 1973

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# RESOLUTION

Submitted by the  
Central Committee of SLL  
to the Founding Conference  
at Odeon Hammersmith  
November 4 1973

## Transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the Revolutionary Party

**1** THE AIM of the Socialist Labour League, founded in 1959, has always been to build a revolutionary party based on Marxist principles which can lead the working class to state power and the building of a socialist society.

Immediately on its foundation, the League applied for affiliation to the Labour Party. This was refused and the League was declared a proscribed organization by the Labour Party leadership. Instead of having the right to fight on our independent policies inside the Labour Party, policies to unite the working class against the Tory government, we had a position where our members were expelled from the Labour Party.

**2** BETWEEN 1960 and 1964, the Young Socialists, then the youth section of the Labour Party, were won to the policies of the Socialist Labour League. Our members and supporters became the elected majority leadership of the YS, and the annual conferences of 1963 and 1964 voted overwhelmingly for our policies.

Once again the Labour Party right wing stepped in, and set out to destroy the YS through expulsions and the abolition of its democratic rights in the Party. The majority of the youth movement were expelled and driven out of the Labour Party for carrying out this principled fight for socialist policies.

The Young Socialists was therefore established as the independent organization which it is today.

The YS has been the major source of strength in the building of the SLL. Just as the YS carried out the political fight against unemployment in 1963, so it was they who led the Right-to-Work marches

early in 1972, having publicly campaigned on every major issue facing the working class in the intervening period.

The forces won in the youth were trained and turned into the trade unions, eventually to form the All Trades Unions Alliance in October 1968.

The ATUA has taken the initiative at every stage in the political fight against the anti-union legislation and state control of wages. Its main task has been political: to fight for revolutionary leadership in the trade unions, and to defend all basic rights through a struggle to force the Tory government to resign.

The establishment of the first daily Trotskyist paper in the world, Workers Press, in September 1969, was an achievement made possible only by the forces trained on these struggles in the YS and ATUA.

**3** IN BRITAIN, the working class has always defended itself and confronted the class enemy through its mass organizations, the trades unions. The Labour Party, set up as the first step towards political independence for the working class, was founded on the defence of the unions. But the reformist politics of the Labour Party now make it utterly incapable of this defence.

To deal with the crisis, the capitalist class must try to incorporate the unions into the state. The capitalist state requires that independent trades unions with rights to negotiate and strike for wages shall no longer exist. The reformist Labour leaders, tied to the state and the monopolies, actually become instruments for this attack on the unions and the destruction of basic working-class rights.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party,

tied to the peaceful co-existence policy of the Kremlin bureaucracy, cannot challenge the ruling class and so support the reformists.

**4** A GREAT historical turning point has now been reached. The basic organizations of the working class can be defended only by revolutionary means, by actually overthrowing the state power of the capitalist class. For this, a revolutionary party is the most important single question. It is this question of leadership which predominates in every section and every struggle of the working class.

The international economic crisis of capitalism has produced this change in Britain and it makes inevitable a revolutionary confrontation between the working class and the Tory government in which it will be a question of which class has the power.

The problem of the cost of living, resulting from capitalist inflation, is becoming unbearable, under conditions where the Tory government has taken powers to control wages. The Tory strategy of entry into the EEC has proved to be only another major factor in deepening the inflationary crisis.

The greatest capitalist power, the United States of America, is so racked by the crisis that the ruling class has a complete crisis of authority in both domestic and foreign policy.

**5** THE TREACHERY of the Labour, trade union and Stalinist leadership is being daily even more openly demonstrated, and one section of workers after another is forced to take up the question of alternative leadership.



It is this situation which makes it urgently necessary to go forward to the founding of the revolutionary party.

**6** BETWEEN 1959 and 1973 the Trotskyist movement in Britain has gone through a vital period of transition. The defeats resulting from the betrayals of Stalinism and reformism in the inter-war years made necessary the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. Its aims were to construct independent revolutionary parties, but the conditions remained extremely unfavourable for this task for a whole generation. The SLL was the instrument for bringing about the conscious transition from the period of defeats and isolation to the present period of the onset of revolutionary struggles and the formation of the revolutionary party. It has been an essential period of training and building up of resources for the step we are now taking.

This has been made possible only through an uncompromising struggle against all those revisionist tendencies who tried to subordinate the conscious struggle for Marxism and the party to the spontaneous labour movement.

**7** THE REVOLUTIONARY party, like the Socialist Labour League, will be the British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The long and bitter struggle of Trotsky and the Fourth International to build parties independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy now coincides with the immediate and inescapable needs of the working class itself.

Without such an independent leadership, the working class would be thrown into struggles under conditions where Stalinism and the 'lefts' would lead them into another Chile. The revolutionary party is based on proletarian internationalism which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky fought for, and which lives today in the Fourth International. We defend the gains of the October Revolution—nationalized industry and nationalized land—against any imperialist attempt to bring the USSR, eastern Europe and China back into the sphere of capitalist exploitation.

But this defence means an unrelenting fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy, which must be overthrown in a political revolution and replaced by soviet democracy. We stand on the political foundations of the first four congresses of the Communist International, but this means implacable struggle against the Stalinist parties, which have gone over to the side of counter-revolution.

The transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party here in Britain will be a major con-

tribution to the building of the International Committee of the Fourth International. This is the challenge which we must now take up.

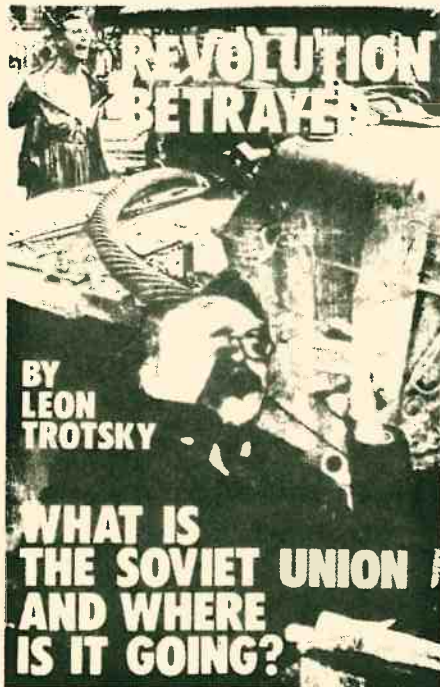
**8** THE SLL, transformed into the revolutionary party, will undertake a specific political task; to unite the working class behind a socialist programme to throw out the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government; to lead the struggle to expose and replace the Labour leaders who serve capitalism; to take the mass anti-Tory movement through the struggle for socialist policies under a Labour government; in this fight to win many thousands of members for the revolutionary party and throw out the reformist leaders of the trades union and labour movement.

We take up this struggle always from the standpoint of preparing the working class for the actual smashing of the capitalist state and the achievement of working class power.

For the achievement of these political tasks, the transformation of the SLL into the Revolutionary Party is absolutely necessary. This Conference therefore resolves to constitute itself the Founding Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

NOVEMBER 4, 1973

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# DRAFT PERSPECTIVES TO TRANSFORM THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE INTO THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

## THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTION- ARY PARTY

The working class has shown from the dustmen's and postmen's strikes, through the dockers', miners' and building workers' struggles, that they will not stand aside while the Tories proceed.

In the midlands, the workers have successfully resisted the all-out attack of large companies like Chrysler and Massey-Ferguson (Perkins).

Militancy by one section after another has checked the Tory offensive at each stage. But herein lies the greatest danger!

Every militant struggle which checks the class enemy forces him to prepare fresh attacks. But if the militant struggle remains isolated from the political fight against the government, and fails to challenge the reformist trade union leadership, then it leaves the working class divided against the next stage of Tory attack and preparation of dictatorship.

There must be formed, now, an organization of revolutionaries, trained in Marxist theory, who know how to fight

for leadership in every struggle against the government (wages, rents, etc.) always with the aim of uniting the whole class for the fight to make the government resign and preparing for working-class power.

The opportunity exists more than ever before. One essential characteristic of the class struggle in the last two years has been that all sections of workers have been brought into struggle against government policies. Civil servants, teachers, college servants, canteen workers, hospital workers, and many others only just being unionized have followed the engineers, miners, dockers and railwaymen into the fight.

The mobilization of the whole strength of the working-class movement to force the Tories to resign would leave the government completely isolated in a very short time. Instead, the TUC leaders have constantly gone back and crawled on their bellies for talks with the Tory government.

The entry on to the scene of all these sections of the working class means all the problems of the class come up for solution. It means also that the ruling class will utilize all the weapons at its disposal to suppress the movement.

The use of 22,000 troops, thousands of armed paramilitary forces, and new laws for imprisonment without trial in Ireland, indicates what is in preparation. The old reformism of the British labour movement is completely and hopelessly inadequate for such a situation. In defending the gains of the movement, its mass organizations, the trade unions, the working class will need a revolutionary party above all else.

Taff Vale in 1901 came at the beginning of modern imperialism, the 'epoch of wars

and revolutions', before the formation of the Bolshevik Party, before World War I and before the first successful working-class revolution.

It led the trade union leaders, many of them very conservative, to form an independent working-class, parliamentary party, the Labour Party. But now, 70 years after, with the October Revolution, fascism, two world wars and six Labour governments in between, and capitalism back to a crisis more severe even than 1929, the attack on the unions cannot be repelled by reformism. Indeed, the Labour government of Wilson prepared the anti-union laws, and the TUC collaborates with the government!

This time the unions can be defended only by transforming them into organizations of revolutionary struggle against capitalism, for there is no return to the old 'free' trade unions.

Such a transformation can only be carried out by a revolutionary party based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The strength of the working class in economic struggles is not manifested only in the day-to-day success in resisting the employers' attacks or winning wage increases. This same strength, for example, provokes division and crisis within the Tory ranks, and this leads to intensification of their reactionary preparations.

To understand and counter such developments, of which there are many in a period of crisis such as this, requires a party which starts from a scientific view of all the relations between classes and states, and not only from the immediate impressions of 'victory' or 'setback'. This is why the SLL has fought so bitterly against all those reformists.

Stalinists, and revisionists who have held the workers back from struggle to bring down the Tory government.

Instead the revisionists peddle the idea that the economic struggle will 'spontaneously' bring the workers to the point of revolutionary struggle and leadership, and the reformists and Stalinists dismiss political, revolutionary struggles as 'Utopian'. These ideas help the ruling class to keep the working class divided and politically backward, while the ruling class itself prepares the next blow. The struggle of the SLL and the All Trades Unions Alliance against such ideas and practice has been the central theme of our political preparation to transform the League into a revolutionary party. In the experience of the last two and a half years of struggle many workers have been able to learn this lesson in practice and come forward to build the SLL, the ATUA and the Workers Press.

What is actually involved is to answer the basic question, one way or the other: **Do the conditions exist in Britain for the successful working-class struggle for power?**

In order to answer this question we must first of all understand that the capitalists' attack on basic rights comes from their **weakness**, from their crisis. The crisis makes it impossible to rule any longer in the old ways. To dispense with these old ways means to make their rule extremely precarious, because they are forced to pull away the supports that have always kept them in political power. They are trying to create a new and arbitrary body of law which does not rest solidly on precedent and historically-established and accepted rights and procedures.

They need to transform the large professional and middle class which has 'believed' in the favour English freedom and 'compromise' (which was in fact the product of colonial oppression on the one hand and bitter struggle of the working class on the other) into unquestioning authoritarian state officials acting against the working class. They need, above all, to defeat the working class in battle in order to render them subservient to a life without rights.

To make all these changes,

on the basis of an economic system which is not a developing one but one in decline and decay, is a task which exposes them to great dangers.

The dangers take a very concrete form. Through the struggle to defend basic rights, the working class can mobilize to throw out the Tory government, which the capitalist class needs in order to carry out its aims. The conditions for exposing the bankrupt Labour leadership, by fighting for socialist politics from a Labour government, would exist. Now that the fighting capacity of the working class, in all its sections, has been demonstrated in the last two and a half years, we are in a situation where we must create the one remaining factor for victory, the building of the alternative, revolutionary party.

## DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE WORKING CLASS

Unity of the working-class movement on a programme to defend the democratic rights which are under attack can be transformed into the mass movement which forces the Tory government to resign. But this means starting from the causes behind the attack on democratic rights.

These basic rights are under attack because this is the only way the capitalist class can hope to survive the acute world economic crisis, characterized by trade war and galloping inflation. Only a programme of socialist measures to put an end to the basic economic crisis can put an end to the attack on democratic rights.

Those who say that sheer militancy, or a limited protest or 'pressure' campaign, can defeat measures like the Industrial Relations Act (the Communist Party, International Socialists, International Marxist Group) have been proved wrong in practice. But a **fundamental** error is involved, not just a mistaken tactic.

These tendencies cultivate the illusion that present-day capitalism and Toryism can continue to exist without the Industrial Relations Act and all the other attacks. In fact, they **mislead** the working class into the idea that the capitalist economy will still accept reformist solutions. They have become the most efficient defenders of bankrupt reformism.

The struggle for Marxist theory and practice against all these tendencies has been and will remain central to the building of the revolutionary party.

Stalinism, particularly, diverts the working class by campaigning for what it calls unity of the democratic forces, whether working class or not, to defend democracy. The CPs of France and Italy are preparing to enter coalitions with capitalist governments on this programme, a repetition of the 'Popular Fronts' of the 1935-1939 period. It is now part of the 'peaceful road to socialism' theory.

In Britain, just as everywhere else, this treacherous policy is belied by the reality. All the basic rights under Tory attack were won in struggle by the working class, and they can only be defended by the independent struggle of the working class. The popular struggle for democratic rights in the period of the bourgeois revolution met with repression from the new capitalist ruling class in England and in Ireland as soon as the monarchy was defeated, and the struggle was effectively taken up again only with the rise of the working class. Any democratic forces in the lower middle class had henceforth to turn in a socialist, working-class direction.

Capitalist democracy no longer serves capitalism's purposes. It is no longer a question of 'preserving' democracy by means of alliances under the banner of bourgeois democracy. Members of the middle class themselves suffer as badly as do the workers from inflation, war, destruction of rights, the power of the trusts and banks, and the decay of culture. They will respond not to calls to defend bourgeois parliamentary democracy, but to the strength and determination of an independent working-class struggle against the monopolies and the state.

Nothing is more calculated

to drive the middle class into the arms of reaction than the cowardice and treachery of the TUC and Labour leaders. They put forward not a single consistent or anti-capitalist policy. They arouse anger and contempt by their hypocritical protests against particular issues, which everybody knows rests on their fundamental support of Tory policy, both domestic and foreign.

The Labour leadership has never in fact opposed EEC entry. Only the desertion to the Tory lobby of Jenkins and the right wing ensured passage of the necessary Bill. Wilson refused to discipline the traitors because he is going exactly the same way. The Labour leadership refuses to mobilize any struggle against the Housing Finance Act and, with a few honourable exceptions, the local parties have capitulated on rent increases.

In Ireland, Wilson has gone out of his way to support Heath and Whitelaw, and Callaghan actually performed the duties of emissary of the Tory government in Belfast. The trade union leaders follow suit. Not one of them has fought for solidarity with the Irish workers against imperialism.

Having prevented the working class from stopping the Industrial Relations Act, the TUC leaders entered talks with the Tory enemy on wage and price control, and return to the conference table even now, when permanent state control is being enacted.

They are there for everybody to see as participants in the process of laying the foundations for dictatorship. These reformist leaders have always sought to keep their own position in the movement by accepting the 'special' position of British capitalism and its ability to find a compromise way out of struggle because of its heritage of monopoly and Empire. This parasitic structure is crumbling fast. The international crisis forces the classes to confront each other in direct conflict. The working class of Britain in this fight must break out of the reformist, nationalist strait-jacket and recognise the main enemy, the British capitalist class and its state, its Tory government.

This is the historic significance of the need to focus every working-class struggle on

the fight to make the Tory government resign, and in the course of this build the alternative revolutionary leadership.

## WHAT IS THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE?

Today, when the Socialist Labour League calls for support to transform itself into a revolutionary party, it does so on the basis of its own record in defence of these basic rights and the struggle for alternative leadership. The daily Workers Press, the Young Socialists, and the ATUA are the resources and forces built up by the Socialist Labour League since its formation in 1959.

In the years of Tory rule before Labour was elected in 1964, SLL members and supporters in the Young Socialists (then in the Labour Party) won the great majority of that organization nationally to our policy. Above all, we fought against the heavy unemployment of 1962-1963 and warned that the Labour government would betray the working class if a struggle for socialist policies was not successfully carried out.

When, in 1964, for the third successive year, our policies and candidates for the YS National Committee won the majority, the Labour right wing proceeded to mass expulsions. The YS majority then defended itself by holding its conference independently. It has continued to organize, campaign and educate ever since, to build up the biggest and most effective political youth movement in Britain today.

We warned, throughout the term of the Wilson government, that its reactionary policies and refusal to carry out socialist measures would pave the way for the return of the Tories. This government failed in any way to prepare the working class for the

economic crisis and the Tory attack.

The present SLL grew out of the whole struggle on basic policies and defence of basic rights like the right to work. We warned that 'In Place of Strife' was opening the door for Tory dictatorship, and we took the first initiative in the fight against Labour's policy and anti-union legislation.

The day after the Tory government was elected in 1970, the Workers Press declared that the working class must be mobilized to force the government to resign. This would mean learning the political lessons of the Labour government and fighting for socialist policies. We campaigned from the very beginning for the TUC to call a General Strike to defeat the Industrial Relations Act and force the Tory government to resign.

We fought for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution, and for withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. Through the ATUA, we conducted the struggle against productivity deals and Measured-Day Work — schemes which amount to everyday class collaboration, and against the anti-union laws. It was in the fight for these policies that the present forces of the SLL and YS were trained, clashing all the time, as they did, with the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists.

The Charter of Basic Rights, passed by the ATUA national conference of 1970, formed the basic programme for unity of all those in struggle against the Tory government. In particular, the Young Socialists rallied support in every industrial area in Britain through their Right-to-Work marches of February-March 1972. Teams of youth marched from as far away as Glasgow and Liverpool to London, culminating in the anti-Tory rally of 8,500 people in the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12, 1972.

Only the Socialist Labour League has fought in the unions against the TUC's talks with the Tory government. The ATUA national conference in November 1972 resolved unanimously to go forward in 1973 to the transformation of the SLL into the revolutionary party. Three great steps have been taken in line with this resolution:

The anti-Tory rally and pageant of History 'Road to Workers' Power' at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 11, 1973, brought 10,000 workers face-to-face with the history of struggle of the working class and the historic changes now necessary.

The pre-conference of the revolutionary party on May 27 rallied all those who had been politically organized for the first time in the Wembley Pool campaign with the existing forces of the SLL.

The ATUA rally of more than 4,000 trade unionists at Belle Vue, Manchester, on July 18 which discussed above all the preparation for power and the struggle in the unions for a revolutionary party.

On November 4, 1973, the revolutionary party's founding conference will take place.

On every single major issue confronting the working class the SLL, YS and ATUA have struggled to bring before the class, in propaganda and in action, the policies needed to defeat the main enemy, the Tories. In 1964 the decision was taken to found a daily paper, in the knowledge that the capitalist crisis was maturing and that we must prepare to take our responsibilities.

This was achieved, after tremendous sacrifice and struggle by members and supporters, in September 1969. The paper has since gone from strength to strength. Here was one of the first and decisive requirements for the formation of a revolutionary party; not just to have a daily paper, which is indispensable, but to demonstrate the ability to decide that definite things are necessary and then to tenaciously win in the workers' movement the means to achieve these things.

The SLL is the British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. From its origins the Trotskyist movement has led the struggle on Marxist foundations against Stalinist bureaucracy. When Stalin and the bureaucracy in 1923-1924, imposed the programme of 'socialism in one country', they began the process of breaking up the Third (Communist) International of Lenin and Trotsky. Henceforth the Communist Parties of the world were subordinated to

the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy. From this followed the role of the British Communist Party in covering up for the betrayal by the TUC General Council of the 1926 General Strike and the surrender to Chiang Kai-shek resulting in defeat of the Chinese Revolution.

It was the same Stalinist bureaucracy which led the German working class into the defeat by Hitler in 1933, and the Spanish workers to defeat by Franco.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought to defend the gains of the October Revolution and the future of the international working class against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy. It was on these principles, those of the early years of the Communist International, that the Fourth International was founded in 1938.

## TROTSKYISM AND CENTRISM

The SLL fights for these same principles. We reject the revisionist ideas of the International Socialism group, which denounces the USSR as another 'state capitalist' country and refuses to defend the gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions against imperialism.

We reject also the betrayal of Marxism by the IMG, part of the international tendency (Pabloism), which has abandoned Trotsky's struggle for revolutionary parties independent of Stalinism and reformism. Both groups, like the Stalinists, have rejected Lenin's and Trotsky's analysis of modern capitalism as a period whose contradictions necessitate the revolutionary struggle for working-class power.

The politics of these revisionist groups is **centrism**: they seek a position in between revolutionary Marxism and bankrupt reformism. If they use Marxist phraseology it is only to remain in this position and divert the working class from its real tasks. They follow in the line of the

Independent Labour Party.

Like the ILP, they oppose the independent struggle of the Fourth International against bureaucracy, and always end up tied to the coat-tails of the Stalinists.

The working class itself goes through a process of conflict in moving from reformist illusions to revolutionary Marxism. For the ruling class it is essential that the working class is stopped or diverted along this road; and this is the role of the centrists and revisionists. At critical points, where the reformists are too discredited to hold back the working class, these centrists do their dirty work.

For this reason a constant struggle against the ideas and the practice of centrism is essential to the building of the revolutionary party. Our struggle is to unite in one party and to train in Marxism the most determined workers, youth and revolutionary intellectuals; in order to do this we must fight ceaselessly against the revisionists, whose role is to find every way of placing a question mark over the revolutionary role of the working class and the Marxist party.

As the working class moves leftward in struggle, these groups constitute a dangerous obstacle in the development of revolutionary consciousness, an obstacle which must and can be removed only on the basis of the theoretical capital of the Trotskyist movement.

For us, the struggle for Marxist theory, for the revolutionary party and against bureaucracy, has always been conducted by means of turning to the main question confronting the working class in struggle. For the British working class to break from its reformist traditions is the great historical question facing this class. But it cannot come about simply through propaganda.

The SLL and its Trotskyist predecessors have always fought, as did Lenin and Trotsky, on the programme of electing a Labour government, with a struggle in the mass movement for socialist policies and alternative leadership, in order to expose the reformist leaders and break the working class from them.

The fight today to turn every struggle to the bringing down

of the Tory government and election of a Labour government with socialist policies is this same fight. But the essence of this policy is the fight for an alternative leadership. What faces the British working class is not a swing of the electoral pendulum or a series of reforms, but working-class power and socialist expropriation of the monopolies. For this, a revolutionary party must be built which wins the support of the working class in struggle.

The SLL has fought against all the treacherous leaders of the labour movement and has built up the organization and the daily newspaper to make its programme known in the working class.

The SLL was formed in 1959, and its first major struggle in the early 1960s was to win the Young Socialists, then in the Labour Party, to Marxist policy and principles. Strengthened by the youth who joined the League in this successful struggle, the League then turned into the trade unions at the same time beginning the fight to establish its daily paper, the Workers Press.

The gains made in this struggle have brought our movement to a new stage, in which all the basic resources have been built to go forward from the League to the Party. This is because the building of the League and the Workers Press has gone forward step by step with the growing crisis of capitalism and the resistance of the working class.

In this historic situation the transformation of the League into the revolutionary party is a necessity. The first requirement for the working class is such a party, concentrating above all on the Marxist training of the decisive vanguard of workers and youth. On this firm foundation we shall eventually go forward to yet another stage, the mass party.

But the League in its present form remains inadequate to the great tasks confronting it. It must be expanded in size with hundreds of new members, and it must be transformed into a real party, which the class can see as a real alternative, able to provide the leadership required on all questions.

To transform the SLL into a party means to unite at a

higher level the record of struggle, the revolutionary experiences, the theoretical conquest and the leadership forged in the past. These gains are manifested in the tenacity, the decisiveness and the insistence on principle which more and more workers see in the Socialist Labour League.

These are the qualities, based fundamentally on the struggle for Marxist theory, now most necessary to the British working class. The grip of social democracy and Stalinism will be broken only by a party trained in dialectical materialism and the whole Marxist outlook.

The fight for theory and for principled politics, conducted against the opportunism and traditional theoretical backwardness of the British labour movement, can, under the present crisis conditions, lead to a great development for Marxism.

## WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The Socialist Labour League, transformed into a revolutionary party, will undertake a specific political task: to unite the working class behind a socialist programme to throw out the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government; to lead the struggle to expose and replace the Labour leaders who serve capitalism; to take the mass anti-Tory movement through the struggle for socialist policies under a Labour government; in this fight, to win many thousands to Marxism and throw out the reformist leaders of the trade union and labour movement.

Such a revolutionary party will work in the factories, the trade unions, youth movement, tenants' movement, among the unemployed, among students—wherever there is struggle against the Tory government—in order to present the real socialist alternative to these forces.

Members of the party will be the most active and leading fighters in every struggle on

wages, on jobs, on rents, on the social services and on democratic rights. But in these struggles they will be fighting first and foremost to build the political movement to throw out the Tories, at the centre of which is the assembling and training of the forces of the revolutionary party itself.

No one else will carry out these tasks. The more the working class fights, the more the reformist and Stalinist leaders run to the Tory enemy. All the time the crisis matures and there is no solution for the working class except the working-class conquest of state power and immediate socialist measures to break up capitalist ownership and power. The working class can be united on such a programme of measures to defend basic rights and to go forward to the throwing out of the Tories and the election of a Labour government on socialist policies.

The working class must completely reject the IMG and IS, who oppose the fight to elect a Labour government on socialist policies. They advance the ultra-left and adventurist argument that the Labour Party is already sufficiently discredited in the working class, thus substituting themselves for the class. At the same time, they refuse to fight to mobilize, politically the working class against the Tory government, on the grounds that the consciousness of the workers is confined to the level of economic struggles.

The SLL calls for the throwing out of the Tories and election of a Labour government in order to provide the real conditions in which millions of workers can see the Labour leaders and break from them in struggle. A Labour government brought in as the result of a mass movement strong enough to bring down the Tories would provide just such conditions. A Labour administration which went out in 1970 having failed to bring in 'In Place of Strife' would be thrust to the top of a movement demanding immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and all anti-working class legislation!

This demand for the election of a Labour government on socialist policies, is the indispensable step in preparing the working class for state power,

because it means above all the break from reformism.

## PROGRAMME TO UNITE THE WORKING CLASS

**1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.**

**2) The right to work!** Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure, as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

**3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions.** Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to

destroy state control of wages.

**4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system.** All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be disbanded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

**5) The right to a higher standard of living.** It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to appropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

**6) The right to health and welfare benefits.** Every Tory government cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist system.

**7) The right to decent housing.** Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have

the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied property.

**8) The international responsibilities of the working class.** The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all ex-colonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances.

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

## Letter

The *Workers Press* attempted in articles published on January 29, 30 and 31, 1973 to deal with the role of Stalinism in Greece without the serious application of the historical method. No mention at all of the role of Greek Trotskyism in the workers' movement today was made.

Further these articles made no mention of the following:

- 1) How and when the Greek Communist Party came under the influence of Stalinism; how and when the tremendous attack by Stalinism was made against Greek revolutionaries organized by the two groups—the Archeio Marxists and the group of P. Pouliopoulos—influenced by the International Left Opposition of Trotsky.
- 2) How and when did the Greek Trotskyist movement become one of the biggest sections of the International Left Opposition?
- 3) What was the role of the Greek section in the preparations for the founding of the Fourth International?
- 4) What was the role of the Trotskyists under the three oppressions of Nazi occupation, anti-Trotskyist Stalinists and the Greek bourgeois nationalists?
- 5) What was the role of the Greek Pabloite revisionists during the Second World War who laid the basis of the later betrayals when the Greek Trotskyists were fighting against fascism and Greek capitalism?

This history of the Greek Trotskyist movement is being written for publication in the near future. With this letter is a previous statement made in 1966 by the Central Committee of the Workers Vanguard when it was the official Greek section of the International Committee.

We are asking you to publish this letter and the statement to clarify internationally the role of Greek Pabloism during the Second World War.

Yours fraternally,

NICOLAOU

(*Workers Vanguard*)

February 7, 1973.

## The War Question and Pabloite Revisionism

### A Discussion Document by the 'Workers' Vanguard'

1. The crisis of the Fourth International began since the war, particularly since the Nazi occupation of Europe. At a time when the Third International was liquidating itself during the war, sunken deep in the quicksand of social patriotism, at a time when the Stalinist and Social-democratic parties were entering the service of the local bourgeois class and the imperialist war, and when a huge current of opportunism was spreading across the world led by the Soviet bureaucracy, it was impossible for the Fourth International not to feel these influences on the workers' movement.

2. Trotsky's ideas on war, and the Transitional Programme were and remain today the solid foundations of the Fourth Internationalist movement. It is precisely this (method of dialectical materialism be-

hind this programme), and the constant war against the attempts to revise it, which enabled the Fourth International to survive the world war upheaval. But it was not able to emerge completely unscathed from this upheaval. It was threatened by liquidation from the Pabloist tendency. The erosion process began from the position adopted by the International Secretariat towards the "Resistance movement" and the "struggle against the invader" during the period of occupation.

3. We believe, and we declared this together with Leon Trotsky, that occupations during the imperialist war are nothing but a phase, an incident of a smaller or greater significance of the prolonged war, and therefore it neither changes the relations of the capitalist forces, nor does it turn the occupied



countries into colonies. It neither raises a national question and a question of National Liberation, nor, finally, does it change the basic duties of the proletariat, i.e. the transformation of the war into a civil war. This position was defended by Lenin against Kautsky and his likes when he said that the character of war is determined by the particular class that is waging it, regardless of who is the invader, regardless of whether the "enemy" has set foot on "our land". The defence of the Fatherland under whatever capitalist governments (Russian absolutism, Prussian militarism, Democracy, Fascism) and under whatever "sugar-coated" slogan (anti-fascism etc.) amounts to betrayal of socialism.

4. The participation of the USSR in the war on the side of the imperialist "allies" does not change the character of the war either for the imperialists of both camps or for anyone else. And it does not change our strategy—Lenin's strategy—of revolutionary defeatism inside all the capitalist countries. "War is the continuation of peace-time politics with other means."

5. When Pablo writes in his article "20 years of the Fourth International" that: "The first time that we had to take a position on the national question during the war was as early as 1941" and that "this was in some way the result of the facts of the definite national oppression which will be the outcome of the enslavement of Europe by the Nazis, and of the beginnings of a class resistance against this oppression", he conceded in fact clearly that the occupation created a "national question" and a "definite national oppression" in Europe as a whole (our emphasis). "National question" and "definite national oppression" mean a struggle not for the class, social liberation, but for the national liberation. From this moment Lenin's line for the defeat of "our" fatherland is thrown overboard, and the deviation of Pabloism and the real betrayal of revolutionary defeatism begins.

6. If the I.S. condemned the "three points" of the German section I.K.D. it did so not because the latter placed the "struggle against Hitlerism" as the main duty, but rather because it divided in stages—in a Menshevik way—the duties of the "struggle against the invader" from the duty for the socialist revolution. Pablo too proceeded from the "national liberation struggle" and the struggle against the invader. But he raised the dilemma: "Should the national liberation struggle be the main, if not the only, objective or should it be secondary to the struggle for socialism?" In other words he posed for Europe a dilemma which might have been permissible for the colonies. Similarly our French section at the 1941 Conference declared "the need to combine the determined struggle against Hitler with the policy of fraternization with the German soldiers and opposes the policy of the National Front for the independence of France". In both these Pabloite variations "the determined struggle against Hitler" was basically opposite from the work to exploit the defeat of the fatherland and the social crisis which came out of its collapse for the goal of the overthrow of "our own" bourgeois class. Even without the "National Front" with the bourgeois class the front remained a national one. Even with the "fraternization with the German soldiers" (not however for the joint transformation of the war into civil war on both the opposing sides, but for the "determined struggle against Hitler" i.e. against the capitalist enemy of "our own" capitalism), all these were entirely a defence of "our own" fatherland.

7. The discrimination which Pablo makes (in the

same article) between the "National Resistance in a large defeated country like France and in small oppressed states like Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece", and the praising of Tito's tactics which "under conditions of Nazi occupation managed to enter the armed struggle based mainly on the peasantry and to orientate this struggle which began on the level of national liberation towards the social revolution", all this is nothing but deceptive grading of the capitalist countries in order to make a qualitative move over to the anti-fascist line which he lays down for the whole of Europe. He simply introduces the "new form of the revolution" where the rebellious peasantry carries out a "liberating struggle" with guerrilla warfare, "leading to socialism" and by passes the leading role of the proletariat. The characterization of the slogan of "national uprising" as "vulgar and deceptive" by the European Conference of 1944 is now rejected by the Pabloite tendency which calls this characterization itself a "vulgar and deceptive slogan of the sectarian tendency of the Fourth International".

8. The resistance movement both in the great and the small capitalist countries during the occupation is for us characterized thus:

- (a) by its subservience to the aims of the imperialist war.
- (b) by its double dependence on the imperialist General H.Q. and the Kremlin bureaucracy.
- (c) by its programme for "national unity", the "defence of the fatherland", "the defence of the independence and the wholeness of our country", "for an allied victory", "for a government of national liberation" etc.,—in short by its "anti-fascist tactic" in words but social-betrayal in action.
- (d) by its co-existing leadership of Stalinists, bourgeois-democratic generals, priests, etc.
- (e) by the consistent compromises of the Stalinists with the bourgeois class and at times even with the fascist right wing.
- (f) by its plebian, particularly peasant, base, which it managed to carry away with anti-fascist and pro-soviet slogans, and to exploit the masses and canalize their efforts to the "service for the allied victory".

9. The positions of the European Conference "for an end to the war" and for the "revolutionary upsurge", while proceeding from the correct position that the "proletariat must not be trapped by the slogan of the bourgeoisie and must prepare not for the national uprising but the socialist revolution", nonetheless smuggles in the national-liberation view that the proletariat "must not remain indifferent to the struggle of the masses against oppression by the German imperialists", and it proposes entryism in the "machinery" of the resistance movement on the pretext of the need for our participation "in the mass movement". The tactic of entry into the resistance guerrilla groups which were condemned as reactionary by the same 1944 Conference, meant nothing but conciliation with the Stalinist organizers of the "national defence", with their military discipline, the activity under the Middle East GHQ, and with the betrayal of the line of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, conciliations that undermined the foundations of the Fourth International.

This "entryist" tactic of the Pabloites had nothing in common with an attempt to exploit the patriotic illusions. On the contrary, it was a capitulation to the "objective conditions", to the Stalinist machinery of guerrilla warfare and its revival. This tactic later led to the "deep entry" tactics.

In Greece the capitulation to the mass "resistance" movement which was nourished on the "epic of the Albanian War" and on the unprecedented nationalism led the I.S. openly to attack our tendency of revolutionary defeatism which the I.S. condemned as "sectarian" for its opposition to "entryism", without defeating it, however. In this attack the IS went so far as to excuse the Stalinists for the mass murders of Trotskyists who fell under Lenin's and Trotsky's banner of the transformation of the war into civil war.

10. Socialism embraces the idea of the right of the oppressed, underdeveloped countries to freedom and defends their right to self-determination. But Lenin attacked forcefully social-traitors like Noske, Scheidemann, Renaudel, Longuet, Kautsky, Dan, Axelrod and company who on the pretext of standing for self-determination in World War I, assumed the right to defend the fatherland when the "enemy troops enter our territory". (Lenin.) Such "self-determination" was for Lenin "an insult to socialist theory and a shameless sophistry". (See Lenin *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.)

The Pabloite International Secretariat, in betraying these Leninist principles and objectively covering up the deception of the Atlantic Charter for self-determination of the nazi-held countries, condemned the left-wing tendencies of the Fourth International and particularly the Greek Trotskyists for "their sectarian negation of the existence of national oppression", or for "not taking a clear position on the question of self-determination because they failed to organize the struggle against German Imperialism under our banner, the banner of the revolutionary party". (What philistine hypocrisy this . . . internationalist spirit of the struggle against German Imperialism, which by . . . luck happened to be the enemy of our own bourgeoisie!!!...)

And again, we are accused of "underestimating the importance of working inside the popular resistance organizations". Thus the left wing of the Fourth International was clearly attacked, and this attack was based on an opportunist "national liberation" basis.

11. However, the opportunists could not reverse the historical laws of the revolutionary struggle of the class. By springtime in 1944 mutinies broke out in the Greek Army of the Middle East. The soldiers laid down their arms and shouted "Down with War". This was a significant event, a message for the social

revolution. The military chain broke at its weakest link, Churchill sent colonial troops to disarm the mutineer soldiers and the Middle East was filled with concentration camps. Thus they succeeded in preventing the mutiny from rising to revolution.

The Stalinists ran wild because this movement was undermining "the victory of the allies". They sold it out in return for their demand for a government of "national unity". Only the Trotskyists struggled to raise the movement to the road of civil war and socialist victory. But their forces were weak and were defeated.

12. The agreements in the Lebanon and Gazerta between the Stalinist E.L.A.S., the reactionary E.D.E.S., the Papandreou government and the allied H.Q., unanimously condemned the mutiny movement, took an oath of allegiance to the "government of national unity" (Papandreou), voted for disciplinary steps against the mutineers and against all those who might attempt to take power, and placed all guerrilla and government forces under the direction of the butcher of the Colonial and the December Revolutions, General Scoby.

The Lebanon and Gazerta agreements and the Varkiza agreement for the disarming of 70,000 E.L.A.S. guerrillas after December rising were condemned as a "mistake" by the C.P. of Greece. But the Stalinists followed, from Stalin to Thorez, Tito, Togliatti, Zachariades, and Mao, this line was never condemned. Because this was the very essence of Stalinist opportunism. Thus the Resistance Movements were enlisted in the National Armies and were represented on the capitalist governments under the slogan of "Reconstruction", i.e. first of all hard work (for capitalist reconstruction).

13. The Third International died in 1933 and was formally dissolved in 1934. But the Fourth International, based on Trotsky's ideas and on the living Transitional Programme is not dead. During the war it underwent a deep transformation, i.e. two basic tendencies took shape. The right-wing opportunist Pabloite tendency degenerated further in the subsequent stages of the Fourth Internationalist movement. The left tendency, maintaining the Trotskyist traditions alive in constant struggle against revisionism, is now grouped around the I.C. The Fourth International lives on in the I.C. which has the task of becoming the central axle of the reconstruction of the world proletarian Trotskyist movement.

March, 1966.

# Reply to 'Workers Vanguard'

from the Greek Section of the International Committee

BEFORE WE begin to comment on the theses of the 'Workers Vanguard' on Pabloite revisionism and the Fourth International in the war, we must make an observation, perhaps of secondary importance, but a necessary one:

The writer of this letter demands that comrade Jack Gale should know inside out the history of the Greek working-class movement of the last 50 years, and even complains because Jack Gale did not set it out in his article on the role of Greek Stalinism.

Now the question arises immediately: How is it possible for our friend Nikolaou to complain about this movement, a movement in their own country, when he and his group have not written a single word about it? About the civil war, the most turbulent period of modern Greek history, they have, indeed, formulated theses. But a quarter of a century after the conclusion of the civil war they have never tried to set out and analyse the historical events in order to help whoever is interested in criticizing the theses of the 'Workers Vanguard' to do so in the only possible way, i.e. confronting these theses in their historical framework.

They do not have a monopoly of silence. The Stalinists also have ostentatiously condemned the past to eternal oblivion. In both cases the cause is the same: the issues involved are dangerous for them.

Now Nikolaou announces to us that some history of the Greek Trotskyist movement is going to be published in the near future. We shall see.

## Dialectics and Dead Schemata

The document of the 'Workers Vanguard' *The War Question and Pabloite Revisionism* stirs up historical questions. This is not accidental. Today's social and economic crisis is a disturbance not only of the most important and fundamental relations but also to the very smallest. And when this happens, everyone is obliged to interpret

these disturbances, to return to the history of these relations, which have evolved through conflicts.

Marxists realize every retracing of history consciously in order consciously to bring the present into conflict with the past, to negate the past within the present, not in a sterile way, not with scepticism and doubt, but in a creative way, preserving everything positive and developing knowledge through the negation of the negation, to a higher level, which will also be negated in their new practice.

However, if the approach to historical questions must not be sceptical, this does not mean that it must be apologetic. But from the ideological fathers of the 'Workers Vanguard', we have not seen up to now anything but apologetics. Instead of struggling to overcome their errors of the period of the Occupation and civil war in Greece—errors which must objectively be characterized as criminal—they are interested only in 'justifying' themselves, and thus they become incapable of drawing the necessary lessons about the methodological roots of their errors, as well as about the roots of Pabloite revisionism, with the result that they are not able today to fight for the Fourth International.

We do not have to go far to ascertain this apologetic disposition of theirs. Their document had been submitted at the 3rd Congress of the International Committee in 1966. In paragraph two they wrote:

'Trotsky's ideas on war, and the Transitional Programme were and remain today the solid foundations of the 4th Internationalist movement. It is precisely this programme, and the constant war against the attempts to revise it, which enabled the 4th International to survive the world war upheaval.'

In the copy they have now delivered, paragraph two has been amended in this way:

'It is precisely the method of dialectical materialism behind this programme, and the constant war

against the attempts to revise it, which enabled the 4th International . . . etc.'

In this way the letter writer uses the conceptions he had in the past to bring himself into harmony with what he understands to be the 'fashion' of the epoch, i.e., the emphasis placed by the IC on the dialectical method.

But the question of the dialectical materialist method is to be found at the centre of the period under discussion and is essential for the understanding how Pabloite revisionism appeared. And this question (of the dialectical method) cannot be put aside solely because the letter writer made an insertion with his pen in the printed copy.

But beyond this, the dialectical method is neither a fashion nor a patent that we frame and hang on our wall. It must be consciously adapted to thought and practice. For this reason, and while we have all the goodwill to ignore the amendment, the rest of the document does not at all convince us that its composers ever gave dialectical materialism this prominent position.

It is precisely here that the essence of the matter is to be found—in the dialectical method. This method is in reality the deepest theoretical foundation of the Fourth International, which enabled it to survive in the International Committee and to defend its programme. On the contrary, wherever central importance was not given to the struggle for the training of revolutionary cadres on the basis of dialectical materialism the result was a sliding back to the idealist philosophy of the ruling class, revisionism, liquidationism and finally the rejection of the Transitional Programme.

We do not wish here to perform acrobatics with the history of the international Trotskyist movement, which must be studied and written seriously. But so far as Greece is concerned, we are well aware that the long deprivation of the Trotskyist movement of its proven and theoretically developed leaders—like P. Pouliopoulos—who were rotting in prison, and who finally were shot by the Fascists or murdered by the Stalinists, was a serious reason for the Greek section to slide slowly into a situation where Marxism was confronted more as a storehouse of schemata than from the standpoint of dialectical materialism as a theory of knowledge.

P. Pouliopoulos, particularly after 1936, in the prisons of the Metaxas dictatorship, declared war, as he said, 'against the schematic blocks of stone which fill the heads of Greek Communists'. This struggle was interrupted. And the result was that his comrades who lived and continued the struggle were unable to conceive what was continually new in reality, which was being rapidly transformed; they turned their backs on the contradictions of the class struggle, they created childish schemata about how things should (!) have been, they compared in a sterile ultimatic way the 'programme' to the living movement of the working class, and they hoped fatalistically that this programme—the substitution for method—would win the following of the broad masses. All this,

when they did not abandon themselves to the 'spontaneity' of the masses.

When one is aware of this neglect of the dialectical method and the elevating of the programme to a 'foundation' (and indeed a 'solid' one), it is possible to be horrified with the theses of the 'Workers Vanguard' on the Occupation and the civil war, but not surprised

We must note here that we speak above about the Trotskyist section and not about the 'Workers Vanguard' ('Workers Struggle' at that time). Its ideological leaders originate from the middle-class revolutionary organization of 'Archeiomarxism', which dissolved in 1933-1934, and from which they never consciously broke. So as far as the leaders of 'Workers Struggle' are concerned, they always found themselves in disagreement with the dialectical method of Marxism.

As it appears from the theses stated in this document, the 'Workers Struggle' group condemned every conflict of the Greek working class with the German-Italian Occupation Authorities as reactionary and social-patriotic, which meant participation in the imperialist war on the side of the 'Allies'. By identifying the movement of the working class and the other oppressed masses with its Stalinist leadership, it characterized EAM-ELAS (organizations of the CPG) as 'of a reactionary nature' and 'an extension of Anglo-Saxon imperialism'.

They wrote:

' . . . The Resistance movement came into the service of the war, of imperialism, of the national bourgeoisie and of the conservation of the status quo. All the militant offensive groups (Popular Home Guard, guerrilla bands) with their nationalist and reactionary military practice, entered formally and essentially into the service of national capitalism and the imperialist headquarters and contributed to the re-establishment of the army and the bourgeois state.

'8. The practice of the Resistance movement with guerrillas, sabotage, national mobilizations, because of its nationalist nature, the objective targets it set, the class character of its leadership and the methods of struggle it accepted, has nothing in common with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and remains reactionary and counter-revolutionary to the core. Its victory in various countries after the liberation gave yet another corroboration of the correctness of our assessment.

'9. The Resistance movement . . . was a terrible brake on the development of the revolutionary movement, it drove the soldiers of the occupation to be tied to the chariot of the bourgeoisie of their own countries, it undermined and objectively struck a blow to the European revolution.

'10. To the Resistance movement and especially to its leadership the revolutionary party and the proletariat took and were obliged to take a strict stand of irreconcilable hostility, exposing their foul nationalist and chauvinist role . . .' (*Internal Bulletin*, International Secretariat, 4th International, April 1947, Volume II, No 14.)

Irreconcilable hostility, therefore, not only to the leadership, but to the movement itself of the masses, who played a 'foul nationalist and chauvinist role'! These are the logical results of the irreconcilable hostility of formalism to the

dialectical method . . .

The formalist ultra-lefts erased with one stroke of the pen all the contradictions through which the real struggle moved: the contradiction between the patriotism of the bourgeoisie and the 'patriotism' of the masses, and the fighting base of EAM-ELAS and its Stalinist leadership, between the nature of the movement and the programmatic targets set by the Stalinists, etc., etc.

That is, they did what Trotsky warned against:

'Ultra-left scholastics think not in concrete terms but in empty abstractions. They have transformed the idea of defeatism into such a vacuum. They can see vividly neither the process of war nor the process of revolution. They seek a hermetically sealed formula which excludes fresh air. But a formula of this kind can offer no orientation for the proletarian vanguard.' (L. Trotsky, 'Learn to Think', *Writings* 1938-1939.)

With these theses on the 'resistance' movement, the Archeiomarxists of the 'Workers Struggle' came into conflict with the comrades of Poulipoulos, in that epoch, and these theses—of irreconcilable hostility towards the mass movement which was led by the Stalinists—were written on their banner when they broke with the Pabloites in 1958.

This was their right. But they go even further. They propose these theses as a foundation for the International Committee. But the IC separated itself from the Pabloites for exactly the opposite reasons that they 'separated'. The IC fought and is fighting against the revisionists first and foremost for the materialist dialectic as the theory of knowledge of Marxism, against the idealist philosophy of the bourgeoisie, which is found at the basis of the attempt of every sort of revisionist to transform Marxism into a repository of empty and static schemata.

It is characteristic that the former leaders of the 'Workers Struggle' and now leaders of the 'Workers Vanguard' never spoke about the character of the historical epoch, nor about the way that within it (in that epoch) the movement was formed and developed, the movement which they, together with the Stalinists, call 'national resistance'.

### Plebeian Revolution

The sharpest clash between Trotskyism and Stalinism in our country had as its epicentre the character of the coming revolution. Up to 1934, the Communist Party believed that the revolution would be proletarian. Suddenly, its Stalinist leaders discovered that there existed in Greece such important remnants of feudalism that the character of the revolution would inevitably be bourgeois-democratic. The power it would establish would not be the dictatorship of the proletariat but some 'democratic dictatorship' which the working class would exercise in partnership with the 'medium-poor' peasants.

The leader of Greek Trotskyism, P. Poulipoulos, answered the Stalinists from prison with his book *Democratic or Socialist Revolution in Greece?* In this book, Poulipoulos shattered the anti-

dialectical method of the Stalinists and ripped apart their historical and economic criteria, on which they were trying to base the new orientations and the tasks they set for the Greek proletariat.

But it was not only the Stalinists who regarded the coming revolution as democratic. From 1933 the Archeiomarxists had launched an analogous theory: the Greek 'Kerenskyada'. According to this, Greece, like Russia, would have her 'February' and her Kerensky before she managed to proceed to her own October.

Today, the Stalinists have amended the obviously mistaken position they adopted in 1934. Not, of course, in order to return to the road of the proletarian revolution, but to cover up their renegacy with more refined pretences. The leaders of the Workers Vanguard, too, admit today that Poulipoulos was right on this question, and not the 'Archeio'. But they never understood the essence of the differences. Poulipoulos did not fight the Stalinists and the Archeiomarxists by appealing to the superiority of Socialism in relation to bourgeois democracy, but he showed with his materialist analysis where the historical process was inevitably leading.

The question was not for the Communists to decide on the character of the coming revolution, but to conceive what character it could objectively have and correspondingly to prepare themselves politically and organizationally to lead in the mass struggles.

The democratic slogans the Stalinists adopted and with which they fought during the period of the occupation, expressed the crossing of the CPG to the camp of the bourgeoisie, but this did not at all mean that we would be led in this way to a democratic revolution. Only people accustomed to thinking in prefabricated schemata could put the question in this way. In Greece, historical development had long ago left behind it the stage of the democratic and national struggles. When the class struggle developed to the point of revolution, it would inevitably take on a proletarian character. It happened precisely like this in the period of the German Occupation, against the wishes of the Stalinists who were trying to limit the movement to the 'patriotic' struggle against the 'occupier'. A study of the historical events of the epoch will confirm it.

The national democratic revolution took place in our country in 1821, against Ottoman rule. But for its completion, the Greek bourgeoisie had to carry out a series of 'peaceful' revolutions, led by Army officers. We mention this precisely because the leaders of the Workers Vanguard see nothing in the civil war of 1943-1949 except a violent repetition of the revolutions of the bourgeoisie.

With this mind, they speak in paragraph eight about some 'plebeian, particularly peasant base'. The same formulation appears in their document as well, the one published in 1947 in the *Internal Bulletin* of the International Secretariat.

In another of their articles, entitled 'The December Events and the Proletariat', published

in the journal *Internationalist* two decades after the civil war, they are categorical:

'. . . Behind the ELAS movement, in the background of social developments, a plebeian revolution, whose leadership led it towards degeneration and capitulation, was reproduced and evolved under the pressure of objective events.

'. . . it is nothing other than the movement of the lowest and poorest layers of the middle classes, which drag along behind them sections of the proletariat with more or less class consciousness, such as were all the plebeian movements after the bourgeois revolution of 1789.' (They mean the Great French Revolution.)

This 'plebeian' revolution is not at all far removed from the Archeiomarxist 'Kerenskyada' or the 'medium-poor' revolution of the Stalinists, or Pablo's 'Jacobin' revolution. If it bears any relation to Trotskyism, it is that it constitutes its negation.

### The 'First Round'

The 'Workers Struggle' considered EAM-ELAS to be a movement, not only bourgeois 'plebeian' but also an extension of the Anglo-Saxon imperialist front. One would be able to finish with them by putting to them today (today, when life has noisily given them the lie) the question: what would have happened if EAM-ELAS had won?

They would not need to search very far for the answer because this is shouted out all along the northern border of the country. And then all discussion with them about the nature of EAM-ELAS and about the social significance of the civil war would fail to be of any interest.

Let us insist however on details. Let us show what were the real relations of EAM-ELAS with the British imperialist front and with the Greek reaction.

We do not find a better way to do this here than to begin by quoting an extract from a telegram sent by the British Brigadier Myers, of the 'Allied Mission' in the Greek mountains to the 'Allied Middle East Headquarters'.

'X.12 August 1943. Strictly confidential 85-4 A.S.

General Papagos does not have any influence of the Greek army. And he is considered a ridiculous person. His organization is not worth speaking about. The political and military organization EDES made important progress, especially in Epirus. It needs however to be supplied with war material and moral support. In my opinion, this band will be useful to us as a counter balance against ELAS and it may be that we will use it against EKKAS when it is strengthened. One day it will be necessary to dissolve ELAS in order to be certain that Tito will not have armed and dynamic allies in Greece.

I mention to you that I executed your orders and I support as much as possible the small political and military band of EKKKA without however making my dispositions apparent. The commander of EKKKA, Colonel Psarros is honourable and constant in his promises to us. His political advisers Kapsalopoulos and Kartalis continually ask for economic aid, and I do not know to what extent they make good use of the sums we give them. As I have learned, a great amount is spent by them on their personal

affairs. At any rate, both until now have worked towards the dissolution of ELAS. I consider that it would be useful for our agents to be in contact with representatives of the government [Editor's note: the Rallis government], that is with higher officers, police etc. for the purpose of driving home the idea that they have the duty and the right to inform on the commanders of EAM and ELAS to the Occupation Authorities and to aid in the arrest of the agents of EAM and ELAS so that when the time comes these organizations will not be able to damage English interests. From this point of view, the organization of EDES did many things. It informed to Colonel Dertilis and the Minister Tavoularis on several active members of EAM and ELAS who are now in the hands of the Germans and generally of the Occupation Authorities.

General Spiliotopoulos works exclusively for the king and considers that ELAS must be dealt with even to the detriment of the allied affair in Greece. . . .'

A month after the date of this telegram, in September 1943, EDES pushes its detachments forward from Epirus into the Zagorios-Konitsa area. In October, it attacks the 2nd Company of the 1/15 Battalion of ELAS, in the village Tsepelovo. Then, while it never stops its provocations and arrests of EAM-ites, it generalizes its attack against the 3/40 and 24 Regiments of ELAS, in Tzoumerkou of Soulios and against the 15th Regiment in the Mourkgana-Kasidiaris area (see *Chronicle of the Resistance: To Arms, to Arms*).

In October 1943, ELAS is obliged to launch a large counter-attack. Its fighters, although they are not so well trained and organized, overcome EDES, whose resistance is very rapidly collapsing and whose men are in danger of being captured, with their impetuosity.

But suddenly, a surprise: An unforeseen saviour of EDES appears: the Germany army which for the first time intervenes in the Greek mountains. The German detachments take up a position between the two camps and strike ELAS which is obliged to abandon—temporarily—the operation and to withdraw.

The episode is also recalled by the British Major Edgar O'Ballance in his book *The Greek Civil War*.

'This failure was a disappointment to EAM/ELAS, and another one followed. EAM/ELAS had been of the opinion that the Germans were completely indifferent to what was going on in the mountains away from the beaten track, but this was not so. Having lulled the guerrillas into a false sense of security, German forces struck hard when they had just paused for breath, attacking them from both the western and the eastern sides of the Pindus Mountains. German units cut right into the mountainous areas and got in amongst the guerrilla units. The very best of the ELAS fighters could not stand up even to second-rate German troops, and were compelled to disengage rapidly and withdraw in order to survive.'

However, ELAS resumed operations in January 1944 and continued them until February. Its blows were now very strong. EDES would not be able to recover its strength any more. If the leaders of

the CPG had wanted to, they would have been able to dissolve it conclusively. But, while the battle continued, they met in the village Myrophilo with a delegation from EDES, EKKA and the British Mission in order to negotiate a truce.

The Myrophilo truce was the first link in the chain of betrayals by the CPG. As the British expressed it, 'without the Myrophilo truce, the Lebanon Conference would not have been possible, and without the Caserta Agreement the Lebanon Conference would have been unfruitful'. (C. M. Woodhouse, *Apple of Discord*.)

But after the truce the battles between ELAS and the armed bands of reaction did not stop for a moment. The provocations at ELAS's expense continued also on the part of 5/42, which had been dissolved by ELAS in May 1943, but arose again after an intervention by the leadership of the CPG.

Major Capentzonis and Captain Dedousis had a field day at the expense of EAM and its followers. Dedousis, on March 4, 1944, declared the region North Doridos under a state of siege. He arrested a member of the District Committee of EAM, Fokidas, at Pentagioi. Subsequently he disarms the headquarters of the reserve ELAS of Doridos and the militant bands of Pentagioi, Krokyleios and other neighbouring villages. He murders Varsos, the person responsible for ELAS of Krokyleios. He cuts the telephone lines and, taking hostages, moves towards the South Mornos region in order to join with Capentzonis' Battalion in order to confront the counter-attack of ELAS. And in fact, ELAS surrounds the 5/42 at the place Klimata and liquidates it following a battle. The men of the 5/42 who escaped went from there to Patras where they were enlisted in the Security Battalions of the Occupation government of I. Rallis.

In these battles of ELAS with EDES and the 5/42, the reaction saw what was really happening. It characterized them as the 'first round' of the civil war. When it was finally imposed, with the aid of the British and American imperialists, it declared that the country had 'been saved from Communism'!

But for the Stalinists and the Archeiomarxists, there existed only 'national resistance'. Their persistence today in this same reactionary view demonstrates a complete contempt for the historical events or their complete distortion. So we see in paragraph 11 of the theses of the 'Workers Vanguard' that they write:

'By springtime in 1944 mutinies broke out in the Greek Army of the Middle East. The soldiers laid down their arms and shouted "Down with War". This was a significant event, a message for the social revolution.'

All this is an oriental myth. (If the history of the movement they are going to publish will be like this, we would be better off without it.) The sectarians put historical events on Procrustes' bed. In one place they cut them, in another they stretch them like elastic, to make them fit into their wooden mould.

In the Middle East, there was a Greek army

of 20,000. Besides the crews of the Greek fleet, who sailed to Alexandria after the capitulation, most of the soldiers were volunteers, from Greece or from the Greek communities in Egypt. And not only did they not lay down their arms, crying 'Down with War', but they fought the Germans furiously. They believed that they were fighting fascism in this way. Within the camps they seized the reactionary officers and had set up a regime of dual command. The reaction and the British imperialists replied with arrests and murders. On April 2, 1944, after dispatching a vote which supported PEEA (PEEA—short-lived government in the mountains which was formed by the Stalinists on March 10, 1944) the British surrounded the Greek units and the ships in the harbour of Alexandria, cut off the provisions of the soldiers and sailors and obliged them to give themselves up out of thirst. Following that, they put the soldiers and sailors in concentration camps, in the deserts of Libya and Eritrea, and many died there of privation, illness and hardship. The British kept only 2,500, of whom most were former gendarmes, and grouped the so-called 'Mountain Brigade' which a short time later was used as a counter-revolutionary body.

The events were like this. We find within them crystal clear the social revolution and we do not need to create other, imaginary events, that fit into childish schemata.

The 'Workers Vanguard', instead of intervening independently in this revolution, took a stand of 'irreconcilable hostility'. When the working class was fighting in December 1944 in the streets of Athens, at the barricades, there is no other word for one to characterize such errors, except as treachery. Such a political line, which cannot be corrected at the moment when the whole country has found itself in the fire of civil war, is something more than simple confusion.

### Pabloite Revisionism

In every case, let us suppose that it is never too late for one to correct old mistakes and to draw the necessary lessons. There is no question however that the critique of these mistakes constituting 'Pabloism', as the 'Workers Vanguard' maintains, nor that Pabloite revisionism appeared in the Fourth International during the war, precisely through the critique made by the International Secretariat on the stand of 'irreconcilable hostility' towards EAM-ELAS held by the 'Workers Struggle'.

This does not mean that in the period of the war there did not exist sections of the Fourth International that acted opportunistically and social-patriotically. The French section, for example, said: 'We are obliged to make the maximum efforts to influence the bourgeois side to create with us a party, a national resistance movement.' (*Verité*, November 1940.) This position was no less reactionary than the positions of the 'Workers Struggle' in Greece. Also, in both cases **there** exists, as a common denominator, the abandonment of the dialectical materialist method.

But you can call this opportunism Pabloism,

just as you could call Eduard **Bernstein** a Pabloite. From one point of view, you would certainly not fall short of the mark, because in every case the **essence** is the same: subordination to the bourgeoisie and its capitalist system. But in this way you would approach all the forms of opportunism and revisionism with supra-historical schemata, not with the dialectic, and you would not be able to draw a single lesson from the struggle waged by the International Committee against this concrete form of revisionism—Pabloism.

The appearance of Pabloism is connected to the extension of the revolution in Eastern Europe through the Red Army of the USSR, to the cold war, to the Keynesian policies of imperialism, with the 'de-Stalinization', the national revolutions in the colonial countries, and with many other events of the post-war period, and it cannot be really understood outside this framework.

From its own viewpoint, the 'Workers Vanguard' treats the past in its own eclectic and empirical way. It takes certain external features of Pabloite policy (especially, in relation to the guerrilla movements, entryism or the role of the peasantry), it creates a dead and supra-historical schema and tries to compare it with the critiques made on its own theses in the Occupation.

The demand 'for the decisive struggle against Hitler to be combined with the policy of fraternization with the German soldiers', or any attention whatsoever to the fight against German imperialism, the enemy of 'our own' bourgeoisie, according to the leaders of the Workers Vanguard, was 'smuggling in Pabloism'. Finally, the clearest manifestation of Pabloite corrosion during the Occupation, was the stern criticism the Inter-

national made of the WV's sectarian policies.

And another thing, not a humorous anecdote but something they claim in all **seriousness**: The leaders of the Workers Vanguard **discover** elements of Pabloism in the Greek working-class movement as early as 1922! Argument: the fighters who at that time supported one point of view or another and were followers of Pantelis Pouliopoulos and not of the Archeio, wound up as Pabloites! Result: the leaders of the middle-class revolutionary group of Archeiomarxism and protagonists of the well-known leftist policies in the Occupation are elevated in this way to the prime opponents of Pabloism, to the forerunners of the post-war International Committee. With this sleight-of-hand trick which is based on complete contempt of the dialectic—the essence of Marxism—the apologetics of the policies of pre-war Archeiomarxism and its followers, during the period of the Occupation, are disguised as a theoretical interpretation of Pabloism.

One could add that on the basis of this method and with a little consistency and daring, the leaders of the Workers Vanguard would be able to go as far as saying that Pabloism is the legitimate child of Trotskyism. They would, perhaps, be able to go even further.

Our subject can be dealt with at much greater length. But up to this point, a conclusion of invaluable importance can be drawn: The revolutionary party, which will lead the working class to power in the present crucial epoch, cannot be built without the most irreconcilable fight for dialectical materialism as the theory of **knowledge** of Marxism, against this formal, schematic and empirical thought.



## Prologue

WE DID NOT decide to write these articles about the civil war by accident, nor with the intention of writing 'history'. We were obliged to concern ourselves with this so-recent but so-obscure period, from the concrete needs of the struggle waged today against the military capitalist dictatorship.

After the coup d'état of April 21, 1967, and after the crisis and split in the CPG, a series of newspapers and journals of the so-called 'anti-dictatorial resistance' movement suddenly began to concern themselves intensely with the civil war, after so many years of absolute silence. This phenomenon is striking but not inexplicable: It reflects the fact that the working class itself returns to the history of its struggles, in an attempt to explain the battle-less defeat of 1967, which puts it under the yoke of the Papadopoulos junta.

It was natural, within this so crucial epoch of history, for the working class to wonder what, after all, is the role of the CPG, which it built itself and which has led it to repeated catastrophes.

But it is true that the answer to this vital question demands a return to the even more distant past: to the struggle between Stalinism and Bolshevism (Trotskyism) within the CPG; the defeat and expulsion of the Bolshevik wing of the Party; its theoretical and political degeneration, which was followed by a change in both its programme and its composition. Why the CPG made the programme of middle-class radical democracy (this deadly trap for the proletariat in the imperialist epoch) its own, why men like Petsopoulos, Glinos and others—from theoreticians of Venizelism—appeared in its ranks as theoreticians of Marxism.

Above all it is necessary for one to study this period—the turn of the CPG—as part of the transformation of the whole of the Third Com-

munist International, of its degeneration, of the degeneration of the USSR, the first workers' state, and of the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism within the Bolshevik Party in Russia.

Whatever happened in Greece during the Occupation and the civil war had its roots in this past. And when we speak of a real understanding of historical events—indispensable to today's struggles—we are speaking exactly of an understanding from the 'roots'.

When one comes into contact, face to face, with the monstrous and criminal treacheries of the CPG in the civil war, the need for a deep study and interpretation of the historical nature of Stalinism itself as a world current within the working-class movement, presents itself as imperative.

If these articles incite the fighters of the working-class movement to such a study, then they have fulfilled their purpose. They have made a gain in the struggle in healing old wounds of the movement within the building of a new revolutionary party, which, enlightened by the bitter experience of past defeats, will now lead the working class to victory and to the taking of power.

We must finally note that when we tried to investigate the events of the civil war, we came up against the total lack of historical references on the part of the CPG. Besides a semi-official 'chronicle', and this itself incomplete, nothing else has been written, despite the fact that the CPG was then at the centre of events.

The CPG really does not dare to write its own history. And as can be ascertained from our narrative, this is the best thing the Stalinists could do for their own self-preservation.

## The 'Resistance' Movement

The armed forces of Hitler and Mussolini, after having broken the resistance of the Greek bourgeois army which had lasted several months, placed the country under their occupation. On April 26, 1941, they entered Athens. The period which had begun was to be the most convulsive in modern Greek history, a period of great trials, for the working masses, but also for the capitalist *status quo*.

Before Mussolini declared war in October 1940, the monarchist-Metaxas dictatorship which had governed the country for almost four years had rejected an Italian ultimatum which demanded free use of Greek territory by Axis forces as a supply route and a base for their operations in the Middle East.

The Glucksburg monarchy and the Greek bourgeois class, attached to British imperialism, were determined to resist and to drown the Greek people in blood in defending the road which led to the oil of Monsouli and the East. This was

the meaning of the famous 'NO' of the monarchist-Metaxas dictatorship which has been celebrated ever since with displays of 'emotion' by the whole of the reaction and the Stalinists.

Thousands of Greek soldiers left their bones on the inaccessible mountain tops of the Epirus and in the mud of Albania in the interests of the British monopolies and local capitalists. The real Communists cursed the ruling class for the mass human sacrifice to the monster of imperialist war and were not sorry in the least about the collapse of the front.

The Greek working class and poor peasants had no obligation to spill their blood for ruling-class interests. There was certainly a mortal hatred for the fascist regimes of Hitler and Mussolini. But the monarchist-Metaxas dictatorship was no less hated. And if the soldiers fought under its emblems, they did so only at gunpoint.

But, if it was incomprehensible how the Communists came out in favour of the resistance of

the working class to the intervention under the leadership of the monarchist-Metaxas dictatorship, this did not mean that the installation of the German-Italian Occupation Authorities did not change anything in their lives, as in the lives of other working people. Fascism had not entered Greece wearing white gloves. It harshly oppressed the workers in Italy and Germany and it needed neither provocation nor pretext to do the same and worse in Greece. From the beginning it established a regime of black servitude and brutal violence. It was not from a 'misunderstanding' that the word 'occupation' passed into the vocabulary of the Greek people as a synonym for mortal starvation and conditions where the lives of ordinary people were worth no more than a bullet.

No one has ever forgotten the nightmarish winter of 1941, when thousands of people died like dogs in the streets, swollen from starvation and with their skin black from the frost. No one has forgotten the barefoot battalions of skeleton-like youth who risked their lives to take a loaf of bread from a German lorry. No one has forgotten the disembowelling of pregnant women, the shootings without warning, the blockades, the commandeering of houses, the murderous face of the SS.

For this reason the resistance was not long in showing itself, a desperate struggle of the working class and the peasants for survival. In this struggle, the masses did not have opposite them their 'own' bourgeois class, whose state had dissolved and whose 'government' was in Cairo. They were confronted, mainly, by an oppressive power concentrated in the hands of the Occupation Authorities, in the hands of an alien 'occupier'.

What was the social character of this struggle and what was its true slogan? Perhaps the fact that the working class was confronting the German-Italian army effaced the class character of the struggle and introduced tasks of national liberation?

The Stalinist leaders of the CPG gave a positive answer to this question. They regarded the struggle which had begun not only as a continuation of the Albanian 'epic' but also of the national struggles of the Greek people which began in 1821.

During World War I the Bolsheviks, and especially Lenin and Trotsky, had given to the whole of the world Socialist movement lessons in class orientation and internationalism. True to the declarations of the Socialist conference of Zimmerwald, they denounced every idea of defence of the Tsarist fatherland, defied the knout and Siberia, and, making use of the conditions created by the war, they raised the banner of Socialist revolution.

But in the CPG, degenerate to the very marrow, these lessons had been long forgotten. The Stalinists were marching along the road of social-patriotism and of betrayal, which the Social Democrats had opened in the First World War. When war was declared, the leader of the CPG, N. Zachariades, in a letter written in prison, asked the dictator Metaxas to allow the political prisoners to fight the Italians in the first line of the front. For the duration of the occupation the CPG continued along the same chauvinistic road.

Despite all this, the character of the struggle of the masses could not be determined by the chauvinistic policies of the CPG nor by the policies of any other leadership. This was a question decided by the character of the historical epoch itself. And without a deep understanding of this fact, there could not have been, during the occupation, really revolutionary policies.

There were however, organizations which, while they spoke in the name of Marxism and came into opposition to the CPG, approached this question in a subjective way, starting from the policies and programme of the Stalinists.

Marxism means consistent materialism: To accept first of all the material existence of this world in a state of becoming through contradictions. To start therefore from the fact that it is



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A Reply

not men who make decisions according to their subjective desires, about the stages of history, even though these are realized by their own actions.

Marxism is the consciousness of the objective and spontaneous becoming, and not a schema which can be imposed. We do not need to emphasize that it has nothing in common with fatalism: Man makes his history. He does so, however, in conditions which he does not choose, but inherits.

So, for Greece, the national and patriotic struggles had long since ended. The imperialist war certainly gave birth again to all the barbarism of past epochs, like that of the Turkish domination, but it was not possible to bring the past to life.

When we refer to history, we often speak of returning to the past. This is, however, only a conventional expression. History never repeats itself. In Greece, the Occupation and the war, with all their savagery, could not recreate a 'national question'. The struggle of the Greek workers against the Occupation Authorities, not simply 'should' not, but *could not* have been a national struggle against the 'occupier'. Despite its national colouring, which it possibly took in the initial stage, it was in essence necessarily a class struggle.

Did the armed struggle of the Greek workers against the Occupation Authorities perhaps mean a participation in the patriotic war of the bourgeoisie—in the imperialist war, as certain sectarians maintained? (Remnants of Archeio-marxism and Defeatists.)

It is sufficient for one to draw out the logic of this view to the end, in order to ascertain its absolute illogicality: War is a continuation of politics. And if the armed struggle of the proletariat for its demands, in conditions of imperialist war, meant an involvement in that war, then every 'peaceful' form of struggle as well—for example a strike—would have the same meaning, because it would benefit one of the belligerent camps while damaging the other. So by adopting this sectarian conception, the Greek working class, as long as the war continued, would have had nothing else to say to the Nazis and the occupation government except 'slaughter me, master, so I can become a saint'.

The character of a war is determined by the class which is waging it. The capitalists are able to lead in imperialist wars, not the working class!

With the occupation of Greece by the Germans, the bourgeois state dissolved and the working class was not acting under the leading class in society, the bourgeoisie. With these conditions, its struggle against the Occupation Authorities could in no case have been a continuation of the imperialist war. Besides, the working class never undertook this war. The sectarians, like the Stalinists, who saw 'patriotism' in the struggle of the working class against the 'Jerries', confused it lamentably with the patriotism of the bourgeoisie.

Just before the imperialist war broke out, L. Trotsky, in the Transitional Programme of the

Fourth International, warned about the necessity of making a distinction here:

'When the small farmer or worker speaks about the defence of the fatherland, he means defence of his home, his family and other similar families from invasion, bombs and poison gas. The capitalist and his journalist understand by defence of the fatherland the seizure of colonies and markets, the predatory increase of the "national" share of world income. Bourgeois pacifism and patriotism are shot through with deceit. In the pacifism and even patriotism of the oppressed, there are elements which reflect on the one hand a hatred of destructive war, and on the other a clinging to what they believe to be their own good—elements which we must know how to seize upon in order to draw the requisite conclusions.'

We can say that, from the first spontaneous instances of resistance to the Occupation Authorities, the provincial gendarmerie understood better the social meaning of this resistance than did the willingly blind Stalinists, the sectarians of the remnants of Archeio-marxism and the defeatists (Stinas). The document communicated by the director of the Gendarmerie, Stereas, in Cairo is characteristic:

'A number of peasants, ill-treated under the Italians, are resorting to acts of violence and are taking to the mountains. Whether it is a question of spirited peasants or of insubordinate elements, the result is the same. At every given opportunity they will cause injury to the Italians, thus changing into national heroes. There are exceptions however, who with their dim intellect will not distinguish between enemies and friends, and will not fail to commit clear robberies as well. Thus, having gradually come to an agreement [of arming] a gang under the most dynamic of them, they will become extremely dangerous for the reasons cited. . . .'

No special intellectual effort is necessary for anyone to conceive what the gendarme means when he speaks of 'dim' intellects which cannot distinguish between 'enemies and friends'. The war on the Occupation Authorities was indissolubly tied up with the civil war.

One would have to look through distorting lenses, like the Stalinists, to find patriotism in the peasants' acts of violence and their subsequent flight to the mountains. Similarly one would need sectarian blindness in order not to distinguish the class character of their acts of violence and to accuse the peasants (and the workers who did the same in the cities with different motives) of . . . participation in the imperialist war!

The reaction became interested very early in the guerrilla bands which were being formed in the mountains, and being unable to impede them, undertook to manipulate them and to subordinate them to the needs of the imperialist war. To this end it created its own bands of 'nationalist' resistance.

K. Pyromaglou, second-in-command of the anti-Communist resistance organization, EDES, much later commended the bourgeois politician, G. Kartalis, for being one of the first to conceive

Komninos Pyromaglou, G. KARTALIS.

the urgent importance to the bourgeois class of the formation of such bands.

'G. Kartalis made a correct assessment of reality and how right he was to be indignant about the delay in the exit of Psaros and the beginning of his operations in the Giona-Parnassus Region, but also how right was his view that "less suitable people will appear on the scene".'

It is worthwhile to quote another extract from Pyromaglou, which is very helpful in understanding the nature of the guerrilla bands which were appearing in the mountains. Pyromaglou is referring to EKKA (National And Social Liberation). The organization whose title combines 'national' with 'social' tasks, with a capital A for 'And', had as political leader G. Kartalis, a corrupt bourgeois politician who started out in the period of the Occupation as poor as Job and became as rich as Croesus. Military commander was the officer of the regular army Dim. Psaros. Second-in-command was Thymios Dedousis, a vehement anti-Communist who later 'excelled' himself in the Security Battalions:

'And the only line, which EKKA should have followed, was the line of collaboration of all the resistance organizations based on *National Unity for National Liberation*. But, besides, taking the national position, the appearance of this new organization, EKKA, for both general and particular reasons, would not have taken place outside the general climate and spirit of that period, "the occupation

cosmogony". Otherwise, a resistance organization, even a political one, cannot stand on its own feet.'

And what was the 'climate' and the 'spirit' prevailing over the masses in that period when the bourgeois reaction had the required perspicacity to call it a period of 'occupation cosmogony'? It can be clearly seen in the kind of demagogic devices used by the reaction in order to 'stand on its own feet'. The first two articles of the programme published by EKKA in the first edition of its newspaper *Liberation* (April 17, 1943) constitute a document much more convincing than the Stalinist and sectarian affirmations about the national liberation character of the movement and the 'patriotism' of the masses:

'1. The basic economic and technical means of production [banks, big industries, means of transport, big home trade, quarries and mines] are to be *socialized* directly and at the same time.

'2. The great estates beyond certain amounts which, as the highest limit of small property, will be defined and will be permitted in future, are to be confiscated for the people. The national debt and private debts are to be abolished.'

It is indisputable that these demands had been formulated in a purposely abstract way, in order that nothing is promised in reality. But what is important is that an organization of the extreme right was obliged to put forward a programme which it imagined to be socialist.



ELAS unit on the march.

## The first guerrilla bands and the CPG

The Stalinists of the CPG, because of their broad links with the masses, were in a position to have at least a suspicion of the problems which the armed struggle against the Occupation Authorities could create for them. Despite the official myth that they proceeded consciously to

the organization of an Army of Liberation, ELAS, the truth is that they undertook to control the spontaneously formed armed bands only when they understood that they were in danger of becoming the fifth wheel of the cart.

The founding of the Central Committee of ELAS

was announced in February 1942, but the first guerrilla bands had been formed as early as the summer of 1941. In Nigrita was that of Thanasis Genios, in Kilkis that of Christos Moschos, in Roumeli that of Thanasis Klaras (Aris Veloukhiotis), in Attica that of Andreas Mountrichas (Orestes, former sergeant in the Gendarmerie).

Moreover, in September 1941, the night of the 28th/29th, the inhabitants of several villages in the province of Drama rose up against the Bulgarian Occupation Authorities. More than 2,000 armed men took part in the uprising, and with the participation of almost the entire population, armed with axes, crowbars and hatchets, they seized the Gendarmerie stations at Doxatos and the surrounding villages. The uprising was suppressed by large forces of the Bulgarian army. More than 3,000 peasants were massacred. The CPG at once condemned the movement as 'premature' and accused the local members of the party of 'being led astray by the provocations of the Bulgarian occupiers'.

The most important guerrilla band, that of Veloukhiotis in Roumeli, was condemned by the CPG because its leader was a 'declarer' (Veloukhiotis had signed a declaration of 'repentance' in Metaxas' prisons, carrying out the party line which was to declare). Generally, the CPG condemned the guerrilla movement. The Stalinists had just in time remembered Marxism and 'proletarian' methods of struggle. The guerrilla war, they said, was a 'middle-class form of struggle'. The fight must be carried out, not in the mountains but in the cities, within the factories, with strikes and a General Strike. And in this way they used Marxist phrases in order to avoid the revolutionary tasks they did not want to take up.

The guerrilla bands were formed spontaneously by peasants who were defending their crops from being seized and used to fulfil the needs of the German, Italian and Bulgarian armies. The workers wanted to avoid forced labour. They were all living with the spectre of being taken hostage, with the danger of being seized and sent as slaves to the German factories and farms. Above all everyone was looking for a way to save himself from hunger and death. They took the law into their own hands or resisted in any way they could. Later, so as not to be arrested and shot, they took refuge in the mountains and there began the guerrilla action.

The guerrilla war was not of course a 'classic' form of workers' resistance to oppression. But then, was the oppression itself classic? Were they perhaps fighting against the Greek bourgeoisie and its state in which it has no confidence, when it has serving in its army the same people who have every opportunity and possibility of defeating it from within? Was there perhaps a classic situation, where demands are put forward, political and economic struggles are waged and, in an exceptional crisis, a General Strike breaks out and possibly a revolution? No! Against the working class was an inaccessible army—at least as long as the militaristic machine of fascism stood firmly

on its feet—ready to use unhesitatingly all its power to raze villages to the ground and to execute hundreds of people in the city. For this reason, despite the fact that the 'classic' forms of struggle were never lacking in occupied Greece, and many strikes and demonstrations took place, the workers and poor peasants ascertained the fact that the most effective way of defending their right to live was to seize a gun and go out to the mountains. The long guerrilla tradition that existed in the country strengthened this inclination of theirs. It happened like that. Not with some 'middle class' 'adventurist' plan, as the Stalinists maintained (with the sectarians always on their side), but from the needs of life itself and the desperation arising out of the occupation.

The guerrilla war against the Occupation Authorities did not overthrow the theoretical schemata about the proletarian forms of struggle or about revolutionary defeatism—far from it. It only proved what should have constituted consciousness for every Marxist, that reality developed through dialectical contradictions, has infinitely more facets and is much richer than theoretical schemata.

The Stalinists recovered quickly from their torpor and decided to intervene in the armed movement, in order, naturally, to make it dependent and to lead it in a chauvinist, popular-front, bourgeois manner; but the sectarians snored on.

In the cities, with Theos as leader, the Stalinists had already advanced to the creation of the Workers National Liberation Front (EEAM), which contained some Social-Democrat trade unionists, like Stratis, Kalomoiris and others. The EEAM assembled within a year, broad working class masses and youth in all the notable centres of the country, which the Stalinists could not even have dreamed of before the war.

In September 1941 the foundation of the National Liberation Front was announced. 'Five Socialist parties', besides the CPG, were supposed to have participated in it, among which was the ELD of Tsirimokos. In reality, the five 'parties' existed only in the imagination of their leaders and more so in the imagination of the Stalinists who, when they did not find partners in their 'popular front', were obliged to invent them.

EAM was directly controlled by the CPG and its popular-front character was not constituted so much by its composition as by the policies of its Stalinist leadership, which subordinated the movement of the working class and of all the oppressed to a bourgeois democratic perspective and to the military needs of the 'allies'.

With the Stalinists in its leadership, EAM declared that it was accepting into its ranks 'even honest royalists and honest supporters of Metaxas'; that its purpose was the 'joining together of Greek patriots for the fight against the occupier'. Despite all this, the 'honest' royalists and Metaxas supporters never took part or played any role in EAM. The reaction came together in its own independent armed bands.

EAM drew together, almost exclusively, the oppressed masses of workers and poor peasants,

who through the tragedy and destruction of the war saw that the hour of their social emancipation had struck. It is not without importance that the masses were being pulled increasingly into the organizations of EAM-ELAS-CPG as the Red Army won victories over German imperialism and especially after the utter defeat of the Germans

at Stalingrad.

Still EAM, despite the attempts of the Stalinists, could not stand firmly on the ground of the 'patriotic' fight 'against the occupier'. Historical laws proved stronger than the bureaucratic machine of EAM, and its leaders found themselves involved very early in civil war.



Markos Vafiades, ELAS commander and Party secretary Nikos Zachariades.

## Historically

The patriotic and democratic policy of the CPG had its own history. So did the conception of a series of fighters—who generally took up a position against Stalinism—that the mass movement behind the CPG was 'by its nature bourgeois' and even 'reactionary', because of its 'participation' in the imperialist war.

We must look back at this history, because only in this way is it possible to arrive at an understanding of the events of the civil war and to draw the necessary lessons about today's class struggles.

The Greek national revolution started in 1821. The modern Greek state, when it was founded, was not purely capitalist. To become so, struggles lasting a whole century were required. The cause was, basically, the defeat of the revolution. Contrary to the teachings of bourgeois education, the revolution was stifled when the Greeks were defeated by the Turks at Keratsini. The foundation of the Greek state was decided upon diplomatically behind the scenes among the three great powers (England, France, Russia) and Turkey. The three 'Powers' favoured the formation of the Greek state exactly in order to make use of it as a bridge against the Ottoman Empire in order to dissolve and seize the territory owned by it. In order for the new state to be sullborn, they limited it to the extent of the Peloponnese. But

the vigour of the national revolution endowed it with more vitality than they had imagined. It survived, completing its revolution geographically, economically and politically.

But in the way in which the Greek state was founded, the landed aristocracy managed to conserve and initially even to increase their power. A direct foreign guardianship was established in the country as well. These conditions predetermined a very slow capitalist development.

On the other hand, for historical reasons, the Greek bourgeoisie had realized its initial accumulation abroad (North Balkans, shore of the Black Sea, Western Europe) acting mainly in the parasitic sectors (trade, shipping). So its development was not accompanied by an analogous development of the Greek proletariat. The weakness of the industrial bourgeois class and of the proletariat was yet another retarding factor in the general evolution of the country.

The bourgeoisie advanced slowly, through compromises with the landlords and the Crown. Its course upset a series of 'peaceful revolutions', in 1844, 1863, 1909 and finally, and least important, in 1922. What was characteristic in all of them was that they were led by the army, which was supported by the broad popular masses. Within these military movements factionalism among the officers was never lacking, officers who were

above all interested in their careers. Nevertheless, only subjective short-sightedness could ignore their social significance. History was never the average result of the personal aspirations of the men who make it. The military movements were above all the completion of 1821, stations through which the peasant reform and capitalist relations dominated in the countryside, the state was modernized and the purely political role of the bourgeois class was imposed.

Finally, within the first quarter of the 20th century, the bourgeois democratic transformation of the country had been completed in every respect. For this reason the 'peaceful' military revolutions could not be repeated. After the Plastiras movement of 1922, the then young Communist Party recognized only one revolution as being possible: the proletarian revolution, for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The army intervened again several times in political life and even later, but always in opposition to the masses, in order to impose capitalist dictatorships. (Pangalos 1926, Metaxas 1936.)

This continued to be the case until January 1934. The Communist Party had of course already succumbed to Stalinist degeneration. Suddenly the Sixth Plenum of its Central Committee announced to its thunderstruck members, as a paradoxical fact, a new strategy for the Greek proletariat, contrary to the one which until then had been accepted. The coming revolution would not be proletarian but another 'bourgeois-democratic' one. It would supplement the 'incomplete' (according to the unforeseen discovery by the geniuses of Stalinism appointed by Moscow), bourgeois-democratic transformation of the country. The rule it would establish would not be the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a 'democratic' dictatorship which would not be practised exclusively by the working class, but shared with the 'medium-poor' peasants. And naturally, it would not apply socialist measures but would be the framework within which 'sooner or later' the prerequisites for the commencement of the Socialist transformation of the country would ripen.

The slogan 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' was not, however, new. It had a historical precedent in a more general expression (Trotsky called it 'algebraic') of the alliance of the proletariat with the poor layers of the peasantry in the Russian Revolution of 1905.

What exactly the 'democratic dictatorship' meant is very apparent in the following extract from Lenin's polemic against Martynov, theoretician of Menshevism and subsequently of Stalinism:

'In the provisional government, they tell us, Social Democracy will have the power. But Social Democracy, as the party of the proletariat, cannot keep the power in its hands without attempting to carry out the Social Democratic overthrow [revolution]. But as soon as it would start such a job, it would fail today and would only be put to shame. . . .'

According to Lenin's hypothesis of that time,

the coming revolution in Russia would uproot feudalism and would put in its place a radical democracy, on whose ground a whole historical stage of proletarian struggle for power would unfold.

The slogan of 'democratic dictatorship' was overtaken by life. Finally, it was buried by the October Revolution together with the Provisional Government which embodied it. Lenin himself, as soon as he set foot in Russia in April 1917, immediately started a war against the adherents of the 'democratic dictatorship', Kamenev, Stalin and most of the 'old Bolsheviks' who held the party back from the masses in supporting the provisional government and in defensism. He said:

'Whoever speaks of "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" has essentially passed over to the side of the bourgeoisie against the class struggle of the proletariat. This formula has grown old. Life has brought it from the kingdom of general formulae to the kingdom of reality, filled it with flesh and bones, made it concrete and thus amended it.'

The Stalinists of the CPG, by disinterring the slogan of 'democratic dictatorship' realized their own transition—the conclusive one—'to the side of the bourgeoisie against the class struggle of the proletariat'. P. Pouliopoulos, the initiator of the building of the CPG, its leader before it slid back into Stalinist degeneration, and then the leader of Greek Trotskyism, answered the Sixth Plenum immediately with his book *Democratic or Socialist Revolution in Greece?* In this book, which was justly regarded as the compass of the revolutionary movement in Greece, Pouliopoulos lacerated the economic criteria of the Sixth Plenum according to which Greece was a 'semi-feudal' country. He did the same in relation to bourgeois-democratic historical evolution, industrial development, agrarian reform, population-wise, from the viewpoint of incomes, and with other national and international comparative statistics, although the Stalinists never went so far and never tried to give a foundation to their 'medium-poor' strategy, even with some semblance of science. Pouliopoulos also invoked the Russian experience, the German experience of 1923, the Chinese, as well as the then current experience of the Spanish revolution, and defended the theoretical heritage of Marxism for the 'permanent revolution' in the work of Marx, Luxemburg and Trotsky, against the Menshevik revolution 'in stages' launched by the Stalinists. Finally, Pouliopoulos proved that the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum had nothing in common with the objective perspectives of the class struggle in Greece.

However, the Stalinist resolutions meant that if the CPG continued to constitute the leadership recognized by the working class, the outcome of the coming revolution had already been determined as being to the benefit of the bourgeoisie. If one looks at the period of the Occupation and the civil war through the prism of the Sixth Plenum, one will find nothing obscure or incomprehensible in the way the CPG acted. The Stalinists were waging, from start to finish, a struggle

for bourgeois democracy, against the independent class struggle of the proletariat for power.

In January 1942, the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPG reaffirmed and made concrete this strategy of the party. Also at this Plenum Siantos was elected to the position of General Secretary because Nikos Zachariades had been turned over to the Germans by the administration of Metaxas' prisons and had been sent to Dachau.

According to the Eighth Plenum, the CPG should have been seeking the formation of a government of 'National Unity' in which the parties of the 'patriotic' bourgeois class would have taken part. This hermaphrodite government plan devised by the Stalinists could not, of course, have been viable and the bourgeois class would have accepted it only as a solution to extreme need and as a means of violently imposing its exclusive rule.

But the bourgeois-democratic perspective was not a monopoly of the CPG. Archeiomarxism, ever since 1933, had put forward 'in an *avante garde* way' its own democratic theory: the infamous 'Greek Kerenskyada'. According to this, Greece, like Russia, would have her own February before she could have her October.

The 'Archeio' was dissolved years before Greece found herself under the German-Italian Occupation and before the proletarian revolution became directly the order of the day. Its 'Kerenskyada', however, continued to live in the consciousness of many fighters, especially those who came from the ranks of this middle-class revolutionary organization. They had rejected its policies, but not its anti-Marxist method.

The 'Archeio', without taking account of the radical changes which had contributed to the economic and class structure of Greek society at the beginning of the century, continued to see in every movement of the reactionary army officers the middle-class radicals 'who drew the working masses along behind them in the struggle for democratic freedoms'. The Archeiomarxists dressed the military-political group of Kondylis-Metaxas-Tsaldaris-Lomverdos with such a characterization when it came to power in March 1933. The characterization of EAM-ELAS as a bourgeois movement by the 'Workers Struggle' group (the most closely related to the Archeio), the comparison of ELAS with the bourgeois military movement of the last century and the beginning of this century, with the military men 'who sought to be embodied in and find a career in the bourgeois state', expressed not only the spirit, but also the letter of the Archeiomarxist 'Kerenskyada'.

In the Occupation and the civil war, the followers of Pouliopoulos were the only group that really represented Greek Trotskyism, the only opposition to the CPG in the fight against Stalinist degeneration. But this group, too, when the leader of Greek Trotskyism no longer existed, sank into confusion. Of course it never arrived at the point of characterizing EAM-ELAS as bourgeois and reactionary, and defended it against the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. But it proved in its own way



P. Pouliopoulos.

that the lessons of the struggle of P. Pouliopoulos for a dialectical materialistic approach to the strategic and tactical tasks of the revolutionary movement had not been deeply absorbed. It proved this, and the fact alone that in 1945-1946 it joined not only with the 'Workers Struggle' but also with the 'defeatists' who had played an objectively counter-revolutionary role and arrived at the point of comparing ELAS with Hitler's 'Attack Battalions' (!!) proved this. The 'defeatists' could not co-exist within the Trotskyist organization and withdrew after a few months. But this did not refute the fact of the inconsistency presented by the Trotskyist organization on questions of principle, like the Trotskyist view of the class nature of the Stalinist organizations and on the class character of the revolution in Greece, which principles ruled out every co-existence with the 'defeatists', as well as the Archeiomarxists.

Finally, the Trotskyist organization, the only one which would have been able to fight for the class independence of the proletariat and for the building of a revolutionary leadership, successor to Stalinism, was not able to carry out this role after its tested leadership was decapitated.<sup>1</sup>

No one can be certain that with a correct policy and method on the part of the Trotskyist organization the course of events would have

1. On June 6, 1943, 106 political prisoners in the jails at Akronauplia, who had been turned over to the Italians by the Metaxas dictatorship, were led to Kournovo for execution. Among them was the leader of Greek Trotskyism Pantelis Pouliopoulos and three other leading cadres, Yiannis Xypolitos, Nontas Yiannakos and Yiannis Makris.

Before the firing squad, Pouliopoulos, who knew many languages, spoke to the soldiers in their mother tongue about the war, fascism, the class task of the proletarians in the fascist and 'democratic' countries, the Socialist revolution and the Socialist United States of Europe, while the fascist officer furiously gave the order to 'fire', in order to close forever the mouth of the dangerous speaker. The shooting of Pouliopoulos and the most important leaders of Greek Trotskyism left an enormous void in the revolutionary movement and the struggles of their comrades who continued the fight would have had to multiply two or three-fold in order to fill that void.

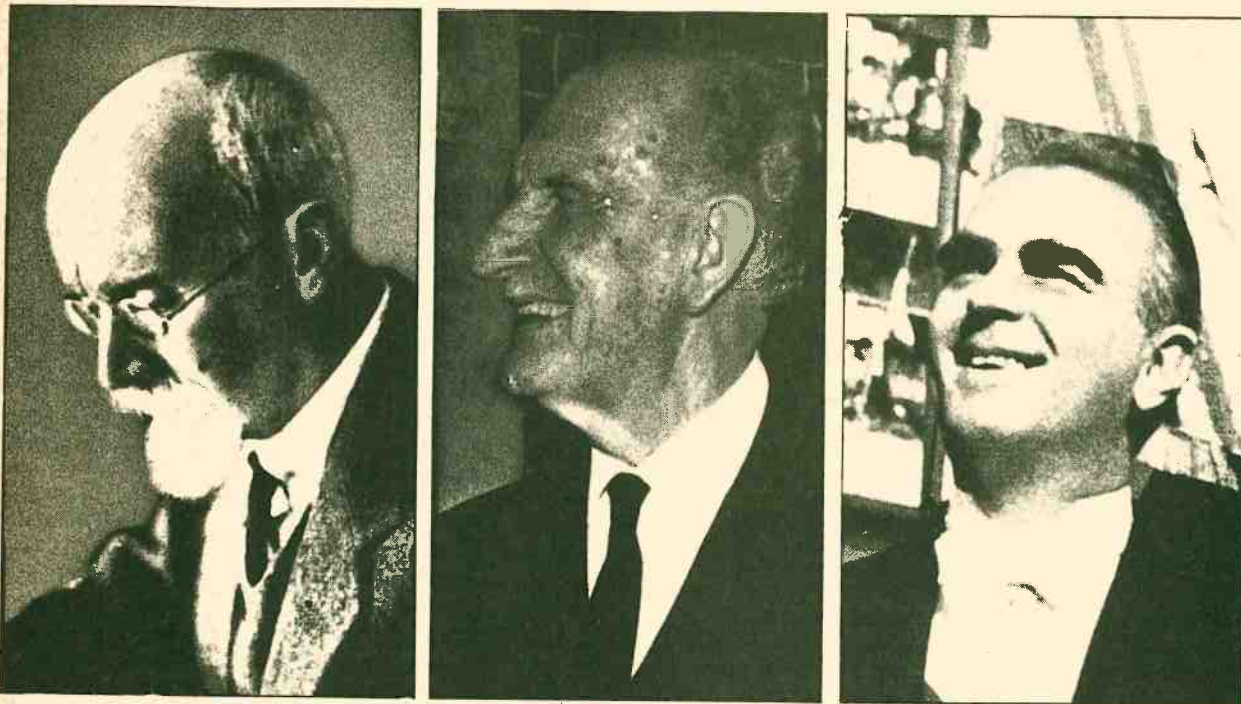


changed radically and the smashing of the working class in the civil war would have been prevented. But there is no doubt that only with a correct, i.e. Marxist policy and method of the revolutionary party was an evolution favourable to the working class and Socialism possible.

The result of the confusion that reigned in the groups that generally took up a position against Stalinism was that some fighters who in their words correctly confronted the basic questions of the workers' movement did not find the way to give their ideas flesh and blood through their

practice; others stayed out of the way with a position of 'irreconcilable hostility' towards EAM-ELAS; others who believed that the CPG would try to take the power entered ELAS and there either became absorbed into Stalinism or were killed, stabbed in the back by the executioners of OPLA (security force of the CPG).

So the CPG, freed of every organized and serious opposition, was able to strengthen and extend its influence in the working class and over other oppressed layers of this people and lead them to defeat.



Greek prime ministers: Venizelos, Papandreou, Karamanlis.

## The Greek bourgeoisie in the occupation

The bourgeois-democratic strategy of the Stalinists meant in practice the defence of the bourgeois class and collaboration with it for the accomplishment of some 'progressive' tasks. But the capitalist class in Greece, as in every capitalist country in the epoch of imperialism, was historically in a position only to be overthrown by the proletariat.

About the Greek bourgeoisie, we must also add certain other features which made it especially reactionary and incapable of playing any progressive role: It had established its sole political rule in the country at the beginning of the century, in an epoch when capitalism as a world system had come to its last stage. Confronted with the spectre of its destruction by the proletarian revolution before it had time to celebrate its domination, it was nurtured from the start on a mortal hatred and fear of the working class and every radical idea and movement.

The Greek bourgeois class never acquired any democratic tradition. It always maintained the Monarchy as a Bonapartist institution, above  
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parliament. (In its constitution, the king is the Sovereign.) Confronted by the big imperialist monopolies, it was condemned, within the world division of labour, to the role of the poor relation who is limited to gathering the crumbs from the rich imperialist table. Unable to make concessions to the workers, it never learned to negotiate, relying only on the gendarme's club. On its pinnacle of 'radicalism' it could put nothing down to its credit except the bloody repression of the peasant movement (1910), the counter-revolutionary intervention in Russia against the workers' regime established by the October Revolution (1919), the imperialist campaign in Asia Minor (1919-1922) and the law against the Communists which is applied in our day by the Papadopoulos junta (Venizelos Special Law (Idionymo)).

By the German-Italian Occupation every trace of the doubtful 'left' wing of the bourgeoisie had disappeared as well: Pangalos had established a Bonapartist dictatorship and Kondylis in 1935 had restored the monarchy.

After the collapse of the Front, whichever

bourgeois politicians did not leave with the King, who was responsible for the Metaxas dictatorship, remained in Greece and collaborated with the Germans and Italians in the fierce oppression of the working class and peasant masses.

Initially the bourgeois class conspired with the Germans and allowed them to seize the country an hour earlier, provoking the righteous indignation of the Stalinists who wanted the defence of capitalist interests until the last worker fell at the Front . . . Later, the commander of the armed forces, General Tsolakoglou, became the first occupation prime minister.

But the role of the bourgeois class in the Occupation is splendidly reflected in the Athens Press of that era.

The newspaper *Estia* on April 29, 1941, in an article entitled 'Spiritual Demobilization', wrote:

'The war ended for Greece as well, as it ended for all the nations of continental Europe. The Greek Army laid down its arms. But this is not enough. For the real restoration of peace, of which the country has so much need, spiritual demobilization of the Greeks is also necessary, their quick return to spiritual calm and intellectual tranquillity, in order to adapt themselves with all their energies, to the multiple tasks which the new order of a question of external conduct. It is above all a question of internal feeling. Real spiritual sobriety is needed in order to apply ourselves undistracted to the intense labour which is demanded for the execution of our new tasks.'

The newspaper *Kathimerini*, on April 30, in a commentary with the same title ('Spiritual Demobilization'), wrote:

'Yes! The spiritual demobilization, about which *Estia* writes, should take place. The war is over: and we must believe it and concern ourselves with our peacetime works. This service is the most important of all we have to offer to our country.'

On May 11, 1941, the same newspaper, in a commentary entitled 'The Foolishness of Irresponsible People', wrote:

'Foolish and irresponsible elements carried out certain actions in favour of British hostages who were being transferred, ostensibly disapproved of on the part of the public present.

'It was natural for the Germans who were accompanying the hostages to show their disapproval towards these actions, which were so improper . . . We would like, with absolute sincerity, and we stress this absolutely freely, to add that the Greek people in their great majority accepted the Germans to the country, not as occupiers and enemies, but as friends, bringing peace, security and normal working life. (!) For this reason, actions such as yesterday's constitute a miserable discord. When all is said and done, this discord, able to create misunderstandings, is also not in the national interest and only the enemies of the fatherland and the people can incite it. . . .'

In another of its commentaries, the *Kathimerini* under the title 'Wisely Composed' wrote on June 1, 1941:

'In a law published in the "Newspaper of the Government" it is determined that the death penalty be imposed on those Greek nationals participating in military actions . . . Since Greece

has ceased to be at war with Germany, since as Greeks it is in our interests and we have a moral obligation not to be at war with Germany—Germany who has treated us so chivalrously—it is all the more evident that the law was wisely composed and will be wisely applied.'

This stand of the political groups of the Greek bourgeoisie was absolutely reactionary. The working masses of course had no interest in continuing the imperialist war and longed for peace. They had no quarrel with the mobilized German and Italian workers and preferred fraternity to mutual slaughter. But the peace and fraternity called for by the bourgeoisie was a reactionary deception. It meant the subordination of the workers to fascist oppression and to the local reactionaries. The peace and fraternity sought after by the masses would of necessity come out of the barrels of the guns of the revolutionary class movement against the German-Italian imperialists, the imperialist 'allies' and above all against the Greek bourgeoisie.

By seeking 'Spiritual Demobilization' and co-operation with the Occupation Authorities, the Greek reactionaries chiefly had in mind securing in this way the continuation of the capitalist regime after the war.

This was the main concern of the Rallis government, the third in a series of occupation governments following those of Tsolakoglou and Professor Logothetopoulos.

The British Major C. M. Woodhouse, liaison officer of the Middle East Headquarters with the Greek guerrillas, in his book *Apple of Discord*, wrote in relation to this:

'The third prime minister, Ioannis Rallis, was another matter. He was the only professional politician among the three. He took up the Prime Ministership when it was already clear that the allies were going to win the war. Consequently, the causes which impelled him must have been different from those of his predecessors. It appears he figured that the Allies would be grateful to him, I. Rallis, if he kept the State Machine in motion for the duration of the final stages of the Occupation so that on their return they would find Greece in a state of passive order instead of falling into chaos from which only the Communists would gain. His chief action was the formation, during the summer of 1943, of the Security Battalions, inspired by the former dictator Th. Pangalos. And possibly the silent approval of the old revolutionary General S. Gonatas. In the formation he was aided mainly by three men from his government: Tavoularis, Bourandas and Voulpiotis. The military commanders of the Security Battalions, the Colonels Plydzanopoulos and Papadogonas, were insignificant. Rallis looked forward to this force, as to a bridge over which Greece would proceed from German Occupation to Allied liberation without intervening chaos. He had the intention of enjoying the best of both worlds, of reaping the fruit of co-operation from both sides (the Germans and the Allies). His calculation was surprisingly keen-witted. . . .'

Rallis and all the collaborators with the Germans in Greece did not represent the 'reactionary' section of the bourgeoisie, while some other sections, 'national' and 'patriotic', which the

Stalinists could discern, took a different stand. Rallis' policies were the policies of the whole of the bourgeois class and its imperialist allies. The government of Tsouderos in Cairo and those around it, had their own way of collaborating with the Occupation Authorities against the masses.

Woodhouse again, in the same book, tells that in the beginning of the autumn of 1943 the British Captain Scott of the Allied Military Mission, arrived in Athens on a sabotage mission. But instead of sabotage he made contact with Captain Papagos, the Mayor of Athens, Grivas and other reactionaries and with the German Occupation Authorities. The purpose of Scott's mission was to achieve joint operation of all the armed bands of reaction and the Germans, against ELAS. And as events showed, he achieved this.

The Stalinists knew of the Scott affair, as well as of a series of other episodes which although they were not foreseen by their 'theories', proved vividly the reactionary nature of the Greek bourgeoisie in its totality. The Stalinists could not help but accuse it of 'national betrayal' and 'being docile to the Germans' but in the next breath

called for 'national unity' against the 'occupier' and promised to realize, together with the bourgeoisie, their radical democracy.

We must take the opportunity to note that only the Stalinists could accuse the bourgeois class of national betrayal. Without doubt, its stand was below the level and the objectives of a really Communist critique. A traitor is one who abandons, for selfish aims, his natural position in the arrangement of the opposing class forces of society. And the position of the bourgeois class was never the defence of the whole nation, but only of its own rule, its property and generally its position which permitted it to exploit the great majority of the nation. Not only in the epoch of imperialist decay, but even in the epoch of the rise of capitalism, the bourgeois class in every country did not hesitate, in order to defend its interests, to collaborate with ruling classes of other nations against the workers of its own nation. And we have had since 1871 the example of the government of Thiers in France, which with the help of the Prussian invaders, suppressed the uprising of the heroic Communards in Paris.



ELAS; inspection of arms during the civil war.

## The correlation of forces

For many years after the civil war, the CPG maintained that the defeat suffered by the working class was due to the military superiority of the opponent. This excuse was put forward by all the treacherous leaderships, which with their policies destroyed the working class in various countries. Only very recently, especially with the imposition of the Papadopoulos dictatorship in 1967, has talk about 'errors' begun in CPG circles, no, however,

about drawing any lessons, but in order for the errors to be loaded onto persons or groups of persons and to the degree to which this serves their internal factional struggle.

It would be expedient to show at this point certain statistics on the correlation of military forces which the CPG and the reaction had at their disposal.

In 1943, ELAS numbered about 40,000 armed

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men and in 1944, when the British intervention started, it numbered about 70,000. If the leadership had wished, it could have had at its disposal at least twice the military power. It maintained sections of unarmed fighters, men and women, who numbered about another 70,000 and were scattered throughout various villages. These sections constituted the 'ELAS Reserve'.

ELAS was divided into eight divisions and one brigade in Attica. All its detachments had troops of cavalry and there was a whole division of cavalry (the Thessaly) with 1,600 horses.

It also had a small fleet, the ELAN, with 2,000 men, but of great strategic importance. In the towns there were other armed bodies—the Militia.

Initially ELAS confronted serious problems in weapons and other war supplies. But after the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, great quantities of weapons passed into the hands of ELAS, when a series of sections of the Italian army instead of being dissolved adhered to the Greek guerrillas.

On October 13, a whole Italian division, the 'Pinerlo' made a deal with ELAS and took up action in the Greek mountains against the Occupation Authorities.

Finally, all the weaponry of Pinerlo, which included 20 mountain cannon, passed directly to ELAS when Pinerlo was dissolved, because the presence of its armed and disciplined force in the Greek mountains was judged to be dangerous.

But the greatest power of ELAS was to be found in the active support of the broad masses and the many thousands of members of the organizations of the CPG. The members of EAM, the Workers' EAM, the EPON—the mass youth organization of EAM, the great organization of seamen OENO, the Pan-Hellenic women's organization PDEG, and others.

ELAS was under the immediate direction of the CPG but had General Stephanos Saraphs as commander-in-chief. Saraphs was an officer in the bourgeois army, an old 'radical' who had taken part in the military movement of 1922 and in various adventurist activities within the army. Initially, he appeared in the mountains with his own independent band, the 'Headquarters of the Liberation Struggle' (AAA), which had G. Papan-dreou as political leader. The AAA was dissolved in 1942 by ELAS and Saraphs, together with all those who were arrested, adhered to ELAS. As commander-in-chief, Saraphs found himself under the supervision of Aris Veloukhiotis who was the first Captain of ELAS.

The armed 'resistance' bands of the reaction, which had nothing to do with the resistance, were the EDES and Regiment 5/42 of EKA. According to figures from bourgeois sources, EDES numbered 5,000 men and the 5/42 500. But other reliable evidence claims that these numbers are quite inflated. Most important is that the men who were concentrated in the reactionary armed bands did not have the decisiveness that distinguished the ELAS and which made ELAS a force in good fighting shape.



Members of the PEEA government.

Left: Party secretary Siantos.

The 5/42 was installed on the Mainland, on the side of the gulf of Corinth in a strategic position that threatened Athens. The EDES, whose military commander was N. Zervas, operated in a small area of Epirus about the harbour of Prevezas where the landing of the 'allies' in the Balkans was planned to take place. Neither one of the organizations was on the supply routes of the Germans. These lines passed only through the regions controlled by ELAS. But this was not a reason which could hinder the English imperialists from arming the men of EDES and 5/42, supposedly for the benefit of the resistance but in reality for the purpose of creating a counter weight to the strength of ELAS.

The British were supposed, based on the agreements which had taken place, to arm ELAS as well. But this, due to tragic 'misunderstandings', seldom happened. The British aeroplanes sometimes dropped into ELAS territory only left army boots, at other times only right ones, at other times guns without moveable breeches, etc.

But before the British intervention began, ELAS dissolved the 5/42 while it half-dissolved the EDES and essentially neutralized it. When the German Occupation troops withdrew, ELAS, supported by millions of workers, was the only armed force within Greece and, as we will see, British imperialism, because of certain military commitments, was not in a position to draw up against it the necessary force in order to win a military victory.



A lighter moment during the civil war, celebrating the truce of Myrofylo. Folk dancing are left to right: N. Zervas, Aris Velouchiotis and British major Woodhouse.

## The 'First Round'

In December 1942, the Allied Middle East Headquarters decided to form a British military mission in Greece, for collaboration with the guerrilla organizations. The leadership of the Mission was in the hands of Brigadier Myers. Myers had been in Greece since September 1942. The British, who were at that time preparing their attack on Rommel, had charged Myers with making contact with the guerrilla organizations and achieving through their joint action the blowing up of the big Gorgopotamos Viaduct so that the supply route of the German troops would be cut off. After the successful accomplishment of this mission, which was the greatest act of sabotage in occupied Europe, but also the only case of military co-operation between ELAS, EDES and 5/42, the British decided upon the establishment of a permanent mission. Later, in July 1943, a Joint Guerrilla Headquarters was formed, with ELAS, EDES and 5/42 taking part.

The British proceeded to the founding of the Joint HQ hoping that ELAS would place itself under the control of the Tsouderos government in Cairo. Their ultimate aim was the dissolution of ELAS but for the time being they did not have the power to achieve it. From their side, the Stalinists, while they had the forces called for at their disposal, did not proceed to demolish the puny props of reaction but limited themselves to blackmail through which they wanted to achieve an 'honourable compromise'.

We must note that the Stalinists were not able to adopt their compromise policy without encountering reaction from the base of ELAS and from certain local leaders. One of those who reacted to the policy of the leadership was Aris Velouchiotis, whom the rank-and-file fighters of ELAS wor-

shipped for his courage and upright character. Velouchiotis was not a Marxist and was submerged in patriotic confusion. His whole career, however, up to his tragic death, shows that he believed in the seizure of power by the CPG. In the mountains he was very harsh towards reaction, he did not want any collaboration with EDES and the 5/42, he also disagreed with the co-operation in blowing up the Gorgopotamos Viaduct and believed that these bands had to be dissolved. Velouchiotis found himself under the strict supervision of the highest bureaucratic clique of the CPG, which had no confidence in him.

'From the middle of January (1943)', Pyromaglou writes, 'until the end of February, March 9 to be exact, Aris is in Athens. For a whole month he accepts the bombshells of criticism, the attacks and every kind of pressure from the political leaders of the CPG for all his extremist actions in the mountains. The position of the CPG is, because of his past and present powerfulness and domination in the mountains, subtle and difficult. Aris remains a Communist and means to discipline himself. On returning to his base, he is accompanied by the 'Supervisor of the Guerrilla Movement', representative of the CC of EAM-ELAS and member of the Politburo of the CPG, L. Tzimas. For the whole of the duration of their journey and their stay on the mainland, L. Tzimas does not cease to explain, to analyse and to impose the line of EAM, the 'national-liberation line', to dissolve 'illusions' and to render obligatory the co-operation of EAM-ELAS with all the other resistance organizations'.

But suddenly, in May 1943, Aris received an order from Siantos to dissolve the 5/42 regiment.

Aris, completely in his element with this order,

acted with the ingenuity that distinguished him. During the night he surrounded the quarters of the men of the 5/42 in the village of Stromni and disarmed all of them without a shot being fired. He dissolved the unit and sent the men and the officers to their homes. He seized Colonel Psarros and held him for 24 hours before freeing him after the intervention of the commander of the British Military Mission, Brigadier-General Eddy, who arrived on the spot, sweating profusely, after his hasty march from Gardiki where he had been informed of the disarming.

But after a little while L. Tzimas also arrived in the same condition in order to attack all the Captains and Aris: It had all been a 'misunderstanding'. The order to dissolve the 5/42 did not originate from Siantos, but was given on the initiative of the Captain of Attica and Boeotia Orestes . . .

Tzimas immediately sent a document to Psarros who had withdrawn to Taratsa of Giona, wherein he declared his sorrow and indignation at all that had happened, promising to rectify everything in facilitating the regrouping of the 5/42.

But only one month had passed, when Aris received by telephone a new order to seek once again, the dissolution of 5/42. And in fact, his detachments disarmed and redissolved the Psarros regiment. However a new intervention of the CC of EAM followed: A 'misunderstanding' again . . . It was not the General Mainland Headquarters which gave the order, but it was given on the initiative of Major Zoulas. A new demand for pardon followed and a new promise was given that the 5/42 could never be bothered in future. These repeated 'misunderstandings' were not due to initiatives taken by irreconcilable elements in ELAS. They were a means by which the CPG brought pressure to bear on the reactionary organizations of the bourgeoisie and their British patrons. The fruit of this 'pressure' was the formation of the Joint Headquarters, the month after the episodes with the 5/42 which, although the Stalinists accepted it with hesitation, was a turning-point for the Cairo conference where for the first time the question of a government of 'national unity' was to be discussed!

The objective meaning of the episodes with the 5/42 surpassed the boundaries of a simple political manoeuvre of the CPG. ELAS was obliged, one way or the other, to confront the 5/42 and EDES as organizations of the counter-revolution, in a mortal encounter. At this point a telegram from Brigadier Myers to the Middle East Headquarters which was composed two days before the departure of the Greek mission in Cairo is quite enlightening:

'X 12 August 1943. Strictly confidential 85—4AS.

'General Papagos does not have any influence on the Greek army. And he is considered a ridiculous person. His organization is not worth speaking about. The political and military organization EDES made important progress, especially in Epirus. It needs however to be supplied with war material and moral support. In my opinion, this band will be useful to us as a counter-balance against ELAS and it may be that we will use it against ELAS when it is strengthened. One day it will be necessary to dissolve ELAS in order to be certain that Tito will not have armed and dynamic allies in Greece.

I mention to you that I executed your orders and I support as much as possible the small political and military band of EKKA without however making my dispositions apparent. The commander of EKKA Colonel Psarros is honest and constant in his promises to us. His political advisers Kapsalopoulos and Kartalis continually ask for economic aid, and I do not know to what extent they make good use of the sums we give them. As I have learned, a great amount is spent by them on their personal affairs. At any rate, both until now have worked towards the dissolution of ELAS.

I consider that it would be useful for our agents to be in contact with representatives of the government [the Rallis government Ed], that is with higher officers, police etc. for the purpose of driving home the idea that they have the duty and the right to inform on the commanders of EAM and ELAS to the Occupation Authorities and to aid in the arrest of the agents of EAM and ELAS so that when the time comes these organizations will not be able to damage English interests. From this point of view, the organization of EDES did many things. It informed to Colonel Dertilis and the Minister Tavoularis on several active members of EAM and ELAS who are now in the hands of the Germans and generally of the Occupation Authorities.

General Spiliotopoulos works exclusively for the King and considers that ELAS must be dealt with even to the detriment of the allied affair in Greece . . . Sofoulis is an old man, Gonatas does not have a party but collaborates sincerely with EDES and closely with Spiliotopoulos of the 'X' group . . .

The bourgeois class considered the incidents of ELAS with the 5/42 as the beginning of the 'first round' of the civil war and as it appears from all the foregoing this was absolutely right. What brought the two camps face to face, ELAS-CPG on the one hand and the organizations of the reaction with their British protectors on the other, was the question of power, even though the Stalinists were fighting for a 'compromise solution', which meant treachery and opening the way for the victory of the counter-revolution.

## FOR A DISCUSSION ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party (USA) has chosen to open a public written discussion on the political questions underlying the split in the Fourth International which took place in 1953.

They have done this in the framework of the preparations of the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat' for its long-postponed world conference; now due towards the end of 1973.

What is noteworthy is that the SWP leaders present themselves as the champions of the split from Pablo revisionism; the defenders of Trotskyist principle and programme against all capitulation to Stalinism.

In November 1953, the SWP published its 'Open Letter' to the world Trotskyist movement. This denounced Pablo and Pabloism; and in consequence the 'International Committee of the Fourth International' was formed, politically and organizationally independent of the Pabloite 'International Secretariat'. Ten years later, in 1963, the SWP went back to the Pabloites and dropped completely its association with the International Committee, and the 'Unified Secretariat' became the new name for the revisionist centre.

(Because of the reactionary Voorhis Act, the SWP could never actually affiliate to an international body.)

In the period leading up to the 1963 'reunification', the SWP was characterized above all else by refusal to discuss the fundamental theoretical questions which had split the movement in 1953.

יוש, ten years later, the sections of the 'Unified Secretariat' and their supporters, the SWP, are deeply divided on all political questions of strategy

and tactics, yet none of them is able to return to the basic principles of Trotskyism. The SWP finds itself in the minority internationally, and is now trying desperately to present itself as the defender of 'orthodox Trotskyism'.

Such is the enormous pressure of class forces as decisive revolutionary clashes loom up in all the major capitalist countries, that the revisionists are forced to return to the 'split' questions which they arrogantly swept aside as 'divisive' in 1963.

The first thing which must be said is that an enormous historical responsibility rests particularly on the SWP itself for having covered up these questions and disorientated all those militants who mistook Pabloite revisionism for Trotskyism.

The SWP leadership does not raise these questions again out of any concern for principle, but only because it has itself opportunistically degenerated even further in the last ten years. Its adaptation to the petty-bourgeois 'left' in the United States now makes it hostile to even the most tenuous and formal international connections.

Joseph Hansen and his collaborators in the SWP leadership are preparing, with the discussion they have belatedly initiated, to free themselves for their own narrow, national, opportunist adaptation. For this reason, their presentation of the historical questions is completely distorted, in order pragmatically to suit the immediate 'practical' purposes of the SWP.

The first articles published in this discussion\* make it essential immediately to refute the lies of the SWP on this history. It is absolutely necessary that an international discussion be opened up, in the defence of Trotskyism against Stalinism and revisionism. But this can be done only on the

basis of historical objectivity, with all the problems and all the documents brought into the open and faced up to honestly. This method is the absolute prerequisite of the theoretical re-arming of the Fourth International. It is the opposite of the method of the SWP.

Contrary to the claim of the SWP spokesman, it must be said, quite unequivocally, that Pabloite, liquidationism, denounced correctly by James Cannon and the SWP in November 1953, had long been developing inside the Fourth International.

Throughout the post-war period to 1953 the SWP was the leading sympathizing section of the Fourth International and had the major political responsibility for the development of the movement. There can be no facing up to the real questions except on the basis of recognizing and answering this refusal of theoretical and political responsibility and its disastrous consequences.

The political reality is that the SWP capitulated to the problems of permanent contact with the European sections. Good pragmatists, they pursued their work in the United States, and accepted Pablo as the European and international leader. Pablo pursued his own revisionist course, building up his administrative machine and relying confidently on the inability and unwillingness of the SWP to examine or criticize the revisionist concepts which he smuggled into the theory and perspectives of the movement.

To blame this development on the difficulties of obtaining passports or the misdeeds of the SWP's representatives in Europe is to reduce great historical questions to the level of petty, organizational details. The task facing revolutionists was to overcome these problems. The SWP politically turned against Pabloism in

1953 only when Pablo's methods threatened the internal regime of the SWP.

The 'Open Letter' of 1953 was absolutely necessary and correct. It opened up the possibility of really probing the depths of Pablo's revisionism and orienting the revolutionary movement, through that theoretical struggle, to the political tasks of the period opened up by the East German uprising and the French General Strike of 1953. The sections of the International Committee today still endorse completely the politics of the 'Open Letter', as they did in 1953.

The split precipitated by the 'Open Letter' (a split made necessary by Pablo's revisionism and its organizational consequences) caused considerable confusion in the world Trotskyist movement, and still does. At the time, the Fourth World Congress of the FI (1954) was pending. What was immediately and vitally necessary was political clarification of the questions underlying the split. This was necessary not at all to cover over the split, but to learn from its necessity. Today, the SWP tries to suggest that they did not really want a split. But their 'Open Letter' concludes as follows:

'The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally . . . The political issues have broken through the manoeuvres and the fight is now a showdown.'

Next, the new SWP discussion material rewrites history to make the SWP the protagonist of political discussion for clarification of the split right from 1954, and to portray the Socialist Labour League in particular as the obstacle to any discussion or any principled reunification. This is a lie, as the facts show.

In the spring of 1954 the International Committee sections in Europe unanimously proposed to the SWP that discussion be opened up with the Pabloites in order to struggle for clarification of all those cadres shocked and surprised by the split. This would have meant a discussion of all the major political and theoretical

questions facing the movement.

This proposal was made in the first place by Comrade G. Healy. When the IC accepted it and submitted it to the SWP, it was rejected by the SWP Political Committee and this decision conveyed to the IC in a letter of Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary.

The discussion could certainly have proceeded at that time, and was absolutely necessary. The reference to difficulty of travel and passports because of the aftermath of the McCarthy witch-hunt is nothing but an evasion, just as it was for the period before 1953. Year after year, the SWP allowed the split to continue without the theoretical clarification which would have resulted in great gains for the movement.

In essence, the SWP in this way showed its contempt for internationalism.

This was proved in 1957. After having rejected the IC's proposal for principled international discussion in 1954, the SWP, through Cannon made its overtures in a letter to Leslie Goonewardere of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon), **without the knowledge of the International Committee.**

It was only the insistence of the other IC members which compelled Cannon to abandon this attempt at an unprincipled compromise. In any case, the Pabloites rejected the proposal for discussion. The SWP leadership is well aware of this sequence of events, every detail of which was sharply brought home to Farrell Dobbs, SWP secretary, on the occasion of the IC's first International Conference in Britain in 1958.

In this way it became clear to the SWP at a very early stage that they could not treat the IC in the same way as they had handled their relationship with Pablo and the International Secretariat in the period 1945-1953. The IC sections, striving always to learn the basic theoretical lessons of revisionism and the split, established a method of political work which came into direct conflict with the narrow national requirements of the SWP.

It is certain that after Dobbs' 1958 trip to Europe, all the international work of the SWP was used for behind-

the-scenes approaches to the Pabloites, while all the time professing solidarity with the IC. Cannon and the SWP tried to justify their 'unity' approaches with the claim that the Pabloites' reaction to the Hungarian Revolution (1956) brought them back to essential Trotskyist positions. In actual fact Pablo and Mandel advanced a programme which excluded the political revolution.

The reality was that the SWP was itself going rapidly back to Pabloite positions, and not the reverse. In January 1961, the SLL Central Committee addressed a letter to the National Committee of the SWP, drawing attention to the formulations in their publications which had a perspective of self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Above all, the SLL Central Committee analysed the complete abandonment by Pabloism of the building of independent revolutionary parties.

The letter called for the immediate setting up of an international internal discussion bulletin and the preparation of a Congress of IC sections as the prerequisite for any discussion or unity at that stage.

The SWP rejected this discussion, engaging instead in its independent relations with Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank of the Pabloites, conducted through S. T. Peng. From this time they consistently avoided any principled discussion of the fundamental questions. And when the negotiations for unity came out into the open, they were explicitly accompanied by a commitment **not** to discuss the fundamental questions of the 1953 split.

When the International Committee, on the Socialist Labour League's proposal, then put forward the setting up of a 'parity committee' of the IC and the Pabloite Secretariat, the SWP accepted this, but simply used it as a cover for their own behind the scenes 'unity' negotiations with the Pabloites.

It is simply a lie to present the situation, as the SWP now does, as if the IC opposed unification of the world Trotskyist movement. Mandel functioned on the 'parity committee' for the Pabloites, and there was an agreed preparation of discussion



documents and of procedure for their circulation in the sections. The SWP deliberately acted to avoid any circulation of these documents in their own ranks and sought only a way of effecting a premature 'unification' which avoided the discussion.

It was for this reason that the SWP, having reluctantly agreed to an IC Conference before any proposal of a unification Conference, broke this agreement and prepared the 'reunification' Conference of 1963 without the IC majority. The SWP feared one thing above all: discussion of the fundamentals of revisionism as the real preparation for a principled unification.

Hansen also knows very well that on September 27, 1963, after the IC International Conference, the IC wrote to the Pabloite Secretariat saying that 'everything must be done to encourage the closest working relations under conditions whereby a principled unification of the movement could be achieved'. Among the proposals made to this end were:

1. That a world congress of the forces of the IC and the International Secretariat [Pabloites] should be convened during the autumn of 1964 . . .
4. ' . . . that this discussion must take place in all sections, not only in the leaderships, but in the ranks . . .'

The SWP, which now tries

to put itself forward as the defender of principles, and to caricature us as opponents of unity, went along and encouraged the Pabloite Secretariat in rejecting these proposals.

Again, in 1970, when Comrade Healy, acting on a decision of the IC, approached the Unified Secretariat for discussion of all the outstanding questions in the world movement, the SWP, together with the Unified Secretariat, completely opposed this approach. They are politically consistent only in their permanent rejection of any principled discussion.

The real truth about the present attempt to raise once again the 1953 questions is very clear. The SWP went into the 1963 'reunification' with the rationalization that the old Pabloite liquidationism was gone, and it was possible to build the Trotskyist movement.

Instead, they are faced with the exact situation predicted in 1963 by the IC. The SWP, through its support of the 1963 'reunification', has played a foremost part in misdirecting a whole generation of the cadres of the SWP and the Pabloite sections. It is above all their rejection of political and theoretical discussion of the basic questions which has done this.

In point of fact, all the youth in the Unified Secretariat sections who tried to come to Trotskyism have been driven by the SWP into the

arms of Pabloism. The SWP is as guilty as the whole Unified Secretariat for the 1964 betrayal in Ceylon and every other Pabloite capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

If the SWP now likes to come forward, spuriously as the defender of orthodox Trotskyism, against the anti-Marxist line of Mandel, Frank and Maitan, this is the grossest deception. It is the SWP itself, with its opposition to any fundamental discussion in the world movement, which has provided the political basis for the revisionist majority and all its betrayals. The SWP's criticism of Mandel and Frank is a criticism by a party which is moving rapidly to the right.

The International Committee resolves to charge its secretariat with the responsibility of preparing immediately the complete documentation of the relations between Pabloite revisionism, the SWP and the IC since the years immediately preceding the 1963 split, and publishing forthwith the edited documents for international discussion.

The IC, noting that the crisis in the 'Unified Secretariat' has driven the SWP, in its own distorted way, to open up the questions of 1953, challenges the SWP and the 'Unified Secretariat' to a full investigation and public discussion to establish the historical truth of this whole period.

August 24, 1973

# IN PLACE OF PRINCIPLES

In 1972, the **Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI France)**, rejecting the fight for dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism, broke from the **International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI)**.

A serious and irrevocable split has now occurred between the OCI and its erstwhile Hungarian allies (the group led by M. Varga).

In their attempts to liquidate the ICFI and adapt their principles and organization to a centrist, syndicalist milieu, the OCI was led to support the treacherous opportunist role of the Bolivian POR, led by Guillermo Lora.

The POR's abandonment of the Permanent Revolution and of the independence of the revolutionary party led directly to the defeat of the Bolivian working class. This action of the OCI led to the final breach with the majority of the ICFI, led by the Socialist Labour League.

But the break with the ICFI had a dynamic of its own. In France, it has propelled the OCI-AJS leadership closer to the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies, and ultimately it has led the OCI to abandon every vestige of a centralized international organization.

In a desperate and unprincipled attempt to formalize the split with the ICFI, the OCI organized its own international conference which, from the start, degenerated into a squalid political farce.

The Hungarian and East European groups who had been the most strenuous opponents of the SLL and the most uncritical defenders of

OCI revisionism in the past five years, were suddenly faced with the prospect of the complete liquidation of even the centrist type of international organization created by the Hungarian section and the OCI after the split with the ICFI majority.

In their haste to capitulate to Stalinism and social democracy, the OCI leaders found that even this wretched set-up was an embarrassment to their opportunist policy of tail-ending the Stalinists under the cover of the 'United workers' front as a strategy'.

Even this structure was too rigid to facilitate the manoeuvres of Just and Lambert—leaders of the OCI.

At the rump 'pre-conference' of the OCI-dominated minority faction late in 1972, the OCI leaders revealed the true content of their politics by stating unequivocally that there was no international centre of Trotskyism and the time had come to wind up the ICFI. In its place they suggested the pompous sounding 'Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International': This is what their resolutions stated:

'Pabloite revisionism has organizationally destroyed the International proclaimed at the First Founding Conference in 1938, has destroyed the Fourth International as a leading political centre, but revisionism has not been able to destroy the Fourth International as a programme.'

'The second session of the preconference has no intention of hiding from the workers and from the vanguard of the world proletariat, that the pressure of bourgeois and Stalinist forces has had destructive effects on the organization of the Fourth International.'

The extent of the political degeneration of the OCI leaders is clearly revealed

when this statement is contrasted with the report of the Commission on the Tasks of the International Committee—adopted at the 1966 3rd conference of the ICFI and for which the OCI voted. This is as follows:

'3. The conference affirms that the Fourth International has not degenerated. The historical continuity of the Fourth International founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, reformed in the years 1943-1946, which Pabloism attempted to destroy in 1950-1953, has been maintained since 1953 by the struggle waged by the Trotskyist organizations grouped within the International Committee.'

'As a result of this, the International Conference proclaims that the continuity of the Fourth International has been fought for and maintained by the International Committee's actions.'

'4. The Conference recognizes the inability of the leadership of the International, after Leon Trotsky's death, to succeed in the tasks required by the building of revolutionary parties and the International.'

'During the course of this hard battle for Trotskyism, some cadres have been exterminated, victims of imperialist and Stalinist repressions, others worn out, and the leadership of the Fourth International became bankrupt. This leadership collapsed because of its distortion and abandonment of Marxism, i.e., of the method of dialectical materialism. This is why this leadership was unable to root the movement in the struggle of the working class, and particularly the youth. As a result, they were incapable of assimilating the methods and principles of communist organization. In no case can this failure be considered the

failure of the Fourth International.

'7. The International Conference stresses that the Trotskyist movement, in the course of the struggle to build the International, works towards the creation of a centralized leadership of the world revolutionary party, in a struggle organically linked to the fight in each country to rebuild revolutionary centralized parties leading the struggles of the masses. This building of parties and of the International must be carried out on the basis of the lessons of the struggle against revisionism and of the continuation of this struggle.'

This resolution of the International Committee exposes the OCI's present position as thoroughly false, deceitful, and idealist, because it reduces the programme of the Fourth International to a pure abstraction and separates it from the organization of the Fourth International. This was essentially the position of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and the centrists who opposed the founding of the Fourth International in 1938.

If the programme exists today, it is not because of its intrinsic correctness alone, but because there was an international centre which fought for it, despite enormous difficulties, inadequacies, splits, etc.

The history of the Programme is the history also of the Fourth International. Only cowardly sceptics like the OCI leaders would reduce this historic struggle to an absurdity. The ICFI was and is precisely this centre. In renouncing this basic premise, the OCI leaders have rejected the essence of the struggle of Trotskyism against revisionism.

The centrist Varga group characteristically abstained on this vital vote, but then tried to salvage the last vestige of a political centre by proposing that the IC (that is, the OCI-led minority) should be maintained, but only as an 'International Trotskyist Fraction', which would be neither a political centre nor a post box, such as the OCI proposed, but would merely 'organize the International discussion' in order to form the basis of a centrist International standing between the opportunist POR on the one

side and the SLL on the other.

This led to a violent conflict between the Hungarian group and the OCI forces which resulted in the present split. Unable to answer Varga politically, the OCI leaders have now resorted to exhuming the political past of Varga in order to discredit him personally and destroy his self-confidence — by comparing him to the well-known GPU agent Soblen.

But to abandon the structure of the International Committee meant, inevitably, to repudiate and split with the left-centrists, such as Varga, the leader of the Hungarian exile group in France, and to seek new alliance with the reformist groups and renegades from Trotskyism, such as the SWP in the USA.

The split with Varga was duly organized in the most cynical and bureaucratic fashion. He was prevented from organizing an international faction to fight for his political position because he was a member of the politbureau of the OCI. When the Varga group tried to protest and organize politically, they were summarily condemned and dismissed from the ranks of the 'Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International'.

But this in itself was insufficient to forestall the criticism and uneasiness within the ranks of the OCI about the provocative behaviour of the notorious OCI leadership.

Two major splits in two years was more than some members could stomach with equanimity—particularly when Varga had been a consistent opponent of the SLL and a close confidant of Lambert. Some members of the OCI-AJS were even beginning to wonder where all this factionalism and splitting would end.

At this stage the OCI leaders decided to put an end to all doubts and rally the ranks by introducing a new and sinister note.

Suddenly Varga was found by them not to be a legitimate political opponent of Lambert—but a GPU-CIA agent, who had been conspiring against the OCI for almost 15 years!

And the evidence? The OCI's case rests on the 'revelation' that Varga wrote a couple of equivocal letters

to some Italian publishers about the fallacy of 'national communism' and expressed an opportunist and unpardonably paternalist opinion on Lumumba in the Congo.

In October 1958, Varga (Nagy) wrote a letter:

'Dear Sir, At that time we organized a scientific conference about the Hungarian revolution, with Italian intellectuals, which was to take place on November 3-4 in Milan. The conference was organized by a commission which included as members, Olivetti, Pampaloni, Bobbio, Venturi, Giolitti, Einaudi, Valiani and its president will probably be M. Parri. I think that this conference gives the opportunity for a solid and fruitful contact to cure the illusions towards Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and to find any old ideology on the other. I am pleased to tell you that the newspaper, "The East and the West" is going to publish my article on the preparative spiritual struggle for the revolution!

On November 6, 1958, Nagy wrote in a letter addressed to 'Dear Sir', 'Thank you very much for your remarks concerning our declaration. I had the same impression as you of the term progressive; that is why we have asked some people in Paris: can we use this word? We have been told that this word is identical to neither communism, nor its collaborators; and we accepted it.

'As for your second remark, I agree that from the tactical point of view, it is very important to declare our neutrality.

'We are not neutral of course in the struggle against communism. But we are outside the political blocs in order that we can approach more easily those people living behind the iron curtain and the Afro-Asiatic people. You know their abstention from all politics as blocs. Secondly in my opinion, the way out is not to be found in a politics of blocs. Although it is necessary (because of the Soviet bloc), we will keep it for the others, that is for the politicians, and look for a new policy which is not affiliated to any political bloc, and at the same time an ideological fight against communism.'

These letters reveal that Varga behaved as a political

opportunist in the period after he left Hungary and sought an alternative to Stalinism. This opportunism was undoubtedly dangerous. That is all.

Less impressive—yet more instructive—was the charge levelled against Varga that he was a GPU agent, on the grounds that he opposed the theory of the OCI that a 'Reiss faction' had appeared in the USSR in the person of Grigorenko, and that this faction would carry out the political revolution.

At this stage serious polemic ends and slander begins. The OCI writes: 'In a text published in No. 2 of the Bulletin edited by Varga-Nagy, the leadership of the OCI is reproached with a policy which says: "In the East the working class must make a political revolution under the leadership of the 'Reiss faction'." etc.

"The Varga Faction", it is written in the resolution unanimously adopted by the International Bureau of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International "is opposed to the 'Reiss faction'". The Reiss faction is the Fourth International. The break-up of the bureaucracy and the break with the Kremlin liberates the political forces which orientate themselves so that they constitute the "Reiss faction", that is the party of the Fourth International in the USSR. At all costs, the Varga faction wants to prevent the realization of that process. That is why it ranges itself on the side of Stalinism, against the "Reiss faction", as it sides with Brezhnev against Grigorenko, trying to distort the struggle with the "Reiss faction".

If this paragraph proves anything at all, it surely proves that the OCI has not only completely revised Trotsky's concept of the political revolution and the role of the Fourth International in the USSR, but has also placed itself firmly on the side of the Pabloite revisionists.

Trotsky, in the Transitional Programme, devoted considerable attention to the splits within the composition of the bureaucracy, but never conceded to any section of the bureaucracy—the tasks of political revolution, which

could only be carried out by the most advanced sections of the working class organized in a Trotskyist party.

Here is Trotsky on Reiss:

'The public utterances of former foreign representatives of the Kremlin, who refused to return to Moscow, irrefutably confirm in their own way that all shades of political thought are to be found in the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko). The revolutionary elements within the bureaucracy, only a small minority, reflect, passively it is true, the socialist interests of the proletariat.'

And here is how Trotsky concludes this section:

'Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development towards socialism. There is only one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection—the party of the Fourth International!'

It is clear from Trotsky's analysis that the supreme task of Trotskyists is to organize the working class against the bureaucracy and not to predicate the political revolution on this or that section of the bureaucracy and its intelligentsia.

These groups can only play an ancillary role—this was the lesson of the abortive Hungarian revolution and of the Czechoslovak events in 1968.

The argument of the OCI, while having nothing in common with Trotsky, bears a striking identity to the position outlined by Pablo in 1953 in his resolution 'Rise and Fall of Stalinism' which split the Fourth International:

'Traditionally, the historically transitional and passing character of the Bonapartist dictatorship in the Soviet Union was analysed correctly in the sense that this dictatorship could lead either to a reinforcement of the restorationist tendencies within the peasantry and the bureaucracy, that with the aid of imperialism, which would restore capitalism in the Soviet Union by means of a civil war; or, thanks to the extension of the **world revolution and the aid brought by the world proletariat to the Soviet proletariat and thanks to the Reiss tendency of the bureaucracy** (a tendency which will rally

to the side of the proletariat for the defense of the social bases of the USSR), would lead to the overthrow of the Bonapartist dictatorship and the re-establishment of Soviet democracy.'

Whereas Pablo saw the 'Reiss tendency' personified by the improbable figure of Malenkov, who would 'liberalize' the USSR, à la Deustcher, the OCI now falsely attribute this role to Grigorenko and other Soviet dissidents.

While Marxists defend and applaud the heroic struggles of these intellectuals, they are still very far removed from a Trotskyist opposition in the USSR. Any claim that these groups could lead a political revolution to re-establish Soviet democracy would be a gross distortion of reality.

For the OCI to claim that anyone who is sceptical of this revisionist thesis is a GPU agent is an insufferable tax on the credibility of any socialist. It is the method of Stalinism.

In this statement the OCI categorically denounced Varga in the following way:

'Varga is a GPU agent who has infiltrated the Fourth International in order to carry out his undermining of Trotskyism. He knows what he is doing when he gives his support to Belgian imperialism with the "reasonable black" Mobutu, who assassinated Patrice Lumumba.

'Varga knows what he is doing. We do not know for what reasons the CIA did not accept his services a long time ago. Perhaps the CIA, which also know a number of things, saw through the double-agent. Whatever it was, Nagy had to reconvert himself.

'Ever since he left Hungary, Varga increased his international contacts. He got in touch with the Trotskyists. Having lost his "job", or having been told by the GPU to carry out other tasks, Varga settled in France.'

This slander is absolutely monstrous and impermissible in the working class and is reminiscent of the kind of charges made against Yakir and Krassin by the Soviet procurators' office. These charges not only reflect the disorientation of the OCI leaders, but also raise more questions than they answer.

1) If Varga was a GPU-CIA

agent, why should he leave his correspondence and all incriminating materials with a veteran member of the OCI as the OCI allege?

2) What was the veteran member of the OCI doing for the last 15 years? Was he an agent too?

3) What concrete evidence does the OCI have to prove that Varga was a GPU-CIA agent? Has he betrayed anyone to the GPU or the CIA? Does his conduct in the last ten years justify such an assumption?

4) If opposition to Lumumba makes Varga a CIA operator, where does it put Lambert and Just, who collaborated openly with Messali Hadj, who supported de Gaulle? And how does it explain the disgraceful conduct of Monsieur Lambert who prevented the Young Socialist delegate from Britain making a speech to an AJS rally in 1967, because the speech referred approvingly to the Arab struggle against Zionism, and supported the creation of a Palestinian state?

5) Is it not outrageously fantastic to suggest that a person who participated in the 1956 revolution and played a prominent role in the Budapest workers' council should be at the same time a GPU-CIA agent (whatever this title connotes)?

6) If the OCI leaders are serious about their accusations, should they not have immediately consulted, on matters of security, with the ICFI sections who worked with them and with Varga?

These methods of the OCI are the desperate and unprincipled manoeuvres disorientated petty-bourgeois centrists and liquidators who have betrayed Trotskyism.

There remains the attempt of the OCI to use against Varga, and against the SLL, the correspondence between Varga and Comrade C. Slaughter in 1966. In a letter to members of the OCI dated July 3, 1973, the following passage occurs:

'Before the Conference opened, the International Committee met (at the OCI's request). We raised the question: why have not Lora and the POR been invited despite the unanimous decision to invite them to the 3rd Conference? We could not get a clear answer in 1966. The Varga

archives in 1973 provide us with this answer. In a letter dated March 9, 1966, Cliff Slaughter wrote to Varga:

"Have you the address of the Bolivian comrades? Is it necessary to send them a formal invitation to the Conference?"

Varga replied by return of post that he does not have an address and adds:

"By the same token, I consider that it is possible to act on the invitation (of the POR) only in a veiled form."

'The hypocrisy which we have unveiled since 1972, and in which Varga is steeped, is already here, manifest.

Varga directs Cliff Slaughter on the OCI, but does not pronounce himself clearly. Is he for or against the invitation of Lora? Prudence is the mother of safety and he thought he could only act on the invitation in a veiled form. He will pose—he writes to Cliff Slaughter—the "question to the French comrades". Varga never posed this question, neither that night nor in the years that followed. He had to wait until the pre-conference (1972) and, seeking to address the French comrades who had begun publicly the polemic with the POR, attempted a diversionary manoeuvre against the POR, *Politica Obrera*, and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the FI.'

Rarely has so much sheer lying distortion been packed into a few paragraphs. In the first place, at the time of these letters, the differences which arose over whether to write to Lora and the POR had not yet arisen. The SLL and the ICFI knew that the OCI leaders had discussed in Paris with Lora, but had been given no address and no report of the discussion. Comrade Slaughter, in the course of a letter, asked Varga if he had an address.

Later, certainly, the SLL opposed the invitation of the POR because it was considered that Lora refused to clarify his position on the split of 1953 and the fundamental questions of the Fourth International. History has judged, in 1972, the question of who was right in that discussion. But at no time did this question involve relations between Varga and any member of the SLL.

At that time, the SLL

leadership made no secret of its criticism of the party-building methods and perspectives of the French section. As the same OCI bulletin makes clear, these criticisms were clearly expressed at the beginning of the 1966 Conference. Certainly Comrades Banda and Slaughter, in political discussion with Varga, raised these criticisms, and Varga expressed agreement on some of them. In the course of the 1966 Conference, the greater threat from the *Voix Ouvrière* and Robertson groups led to a united struggle against their liquidationism.

We mention this because, if we quote the whole of the relevant passages of Varga's letter of March 14, 1966, a number of things become very clear.

Was Varga carrying out a 'veiled' and 'hypocritical' opposition to the invitation of the POR as part of his alleged work as an agent of the GPU-CIA? That he certainly was **not**, is clear when we place the contentious sentence in its context. Varga wrote in fact:

'I am a little surprised that the French comrades have not kept you informed on the Bolivian comrade's visit and the discussions with him. I do not have an address, but Lora gave two to the French comrades, one for materials and one for letters. Given that the Bolivian organization is illegal and that Lora personally has been working clandestinely for one year, the addresses are in conformity with these conditions. **By the same token, I consider that it is possible to act on the invitation only in a veiled form.** For this reason, the French comrades must send you the address. Tonight I will put this question to them, and ask them to send you these addresses.'

Is comment necessary on the shameless way that one sentence has been torn out of context to give it the opposite of its real meaning!

Varga asks that the invitation be made 'in a veiled form' because of the illegality of the POR and Lora—in other words, for their protection! And this from a 'GPU-CIA agent'! What follows the famous sentence is also very clear. Varga says he will ask the French comrades for the

address so that the invitation can be sent, and promises to ask them also about the form of the invitation, given the illegality. At this stage there was absolutely no question of whether Lora would be invited or not. The letter speaks for itself.

It is also worth noting that the OCI chooses not to publish (even in an internal bulletin to its own members) the paragraph which follows in Varga's letter, because it makes clear that a leading member of the OCI, Pierre Broué, was in discussion and in agreement with Varga on the questions which had arisen concerning criticism of the OCI leadership. Thus:

'Something else. The national conference of the French organization devoted to international questions will take place this weekend, on March 19 and 20 (1966). It would be very good if you could come to Paris then, for several reasons: 1. To talk over problems that have to be dealt with anyway, 2. To meet Broué, with whom we have agreement on many important points, 3. To see something of French comrades besides those in the leadership, at the conference, 4. The following week I have to leave for Vienna and stay there a few days . . .'

It was not in any way a question of 'secret faction' as the OCI bulletin says, between the OCI leadership, or parts of it, and Varga, but of legitimate political discussion. In this discussion, Varga raised problems with Broué as well as with the SLL comrades, and had a positive response. Why does not the OCI publish the file of letters from Broué to Varga in 1965-'66? Why is Pierre Broué silent?

The OCI leaders also know very well that, far from the SLL being in a faction with Varga against the OCI, the OCI actually proposed the appointment of Varga as a full-time secretary for ICFI work in Paris. They also worked out the 'theory' that the building of sections in eastern Europe and the USSR was the primary work of the ICFI and asked for its entire financial resources to be turned over to the work directed by Varga in eastern Europe. It is a fact that the SLL totally rejected every one of these proposals.

The OCI leaders have in fact arrived at a point where they distort the whole history of the movement and strive to discredit and vilify political opponents instead of politically combatting them. This is the logical end result of their

rejection of dialectical materialism and their prostration before centrism.

The ICFI calls upon Trotskyists everywhere to denounce unreservedly the slanderous campaign of the OCI and to defend Varga against the calumnies which have been invented to destroy him as a political opponent. The Trotskyist movement in France will be built only in a principled struggle against the political and theoretical degeneration represented by the OCI.

Finally, the ICFI appeals even at this late stage to the OCI and the Hungarian and east European organizations supporting Varga to draw the lessons from this experience. These methods of distortion and calumny discredit the Fourth International and are reminiscent of the worst Stalinist techniques.

But they result politically from the abandonment of the building of the Fourth International and the fight for dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism. It is time for the OCI and the Varga supporters to re-examine the whole history of the split and return to the path of Trotskyism.

October 5, 1973

# Lift the ban on Ligue Communiste Release Alain Krivine

**THE International Committee of the Fourth International calls upon all its sections to immediately organize the campaign throughout the working-class movement against the French government's ban on the Ligue Communiste and the imprisonment of one of its leaders, Alain Krivine.**

Undoubtedly, this step by the Pompidou government—implementing the 'anti-wreckers' law which they passed after the May-June 1968 struggles—is a definite response to the rapidly worsening world economic crisis. The French bourgeoisie is preparing for civil war against the working class.

Involved here is not just an act of repression against one organization, but the first of a series of blows designed to cripple the working class itself. Behind these moves by the state machine, the forces of the extreme right wing will take confidence and mobilize for open and bloody clashes with the working class.

France is not unique in this experience. Because of the betrayals of the Stalinists in 1958, when de Gaulle returned to power, and in 1968, the French bourgeoisie feels strong enough to take this step. But the same crisis affects the ruling class of every capitalist country. Since Nixon's decision of August 1971 and the scrapping of the Bretton Woods agreement, every pillar of support has been removed from the superstructure of class-collaboration through which the bourgeoisie has been able to retain its power.

Every measure taken since August 1971 to ameliorate the effects of the crisis has only

exacerbated that crisis. There is no solution: the capitalist class is forced to recognize the inevitability of open confrontation with the working class.

Defence of the Ligue Communiste and the French working class is a vital part of the preparations in every other country to defeat the bourgeoisie in the coming struggle for power. In every country the leading elements of the bourgeoisie have known for some time that it is civil war for which they must prepare.

Heath spoke for them internationally when, in 1970, at the United Nations, he warned that the 1970s would be years not of wars between nations, but civil wars. Today, the political crisis in the state machine of the United States, rooted in the economic crisis and the absence of the necessary authority to put down the American working class, are manifestations, equally with Pompidou's measures against the Ligue Communiste, of the inevitability of involvement of the masses in the struggle for state power.

The French Stalinists, one of the most slavish instruments of the counter-revolutionary policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy, bear the heaviest responsibility for the repression of the French government. These Stalinists, reflecting Kossygin's desire for a 'strong France', betrayed the revolutionary struggles of 1968.

They began by denouncing the embattled students of Paris as 'leftists' and provocateurs. They condemned those who called on the working class for support as 'playing de Gaulle's game'. When this failed, and the workers organized the General Strike, they diverted this General Strike into purely economic demands, while the Soviet bureaucracy guaranteed time to de Gaulle to reorganize the military and then mobilize the petty bourgeoisie.

It was only in these circumstances that the law of Marcellin, now used to ban the Ligue Communiste, could be carried.

When the Renault management organized physical attacks on its workers, leading to the death of one of them, once again the Stalinists preferred to denounce 'ultra-leftism' rather than defend the working class against the enemy.

The West German Stalinists have similarly connived at the expulsion of Maoists from the factories. In Britain the Communist Party rejects the call of the Socialist Labour League for joint action in defence of democratic rights.

The Ligue Communiste itself is part of the revisionist 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International'. For 20 years the International Committee has defended and developed revolutionary Marxism in bitter struggle against the Pabloite revisionism of this tendency.

We defend the democratic rights of the Ligue Communiste, as of every working-class and socialist organization, against the attacks of the bourgeois state, despite these differences, and indeed in order to facilitate the struggle for correct policies against centrism, Stalinism and revisionism in the labour movement.

The Ligue Communiste, like Pabloism in every country, has failed to prepare for the present situation. Ignoring the development of the economic crisis, they have trapped militants in the blind alley of protest and 'single issue' politics, when the real question was one of preparation for power through a turn to the working class in the great struggles provoked by the insoluble economic crisis.

The Pabloite spokesman Mandel drew the 'theoretical' conclusion from the 1968 struggles that the students

and intelligentsia had replaced the 'traditional' working class as the material force for the overthrow of capitalism.

This 'student power' followed previous years of advocacy of 'peasant revolution', of petty bourgeois leaderships in the 'third world', and of sections of the bureaucracy who were substituted for the working class.

There is no escaping from the fact that only if the theoretical lessons of this experience are learned can the alternative Trotskyist leadership be built for the real defence of democratic rights.

Of equal importance was the abandonment of the Trotskyist positions on Stalinism by the Pabloite movement. Instead of fighting Stalinism as the principal counter-revolutionary force on the world arena — understanding that Stalinism was the bourgeoisie's main support in preparing its repressions against the revolutionary movement — the Pabloites peddled the pernicious illusion that the character of Stalinism had changed. Again, the most vital question is to learn the political lessons of this experience.

Defence of democratic rights today is unthinkable without the most determined struggle to defeat Stalinism. As the imperialists are forced by their crisis to prepare the forces and the apparatus of counter-revolution, it is above all Brezhnev who rushes to their aid.

In their haste to defend their bureaucratic privileges, the Stalinist bureaucracy turn to the imperialists for economic aid, in industry as well as agriculture. In return for financial credits they undoubtedly give political guarantees of the behaviour of the Communist Parties, as well as opening the door in the Soviet Union to the

penetration of capital. In these ways they strengthen the ebbing confidence of the bourgeoisie to undertake its repressions.

There can be no fight to defend working-class organizations without a struggle to the end against Stalinism. So long as the Ligue Communiste and the Unified Secretariat oppose this conception, they cut their own throats.

In the struggle to force the Pompidou government to lift the ban on the Ligue Communiste and free Krivine, as in the whole struggle for defence of democratic rights, all the lessons of the Trotskyist movement's struggle for Marxism must be brought to the forefront. There can be no question of a 'single-issue' campaign, in which protests are made involving all available 'democratic' opinion.

In such a search for allies, the independent demands of the working class are liquidated; and the principal means for the victory of the working class, the independent revolutionary party, is thrown away.

This was the lesson of the 'popular front' of the 1930s. The appeal to defend democracy was addressed to elements who were beginning to understand, in desperation, that the old democracy was a fraud. The question was then, and is now, of uniting the working class in the first place, behind socialist policies to defeat the government and the state which perpetrates the attack on democratic rights.

Such policies can be fought for, against the social democrats and Stalinists, only through the building of the revolutionary Trotskyist party.

It is precisely on this question, the building of independent revolutionary parties, that has been the very centre of

our struggle against the Pabloite revisionism of the Ligue Communiste.

The struggle to defend the democratic rights of all working class and socialist organizations can in no way be conditional on the existence of these differences.

On the contrary, the determined struggle of the International Committee to prepare for the coming struggle for power makes it imperative that the IC sections accept the great responsibility of taking the initiative in defence of democratic rights by revolutionary, working-class methods.

In every country we must organize demonstrations to the French Embassies, working to mobilize throughout the workers' movement for the greatest possible number on these demonstrations.

Every trade union and working-class political organization must be confronted with the demand to defend the Ligue Communiste against the ban, and the French government and its representatives abroad must be inundated with the expression of opinion of the labour movement.

At every point this struggle must be used to expose the reformists and Stalinists who, while opposing openly or covertly this campaign, will continue to help their 'own' bourgeoisie towards similar repressions.

Release Alain Krivine immediately!  
Lift the ban on the Ligue Communiste!  
Force the repeal of the 'anti-wreckers' law!  
Down with the Pompidou government!

Unite the working class in every country around socialist policies, in order to defend basic democratic rights!

**International Committee of the Fourth International, July 2 1977**



## NO TO THE MONARCHY—DOWN WITH THE DICTATORSHIP FOR A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT IN GREECE!

**On June 1 the Greek military regime declared the monarchy had been deposed. The arch-dictator Papadopoulos, who had until then been the Regent, declared himself president of the . . . democracy.**

The colonels' gesture follows the abortive coup by Royalist naval officers, unyielding struggles by students and the beginning of undeclared strikes by the workers.

It takes place under conditions of an unprecedented inflationary crisis which is convulsing Greek society from top to bottom.

This crisis is not confined to Greece, but has an international character. It came sharply to the surface after US President Nixon's measures on the dollar in August 1971.

The crisis violently overthrows all the old political relations, not merely those between the main social classes or between the main capitalist nations, but also within the ruling classes.

It creates splits and intense disputes between sections of capitalists and within the state machine in every country.

Constantine's dethronement was not simply a demagogic move by the junta. Like the movement in the navy which preceded it, this action expresses the deepening crisis and division of the Greek ruling class.

The change has not improved the position of the Greek working people. They continue to be deprived of elementary democratic rights. The colonels cannot now hope to win support for their regime.

The anti-monarchist feeling of the masses is deep. But their problem is not to choose between a dictatorship, with or

without a king. They fight to get rid of the present oppressive regime, whether it governs in the name of the crown or not.

In fact the abolition of the monarchy will not be disputed by the working masses when they overthrow the dictatorship. It is the only action by the colonels which coincides with the will of the great majority of Greek people.

The explosive contradictions brought to the surface in the ruling class, also expose the complete bankruptcy of the Greek Communist Party.

The Stalinists play down the importance of what has happened. They characterized Constantine's dethronement as simply a 'manoeuvre'.

They avoid taking a firm stand against the monarchy. On the contrary they show indirectly that they consider the dethronement invalid, supposedly because the Greek people have no opportunity to express their will under conditions of political freedom.

This is what they meant by such phrases as: 'When freed from the dictatorship, the people will arrange their future according to their will,' and 'the victory must be a victory of the people'—which occur in the politburo resolution of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party dated June 2, 1973.

Certainly conditions which ensure the free expression of the will of the masses is the main question. But the Stalinists use this merely to avoid taking a stand against monarchist reaction, with which they are ready to collaborate.

In the same resolution, they classify the naval officers among the anti-dictatorial forces and call 'all the patriots, of whatever political colouring, all the parties and organizations, to [form] a common

front for the overthrow of the junta and the securing of the free expression of the people's will'.

But the monarchy, the naval officers and the bourgeois politicians like Karamanlis who are allied to it, are opposed to the junta because of their own interests. They represent a section of the Greek bourgeoisie as well as the European imperialists, particularly the British, who are competing with the Americans in Greek territory. They are not interested in the democratic freedoms of the masses.

It is now known that the monarchy and all the belated 'opponents' of the dictatorship around it were preparing their own coup, a 'generals' coup', before the colonels snatched the power with the backing of the CIA.

The opposition of all these people to the junta has nothing in common with the movement of the oppressed masses and the class struggle of the working class.

That is why their moves are met with deep suspicion by the masses and the rank-and-file sailors and soldiers. The working class does not ally itself with one section of the local bourgeoisie and the imperialists against another, but struggles to overthrow the whole capitalist reaction.

The Greek Communist Party refuses to take up this independent struggle by breaking off all relations with the bourgeoisie.

Recent events have completely uncovered the rottenness of the dictatorial regime and the fact that it remains in power only because of the lack of a real alternative solution. This solution is an objective reality. But the Greek Communist Party opposes and diverts the independent struggle of the working class

which alone can solve today's impasse by the conquest of power.

Recent events emphasize, above all, the lack of revolutionary leadership. The Communist Party has split. The key to the situation is in the

continuing struggle for building a new revolutionary party of the working class which will overthrow the junta and establish a workers' and farmers' government.

The International Committee of the Fourth International

pledges full support to its Greek section—Workers International League—in the struggle to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership and carry through the socialist revolution in Greece.

June 16, 1973.

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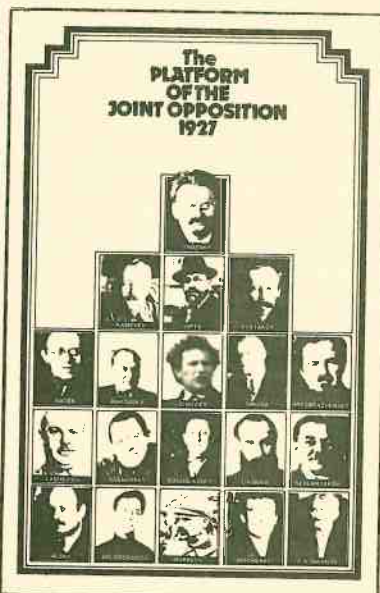


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# DEFEND PERUVIAN TROTSKYISTS

THE INTERNATIONAL Committee of the Fourth International condemns the arrest, torture and continued detention of Sergio Barrio and Jose Carlos Ballon, leaders of the Trotskyist Liga Comunista. We also denounce in the strongest terms the destruction of their Press and the banning of their paper, 'Comunismo', by the Peruvian military junta.

Comrades Ballon and Barrio are not the victims of some episodic caprice of these pro-imperialist thugs and bandits. On the contrary, they have been specially selected for their consistent and uncompromising opposition to the combined attempts of the junta and the Stalinist leaders to abolish the independence of the unions, repress the developing strike wave and strengthen the dictatorship.

Their paper 'Comunismo', has exposed the fake anti-imperialism of the Velasco regime and revealed the monstrous inequality and deprivation which the junta's meagre capitalist reforms have failed to eliminate or alleviate. Despite the Stalinist-junta demagoguery about the 'Peruvian Revolution' the facts are that inflation rages, rural indebtedness grows in leaps while wages depreciate, shortages of basic goods appear daily and unemployment mounts alarmingly in town and countryside.

These are all the hallmarks not of some intrinsic defect of Peru, but of the stranglehold of imperialist finance which determines the underdevelopment of Peruvian industry and agriculture. This stranglehold continues undiminished and will do so until imperialism and the national bourgeoisie are expropriated by a workers' dictatorship which will carry through a comprehensive land reform, nationalize all industry, commerce, banking and land and establish a planned economy.

Until this happens the burden of the serious crisis afflicting Peru will be thrust on the backs of the impoverished Peruvian workers and peasants by the junta with the servile help of the Peruvian Stalinists who use the Menshevik theory of a two-stage revolution to justify the most bestial measures of the regime against the working class.

The arrest of Barrio and Ballon are in line with an uninterrupted history of

repression which has characterized the Velasco regime. These repressive acts are too numerous to recount in one statement. Suffice it to state that they include the conscription of striking shipyard workers, denial of union membership and wage freeze for public sector workers, batoning of squatters in Lima and shootings, baton charges, suspension of constitutional guarantees and deportation of militants in every major provincial capital.

Among those who have been deported is Hernan Cuentas, general secretary of the Cuajone Union. Among those wounded is Cristobel Espinola, Press Secretary of the CGTP, the Stalinist-controlled Confederation of Labour. Among those killed is Humberto Miranda, son of a steelworker.

Press freedom, despite the vaunted Statute on the Freedom of the Press and Decree Law 18075, is restricted to the most craven adulators of Velasco. Not only 'Comunismo', but also the centrist 'Revolucion Proletaria' journal has been banned and its editor, Ricardo Napuri, deported. At the same time the official pro-junta Press, as well as the radio and television, have maintained a total blackout on news relating to the arrest.

Farce and bureaucracy are inseparable bed-fellows. The absurd charges against the accused by the prosecution reveal the moral, juridical, political and intellectual bankruptcy of the junta. They are accused of 'attacking the security of the state, the honour of the nation, of being against the constitutional order and against the freedom of the Press'.

Under this fantastic 'constitutional order' the junta have violated the most elementary democratic rights and held the accused without trial and without access to lawyers.

If the military bureaucracy and Stalinism resort to lies and fantasy it is only because they cannot and dare not reveal the real reason for the arrest and the attempts to silence the 'Liga Comunista': this is the successful struggle waged by the Trotskyists in the CGTP against SINAMOS—the corporatist brainchild of the Centre for Advanced Military Studies—set up to incorporate the unions into the state. This was a signal defeat for the wage-freeze policies of the junta.

In retaliation the Stalinists unleashed an extensive slander campaign which culminated in an appeal for a virtual pogrom against Trotskyists. Pompeyo Mares, a leading Stalinist, urged CP members to hunt out and destroy the Trotskyist Press while the CP paper 'Unidad' openly and

shamelessly declared that the 'Liga Comunista' operated from secret CIA offices in Peru.

The purpose of this campaign has now been made absolutely clear. If the bankrupt and stunted Peruvian capitalists are to survive the effects of Nixon's 1971 measures and the consequences of the monetary chaos which is rapidly depreciating Peru's export prices and endlessly intensifying inflation, then all dissident voices in the working class must be stifled.

But the bourgeoisie cannot do this effectively by itself. It needs imperiously the support of Stalinism. It is therefore true to say that the arrests of Ballon and Barrio could not have occurred without the Stalinist slander campaign.

These events show that the Stalinist bureaucracy continues to be the principal prop of imperialism and the native bourgeoisie and that the central task of the Peruvian Trotskyists is to completely discredit and smash Stalinism.

The International Committee of the Fourth International is confident that all the criminal attacks and conspiracies of the Stalinists and militarists cannot and will not silence Peruvian Trotskyism. The arrests, tortures, deportations and shootings, far from cowering the Trotskyist cadres, will help to steel and temper a new generation of leaders who will defend the basic democratic rights of Peruvian workers and peasants and lead the insurgent Peruvian masses to smash the rotten structure of the capitalist system and establish the rule of the working class.

The ICFI calls on all workers to demand the release of Ballon, Barrio and dozens of other trade unionists and students who have been imprisoned and tortured by the Velasco regime. We demand the lifting of the ban on all left-wing papers.

We call on all CP members everywhere to demand of their leaders that they break their silence and openly condemn the slanderous attacks of the Peruvian Stalinists and the barbaric repressions of Velasco and the Peruvian capitalists.

In conclusion the ICFI pledges full support to our Peruvian comrades in their heroic struggle to establish a section of the International Committee in that country.

**Long live the Liga Comunista!  
Down with Stalinism!  
Down with the reactionary military junta!  
Defend the basic rights of Peruvian workers, students and peasants!**

July 2, 1973

# They will not destroy us

# We fight on!

A letter to the Socialist Labour League from the central committee of the Liga Comunista describes the open collaboration between Lt-General Juan Velasco's government and the Stalinists who are united in their hatred and fear of the revolutionary party.

In their letter the Liga Comunista say:

Our organization is at the moment being very harshly attacked. The police apparatus is busy hunting out our comrades. The two comrades in the leadership are in prison and their future, like that of the rest of the Central Committee, is uncertain.

Our Press has been destroyed and we are now completely clandestine. Repression has been unleashed not only against us, but also against centrist organizations and isolated cadres of the CP, who are being arrested, kidnapped and held incommunicado. Every right of individual freedom is being violated.

To International Committee comrades.

From the central committee of the Liga Comunista and members of the Liga Comunista

We are writing to you from the State Security prison. We are being held in a filthy cell hardly 20 metres square with more than 25 comrades who were arrested in Lima, Moquegua, Arequipa and Puno: we are all students and workers who have been accused by the dictatorship of 'inciting' the people to defend their material historical interests, and of threatening the safety of the military government.

We have been in prison for about five days during which time we have been harshly interrogated by members of the State Security forces.

During our interrogation on the first three days in prison we were not allowed to sleep. It would take a long time to list the wretched savagery of the instruments of repression of the bour-

All constitutional guarantees have been suspended in Arequipa and Moquegua, the provincial leaders of the latter have been arrested. A General Strike is imminent in Cuzco and Puno in support of Arequipa and Moquegua who are fighting for the repatriation of a deported leader, a worker in the mine in Moquegua (Cuajone). His name is Hernan Cuentas and he is a member of the POMR [a centrist group].

The repression has been unleashed against us because of the difficulties of the CP in getting rid of us. The facts we have mentioned plus the an-

nouncement that strikes will be subject to government intervention and the gains of retirement benefits are to be cut back show the seriousness of the problem facing Stalinism and the dictatorship.

The latter had to publish a communique through the CGTP in which we were explicitly accused of being CIA agents and our repression was called for. They want to destroy us and have their hands free. We are determined that they will never do this! We have behind us almost all of the south of the country which is on strike, and strikes are spreading through Lima.

geois state against all those participating in the struggles of the working classes and peasantry.

Now we are completely uncertain of our legal position. However, the whole repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state has not been able to lessen in the slightest our communist convictions, but on the contrary it has fully confirmed every one of our positions against the military dictatorship, against their anti-working class policies against wages, trade unions, and jobs of the working class, the youth and peasantry.

Our arrest and the destruction of our press is for us a circumstantial event in our struggle for socialism. Bourgeois repression has for the moment succeeded in silencing the only revolutionary weekly in Latin America, but that will not be for long.

'Comunismo' will come out again with more strength than ever and will be read by the masses in spite of the bourgeoisie

and its Stalinist agents within the workers' movement. It will be a guide and a lead to the proletariat in Peru and Latin America and organize the party and the working class.

This is not just some mystical recourse of rhetoric. This is a conviction born of ten months' experience; a conviction fully confirmed by our arrest and torture in prison, our relations with workers and students in prison and the present situation nationally of the working class.

The most advanced sectors of the Peruvian proletariat have lived for a period of ten months the experience of the Marxist, materialist view of the world surrounding them. They receive this experience through the pages of 'Comunismo', in the experience of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the opportunists the bureaucrats and Stalinists.

Today the proletariat in the provinces is coming out onto the streets and showing in its actions

that it has assimilated this experience. The Peruvian proletariat, and especially its most advanced and more militant sectors, are not and cannot be the same as before.

However much Stalinism may have succeeded in stopping the publication of 'Comunismo' through out-and-out crookery and cheap slander it **cannot betray with complete freedom.**

Ten months of uncompromising struggle against Stalinist treachery also weighs on the consciousness of the members of the PCP and especially its proletarian nucleus. The present unrestrainable development in the class struggle of the working class in Arequipa, Puno, Moque-

gua, Cuzco, Tacna and Piura shows today that not only has 'Comunismo' not been liquidated, but that such struggles prepare its necessary reappearance. This is the pledge of those of us in the cells of the State Security prison. **We cannot yield one inch in this.**

Our party cannot be crushed. Our torturers and the dictatorship know this full well; our consistent, principled struggle based on the active development of Marxism and the strength of an undefeated proletariat make this task an impossibility for the bourgeoisie and its government.

Now it is being confirmed in our own experience that only the implacable struggle against opportunism, the bureaucracy, and all

the agents of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and Stalinism can guarantee the continuity of Marxism against any torture, imprisonment and armed repression.

Not one step backwards, comrades!

Our struggle must be an example for all the members of the Fourth International and as such the best weapon to destroy all the falsifiers of Marxism, the agents of the enemy.

**Long live the International Committee of the Fourth International!**

**Long live the Liga Comunista!**

**Political Committee of the LC.**

## No concessions!

THIS letter reached Workers Press yesterday from the dungeons of the Velasco military dictatorship in Peru. It was written by two comrades of the Trotskyist Liga Comunista. Every class-conscious worker will be revolted by the tortures to which these comrades have been subjected since they were arbitrarily imprisoned. Workers Press calls on all trade union branches and working class organizations to demand the immediate release of the Liga Comunista members and the restoration of their full rights. Protests should be sent to the: **Peruvian Embassy, 52 Sloane St, London, S.W.1.**

### Lurigancho Prison May 28, 1973.

Dear Comrades,

We have already been 20 days illegally imprisoned by the Peruvian military dictatorship. Up to now none of the legal procedures that are supposed to take place have been carried through.

The military tribunal that is supposed to take our case has not even bothered to take our names and identity, let alone dared to ask us any questions.

This arbitrariness has been characteristic from the moment we were arrested. When the state security agents arrested us in the streets they did so without any tribunal's order, as it is supposed to be by law, and kept us incommunicado in what amounted to a kidnapping.

Our relatives were told we were not arrested and that they didn't know anything about us.

This kidnapping, which is being practised regularly also against workers and trade unionists, serves the purpose of making time for torturing.

We were in fact welcomed by fist blows in our faces and stomach and kept awake with-

out food and under constant interrogation.

Young university students, militants of the Young Socialists, who had been arrested and tortured before us, were brought to us at 3 a.m. or 4 a.m. in the morning. They could hardly walk and had to be dragged by State Security agents to be forced to point to us as members of the Liga Comunista.

The second night of arrest, and after non-stop interrogation and violence, one of us—Sergio Barrio—had his hands handcuffed at the back and was hung with ropes round his arms from a stick tied to the roof ceiling. This torture is known as the 'roast chicken'.

His head was covered with a black mask so he could not recognize his torturers. José Carlos Ballón had the fortune of fainting after non-stop tortures, checked only by his constant political defence of the right to have ideas, revolutionary ideas against dictatorship.

With these tortures and additional threats to our relatives to be 'cooled' (that is to be murdered), they forced us to sign 'confessions'.

We did not hesitate from the beginning of our arrest in stating clearly our political ideas, in denouncing all the military dictators' violations of democratic rights and their attacks against the most basic rights of the workers and peasants.

The recent assassination of a worker's son in Chimbote, and the shots that have paralysed half the body of the Press secretary of the CGTP, the Communist Party-led Central Union, confirm what we denounced openly in front of our torturers.

We condemn and shall fight without any concession the military-corporatist attack against the working class and the peasantry, we shall fight to construct the alternative leadership of the working class, we shall defend the Communist Party as an independent workers' organization, we shall defend the unity and strength of the CGTP.

As we told our torturers, as soon as we were freed, whatever the means and whenever it happened, we were going back to do the same, to fight also for a revolutionary newspaper.

Once our torturers realized that we were not going to give

them names and addresses (which anyway we, as doing an 'illegal' fight, took care of not knowing) then they sent us to another department, the so-called 'Criminal Brigade'.

There, to our own surprise, we were treated by well-known criminals, our jail-mates, with infinitely greater respect than the most 'polite' State Security agent.

Criminals there undergo tortures learned from the US forces in Vietnam in order to be forced to 'confess'. The most common ones are the electric shocks in the genitals, the near-drowned in tubs, or the straight blows with gun butts.

It was only strong pressure from outside that made it possible for us to be transferred to a regular prison, the one where we are now—Lurigancho, although we are kept apart from the numerous other political prisoners and imprisoned union militants, and sent, instead, to share jail with accused drugs dealers.

Our family members are now informed and can visit us. Nevertheless all the Press have kept silent about our arrest and tortures and about the suppression of 'Communismo', the Liga Comunista's weekly paper. The corporatist censorship over the Press, radio and television set-up by the military dictatorship has proved once again 'effective'.

Since our arrest, the working class, the peasantry and numerous sections of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, public employees and school teachers, have proven the strength of the policies of Trotskyism that base themselves on the Marxist view of transformation of society.

The general strike in Are-

quipa, the second industrial town of Peru, in Moquegua, in Puno, Cuzco, and Piura, demanding the immediate repatriation of Hernan Cuentas (the deported general secretary of the Curjone Miners' Union, now probably in Panama), has now been followed by the General Strike in Chimbote, where 40,000 workers demanded the expulsion of Baca Bagzu, the dictator's agent in the Fishermen's Union.

This agent, a well known 'mafioso', is responsible for several crimes and a leading cadre of the state-controlled fascist 'union', the CTRP (Central de Trabajadores de la Revolucion Peruzua), has held illegal control over the Chimbote Fishermen's Union at gunpoint, and with open police protection, refusing to hold union elections for five years.

The Stalinists are now totally cornered. In their newspaper, previously they had free hands to 'stool pigeon' against the Trotskyists. They, in fact, were the ones who publicly gave the name of Sergio to the police in a note published in 'Unidad' by Pompeyo Mares (the author of the treacherous pamphlet 'The War of Slanders').

Now, under the mighty movement of the class and under the active pressure of the Liga Comunista cadres that are carrying on the struggle for Marxism and the construction of the alternative leadership, the Stalinists are finding every day that their treacherous work becomes harder and harder.

'Stool-pigeoning' does not pay when imperialism and their military agents cannot co-exist with any basic rights of the workers and peasants.

The Stalinists here now have

to face their own cadres who are brutally facing repression themselves. When the Press secretary of the CGTP has been shot, nearly killed, and lost movement of his legs, when hundreds of unionists are being arrested, when 'constitutional guarantees' have been abolished 'temporarily' over nearly half the country, when the main CP-led unions are threatened and have no concessions made whatsoever, then Stalinism is between the sword and the wall.

Trotskyism, in the Liga Comunista, consciously fights to corner the Stalinists and force them to break with the military dictatorship and their phoney anti-imperialism.

Their refusal to fight for an independent mobilization of the workers, rallying the peasants and other impoverished sections of the population's support, is demonstrated by their public refusal to fight for the General Strike to force the military junta to resign and call General Elections immediately, and their refusal to call and fight for a Communist Party government with a socialist programme.

We are confident with the full backing of the workers' struggle in the defence of their basic right and with the backing of the immense majority of the peasants (75 per cent) expelled from the land and forced into a desperate struggle for survival, that the Stalinists will retreat, and be forced to break with the government.

Their refusal to respond to the needs of the working class will be their burial and with them of imperialism itself.

Sergio Barrio and  
José Carlos Ballon.

# demokratischen Rechte I



## Defend Democratic Rights!

The Socialist Youth League and the League of Socialist Workers demand that all class conscious workers and youth, all tendencies in the labour movement and all socialist organizations support the following resolution in the unions:

The main aim of the campaign to ban the maoist KPD is to take away from the working class the right to build a marxist party of its choice.

It is an attack on the democratic rights of the working class which comes from the reactionary movement in the bourgeoisie. This attack is directed against all the basic rights of workers and trade unions.

Therefore all workers organizations, especially the trade unions, must lead a campaign to defend the economic and political rights of the working class.

1. Abolition of the KPD-laws of 1956.
2. No working class organizations to be made illegal.
3. Immediate release of Semler and Horlemann.
4. Lift the ban on the Palestinian organizations — the GUPS and GUPA.

The SPD in the government must be forced to carry through these measures immediately.

The trade unions can only defend the basic rights of the working class when basic trade union democracy is defended in every working class organization. Therefore the RGO-decision (banning the Maoist trade union section from the membership of unions) must be withdrawn.

This does not mean that we accept the political methods and the policies of the Maoists. Individual terror and pseudo-radicalism of protest action must be rejected. But the conflict with their politics must be carried out democratically and politically.

The planned attack by the capitalists on democratic rights can only be stopped through the defence of the KPD against the

bourgeoisie despite its wrong politics and method.

### Total Bankruptcy

The political committee of the IAK and the National Committee of the Junge Garde were forced in the last edition of their youth newspaper (which appears every 2-3 months), to publish a declaration about the intervention of a group of comrades from the League of Socialist Workers and the Socialist Youth League at two IAK functions in Frankfurt.

Apart from the fact that at no point did the IAK attempt to engage in a political conflict, the whole of their declaration is a collection of lies and slanders.

At the first meeting, on March 30th, 1973, which called for the building of a Trotskyist organization in Germany, Pierre Broue gave a lecture on the history of Social Democracy and the 'United Class Front'. To organize such a meeting and not to take a stand on the splits in the Trotskyist movement and their basis, is a sign that the organizations who called the meeting use the word 'Trotskyist' as an ornament, but have nothing to do with its content.

Our comrades criticized the concept of the 'Strategy of the United Class Front' rather than the struggle for power by the proletariat. The IAK does not understand the united front as a tactic through which to unite the working class behind revolutionary principles in order to break the working class from reformism, but rather stress only the 'unity' and not the principles on which this unity must be based.

Incapable of carrying out a discussion on this basis, the IAK leadership tried to prevent our comrades from speaking, but only managed to shorten the time allowed to one comrade. It is an outright lie that our comrades were prevented from speaking by 'a unanimous decision of those present'. The IAK sugges-

ted that our comrades could use the IAK newspaper to put forward their position, which our comrades declined as the IAK newspaper only appears every two or three months, and they did not want to postpone the discussion.

Only after the meeting, and not in front of all the comrades, did a comrade called Bernd Stikker by the IAK threaten the Leader of the Socialist Youth League with his fist, and declared that we would not be allowed at any meetings of the IAK.

It now becomes clear that what the IAK understands by 'workers democracy' are left hooks to the chin.

This means that what the OCI and the IAK understand by workers' democracy is the avoidance of political struggle and the covering up of political differences.

Working class democracy is the opposite of a lack of principles. It means precisely the open struggle within the Labour movement about all political questions and is directed against all political tricks, which avoid this struggle.

The reason that we were barred from attending the East-Europe meeting is that the IAK was afraid to show its lack of principles publicly.

The IAK-Junge Garde declare that a discussion over the splits in the Trotskyist movement would be a report for the police. It will never be possible to fight for a marxist leadership for the working class if the theoretical differences are not made clear to the working class in an open discussion. That is why splits are presented in public documents, which are of course also available to the ruling class. The ridiculous argument of the IAK does not serve to hide anything from the bourgeoisie but from their own members.

Was there any explanation why the hungarian section did not appear at the East Europe meeting? No . . . .

# ULSTER: FIGHT THE EMERGENCY PROVISIONS BILL

**The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on the British and Irish working class to oppose the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Bill, which is a major step towards an outright military-police state in Ulster.**

The ICFI condemns in particular those Labour MPs who either voted for or abstained on the Bill in its second reading. By doing so they contributed significantly towards abolishing basic democratic rights in Ulster and created a precedent for the extension of the Diplock proposals into Britain as well.

This Bill deprives Ulster workers of the few remaining legal safeguards against the brutal tyranny of a capricious, unrepresentative and reactionary executive.

The abolition of trial by jury, the law of evidence and the transformation of the judiciary into a tool of the executive, as well as the unprecedented powers of detention conferred on the courts, are aimed at legalizing the pervasive use of torture, frame-up, internment and the system of government-sponsored informers in Ulster.

It also encourages the armed forces and particularly the paratroops, to indulge in an orgy of beating, looting and killing of unarmed civilians. It is no accident that the wave of indiscriminate shooting of teenagers and so-called terrorists has been stepped up sharply since the White Paper and the first reading of the Bill.

Although, at present, aimed principally at the Provisional IRA who equivocally opposed the White Paper, but refused to lay down their arms, these repressive laws and regulations will be used just as freely against Ulster workers in the coming industrial and political struggles.

That is why, when Ulster Secretary of State William Whitelaw assured the House of Commons that the regulations were only provisional and would not last a minute longer than necessary, he was guilty of the most despicable Tory deception.

This was made possible because of the craven acquiescence of the Labourites and the reformist collaboration of the Communist Party-dominated civil-righters, the Official IRA and the Social Democratic and Labour Party in Ulster.

Meanwhile the Fine Gael-Labour coalition led by Liam Cosgrave, which has replaced Lynch and Fianna Fail in the south, continues and even extends the direct support of the bourgeoisie of the Irish Republic for British imperialism's plans.

The social democrats of the SDLP, together with the Stalinists in the civil rights movement and the Official Sinn Fein and IRA, have gone over openly and completely to the imperialists.

Shielded by this common front of reformism, nationalism and Stalinism, the extreme right-wing forces are given time to regroup the forces of disintegrating Ulster Unionism into the basis for a fascist movement for intervention in the developing crisis in Ireland and in Britain.

More and more the openly neo-fascist forces in the Tory Party will turn to Ulster as a

base for their preparations against the working class.

They are directly linked not only with the right-wing Protestant para-military forces in Ulster, but also with the military establishment in the British state machine.

In Northern Ireland, as Whitelaw boasted to the Conference of British Young Conservatives, arrests and imprisonments were ruthlessly stepped up in the period immediately before and after the publication of the Tory government's White Paper. More people are imprisoned at this time than at any previous date.

As part of the same exercise, 500 raids were made in Britain itself, not only on Irish nationalists but also on members of the International Marxist Group. These raids followed the earlier bomb explosions in London at the time of the rail drivers' strike.

In Belfast, Young Socialists are harassed, intimidated and held long hours for questioning merely for selling their literature. The powers recommended by the Diplock Commission will be used more and more to suppress all opposition to imperialism.

The Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act legislated by the Lynch government in 1972 in conditions, which aroused open suspicion of a provocation by the forces of state, is being used to the full by the Fine Gael-Labour coalition government.

Cosgrave and his Ministers boast openly of their work with British military intelligence in acting against the purchase of arms by the Provisional IRA. Members of the Irish bourgeoisie are driven to this final and open admission of their abandonment of any vestige of commitment to national independence by the



depth of the international economic crisis and their consequent fear of the working class.

This is what compels them to come out openly in alliance with the British imperialists. They will not retreat from this, but must take even more reactionary steps. They have virtually abandoned the weapon of national demagoguery which facilitated their control of the Irish workers.

It is in order to help the Irish bourgeoisie and the British imperialists in this dangerous situation that the Stalinists and their 'left' allies now play a vital role; the role of counter-revolutionary betrayal of the working class.

The Tories' White Paper is welcomed by them as a victory. It is said to reflect the pressure of the masses on imperialism, creating a situation under which the Irish people can advance a step further politically.

It is said to mark the definitive end of Stormont, the traditional mechanism of imperialist-Unionist rule. The masses are told that the proposals in the White Paper represent a 'step forward', a 'victory' in the struggle!

In reality the White Paper represents the plan of the imperialists to carry out even more brutally the 'pacification' of Direct Rule. Just as the Stalinists and reformists welcomed Direct Rule, so they now try to condition the masses for the implementation of the White Paper proposals. They will even accept government office and try to ensure the collaboration of the trade unions in the new administration.

They will do this while British imperialist troops continue their occupation, their shootings and arrests. They will do this while para-military forces led by the extreme right-wing continue to flourish.

They surrender the independence of the working class at the point where Protestant workers as well as Catholic are thrown into struggle against the Tory anti-union and wage laws, thus leaving the way open for the right wing to lead backward workers into the arms of reaction.

These Stalinist and social democratic parties have consistently refused to mobilize the working class, particularly

against imperialist occupation, against the Tory government in London.

They now turn on a working class frustrated by the military occupation and the reduction of the struggle to acts of terrorism and protest, and try to take advantage of any mood of exhaustion, of 'giving' the White Paper a chance, of clutching at any possible way out of the present impasse.

This is the role of Stalinism everywhere today: to translate every tactical step taken by the imperialists to deal with the working class as a 'victory', thus once again fragmenting and diverting the working class from the political task of defeating the enemy's preparation and uniting in a political struggle on the road to power.

It is in this way that the Stalinists in Ireland join with the social democrats and liberals in advocating that the essential prerequisite for advance, for any relaxation of the Tory government's repressions, for any release of political prisoners, is the cessation of the activities of the Provisionals! And behind this miserable excuse they drop their demand for the release of prisoners. They are willing agents of imperialist repression.

The International Committee of the Fourth International has always warned that typically middle-class nationalist methods of terror adopted by the Provisional IRA cannot defeat British imperialism and stand in the way of the political changes necessary to build a new leadership. But we support unconditionally all those in struggle against British imperialism.

Now we can see even more clearly than before the meaning of the Stalinists' campaign, in the last three years, for a 'Bill of Rights' and a Constitutional Conference on Northern Ireland. Whitelaw and the Tories have deliberately incorporated a fraudulent 'Bill of Rights' in the White Paper.

The Stalinists welcome the new powerless puppet Assembly as a step to representative government, not the imposition of a new form of imperialist rule.

They welcome the conciliation of Cosgrave with Whitelaw and Heath as a step to

their 'constitutional conference', towards eventual Irish unity, not towards a firmer and more repressive dictatorship imposed through civil war in which the Dublin government fights alongside British imperialism.

The dangers flowing from the latest imperialist measures and the betrayals of the Stalinists and 'lefts' are necessarily accompanied by new and great opportunities for Marxism, for the section of the International Committee of the Fourth International in Ireland.

Only the ICFI and its sections raised from the very beginning the demand for immediate withdrawal of the British imperialist army. Revisionists like the International Socialists group welcomed the intervention.

Only the ICFI and its sections have held high the banner of the political independence of the working class of Ireland and of the indissoluble unity of its struggle with that of the working class in Britain.

The coalition government in Dublin is a coalition of complete crisis. Its majority can be destroyed by even the slightest change in the political situation. The Irish economy's weakness exposes it to the effects of the rapidly-worsening economic crisis.

The working class, north and south, is driven inexorably into mass struggles by the inflationary basis of this same crisis, which is destroying its already meagre living standards.

These struggles, in contrast to the craven betrayals of the Stalinists and the traditional leaderships, will create a great opening for political discussion on the predominant question of leadership. Many working-class cadres can be won from the masses and from the ranks of the traditional organizations to Marxism and the Fourth International.

In Britain, the central struggle for the defence of basic democratic rights against the preparations of the Tory government demands an unrelenting struggle to force the Tories to resign and elect a Labour government which must be forced to withdraw all troops from Northern Ireland.

Such a struggle would be a great blow against imperialism and would provide the basis

for a leap forward by the Irish working class.

- Throw out the White Paper proposals!
- Destroy the Diplock proposals!
- Unity of the Irish working

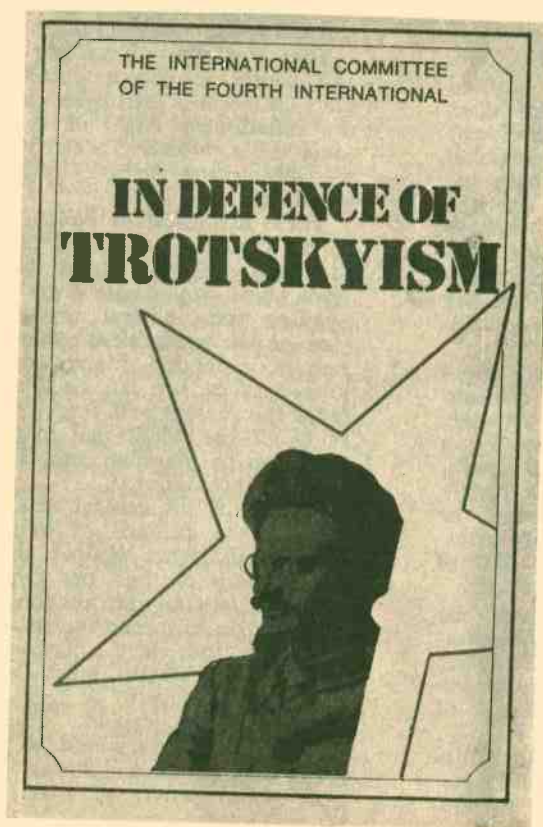
class, Catholic and Protestant, against unionism and imperialism!

- Unity of all Irish and British workers for the overthrow of the Tory government and

the Cosgrave coalition in Dublin!

- Fight for a Labour government which must be forced to withdraw troops from Ulster and release all political prisoners!

## Second Impression



MARXISM was long ago established through bitter struggle as the only scientific basis for the workers movement and socialism. Revolutionary parties of the working class, the essential prerequisites for the working-class conquest of power, cannot be built except on this foundation. But Marxism is a guide to action, not a dead and finished doctrine. It has lived and developed only through continuous struggles against enemies.

At the core of these struggles is the fight against revisionism, the recurring reflection within the Marxist movement itself of capitalist power and ideology. This struggle is not some expensive overhead or unfortunate duty, but the very essence of the development of Marxism in a conflict of theory and practice.

The Fourth International, founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky as the essential continuation, in a period of historic defeats for the working class, had similarly to counter a succession of revisionist attacks.

It is 20 years since the split in the Fourth International between Michel Pablo's revisionist faction and the defenders of Trotskyism in the International Committee. Since that time the IC has constantly and consciously based its work on the struggle against revisionism. In essence, the Pabloites abandoned the principled task of building independent revolutionary parties.

This experience proved yet again the central place of the struggle for defence and development of dialectical materialism, and it was on this question that in 1971 long-standing differences in the OCI eventually crystallized. The French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) denounced the IC's concentration on training the youth in dialectical materialism and proclaimed the need to fight any concern with Marxist philosophy as an idealist diversion.

That the philosophical questions came so insistently to the fore was the surest indication that the struggle within our movement reflected the decisive stage reached by the capitalist crisis and the class struggle. No longer does the fight against revisionism in the Fourth International take place in conditions created predominantly by working-class defeats. We face the necessity of the construction of revolutionary parties, able to lead the working class to power, under conditions where imperialism has been unable for over a generation to administer a major defeat.

The text published here, *In defence of Trotskyism 1973*, should be studied in conjunction with earlier documents of the split with the OCI (see *Fourth International*, Vol 7, nos. 283). Its aim is to arm the cadres of the revolutionary parties, sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, in every country.

Fourth International Winter 1973

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