

# Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Volume 9 No. 1

Price 25 pence

Summer 1974

## GREECE

# World revolutionary crisis

## PORTUGAL



GREECE

PORTUGAL

ETHIOPIA

ULSTER

PERU



# Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Volume 9 No. 1

Price 25 pence

Summer 1974

## GREECE

# World revolutionary crisis

## PORTUGAL

QUE RESENDO  
O  
P  
A  
T  
R  
A  
O

GREECE

PORTUGAL

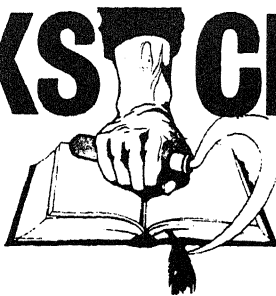
ETHIOPIA

ULSTER

PERU

# PAPERBACKS CENTRE

28 Charlotte St  
London W1



NOW OPEN

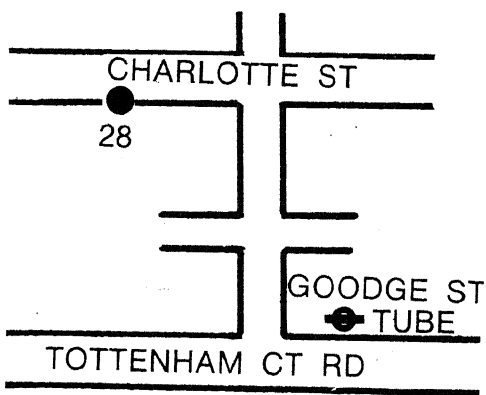
Mon, Tues, Wed, Thurs  
9 a.m.—6 p.m.

Fri 9 a.m.—7.30 p.m.

Sat 9 a.m.—5 p.m.



## BOOKS PERIODICALS NEWSPAPERS



**Come in and  
browse around!  
No obligation to buy!  
We look forward  
to seeing you!**

# Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM

VOLUME 9 NUMBER 1 SUMMER 1974

EDITORS: TOM KEMP, CLIFF SLAUGHTER

	2	Editorial
<b>Ideology and Capitalist Economy in Marx's 'Capital'</b>	3	Cliff Slaughter
<b>John Maclean</b>	14	Terry Brotherstone
<b>History of the Greek Civil War (part ii)</b>	22	Greek Section of the IC of the FI
<b>Free the Greek Trotskyists!</b>	38	International Committee 19-3-74
<b>Withdraw the Troops from Ulster</b>	40	International Committee 6-6-74
<b>Long Live the Ethiopian Revolution</b>	44	International Committee 10-4-74
<b>Free José Carlos Ballon</b>	45	International Committee 16-4-74
<b>Long Live the Portuguese Revolution</b>	46	International Committee 10-5-74

PUBLISHED BY  
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL  
186A CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, LONDON, SW4 7UG.



UNCONTROLLED and rapidly accelerating increase in the cost of living is undoubtedly the most revolutionary factor directly affecting the lives of the mass of the working class in every country in the capitalist world. And yet this unprecedented international inflation in prices is reaching its peak at the very time when world capitalist economy has begun the irreversible slide into recession. The Fourth World Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International, held in April 1974, made its balance sheet and based its political perspectives on this new stage reached by the crisis.

The relationship of class forces is everywhere disrupted by these developments. In no country can the structure of class compromise built up since the 1944 post-war settlement, survive. The August 1971 decision to end the Bretton Woods international currency and payments system had already determined the economic content of these developments. Working their way through the particular historical situations in particular countries, the forces unleashed by the decision of the US ruling class are now manifesting themselves politically—in the fall of Portuguese Fascism, in the collapse of the Italian coalition government, in the fall of Brandt, in the replacement of the Tories in Britain by a minority Labour Government.

The political crisis in Italy is of symptomatic interest to the working class in every country. Unable to finance the foreign debt produced by the rise in oil prices (latest twist in the world inflationary spiral) the Italian economy faced state bankruptcy. Even when confronted with complete social and political disruption in Italy, the world's bankers were no longer prepared to raise the necessary credit. The international cry of alarm which this produced was the pained recognition that there no longer existed the situation in which, since the second world war, there existed world backing for Keynesian policies of class-compromise in individual capitalist countries. A temporary stop-gap was devised by agreeing to accept Italy's central gold holdings, at the free market price, as security for an international loan. But such a 'solution' is in itself the direct opposite of the whole post-war boom and its accompanying 'stability'.

Once again, it is necessary to check back over the struggle of Trotskyism against revisionism, in order to define more decisively our practical revolutionary tasks. In the epoch of imperialism, the *international* nature of the capitalist economy is the essential content of the economics and politics of every country. At the stage we have now reached, this is more pronounced even than it was at the time of the Russian Revolution and the early years of the Communist International, when this conception had to be fought for against revisionism in the Russian Communist Party and then in the International. Stalin's 'Socialism in One Country' was above all a jettisoning of the international starting point of world economy and capitulation to the alien class forces inside and outside the isolated Soviet state. From the standpoint of Stalin's 'theory', it was impossible to conceive of the forces in a particular country as representative of the revolutionary contradictions internationally, and the consequence could only be a capitulation to the petty-bourgeois domination of the working class in each country. Not surprisingly, Stalin reverted to the arguments of discredited social-democratic spokesmen like Vollmar to elaborate his theory in 1924. Today's Stalinist positions—parliamentary roads to socialism, national roads to socialism, 'advanced democracy'—have no content other than the reactionary utopia of Stalin's 'socialism in one country'.

It was in battle against this revision, and against Stalinism in all its forms, that the Fourth International was built by Trotsky. When Pablo led the split from the Fourth International in 1953, he and his followers (Mandel, and later the

American SWP leaders) abandoned precisely this internationalism. For them, the world revolution was divided into three 'sectors' (advanced countries, the workers' states, and the 'third world'). Perspectives for the revolution were henceforth to be deduced from surface developments in one or another sector—first Stalinism was to 'project a revolutionary orientation', then the third world was to throw up 'natural Marxists' like Castro. As for imperialism in the advanced capitalist countries, it had become 'neo-capitalism'. This meant an acceptance of the bourgeois claim that Keynesian policies of state deficit spending had overcome capitalist crisis. In consequence, the objective source of the revolutionary role of the working class was cut off, and soon the revisionists found in the students and intelligentsia the 'new revolutionaries'. After Nixon's declaration ending the Bretton Woods system in 1971, Mandel's perspective was of 'cycles of slower growth' and a new Euro-currency to strengthen European capitalism against the United States. All this was nothing more than an elaborate theoretical smokescreen to obscure, in the advanced working class, the profound revolutionary content for every country of the rapidly developing imperialist crisis.

Within the International Committee it was necessary to combat a virulent revisionist attack from the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). The OCI condemned Pabloism but refused stubbornly to analyse the economic crisis, saying that the economic developments must not be separated from their political effects. With this rejection of historical materialism, they turned their organisation towards a complete tail-ending of the working class. As always, such an orientation ends up very quickly in subordination to the reformist bureaucracy which ideologically and politically dominates the labour movement. To build sections of the International Committee, revolutionary parties based on a theoretical grasp of the highest manifestations of the world economic crisis and its effects on state and class relationships was rejected as 'ultra-leftism'. Not surprisingly, the OCI, after its split from the IC, has ended up in total support of the Mitterand presidential campaign and its 'minimum programme'.

This political capitulation was anticipated at the level of theory. The OCI at the Essen Youth Conference of June 1971 lined up with centrist opponents of the Fourth International (the Spanish POUM) in denouncing the IC's resolution that the revolutionary youth can only be trained on the basis of dialectical materialism. From there it was but a short step to denounce the founding of the Workers Revolutionary Party as a sectarian 'crime' against the natural development of the working class.

In fact the possibility of founding the WRP in Britain and of building strong sections of the IC in a number of countries since 1971 only existed because of this basic orientation towards Marxist theory and to a materialist analysis of the international economic crisis as the basis of our work. It was the record of this work, and the organisation of the work of the International Committee in building these new sections, which constituted the work of the IC's Fifth Conference.

This struggle for the basic tenets of Marxism against revisionism and liquidationism is the indispensable capital upon which the national sections of the International Committee base their work in the unprecedented revolutionary crisis which has now begun to grip the entire capitalist world. It is in this sense that the Fifth Conference of the IC reaffirmed the declaration of our last Conference, that 'the real history of Trotskyism begins now'. We mean by this that the long and bitter struggle against repression and isolation, conducted over decades by the cadres of the Fourth International is now being consciously transformed into the struggle to provide revolutionary leadership and to defeat the Stalinists and reformists on the road to working-class power.

# Ideology and Capitalist Economy in Marx's 'Capital'

by  
Cliff Slaughter

NOT a single tendency in the working-class movement, outside the International Committee of the Fourth International, was prepared theoretically and practically for the present entirely new stage of capitalism's historical crisis. On the contrary, revisionism ran rife, and the particular conditions of the post-war boom were used to develop theories of new, 'organized' and crisis-free 'neo-capitalism'. Is it accidental that these same revisionists also bitterly opposed the struggle of the International Committee to defend and develop dialectical materialism as the *theory of knowledge* of Marxism? Without doubt, every experience in the revolutionary period we have now entered will give us the opportunity to develop further the understanding of the Marxist method.

In connection with this theoretical struggle, the publication in English of Marx's *Grundrisse (Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy)*\* is a great landmark. Fourth International will devote a number of articles to this work, and to criticism of the introduction to the present edition by Martin Nicolaus. This introductory article is a preliminary presentation of some of the concepts developed in *Capital*, concepts at which Marx worked analytically in the *Grundrisse*

\* Penguin Books, in association with  
'New Left Review'



'In so far as Political Economy remains within that [bourgeois] horizon, in so far, i.e. as the capitalist regime is looked upon as the absolutely final form of social production, instead of as a passing historical phase of its evolution, Political Economy can remain a science only so long as the class struggle is latent or manifests itself only in isolated or sporadic phenomena.'

(Marx. Preface to the 2nd Edition (1873) of *Capital*. Vol. I.)

## (i) 'Capital' and the Marxist theory of knowledge

UNDERSTANDING Marx's method in *Capital* demands first of all that this historical verdict on 'political economy' be understood. If it is not, then the economic and social phenomena of capitalism are taken as manifestations of laws akin to laws of nature. Ricardo, for example, was able to recognize the antagonism of classes based on their economic interests, but was taken to task by Marx for 'naïvely taking this antagonism for a social law of nature'. When Marx says in his preface to the first edition (1867) that in his method 'the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history', he is stressing the objective and historical character of the process; his reference to Ricardo shows that *only* insofar as this historical aspect is given precedence can the distinctive character of social processes be understood. History, for Marx, is the process of man *becoming* man through a succession of modes of production, his own creations. Marx's theory of historical materialism summarized the nature of the contradictions which have effected the transitions between these successive modes. *Capital* is the test of this theory in the specific case of the capitalist mode of production. Ricardo's limitations were rooted in the fact that he produced his work in a period when the struggle of classes in capitalism was still not a generalized phenomenon with the force to pose the question of the overthrow of capitalism. Political Economy itself was the scientific reflection of that period; in his 'critique of political economy', Marx set himself the task of the conscious, scientific reflection of the rise of the working-class struggle to overthrow capitalism. Marx's economic-social categories are deliberate reflections of this struggle and the heightening of contradictions which it produces. The totality of these contradictions is grasped only by the most serious and thoroughgoing analytical and historical work. We are reminded of Marx's youthful aphorism, in response to the Young Hegelians' idea that 'criticism' could transform the world: 'The weapon of criticism must be replaced by the criticism of weapons!' How then did Marx 'criticize' capitalist society? Not simply by exploding the internal contradictions of Political Economy, but by showing how the struggle of the proletariat 'criticized' capitalism historically,

by overthrowing it. (Marx refers, of course, to the nature of the proletariat as a class, and not in the first place to its conscious reactions: 'It does not matter what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, visualizes as the aim. Its aim and its historical action are prescribed irrefutably by its own life situation, as by the whole organization of contemporary bourgeois society'. (*The Holy Family*.) Insofar as *Capital* grasped and presented scientifically *this* 'criticism', and demonstrated it to be the key to the whole mode of production and its development, Marx was satisfied with his work. Vol. I of *Capital* is the general theoretical demonstration of the basic categories of capitalist economy from this standpoint. Both Volumes II and III were to move from this abstract presentation of the basic categories (with historical illustration for wage-labour and capital) to the world of everyday real appearances in which capitalist society functioned and through which the forces for its political overthrow were fashioned in conflict. Thus, in Volume III, the characteristic illusions of capitalist society are demonstrated in their origin and development, and finally Marx comes to the chapter 'Classes' in which, as one of his letters promised, he will deal with 'the class struggle, in which the whole thing is smashed up'.

Marx constantly stressed that Political Economy's claim to science was that, while involving a very high level of abstraction, it was concerned with the adequate reflection of objective phenomena, and not with 'pure' logical categories.

'Although an abstraction, this [value] is an historical abstraction which could only be adopted on the basis of a particular economic development of society'. (Letter to Engels, April 2, 1858.)

By the time *Capital*, Vol. I, was written, Marx had completed his definition of this connection between the social relations, the general forms of consciousness to which they gave rise, and the 'scientific' analysis of those relations:

'Hence, when we bring the products of our labour into relation with each other as values, it is not because we see in these articles the material receptacles of homogeneous human labour. Quite the contrary: whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act we also equate, as human labour, the different kinds

of human labour. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it. . .'

'The character of having value, when once impressed upon products, obtains fixity only by reason of their acting and re-acting upon each other as quantities of value. These quantities vary continually, independently of the will, foresight and action of the producers. To them their own social action takes the form of the action of objects, which rule the producers instead of being ruled by them. It requires a fully developed production of commodities before, from accumulated experience alone, the scientific conviction springs up, that all the different kinds of private labour, which are carried on independently of each other and yet as spontaneously developed branches of the social division of labour, are continually being reduced to the quantitative proportions in which society requires them'. (*Capital*. Vol. I, pp. 45-46.)

Where the production of commodities existed only in a weak form, then (as in the case of Aristotle) only brilliant and isolated precursors of the theory of value could arise. It was the later total domination of commodity-production and exchange value in capitalist society which made possible the classical economists' concept of value. Similarly Marx himself penetrated to the essential phenomena of *the transformation of labour-power into a commodity* and of *surplus-value as unpaid labour* on the basis of the development of the working class and its struggle. Scientific work consisted in re-working all the categories and concepts from these basic discoveries. Marx always derided the 'vulgar economists' of his own day when they held up the 'contradictory' phenomena of everyday life and contrasted them to the basic concepts of value, etc. These 'vulgar economists' did not have the historical justification of their 'classical' predecessors for a static view of capitalist society and its antagonisms. By now there predominated the class egoism of the bourgeoisie and its fear of the proletariat, and the 'inner connection' of the everyday economic facts could not be faced without a complete change of class outlook:

'When the inner connection is grasped all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing

conditions breaks down before their practical collapse'. (Letter to Kugelmann, July 11, 1868).

In the term 'practical collapse' Marx returns to his point in the 'preface' to Vol. I: to grasp the inner connections now means to grasp the significance and necessity of the forces which produce the collapse or overthrow of capitalist economy — and thereby the refutation of the economic categories which reflected it as something fixed, permanent, 'natural'. This was the outcome of Marx's 'critique' of political economy. Once the working class appears as an independent force, the task of science is to pose the problem of the *historical fate* of capitalism.

In the years following the completion of Volume I, Marx continued to lay great emphasis on this epistemological or 'philosophical' aspect of his own work, time and again insisting on the nature of scientific categories as consciously reproducing the real developments in nature and society, and from this vantage-point grasping the essence of all intellectual and ideological development. Commenting on the work of the German historian Maurer, he wrote to Engels:

'But what would old Hegel say in the next world if he heard that the general (*Allgemeine*) in German and Norse means nothing but the common land (*Gemeinland*), and the particular, *Sundre, Besondere*, nothing but the separate property divided off from the common land? Here are the logical categories coming damn well out of "our intercourse" after all.' (March 25, 1868).

And later in the same year, referring specifically to economic categories:

'While Messrs. the Economists treat the question whether ground rent is payment for natural differences in the land, or merely interest on the capital invested in the land, as a pure conflict of dogmas, we have here (in Irish history) an actual life or death struggle between farmer and landlord on the question of *how far* the rent *should also* include, *in addition to* payment for the difference in the land, interest on the capital invested in it—not only by the landlord, but by the tenant. It is only by substituting for conflicting dogmas the conflicting facts and real contradictions which form their hidden background that we can transform political economy into a positive science.'

## (ii) 'Capital' and historical materialism

It is evident that *Capital* is very much a continuation of and not a departure from the years of work which the young Marx had devoted to the materialist foundations of his method, arrived at through the critique of Hegelian philosophy. But Marx had not simply accepted materialism in the old philosophical sense: his *historical* materialism sees man, socially producing, as the subject of the historical process, not in the sense that history is a manifestation of the will of man, but in the sense that he produces his own world. In so far as the necessity of this historical self-production

is not understood it appears 'blind' and conflicts with men's wills. Philosophy had understood this but had taken *understanding* of the necessity as equivalent to freedom. Marx, on the other hand, held that the real subject of history, man himself in his social production relations, could now become free by a revolutionary re-shaping of those relations which would give him overall and planned control over all the accumulated productive forces. For this, the existing ownership system, in which the productive forces were transformed into capital, must be overthrown. This was a historical imperative of which man



must become conscious: the contradiction between socially organized production and private ownership was a developing one, which threw the working class into conflict with the capitalist class. Day-to-day social production, organized planfully within the capitalist enterprise as part of the total production, which is unplanned, and the relations between the units of which is regulated unconsciously, is one level of the practice by which man constantly transforms the world. At a higher level, the conflict between the productive forces which more and more control nature and the capitalist production relations which inhibit them, requires a conscious understanding of the social system in its contradictory totality; an understanding which can be developed only in contradictory unity with the actual experience and struggle of that force which overthrows capitalism, the working class.

The subject-matter of classical political economy was the production and distribution of the wealth of capitalist society, conceived as a natural and timeless system. The subject-matter of 'vulgar economics' (i.e. of bourgeois economics after Ricardo) is the appearances of relations between products and between men as owners of those products. The subject-matter of Marx's *Capital* is 'to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society'. In so doing, Marx presents the standpoint of 'socialized humanity' as against that of 'the isolated individual in civil society': humanity stands on the brink of social unity, abundance and control of its own destiny, because of the conquests of the productive forces, the growth of science, and the universalization of human needs, brought to a head by the necessity of Capital to 'constantly revolutionize the means of production'; the proletariat, alienated completely from the means of production, is compelled in struggle to realize its historical interests as a class by carrying humanity forward from capitalism; the proletariat is potentially 'socialized humanity'; to realize potential it must break the established forms of society, state and ideology.

*Capital* analyses this contradictory process at the 'basic' level of relations of production. It is the most highly elaborated test of Marx's historical materialism. This does not mean that it is a complete analysis of capitalist society. The ideological and political forms of that society would have to be specifically examined on a basis just as detailed as Marx's work on the social relations of production. But Marx's *Capital* is the

indispensable basis for this further work. Not only does it show the specific unity and contradictions of the capitalist mode of production in all its economic manifestations, it also shows how the most general assumptions and ways of conceiving social relations are produced by the process of capitalist production and distribution. For historical materialism it is not sufficient to treat 'ideology' as merely the rationalization of some easily grasped 'class interests'. But it is essential to grasp that in *Capital*, the study of the economic basis of capitalist society as a historical whole, Marx deals at the same time with the most general categories of social consciousness engendered by capitalism.

Characteristically, Marx's presentation shows these ideological forms in conflict and contradiction with the material reality to which his own method has penetrated, from the analysis of the commodity and its mystifications (fetishism), through money as the highest form of this fetishism, to the unfinished analysis in Volume III of the illusions about the source of profit, rent and wages, around which a whole inversion of the relation between subject and object is constructed. *Capital* is thus itself a deliberately devised weapon for the dissolution of the capitalist class's ideological defences. To break these ideological shackles (in this case the assumption of permanence and 'naturalness' of capitalism) and the institutional forms associated with them is, in Marx's historical materialism, a necessary creative act in man's progress from one epoch to another. In this sense, the purpose of *Capital*, as of all Marx's writings, is to provide the consciousness which will assist man to free himself from the outmoded and oppressive social forms grown up on the basis of his past productive achievements. This 'revolutionary practice' is the real freedom which Marx opposes to the illusory freedom of the citizen under capitalism. By establishing consciously its true relationship with the productive forces (of which it is itself the principal one), the proletariat makes the 'leap to freedom'. *Capital* is the dramatic life-history of these productive forces and of this proletariat in struggle against capitalist production relations. The labour process in its capitalist form both reproduces capitalist society every day and yet by that same reproduction necessitates revolutionary change. Capitalist social relations are shown by Marx to be *necessary* forms for the development of the productive forces which *become* barriers to further development.

### (iii) The basic relations of capitalism

Marx's *Capital* sets out to deal with 'the relations between capital and labour, the axis on which our entire present system of society turns'. (Engels on *Capital*). (My emphasis, C.S.). It is this unified and organic view which has been the

target of all sociological criticisms of Marxism. It clearly involves a thoroughly radical critique and rejection of the self-sufficiency of every part of social life and of the 'sociologies' which study them; it insists on the reference of all social

phenomena to their true relation with this 'axis', the relation between capital and labour and its changes.

All labour, in capitalist society, is wage-labour. Labour-power is bought and sold as a commodity, like every other commodity. Not only labour-power, but also all implements of production and raw materials of production, in capitalist society, are transformed into capital. Before the production of human social life can take place for one second, capital must be differentiated into *constant capital*, which is invested in the raw materials and instruments of production, and variable capital, invested in labour-power, i.e. paid in wages. Between the value of labour-power and the value created by labour, which manifests itself only in the product, i.e. in the *consumption* of labour-power by the capitalist who has bought it, there is a difference. This difference or unpaid labour is *surplus-value*, and is the source of all the rent, interest and profit in capitalist society; the appropriation of this surplus-value is the mode of exploitation of capitalism. Only labour produces value: the other elements entering into the product merely have their original value *preserved* in the product.

The capitalist system of production carries to its furthest extreme the separation of the labourer from the means of production. In the historical sections of *Capital*, Marx describes the evolution of these conditions, the 'freeing' of the labourer from the soil or from his workshop, and the accumulation of all wealth by the capitalists. Here is the source of the 'alienation' about which so much has been written in recent years. When the capitalist buys labour-power, he is interested in it solely for the reproduction of the value of his capital, augmented by surplus value. The 'use-values' produced are of no interest as such. The 'concrete' or particular type of labour involved is of no interest as such. It is the general, abstract, value-producing character of the labour, common to *all* labour, which is of interest. All qualitative relationships are rendered irrelevant, as contrasted with previous modes of production.

'If we consider the process of production from the point of view of the simple labour-process, the labourer stands in relation to the means of production, not in their quality as capital, but as the mere means and material of his own intelligent productive activity . . . But it is different as soon as we deal with the process of production from the point of view of the process of creation of surplus-value. The means of production are at once changed into means for the absorption of the labour of others. It is now no longer the labourer that employs the means of production, but the means of production that employ the labourer. Instead of being consumed by him as material elements of his productive activity, they consume him as the ferment necessary to their own life-process, and the life-process of capital consists only in its movement as value constantly expanding, constantly multiplying itself. Furnaces and workshops that stand idle by night, and absorb no living labour, are "a mere loss" to the capitalist. Hence, furnaces and workshops constitute lawful claims upon the sight-labour of the work-people. The simple transformation of money into the material factors of the process of production, into means

of production, transforms the latter into a title and a right to the labour and surplus-labour of others . . . (and) this complete inversion of the relation between dead and living labour, between value and the force that creates value, mirrors itself in the consciousness of capitalists.' (*Capital*. Vol. I, pp 297-298).

For an understanding of the diametrically opposed starting-points and subject-matter of Marxism on the one hand and sociology on the other, there could be no clearer text than the above quotation. From it flows the Marxian analysis of fetishism and ideology under capitalism, as well as the basic course of the class struggle which will eventually close the capitalist chapter of history. At the same time it indicates the historical limits of capitalism in the past: the creation of its historical preconditions, i.e. wage-labour freed from the land and instruments of production, and accumulated capital free to appropriate the latter. Where sociologists will devote their attention, say, to roles and statuses as functions of the division of labour, in an 'industrial' society, Marx is interested first and foremost in the social relations of production. These are *not* produced by the needs of 'industry' as such, but by the *capitalist* mode of production. Instead of starting, say, with the need for technical, supervisory, clerical and manual work-people, Marx begins with the social relations: no labour can be applied to means of production unless and until the labourer first *sells* his labour-power to the owner of the means of production. *All production passes through this set of relations*. To Marxists, the phenomenon of daily authority relations between supervisors and workmen, for example, is of minor importance: from the point of view of the capitalist system, it is the fact that man is subjected to the *unconscious* authority of the market and the laws of accumulation of capital that predominates. To indicate the implications of such a distinction: it is at this level of the system that the question of conflict with 'authority' must be tackled and resolved, and not, as sociology supposes, at the level of individual reactions to the imposition of the will of others in superior positions; on the one hand, questions of class-consciousness at the level of the system and its historical destiny, and on the other, questions of individual or 'group' response to status differences.

By starting with these 'social relations of production', instead of 'social relations' in general (the approach of 'sociology'), Marx arrives at distinctions which are in sharp contrast to the assumptions of sociology. For example, his treatment of division of labour and authority, touched upon above, is strictly tied to his concepts of the capitalist mode of production, and examples from other social orders are considered only by contrast with these specifically capitalist relations. Man in capitalist society is subject to the domination of the laws of the market as an outside force whose caprices are beyond his conscious control. The proportions between different branches of industry, the allocation of society's total labour time into these different



branches, is regulated by the unconscious laws of the market. At the same time, within the given enterprise, capital requires authority just as absolute but of a totally different kind: the undisputed will of the capitalist (or his agent) to co-ordinate all the elements of production. '... anarchy in the social division of labour and despotism in that of the workshop are mutual conditions the one of the other ...' (Ibid, p. 350.)

This is in stark contrast with previous modes of production, in which division of labour *within* the unit of production is non-existent, and yet social life outside it is more strictly regulated and controlled. In all these earlier forms, 'On the whole, the labourer and his means of production remained closely united, like the snail with its shell, and thus there was wanting the principal basis of manufacture, the separation of the labourer from his means of production, and the conversion of those means into capital'. (Ibid, p. 353.)

Before dealing with the treatment of forms of social consciousness in *Capital*, we quote Marx himself on the specific contribution which he considered he had made to the understanding of capitalist production relations. This must replace, in the space here available, any extended account of the development of the argument in Marx's main work. Writing to Engels, Marx referred to 'the three fundamentally new elements' of *Capital*:

'(1) That in contrast to *all* former systems of political economy, which *begin* by taking the particular fragments of surplus value with their fixed forms of rent, profit, and interest as already given, I first deal with the general form of surplus

value, in which all these elements are still undifferentiated — in solution as it were.

(2) That, without exception, the economists have missed the simple point that if the commodity has a double character — use value and exchange value — then the labour represented in the commodity must also have a double character, while the mere bald analysis of labour, as in Smith, Ricardo, etc., is bound to come up everywhere against the inexplicable. This is, in fact, the whole secret of the critical conception.

(3) That for the first time wages are shown as the irrational form in which a hidden relation appears, and this is exactly represented in the two forms of wage payment — time wages and piece wages. (It was a help to me that similar formulae are often found in higher mathematics.)' (Marx letter to Engels, 8 January 1868.)

Those 'fundamentally new elements' are precisely those aspects of the capitalist economic order which are perceived only by penetrating beneath the appearance of free exchange of commodities (including labour, in the old conception) in everyday capitalist intercourse. These new categories reflect the *single* force of creation of all new value (including, of course, surplus value) which resides in the proletariat. This proletariat can grasp its own essence and its historical role only by grasping the *system* theoretically in the way that Marx does. As we shall see later (Ch. V), the division of society into classes, and their mutual interrelations, must be seen in terms of this production and reproduction of the total value, and not in terms of their external characteristics.

## (iv) Capitalism and ideology

'It is only through the habit of everyday life that we come to think it perfectly plain and commonplace that a social relation of production should take on the form of a thing, so that the relation of persons in their work appears in the form of a mutual relation between things, and between things and persons.' (Marx, *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1859.)

Whereas for Marx the relations of production constitute the basic economic structure of society, the 'form' taken by those relations (in capitalism, the 'form of a thing') gives us the general characteristics of the institutions and ideology of the society in question. It will therefore be useful to indicate the social and ideological forms first analysed in *Capital*.

When Marx begins his book with 'commodities' he is doing this in order to find that point at which it is possible to penetrate from the surface to the essential production relations. Commodities exchange against each other in ways which seem to flow from their actual properties as things, and every one of them can be equated with definite proportions of every other and with the universal equivalent, money. When

Marx begins *Capital*, however, with the statement that '... The wealth of these societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as "an immense accumulation of commodities", its unit being a single commodity. Our analysis must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity', it should not be forgotten that in the earlier essay, *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) these words are preceded by the phrase, 'At first sight ...'. Marx does not dismiss this appearance as simple delusion: it is the *actual*, living, everyday form in which man's products *are* exchanged. Men do confront the product of their creative social efforts *only* as commodities, only through exchange: the total wealth 'presents itself' as a vast accumulation of commodities. In capitalist society *no* mutual relations between the producers take shape except by going through this form of relationship, which expresses and at the same time obscures the relation between the different parts of the total social labour. It is clear that for Marx therefore, exploitation can be abolished only by abolishing the property relation between wage-labour and

capital, a 'social relation of production' which enables the capitalists to appropriate the surplus-product, the difference between the value of labour power and the value produced by labour.

That each commodity should have a *use-value* is of course essential to its existence. But this characteristic of every product, together with its corollary, the variety of concretely different types of labour producing different commodities, is common to all human societies, and thus can tell us nothing about the specific social relations of the capitalist system. The use-value of a product remains in principle the same regardless of whether it is immediately consumed, bartered or sold as a commodity. The proportions in which use-values are exchanged are decided by something external to the specific properties of use-values or of each form of concrete labour which produces them. Commodities exchange in strict equivalence with one another in a way which negates their different particular characteristics. The common substance which permits this exchangeability is the general or 'abstract' labour embodied in them; and in this abstract form, producing exchange-value, labour is measured by time. 'As exchange values, all commodities are but definite measures of *congealed labour-time*.' *Capital* must therefore go beneath what was seen 'at first sight' to the forms in which this labour is brought into production.

In other forms of society, the men performing different types of concrete labour are not brought into mutual relation through the relations between things (products), as portions of the total labour of society divided according to the socially necessary labour-time involved in their production, as under capitalism. On the contrary, production in earlier societies is a direct and transparent expression of the social organism'. In a patriarchal peasant economy production is the direct expression of 'the family organization with its natural division of labour'. In primitive societies, 'individual labour appears as the direct function of a member of the social organism.' In feudal society, 'because personal dependence forms the groundwork of society', labour and exploitation take the direct form of services and payment in kind. In a socialist 'community of free individuals' the labour-power of individuals would be 'consciously applied as the combined labour-power of the community'.

Contrast this with capitalist society: the individual worker or capitalist begins *only* from his individual needs; the social character of his labour *becomes* apparent and achieves definite form in relation to its social equivalents, establishes its relations with them, *only* afterwards, through the act of exchange, through realizing itself as universal, abstract labour. The *value-form* is therefore a key concept, expressing the typical and historically necessary form by which individual acts and actors are brought into a social relationship. In the non-scientific consciousness, however, this *way in which* the social relations are concretized (the value-form) is mistaken for the social relations themselves. The

mutual relations between producers are transposed into the value-relation between their products. Men are dominated by these relations between things. The universal exchange achieved by capitalism makes mankind the single subject and creator of all the means of life, but these means take on an 'objective' form which inverts the real relation. Man's labour is called upon or not called upon, used or not used, rewarded or not rewarded, according to the requirements of these products and the laws of their exchange, and, at a higher level, their augmentation in the form of capital. Just as all labour becomes wage-labour, so do all products of past labour not immediately consumed become capital, and enter the production process only in order to make capital grow. '*Dead labour dominates over 'living labour*'.

Christianity, said Marx, was admirably suited to commodity production and particularly, in its Protestant forms, to capitalism, because of its 'cultus of abstract man', reflecting the irrelevance of qualitative differences in labour in these social relations. Primitive religions, on the other hand, propounded a doctrine of direct relations between men, their immediate natural environment, and the limited historical and cultural horizons of isolated communities. Communism, the community of free individuals, will lay the basis for abolition of all religion, because there 'the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with his fellow-men and to nature'. (*Capital*. Vol. I, p. 51). Here Marx expands the thoughts first put down in his 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right', in which the famous 'religion is the opium of the people' occurs.

It should be added here that the everyday relations between products or between men under capitalist production are produced through a more complex development than that of simple commodity production. The discrepancy between 'value' and 'price' arises not only from the price mechanism and the fluctuations of supply and demand but from another and more basic fact.

'The whole difficulty arises from the fact that commodities are not exchanged simply as *commodities*, but as *products of capitals*, which claim participation in the total amount of surplus-value, proportional to their magnitude, or equal if they are of equal magnitude.' (Ibid, Vol. III, p. 200.)

Money has a very important role in the mystification of capitalist relations (a real or 'prosaic' mystification, as Marx pointed out, not a mystery of the mind). It was a historical prerequisite in highly developed form for the process of primitive capital accumulation to take place. It is the form taken by capital itself, and does not simply function as measure of value, universal equivalent, and means of exchange. It is money which unites, in concrete form, the opposites in the commodity form. Every commodity is not only priced, and thereby related to every other commodity, but is itself a general equivalent for every other commodity, despite its



appeal as use-value to only a very limited number of consumers. With money, '... we find in one commodity the solution of the contradiction which is inherent in commodity as such, viz., of being at one and the same time a particular use-value and a universal equivalent, and, therefore, a use-value for everybody or universal use-value'. Money is not just a theoretical equivalent, but actually endows its possessor with the power to command *all* use-values, it is a 'universal use-value'.

Men in capitalist society (and in highly developed commodity production) find money already established as the universal equivalent. It is natural that they tend to see gold, silver and banknotes as possessing the intrinsic ability to command definite proportions of every other commodity in the world (including the whole of past culture and achievement, as in great paintings). Gold and silver, says Marx, are accepted as coming out of the earth with universal values stamped all over them, 'the direct incarnation of all human labour'.

Money in its various roles is an actual solvent and creator of social relations. To the members of society, this situation appears to flow from the power of money *as such*. These specific illusions in all their forms, are a necessary object for the study of all capitalism's social and ideological forms. It is not just a question of false consciousness of the economy, consisting of the inversion of subject and object and the habit of thought which sees separate 'facts' or objects as coming ready-made with their own 'value' to the 'market' of interaction with the rest of the world. These are characteristic forms throughout the ideological superstructure. They were to a certain extent present in other social systems in which commodity production existed, but they are taken to an extreme degree by capitalism and its 'free', atomised individuals, just as capitalism takes to the extreme the process of alienation and the production of 'wealth' for its own sake. Its tendency is to dissolve *all* local and particular, communal, directly personal relationships, to sever all organic and traditional ties, to substitute the 'cash nexus' as Carlyle and the traditionalists called it, for these relationships. What was a *tendency* towards the abstract contemplation of isolated facts in previous epochs now develops freely, without any restrictions in the social basis of men's experience and ideas. This transformation in the ideological sphere does not take place automatically, but through struggle against the survivals of earlier forms of thought and through the compromises made with earlier ruling classes or the persistence of archaic social forms. The conformity of ideology to economy takes place only unconsciously, not in a planned way, and by a series of adjustments, the significance of which may vary greatly in different spheres of ideology. But we find the tendency towards individualism and abstractness predominates in religion, philosophy, political theory, and creative literature under capitalism.

To sustain this argument would require not simply a reference to parallels at the economic and ideological levels, but a detailed examination of the contradictory processes through which changes have taken place, in a struggle of real social forces and not by 'adaptation' to the economic basis. Marx carried out such an analysis for the political ideologies of 19th century Europe and for political economy, and a number of Marxists have carried the analysis into other fields. We confine ourselves only to some aspects of Marx's elaboration of the characteristic ideological products of the capitalist system in *Capital* itself.

By 'commodity fetishism' Marx means then 'the objective appearance of the social characteristics of labour'. In other words, men's own mutual relations as social producers appear to them in the form of set characteristics of material objects, the products of their labour. That the *proportions of the total labour-time* expended on particular products should appear to men *only* in the form and through the measure of the *magnitude of the exchange-value of material objects* indicates with certainty, says Marx, a mode of production in which 'the process of production has the mastery over man, instead of being controlled by him'.

This conclusion, emphasising as it does the actual oppression of the producers by the system of capitalist production, and not just the distortion of their consciousness, indicates one of the essential aspects in which Marxism is differentiated from sociology. Marx does not see labour as a process which goes on in some 'independent' fashion determined directly by the level of productive technique and its demands on the division of labour, with 'social relations' built on top of this foundation. For him, the social relations are not just forms of interaction, or even of appropriation and distribution, but are built into the labour-process itself, in this case by all labour being first and foremost value-creating labour, labour for capital's purposes (and of course by means of production entering the process *only* as capital). In the distinction between *labour-power* 'owned' by the propertyless worker and sold to the capitalist, and *labour* entirely controlled and its product entirely appropriated by the capitalist, man the producer is brutally separated from the man who fulfils himself (cf. P. Naville. *De l'Aliénation à la Jouissance*. Paris 1957). In *Capital* Marx makes precise and objective the insights of his earlier works on 'alienation', which is now posed not philosophically and morally but by a rigorous analysis of the actual process by which man is reduced to an owner of mere labour-power and then, through the perfectly legal 'alienation' of this commodity, exploited through capital being able to appropriate the difference between the value of labour-power and the value produced by labour.

This 'domination of dead labour (capital) over living labour' was formulated by Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* (written 1847, published

1848) in a general way, which indicates its significance for ideology as a whole in capitalist society: 'In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.' In Vol I of *Capital* he is more specific:

'The life process of capital consists only in its movement as value constantly expanding, constantly multiplying itself . . .

'The simple transformation of money into the material factors of the process of production, into means of production, transforms the latter into a title and a right to the labour and surplus-labour of others . . . This sophistication, peculiar to and characteristic of capitalist production, this complete inversion of the relation between dead and living labour, between value and the power that creates value, mirrors itself in the consciousness of the capitalist.' (*Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 297-298.)

Later, in Vol III, Marx takes the various forms of capital, and shows how the fetishism proliferates:

'Now, the concept of capital as a fetish reaches its height in interest-bearing capital, being a conception which attributes to the accumulated product of labour, and at that in the fixed form of money, the inherent secret power, as an automaton, of creating surplus-value in geometrical progression, so that the accumulated product of labour, as the *Economist* thinks, has long discounted all the wealth of the world for all time as belonging to it and rightfully coming to it. The product of past labour, the past labour itself, is here pregnant in itself with a portion of present or future surplus-value. We know, however, that in reality the preservation, and to that extent also the reproduction of the value of products of past labour is *only* the result of their contact with living labour; and secondly, that the domination of the products of past labour over living surplus-labour lasts only as long as the relation of capital, which rests on those particular social relations in which past labour independently and overwhelmingly dominates over living labour.' (*Capital*, Vol. III, pp. 390-391.)

In passing, it should be noted that it is in this general view of the capitalist system as domination of dead (past) labour over the living, that all Marx's notes in Vol. III about the separation of ownership and control, the credit system and the joint-stock company, must be understood.

Dahrendorf (*Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*) has characterized these writings as a confused recognition by Marx of the incorrectness of his view of the antagonistic basic property relations of capitalism. However, Marx is undoubtedly presenting the contradiction of the capitalist system in what he considers to be a sharpening of this antagonism. From the large number of possible illustrations, the following are typical:

' . . . hence, instead of overcoming the antithesis between the character of wealth as social and as private wealth, the stock companies merely develop it in a new form.' (p. 431)

'With the development of social production the means of production cease to be means of private production, and can thereafter be only means of production in the hands of associated producers, i.e., the latter's social property, much as they are their

social products. However, this expropriation appears within the capitalist system in a contradictory form, as appropriation of social property by a few; and credit lends the latter more and more the aspect of pure adventures . . .' (p. 430)

This is a modest distance from Dahrendorf's summary of Marx's view of the joint-stock company as 'half-way to Communism'. But this 'misunderstanding' arises from a deeper and wider divergence between Marxism and bourgeois sociology. Dahrendorf, like Parsons\* and other bourgeois sociologists, is starting from the 'differentiation' of the capitalist nineteenth-century 'role', especially the separation of ownership and control (management), and its consequences for power and authority relations. Marx's concern is with the social structure arising from the interaction between *classes* (wage-labour and capital) first at the economic level (production) and then politically. The nature of the social integration which takes place under capitalism is through and consequent upon the act of exchange of commodities. The movement of the whole is independent of the will of the participants in the interaction. In the different spheres of social activity in which individuals are engaged, they act consciously with definite orientations and have the illusion of freedom in choice of ends and means. There is no direct 'determination' of their orientation in any particular sphere by 'economics'. Thus when a sociology of roles and orientations is used to explain a series of actions in a given situation, it will provide a more or less accurate guide to the actions of the individuals concerned. But it can say nothing about the implications of these for the social system, just as it can say nothing about how the conditions of existence of this particular set of orientations came into being, and what the relationship is between these basic conditions and the particular set of orientations under investigation: the relations and limits of the changes in each of them can be approached only with a theory and method whose categories derive from the social whole, from its structure, its internal contradictions. All those in the workers' movement who resort to explanation in terms of motives should take warning from the fact that bourgeois sociology has resorted to precisely this *idealist* method (values, orientations, etc.) in the attempt to refute Marxism.

Here we return to Marx's stress on social relations of production. The whole society can subsist from day to day only through the constant repetition of this exploitative relationship to which hundreds of millions are subjected in every country in the world. The very metabolism of capitalist society takes its essential form from

\* Marx notes that at another level of social interaction, outside the sphere of production, certain human qualities are transformed in character.

'The price-form . . . may conceal a qualitative inconsistency, so much so, that, although money is nothing but the value-form of commodities, price ceases altogether to express value. Objects that in themselves are not commodities, such as conscience, honour, etc., are capable of thus acquiring, through their price, the form of commodities.' (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 75.)

this exchange and conflict between classes. It is not as if 'production' takes place according only to some technical necessity, and then a series of social conflicts and relationships grows up in the course of a social life built on the foundation of industry. Men perceive their social relations, and conceptualise other men and their characteristics, material objects and their characteristics, only in the course of social experience structured by those fundamental relations. The 'roles' which form the basic category of bourgeois sociology are not neutral units out of which different social structures might be built, but are the worked-out consequences of this subordination of man together with his capacities and his material and intellectual products. Role-sociology accepts the fragmented and alien capacities of capitalist society's men as 'objective' data; a Marxist 'sociology' would set itself the task of consistently and critically explaining these roles from the starting-point of the contradiction in the capitalist economic foundation: man's needs are universalised, 'socialised' to the highest degree; yet men confront each other not only as individuals entering the production process purely to enable them to consume or to augment capital, but also with each man divided against himself, a part of him being demanded, with the requisite 'economy', for each activity into which he enters, because their activities have a false separateness and men seek human satisfaction within one or more of these alienated spheres, the true character of which could only be grasped and humanly enjoyed through its creative reintegration with the social whole; to achieve that, consciousness must be directed to the mobilization of the social force which can remove the source of alienation.

Marx gave only preliminary specific indication of this work but, as we have pointed out, his own exposition in *Capital* is its indispensable foundation. He writes there:

'It is not the place, here, to go on to show how division of labour seizes upon, not only the economical, but every other sphere of society, and everywhere lays the foundation of that all-engrossing system of specialising and sorting men, that development in a man of one single faculty at the expense of all other faculties, which caused A. Ferguson, the master of Adam Smith, to exclaim: "We make a nation of helots, and have no free citizens".' (*Capital*. Vol. I, p. 347.)

This tendency in the division of labour is not only taken to its extreme in capitalist industry, but is combined with a social division of labour through the commodity and exploitation relations we have outlined, with their subordination of every capacity to profit, and with the universal inversion of the relation between subject and object. Out of the situation created by this arise the illusions of the free 'individual' confronting millions of 'choices'.\* 'Sociology' proceeds by quantifying and passing judgment upon these results and symptoms, never penetrating to their source.

This sociological method leads not only to superficiality of analysis but to an apologia for

the existing capitalist class structure. The incomes of the capitalist, the landlord and the worker appear to be 'rewards' for the participation in production of capital (invested in machines, raw materials, etc.), land, and labour, and the values accruing to each appear to arise independently out of each of these sources. Marx showed in *Capital* that the *historical* class position of capitalists, of propertyless, wage-labourers, and of landed proprietors produced a situation where 'capital attracts to the capitalist, in the form of profit, a portion of the surplus value extracted by him from labour, that monopoly in land attracts for the landlord another portion in the form of rent; and that labour grants the labourer the remaining portion of value in the form of wages'. (Ibid. Vol. III, p. 807.) All these are separate portions of the same value created by labour, but under capitalism 'these productive powers and the social interrelation of labour in the direct labour-process seem transferred from labour to capital. Capital thus becomes a very mystic being since all of labour's social productive forces appear to be due to capital, rather than labour as such, and seem to issue from the womb of capital itself'. (Ibid, p. 806.)

The daily round of business confirms these illusions millions of times. Because the law of value asserts itself only through chance variations in price on the market, affording opportunities to the businessman to exercise his individual ingenuity, and often increase his rate of profit as against competitors, he entertains the belief that the source of his profit is his own ability as the personification of his capital. The relation between the property relations, the production process, and the process of circulation, in the formation of these forms of consciousness must be noted:

'The way in which surplus-value is transformed into the form of profit by way of the rate of profit is, however, a further development of the inversion of subject and object that takes place already in the process of production. In the latter, we have seen, the subjective productive forces of labour appear as productive forces of capital. On the one hand, the value or the past labour, which dominates living labour, is incarnated in the capitalist. On the other hand, the labourer appears as bare material labour-power, as a commodity. Even in the simple relations of production this inverted relationship necessarily produces certain correspondingly inverted conceptions, a transposed consciousness which is further developed by the metamorphoses and modifications of actual circulation process.' (Ibid, p. 45.)

The 'sphere of circulation' is:

'The sphere of competition, which, considered in each individual case, is dominated by chance; where, then, the inner law, which prevails in these accidents and regulates them, is only visible when these accidents are grasped together in large numbers, where it remains, therefore, invisible and unintelligible to the individual agents in production. But furthermore: the actual process of production, as a unity of the direct production process and the circulation process, gives rise to new formations, in which the vein of internal connections is increasingly lost, the production relations are rendered



independent of one another, and the component values become ossified into forms independent of one another.' (Ibid, p. 807.)

The whole chapter, 'The Trinity Formula' (Ch. XLVIII, *Capital* Vol. III) is a preliminary elaboration of the way in which these ideological distortions take place. In supposing that capital gives rise to profit, land to rent, and labour to wages, the capitalist ideologists arrive at 'the complete mystification of the capitalist mode of production, the direct coalescence of the material production relations with their industrial and social determination. It is an enchanted, perverted topsy-turvy world, in which Monsieur le Capital and Madame la Terre do their ghost-walking as social characters and at the same time as mere things'. (Ibid, p. 809.)

Classical political economy 'destroyed this false appearance and illusion' but remained captured within the capitalist form of society, 'as cannot be otherwise from the bourgeois standpoint and thus they all fall more or less into inconsistencies, half truths and unresolved contradictions'. The 'vulgar economists', who succeeded them, says Marx, cannot however go beyond the vulgar conceptions of the everyday participants in capitalist economy, simply 'arranging them in a certain rational order'. The 'Trinity Formula' at which they arrive 'simultaneously corresponds to the interests of the ruling classes by proclaiming the physical necessity and eternal justification of their sources of revenue and elevating them to a dogma'. (Ibid, p. 810.)

A Marxist critique of sociology would demonstrate the latter's continuation of the traditions of 'vulgar economy' into the general category of 'social' and not only economic relations.

Long before writing his major work, which he intended to be the basis for an analysis of all the social and political institutions of capitalism, Marx had bitingly anticipated such a critique in what reads like an epitaph on 'functionalist' sociology before its birth:

'A philosopher produces ideas, a poet verses, a parson sermons, a professor text-books, etc. A criminal produces crime. But if the relationship between this latter branch of production and the whole productive activity of society is examined a little more closely one is forced to abandon a number of prejudices. The criminal produces not only crime but also the criminal law; he produces the professor who delivers lectures on this criminal law, and even the inevitable text-book in which the professor presents his lectures as a commodity for sale in the market. There results an increase in material wealth, quite apart from the pleasure which . . . the author himself derives from the manuscript of this text-book.

'Further, the criminal produces the whole apparatus of the police and criminal justice, detectives, judges, executioners, juries, etc., and all these different professions, which constitute so many categories of the social division of labour, develop diverse abilities of the human spirit, create new needs and new ways of satisfying them. Torture itself has provided occasions for the most ingenious mechanical inventions, employing a host of honest workers in the production of these instruments.

'The criminal produces an impression now moral, now tragic, and renders a 'service' by arousing the moral and aesthetic sentiments of the public. He produces not only text-books on criminal law, the criminal law itself, and thus legislators, but also art, literature, novels and the tragic drama, Oedipus and Richard III, as well as Mullner's *Schuld* and Schiller's *Räuber*, testify. The criminal interrupts the monotony and security of bourgeois life. Thus he protects it from stagnation and brings forth that restless tension, that mobility of spirit without which the stimulus of competition would itself become blunted. He therefore gives a new impulse to the productive forces. Crime takes off the labour market a portion of the excess population, diminishes competition among workers, and to a certain extent stops wages from falling below the minimum, while the war against crime absorbs another part of the same population. The criminal therefore appears as one of those natural 'equilibrating forces' which establish a just balance and open up a whole perspective of 'useful' occupations. The influence of the criminal upon the development of the productive forces can be shown in detail. Would the locksmith's trade have attained its present perfection if there had been no thieves? Would the manufacture of banknotes have arrived at its present excellence if there had been no counterfeiters? Would the microscope have entered ordinary commercial life (cf. Babbage) had there been no forgers? Is not the development of applied chemistry as much due to the adulteration of wares, and to the attempts to discover it, as to honest productive effort? Crime, by its ceaseless development of new means of attacking property calls into existence new measures of defence, and its productive effects are as great as those of strikes in stimulating the invention of machines.

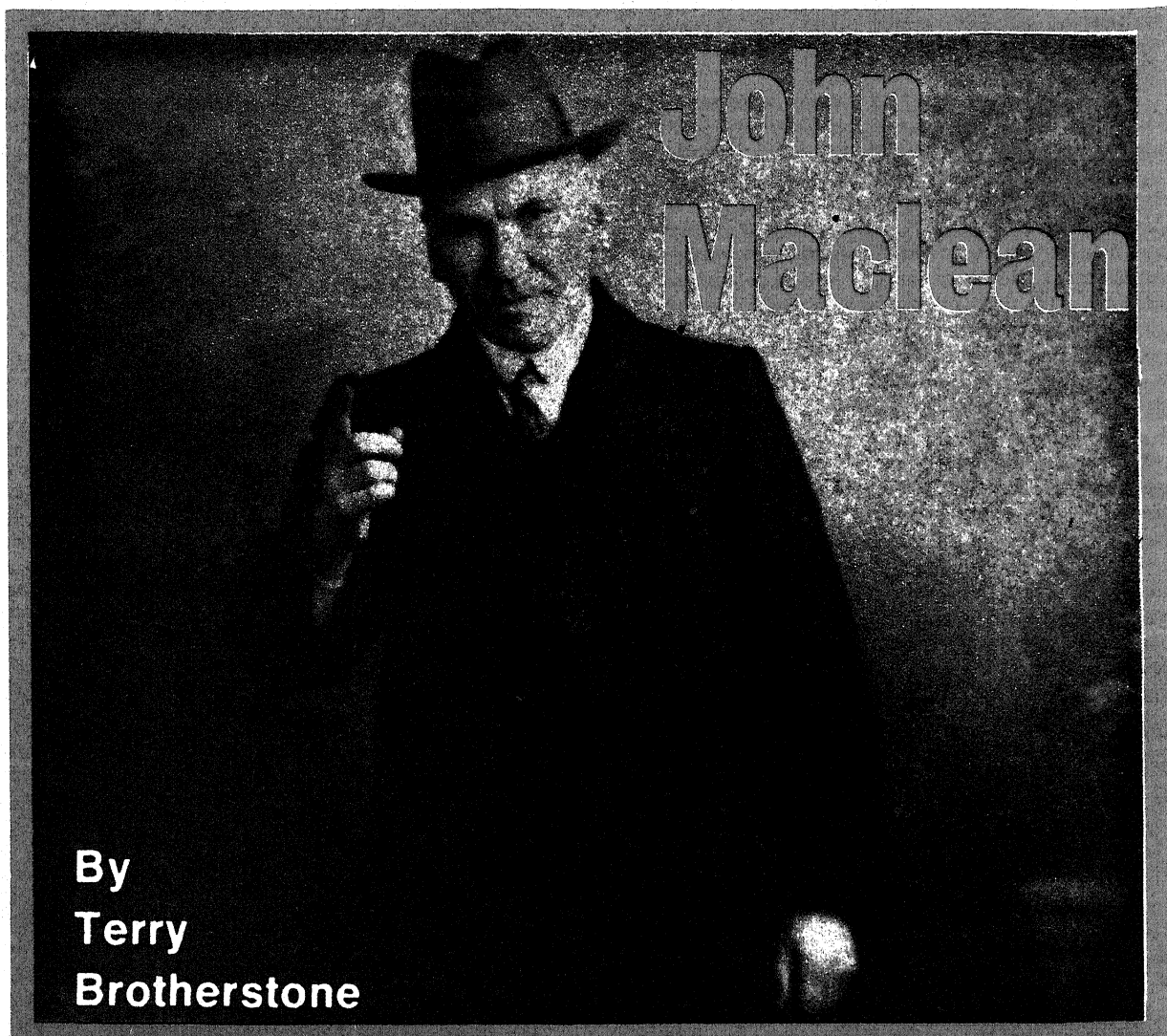
'Leaving the sphere of private crime, would there be a world market, would nations themselves exist, if there had not been national crimes? Is not the tree of evil also the tree of knowledge, since the time of Adam?

'In his *Fable of the Bees* (1708) Mandeville already demonstrated the productivity of all the English occupations, and anticipated our argument.

"'What we call Evil in this World, Moral as well as Natural, is the grand Principle that makes us sociable Creatures, the solid Basis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception That there we must look for the true Origin of all Arts and Sciences, and that the moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoiled if not totally dissolved."

'Mandeville simply had the merit of being infinitely more audacious and more honest than these narrow-minded apologists for bourgeois society.' (Marx. *Theories of Surplus Value*, cited in Bottomore and Rubel, op cit.)

The so-called 'social sciences' of modern bourgeois scholarship, especially sociology, are the continuation of these apologetics into the period of social revolution and the overthrow of capitalism. Marxism has developed in the intervening period, not as a 'dialogue' with, or 'criticism' of, these apologists, but as the conscious construction of a revolutionary party, developing its theory independently through the struggle for leadership in the working class, and *only from this standpoint* analysing bourgeois ideology in order to understand better capitalism's crisis and Marxism's own revolutionary tasks.



**THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY** of the death of the Scottish revolutionary socialist, John Maclean (1879-1923), fell on November 30th, 1973, and was marked by several tributes in the bourgeois press, television and radio, as well as by articles in the main papers of the labour movement. Such belated 'recognition' was not of course a coincidence. Faced with the greatest crisis in its history, British capitalism calls on its literary and journalistic servants to redouble their bowdlerisations of the revolutionary history of the working class, and their attempts to domesticate the intransigent revolutionists of the past in a manner which totally distorts their real significance for the fight today. By praising Maclean's courage, sincerity, etc., liberal commentators hope to provide a certain diversionary consolation for the working class as a contribution to holding it back from decisive struggles.

In this process they are eagerly assisted by the Stalinists and their allies in the labour movement. The Stalinists are unable to make any honest evaluation of Maclean for two main reasons. First, Maclean's central contribution to the British revolution was his stand against the historic betrayal of Social Democracy when it passed decisively to the side of the bourgeois social order in August, 1914. Maclean—along with Liebknecht, Adler, Loriot, etc.—was one of the few 'heroic forerunners' (as Lenin said) of the proletarian revolution who stood firm for internationalist principles and so prepared the way for the October

revolution and the formation of the Communist International. The requirements of 'popular unity' with the Social Democratic 'lefts' prevents the Stalinists from making any firm analysis of this — to the extent that Alex Murray, Scottish secretary of the Communist Party, performed the remarkable feat of writing what purported to be 'a political analysis of Maclean's role and theories' (*Scottish Marxist*, 5 Nov. 1973) which never deigned to mention Maclean's stand on this question at all.

Secondly, the central mistake of Maclean's political life was his refusal to join the Communist Party of Great Britain when it was formed—with the assistance of the Communist International—in July 1920. The most essential aspect of Maclean's life to be clarified today is precisely this contradiction—why the heroic forerunner of October was unable to make the leap forward required by the working class internationally thereafter, and to participate in the struggle to build a Bolshevik party in Britain. One might expect Communist Party members to be eager to take this question up, but Murray ignores it, and Peter Kerrigan, in another 'tribute' (*Marxism Today*, Nov. 1973) manages to mention it without even a nod in the direction of critical analysis. These cynical evasions only confirm the inability of the Stalinists to deal seriously with any aspect of the international communist movement in the years between the October revolution and the death of Lenin.

## Hatred of capitalism

In courage and determination, in his unflinching and uncompromising hatred of capitalism, and in his contempt for traitors in the labour movement, Maclean's record was unimpeachable. In his respect for Marxist theory, his insistence on the necessity to educate workers in Marxism, he was the opposite of the Stalinists and others who today claim him as a forerunner only in order to give a revolutionary gloss to their betrayals, contempt for theory and capitulation to the spontaneous consciousness of the working class. There could be no sharper contrast between Maclean's famous and defiant speech from the dock of May 1918, and the sychophantic performance of one of his would-be successors as a leader of the Clydeside working class, Stalinist James Reid, in appearing on TV in a programme purporting to commemorate Maclean alongside Scottish Powellite MP, Edward Taylor.

But the essential lesson of Maclean's life is that courage, determination, and all other subjective qualities, are only the first essentials for revolutionary leadership. Maclean, who learnt his Marxism in the formal, sectarian environment of the Social Democratic Federation, isolated from any real possibility of grasping the meaning of the split in European Social Democracy which centred on Lenin's struggle against Menshevism, was unable, in the years after 1917, to make that leap for which Lenin's struggle had prepared internationally. At precisely the point at which the central need of the British working class was for the construction of a party based on the lessons of October, Maclean, imprisoned in an idealist, propagandist method, became increasingly fixed in his opposition to that development. It was then that he turned inwards, embracing a form of Scottish nationalism, and helping to isolate a whole section of the working class from the international development of Marxism.

Probably the greatest interest in Maclean—for the moment at least—is being displayed in the revisionist movements, for whom he—like all those who made a real fight for Marxism but were unable to grapple with the theory and practice of Bolshevism—has a special significance. Hostility to Bolshevism is the central principle of today's revisionists, who require of their historians an intensifying search for developments of Marxism and of the revolutionary movement outside of the historic struggle for Bolshevik internationalism.

Basing themselves on the idealist philosophy of the bourgeoisie, movements such as (in Britain) the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group have, since they originally abandoned Trotskyism, been consistent and systematic only in their determination to miseducate their own members and the working class on the nature of the crisis of imperialism, the real lessons of the history of the international working class, and above all on the necessity for the construction of independent revolutionary parties based on the historical continuity of the struggle for Marxist principles. That continuity has been established in struggle against bourgeois ideology, and against revisions of Marxism at every decisive turn in the class struggle, by Marx and Engels in the first and second internationals, by Lenin in the fight against Menshevism, by Trotsky against Stalinism and centrism, and by the International Committee of the Fourth International against revisionism.

## Explosion of crisis

The explosion of imperialism's crisis has heightened the contradiction between the idealism of the petty

bourgeoisie and the requirements of the working class to an entirely new level. In this situation the revisionist movements are driven to an open defence of idealism, and to redoubled attacks on Bolshevism—central to which is the historic lie which unites all revisionists, reformists and anarchists: the conception of some element of continuity between Bolshevism and Stalinism. For these people no aspect of the history of the international working class since 1917 is immune from their need to subordinate all concern for historical accuracy to the establishment of this proposition. Hence they seek to write off the essence of Trotsky's struggle for Marxism against its opposite, Stalinism, and to prevent the working class in Britain from establishing the link with the method and principles of the October revolution and the first four congresses of the Comintern.

There could have been no clearer indication of the anti-Bolshevik character of the I.S. and the I.M.G. than the contributions which they made to the anniversary tributes to Maclean. Not only did both groups publish confusionist articles in their own Press; they also chose jointly to sponsor a meeting at which the main speaker was Dr. Walter Kendall. Kendall is the unrepentant author of one of the most sustained anti-communist tracts to hit the British universities in recent years—the 450 page book, *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 1900-1921*. (1969).

The central thesis of this book is that the International of Lenin and Trotsky sabotaged the development of a genuinely British revolutionary movement in the years after the October revolution by insisting on the formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1920. Kendall claims that "a previous socialist tradition which whilst imperfect, showed every sign of developing to more realistic and effective forms" (p.301) was destroyed by the "dangerous and long-lasting split" caused by the setting up of the C.P.G.B. Much ingeniously researched evidence is adduced to show that Russian money was sent to the young C.P. For the chauvinist Kendall such funds are seen not as part of the internationalist obligations of the Bolsheviks to forward the world revolution through the building of Communist parties, but as the product of a subversive "Russian influence" interfering with the national traditions of the British working class.

In his desire to elevate "national traditions" to the level of an absolute principle, Kendall devotes little attention to the theoretical struggle which Lenin conducted—in the most patient and sensitive but ruthlessly principled way—against the sectarian and syndicalist limitations of the forces which came forward from the best revolutionary traditions of the British working class towards the Comintern. Steeped in eclecticism, Kendall suggests there were various "realistic" alternatives to Bolshevism, which were destroyed by a combination of bad luck and "Moscow domination." The central impression the book leaves is that the degeneration of the C.P.G.B., far from being the result of the growth of international Stalinism, was built into its foundation, which Kendall ascribes to the attempts of the Bolsheviks "to accelerate the pace of history" by initiating what he claims to have been "artificially [his emphasis] inspired splits and secessions among the socialist parties of Europe." (p.225)

## Defeat of German Revolution

The lessons of the period 1919-1921 are of course the exact opposite. It was the failure of revolutionaries outside Russia to base themselves on the real nature of the epoch in which they now lived and decisively to split from the reformist opportunism of Social Democracy and centrism which led to the defeat of the



German revolution early in 1919 and of the Italian factory occupations in the autumn of 1920. In Britain "socialist unity" meant unity with Ramsay MacDonald, who was open in his hostility to the October revolution and in defence of the absolute right of British socialists to ignore every international development of socialist theory, every international lesson of the experience of the working class and all grasp of the international crisis of capitalism, and to decide empirically what was best for Britain. Inspired by his deep loathing for Bolshevism, Kendall argues that such indeed was the correct course for British socialists. This defence of opportunism was greatly praised by the International Socialism group at the time (*Socialist Worker*, 15.5.69), so that it was entirely consistent that they should celebrate the Maclean anniversary by supporting a meeting at which one of their own supporters spoke alongside Kendall, who has never repudiated a word of his book.

Kendall's credentials for being regarded as an "expert" on Maclean are based on the same book. Indeed Maclean occupies a special place in Kendall's distorted view of history. Kendall and his revisionist friends are attracted to Maclean by his weakest sides. At the end of his life, in circumstances discussed below, Maclean abandoned Marxism for a form of Scottish nationalism, and he ended his political life in sectarian isolation from the Communist International, admired by Clydeside workers as an heroic individual but unable to begin to build a revolutionary party. He set up the Scottish Workers' Republican Party, arguing that the Scottish working class was politically more advanced than the English, and making a false and superficial analogy between Scotland and Ireland. So determined is Kendall to locate national British (or even Scottish) revolutionary traditions with which to attack Leninism that he justifies Maclean's Scottish nationalism on the grounds that Scotland is "a definite country," and that "Maclean's insistence on the national character of the Scottish Revolution did in fact reflect a deep seated Scottish sentiment, a fact to which the resurgence of Scottish nationalism today bears witness." (p.290)

A materialist analysis of Scottish history shows that Scotland never stood in anything approaching a colonial relationship to England, that the Scottish bourgeoisie participated fully with the English in the Industrial Revolution, and that nationalist demands, far from having any basis in a struggle against imperialist oppression, were the product of a section of the capitalist class faced with the crisis posed by the cessation of Britain's world economic supremacy at the end of the nineteenth century. A stroke of Kendall's inventive pen is sufficient to revise such an analysis, and his evidence is the existence of reactionary movements in the Scottish middle class in the late 1960s!

If the 'theoreticians' of I.S. and I.M.G. disclaim responsibility for the crudely unscientific extremes to which Kendall goes in his capitulation to nationalism and his attacks on Leninism, it can only be on grounds of style and detail. On the essential question of the use of Maclean's revolutionary reputation to blur the absolute opposition between Bolshevism and Stalinism there is complete agreement. I.M.G. 'expert' on Scotland and Ireland, R. Purdie, in an introduction to Maclean's 1918 speech from the dock, in 1969, attempted to turn Maclean's Scottish republicanism into a transitional demand on the lines fought for by the early congresses of the Comintern and formulated most clearly in the founding programme of the Fourth International (1938). Such demands pose the immediate needs of the working class in such a way as to lead 'to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat.' By placing Maclean's confused and un-

scientific demand for a Scottish workers' republic in this category, Purdie concedes everything to the nationalism of the petty bourgeoisie, and he justifies this exactly in the manner of Kendall, by claiming that separatism was a 'widely popular demand.' (On this opportunist basis there could be circumstances in which racist demands might be characterized as revolutionary!) Purdie's evidence is that the Independent Labour Party M.Ps. from Scotland introduced Home Rule bills in Parliament in the 1920s. They did so of course as dyed-in-the-wool reformists and were only carrying forward, in a socialist guise, the programme of the bourgeois Liberal Party in Scotland in the late nineteenth century.

## Struggle against reformism

It is only by completely removing any conception of the development of Marxist theory and practice through a ruthless struggle against reformism and all forms of bourgeois ideology that Purdie is able at one and the same time to attempt to make a unity between Marxism and petty bourgeois nationalism, and to confuse the weakest aspects of Maclean with Trotskyism. In the I.M.G.'s anniversary tribute to Maclean (*Red Weekly*, 30.11.73) Purdie leaves the final cynical exploitation of Maclean's mistakes to attack Marxism to his colleague, Raymond Challinor. Challinor's slanders against Bolshevism come straight from Kendall, except that the 'Trotskyist' Challinor is more explicit in identifying Bolshevism and Stalinism. He equates Maclean's one-sided criticisms of the early C.P.G.B. with his own feeble critique of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee of 1925-26, through which Stalinism conducted its alliance with the left trade union bureaucracy, an alliance which ensured the defeat of the General Strike. He omits all mention of Lenin's struggle against the limitations of the forces which came forward to form the C.P., and of the fact that it was only after the rise of Stalinism that this struggle was abandoned and that such limitations were actually encouraged. Hence Maclean's sectarianism of 1920 is tacitly equated with Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, and the piece actually ends by saying that because Maclean was abused by C. Pers like Gallacher, just as Trotskyists have been hounded by the Stalinists since the 1930s, he was 'in this sense [?] the first British Trotskyist.' The crude impressionism and complete abandonment of all pretence at objective analysis behind this statement and indeed the whole argument (the fact that Trotsky was a leading figure in the Comintern in the fight to set up Communist parties against sectarianism such as Maclean's is conveniently omitted) would be simply absurd, were it not that it indicates Challinor's desperation to confuse the real history of the first five years of the Comintern.

The bulkiest contribution to the 50th anniversary is the new biography of Maclean by Nan Milton, his daughter. This is the product of several decades of filial devotion in the defence of her father's name, and the nobility of its intentions is beyond question. It is mainly of use in providing extracts from Maclean's own writings (mostly without citing sources)—but it does so in the context of a morass of misconception on almost every major issue that any study of Maclean must raise. It is a clear indication of the contempt for theory prevailing in the I.S. that they should publish this book without even editorial correction or qualification. Mrs Milton believes that 'the Union . . . in 1707 . . . brought nothing but misery to the people of Scotland' (p.68); that Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism* was an attack on those who held that 'strikes could not be justified except for the establishment of socialism' (p.96); that the labour movement was 'small and weak' until 1918 (p.165); that the debate about the C.P. af-

filiating to the Labour Party in the early 1920s 'turned out to be quite academic' as the application was turned down (p.229); and many other remarkable things. All this is willingly swallowed by the 'theorists' of IS primarily because Mrs Milton also provides, by association, the seal of a 'great name' to their anti-Bolshevism. She is at her most explicit on p. 260:

Already Maclean, with a prescience engendered by his profound knowledge of Marxism [more profound obviously than that of Lenin and Trotsky], had put his finger on the fatal flaw of the Comintern, which was to become, because of the failure of the world revolution, a supra-national rather than an international organisation . . . . This meant, in effect, Russian domination, with national units having little say even in the formulation of tactics. Eventually this was to play right into the hands of Stalin and his friends.

This differs from Kendall's conception of national roads to revolution only by introducing a certain wooliness. Stalinism was not the product of a 'fatal flaw' in the Comintern but of the abandonment of everything the Bolsheviks had fought for in the early congresses. It was not the product simply of the 'failure of the world revolution' but of the revision of Marxist theory and practice by the bureaucracy which formed in Russia under conditions of the isolation of the revolution in a backward country, which occurred because the Social Democrats saved German capitalism from the revolution in 1919. And it was precisely in the name of national roads to socialism that they performed that task.

Maclean's opposition to the Comintern in practice had nothing to do with a prescient opposition to Stalinism. It was an opposition to Bolshevik internationalism and a retreat into sectarian abstentionism. The revolutionary movement in Britain faced very great problems which were not of its own making, and Maclean in particular had suffered brutal treatment in prison during the war which might have driven a less courageous man out of the fight altogether. But this is not the issue. It is not the goodness or badness of individuals that determines history, and nothing can be learnt from the past if it is approached from that idealist standpoint. Maclean took up the fight for Marxism in the period which gave birth to the epoch of revolution. Britain at that time was the strongest link in the chain of European capitalism. The workers' International was then a loosely knit body reflecting the requirements of the years in which the building of national sections was the main task before the working class, and within it a propagandist conception of the role of theory prevailed. Maclean carried the method of individual propagandism to the limit of its capacity to fight capitalism and his retreat was not essentially the result of his failings as an individual but reflected the requirements of the working class for a decisive new turn based on the lessons of October. Maclean could not grasp this, but the conditions for doing so and for constructing in Britain the type of party Maclean was unable to build now come together in Britain at an entirely new level. It is only those who are determined to prevent this necessary development who are eagerly spreading their own confusion concerning the most basic lessons of the life of John Maclean.

## Decline of British Capitalism

John Maclean was born on the Clydeside in August, 1879, and grew up in the period when the development of international competition arising from the rapid industrialization of Germany and the U.S.A. had ended the hegemony of British capitalism which characterized the quarter century after 1850. The need to maintain its rate of profit forced the British capitalist class into technological developments requiring inten-

sified exploitation at home and into rapid extensions of the Empire overseas. This fundamental economic crisis gave rise to a new stage in the class struggle which threw new forces into action, particularly into the building of the 'new unions' of unskilled and semi-skilled from the late 1880s on. It was the defence of these gains against the reprisals of the ruling class — the organization of scab unions, the development of employers' associations, lock-outs (particularly in engineering), and legal attacks culminating in the Taff Vale judgment, which led to the formation of the Labour Party in 1900.

This great movement in the working class was heralded by developments in the middle class, sections of which began to seek solutions to the crisis in socialist theory. In the early 1880s the Fabian Society was formed as the anti-Marxist intellectual laboratory of British reformism, the organ of those elements in the middle class who, as Engels said, recognized the inevitability of the revolution and were determined that its execution should not be entrusted to the raw proletariat. On the other hand attempts were made to form a Marxist party, the most important of which was the setting up of the Social Democratic Federation, which was to be the main organization in Britain proclaiming allegiance to Marxism, until the formation of the C.P.G.B. in 1920.

The early development of industrial capitalism in Britain meant that the British working class was first in the field of struggle to build strong trade unions. This great gain was consolidated in the period after the defeat of the Chartist movement under conditions where the material conditions existed in which the working class could be tied politically to the capitalist political parties. First to build strong trade unions, the British working class did not establish its own political party until 1900, and even then under an openly reformist leadership. The task confronting Marxists in the late nineteenth century, as Engels emphasized, was to fight for the establishment of an independent Labour Party as an essential step towards breaking the masses from reformist consciousness. This called for the construction of a Marxist party with a perspective based on an overall, dialectical understanding of the international development of capitalism, and also on a sensitive grasp of the history of the working class. It was on such a basis that Marx himself had fought in the First International against the limits of trade unionism and against anarchism and had established the programme for the construction of workers' parties, and of a new International of mass parties, in the latter part of the century.

## Sectarian existence

The aim of the Social Democratic Federation was to form a socialist party on the model of the German Social Democratic Party, which was built into a mass organization in the last part of the nineteenth century, and which was the dominant party of the Second International (1889-1914). But, despite changes of name, to the Social Democratic Party in 1908, and to the British Socialist Party in 1911, it remained imprisoned in a sectarian existence, isolated from the real movement of the working class. Nor was this 'purist' sectarianism a safeguard against the opportunist degeneration which increasingly took over the Second International and which exploded to the surface in the betrayal of August 1914. On the contrary, the clique around H.M. Hyndman, which remained in the leadership of the S.D.F. until 1916, united in themselves a sectarian abstention from the real movement of the working class with an opportunist capitulation to bourgeois chauvinism. Principled Marxists in the S.D.F. and its successor organizations had to fight both tendencies.

Maclean joined the S.D.F. about 1903—following a struggle against his Calvinist upbringing, against the limitations of humanism, and against bourgeois political economy. It was a conscious decision to take up the struggle for Marxism as opposed to the reformist humanitarianism of the Independent Labour Party, the main socialist party on the Clyde. He must have joined about the time of a major split in the S.D.F., which reduced it to a rump on the Clyde, where the leading members left to form the De Leonist Socialist Labour Party. The split was a reflection of dissatisfaction with the increasing isolation of the S.D.F. from the working class engendered by the Hyndman leadership. This dissatisfaction crystallized around several issues, including the support of the Hyndmanites for the Kautsky resolution—the compromise formula put forward by the leading theoretician of the Second International to ‘solve’ the revisionist controversy.

The controversy had come to the surface in European Social Democracy in the late 1890s when those sections of the International which reflected the pressures of the ‘new’ middle class made a concerted attack on Marxist theory and practice. In France the independent socialist Millerand entered the bourgeois republican government formed to stabilize society in the aftermath of the Dreyfus scandal; while the German Social Democrat, Edward Bernstein, basing himself on the reformist conceptions of the English Fabians, developed his complete revision of Marxist theory, attempting to prove that capitalism had changed fundamentally since Marx’s day and that socialism could be achieved through an evolutionary process.

Instead of fighting the issues through on the basis of fundamental philosophical principles, Kautsky and the majority within the German Social Democratic Party and in the International itself preferred a compromise which opposed Bernstein in words but avoided a decisive split. In this way Kautsky prepared theoretically for the capitulation in practice which took place in 1914. In the same period Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done?*—in which he developed Marxist theory to the point of explaining the need for a new type of party. The full implications of this fight were only to be fully clarified in the struggle against the betrayal of 1914, and for the preparation for the October revolution and the setting up of the Communist International.

The setting up of the S.L.P. in Britain developed out of the same international crisis which gave rise to the conceptions of Bolshevism. But it was an empirical and instinctive response to Hyndman’s opportunism, rooted not in an overall Marxist analysis, but taking for its theoretical basis the dogmatism of the American socialist, Daniel de Leon. Although the de Leonites internationally, and in Britain, did represent a proletarian tendency in opposition to opportunist routinism, and although they did not reject politics altogether, their emphasis in theory and in practice on Industrial Unionism as the key to workers’ power opened the door for the syndicalist ideas which were to dominate in the great upsurge of the working class in the years before the first world war.

The formation of the S.L.P. did not remove the conflict from the S.D.F. where there remained a tendency hostile to the Hyndmanites, seeking a road back to the real movement of the working class. The main demand of this tendency was for re-affiliation to the Labour Party, from which the S.D.F. had disaffiliated in 1901 on the grounds that the Labour Party was not socialist. Maclean—whose attitude to the S.L.P. split is not known, but who afterwards clearly opposed syndicalism—supported the affiliationist tendency in the

S.D.F. Maclean stated the basically principled position of this tendency in an article in February 1909:

We Marxists are in favour of the Labour Party because it is working class; but we oppose the conduct of the M.P.s because it is reactionary and tends to lead the masses to Liberal petty patch-work rather than to the class struggle ending in the revolution of property-ownership which must inaugurate socialism.

## No overall Marxist assessment

The tendency which sought a revolutionary road back to the working class through re-affiliation to the Labour Party, in the S.D.F. and then in the B.S.P., did so very much on an empirical basis, and was not able to make an overall Marxist assessment of the actual practice of the labour movement and of the role of the S.D.F. within it. It talked mainly of establishing links with the Labour Party in order to make it socialist. The dominant conception was of a parliamentary road to socialism. Maclean himself sometimes wrote in these terms, and, although he spoke consistently for the most revolutionary tendency in the party, he did not put forward any fundamentally more profound and consistently materialist analysis of these questions.

Maclean’s role in winning a large following for Marxism in the Clydeside working class is well known. From about 1906 onwards he held regular and numerous classes, particularly on Marxist economics, throughout the area. He was renowned for his ability to make basic principles relevant to workers, several hundred of whom, in wartime in particular, attended regularly. Most of the wartime leaders of the shop stewards’ movement—subsequently in many cases founder members of the Communist Party—had attended Maclean’s classes. He campaigned for the setting up of the Scottish Labour College, and the decision to launch it was taken at a meeting prepared by Maclean in 1916, at which he himself could not be present as he was in prison.

But all this work remained separate from the concrete political questions which faced the working class. The generality and lack of any worked-out theoretical clarity of Maclean’s position on the Labour Party was typical of his position on other central political questions, such as the nature of the capitalist state. In opposing the syndicalism of the S.L.P., he wrote in terms of supporting the evolutionary growth of the state—a formulation which, in practice, made concessions to the reformist theory of a state abstracted from the class struggle. Most important of all, Maclean’s hatred of the reformists and the labour bureaucrats remained at an individualist level, and was not based in developing analysis of the material roots of the bureaucracy. This lack of a basic grasp of materialism was to become critical, as will be seen, in the years after the war when Maclean reduced the question of the formation of a Communist Party to the level of subjective assessments of individuals on the one hand, and maintained illusions in the ‘left’ bureaucracy—especially Robert Smillie—on the other.

In its inability to draw all these questions back to their basic roots, Maclean’s method was of course the opposite of Lenin’s. Lenin made a full and all-sided assessment of the nature of the Labour Party in his report on the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau (*On Britain*, pp. 109 ff.), in which he clearly differentiated his position both from the sectarians who said that the Labour Party should not affiliate to the Second International because it had no socialist programme (including Hyndman), and the opportunists of the I.L.P. who said that it automatically tended to socialism by virtue of being a working-class



organization. Kautsky dissociated himself from the I.L.P. spokesman's disparaging words about the importance of socialist theory and adherence to the principles of the class struggle, but his resolution in effect conceded to the I.L.P. position. Lenin attempted to carry, without success, an amendment which put the position with absolute clarity—stating that the Labour Party was only a first step towards a socialist workers' party. And for him this formulation was inseparable from a ruthless exposure of the material roots of the opportunism of the Labour leaders.

## Maclean's idealism

The point is not at all that Maclean's grasp of Marxism, while falling short of Lenin's, was at least a step ahead of Hyndman's, which is how the revisionist Purdie puts it in his "Red Weekly" article cited above. It is that philosophically Maclean's approach was the opposite of Lenin's, based not on an overall development of dialectical materialism but on a subjectively idealist critique of the labour traitors. When all the questions latent in the various compromise formulae of the Second International surged to the surface in the betrayal of August 1914, Lenin and Maclean both stood out against betrayal. This stand was undoubtedly the most important decision of Maclean's life and his central contribution to the struggle for the continuity of Marxist internationalism in Britain. But whereas for Lenin 1914 was to lead to major developments in Marxist theory as the basis for the practice which made possible the October revolution and the formation of the Communist International, Maclean, unchanged in his subjective determination to fight and to see the working class take power, was to move in the opposite direction. It was precisely on the questions which Lenin was able to clarify in this period—the material basis of the opportunist degeneration of the Second International, the nature of the state and the need for the proletariat led by the revolutionary party to smash the state machine, and the imperialist nature of the epoch inaugurated by the war—that Maclean's previous lack of decisiveness now became critical. When he refused to join the Comintern and the international struggle for Marxism in 1919-20, he severed himself—and in practice a whole section of the working class—from the possibility of learning.

When the imperialist war broke out in 1914, no party in Britain could speak clearly and unequivocally against it. Even the "purist" Socialist Labour Party vacillated, and, though it eventually decided to oppose the war, its members—including many leading shop stewards—divorced this basic question from the struggle actually taking place in the factories. Maclean, on the other hand, refused to offer the slightest support to the British government, or to hide behind the pacifist vacillations of the centrist Independent Labour Party. The war was a capitalist war, he wrote: "Our first business is to hate the British capitalist system." And he fought to carry this principled internationalist position into the movements of the working class which soon developed on the Clydeside—which was to become a cockpit of the class struggle during the war.

Maclean lost his job as a teacher because of his principled stand. Shortly afterwards on November 17, 1915, it was to him that the Glasgow rent strikers turned to head their demonstration which climaxed the campaign against rent profiteering. And Maclean also took up the fight for politics in the syndicalist Clyde Workers' Committee of shop stewards from the main munitions factories, which led the fight against the dilution of the skilled labour force on the Clyde from the autumn of 1915 to March 1916.

Maclean's stand for principles not only lost him his job; he was first briefly imprisoned in November 1915, and in April 1916 he got three years' penal servitude. It also won him enormous respect in the working class, and it was entirely in line with his whole record of struggle inside the workers' movement in the pre-war years. But in the wartime struggles the weaknesses of his propagandist approach to the working class and his relative isolation from the international struggle for Marxist theory and practice, began to become critical.

## Glasgow rents struggle

The rents struggle threw forward vital new forces into the fight against capitalism, which in their turn to Maclean and in their instinctive turn to demonstrate outside the West Nile Street recruiting office (from which they were diverted by their reformist leaders) expressed a development of political consciousness which went beyond that of the more experienced and conservative sections of workers involved in the munitions fight. Although Maclean saw the rents strike as potentially the beginning of a campaign of political strikes, he was not able to intervene to win the most conscious of the rent strikers to a revolutionary programme. Instead he remained an admired figurehead, and the reformists took the credit for the victory when the government made a tactical retreat and introduced the Rent Restrictions Act. For them the task of enforcing dilution in the munitions factories was the central issue.

Within the Clyde Workers' Committee, Maclean correctly criticised the evasion of the central political question of the war, which led to a confused position on workers' control and dilution. Politically the committee remained an opportunist alliance between different political tendencies, in which politics was separated from the "immediate issue". Maclean and his group of supporters fought against this, but he was unable successfully to turn to new forces in the struggle to bring them into a conflict with the C.W.C. leaders, whose militancy — divorced from a revolutionary political programme — was transformed by the new situation into a brake on further development and a recipe for defeat. The onset of the revolutionary epoch transformed the defence of the rights of even a limited section of the working class into a political question affecting the working class as a whole. Maclean and his group, despite their involvement in the struggle, their correct criticisms of the Committee, and their encouragement of political strikes, were unable at that stage to begin to construct a new leadership based on that conception—a party able to split decisively from both the opportunism of Social Democracy and the syndicalism of the C.W.C.

From the point of view of the government isolating Maclean from the movement of the working class was a vital question. When the C.W.C. was broken up in March-April 1916 by "deporting" leading shop stewards from the Glasgow area, parallel action was taken against Maclean—but for him it was a matter of imprisonment. Neither in 1916-17, nor in 1918, however, did Maclean serve the full sentence imposed on him. The campaign for his release, backed up by the revolutionary strength of the working class, forced the bourgeoisie to release him. On several occasions, Lenin, in his analyses of the international situation which were central to his preparations for October, recognised in the movement around Maclean the developing revolutionary strength of the British working class. Maclean's stand for internationalism was recognised by the Bolsheviks who appointed him honorary president (along with Karl Liebknecht) of the first all-Russian congress of Workers and Soldiers

Councils, and, early in 1918, as first Soviet consul in Glasgow. It was in effect this latter appointment which led to his famous trial in Edinburgh in May 1918, at which he made the speech from the dock in which he spoke out in defence of the Russian revolution and in defiance of capitalism (see extracts in *Workers Press*, 19 April, 1973).

## Educational work

Maclean continued, and indeed redoubled, his educational work, whenever possible. He entered into every working class struggle he could penetrate, from the anti-war fight, through the miners' and railwaymen's offensive of 1919, the 'Hands Off Russia' campaign, and the early protests of the unemployed from 1920 on. He fought the 1918 election as Labour candidate in the Gorbals against the Labour renegade, G. N. Barnes, who was a minister in the Lloyd George Coalition, and received over 4,000 votes. He fought for a principled position in relation to the struggle for Irish self-determination. He continued his attempts to make a Marxist analysis of the crisis of capitalism, against those who sought to turn Marxism into a mechanistic description of the "inevitable" downfall of the system, and he attempted as early as 1920 an analysis of the contradiction between Europe and America (see *The Coming War With America*). But all this was rapidly turned into its opposite because it was separated from the central practical requirements of the working class. Increasingly bogged down in subjectivism—whose theoretical roots are of far greater importance than the physical strains Maclean had undoubtedly suffered in prison, and which Stalinist writers of the 1930s like Gallacher and Bell made their basic explanation—Maclean became completely isolated from the vital issues which had to be fought out in order successfully to set up the C.P.G.B. as a section of the Third International.

Maclean had no thought-out differences with the founders of the Comintern, but he increasingly allowed personal antipathies to predominate. He thought—perhaps correctly—that he was being manoeuvred out of the picture by the Rothstein group in the British Socialist Party; and he developed a fixed and one-sided dislike of William Gallacher, whose anti-theoretical record and opposition to politics in the Clyde Workers' Committee he constantly referred to. When Gallacher was in Russia, attending the second congress of the Comintern, Lenin told him that he was anxious Maclean should come there for discussions. But Maclean refused to make this a central consideration. He proceeded by way of a futile campaign to make the getting of a visa to visit Russia a principled demand on the British government. He was of course refused and never contacted the Bolsheviks.

It is important to grasp that Maclean's criticisms of those who formed the C.P.G.B. were by no means simply the product of a strained and distorted mind, as Gallacher, Bell and others whose allegiance to Stalinism gave them a vested interest in evading the real issues, claimed. Maclean, within the theoretical limitations of his essentially idealistic, individualist method, made consistent criticisms of the opportunist tendency in the B.S.P., which made easy-going relationships with ex-Liberals such as Col. L'Estrange Malone (a recent member of the anti-Bolshevik Reconstruction Society), and of the tendency of shop stewards like Gallacher to adapt to the strongest force of the moment (the syndicalism of the C.W.C. in 1915-16, the Bolshevism of Lenin in 1920) without a struggle for a consistent grasp of Marxism. But because Maclean divorced such criticisms from an overall materialist analysis of the forces represented by the Malones on the one hand and the Gallachers on

the other, and also from the central practical question of building a section of the Comintern, he himself was driven into sectarian isolation. While Lenin was able to use the conflict against Gallacher's sectarian anti-parliamentarianism to make the vital contributions to Marxist theory and practice embodied in *Left-Wing Communism* and the debates of the Second Congress (see, esp. *Lenin On Britain*, pp. 540-546), Maclean became involved in increasingly inward-looking manoeuvring. He left the B.S.P. in the spring of 1920, forming his own group around his paper, the *Vanguard*, which survived till December. During this period he campaigned for a separate Scottish Communist Party, based on nothing more than the impression that the Scottish working class was more 'advanced' than the English, and increasingly on his completely superficial historical analogy between Scottish and Irish history. He then joined the most sectarian section of the Socialist Labour Party—that section which rejected the whole experience of the class struggle in wartime which had led the best of its members into the unity negotiations leading to the formation of the C.P.G.B., and was determined on a return to 'purist' isolation. And he spent his last months of political activity attempting to construct a Scottish Workers' Republican Party, which did not long survive his death in 1923.

## Material basis of opportunism

Maclean's failure to grasp the material basis of opportunism and to break decisively from the conceptions of the Second International was clearly revealed in 1919 when he clung to the belief that 'my good, old friend, Bob Smillie' was the man to lead the British revolution. Smillie, the 'left' leader of the Scottish miners, had spoken at the inaugural meeting of Maclean's brainchild, the Scottish Labour College, in 1916. He had a centrist position on the war, and played a key role in heading off the miners' struggle in the period immediately after the war—at precisely the time when Maclean was writing articles in his defence. Ironically this was the period when, as he later told Aneurin Bevan, Smillie was summoned before Prime Minister Lloyd George and told he must either be prepared to take the power at the head of the powerful Triple Alliance of miners, railmen, and transport workers, or else submit to the requirements of the capitalist state. As the bureaucrat Smillie said: 'Then we knew we were beaten'. The militancy of the miners was dissipated, first through the charade of the Sankey Commission, in which Smillie co-operated to the full, and then in the vacillations leading to the break-up of the Triple Alliance on Black Friday, 1921.

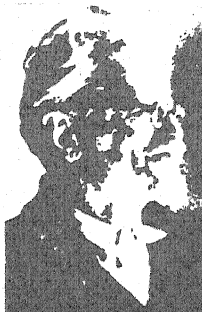
Maclean's support for Smillie in 1919—later he became disillusioned in him, but still on the most individualistic terms—led him into a dispute with his normally uncritical pupil and comrade, James McDougall. McDougall, who had been directed by Maclean to work in the rank-and-file miners' reform movement in Lanarkshire, reflected more closely the feeling of the miners who were becoming increasingly alienated from their leaders, including Smillie. Maclean was also bewildered by the decisive movement of the ex-syndicalist, Tom Mann—whom Engels had regarded as the best of the British trade union socialists in the 1890s—into the ranks of the bureaucracy. His prescription for 1919—to make the leadership of the Triple Alliance into the 'executive of the class struggle—the central committee of the New Society' by replacing the 'Labour Fossils with real Revolutionaries', which meant adding 'Mann to Smillie', was in ruins. It was in these circumstances that a disoriented Maclean retreated into nationalism.

His instinct to turn out to the working class remained undiminished. He entered the fight against unemployment, earning two further jail sentences, and appearing with a demand for a general strike at the Cardiff T.U.C. in 1921, mandated by the unemployed both of the Clydeside and Sheffield. But theoretically he was at sea, and his contribution to the development of the British revolution was over.

As the Scottish working class moves forward today to play its part in actually making that revolution, it brings with it a whole history of struggle from its violent origins in the early years of the Industrial Revolution, through revolutionary Chartism and the struggles in which Maclean played a principled and courageous role. Revolutionaries recognize in Maclean the embodiment of those traditions and acknowledge him as an 'heroic forerunner' who played a vital role in preserving the struggle for the continuity of Marxist internationalism in Britain. But many of those who have hastened to celebrate the Maclean anniversary with empty gestures like a commemoration stone in his birthplace in Pollokshaws, and articles and speeches spreading confusion and distortion, and justifying Maclean's weaknesses and mistakes, represent the opposite tradition. That is the tradition of reformist opportunism, rooted in the growth of the

labour aristocracy after 1850 and supported by generations of middle-class allies, culminating in the revisionist movements produced by the post-war boom.

The end of that period, and the break-up of any material basis for reformism under the impact of the world capitalist crisis and the historic crisis of British capital, gives an entirely new meaning to a correct understanding of the significance of John Maclean. The party he was unable to build can today be built through the turn into the mass movement in the working class on the basis of the struggle for Marxist principles waged against those who are now so eager to domesticate, or to spread confusion about, Maclean. The most meaningful tribute to the anniversary of Maclean's death took place on November 4th, 1973, at the Hammersmith Odeon, when the Workers Revolutionary Party was founded. It is through the building of this party that the struggle for the development of Marxist theory and practice can be carried forward at a level going far beyond Maclean—to the level, in fact, of leading the British working class to power in the present revolutionary period, of making the revolution for which Maclean, for all his limitations, undoubtedly sacrificed his life.



## THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN

BY LEON TROTSKY

Leon Trotsky, whose role in the founding of the Communist International was second only to Lenin's, was also the principal fighter against its degeneration. After Lenin's death he battled to reverse the disastrous course on which it was being directed by Stalin and Bukharin, with their theory of 'socialism in one country'. Trotsky's devastating criticism of this theory and the policies flowing from it, written for the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, forms the main part of this book. More than just a defence of the principles of Bolshevik internationalism and the lessons of the first four Congresses of the Comintern, it is an important and independent contribution to Marxism. Trotsky examines every aspect of the activities of the Comintern in the four years after Lenin's death: its programme, strategy and tactics, organization, and the internal life of the Soviet Communist Party itself. Included in this new edition—for the first time in English since 1929—is an article giving brief character-sketches of the leading Comintern functionaries.

320pp. Price £1.50 Post and packing 15p.



## THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION

BY LEON TROTSKY

Leon Trotsky's damning reply to the Stalinist falsifiers of the history of the Russian Revolution, originally published in Germany in 1932, now appears in a British edition for the first time. The revolutionary role of Trotsky and leading Bolsheviks subsequently framed and murdered in the 1930's purges, is here amply documented. Other historical material included by Trotsky demonstrates how Stalin and the Soviet Communist Party leading group resorted to re-writing the Bolshevik's struggle for workers' power to cover their own betrayal of Leninism and Marxism. This book throws a searching light on the emergency of the Stalinist bureaucracy and thus forms a key weapon today in the working class movement internationally.

A new introduction has been written for this edition and full explanatory notes are included at the end of the volume.

Paperback £1.50. Postage 13p

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS LTD. 186a Clapham High St. London. SW4

Fourth International Summer 1974



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.

**Greek Section of the International Committee**

## PART TWO

Opposite: ELAS fighters skirmishing in the streets of Athens

# History of the

ON AUGUST 10 1943 the delegations of EAM, EDES and EKKA arrived by air in Cairo. For EAM were 11. Tsirimokos, L. Tzimas, P. Rousos and K. Despotopoulos. For EDES, K. Pyromaglou and for EKKA, G. Kartalis. To be exact, the Cairo conference would be discussing the participation of EAM, EDES and EKKA in the Tsouderos 'government' in exile which was to be transformed into a government of 'national unity'.

We will leave Brigadier General Myers to show us how the British saw the Cairo conference:

Finally, given the unrepresentative character of the Greek government and given its lack of contact with the interior and the non-existence of confidence in it on the part of the guerrillas, especially of EAM, it was ascertained that the danger of a sudden change from the guerrilla regime and Law to a constitutional government after the liberation of Greece had to be avoided.

Consequently, we imagined that the landing in Greece would take place from Southern Italy and that the west coast near the territory of EDES-EOKA (the armed bodies of EDES) would be liberated before Athens. We decided that I should recommend that one or two representatives of the Greek government proceed to Free Mountainous

Greece, when the continuing control of the administrative machinery and the absorption of the administrative organization of the resistance by the state mechanism had been ensured.

Before I left Perdouli for Neraida, I explained separately to each one, to Komninos Pyromaglou of EDES and to George Kartalis of EKKA the above, and achieved an agreement without reservations that they would jointly recommend the three above phases of the development of the resistance.

The next morning, August 9, I had a long consultation with Siantos and the other representatives of the Central Committee of EAM, for the purpose of getting their consent, as with the representatives of EDES and EKKA, in all that concerns the common way of confronting our problems in Cairo.

After a satisfying discussion, which lasted two hours, Siantos agreed that his representatives would seek the resolution of the problems exactly in the way which had been called for.

However, the Cairo conference did not achieve the joint confrontation of 'our problems' . . . It collapsed without having decided on the government of 'national unity', which even the 'radio waves' of Moscow had begun to recommend persistently at that time.

ΛΑΔΑ  
ΙΤΗ ΧΟΡΤΑΤΙ  
Κ.Κ.Ε

ΖΗ  
Κ Ο

# Greek Civil War





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.

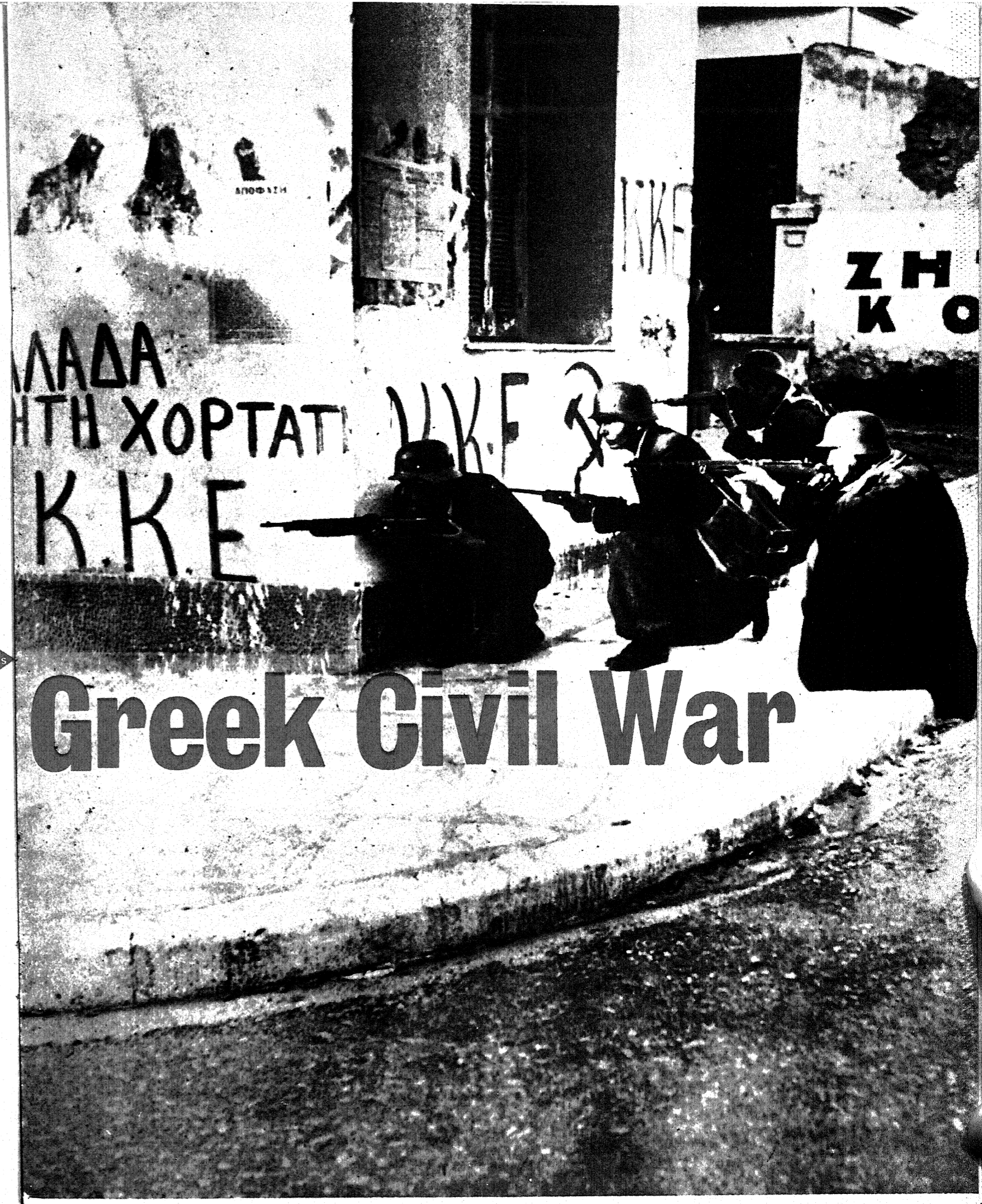
If these articles incite the fighters of the working-class movement to such a study, then they have fulfilled their purpose. They have made a gain in the struggle in healing old wounds of the movement within the building of a new revolutionary party, which, enlightened by the bitter experience of past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

Greek Section of the International Committee

Opposite: ELAS fighters skirmishing in the streets of Athens



## PART TWO

# History of the Greek Civil War

ON AUGUST 10 1943 the delegations of EAM, EDES and EKKA arrived by air in Cairo. For EAM were 11. Tsirimokos, L. Tzimas, P. Rousos and K. Despotopoulos. For EDES, K. Pyromaglou and for EKKA, G. Kartalis. To be exact, the Cairo conference would be discussing the participation of EAM, EDES and EKKA in the Tsouderos 'government' in exile which was to be transformed into a government of 'national unity'.

We will leave Brigadier General Myers to show us how the British saw the Cairo conference:

Finally, given the unrepresentative character of the Greek government and given its lack of contact with the interior and the non-existence of confidence in it on the part of the guerrillas, especially of EAM, it was ascertained that the danger of a sudden change from the guerrilla regime and Law to a constitutional government after the liberation of Greece had to be avoided.

Consequently, we imagined that the landing in Greece would take place from Southern Italy and that the west coast near the territory of EDES-EOEA (the armed bodies of EDES) would be liberated before Athens. We decided that I should recommend that one or two representatives of the Greek government proceed to Free Mountainous

Greece, when the continuing control of the administrative machinery and the absorption of the administrative organization of the resistance by the state mechanism had been ensured.

Before I left Perdouli for Neraida, I explained separately to each one, to Komninos Pyromaglou of EDES and to George Kartalis of EKKA the above, and achieved an agreement without reservations that they would jointly recommend the three above phases of the development of the resistance.

The next morning, August 9, I had a long consultation with Siantos and the other representatives of the Central Committee of EAM, for the purpose of getting their consent, as with the representatives of EDES and EKKA, in all that concerns the common way of confronting our problems in Cairo.

After a satisfying discussion, which lasted two hours, Siantos agreed that his representatives would seek the resolution of the problems exactly in the way which had been called for.

However, the Cairo conference did not achieve the joint confrontation of 'our problems' . . . It collapsed without having decided on the government of 'national unity', which even the 'radio waves' of Moscow had begun to recommend persistently at that time.



The reasons were the following: The arrival of the Greek Mission coincided with the circulation of the first rumours about an agreement between Roosevelt and Stalin on the 'spheres of influence' in a way that changed the strategy of the war completely. Until then, it was calculated that the 'allied' landing in Europe would be realized from the Balkans, that, consequently, great military forces would follow the German retreat and bring with them, to resume their positions, the kings of Greece, Yugoslavia and their governments. But the British put it about that a makeshift distribution of the 'spheres of influence', decided on by Roosevelt and Stalin, provided for the Balkans to 'be liberated' by the Red Army.

Indeed, three months later, on November 28, 1943, at the Teheran conference Churchill was obliged to accept such a settlement. Later, on December 24 in Cairo, Roosevelt and Churchill decided conclusively that the 'liberation' landing of the 'allies' would be deflected towards the west.

This decision, while limiting the military importance of the guerilla forces, made more prominent their political importance and the danger they constituted for the capitalist regimes of Greece and Yugoslavia after the end of the war. The English had to re-examine the subject of the Cairo conference in this new light.

**The British Ambassador for Greece, Sir Reg Leeper, later wrote in his book *When Greek meets Greek*:**

As 1943 drew to an end, the situation underwent a change. The general strategy of the war, as was agreed between the British and Americans, dictated that in Greece large military forces would not be sent for the repulsion of the Germans. The King, the Greek Government and the Greek People were waiting for the British landing in Greece and consequent widespread operations against the Germans.

If all the force of the allied attack were turned towards the west, in Greece they would not have to expect anything but operations of a small extent and at a later time. The prospect that King George would return to Greece with the Greek Army and supported by large allied forces became even more unrealisable.

**On the same question, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill wrote in his *Memoirs*:**

The decisions of the conferences in Cairo and in Teheran indirectly influenced the position in Greece. There would never be a major Allied landing there, nor was it likely that any considerable British forces would follow a German retreat. The arrangements to prevent anarchy had therefore to be considered . . .

So the British imperialists, who were among its inspirers, proceeded to torpedo the Cairo conference.

The leaders of EAM had come to Cairo in order to take part in a government of 'national unity' on the presupposition that the King would state that he was not going to return to Greece, without the opinion of the people being expressed through a plebiscite. These leaders would not have had in reality any objection to taking part in a government headed by the King and just how counterfeit their antimonarchism was, became apparent many times later. But they had to take account of the simple ELASites and the masses of workers, who would not by any means have accepted a return to the pre-war civil regime of the monarchy. In fact, they would not accept a return to the capitalist social regime.

Such a statement from George was expected as a certainty. But at the last moment he refused and through Tsouderos made known to the conference the telegraphic advice of Churchill that the statement be



**King George of Greece.**

not made. So it was not possible for the negotiations to continue.

With the change undergone by the situation, the British moved in other directions. They started urgently to prepare EDES and EKKKA, not for co-operation with ELAS, but for war against it, in the hope that they would strike heavy blows against it. Part of these preparations was the purge of conciliatory elements from their organizations and parallel to this, the collective recruiting of royalist officers with concrete orders. It was precisely then that they turned towards the Rallis government (through Scott), which had been in office since April 1943 and had formed the Security Battalions which people rightly paraphrased 'Vagrancy Battalions'.

Of course, the British attempt to counterpose EDES and EKKKA to ELAS was doomed to failure. These organizations were too weak to confront such a dynamic and really mass movement. No one would ever have dreamed the annulment of the 'liberation' plans for Greece by the 'allies' would create conditions so favourable for the seizure of power by the proletariat. The power would have fallen into the hands of the working class like a ripe fruit after the imminent German withdrawal, and the bourgeoisie had no power at all to retrieve it.

For this reason, the reaction was obliged to return to the tactic of collaboration with the CPG, but not any more for 'resistance' against the Germans. 'There had to be an attempt at a political solution, that is of collaboration with the Communists and simultaneously their removal,' said Pipinelis (P. Pipinelis *George II*).

The Stalinists of the CPG were determined to play the game of the Greek bourgeoisie and imperialism! To become the bridge for the re-installation of the old regime, it was enough for them to be given some guarantees that the CPG would be recognized as a necessary factor in public life in post-war Greece. This was after all the poverty-stricken content of their 'medium-poor democratic dictatorship'.

So the reaction, while it had no doubts about the intentions of the Stalinists, had no confidence whatsoever in the armed masses and was determined to smash them. When it had achieved this it would not of course have given medals to the Stalinists for their services.

After Cairo the threat of destruction loomed ever more clearly before the leaders of EAM-CPG. But they did not for a moment stop acting as the incorrigible lackeys of the ruling class. Their interest continued to be concentrated on how they would create the conditions for bargaining from a more favourable position.

## BATTLES WITH EDES

In September 1943, EDES advanced its detachments from Epirus into the Zagorios-Konitsa area. In October it attacked the Second Company of the 1/15 Battalion of ELAS, in the village of Tsepelovo. Then, while it never halted its provocations and arrests of EAMites, it generalized its attack against Regiments 3/40 and 24 of ELAS, in the Tzoumerka and Souli areas and against the 15th Regiment in the Mourkgana-Kasidiaris area. (See Chronicle of the Resistance: 'To Arms, to Arms'.)

In October 1943, ELAS was obliged to launch a large-scale counter-attack. Its fighters, although not so well trained and organized, by their sheer impetuosity, overcame EDES, whose resistance was very rapidly collapsing and whose men were in danger of being captured.

But suddenly, a surprise: An unforeseen saviour of EDES appeared: the German army, which for the first time intervened in the Greek mountains. The German detachments took up a position between the two forces and struck at ELAS which was obliged to temporarily abandon the operation and retreat.

This 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 the operations in January 1944 and continued them until February. Its blows were now decisive. 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 liquidate it conclusively. But, while the battle continued, they met in the village of Myrophilo with a delegation from EDES, EKKA and the British Mission in order to negotiate a truce.

A former woman guerrilla later recounted:

The sky was red, the place was all lit up, so terrible was the fire of the battle. In the morning we could discern that everywhere around us the field was covered with corpses. We could not tell our men from the EDESites. And we learned that they (the leaders) had left the evening before for Myrophilo, to discuss a truce. They had told us nothing. They left us to kill each other.

The Stalinists themselves wrote:

In the space of time between January 26 and February 3, 1944, the forces of EDES were dissolved and went to Arachthos pursued by ELAS. Detachments of ELAS in the southern sector went up to Xerouvouni, while in the northern sector they reached, and at a few points crossed, the Kalarrytiko river. The British agents, confronted with the danger of the whole of EDES being liquidated, hurriedly called for the conclusion of a truce. ELAS, even though it was able to continue its attack and dissolve EDES in its entirety, accepted the proposal of a truce because it always sincerely desired the unity of all the national forces [!] in the struggle for the liberation of the country. The truce provided for discussions between representatives of ELAS, EDES and EKKA. These discussions began on the morning of February 15, 1944, in the village of Myrophilo. (Chronicle of the Resistance 'To Arms, to Arms'.)

## THE PLAKA TRUCE

At Myrophilo the delegation from EAM proposed to the other organizations and to the representatives of the British Mission, the formation of a joint Political Committee installed in the mountains, with provisional governmental powers. But their proposal was rejected. The British did not want to proceed to some form of government in which politicians of the Cairo 'government' would not have incorporated the Greek bourgeoisie in a ruling capacity.

Despite all this, on February 29 the leadership of EAM signed an agreement for the conclusion of hostilities between ELAS and EDES-EKKA. This agreement was called the Plaka Agreement, Plaka being a location two kilometres outside Myrophilo.

From the beginning of the negotiations at Myrophilo, Aris Veloukhiotis, who was not a member of the EAM-ELAS delegation and was apparently opposed to the truce, installed himself and his headquarters with his 'Black Caps' at Plaka. The EAM-ELAS delegation was not aware of his presence. General Saraphis, when asked, denied the allegations about Aris' presence and proposed an inspection of the area. However it was ascertained that Aris was in fact at Plaka and he was asked to go away.

Pyromaglou notes in relation to this episode:

In my opinion and from the impressions I got from the very sharp discussion I had with him [with Aris] in Myrophilo, before the beginning of the conference, his presence was not only a 'reminder' to the Representatives

of EKKA and EDES, it was perhaps, and much more, an extension parallel or even opposed to the delegation of EAM-ELAS. Even today I continue to believe that the disagreements and oppositions of Aris with the Central Committee of EAM or the Politburo of the CPG were substantial, both concerning the manner of the national activity of the armed resistance, and also concerning the content of the Political line of EAM during the Occupation and the first year after the Liberation.

At the first meeting at Myrophilo, a unanimous resolution was carried condemning the Security Battalions and the Rallis government. The resolution was also signed by the representative of the middle East headquarters, Colonel Woodhouse.

The British undertook to broadcast the resolution on the radio. But this did not happen. And anyway it would have been meaningless to broadcast a condemnation of Rallis and the Security Battalions from the radio stations of Cairo, London and America, when everyone knew that the 'allies' had close relations with the Rallis government and the Occupation Authorities.

The Plaka agreement was the first link in what was perhaps the most cynical betrayal that the history of the Greek and the international working class movement has known. After Plaka, the leaders of the CPG were able to travel to Lebanon in order to negotiate with the reaction on the government of 'national unity'.

Without the Plaka truce—at the Myrophilo-Plaka meeting—the Lebanon conference would not have been

possible; and without the Caserta agreement the Lebanon conference would have been unfruitful. (Woodhouse: *Apple of Discord*.)

We must not forget that the Plaka agreement came after the Teheran conference of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. A short time before, in Teheran, Stalin had declared the dissolution of the 3rd Communist International as proof in practice that he would do everything to save the capitalist system as provided for by the 'spheres of influence' arrangements.

In January 1944 the political leader of ELAS, A. Tzimas, visited Yugoslavia where he asked the Russians to give ELAS arms and ammunition from the Red Army. The reply was negative.

## HOW THE 5/42 WAS LIQUIDATED

After the battles with ELAS, the EDES forces were decimated. Besides this, ELAS managed to ambush and to neutralize EDES completely and formed another division in the north part of Epirus.

However, the provocations continued, this time on the part of the 5/42. Major Kapentzonis and Captain Dedousis had a field day against EAM and its followers. Dedousis, on March 4, 1944, declared the North Dorida region under a state of siege. He arrested members of the District Committee of EAM of Fokida at Pentagioi. Subsequently he disarmed the headquarters of the reserve ELAS of Dorida and the militant bands of Pentagioi, Krokyleios and other neighbouring villages. He murdered the commander of ELAS of Krokyleios, Varsos, he cut the telephone lines and, seizing hostages and taking the provisions of ELAS, moved towards the South Mornos region, in order to join with Kapentzonis' battalion.

Subsequently, the 5/42 concentrated its forces in the location of Klimata on the Gulf of Corinth, awaiting reprisals from ELAS. Earlier it refused to satisfy the demand of ELAS for Captain Dedousis to be arrested and sent to the Mixed Guerrilla Tribunal.

Shortly, the 5/42 was to be dissolved by ELAS. Its case does not have any special historical importance but presents one of the many aspects of the betrayals committed by the Stalinists in the period of the Occupation and the civil war. One could fill whole volumes with stories and episodes similar to this, which we shall leave to ELAS Captain K. Yiannakopoulos to narrate:

Especially from the first months of 1944, the relations between ELAS and the forces of the 5/42 are not taking a good course . . . The crisis comes to a head after the domination of extremist elements and indeed of the irreconcilable royalist officers (Major Kapentzonis, Captain Dedousis etc.) whose stand was provocative to such a degree that it came into clear opposition with their conduct, with what one would have expected of them during the final phase of the conflict which they sought through all available means . . . In order to judge, however, let us see what this conflict was, how the battle of the night of April 17, 1944, came about . . . The reader should not be surprised to read of Battalions. In reality, however, he will only be concerned with Bands! And only three at that.

There are many strange things about this battle. One of these is that the three Bands were concocted in order to justify the unjustifiable . . . Divisions!

Subsequently Captain Yiannakopoulos cites the forces of ELAS which are arrayed against the 5/42. These included detachments from five battalions and among them the III/36, the Death Battalion under Captain

Much later I was told by a Soviet officer, O'Ballance writes, who claimed to have read a copy of the original report sent back by the Soviet Military mission on ELAS, that ELAS was 'just a rabble of armed men, not worth supporting'.

Episodes like these showed what the position of Moscow towards Greece was. Parallel to these, while the battles with EDES were raging the Soviet Ambassador in London presented his credentials to George VI (December 1943). And on January 1, 1944, Radio Moscow made an appeal for a government of 'national unity'. On the 12th of the same month, a Soviet communication was delivered to the Greek Ambassador in Moscow which once again asked for the formation of a government of 'national unity'.

Yiannakopoulos which was made up of Aris' special forces. Also taking part were the Commanding company of Regiment 36 and Aris' personal guard. A total of 1,400 men.

Yiannakopoulos continues:

The III/36 battalion, whose lot it was to play the leading role in this sad affair, is the Death Battalion, which only a fortnight previously has returned unbelievably fatigued from Epirus, after a hard five-month fight against EDES.

The night of April 7-8: the Death Battalion finds itself in the village of Pitsi, where it receives Aris' order to move towards Gardidi . . . After a three-day march in the rain with little or no food and after covering 100 kilometres we arrived at the village of Kampos or Koumpaioi and from noon on 13-4 the Death Battalion, already named III/36, finds itself in the positions which it will hold until the time of the attack . . . The actions on which the III/36 embarked are:

(a) A makeshift organization on the terrain for every eventuality.

(b) Organization of a complete and continuous observation network throughout the front of the line of resistance of the 5/42, especially the detachment in front of us, with observers working alternately and separately, on the basis of detailed orders and able to prepare rough elementary maps.

. . . As was ascertained after the battle the location of the positions of automatic weapons was 90-100 per cent successful.

. . . The morning of Easter day, 16.4: after a conference about the whole situation among Aris, Rigos, Zoulas etc., at which I found myself by accident. After its conclusion, Aris asked me:

'What do you say, Dino?'

I described to him the results of my observations and in conclusion said:

'I think that if the attack is ordered to take place in the daytime, we can operate only against the right flank of the 5/42's disposition, keeping the left side engaged. If, however, it takes place at night, then the opposite must happen.'

Aris' question was again:

'What do you say?'

'I would prefer it to take place at night.' And I briefly explained why.

'Then at night,' was Aris' reply.

Besides, I hoped justly that the other detachments too, would operate on the basis of some plan for the success of the purpose of the battle.

With Aris, we determined the time of the attack to be at 2.15 on 17.4.44, that is 45 minutes before the moon rose. I believed that I should have finished within 30-40 minutes, otherwise it was going to be a failure . . . What I said naturally concerned the blow against those opposite me. For this reason, when I finished I waited to hear from Zoulas what was to happen relative to the remaining detachment of the line of resistance of the 5/42, because with three bands of III/36 more could not be done. Because, however, nothing is said, I put the question of the temporary immobilization of the detachments of

Kapentzonis-Paizanos and Douroi-Kaimara. To be exact, I ask for 3-4 machine guns and at least another band . . . The three bands of the only company of the II/36 battalion commanded by the first-year cadet but excellent fighter George Athanasiou, started the attack at 2.15 . . . In a manner of speaking of course . . . (they advanced at a crawl).

. . . Ten minutes have passed, we have covered 100-200 metres approximately. Everyone knows that we must reach a point not more than 50 metres away. But will we reach it? We advance towards the machine guns and they towards us! Almost everyone knows that opposite us, on our front, five machine guns and around 15 sub-machine guns are pointed at us. They know because they have recognized and noted them themselves.

. . . One more step . . . another . . . the distance is now much less than 100 metres . . . someone stumbled somewhere . . .

Suddenly voices and whistles are heard, simultaneously the first shots are fired from the positions of the 5/42. The moments are crucial. In accordance with instructions and even before they find time to place the automatic weapons, taking advantage of the crucial 4-5 seconds, we gain with a very rapid leap about 20 more metres. Thus, 25 minutes after the beginning of the attack, the automatic weapons of the opponent are separated from us even less than 40 metres. We have fallen to the ground and are crawling on our bellies. . . . The ground around us is being torn up and bullets are whistling furiously in all directions . . .

. . . We prepare ourselves for the final leap. . . . At that exact moment, from the side of the village Basteri, which was simultaneously surrounded by the First Band of Second Lieutenant V. Saratsis, voices are heard and a bugle begins to play 'The son of the eagle' . . .

. . . If we have not finished in one minute, then we have lost, or rather we will have been lost. With a hastily-made paper funnel, I judge it to be expedient to give with my own voice the signal to attack.

The cry 'Air'\* is repeated by 160 mouths. Before a minute has elapsed, the five machine guns, 16 sub-machine guns and the mortar of Dedousis' battalion are in our hands. Dedousis abandons everything, seriously threatened with being surrounded by the Saratsis band. The place Basteoi, as well as Analipsis, are seized.

The time is 3.30. The moon is illuminating the surrounding area quite well.

We are continuously gathering automatic weapons.

Six o'clock. During this space of time the following took place:

Koumaros, after a weak resistance, has been seized.

The weaponry has been abandoned in our hands. The First Band is moving towards Eupaulio. The Third Band is approaching Skala Karaïskou. With the Second Band I arrive at Prophet Elias (at Kokkinaïous). On the way I sent Karageorgos, the Captain of the Company, and he freed 21 hostages of the 5th Independent Battalion who had been captured a few days before and were being held in the village Klimata.

The sun is just rising now. From Prophet Elias I look down towards the sea with binoculars and observe the small harbour. No movement at all.

. . . Suddenly we are under thick machine gun and mortar fire from the positions of the II/34 Battalion of Kronos. We take cover just in time.

It was a question of . . . a misunderstanding!! . . . I learned afterwards.

Here we can say that the battle had ended conclusively.

The 5/42 no longer exists, nor does EKKA . . .

. . . The forces of the 5/42 after the breach in their line, taking advantage of darkness, a complete knowledge of the terrain and its roughness, has dissolved from the first moment and scattered.

A detachment under Kapentzonis, Dedousis etc arrived in Marathia when it was still night and continued on its way towards Trizonia. But it was obliged to pass in front of the guards' huts of the II/34, which stretched to the sea. On arrival when challenged by the guards they replied: 'We are Nikiforos' men' and . . . continued along their

\*The signal 'Air' is used by Greek soldiers when attacking.

way! About 100 of them arrived in Patras, where they immediately enlisted in the Security Battalions . . .

### Two questions

From a perusal of the foregoing, I do not think that any special knowledge of military matters is necessary for certain questions to come into one's head, for certain very natural doubts to arise.

And first the stand of EKKA, to be exact, that of the extremist fanatics and irreconcilable Kapentzonis, Dedousis and others. Here I limit myself to the clearly military side of the events, although the existence of EKKA itself, especially as an armed detachment, I think was for it (or at least should have been, taking into account the small numbers of the force of the 5/42 in relation to the force of the ELAS detachments by which it was permanently surrounded) rather a political question. That is, a question of handling. Because I do not believe, at least from my knowledge of it, that it was ever possible for the 5/42 to seriously threaten the detachments of ELAS . . .

. . . Characteristic from this point of view is document No. 634/16.4.44, of 5/42 Regiment to the Central Committee of EKKA, which was despatched a few hours before the attack. Among other things it contains: . . . The Regiment will fight using all its means against the attack thus plotted against it by EAM-ELAS. It is determined with sadness to spill brotherly blood . . .

. . . On what do they base themselves, however?

Why, since they see and know that the slightest spark will immediately provoke the explosion, do they maintain this stand right up to the last moment?

It is not only the above document. I remember that even up to the afternoon of Easter Sunday, 16.4, they sent, almost every two hours, liaison officers to the 5th Brigade, who on account of the positions they held, I examined first. All of them, every one of them, tried to convince us that we would experience heavy losses if we attacked, and that they would attack us, no matter what. All of them said this in the same words, so I was more than certain from their tone that they did not believe it either. Indeed, one of them, while assuring us that he had come for . . . our own good, was at the same time shaking, even though it was April!!

. . . However Dedousis provokes and threatens until the last minute. Even Dedousis knows that surrounded as he is, neither he nor any one of them will escape being taken prisoner (assuming, our five battalions operate correctly). And Dedousis knows that if he falls into the hands of ELAS he is 100 per cent lost. And Dedousis and the other 'irreconcilables' know that behind them is the inhospitable sea, and that they will either die fighting or be captured alive . . .

However the 'irreconcilables' know something that we do not know.

They know that: Neither will they die, nor be captured, nor is the sea inhospitable!!

Because very simply they know: that they will not fight!!!

So it was proved . . .

. . . From what I cite it appears clearly that, while the Command of the detachments of ELAS has at its disposal five Battalions 1,400 men strong, it nevertheless led it in such a way that only three Bands, that is 90 men, took part in the battle.

. . . However, even that next to us and indeed in contact with the enemy (Battalion II/34) did not take any part in the battle. And not just this. It was so ignorant of what was happening, that it rained on us a torrential fire of cannon and mortar, 2 1/2 hours after the conclusion of the battle. . . . At the same time while it is very well aware that it controls one of the two overland routes of escape of the 5/42, while it is informed that a battle is taking place, nonetheless, in front of its very guards' huts about 300 men of the 5/42 are passed undisturbed, together with Dedousis-Kapentzonis etc, simply by stating that 'they were from Nikiforos' Battalion!!! As we saw, 90-100 of them went and joined the Security Battalions of Patras. (Quoted from the book by K. Pyromaglou: *G. Kurtalis and His Epoch.*)



## WHAT THE PEEA WAS

On 10 March 1944, EAM announced the founding of PEEA (Political Committee of National Liberation), whose base was in Viniani of Agrafa. After the rejection of the EAM-ELAS proposal at the Myrophilo-Plaka conference for the formation of a 'mountain government', PEEA was considered to be a government of the CPG. Even today the reaction uses the case of PEEA to prove that the CPG was aiming to seize the power when the war was over. But the only purpose of such a view of PEEA is to justify the British intervention in Greece and the savage oppression of the masses which followed and which has never ceased since then. In reality, PEEA was nothing but a threat and pressure on the 'allies' to accept the participation of the CPG in a government of 'national unity'. The Stalinists used it as a means of proving in practice they they did not aim to overthrow the capitalist system. Simultaneously it acted as a left cover for the big betrayals that were being prepared.

This is what Pyromaglou says about PEEA:

'However, on and after 15 March 1944, a wind of moderation was blowing throughout Free Mountainous Greece. The concentration camps were abolished. The acts of violence and extremism stopped. A praiseworthy attempt for a real and faceless command was noted in all the regions controlled by EAM. Troublemakers and violence-seekers were taken out of circulation. Incendiary propaganda, printed or spoken, ceased. Elections were proclaimed for a national council; candidates were put up not belonging to EAM, and some from EDES. The Communists were few. The attempt for a democratic administration appeared sincere everywhere.

During this transitional period of re-adaptation a difficulty was ascertained. The re-adaptation in the ranks of ELAS. The broader democratization of EAM presented no difficulties. In ELAS, however, the military in-

flexibility remained both a national advantage for the detachments which had not been differentiated ideologically and also a disadvantage in relation to the aims pursued by PEEA, since certain units had a revolutionary inclination above and beyond the climate inaugurated by PEEA!

The programme of PEEA was undisguisedly bourgeois. In its founding statement and its first 'Message to the Greek people' (10.3.1944), it declared that it would safeguard with the 'greatest strictness' the 'right of private property'!

'Moreover the Committee will safeguard with the greatest strictness all the freedoms of the people and particularly the freedom of religious conscience and all the rights, as well as the right of private property.'

The purpose of PEEA, as was declared in its founding statement, was for the agreements of Teheran to be adapted to Greece, that is, the agreements whereby Stalin had conceded Greece to the 'sphere of influence' of British imperialism.

'(The PEEA) should seek—said the founding statement—our national restoration based on the principle of self-determination of peoples (!) according to the Atlantic charter and the Teheran agreement and the strategic arrangement of our frontiers' (!!)

The CPG also made the same declarations directly:

'We are fighting unreservedly on the side of our great allies—the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States—and all the united nations for the worldwide annihilation of Fascism and all tyranny, for the prevailing of the principles of the Atlantic and Teheran.' (Proclamation of the Aims of the CPG, in Today's Peoples' War of Liberation).

The PEEA was finally dissolved within the government of 'national unity' which originated from the Lebanon conference.

## THE MIDDLE EAST MOVEMENT



A lighter moment. The Greek Army in the Middle East prepare traditional Kebab on improvised desert oven.

But, even before the Stalinists set out for the Lebanon conference, 'our great allies' were to provide a few strong samples of their decision to enforce their will, no matter the 'principles' of the Atlantic Treaty and Teheran, with a bloody suppression of the movement of Greek soldiers and sailors in the Middle East.

In the Middle East there were 30,000 Greek soldiers of all three forces, and they were fighting under the orders of British Headquarters. Eighteen thousand of them were infantry organized in the First and Second Brigades, in a Regiment of armoured cars and in some other smaller units. 7,000 were in the navy and 4-5,000 in the air force.

The Greek army in the Middle East had been formed mainly from voluntarily enlisted fugitives from Greece, from the crews of the Greek ships sailing in the Middle East after the country was occupied by the Germans and from Greeks from Egypt.

Ninety per cent of the soldiers had radical ideas and believed that in the Middle East they were fighting Fascism. The soldiers dreamed that with their strength they would manage to live after the war in a Greece of 'freedom and full stomachs' as the CPG promised. On the other hand, the reaction saw in the army of the Middle East a force with which it would impose, after the war, its counter-revolutionary order.

The Greek detachments were torn by these internal contradictions, and the British were often hesitant to use them in operations. The soldiers were murdered or put in medieval prisons which the British colonialists used for the locals. But they also resisted, organized themselves in committees and in the Anti-Fascist Military Organization (ASO) whose leader was Yianis Salas. There were many revolts and the most reactionary officers were arrested. As the end of the war approached, the existence of a dual command became more strong withing the Greek army of the Middle East.

In February and March 1943 the monarchist officers of the 'Association of Officers' submitted mass resignations, demanding a purge from the military command of all the 'pro-Communist elements'. The soldiers struck back by seizing the officers who had

resigned and turned them over to the British, as they were asked to.

After a few months, in July 1943, the British dissolved the Second Brigade following a rebellion which broke out with the murder of the soldier Pygmalion Papastergiou.

All these incidents made the British decide to dissolve the Greek units in the Middle East. On 2 April 1944, after the despatch of a resolution of the soldiers supporting PEEA to the Tsouderos government, strong units of the English army surrounded the 4th Regiment and disarmed it.

Subsequently all the remaining units were surrounded, as well as the Greek ships in the harbour of Alexandria. The struggle of the soldiers and sailors was terribly unequal. They found themselves surrounded by a huge mass of British Army, in a foreign country, where their opponents controlled everything, together with the sources of supplies of the troops. After a lengthy blockade which deprived the soldiers and sailors of food and water, the British succeeded in disarming them.

Twenty thousand soldiers of the infantry, armoured car regiment fleet and the air force, were put in concentration camps in the deserts of Libya and Eritrea. Many of them died of privation, hardship and illness. The British selected 2,500 loyalists, most of whom were former gendarmes and other scum and organized the 'Mountain Brigade' which was later used as a detachment of the counter-revolution.

## LEBANON-CASERTA

Immediately after the dissolution of the Greek units in the Middle East, at the Lebanese mountain resort of Dur-el-Sawar, there began on 17 May 1944 the negotiations between the delegations of PEEA-EAM-ELAS and EDES, EKKA, the British, the Greek government of Cairo, other bourgeois parties and reactionary organizations which openly collaborated with the Occupation Authorities.

This conference voted on a document drawn up by the British Ambassador, Leeper called 'National Contract'. Its contents were to be the programme of the government of 'national unity'.

The 'Contract' began with a condemnation of the class struggle of the Greek soldiers in the Middle East, which was suppressed by the open attack of the British army. The soldiers were accused of making a 'mutiny' in the military sense and of a 'crime against the Fatherland'. It was stated that for their 'crime', 'the instigators of the mutiny must be punished according to their responsibilities'.

Subsequently, the dissolution of ELAS was provided for, even though this was not set out in so many words. The 'Contract' however mentioned that the government had to proceed as quickly as possible towards the creation of a 'national army' on the basis solely of national and military criteria, an army which 'will be free of any influence of parties and organizations'.

Also the 'liberation' of the country would be realized 'jointly by the allied forces' and the 'securing of the order and the freedom of the Greek People during the liberation of the Fatherland which would be

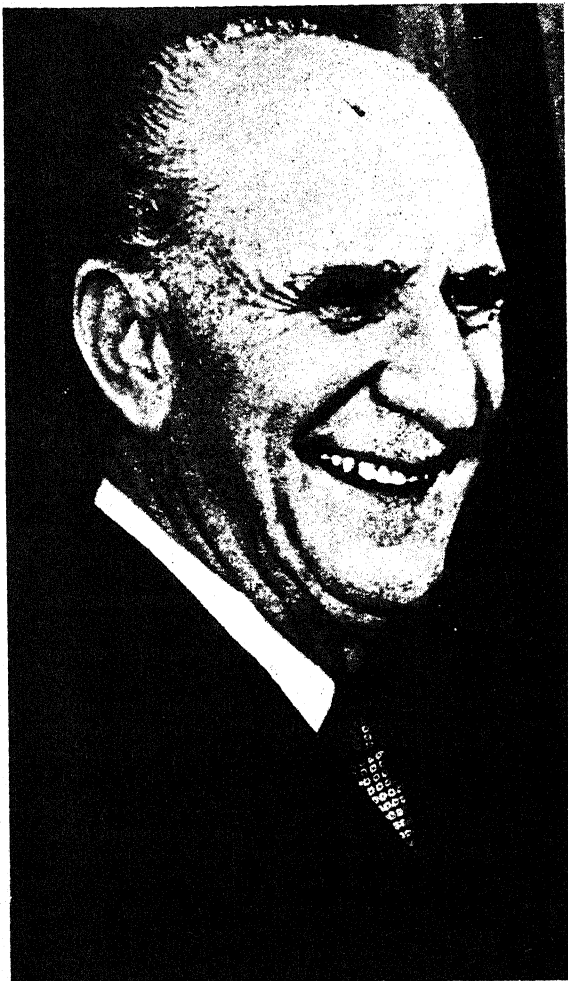
carried out together with the allied forces will be its own work' (of the government of 'national unity').

According to the 'Contract' of the Greek nation, drawn up by the British Ambassador, responsibility was undertaken for measures for the purpose 'of satisfying immediately after the liberation the material needs of the Greek People' and an elaboration would take place 'of a plan for the economic reconstruction of the country, the realization of which would demand the support of the Allies'.

In the 'national unity' government, the CPG was to be represented with 25 per cent. The ministries which it would take up would be analogous to its mission to tame the struggle of the workers for their demands: the Ministries of Labour, National Economy, Agriculture, Finance, Public Works and the Under-Secretaryship of Finance.

The 'Contract' of Lebanon was a complete betrayal by Stalinism. With this, even the position of the monarchy remained untouched. Article 5, which concerned the position of the king, was composed in a purposely abstract way, so that the local reaction and the British did not undertake any responsibility for a plebiscite, while the CPG only kept up a few doubtful pretences so that the spirit of the masses who supported it would not be upset.

The British intended to insist on an open declaration that the civil regime of the country would not be changed for any reason. They retreated however after the insistence of the Greek bourgeois politicians, especially G. Papandreou, who warned that the question of the monarchy could provoke a civil clash



**Premier Papadopoulos.**

before the conditions had changed in favour of the old social and civil regime.

Article 5 of the Contract simply noted that the positions of all the parties that took part in the government, as far as the 'Sovereign' was concerned, were known. . . . The parties within the 'national unity' government would continue to keep up these positions and consequently the 'elucidation' of the question of the monarchy had to be left at the disposal of the 'national unity' government.

The British ambassador Leeper wrote:

One will observe that my Article 5 was formulated in general terms. The question of the king's return to Greece was the apple of discord in Greek circles in the past. Tsouderos had undergone a long and rigorous experience of this disagreement. Papandreou had his baptism of fire in Lebanon and came out of it well. There was the fear that EAM would cut off its participation in this subject unless all the parties agreed that the king would not return before a plebiscite was taken. They did not change their views but neither did they set them as a condition of agreement. . . . In other words, the decision (on the subject of the king) was only postponed, but the postponement was made with great skill. . . .

The Stalinists disagreed on only one point: on making Papandreou, a well-known monarchist with a long anti-Communist record, Prime Minister. Because the British were insistent, the CPG accepted the whole 'National Contract' but refused to take part in the government if a different person were not put in the seat of Prime Minister.

But they were not going to insist for very long on the question of Papandreou. On 26 July 1944 the Soviet Military Mission led by Colonel Popov arrived in Greece. Three days later the CPG had changed its mind and on 2 September 1944 it declared publicly that it accepted participation in the government with Papandreou as Prime Minister.

As far as the visit of the Soviet Mission is concerned, the newspaper of the CPG (*Interior*) has written:

'Perhaps we should add here that on 26 July 1944 the Soviet Military Mission arrived in Greece under Colonel Popov, who immediately was in contact with Siantos and Ioannidis. And that, three days later, PEEA made its first big retreat before Papandreou, only to make a total retreat a few days later, on 15 August 1944.' (*Free Greece*, 'Foreign interventions in our national life' 10.6.71).

Many years passed and the CPG 'condemned' the agreements of Lebanon. The resolutions of the 8th Congress of the CPG as far as the agreements of Lebanon were concerned, said:

'Essentially, they facilitated the firm and persistent intention of the English imperialists and of the plutocratic oligarchy to return the old regime and to prevent the people from deciding themselves about their destiny.'

The semi-official *Chronicle of the CPG To Arms, to Arms* also says that 'unacceptable retreats' took place at Lebanon:

The main ones were: The approval of the condemnation of the struggle of the armed Greek forces in the Middle East, something which objectively made it easy for the English imperialists to cover up the armed intervention against them and which left the fighters exposed; the participation of PEEA, EAM and the CPG in the government of 'National Unity' as a minority with only 25 per cent of the seats and all of these secondary ones; recognition of a regulating role in the Middle East Headquarters on the decisive question of the armed forces which gave the English imperialists the right to put, when they judged the moment to be suitable, the question of the dissolution of ELAS.

But all this, in the *Chronicle*, is justified with the impudent as well as witty contention that 'in the negotiations the representatives of PEEA, EAM and the CPG violated the orders which they had from the PEEA and the Central Committees of EAM and the CPG. . . .'

★ ★ ★

After Lebanon, the betrayal was completed on its practical side, at Caserta, Italy on 26 September 1944, where another conference took place between the representatives of the Allied Forces Headquarters in the Mediterranean, ELAS and EDES.

Present at this meeting presided over by the British Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean forces, Wilson, were the British minister in the Middle East MacMillan, the English Ambassador to the Greek Government R. Leeper, General Scobie, G. Papandreou, Ministers Svolos and Zevgos (CPG), Tsatsos, Sgouritsas, General Saraphis of ELAS and N. Zervas of EDES.

'Following the talks an agreement was signed under which the Greek guerilla forces came under the orders of the Greek government which, in its turn, placed them under the orders of the British General Scobie. The leaders of the guerilla forces undertook responsibility 'to forbid every attempt of their units to take the authority in their hands' and that in Athens no operation would take place against the Germans unless ordered by Scobie.

'The EAM resistance movement recognized the Briton Scobie as the general in command of the military forces operating in Greece and agreed to execute the orders he would give, according to which the descent of the forces of ELAS to certain large cities and main strategic points was ruled out.' (*To Arms, to Arms.*)

While the Stalinists gave everything, with such cynicism, to the British imperialists, the latter were preparing violently to smash the Greek working class and the oppressed people. Let us see what Churchill was occupying himself with in the period between the Lebanon conference and the Caserta conference:

Before leaving Italy at the end of August I had asked the Chief of the Imperial General Staff to work out the details of a British expedition to Greece in case the Germans there collapsed. We gave it the code-name 'Manna'. Its planning was complicated by our strained resources and the uncertainty of Germany's strategic position in the Balkans, but I directed that our forces should be ready to act by September 11, and that the Greek Prime Minister and representatives of the Greek Government in Italy

should be prepared to enter Athens without delay. . . . (Churchill *The Second World War, Vol. 6, Triumph and Tragedy*)

It is not a question here of any campaign against the Germans, but against the Greek workers 'in case the Germans collapsed' as Churchill puts it. And this is how it happened. The British Prime Minister was very concerned that the landing of British troops should follow on the heels of the German collapse and retreat, so that a 'vacuum' and 'anarchy' would not follow.

One month later, on 14 October 1944, the CPG was to welcome in Athens the British forces of intervention, under General Scobie, as liberating forces.

## CHURCHILL MEETS STALIN



Moscow Conference: Stalin toasts Churchill with Eden (left) and Voroshilov (between Churchill and Stalin) smiles sycophantically.

While all the conditions were being prepared for the December tragedy, let us look behind the Greek scenes, following the threads that tied the CPG with the despot in the Kremlin.

Despite the fact that from Teheran, in 1943, the first settlement on the spheres of influence has taken place, and while various other meetings had taken place in Moscow, London and Washington, the tense and uncertain situation which existed in the Balkans and in Europe in the autumn of 1944 seriously disturbed Churchill.

For this precise reason Churchill feels the need for another personal meeting with Stalin 'whom I had not seen since Teheran and with whom, in spite of the Warsaw tragedy, I felt new links after the successful opening of 'Overlord'.' (*op. cit.*)

The meeting took place on 9 October 1944 in the Moscow Kremlin. Besides Churchill and Stalin, Molotov and Eden took part with Major Birse and Pavlov as interpreters.

Churchill relates:

The moment was apt for business, so I said: 'Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in



Roumania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety per cent predominance in Roumania, for us to have ninety per cent of the say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?' While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

Roumania	
Russia .....	90 per cent
The others .....	10 per cent
Greece	
Great Britain .....	90 per cent
	(in accord with U.S.A.)
Russia .....	10 per cent
Yugoslavia .....	50-50 per cent
Hungary .....	50-50 per cent
Bulgaria	
Russia .....	75 per cent
The others .....	25 per cent

'I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down.

Of course we had long and anxiously considered our point, and were only dealing with immediate war-time arrangements. All larger questions were reserved on both sides for what we then hoped would be a peace table when the war was won.

After this there was a long silence. The pencilled paper lay in the centre of the table. At length I said, 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people in such an off-hand manner? Let us burn the paper.' 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin.

On October 12, in a telegram, Churchill explains to his colleagues the meaning of the percentages determined in Moscow. It is worthwhile to quote here the whole of this important historical document:

1. The system of percentage is not intended to prescribe the numbers sitting on commissions for the different Balkan countries, but rather to express the interest and sentiment with which the British and Soviet Governments approach the problems of these countries, and so that they might reveal their minds to each other in some way that could be comprehended. It is not intended to be more than a guide, and of course in no way commits the United States, nor does it attempt to set up a rigid system of spheres of interest. It may however help the United States to see how their two principal Allies feel about these regions when the picture is presented as a whole.

2. Thus it is seen that quite naturally Soviet Russia has vital interests in the countries bordering on the Black Sea, by one of whom, Roumania, she has been most wantonly attacked with 26 divisions, and with the other of whom, Bulgaria, she has ancient ties. Great Britain feels it right to show particular respect to Russian views about these two countries, and to the Soviet desire to take the lead in a practical way in guiding them in the name of the common cause.

3. Similarly, Great Britain has a long tradition of friendship with Greece, and a direct interest as a Mediterranean Power in her future. In this war Great Britain lost 30,000 men in trying to resist the German-Italian invasion of Greece, and wishes to play a leading part in guiding Greece out of her present troubles, maintaining that close agreement with the United States which has hitherto characterized Anglo-American policy in this quarter. Here it is understood that Great Britain will take the lead in a military sense and try to help the existing Royal Greek Government to establish itself in Athens upon as broad and united a basis as possible. Soviet Russia would be ready to concede this position and function to Great Britain in the same sort of way as Britain would recognize the intimate relationship between Russia and Roumania. This would prevent in Greece the growth of hostile factions waging civil war upon each other and involving the British and Russian Governments in vexatious arguments and conflict of policy.

4. Coming to the case of Yugoslavia, the numerical symbol 50-50 is intended to be the foundation of joint action and an agreed policy between the two Powers now closely involved, so as to favour the creation of a united Yugoslavia after all elements there have been joined together to the utmost in driving out the Nazi invaders. It is intended to prevent, for instance, armed strife between the Croats and Slovenes on the one side and powerful and numerous elements in Siberia on the other, and also to produce a joint and friendly policy towards Marshal Tito, while ensuring that weapons furnished to him are used against the common Nazi foe rather than for internal purposes. Such a policy, pursued in common by Britain and Soviet Russia, without any thought of special advantages to themselves, would be of real benefit.

5. As it is the Soviet armies which are obtaining control of Hungary, it would be natural that a major share of influence should rest with them, subject of course to agreement with Great Britain and probably the United States, who, though not actually operating in Hungary, must view it as a Central European and not a Balkan State.

6. It must be emphasised that this broad disclosure of Soviet and British feelings in the countries mentioned above is only an interim guide for the immediate war-time future, and will be surveyed by the Great Powers when they meet at the armistice or peace table to make a general settlement of Europe.

Many comments have been made about the agreements on the 'spheres of influence' which determined the stand of the CPG and the fate of the Greek working class. Not even Moscow denies that Churchill had proposed a 'table of percentages'. The *History of the Great Patriotic War* writes:

The basic question for Churchill, which was examined in Moscow, was the question of policy towards the Balkan countries. Already during the first meeting with Stalin, Churchill informed him that 'he drew up quite a dirty and cynical document, which portrayed the distribution of influence between the Soviet Union and Great Britain in Roumania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. The table was drawn up in order to show what the English think on this question.

But the composers of the *History* state that the proposals were not accepted by Stalin. And they characterize the statements of Churchill in his 'Memoirs' as an invention.

However from 1944 until today these agreements have been confirmed by many and various ways. The formal denial from Moscow that Stalin had accepted them has since become a dubious fig leaf. Many times, leading personalities of Stalinism have been obliged to admit what is by now a 'common secret'.

In 1963 Mikis Theodorakis, in his report to the Conference of the Committee of Lambrakis Youth, had said:

We do not believe in the zones of influence as they were determined by the great powers during the last war for the very simple reason that we did not expect them to give us our freedom, but we won it with our blood. And we think that few peoples can be compared to us in sacrifices and struggles. We hoped that such a people, which raised its stature like a giant when all of Europe was being suffocated under the boot of the Wermacht, would be respected and consulted before decisions were taken. But it did not happen like that. They divided us like the shepherds divide their flocks. (*Notebooks of Democracy.*)

Even the pro-Moscow fraction of the CPG does not deny today the agreements on the 'spheres of influence'. They only make apologies for themselves and on Stalin's account, that 'they were forced' to accept them. Petros Rousos, whose signature figures among those on the 'National Contract' of Lebanon, has written:

The subject can however take us a long way. What is of direct interest to our revolutionary movement is that the

concrete knowledge of the military and diplomatic conditions of our own National Resistance helps us to understand better its strong and weak sides, to be objective in our assessment of its mistakes, for drawing lessons. We must take upon ourselves courageously the responsibility for the Struggle in our Fatherland. Without also taking more responsibility upon ourselves on a subject which was simultaneously a subject of

international strategy.

As far as the latter is concerned, it is a mistake for a Marxist not to distinguish who was the instigator of the policy of 'spheres of influence'—the imperialists—and who was simply forced to take into consideration the positions of his allies for the sake of unity and victory against the common enemy, Hitler's Fascism (*New World*, No. 8, 1970).

## 'DECEMBER'



Demonstration in Athens December 1944.

At the end of 1944 the German Occupation troops began to abandon Greek territory and on October 12 they vacated Athens. The landing of the British followed on the heels of the withdrawal of the German troops. On October 4 British detachments landed in Patras. On the 13th parachutists landed on the Megara airfield. And on the 14th of the same month, General Scobie, who has been recognized by the CPG as the commander-in-chief of ELAS, arrived in Faliron with Papandreou's government, accompanied by units of the British navy.

EAM has organized a warm welcome for Scobie and the members of the 'national unity' government. A detachment of ELAS did them the honours as soon as they set foot on dry land. Subsequently, Scobie and the members of the government with an escort of British military units headed towards the centre of Athens through an enthusiastic crowd which applauded while holding up huge banners of EAM with slogans written on them such as 'Welcome allies',

'We believe in your justice' and others. They covered the walls of the city with the same slogans which were to remain indelible reminders to people for years afterwards of the great betrayal.

The British imperialists had not of course come to Greece to render 'justice'. While the CPG was organizing parades celebrating the 'liberation' and the newspaper of EAM 'Free Greece' denounced the 'Fifth Columnist Trotskyists' who spread rumours that 'the allies did not come to liberate us but to replace one imperialist slavery with another', at the same moment the British and their man Papandreou, were busy with choosing their ground to launch their bloody violence.

The CPG had of course betrayed but at the same time had been deceived: The British did not aim to replace the old order of things peacefully, but with fire and sword.

Churchill had no doubt that the CPG would consistently apply the agreements of Lebanon and Caserta. And Komninos Pyromaglou confirms this:



Archimandrite of Greek Orthodox Church and Churchill<sup>1</sup> on state drive through Athens.  
British Paras break into working-class quarters in Athens.



We were in a position to know that General Sarafis visited General Al. Othonaios (about the middle of October) when the latter was going to take up a position as Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army and stated that under General Othonaios all the Officers of ELAS and the military ELAS would be disciplined and no dictatorial anomaly or operation would arise and, even if it did arise, which was highly improbable, it would be stamped out at birth. (op. cit.)

But the British were above all interested in smashing the working class movement and thus stabilizing the capitalist regime and their own position in this corner of turbulent Europe.

Churchill, more keen-sighted than even his closest colleagues, insisted on only a military victory in Greece. When three million men were fighting on the western front and large American forces were fighting Japan in the Pacific, the disturbances in Greece may have seemed unimportant to others, but for Churchill the 'nerve centre of power, law and Freedom in the Western World' was to be found there.

Churchill did not want a peace that would shortly be transformed into a social upheaval, threatening the capitalist system in Greece and anywhere else in Europe. So while the CPG slavishly offered him 'earth and water' he was 'certain that the Communists plan to seize power by force'.

On November 8, he sent a telegram to the commander of the Allied Middle East Forces, General Wilson:

In view of increasing threat of Communist elements in Greece and indications that they plan to seize power by force, I hope that you will consider reinforcing our troops in Athens area by immediate dispatch of the 3rd Brigade of 4th Indian Division or some other formation . . .

The moment had arrived for Churchill to realize what he had settled at the Moscow conference, where as he says in his *Memoirs* he 'had obtained Russian abstention at a heavy price'.

On November 7 he had sent another telegram to his Foreign Secretary, where he clearly revealed the strategy of British imperialism in Greece:

1. . . . In my opinion, having paid the price we have to Russia for freedom of action in Greece, we should not hesitate to use British troops to support the Royal Hellenic Government under M. Papandreou.

2. This implies that British troops should certainly intervene to check acts of lawlessness. Surely M. Papandreou can close down EAM newspapers if they call a newspaper strike.

3. I hope the Greek Brigade will soon arrive, and will not hesitate to shoot when necessary. Why is only one Indian division to be sent in? We need another eight or ten thousand foot-soldiers to hold the capital and Salonika for the present Government. Later on we must consider extending the Greek authority. I fully expect a clash with EAM, and we must not shrink from it, provided the ground is well chosen.

From the moment the British arrived in Greece they began to entrench themselves in Athens, to seize key positions jointly with the Mountain Brigade which had arrived in the meantime from Rimini and with the dregs of 'X' and the Security Battalion men who had organized themselves in the so-called National Guard Battalions and applied themselves to provocations, terrorism and murders. When they had prepared sufficiently, they began to direct their efforts to creating an 'opportunity', a pretext for a split with EAM-ELAS and in order to launch their open military attack.

And they found the 'opportunity', in the question of the disarming of the Popular Militia and ELAS.

The CPG leaders had accepted the disarming. However its realization was not an easy matter. On November 28, the PEEA Ministers Svolos, Zevgos and Tsirimokos submitted a plan for the disarming, which however was not acceptable to Papandreou.

Papandreou and the British were opposed to the demand of EAM for simultaneously dissolving the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Band, the establishment of a brief procedure for those docile to the Germans, before the disarming. They insisted on the one-sided disarming and set December 10 as a time limit. Their purpose was to force a split with the CPG on this question.

Papandreou in his book *The Liberation of Greece* referring to the crucial December days, writes:

But there also exists the second stage, the disarming of ELAS. For since the CPG remained fully armed, the Greek Government as we were saying at that time, was simply the helmet of the EAMite State . . .

But when should the demobilization have been decided? Should it have been decided immediately or put off until later? The time element was most crucial. The CPG asked for a postponement. And the more general situation favoured it. So long as *the war against Nazism continued*, the immediate demobilization of the forces of National Resistance could be considered illogical. And for this reason it happened *nowhere* in Europe . . .

But it was clear to me that time was on the side of the CPG. Also internally, because in the meantime it would have safeguarded complete corrosion—as it seems to have happened in Czechoslovakia. And also externally, because the Soviet Union was then in a mortal struggle with Nazism and *was taking precautions* not to disturb its relations with the allies. And precisely for this reason it played the neutral all through December and indeed to the point of announcing to us, on December 30, that they were sending an Ambassador, while battles were still continuing furiously in Athens. And for this reason I insisted inflexibly on immediate demobilization. And December 10 remained unchanged . . .

The result was that December can be considered a 'Gift of God'. But in order for December to exist, we had to have come to Greece previously. And this was possible only with the participation of the CPG in the Government, that is with Lebanon.

And in order for the British who were indispensable for victory, to find themselves here, the Caserta agreement had had to have been signed previously.

And in order for the situation to be cleared up then, I had to insist previously on the immediate demobilization of ELAS and to put the CPG in the picture about the dilemma either to accept the disarming peacefully or to attempt a rebellion under conditions which would now lead to its being smashed . . .

This is the historical truth . . .

With the insistence of the British and Papandreou on the one-sided disarming, the ministers of the CPG were obliged on December 1 to declare their resignation from the 'national unity' government. Without aiming at a violent clarification of the situation, they turned towards the masses, in order to use them in a bid to bring 'pressure' to bear on the British and Papandreou. They immediately asked for permission, and it was granted, to summon the people of Athens and Piraeus to a protest demonstration. But late Saturday night Papandreou annulled the permission, rendering the demonstration illegal.

Despite all this, hundreds of thousands of people rallied the next day in Constitution Square to hear the speakers of the CPG. The British did not hesitate to use this opportunity of provoking the CPG, and to force a violent confrontation. While the meeting continued, the crowd was suddenly fired on from the windows of the



Central Police Headquarters which was housed in the building opposite the 'Great Britain' Hotel. Twenty-eight dead and a hundred wounded covered the ground in a few seconds. The startled crowd retreated to the side-streets for a moment in order to return furious and to rush against the building where the shots had come from. But the murderers had had time to disappear, leaving their guns behind.

The Greek reaction and the British have persisted in their propaganda that this demonstration was the beginning of a violent Communist coup for seizing the power. And this monstrous lie was spread, with the silent tolerance of the leadership of the CPG, to such extent that even today the widespread impression prevails that the December butchery was started on the initiative of the CPG. But the truth about the events is very different from how they have made it appear. The British Ambassador to Greece, R. Leeper, is in this case a witness very worthy of belief.

The shots on Constitution Square began in full view of the many foreign newspaper correspondents, who were staying in the Great Britain Hotel. Facing the Hotel and on the other side of the road is the Central Police Headquarters. The episode took place precisely on this corner. For the newspaper correspondents it was a wonderful opportunity for a swift correspondence of news. They had their typewriters ready. They had seen the whole episode themselves and all the comments flowed from their typewriters. Within a few hours the World formed the impression that the Fascist or almost Fascist Police of Athens fired against an unarmed crowd. (R. Leeper *When Greek Meets Greek.*)

All the foreign journalists who observed the scenes from the balconies and windows of the buildings in Constitution Square communicated in their reports that the police has fired unprovoked on the crowd.

The extract from *The Times* of London quoted by K. Pyromaglu is categorical: The seeds of civil war were well and truly sown this morning by the Athens Police, when they fired on a demonstration of children and youth. The *Times* correspondent described how, when



British soldier stacking huge quantity of arms surrendered by ELAS forces.

a protest demonstration against the government met in Constitution Square, the police opened fire. When the shots ceased, the crowd got up and began to collect the wounded. Then the police began to fire again. British armoured cars, the correspondent reports, were patrolling the streets before the shooting began.

The machine-gunning of the unarmed crowd in Constitution Square was only the beginning. The reaction was determined to proceed without delay to violently dissolve the Militia and ELAS and to impose a regime of white terror.

But let us follow how the situation developed after the demonstration, through a series of Churchill's telegrams. On December 5 Churchill addresses himself to Leeper:

3. I have put the whole question of the defence of Athens and the maintenance of law and order in the hands of General Scobie, and have assured him that he will be supported in the use of whatever force is necessary. Henceforward you and Papandreou will conform to his directions in all matters affecting public order and security. You should both support Scobie in every possible way, and you should suggest to him any means which occur to you of making his action more vigorous and decisive.

2. You are responsible for maintaining order in Athens and for neutralizing or destroying all EAM-ELAS bands approaching the city. You may make any regulations you like for the strict control of the streets or for the rounding up of any number of truculent persons. Naturally ELAS will try to put women and children in the van where

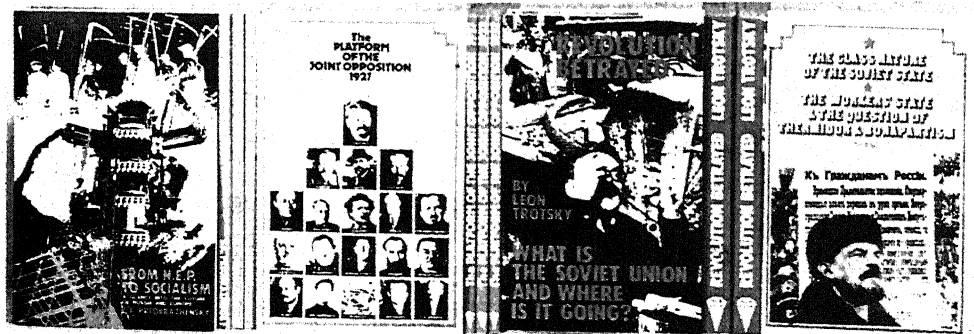
shooting may occur. You must be clever about this and avoid mistakes. But do not hesitate to fire at any armed male in Athens who assails the British authority or Greek authority with which we are working. It would be well of course if your command were reinforced by the authority of some Greek Government, and Papandreou is being told by Leeper to stop and help. *Do not however hesitate to act as if you were in a conquered city where a local rebellion is in progress.*

In his new telegram to General Scobie on December 8, Churchill stresses:

There is much talk in the Press tonight of a peace offer by ELAS. Naturally we should be glad to have this matter settled, but you should make quite sure, so far as your influence goes, that we do not give away for the sake of kindness what has been won or can still be won by our troops. It would seem to me that anything less satisfactory than the terms agreed upon before the revolt took place should not be accepted. Also it is difficult to see how EAM leaders, with their hands wet with Greek and British blood, should resume their places in the Cabinet. This might however be got over. The great thing is to proceed with caution and to consult us upon the terms when they are made. The clear objective is the defeat of EAM . . .

And in his telegram to Ambassador Leeper on December 9:

Do not be at all disquieted by criticisms made from various quarters in the House of Commons. No one knows better than I the difficulties you have had to contend with. I do not yield to passing clamour, and will always stand with those who execute their instructions with courage and precision. In Athens as everywhere else our maxim is 'No peace without victory'.



**From N.E.P. to Socialism.**  
A Glance into the Future of Russia and Europe. By E. A. Preobrazhensky.  
Paperback £1.25. Postage 10p.

Number required .....

**The Platform of the Joint Opposition, 1927.**  
Paperback £1.10. Postage 10p.

Number required .....

Name .....

Address .....

Fill in form and post to New Park Publications, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG

**Revolution Betrayed.**

What is the Soviet Union and where is it going? By Leon Trotsky.

A reprint of Trotsky's classic work.

Paperback £1.25. Postage 12p.

Number required .....

**The Class Nature of the Soviet State.**

The Workers' State and the Question of Thermidor and Bonapartism. By Leon Trotsky.

Paperback 35p. Postage 5p.

Number required .....

# Free the Greek

**FIVE COMRADES** of the Workers International League (W.I.L.) Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International were arrested in Athens and Piraeus on February 23.

The arrested comrades are Theodore Koutsoubos, Kostas Kortesis, Manolis Zakakis, Ageliki Stavropoulou and Izaklis Logothesis.

The police did not publicly announce their arrest until March 13—19 days later. Throughout that period they were brutally tortured by the security police in an attempt to force them to betray their comrades.

The Greek junta's minister D. Karakostas claimed that another ten persons are being held and are under interrogation in connection with the W.I.L. We denounce this as a fabrication behind which is the intention of the junta to carry out further arrests against the Trotskyist ex-prisoners who were released after the amnesty proclaimed by the Papadopoulos government.

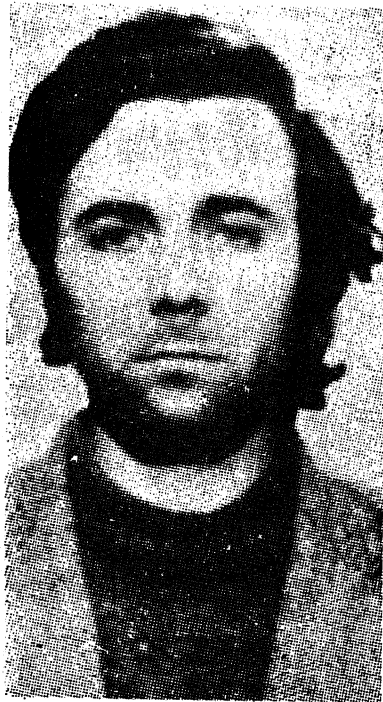
A further 27 militants were arrested in Salonika, as members and supporters of the Youth of the Communist Party and the student organization Anti-EFEE.

On February 19 the police announced the arrest of 13 members of the CP Central Committee as well as many other militants.

All these are part of a huge wave of arrests unleashed by the Greek junta of General Giziakis since the beginning of February.

Under pretext of investigating some recent robberies in Athens, thousands were arrested as 'suspects' and taken for interrogation in the security cells. Estimates put the number of those under interrogation into hundreds, while hundreds of others have been exiled to Yioura island or have been imprisoned.

The police announcements



**Theodore KOUTSOUBOS**



**Ageliki STAVROPOULOU**

are angled to create the impression that communism in Greece has received the most destructive blows since the civil war and has been totally 'broken up'.

The reality however is totally different. Those arrested are almost all old prisoners or exiles who had been released last August under the 'Amnesty', all known to the police and under constant surveillance.

Their re-arrest is in no way an achievement by the security police. The police quite arbitrarily describe various persons arrested as members of Central Committees and so-called 'leading members'. However, a number of those alleged 'leading members' have already been set free due to absence of any evidence.

A typical case is that of Mina Yiannou. She is an old woman, ex-member of the EDA who now plays no leading role whatsoever. Yiannou was arrested allegedly as a member of the CP Central Committee soon after her return from the Soviet Union. She had gone there legally with a proper passport, to be examined by leading eye specialists, being almost blind.

The junta is attempting, by these arrests, to terrorize the workers and at the same time to create the impression that every organized political force, every leadership has been destroyed and therefore every struggle against the regime would be in vain.

On the other hand the regime considers it vitally important to demonstrate to its own militarist base that it is in full control thereby strengthening the shaken morale of the officer corps and weakening the break-away forces within the army.

A terrible, rumbling discontent is spreading among the masses in Greece today, coupled with a deep split within the army, the state machine and the bourgeois class. These are the elements of the situation that hold everything in the country on a razor's edge.

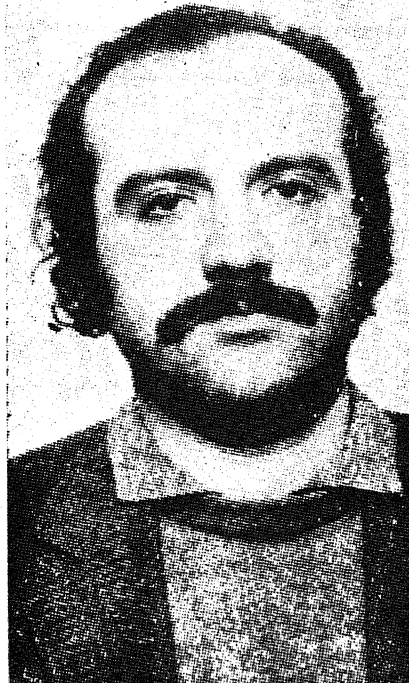
There exists an untameable force pushing the political developments forward. It is the tremendous inflationary crisis of the capitalist system. Until 1970 Greece had the lowest rate of inflation among the capitalist countries. Today it has the highest.

Prices are rising by leaps and bounds. Unemployment is spreading. The working

# Trotskyists!



**Kostas KORTESSIS**



**Manolis ZAKAKIS**



**Izaklis LOGOTHETIS**

class, the peasantry and the other poor layers of the population are in a state of economic despair.

Everyone compares the situation to the period of Nazi occupation of Greece during the war. The fact is that just as the unbridled violence of Nazism was unable to hold back the heightening of the class movement so it will be with the violence of the weak military junta.

Recently the Gizikis regime announced measures with which it is hoped to balance the economy. But these will have the same fate as the similar 'measures' of Papadopoulos.

Inflation is an expression of the crisis of capitalism on a world scale and not a Greek question which could be faced by the Greek bourgeois governments. In the last analysis the only 'economic' weapon which the junta has is violence and death. And it uses this weapon to force the working masses to take on their backs the heavy burden of the capitalist crisis.

The Workers International League and our arrested and brutally tortured comrades fight for precisely this end. The struggle of the WIL and

the Greek working class is the struggle of the workers all over the world.

In striking contrast is the position of the Stalinists in Moscow, the East European countries and Peking. Unperturbed, they continue their diplomatic and trade relations with the bloody military dictatorship.

This stance is covered up and dishonestly excused by the Greek Communist Party. These Stalinist traitors are responsible for the very rise to power of the dictatorship and for its continued existence.

They still continue to refuse to break their relations with the Greek bourgeoisie and imperialists as they refuse to mobilize independently the working class in the struggle for power and for a workers' and peasants' government with socialist policies.

The main task of working class militants in Greece and in every country is the struggle for the construction of new revolutionary parties which will fill the critical vacuum left in the workers movement by the treachery and total bankruptcy of Stalinism.

The International Committee of the Fourth Inter-

national calls on the working class and all the toilers of every country to declare their solidarity with the Greek workers.

- The ships of the Greek ship-owners must be blacked everywhere!
- The International Committee of the Fourth International demands the immediate release of its imprisoned members!
- Immediate release of all the political prisoners!
- Immediate break off the relations of Moscow and Peking with the murderous regime of Athens!
- We call on the working class and the youth to join the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.
- Long live the International Committee of the Fourth International!
- Long live its Greek section, the Workers International League!



# Free the Greek

# Trotskyists!

**FIVE COMRADES** of the Workers Internationalist League (W.I.L.) Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International were arrested in Athens and Piraeus on February 23.

The arrested comrades are Theodore Koutsoubos, Kostas Kortesis, Manolis Zakakis, Ageliki Stavropoulou and Izaklis Logothetis.

The police did not publicly announce their arrest until March 13—19 days later. Throughout that period they were brutally tortured by the security police in an attempt to force them to betray their comrades.

The Greek junta's minister D. Karakostas claimed that another ten persons are being held and are under interrogation in connection with the W.I.L. We denounce this as a fabrication behind which is the intention of the junta to carry out further arrests against the Trotskyist ex-prisoners who were released after the amnesty proclaimed by the Papadopoulos government.

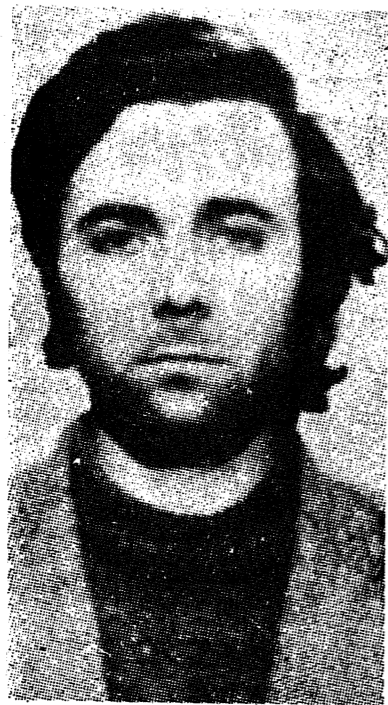
A further 27 militants were arrested in Salonika, as members and supporters of the Youth of the Communist Party and the student organization Anti-EFEE.

On February 19 the police announced the arrest of 13 members of the CP Central Committee as well as many other militants.

All these are part of a huge wave of arrests unleashed by the Greek junta of General Giziakis since the beginning of February.

Under pretext of investigating some recent robberies in Athens, thousands were arrested as 'suspects' and taken for interrogation in the security cells. Estimates put the number of those under interrogation into hundreds, while hundreds of others have been exiled to Yioura island or have been imprisoned.

The police announcements



**Theodore KOUTSOUBOS**

are angled to create the impression that communism in Greece has received the most destructive blows since the civil war and has been totally 'broken up'.

The reality however is totally different. Those arrested are almost all old prisoners or exiles who had been released last August under the 'Amnesty', all known to the police and under constant surveillance.

Their re-arrest is in no way an achievement by the security police. The police quite arbitrarily describe various persons arrested as members of Central Committees and so-called 'leading members'. However, a number of those alleged 'leading members' have already been set free due to absence of any evidence.

A typical case is that of Mina Yiannou. She is an old woman, ex-member of the EDA who now plays no leading role whatsoever. Yiannou was arrested allegedly as a member of the CP Central Committee soon after her return from the Soviet Union. She had gone there legally with a proper passport, to be examined by leading eye specialists, being almost blind.



**Ageliki STAVROPOULOU**

The junta is attempting, by these arrests, to terrorize the workers and at the same time to create the impression that every organized political force, every leadership has been destroyed and therefore every struggle against the regime would be in vain.

On the other hand the regime considers it vitally important to demonstrate to its own militarist base that it is in full control thereby strengthening the shaken morale of the officer corps and weakening the break-away forces within the army.

A terrible, rumbling discontent is spreading among the masses in Greece today, coupled with a deep split within the army, the state machine and the bourgeois class. These are the elements of the situation that hold everything in the country on a razor's edge.

There exists an untameable force pushing the political developments forward. It is the tremendous inflationary crisis of the capitalist system. Until 1970 Greece had the lowest rate of inflation among the capitalist countries. Today it has the highest.

Prices are rising by leaps and bounds. Unemployment is spreading. The working



**Kostas KORTESSIS**

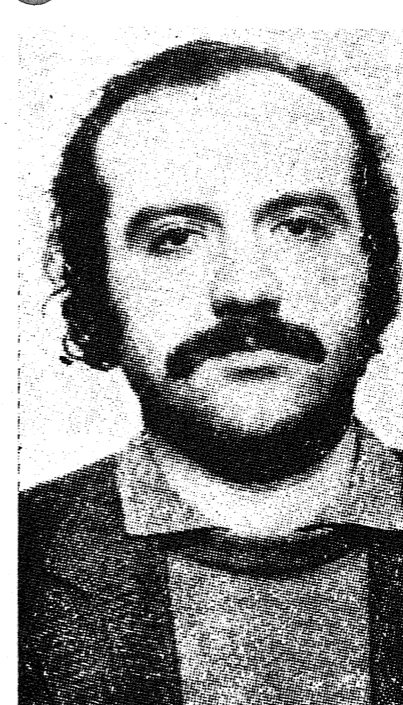
class, the peasantry and the other poor layers of the population are in a state of economic despair.

Everyone compares the situation to the period of Nazi occupation of Greece during the war. The fact is that just as the unbridled violence of Nazism was unable to hold back the heightening of the class movement so it will be with the violence of the weak military junta.

Recently the Giziakis regime announced measures with which it is hoped to balance the economy. But these will have the same fate as the similar 'measures' of Papadopoulos.

Inflation is an expression of the crisis of capitalism on a world scale and not a Greek question which could be faced by the Greek bourgeois governments. In the last analysis the only 'economic' weapon which the junta has is violence and death. And it uses this weapon to force the working masses to take on their backs the heavy burden of the capitalist crisis.

The Workers International League and our arrested and brutally tortured comrades fight for precisely this end. The struggle of the W.I.L. and



**Manolis ZAKAKIS**

the Greek working class is the struggle of the workers all over the world.

In striking contrast is the position of the Stalinists in Moscow, the East European countries and Peking. Unperturbed, they continue their diplomatic and trade relations with the bloody military dictatorship.

This stance is covered up and dishonestly excused by the Greek Communist Party. These Stalinist traitors are responsible for the very rise to power of the dictatorship and for its continued existence.

They still continue to refuse to break their relations with the Greek bourgeoisie and imperialists as they refuse to mobilize independently the working class in the struggle for power and for a workers' and peasants' government with socialist policies.

The main task of working class militants in Greece and in every country is the struggle for the construction of new revolutionary parties which will fill the critical vacuum left in the workers movement by the treachery and total bankruptcy of Stalinism.

The International Committee of the Fourth Inter-



**Izaklis LOGOTHETIS**

national calls on the working class and all the toilers of every country to declare their solidarity with the Greek workers.

● The ships of the Greek ship-owners must be blacked everywhere!

● The International Committee of the Fourth International demands the immediate release of its imprisoned members!

● Immediate release of all the political prisoners!

● Immediate break off the relations of Moscow and Peking with the murderous regime of Athens!

● We call on the working class and the youth to join the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

● Long live the International Committee of the Fourth International!

● Long live its Greek section, the Workers International League!

# Withdraw the troops

In Northern Ireland, a strike-demonstration imposed by right-wing para-military bands, politically led by the extreme Tories and Unionists, has successfully forced the resignation of the British imperialist puppet 'power-sharing executive' and the dismissal of the Northern Ireland Assembly. In 'law' the colony is under direct rule from the Labour government at Westminster, effected through a military force of some 18,000 troops. In reality, the fascist bands have asserted their power in the streets, under the direct protective surveillance of the army. Paisley, West, Craig and Powell have laid the position before the British and Irish bourgeoisie and the Labour government: 'we are the ones who have found the way to control and rule the working class.'

This is the first open mobilization of the counter-revolutionary forces on the streets. Thanks to the treachery of the reformists and their Stalinist and revisionist hangers-on in the whole period of armed intervention since 1969, reaction has achieved a considerable tactical success. This strike was anticipated in the preparations made already at the level of legislative changes (anti-union laws) and military police changes under the Tory government. Only the independent mobilization of the working class in Ireland and Britain can stop these reactionary forces. The most dangerous illusion of all would be that bourgeois democracy and 'power-sharing' can be restored through alliance with the 'democratic' (pro-Sunningdale) bourgeoisie. Both the Tory Party and the Labour government are politically paralysed, and are capitulating completely to Paisley and Craig.

## RAPIDLY

The decision of the right-wing forces to proceed so rapidly after the British General Election, and the open acquiescence of the army command in what was virtually a dress-rehearsal for a putsch, is clear indication of the effects of the worsening economic crisis on the decisions of the political representatives of the bourgeoisie. That section which, like Powell in Britain, advocates the urgent preparation of extra-parliamentarian, fascist-type forces from the middle class and backward sections of the workers, grows in support and seeks to demonstrate its strength and claims to leadership. Behind the various demagogic appeals to 'Ulster nationalism', 'anti-Popery', 'the democratic Protestant tradition', 'the Union with Britain', lies the reality of the welding together of a fascist force against the working class and its unions.

The internal contradictions in ideology are characteristic of all such movements. They draw their strength not from ideological consistency but from the frustrations engendered by the inability of the old bourgeois political structure to meet the problems forced by economic crisis and the polarization of class forces.

The next step of the right wing in Ulster will be to try to break the trade union and factory organization of the working class. This is the meaning of the claim to organize and represent them as 'Ulstermen' and not as workers. They know that the Protestant workers remain well-organized and combative in the struggle for wages and conditions against the employers. This strength has already begun to pose demands which are intolerable as the crisis deepens. The workers will very quickly discover that the demagogy of Paisley, Craig and Powell can answer none of these questions of inflation and unemployment.

To smash trade-union organization and disperse the militants is therefore a top priority for the right wing. Everything depends, for them, on successful use of the sectarian divisions in the working class to carry through the armed UDA and UVF bands. The terroristic assassinations of Catholic workers will be turned against Protestant workers who resist Paisley's and Craig's aim of controlling the factories and unions as 'Vanguard' associations under the ultra-right 'Ulster Workers Council'. This is the reason for Powell's speech at Enniskillen (June 3), advocating the return of the 'B' specials, the legally armed and uniformed right-wing Protestant forces who were used in 1969 to smash the first upsurge of the Catholic working class. In the same speech Powell advanced his preparations for the whole of Britain, proposing that all Irishmen be treated as 'foreigners' and deprived of travel rights. This is his preparation for unemployment and the use of nationalism and racialism to divide the working class in the crisis.

## COLONY

These are not the policies of a maniac fringe minority of the bourgeoisie. It is a profound historical truth that the oldest colony provides always the base for the most reactionary elements in the British ruling class. It is here that the political reflection is to be found for the interests and preparations of the aristocratic and military castes who strengthen the top layers of the bourgeoisie. Not only did the army command never move against the armed bands which marched from

# ops from Ulster!

factory to factory; not only did the right wing picket in numbers and with weapons which would have assured long jail sentences for trade unionists on strike in Britain and Ireland; in addition, the army had, in the preceding six months, turned a blind eye to the continuous murders of Catholic workers by UDA and UVF gangs, while stepping up their anti-IRA arrests and repressions. The day after the end of the strike, the army proudly announced a great success in arresting in Belfast . . . a leading IRA organizer!

Just as the reactionary Carson in 1912 drilled his armed 'rebels' and received the open support of mutinous British officers at the Curragh and 'friends' in Whitehall in his opposition to Home Rule, so today the class nature of the army and the whole state machine determines its role in relation to the growth of reaction in Northern Ireland.

Decisive in this matter is the political balance-sheet of the period since August 1969, when the Labour government sent in the army. Every Stalinist, reformist and revisionist tendency in Britain and Ireland supported the armed intervention. Without exception, they entrusted the 'protection' of the working class against the extreme Protestant thugs, led by the most ruthless bourgeois politicians, to the imperialist state and its army. Most sophisticated of the capitulators were the 'International Socialists': they claimed that by preventing a pogrom, the British troops provided a 'breathing-space' for the Catholic workers to re-arm and re-organize for the struggle. Today, nearly five years later—with 'Bloody Sunday' intervening—the same Catholic workers have seen the ex-'B' Specials and their supporters carry out a reign of terror on the streets with 18,000 British troops standing by in support. The reformist 'Civil Rights' leaders of 1969, in whom at the Stalinists' and revisionists' behest the Catholic workers placed their confidence, had meanwhile long-since joined with Faulkner in a 'power-sharing' which provided the ideal conditions for the right wing to organize their putschist strike.

## CRUMBLING

Paisley and Craig had used the intervening five years to at least temporarily re-establish the crumbling Unionist control over the Protestant working class, this time under new and much more reactionary leadership, orientated in a definitely ultra-right direction. At the same time they provide a base for Powell and the counter-revolutionary forces in Britain.

In the space of three months, the state in Britain has already been twice successfully challenged from the side of the working class. Parliamentary democracy was being sharply exposed as utterly unable to assert the control necessary in the new stage of the crisis. The miners' strike forced the resignation of the Tory government 18 months before the end of its term; and the engineers' action in May annulled the decision of the National Industrial Relations Court set up by parliament under the Tories. This strength of the working class, together with the undermining of the conditions for parliamentary democracy, predominate in the situation. And now, in the conditions created by the betrayals of reformists and Stalinists, assisted by the revisionists, the right wing have been able to advance their own preparations and place the workers of Ulster in a highly dangerous situation. They have defied and defeated the authority of parliament and the government.

Both Heath for the Tories and Rees for the Labour Party warned their own members (in the House of Commons on June 3-4) that withdrawal of troops from Ulster would lead to civil war not only there but also in all Ireland and in Britain. They were saying to the bourgeoisie: 'you are surely not yet ready to take on the working class in this way anywhere else except in Ulster!' Before that can be done, the reformists and bourgeois democracy have much to do in creating the necessary conditions of disillusion in the middle class and division in the proletariat. And still one Tory MP replied that a 'short sharp civil war' would be preferable to the spilling of blood 'drop by drop'.

## DEFIED

In the strike in Ulster, not only Catholic workers in Derry and elsewhere but also Protestant workers in important factories like British Enkalon defended their union and factory organization and defied the strike call and pickets. They showed that if a determined struggle for the independence of the working class and the unity of Protestants and Catholics is carried through, against the Stalinist and reformist acceptance of sectarian divisions, then unity against the right wing is possible. But this unity can be achieved only through the most thorough and consistent fight for a Marxist leadership against the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists.

These treacherous leaders plan even greater betrayals, and they are assisted in



# Withdraw the troops from Ulster!

In Northern Ireland, a strike-demonstration imposed by right-wing para-military bands, politically led by the extreme Tories and Unionists, has successfully forced the resignation of the British imperialist puppet 'power-sharing executive' and the dismissal of the Northern Ireland Assembly. In 'law' the colony is under direct rule from the Labour government at Westminster, effected through a military force of some 18,000 troops. In reality, the 'fascist' bands have asserted their power in the streets, under the direct protective surveillance of the army. Paisley, West, Craig and Powell have laid the position before the British and Irish bourgeoisie and the Labour government: 'we are the ones who have found the way to control and rule the working class.'

This is the first open mobilization of the counter-revolutionary forces on the streets. Thanks to the treachery of the reformists and their Stalinist and revisionist hangers-on in the whole period of armed intervention since 1969, reaction has achieved a considerable tactical success. This strike was anticipated in the preparations made already at the level of legislative changes (anti-union laws) and military police changes under the Tory government. Only the independent mobilization of the working class in Ireland and Britain can stop these reactionary forces. The most dangerous illusion of all would be that bourgeois democracy and 'power-sharing' can be restored through alliance with the 'democratic' (pro-Sunningdale) bourgeoisie. Both the Tory Party and the Labour government are politically paralysed, and are capitulating completely to Paisley and Craig.

## RAPIDLY

The decision of the right-wing forces to proceed so rapidly after the British General Election, and the open acquiescence of the army command in what was virtually a dress-rehearsal for a putsch, is clear indication of the effects of the worsening economic crisis on the decisions of the political representatives of the bourgeoisie. That section which, like Powell in Britain, advocates the urgent preparation of extra-parliamentarian, fascist-type forces from the middle class and backward sections of the workers, grows in support and seeks to demonstrate its strength and claims to leadership. Behind the various demagogic appeals to 'Ulster nationalism', 'anti-Popery', 'the democratic Protestant tradition', 'the Union with Britain', lies the reality of the welding together of a fascist force against the working class and its unions.

The internal contradictions in ideology are characteristic of all such movements. They draw their strength not from ideological consistency but from the frustrations engendered by the inability of the old bourgeois political structure to meet the problems forced by economic crisis and the polarization of class forces.

The next step of the right wing in Ulster will be to try to break the trade union and factory organization of the working class. This is the meaning of the claim to organize and represent them as 'Ulstermen' and not as workers. They know that the Protestant workers remain well-organized and combative in the struggle for wages and conditions against the employers. This strength has already begun to pose demands which are intolerable as the crisis deepens. The workers will very quickly discover that the demagogy of Paisley, Craig and Powell can answer none of these questions of inflation and unemployment.

To smash trade-union organization and disperse the militants is therefore a top priority for the right wing. Everything depends, for them, on successful use of the sectarian divisions in the working class to carry through the armed UDA and UVF bands. The terroristic assassinations of Catholic workers will be turned against Protestant workers who resist Paisley's and Craig's aim of controlling the factories and unions as 'Vanguard' associations under the ultra-right 'Ulster Workers Council'. This is the reason for Powell's speech at Enniskillen (June 3), advocating the return of the 'B' specials, the legally armed and uniformed right-wing Protestant forces who were used in 1969 to smash the first upsurge of the Catholic working class. In the same speech Powell advanced his preparations for the whole of Britain, proposing that all Irishmen be treated as 'foreigners' and deprived of travel rights. This is his preparation for unemployment and the use of nationalism and racialism to divide the working class in the crisis.

## COLONY

These are not the policies of a maniac fringe minority of the bourgeoisie. It is a profound historical truth that the oldest colony provides always the base for the most reactionary elements in the British ruling class. It is here that the political reflection is to be found for the interests and preparations of the aristocratic and military castes who strengthen the top layers of the bourgeoisie. Not only did the army command never move against the armed bands which marched from

factory to factory; not only did the right wing picket in numbers and with weapons which would have assured long jail sentences for trade unionists on strike in Britain and Ireland; in addition, the army had, in the preceding six months, turned a blind eye to the continuous murders of Catholic workers by UDA and UVF gangs, while stepping up their anti-IRA arrests and repressions. The day after the end of the strike, the army proudly announced a great success in arresting in Belfast . . . a leading IRA organizer!

Just as the reactionary Carson in 1912 drilled his armed 'rebels' and received the open support of mutinous British officers at the Curragh and 'friends' in Whitehall in his opposition to Home Rule, so today the class nature of the army and the whole state machine determines its role in relation to the growth of reaction in Northern Ireland.

Decisive in this matter is the political balance-sheet of the period since August 1969, when the Labour government sent in the army. Every Stalinist, reformist and revisionist tendency in Britain and Ireland supported the armed intervention. Without exception, they entrusted the 'protection' of the working class against the extreme Protestant thugs, led by the most ruthless bourgeois politicians, to the imperialist state and its army. Most sophisticated of the capitulators were the 'International Socialists': they claimed that by preventing a pogrom, the British troops provided a 'breathing-space' for the Catholic workers to re-arm and re-organize for the struggle. Today, nearly five years later—with 'Bloody Sunday' intervening—the same Catholic workers have seen the ex-'B' Specials and their supporters carry out a reign of terror on the streets with 18,000 British troops standing by in support. The reformist 'Civil Rights' leaders of 1969, in whom at the Stalinists' and revisionists' behest the Catholic workers placed their confidence, had meanwhile long-since joined with Faulkner in a 'power-sharing' which provided the ideal conditions for the right wing to organize their putschist strike.

## CRUMBLING

Paisley and Craig had used the intervening five years to at least temporarily re-establish the crumbling Unionist control over the Protestant working class, this time under new and much more reactionary leadership, orientated in a definitely ultra-right direction. At the same time they provide a base for Powell and the counter-revolutionary forces in Britain.

In the space of three months, the state in Britain has already been twice successfully challenged from the side of the working class. Parliamentary democracy was being sharply exposed as utterly unable to assert the control necessary in the new stage of the crisis. The miners' strike forced the resignation of the Tory government 18 months before the end of its term; and the engineers' action in May annulled the decision of the National Industrial Relations Court set up by parliament under the Tories. This strength of the working class, together with the undermining of the conditions for parliamentary democracy, predominate in the situation. And now, in the conditions created by the betrayals of reformists and Stalinists, assisted by the revisionists, the right wing have been able to advance their own preparations and place the workers of Ulster in a highly dangerous situation. They have defied and defeated the authority of parliament and the government.

Both Heath for the Tories and Rees for the Labour Party warned their own members (in the House of Commons on June 3-4) that withdrawal of troops from Ulster would lead to civil war not only there but also in all Ireland and in Britain. They were saying to the bourgeoisie: 'you are surely not yet ready to take on the working class in this way anywhere else except in Ulster!' Before that can be done, the reformists and bourgeois democracy have much to do in creating the necessary conditions of disillusion in the middle class and division in the proletariat. And still one Tory MP replied that a 'short sharp civil war' would be preferable to the spilling of blood 'drop by drop'.

## DEFIED

In the strike in Ulster, not only Catholic workers in Derry and elsewhere but also Protestant workers in important factories like British Enkalon defended their union and factory organization and defied the strike call and pickets. They showed that if a determined struggle for the independence of the working class and the unity of Protestants and Catholics is carried through, against the Stalinist and reformist acceptance of sectarian divisions, then unity against the right wing is possible. But this unity can be achieved only through the most thorough and consistent fight for a Marxist leadership against the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists.

These treacherous leaders plan even greater betrayals, and they are assisted in



their work by the bankrupt bourgeois nationalists of the IRA. The Labour spokesman Rees has already 'consulted' with Paisley and is calling for a new 'recognition' of 'Ulster nationalism'. Here is social democracy capitulating at the first blow to the rising ultra-right tendency. The SDLP, proteges of the Stalinists and revisionists, will follow suit with proposals for talks on 'power-sharing' with the Paisleyites. All this does is disarm the working class while the Fascists feverishly prepare the next step, intending to share power with no one. The very fact that an important section of the bourgeoisie is impelled towards fascist-type solutions instead of parliamentary methods indicates precisely that 'power sharing' is now an intolerable luxury. The Sunningdale power sharing agreement put into operation by Whitelaw and the Tories, and to which the Labour Party and the SDLP were indispensable props, was a deception and manoeuvre to divert the Irish working class while Paisley's next step was prepared.

The 'Council of Ireland' proposal in the Sunningdale agreement was the conscience formula of a 'step to a united Ireland' to permit the SDLP to preserve a shred of the allegiance of the Catholic workers while completely capitulating to the imperialists. After a week of strike they dropped the 'Council of Ireland' on the grounds that this was the only way to keep the Unionists in the Executive! They were persuaded to abandon even this fig-leaf by the Labour 'left' and Stalinist supporter, Stanley Orme, now Minister of State for Northern Ireland and a member of the Privy Council.

Throughout the last five years, the International Committee has warned that the military occupation of Ulster was the anticipation of the preparations of the bourgeois state for the class struggle in Britain. Now the same conclusions must be drawn, immediately, in relation to the political preparations for a middle-class fascist-type movement, hoping to attract the support of backward workers. It is necessary also to learn the lessons from the role played by the reformists, 'right' and 'left', and their Stalinist and revisionist hangers-on. The policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain and the Workers League in Ireland, in relation to the mobilization of the working class in unity against the capitalist enemy, must be firmly based on these lessons.

Working-class unity can never be achieved except on the basis of the most implacable struggle to defeat these treacherous leaders and tendencies. All those revisionists and Stalinists who work to obstruct the exposure of the trade union and reformist bureaucracy share responsibility for the effect of the stunt attempted by Murray and the TUC in the 'return to work' march of May 20, which played into the hands of the reactionary forces. The absence of support for this march was the pay-off for the craven pro-imperialism of the British Labour bureaucracy throughout the recent struggle in Ireland.

As for the IRA, both 'Official' and 'Provisional', their bourgeois-nationalist

character and rejection of any working-class orientation not only rendered them powerless in the strike, but took their degeneration further than ever before. The 'Officials', Stalinist-led, could not organize a single action or make one clear call, after having for so long advocated a 'political solution' which amounted to support for the opportunists of the SDLP. The Provisionals, similarly paralysed in the strike, announced the day after it ended that they would welcome a 'declaration of intent' from the British government that they will agree to a new version of partition, with nine northern counties instead of six. Thus the struggle against imperialism is shamelessly abandoned at a time when young men and women are still going to their death in British jails in the mistaken belief that the IRA represents the anti-imperialist struggle of the Irish people.

British and Irish workers have been warned. The collapse of the Ulster Executive and the usurping of power by the extreme right-wing is due entirely to the bankruptcy of all the traditional republican, Stalinist and reformist leaderships in Ulster and the impotence of a reformist Labour government in Britain.

These events constitute the most powerful indictment of the revisionists of the IS, IMG, 'Militant' and OCI who uncritically support and rely exclusively on the minimum programme of the Labour government on the grounds that pressure on the Labour leaders can force them to secure the historical interests of the working class. On the contrary far from carrying out a socialist programme or even their own minimum programme the Labour leaders continue their policy of class collaboration and capitulation to the pressure of the monopolies and their state.

The Labour government is the instrument of betrayal and defeat. In every sense it is a Trojan Horse of Tory reaction. The refusal of the Wilson regime to carry out a single socialist measure, to boldly put an end to inflation and to withdraw troops from Ulster threatens all the basic democratic rights of British and Irish workers alike. Facetious taunts by Wilson and impotent threats by Rees will not deter the growth of this reaction in Ulster and in Britain. The basic democratic rights of the working class can be defended and reaction smashed only through the mobilization of the working class in a struggle to expropriate monopoly capitalism and establish a planned economy on nationalized foundations.

## INTENSIFY

The International Committee of the Fourth International declares that this struggle can and must be conducted only on the basis of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International which expresses the historical interests of the working class.

At the same time the ICFI appeals to Irish workers in the South to intensify the struggle

against the venal tool of British imperialism—the Fine Gael-Labour coalition. As in 1920-1922 so too today. The Catholic bourgeoisie of the South cannot lead a consistent and successful struggle against imperialism but—as was shown in Sunningdale—continues to betray the democratic and nationalist aspirations of the Irish people while it tramples on the rights of Irish workers with its repressive legislation.

The fig leaf for its latest betrayal was the All-Ireland Council. This myth has been shattered by Paisley and Craig, with the connivance of Wilson. The Cosgrave regime now stands stripped of its last vestige of bogus nationalism and this coincides with an enormous sharpening of the economic crisis in Eire and a powerful upsurge of the working class against the economic policies of the government. The liberation of Irish workers demands imperatively the construction of the ICFI section in Eire.

Although the Tories and the Unionist bourgeoisie have won a battle they have not won the war against the Irish and British working classes. These events must become

the stimulus for an intensified struggle in Britain to expose the reformist leadership, completely discredit it and replace it with a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership.

The ICFI calls on British and Irish workers to fight for the following programme.

- (1) Withdraw the troops from Ulster.
- (2) Disband the army—arm the workers in Ulster to fight the Unionist thugs.
- (3) Demand an emergency conference of the Labour Party now!
- (4) Repeal all legislation on Northern Ireland unconditionally.
- (5) Reject partition.
- (6) Withdraw all aid to the Unionist regime.

- Build the sections of the ICFI in Britain and Ireland.

- Long live the socialist unity of Irish and British workers!

- Down with the reactionary Unionist-Tory-Fascist conspiracy!

- Throw out the Wilson-Rees clique of traitors!

June 6, 1974



## HISTORY OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

BY GRIGORII ZINOVIEV

Grigorii Zinoviev, for a number of years Lenin's closest collaborator, was himself a central figure in the Bolshevik Party's history. The lectures he gave on the 25th anniversary of the founding of its precursor, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1898, provide a lucid account of Bolshevism's formative years up to the overthrow of Tsarism in 1917. Replaced by a succession of Stalinist falsifications, Zinoviev's history was the only Soviet work to highlight the tenacious struggle for Marxist principles that built the Bolshevik Party.

Price £1.50. Postage 10p.

Available from New Park Publications, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG, or Paperback Centre, 28 Charlotte Street, W1.

# Long live the Ethi

The International Committee of the Fourth International hails the courageous struggle of the Ethiopian workers, students and soldiers against Emperor Haile Selassie and the parasitic aristocracy which surrounds him.

The mutiny which overthrew Selassie's nominee Aklilou Habte Wold as premier demonstrated the fragility of the Ethiopian regime. The General Strike proved that it can and must be overthrown.

The very fact that the lower ranks of the army could enforce their will almost without bloodshed and force the Emperor to concede huge wage rises shows that the monarchy's autocratic rule has completely decomposed.

At the first decisive test the Emperor proved to have no clothes. He was equally powerless to resist the demands put forward by the 80,000 organized workers, whose pay rise and improved conditions were granted in full.

Selassie derives his power from world imperialism. It was the British in 1916 who installed him as regent of Ethiopia, encouraged him to take over absolute powers in 1930 and put him back on his throne in 1941, following the defeat of the Italian invasion.

The tanks and guns of his army and the fighter-bombers of his air force are today supplied by the United States. France supplies his warships. Until last year his armed forces were trained and instructed by Israeli agents.

It was this support from imperialism which maintained Haile Selassie for 58 years as the most powerful man in Ethiopia, able to vaunt himself as the King of Kings, Elect of God, and Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah.

In reality Ethiopia is a semi-colony, dominated by the American, British, Dutch and Italian monopolists. American oil and mining firms, Dutch plantation companies and Italian banks and export houses profit immensely at the expense of the Ethiopian masses.

Tens of thousands of expatriate British, Americans and Italians live in ostentatious luxury while beggars swarm in the streets around them and the mass of peasants are condemned to a lifetime of brutal poverty.

Not only do the imperialists plunder Ethiopia directly but, by means of so-called 'aid' programmes, they have imposed a huge burden of debt which falls across the backs of the workers and peasants, while corrupting the government bureaucracy and lining the pockets of the aristocrats.

Like other semi-colonies Ethiopia has been devastated by the inflation crisis of world capitalism. The cost of its imports has risen enormously while the few exports, mainly primary products, are completely inadequate to bridge the gap.

More loans from abroad are required to finance the deficit on balance of payments—and to cover the interest payments on the previous loans. The burden falls on the workers and peasants in the form of enormous price increases.

In Ethiopia it has reached its climax in the mass starvation of hundreds of thousands of peasants in the northern provinces, ravaged by three years of drought and completely abandoned to their fate by the Emperor, his court and his imperialist advisers.

Imperialism no longer has any place for the peasants and workers of Ethiopia, who are among the poorest in all Africa. Under Selassie, those who would not starve in silence were shot down in the streets by the army.

It is no accident that the revolt of the lower officers and ranks in the armed forces began in the north, close to the zone of famine and to Eritrea, the former Italian colony where Selassie has been waging war for 12 years against the Eritrean Liberation Front.

Only the backing of imperialism enables the Ethiopian aristocracy to maintain the feudal system of landholding under which the serfs are tied to the land, forced to make over up to three quarters of their crop to the lord and carry out forced labour on his lands.

One third of the land belongs to the great feudal families, another third to the Coptic Christian Church, which has a vast parasitic army of monks, nuns and priests who keep the peasantry illiterate, ignorant and in a state of spiritual terror.

The native capitalist class in Ethiopia is completely compromised by its servile relations with the imperialists on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other.

It has proved completely incapable even of leading a democratic or republican movement, let alone waging a consistent struggle against imperialism and feudal parasitism. The Ethiopian bourgeoisie is an impotent and politically-bankrupt class.

It can offer no road forward for the masses, for the workers and the peasants who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Ethiopian population. The bourgeoisie hates and fears the masses in Ethiopia and cannot lead them to victory.

The position of this middle class is clearly illustrated in the course of the armed forces mutiny which began over a demand from the soldiers for higher pay and an end to the exaction of servant duties.

Having achieved the almost unanimous support of the entire armed forces, the leading mutineers—mainly junior officers—declared their undying loyalty to the Emperor and warned the students not to try and arouse the masses.

The army now apparently supports Endalkatchew Makonnen, the Emperor's nominee, to replace the hated Habte Wold, who continues to sit on the Emperor's right hand as an 'adviser'. It was Habte Wold who ordered the troops to open fire on students and workers demonstrating at the end of February against rising prices.

Not only do these half-

# opian Revolution!

nearbed mutinous officers support the Emperor, they have also declared their willingness to continue waging the struggle against the Eritrean people who were handed back to Selassie by the United Nations in 1950.

The trade union leaders, trained by the US embassy and the Moral Re-Armament organization, have adopted a similar policy. They were determined, despite the power and combativity dis-

played by the working class in the four-day General Strike, that the Emperor's position must not be called into question.

By holding back the working class and restricting the General Strike strictly to economic demands, they helped to shore up the tottering imperial throne and underpin the regime at its time of mortal crisis. These leaders are completely tied to the regime.

They took no action when the police turned on students demanding the removal of Endalkatchew and savagely beat them up. Yet the students have for many years been the victims of repression and torture at the hands of Selassie's police.

Selassie's absolute power is in ruins, but all the institutions of the old regime are being mobilized to keep him on the throne.

# Free José Carlos Ballón!

JOSE CARLOS BALLÓN, the Peruvian Trotskyist leader, is still being held in prison without trial by the military dictatorship of General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

Ballón was arrested in November last year with other comrades of the Liga Comunista, the Peruvian Trotskyist movement, while selling copies of the bi-weekly paper 'Comunismo' to fishing industry workers.

He has been savagely tortured by the military, who have been specially trained in the techniques of inflicting pain by United States advisers.

The charges against Ballón are completely absurd: he is accused of 'insulting the symbols of the nation' and similar offences. But there can be no doubt of the dangers that face him.

In order to frame Ballón the junta interrogators have inserted a number of documents attacking the government into his dos-

sier. Yet the only document found in his possession was the copy of 'Comunismo' which he was selling.

The aim, clearly, is to try and create a legal amalgam against Ballón in order to whip up anti-Trotskyist hatred and to terrorize the workers' movement into submission.

It is no accident that the attack on the Trotskyists comes at a time when the fishermen of Peru face mass unemployment and falling living standards as a direct result of the reckless capitalist exploitation of the fishing grounds.

The anti-Trotskyists witch-hunt by the Velasco regime is fully supported by the Stalinists, who have repeatedly praised the junta as a 'progressive' formation. In reality the regime is a Bonapartist dictatorship which has spearheaded huge attacks on the Peruvian workers.

Under the Velasco regime workers have been robbed of their most basic democratic and trade union rights. The fishermen's union, for example, is com-

pletely dominated by a Mafia of criminals with close connection in the regime.

The defence of Jose Ballón is an urgent and unpostponable task of the entire international movement: The Workers Revolutionary Party demands his immediate and unconditional release and the dropping of all charges against him.

We declare our full support for the struggle of the Peruvian Trotskyists for their basic democratic rights against the military junta. We denounce the criminal connivance of the Stalinists who are consciously preparing the way for Peru to become another Chile.

Trade Union branches, shop stewards' organizations and trades councils must immediately take up the demand for the release of Jose Ballón. Telegrams and letters of protest should be sent to the Peruvian embassy, 52 Sloane Street, London, SW1.



# Long live the Ethiopian Revolution!

The International Committee of the Fourth International hails the courageous struggle of the Ethiopian workers, students and soldiers against Emperor Haile Selassie and the parasitic aristocracy which surrounds him.

The mutiny which overthrew Selassie's nominee Aklilou Habte Wold as premier demonstrated the fragility of the Ethiopian regime. The General Strike proved that it can and must be overthrown.

The very fact that the lower ranks of the army could enforce their will almost without bloodshed and force the Emperor to concede huge wage rises shows that the monarchy's autocratic rule has completely decomposed.

At the first decisive test the Emperor proved to have no clothes. He was equally powerless to resist the demands put forward by the 80,000 organized workers, whose pay rise and improved conditions were granted in full.

Selassie derives his power from world imperialism. It was the British in 1916 who installed him as regent of Ethiopia, encouraged him to take over absolute powers in 1930 and put him back on his throne in 1941, following the defeat of the Italian invasion.

The tanks and guns of his army and the fighter-bombers of his air force are today supplied by the United States. France supplies his warships. Until last year his armed forces were trained and instructed by Israeli agents.

It was this support from imperialism which maintained Haile Selassie for 58 years as the most powerful man in Ethiopia, able to vaunt himself as the King of Kings, Elect of God, and Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah.

In reality Ethiopia is a semi-colony, dominated by the American, British, Dutch and Italian monopolists. American oil and mining firms, Dutch plantation companies and Italian banks and export houses profit immensely at the expense of the Ethiopian masses.

Tens of thousands of expatriate British, Americans and Italians live in ostentatious luxury while beggars swarm in the streets around them and the mass of peasants are condemned to a lifetime of brutal poverty.

Not only do the imperialists plunder Ethiopia directly but, by means of so-called 'aid' programmes, they have imposed a huge burden of debt which falls across the backs of the workers and peasants, while corrupting the government bureaucracy and lining the pockets of the aristocrats.

Like other semi-colonies Ethiopia has been devastated by the inflation crisis of world capitalism. The cost of its imports has risen enormously while the few exports, mainly primary products, are completely inadequate to bridge the gap.

More loans from abroad are required to finance the deficit on balance of payments—and to cover the interest payments on the previous loans. The burden falls on the workers and peasants in the form of enormous price increases.

In Ethiopia it has reached its climax in the mass starvation of hundreds of thousands of peasants in the northern provinces, ravaged by three years of drought and completely abandoned to their fate by the Emperor, his court and his imperialist advisers.

Imperialism no longer has any place for the peasants and workers of Ethiopia, who are among the poorest in all Africa. Under Selassie, those who would not starve in silence were shot down in the streets by the army.

It is no accident that the revolt of the lower officers and ranks in the armed forces began in the north, close to the zone of famine and to Eritrea, the former Italian colony where Selassie has been waging war for 12 years against the Eritrean Liberation Front.

Only the backing of imperialism enables the Ethiopian aristocracy to maintain the feudal system of landholding under which the serfs are tied to the land, forced to make over up to three quarters of their crop to the lord and carry out forced labour on his lands.

One third of the land belongs to the great feudal families, another third to the Coptic Christian Church, which has a vast parasitic army of monks, nuns and priests who keep the peasantry illiterate, ignorant and in a state of spiritual terror.

The native capitalist class in Ethiopia is completely compromised by its servile relations with the imperialists on the one hand and the aristocracy on the other.

It has proved completely incapable even of leading a democratic or republican movement, let alone waging a consistent struggle against imperialism and feudal parasitism. The Ethiopian bourgeoisie is an impotent and politically-bankrupt class.

It can offer no road forward for the masses, for the workers and the peasants who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Ethiopian population. The bourgeoisie hates and fears the masses in Ethiopia and cannot lead them to victory.

The position of this middle class is clearly illustrated in the course of the armed forces mutiny which began over a demand from the soldiers for higher pay and an end to the exaction of servant duties.

Having achieved the almost unanimous support of the entire armed forces, the leading mutineers—mainly junior officers—declared their undying loyalty to the Emperor and warned the students not to try and arouse the masses.

The army now apparently supports Endalkatchew Makonnen, the Emperor's nominee, to replace the hated Haile Wold, who continues to sit on the Emperor's right hand as an 'adviser'. It was Haile Wold who ordered the troops to open fire on students and workers demonstrating at the end of February against rising prices.

Not only do these half-

hearted mutinous officers support the Emperor, they have also declared their willingness to continue waging the struggle against the Eritrean people who were handed back to Selassie by the United Nations in 1950.

The trade union leaders, trained by the US embassy and the Moral Re-Armament organization, have adopted a similar policy. They were determined, despite the power and combativity dis-

played by the working class in the four-day General Strike, that the Emperor's position must not be called into question.

By holding back the working class and restricting the General Strike strictly to economic demands, they helped to shore up the tottering imperial throne and underpin the regime at its time of mortal crisis. These leaders are completely tied to the regime.

They took no action when the police turned on students demanding the removal of Endalkatchew and savagely beat them up. Yet the students have for many years been the victims of repression and torture at the hands of Selassie's police.

Selassie's absolute power is in ruins, but all the institutions of the old regime are being mobilized to keep him on the throne.

## Free José Carlos Ballón!

JOSE CARLOS BALLÓN, the Peruvian Trotskyist leader, is still being held in prison without trial by the military dictatorship of General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

Ballón was arrested in November last year with other comrades of the Liga Comunista, the Peruvian Trotskyist movement, while selling copies of the bi-weekly paper 'Comunismo' to fishing industry workers.

He has been savagely tortured by the military, who have been specially trained in the techniques of inflicting pain by United States advisers.

The charges against Ballón are completely absurd: he is accused of 'insulting the symbols of the nation' and similar offences. But there can be no doubt of the dangers that face him.

In order to frame Ballón the junta interrogators have inserted a number of documents attacking the government into his dos-

sier. Yet the only document found in his possession was the copy of 'Comunismo' which he was selling.

The aim, clearly, is to try and create a legal amalgam against Ballón in order to whip up anti-Trotskyist hatred and to terrorize the workers' movement into submission.

It is no accident that the attack on the Trotskyists comes at a time when the fishermen of Peru face mass unemployment and falling living standards as a direct result of the reckless capitalist exploitation of the fishing grounds.

The anti-Trotskyists witch-hunt by the Velasco regime is fully supported by the Stalinists, who have repeatedly praised the junta as a 'progressive' formation. In reality the regime is a Bonapartist dictatorship which has spearheaded huge attacks on the Peruvian workers.

Under the Velasco regime workers have been robbed of their most basic democratic and trade union rights. The fishermen's union, for example, is com-

pletely dominated by a Mafia of criminals with close connection in the regime.

The defence of Jose Ballón is an urgent and unpostponable task of the entire international movement: The Workers Revolutionary Party demands his immediate and unconditional release and the dropping of all charges against him.

We declare our full support for the struggle of the Peruvian Trotskyists for their basic democratic rights against the military junta. We denounce the criminal connivance of the Stalinists who are consciously preparing the way for Peru to become another Chile.

Trade Union branches, shop stewards' organizations and trades councils must immediately take up the demand for the release of Jose Ballón. Telegrams and letters of protest should be sent to the Peruvian embassy, 52 Sloane Street, London, SW1.

# Long live the Portu

The International Committee of the Fourth International wholeheartedly welcomes the downfall of the fascist tyrant Marcello Caetano and his blood-stained dictatorship in Portugal.

The overthrow of this regime transforms the relationship of class forces not only within Portugal itself but also throughout its African and Asian colonies and even within Rhodesia and South Africa.

Caetano's downfall is not just a product of the tenacious and bitter struggle of the Portuguese workers against fascism but also of the courage and determination of the guerrilla fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau who have tied down the bulk of the Portuguese army for the past 13 years.

It was on the issue of colonial policy that the Caetano regime was finally overthrown by the military junta under General Antonio de Spínola a man who had faithfully served fascism throughout the whole of his previous career.

## ROTTEN RIPE FOR OVERTHROW

But Caetano's downfall was made possible by the impact of the international capitalist crisis which produced a 20 per cent annual rate of inflation in Portugal and led to a series of large-scale strike battles in which the working class came to the fore.

The Caetano dictatorship proved to be rotten ripe for overthrow. Its secret police apparatus, trained by the Nazi Gestapo and later by the American CIA, was powerless to prevent the coup of April 25.

The regime's basis of support in the middle class, which formed one of the pillars of support of Portuguese fascism in its heyday during the 1930s, had vanished completely. Even a section of the financial oligarchy, the so-called eleven families which dominate Portuguese capitalism, had switched its backing to Spínola.

These sections wanted Spínola brought to the fore as a Bonapartist leader, a Portuguese version of General de Gaulle who would secure their colonial investments by making some concessions to the national bourgeoisie while establishing a bogus parliament backed by a plebiscitary system of rule.

In this way the colonies could be opened up to foreign as well as Portuguese capital, and there is little doubt that Spínola's coup was undertaken with the knowledge of the United

States and possibly other imperialist powers.

The imperialists know that without an accommodation with the bourgeois nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies it will be impossible to develop the mineral resources such as the Cabinda oilfield in Angola.

Despite their militancy however the nationalist movements in the colonies have indicated their willingness to bargain with the regime, posing the danger of a rotten compromise which will leave these countries with nominal or token independence under the continued economic domination of Lisbon.

The provisional government promised by Spínola is nothing more than a trap for the working class. It provides the capitalists, who for so long backed the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, with the breathing space they require to try and prepare new repression against the working class.

Both the Stalinist chief Alvaro Cunhal and the Social Democrat leader Mario Soares have declared themselves ready to serve under the junta.

This regime is completely incapable of satisfying the aspirations of the Portuguese masses which were so vividly expressed in the enormous May Day demonstration through Lisbon.

Not only is Spínola compromised by his entire past record, but he has also made it abundantly clear that while he is in charge he will try to keep the colonies within the orbit of Portuguese imperialism. The Stalinist and social-democrat leaders, who have already pledged their support for the regime, have effectively become the hod-carriers for imperialism in the colonies.

Their actions are a direct betrayal of the Portuguese workers and particularly the youth who have fled Portugal in their thousands rather than fight against the colonial workers and peasants.

It is reminiscent of the action of the Spanish Republican government which sealed its own fate at the hands of the fascists by refusing independence to the Moroccan people and supporting the repression of the Riff uprising.

Morocco later provided Franco with one of his key bases. The new regime—which the Stalinists and social-democrats hope will transform itself into an all-embracing popular front—is intended to remain in NATO and maintain the most cordial relationships with the Spanish and Brazilian dictatorships.

The social-democrats and the Stalinists share one thing in common with the new military rulers of Portugal—their mortal fear of the working class and their desire to protect capitalist property relations.

That is why on the eve of May Day they lined up with the junta in denouncing any 'ultra-left excesses'. The junta had warned that these would be met with severe repression but in the event the army command was powerless to prevent fraternization of workers and soldiers.

# Portuguese Revolution!

May Day showed the extreme weakness of the Spinoza regime and the enormous vacuum of political leadership opened up by the fall of fascism.

Workers are coming forward into struggle who have never in their lives experienced any democratic rights at all. The junta and its supporters fear with justification that these workers will be extremely receptive to revolutionary ideas. They know that no amount of democratic concessions can hide the imperialist and reactionary nature of the new Portuguese junta.

That no doubt explains the army's solicitude towards the secret police functionaries of the old regime who remain in the jails protected from the anger of the masses while the state machine is staffed by the same people who served Caetano and Salazar.

The illusion is being sedulously fostered that the Spinoza regime opens up some peaceful road to socialism. The restoration of democratic rights—under the watchful eye of the armed forces—is presented as if it were an end in itself for the working class.

## ILLUSION OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

But workers in Portugal have better reason than most to know that these rights are not guaranteed for all time under the capitalist state and that the same state machine which now tried to pose as the protector of democracy, in fact stripped the workers of all democratic rights for nearly 50 years.

The Portuguese bureaucrats are peddling the same conceptions that led to the defeat and crushing of the working class in Chile. While these treacherous leaders strut about at the centre of the stage the industrialists and landowners who backed and profited from fascism are plotting to get even with the masses.

Without revolutionary leadership the movement of the Portuguese masses is wide open to betrayal.

The task of the hour is the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party, a section of the International Committee, to lead the workers of Portugal in implacable hostility to any form of provisional government.

Such a leadership must fight for the implementation of a programme of socialist demands, above all the expropriation of the big landowners and industrialists without compensation and under workers' control.

This demands then a fight for the dismantling of the whole capitalist state machine, repudiation of the foreign debt, disbandment of the standing army and the recall of all troops from overseas.

The lessons of the Chilean counter-revolution and the Spanish Civil War must be learned by the working class not only in Portugal but throughout Europe.

Far from overcoming any of the historic problems resulting from the parasitic and backward nature of Portuguese capitalism the advent of the new regime can only exacerbate them enormously. Where the fascist dictatorship followed an autarchic economic policy, which to some extent insulated the Portuguese empire from the full effects of the inflationary crisis, the present regime is bent on opening the country to foreign capital on a scale not seen before.

Spinoza and 'socialist' backers are enthusing about the prospects of closer relations with the Common Market at the very moment when the EEC is breaking up in an internal trade war.

The crisis Spinoza intended to overcome will assert itself in other forms—and even more acutely than before. Only the defence of the basic rights of the workers and their independent organizations against Spinoza and his promised provisional government can in any way guarantee what the working class has gained from the overthrow of the fascist regime.

This demands the formation of workers' councils and the arming of the workers' organizations to meet the threat of another military coup.

An implacable struggle must be waged against the illusion of peaceful co-existence being peddled by the Stalinists. Far from opening up a new era of peace, the advent of the junta has opened up a period of the most ferocious struggle. The new regime is a regime of crisis whose instability is obscured by the collaboration of the Stalinists and socialists. There are already deep divisions within its ranks which cannot long be concealed in the general euphoria which has followed Caetano's overthrow.

Equally the promised constituent assembly creates great dangers for the working class. At present this is nothing more than a façade for the military junta and all attempts to tie the working class to such a bogus assembly must be completely opposed.

The only acceptable form of assembly is one from which the bourgeoisie and its parties are excluded—that is a national workers' council. There must be no concessions to constitutional illusions: if the constituent assembly cannot serve the working class it must be disbanded as the Russian counterpart was in January 1918.

Only the complete withdrawal of troops from the colonies, the disbandment of the standing army and the formation of a workers' militia can lay the basis for an assembly which can reflect the aspirations of the masses. All parties which collaborated in any way with Caetano must be excluded from the elections, held on the basis of universal suffrage.

# Long live the Portuguese Revolution!

The International Committee of the Fourth International wholeheartedly welcomes the downfall of the fascist tyrant Marcello Caetano and his blood-stained dictatorship in Portugal.

The overthrow of this regime transforms the relationship of class forces not only within Portugal itself but also throughout its African and Asian colonies and even within Rhodesia and South Africa.

Caetano's downfall is not just a product of the tenacious and bitter struggle of the Portuguese workers against fascism but also of the courage and determination of the guerrilla fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau who have tied down the bulk of the Portuguese army for the past 13 years.

It was on the issue of colonial policy that the Caetano regime was finally overthrown by the military junta under General Antonio de Spínola a man who had faithfully served fascism throughout the whole of his previous career.

## ROTTEN RIPE FOR OVERTHROW

But Caetano's downfall was made possible by the impact of the international capitalist crisis which produced a 20 per cent annual rate of inflation in Portugal and led to a series of large-scale strike battles in which the working class came to the fore.

The Caetano dictatorship proved to be rotten ripe for overthrow. Its secret police apparatus, trained by the Nazi Gestapo and later by the American CIA, was powerless to prevent the coup of April 25.

The regime's basis of support in the middle class, which formed one of the pillars of support of Portuguese fascism in its heyday during the 1930s, had vanished completely. Even a section of the financial oligarchy, the so-called eleven families which dominate Portuguese capitalism, had switched its backing to Spínola.

These sections wanted Spínola brought to the fore as a Bonapartist leader, a Portuguese version of General de Gaulle who would secure their colonial investments by making some concessions to the national bourgeoisie while establishing a bogus parliament backed by a plebiscitary system of rule.

In this way the colonies could be opened up to foreign as well as Portuguese capital, and there is little doubt that Spínola's coup was undertaken with the knowledge of the United

States and possibly other imperialist powers.

The imperialists know that without an accommodation with the bourgeois nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies it will be impossible to develop the mineral resources such as the Cabinda oilfield in Angola.

Despite their militancy however the nationalist movements in the colonies have indicated their willingness to bargain with the regime, posing the danger of a rotten compromise which will leave these countries with nominal or token independence under the continued economic domination of Lisbon.

The provisional government promised by Spínola is nothing more than a trap for the working class. It provides the capitalists, who for so long backed the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, with the breathing space they require to try and prepare new repression against the working class.

Both the Stalinist chief Alvaro Cunhal and the Social Democrat leader Mario Soares have declared themselves ready to serve under the junta.

This regime is completely incapable of satisfying the aspirations of the Portuguese masses which were so vividly expressed in the enormous May Day demonstration through Lisbon.

Not only is Spínola compromised by his entire past record, but he has also made it abundantly clear that while he is in charge he will try to keep the colonies within the orbit of Portuguese imperialism. The Stalinist and social-democrat leaders, who have already pledged their support for the regime, have effectively become the hod-carriers for imperialism in the colonies.

Their actions are a direct betrayal of the Portuguese workers and particularly the youth who have fled Portugal in their thousands rather than fight against the colonial workers and peasants.

It is reminiscent of the action of the Spanish Republican government which sealed its own fate at the hands of the fascists by refusing independence to the Moroccan people and supporting the repression of the Rif uprising.

Morocco later provided Franco with one of his key bases. The new regime—which the Stalinists and social-democrats hope will transform itself into an all-embracing popular front—is intended to remain in NATO and maintain the most cordial relationships with the Spanish and Brazilian dictatorships.

The social-democrats and the Stalinists share one thing in common with the new military rulers of Portugal—their mortal fear of the working class and their desire to protect capitalist property relations.

That is why on the eve of May Day they lined up with the junta in denouncing any 'ultra-left excesses'. The junta had warned that these would be met with severe repression but in the event the army command was powerless to prevent fraternization of workers and soldiers.

May Day showed the extreme weakness of the Spínola regime and the enormous vacuum of political leadership opened up by the fall of fascism.

Workers are coming forward into struggle who have never in their lives experienced any democratic rights at all. The junta and its supporters fear with justification that these workers will be extremely receptive to revolutionary ideas. They know that no amount of democratic concessions can hide the imperialist and reactionary nature of the new Portuguese junta.

That no doubt explains the army's solicitude towards the secret police functionaries of the old regime who remain in the jails protected from the anger of the masses while the state machine is staffed by the same people who served Caetano and Salazar.

The illusion is being sedulously fostered that the Spínola regime opens up some peaceful road to socialism. The restoration of democratic rights—under the watchful eye of the armed forces—is presented as if it were an end in itself for the working class.

## ILLUSION OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

But workers in Portugal have better reason than most to know that these rights are not guaranteed for all time under the capitalist state and that the same state machine which now tried to pose as the protector of democracy, in fact stripped the workers of all democratic rights for nearly 50 years.

The Portuguese bureaucrats are peddling the same conceptions that led to the defeat and crushing of the working class in Chile. While these treacherous leaders strut about at the centre of the stage the industrialists and landowners who backed and profited from fascism are plotting to get even with the masses.

Without revolutionary leadership the movement of the Portuguese masses is wide open to betrayal.

The task of the hour is the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party, a section of the International Committee, to lead the workers of Portugal in implacable hostility to any form of provisional government.

Such a leadership must fight for the implementation of a programme of socialist demands, above all the expropriation of the big landowners and industrialists without compensation and under workers' control.

This demands then a fight for the dismantling of the whole capitalist state machine, repudiation of the foreign debt, disbandment of the standing army and the recall of all troops from overseas.

The lessons of the Chilean counter-revolution and the Spanish Civil War must be learned by the working class not only in Portugal but throughout Europe.

Far from overcoming any of the historic problems resulting from the parasitic and backward nature of Portuguese capitalism the advent of the new regime can only exacerbate them enormously. Where the fascist dictatorship followed an autarchic economic policy, which to some extent insulated the Portuguese empire from the full effects of the inflationary crisis, the present regime is bent on opening the country to foreign capital on a scale not seen before.

Spínola and 'socialist' backers are enthusiastic about the prospects of closer relations with the Common Market at the very moment when the EEC is breaking up in an internal trade war.

The crisis Spínola intended to overcome will assert itself in other forms—and even more acutely than before. Only the defence of the basic rights of the workers and their independent organizations against Spínola and his promised provisional government can in any way guarantee what the working class has gained from the overthrow of the fascist regime.

This demands the formation of workers' councils and the arming of the workers' organizations to meet the threat of another military coup.

An implacable struggle must be waged against the illusion of peaceful co-existence being peddled by the Stalinists. Far from opening up a new era of peace, the advent of the junta has opened up a period of the most ferocious struggle. The new regime is a regime of crisis whose instability is obscured by the collaboration of the Stalinists and socialists. There are already deep divisions within its ranks which cannot long be concealed in the general euphoria which has followed Caetano's overthrow.

Equally the promised constituent assembly creates great dangers for the working class. At present this is nothing more than a façade for the military junta and all attempts to tie the working class to such a bogus assembly must be completely opposed.

The only acceptable form of assembly is one from which the bourgeoisie and its parties are excluded—that is a national workers' council. There must be no concessions to constitutional illusions: if the constituent assembly cannot serve the working class it must be disbanded as the Russian counterpart was in January 1918.

Only the complete withdrawal of troops from the colonies, the disbandment of the standing army and the formation of a workers' militia can lay the basis for an assembly which can reflect the aspirations of the masses. All parties which collaborated in any way with Caetano must be excluded from the elections, held on the basis of universal suffrage.



Government leaders, war criminals, secret police and administrators must be tried by workers' courts for their crimes under the fascist dictatorship.

The backwardness and weakness of Portuguese capitalism and its subordination to US and British imperialism determines the complete inability of the ruling class to carry forward the revolution. Promises of a return to democracy cannot hide the Bonapartist character of the present government, nor the dangers of a return to another fascist regime as a result of Popular Front betrayals which are being prepared.

The industrial capitalist class, tied to the landlords, is unable to break up the big estates and carry out the thorough-going agrarian reform which will begin to liberate the peasants.

To resolve the problems of low wages and unemployment and create the conditions for the return of the huge number of workers who have been driven into exile to seek a decent living it is indispensable to expropriate foreign and domestic capital in Portugal and institute a planned economy in collaboration with the liberated colonies.

## EXPOSURE OF THE 'PEOPLES' FRONT'

The resuscitation of bourgeois democracy in Portugal can by itself solve nothing. Foreshadowing the overthrow of fascism in the 'Transitional Programme' of the Fourth International, Trotsky wrote:

... once it breaks through, the revolutionary wave in fascist countries will immediately be a grandiose sweep and under no circumstance will stop short at the experiment of resuscitating some sort of Weimar corpse.

It is from this point onward that an uncompromising divergence begins between the Fourth International and the old parties, which outlive their bankruptcy.

The emigre "Peoples Front" is the most malignant and perfidious variety of all possible Peoples Fronts. Essentially it signifies the impotent longing for coalition with a non-existent liberal bourgeoisie.

Had it met with success, it would simply

have prepared a new series of defeats of the Spanish type for the proletariat.

A merciless exposure of the theory and practice of the "Peoples Front" is therefore the first condition for a revolutionary struggle against fascism.

Of course this does not mean that the Fourth International rejects democratic slogans as a means of mobilizing the masses against fascism. On the contrary such slogans at certain moments can play a serious role.

But the formulas of democracy [freedom of Press, the right to unionize, etc.] mean for us only incidental or episodic slogans in the independent movement of the proletariat and not a democratic noose fastened on the neck of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie's agents [Spain].

Immediately the demand must be raised for the Communist and Socialist Parties to break completely from the bourgeoisie and give no support to the military junta.

There must be an end to the backstairs intrigue and bargaining behind the backs of the masses which has characterized the first weeks since Caetano's overthrow.

Only a systematic agitation to expose the impotency and treachery of the reformists, an agitation summarized in the demand addressed to the CP-SP leaders:

Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power—can open the way for the revolutionary education of the workers and peasants and the construction of the Portuguese section of the International Committee.

Only a Trotskyist party can liberate the working class and establish the dictatorship of the working class in Portugal. This task demands not only the call that the traditional workers' parties break from the bourgeoisie and begin the struggle for a workers' and farmers' anti-capitalist government but—more importantly—an uncompromising and tireless agitation around the transitional demands of the Trotskyist cadres.

The working class must break from the trap which has been prepared for it by the bourgeoisie. The demand must be:

Down with the provisional government!

Withdraw all troops from overseas!

Disband the standing army!

Build the revolutionary party! As a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Expose the reformist-Stalinist traitors by demanding they take the power!

Friday May 10, 1974

# BOOKS - PAMPHLETS - PERIODICALS

## GENERAL

Platform of the Joint Opposition ... ..	1	10
From the NEP to Socialism (Preobrazhensky) ... ..	1	25
Stalinism in Britain by Robert Black (paper) ... ..	1	50
(cloth) ... ..	2	50
Revolution and counter-revolution in Spain (Felix Morrow) (Cloth) ... ..	1	25
Revolution and counter-revolution in Hungary (G. Healy) ... ..		10
French Revolution Betrayed, May/June 1968 (Tom Kemp) ... ..		25
Early History of the Communist Party of Great Britain (B. Pearce) ... ..		15
In Defence of Trotskyism ... ..		30
Lenin: Speech to the Petrograd Soviet, 1918 (G. Zinoviev) ... ..		15
Revolutionary Silhouettes by Lunacharsky ... ..		75
Problems of the Fourth International (G. Healy) ... ..		15
Moscow Trials Anthology ... ..		65
Behind the Moscow Trial (Max Shachtman) ... ..		75
Notebook of an Agitator (J. P. Canon) ... ..		75
New Nationalism and the Negro struggle (Tim Wohlforth) ... ..		20
Karl Marx (1818-1883) (C. Slaughter) ... ..		10
A Balance Sheet of Revisionism (C. Slaughter) ... ..		10
Moscoco Affair—A case history of revisionism (M. Banda) ... ..		02
The Socialist Labour League and revisionism (C. Slaughter) ... ..		04
The Class Nature of the International Socialism Group (C. Slaughter) ... ..		05
An open letter to Richard Clements (M. Banda) ... ..		03
Reform or revolution (C. Slaughter) ... ..		04
An open letter to J. Hansen ... ..		02½
An open letter to J. Hansen (R. Black) ... ..		02
Who are the International Socialists (C. Slaughter) ... ..		10
The Theory and Practice of Revisionism (M. Banda) ... ..		15
The Measured Day Work and Productivity Deal Swindle (B. Franks) ... ..		25
The Socialist Labour League and the fight for Bangla Desh (Robert Black) ... ..		05
Nationalize UCS! For a General Election now! ... ..		05

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS

We demand the Right to Work ... ..		15
------------------------------------	--	----

## SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE POCKET LIBRARY

No. 1 The case for a General Election ... ..		10
No. 2 The Ulster dossier ... ..		05
No. 3 The Social Security Swindle ... ..		05
No. 4 Why a Labour Government ... ..		05
No. 5 Containerization: Case for nationalization of the docks and transport industry ... ..		30
No. 6 Marxism and Rank-and-Fileism ... ..		10
No. 7 Reformism on the Clyde (The Story of UCS) ... ..		30
No. 8 The Littlejohn Affair ... ..		20
No. 9 Falsifiers of Lenin ... ..		10

## CEYLON

The Great Betrayal (G. Healy) ... ..		05
The Logic of coalition politics (M. Banda) ... ..		05

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Annual Subscription by post Inland ... ..	1	00
Overseas ... ..		90

# Subscribe to *Fourth International*

**Fourth International** is the theoretical journal of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

**Fourth International** continues the work of **Labour Review** which concluded its 12th year of publication with its issue of Summer 1963, the fifth number of volume 7.

**Fourth International** continues the work and traditions of Revolutionary Communism since the death of Lenin.

**Fourth International** represents the unbroken chain of theoretical journals in the Bolshevik tradition, whose continuators were the Left Opposition led and inspired, by Leon Trotsky.

**Fourth International** follows in the tradition of that Opposition and in the traditions of the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky.

**Fourth International** is the product of decades of continuous struggle of Marxists in the International Labour movement against Stalinism, Reformism and Revisionism.

**Fourth International** represents the successful fusion of Marxist trends in this International Labour movement, from Trotskyist to Communist, Social-Democratic and Trade Union movements.

**Fourth International**, with its first issue, commenced a new period of activity in the International Labour movement and continues to prepare and equip the Marxist movement for its intervention in the battles of the working class which will eclipse and transcend all previous struggles in their historic magnitude.

To: New Park Publications Ltd.  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG

I enclose cheque/postal order/money order/draft for £                      to pay for                      issues of

**Fourth International.** Volume..... No.....  
Price 25p (postage 5p per issue)

Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....

# Some writings by *Leon Trotsky*

Stalinism and Bolshevism	20
May Day in the West and the East	15
Perspectives and Tasks in the East	10
Revolution Betrayed	1 25
Lessons of October	60
The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects	£1 00
History of the Russian Revolution (3 Vols)	1 50
Problems of the Chinese Revolution (Paper)	1 50
(Cloth)	2 50
Germany 1931-1932 (Paper)	1 50
(Cloth)	2 50
An Age of Permanent Revolution: a Trotsky Anthology	25
In Defence of Marxism (Paper)	1 00
(Cloth)	1 50
In Defence of the October Revolution	15
The Class Nature of the Soviet State	35
Strategy & Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch (1928)	15
The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International	10
Through What Stage are we Passing?	10
Problems of the British Revolution	35
The New Course	65
Where is Britain Going?	37
Leon Sedov: Dedicated to the proletarian youth	12
Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA	10
My Life	1 75
Their Morals and Ours	20
Political Profiles	1 00
The Position of the Republic and the Tasks of Young Workers	15
Marxism and the Trade Unions	25
The First Five Years of the Communist International Volume I	1 50
Volume II	65

To: New Park Publications Ltd.  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG

I enclose cheque/postal order/money order/draft for £                      to pay for

Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....