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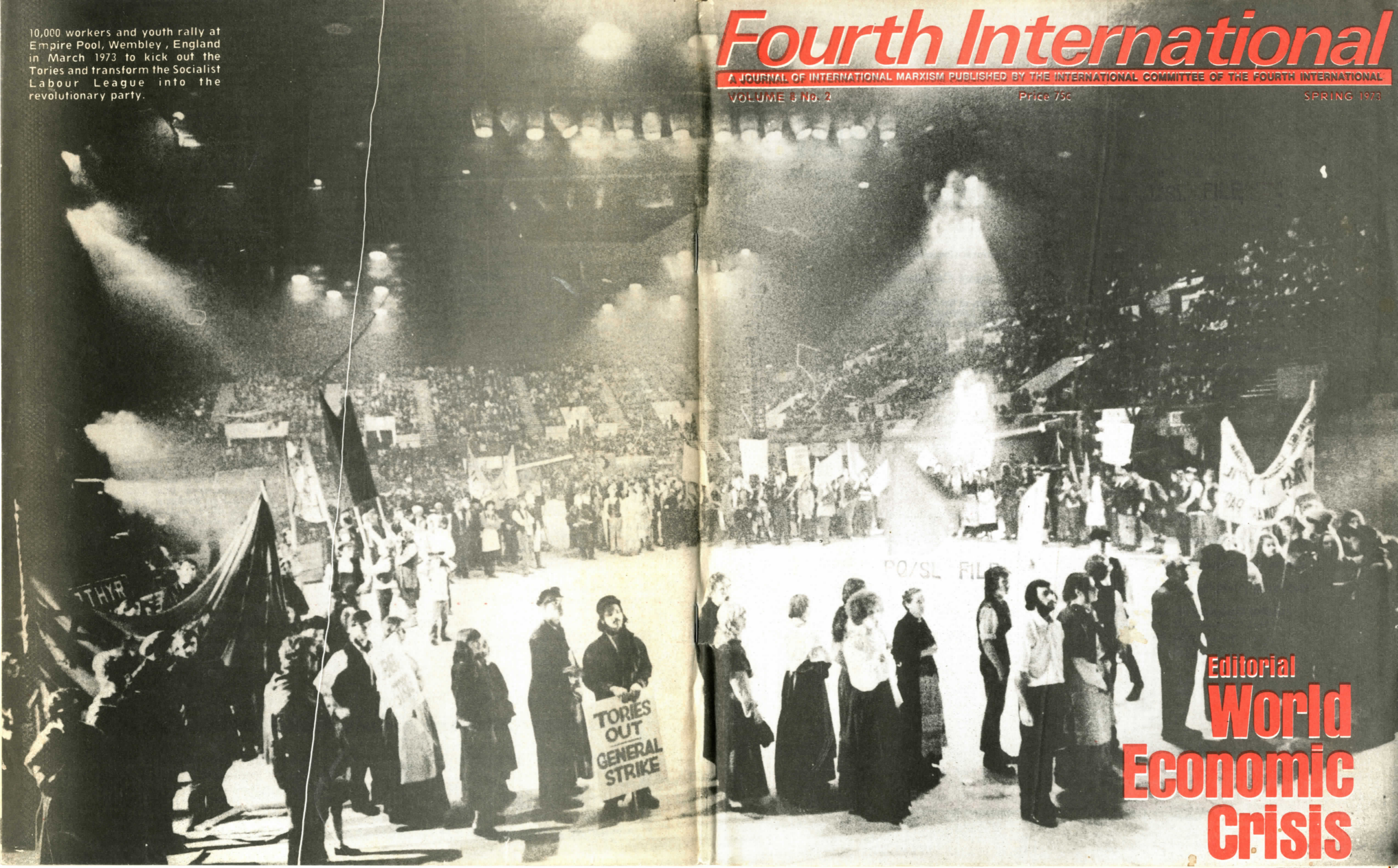
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VOLUME 8 No. 2

Price 75c

SPRING 1973



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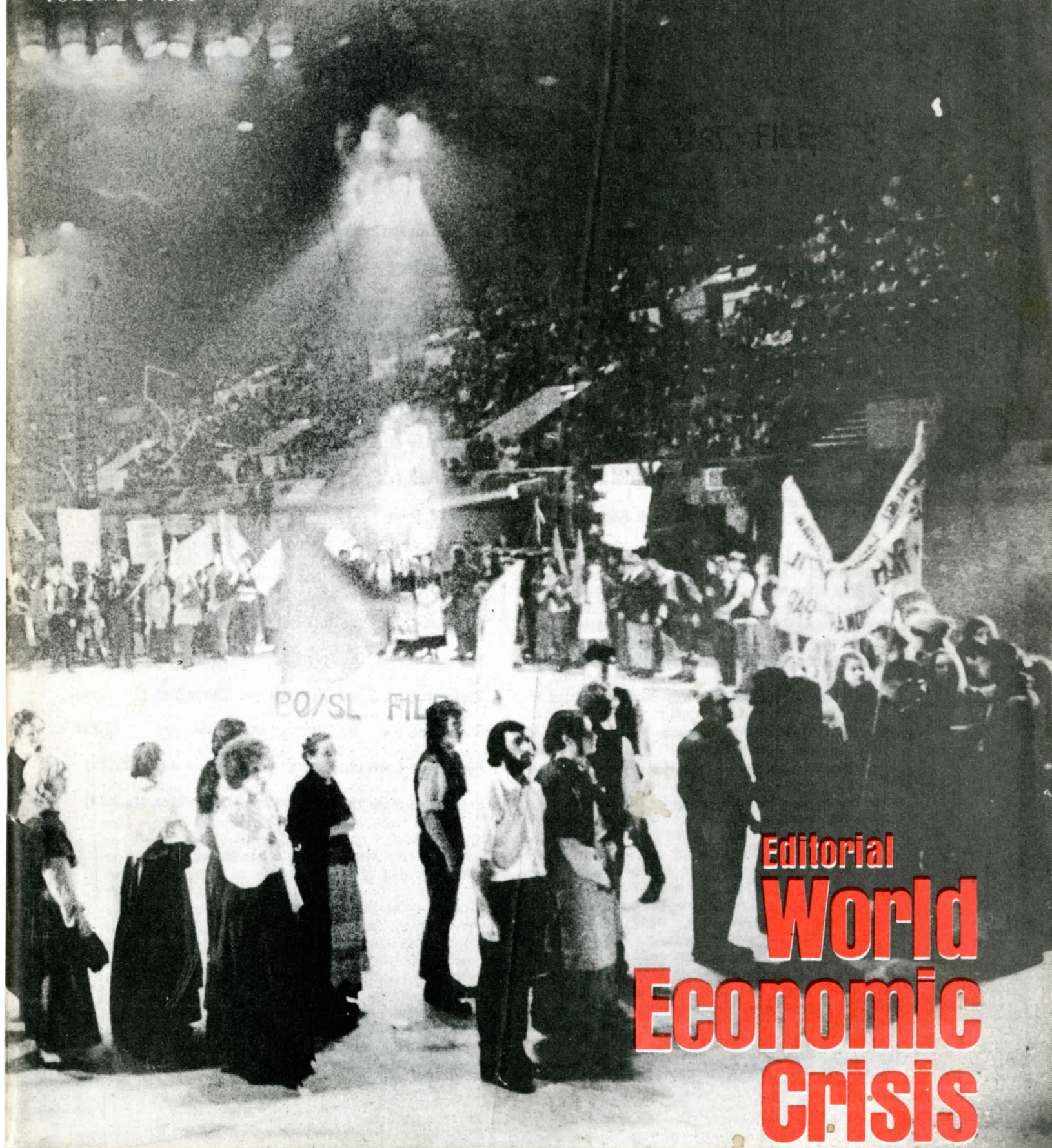
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EDITORS: TOM KEMP, CLIFF SLAUGHTER

Editorial	3	International Committee
Ceylon: The Centrism of Bala Tampoe	5	By a Ceylon Correspondent
April Dictatorship: the tasks of the Greek Trotskyists	13	Resolution of the 5th Congress of the EDE (Workers Internationalist League, Greek Section ICFI)
Prevent Strauss Government: Vote SPD	23	<i>Der Funke</i> (1.11.72)
10 per cent Market Tax on Incomes	25	<i>Der Funke</i> (15.11.72)
A Victory of the Working Class	27	<i>Der Funke</i> (1.12.72)
A slap in the Face	29	<i>Der Funke</i> (1.1.73)
Italy's New Fascists	32	Stephen Johns
Lenin on European Unity	44	
For a Socialist United States of Europe	46	Leon Trotsky
Against the Repression in Ceylon	49	Statement from the International Committee (30.10.72)
A New Stage in the International Monetary Crisis	51	Statement from the International Committee (30.10.72)
Bolivia: Year Two of the Banzer Dictatorship	54	Statement from the International Committee (14.11.72)
Mobilize to defend the Vietnamese Revolution	56	Statement from the International Committee (29.12.72)
Helsinki Conference on European Security	59	Statement from the International Committee (10.2.73)
No Peace in Vietnam	60	Statement from the International Committee (16.2.73)

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# EDITORIAL

THERE IS NOT a single country in the capitalist world whose everyday political life is not now shaped directly by the breakneck development of the international economic crisis. Not the slightest prospect exists of any solution being agreed to replace the Bretton Woods agreements overthrown by Nixon on August 15, 1971. Now the anarchic nature of the capitalist system asserts itself at every turn. Fixed parities have virtually disappeared, and as credit collapses, the desperate search for value accelerates. We are in a period of the collapse of currencies, the failure of great businesses and banks, the cancellation of investment programmes, and the assumption of direct preparations for Fascism by the most powerful centres of finance capital and heavy industry.

Everything which revisionists saw as a sign of the stabilisation of the capitalist system has in fact become a source of greater revolutionary contradictions. Only those who denied the character of our epoch as one of wars and revolutions, of the decay of capitalism, could have characterised post-war capitalism as 'neo-capitalism' and preached, like Mandel, that the revolutionary role of the working class under imperialism had been historically left behind. In fact, the need of world capitalism to regulate international payments through state intervention (Bretton Woods) could only bring to a head once again the fundamental contradiction between socialised production, increasingly international, on the one hand, and the continued existence of private property in the means of production and the nation state on the other.

The very dependence of capitalism on the Bretton Woods agreements, which seemed for 25 years to give the appearance of stability, now turns into its opposite. The collapse of Bretton Woods brutally exposes the insoluble problems of every 'national' capitalism. Marx and Engels concluded after the revolutions of 1848 that it was not possible to trace the developments in the political struggle immediately and directly to their economic basis. Today there is a great transformation.

The division of the world between a few great powers, dominated by a handful of banks and monopolies, and the capitalists' own efforts to respond, within the decadent capitalist framework, to the international character of the system, together with the necessity of greater state intervention in the economy of each capitalist country, have created an entirely different relationship, with politics and economics interpenetrating at every turn. Above all, this interpenetration takes place in conditions of the decay of the capitalist order, not at a time when it still had scope for its greatest expansion, as in the middle of the 19th century.

In Britain, even the inflationary boom and Keynesian policies of the 50s and 60s could not conceal the accumulated and insoluble problems at the base of the economy. And now the class struggle in Britain becomes the arena in which these contradictions demand a solution, demand it so imperiously that there can be no delay or compromise. This is why the ruling class has been compelled to challenge every single basic right of the working class and to run the risk of dispensing with the well-beloved methods of compromise through the trade union bureaucracy. A revolutionary situation is created by these changes. All the legislative preparations are finished for a complete change in methods of rule which have been built up over three centuries. The relations between bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and proletariat are bound to be rapidly transformed. At the same time, the conditions of life of the working class force them to demand action from their traditional organisations which go beyond anything in the past. Hence the insufferable pressure on the trade union bureaucracy. On the one side, the relations they have built up with the capitalist state over nearly a century make them easy prey to the corporatist plans of the Tory Government and the monopolies. With the language of 'participation' they prepare the ground in one industry after another. They intend to collaborate on the state 'pay boards'. But on the other hand they

feel the pressure from their own base in the unions. This latter pressure, far from impelling them in a left direction, will only heighten their crisis, provoke from them confused and dangerous lines of action, and hasten their complete defection to the counter-revolution. As in the past, there are trade union bureaucrats who will even raise the question of general strike in order to head it off and at all costs prevent the development of mass action under revolutionary leadership. Others, such as Jackson in the Union of Post Office Workers, try to instil a fear of Fascism as a cover for their own corporatism.

The same Stalinist parties who defend this trade union bureaucracy continue to peddle the lie of peaceful, parliamentary roads to socialism. They know full well that any period of 'peace' (i.e. of the working class being politically lulled to sleep) is used by the class enemy to prepare for civil war. But to grant the capitalists this precious time is precisely in the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The Stalinist bureaucracy is mortally threatened by the development of the international capitalist crisis, and is the principal force for destroying revolutionary developments in any country. Every section of the Fourth International must be politically steeled to answer and defeat the Stalinists. Without this there can be no building of revolutionary parties. It is not at all an accident that this basic position of Trotskyism on the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism has been a fundamental division between the International Committee and all revisionism. The recent revelations concerning the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and its activities in Chile provide a clear warning of the implications of the 'peaceful road' everywhere. The CIA was in constant contact and under the direct influence of this Corporation, and was pressed to carry out political subversion in its interests. Great resources were expended to prevent the election of Allende, for fear of future nationalisation. When these attempts proved unsuccessful, ITT, on its own admission, worked with other US companies to create a collapse of one of the main banks or savings societies, thus destroying investment plans, creating mass unemployment, and bringing about conditions of chaos in which the government could be brought down. Piecing this together with the actual developments last year in Chile, it is clear that military preparations were also made. In the

end Allende actually took military representatives into his Cabinet.

The parliamentary road was equally shown bankrupt in France. While opinion polls predicted a victory in the National Assembly elections (March 1973) for the Socialist-Communist-Radical front, Pompidou and Messmer, the direct representatives of finance capital, arrogantly proclaimed that even if the left won the majority they would not be asked to form a Cabinet. There could be no question of accepting an electoral verdict if it opened the door to working-class actions against the capitalist system itself. Undoubtedly the crawling promises of the Stalinists and Social Democrats to accept the Constitution convinced the middle class that there was no possibility of a real fight against the banks and the monopolies, and they responded yet again to the traditional cry of the French ruling class for 'order'. All those who conceal from the working class the real preparations of the capitalist class in this period, the Stalinists principally, are acting as executioners of the working class. Literally everything depends now on the ability of the forces of Trotskyism to win from the masses now thrown into struggle the cadres who will be able to defeat Stalinism and win leadership of the masses in the struggle for working-class power.

The fight for this independent course, and against every variety of subordination to the bureaucracy, has been the key to the struggle of the International Committee against Pabloite revisionism. The theoretical divisions of the past, now sharper than ever before, are shown clearly in the sphere of politics. The revisionists now provide the theoretical cover for centrism. Bowing to spontaneity, they provide the most sophisticated arguments for the bureaucracy's aim of keeping the workers out of politics, restricting the working class to trade union struggles. In this way the trade union and Labour leaders are left free to pursue their class collaboration and prepare against their own rank and file. When the revisionists of every stripe come forward with demands limited to 'participation of the rank and file in the unions', and 'solidarity', they are guilty of the grossest deception of all. What is really at stake is the fight for alternative leadership, the fight to train from the 'rank and file' those new leaders who will become Marxists and remove the opportunist and Stalinist leaders. It will be done only under the banner of the Fourth International.

# CEYLON: THE CENTRISM OF BALA TAMPO

By a Ceylon Correspondent

TODAY the imperialist system throughout the world has reached the highest point in the death agony which was postponed after World War II with the deliberate inflation of the dollar and with the aid of the Stalinist and social-democratic leadership in the working class.

The movement of the working class in the metropolitan countries and Eastern Europe as well as the workers and poor peasants in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is thrust forward by the objective development of the economic crisis at its sharpest point.

The break-up of the old reformist and Stalinist leadership in the situation is unavoidable. Either they are being destroyed by the ruling class, once they have completed their betrayal of the working class, or they are being constantly challenged by the growing militancy among the oppressed masses.

Under these circumstances the Trotskyist movement throughout the world is given enormous possibilities of building the revolutionary leadership as the alternative to reformism and capitalism. But the rapidity with which the old order breaks up will provide the opportunity for centrist tendencies to develop in the working-class movement. Trotsky wrote in his open letter for the Fourth International:

'Under conditions where the traditional mass organisations are in process of collapse and decomposition centrism represents in many cases an inevitable transitional stage even for progressive working-class groupings. Marxists must be able to find access to all such tendencies in order by example and propaganda to speed their passage to the revolutionary road. In this the condition for success is irreconcilable criticism of the centrist leadership, exposure of the attempts to create the 2½ international and ceaseless explanation of the fact that the revolutionary tasks of our epoch doom beforehand to ignominious bankruptcy those unifications which are hybrid and amorphous.'

Here we try to expose the centrist leadership of the section of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat in Ceylon, which has now degenerated to the extent where it practises open collaboration not only with

the repressive coalition government of the country but also with the main pillars of imperialism itself.

Gerry Healy after his visit to Ceylon at the time of the 1964 Emergency Conference of the LSSP wrote:

'The LSSP revolutionary wing has now the historic task of reconstructing the revolutionary party in Ceylon. They will do this all the better when they understand its relationship to the past and break completely from the Unified Secretariat in Paris.'

The perspective laid down here is clear; without understanding their own relationship to past events and breaking completely from Pabloism the LSSP(R) could not and will not develop as a revolutionary party. Anyone can see that this was not just simple support for the LSSP(R).

The supporters of Robertson, the 'Spartacist' group philistines who reject the role of the revolutionary party and Marxism in the working-class movement, cannot understand the significance of the intervention made by the International Committee at the time of the great betrayal of the Unified Secretariat.

Although these petty-bourgeois radicals are stunned today by the nature of the betrayals prepared by the Pabloite Unified Secretariat, what they seek to avoid like the plague is the continuous fight of the IC against Pabloism since 1953.

The authors of the 'Solidarity' pamphlet *Ceylon: JVP Uprising of April 1971* state:

'it should be pointed out that their (SLL's) pre-1964 criticisms of the LSSP and of the United Secretariat centred on the espousal by these bodies of the international perspectives of "Pabloism" (centuries of degenerated workers' states, possibility of Communist Parties moving to the left as a result of mass pressure etc.) and not on the social composition of the LSSP, its dedication to parliamentary politics or its crass opportunism . . .'

All the centrists throughout the world want to forget or distort the struggle launched by the IC against Pabloism, which developed within the Fourth International and has dominated the Unified Secretariat and its predecessor since 1953.



The Robertson group as well as the Socialist Workers' Party, who were actual participants in the earlier stages of the fight against Pabloism, today want to write off the history of the struggle of the IC. When the SWP unification with the Pabloite revisionists was accomplished in 1963 they wrote:

'We can attract the best layers of this new generation of rebels by our bold programme, our fighting spirit and militant activity; we can only repel them by refusing to close ranks because of differences over the past disputes of little interest to young revolutionists of action who are primarily concerned about the great political issues and burning problems of the day.'

The fight of the IC against this method is on record for all to see. What the SLL and the IC always insisted upon was to go back to the 1953 split and from there to draw up a balance-sheet of the activities of the Pabloite sections as well as the IC. It is through grasping the nature of these struggles of the IC against Pabloism that new revolutionary cadres can be built in different parts of the world. We clearly say that the parliamentarianism and opportunism or even the social composition of the LSSP cannot be separated from their political position in 1953 within the Fourth International and their continued allegiance to Pabloism.

Formal criticism of Pabloism or observations made only after the event, in the style of Robertson, will not help to build an alternative to Pabloism in Ceylon or anywhere else. E. Samarakkody, the leader of the Revolutionary Samasamaja Party which broke away from the Pabloites in Ceylon in 1968, himself has tried to make a formal criticism of the Unified Secretariat in an internal bulletin written to his group recently. But he has carefully avoided the question of the struggle of the IC against the US. This centrist position is a deadly cancer in the working-class movement, which cannot be tolerated. Nobody who is seriously taking up the tasks of building a revolutionary party can avoid the struggle of the IC in the past two decades. We do not believe in natural Marxists as Pabloite revisionists do. We also do not believe in revolutionary movements devoid of the valuable and indispensable experiences of the revolutionary movements in the past! No revolutionary movement can stand indifferent to its own past. Only the middle-class philistines who attempt to make a living out of Marxism will try to do so.

It is true that the LSSP (R) did not join the ranks of the IC. We are going to examine here the role of that group who later joined the US. But the intervention made by the IC laying down the perspectives (as in the 1964 quotation above) did not go unnoticed.

The statement made by the IC on July 5, 1964 said: 'The LSSP Revolutionary section has taken the first necessary step.'

On that basis the IC continuously made interventions during that period to win a cadre for the Marxist party in Ceylon. The IC can proudly announce today that not only was it proven right in its entire perspective with regard to Ceylon,

but also that the IC was able to build a solid section in Ceylon which is prepared to undertake the struggle for the Fourth International.

It is a fact that the initial cadres for building the revolutionary section came from the LSSP Revolutionary wing. These cadres were won through the active intervention of the IC. It was not just observing the events when the crisis blew up in the ranks of the revisionist US. The IC was confident that a Marxist cadre could be won from the LSSP (R). In reply to an attack by Pierre Frank on the attitude of the SLL to the Ceylon betrayal the Political Committee of the SLL stated:

'The Marxists in the Revolutionary section of the LSSP are finding a road to the masses and we are confident that along this road they will reject the Unified Secretariat with its replacement of Marxist principles by policies of adaptation to bureaucracy, the consequence of which has been class treason in Ceylon.'

Cadres won and trained through this intervention have today been able to function as the only Marxist revolutionary movement among the workers and peasants of Ceylon. No left organization, outside the coalition partners the CP and the LSSP, have built any developed means to penetrate the working class in this decisive period. Only the Revolutionary Communist League, the section of the IC, possesses a regular publication to intervene in the developing class struggle. This regular publication takes place under conditions where the official organs of the RCL and the Revolutionary Communist Youth are still banned under the emergency laws. The publications of the Pabloite revisionist LSSP (R) or Samarakkody's RSP did not come under the attack of the government and are not banned at all. But they are unable to publish any regular news sheet due to their own political and organizational problems.

The RCL recently published its own theoretical journal called *Fourth International* and *Kamkaru Mavatha*, a weekly. Started as a four-page paper six months ago, it is now a six-page paper. The plans are published in that paper to develop it to an eight-page paper immediately and to make it a twice-weekly in the coming months. The funds to maintain this paper come entirely from the sales of the paper and the contributions made by its readers among the working class.

All the other left tendencies in Ceylon are completely paralysed in the face of the growing polarization of class forces resulting from the new stage of crisis in the world capitalist system since August 15 1971.

The complete liquidation of the LSSP (R) has come about as a result of the very conscious role played by its leadership headed by Bala Tampoe. The Unified Secretariat, following in the footsteps of their record in relation to the LSSP, try their best to cover up for the treacherous leadership in the LSSP (R) today. The article published in *Intercontinental Press* on the SLL position in exposing Bala Tampoe reveals this cowardly attempt of the henchmen of the US more than ever.

The *Workers Press* (in the series of articles written by Jack Gale) exposed the position in the US in relation to some blatantly counter-revolu-

tionary activities of Bala Tampoe. Here we intend to examine his political positions in the recent period, especially around and after the April 1971 uprising.

Since its origin as a separate section (after breaking away from the LSSP when the LSSP took the decision to join the capitalist coalition with the SLFP of Mrs Bandaranaike) the LSSP (R) has moved rapidly to the right. The theoretical preparations and cover-up for this rightward move of the party were done once again by the US.

Here we have to remember that before 1964 the Unified Secretariat opposed with all their might any form of split in the LSSP. Their sole advice to the left wing of the LSSP in 1964 was contained in their official statement, which said:

'The end result could be highly injurious to the Fourth International and to the LSSP including its left wing which has absolutely no interest to put in question the unity of the party through the creation of undue internal friction and tension from any source.'

But the split was forced on the left wing by the force of the working-class radicalization against the coalition government at the time. The US itself was forced to break relations after the event with its so beloved section in Ceylon, the LSSP.

But such empirical adaptation itself could not of course produce any changes in the policies of the US. They did not learn anything from the bitter experiences in Ceylon since there was a conscious decision in the US not to discuss the past events which could jeopardize their newly formed reunification which was unprincipled to the core.

Therefore although there was a demand from a considerable section in the LSSP (R) to discuss the history of their own movement, as was suggested by the IC, this was deliberately blocked by the leadership composed of both Bala Tampoe and Samarakkody at the time.

Instead the Unified Secretariat was tightening its grip on the LSSP (R) to lead it along the same old road of class betrayal.

The coalition which was formed in July 1964 did not last more than a few months. Instead of consolidating its forces through a complete discussion over the experiences of the treachery of the LSSP, the LSSP (R) plunged into the parliamentary election held in March 1965. The youth section which came out from the LSSP conference along with the LSSP (R) were further disoriented by the manner in which the election campaign was mounted. The same old parliamentary demagoguery predominated in the campaign. No programme was developed through a struggle against the capitulation of the working-class leaders.

As the result of the election a more right-wing UNP government came to power, defeating the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition. In its short period of governmental power, the coalition proved to be a complete failure in the eyes of the masses as well as the bourgeoisie. Therefore the bourgeoisie stood firm and brought a more reactionary regime to deal with rising militancy in the working class. In the statement she made about forming the gov-

ernment Mrs Bandaranaike declared 'It is only by travelling on this path (i.e. coalition) whilst considering the changes that have taken place in our country that we can achieve our purpose.' Speaking definitely on behalf of the capitalist class, although she promised to achieve their purpose she was unable even with the faithful service of her new allies on the left to inflict any major defeat on the working class.

The bourgeoisie attempted a new and tougher line. The worsening economic crisis demanded much quicker and firmer action against the rising tide of militancy in the working class.

Following a brutal attack on the university students, the UNP government opened its onslaught on the masses. It proceeded to make a very large cut in the rice subsidy. The cost of living was allowed to rise to exorbitant levels. The foreign exchange regulations introduced by the government were a go-ahead sign for increases in all imported goods among which the main staple food in Ceylon was included.

But this government too failed to strike a major blow on the working class. Proposals for state control of trade unions were met with the threat of industrial action by the workers and the government was forced to withdraw.

The LSSP and CP leaders openly rejected any attempt to mobilize the workers against this government. Their position was not to disrupt the parliamentary method of rule.

The LSSP (R) leadership had a very good chance at this moment to intervene in the labour movement to win some sections if they had developed a correct revolutionary line. But they played into the hands of the LSSP and CP leaders with their sterile policies. They became the main force supplying the cover-up for the treachery of the LSSP and CP leadership in the working class.

Bala Tampoe has been a trade union syndicalist all his political life, and he remains one. But even with these syndicalist policies he could win some gains for the Ceylon Mercantile Union in the 1950s and early 1960s. The objective conditions permitted such gains. The deliberately created 'boom' of the imperialist system after the second world war was a substitute for taking on the working class, as the bourgeoisie emerged out of the war weakened and unable to face up to the militancy of the working class.

In this period of the boom, the working class could gain reforms through their traditional organizations such as trade unions. This was specially so with regard to the white collar workers in colonial countries. The CMU, which organized mainly the clerical workers in the private sector, was able to pose as a successful union in this respect. The inflated economy created to contain the working-class struggles and postpone the confrontation, also strengthened the working class with regard to its living conditions and organizations throughout the world. In the 1963-1964 period the CMU became one of the most militant and powerful unions in Ceylon.

But the objective conditions behind the period of reforms were rapidly coming to an end in the later part of the 1960s. The devaluation of sterling

(1967) precipitated a series of monetary changes in many parts of the world.

The Ceylon rupee was devalued as a direct result of the monetary crisis. This was in effect a direct attack on the living standards of the working class as all the basic essentials of the working class were imported goods, and all these imported goods were bound to rise in price. Great unrest grew among the trade unions and the leaders of the LSSP and CP were forced to call a strike of all private sector workers.

At this point the CMU completely betrayed the workers who came out on strike by not calling out their members in the same work places in support of the strike. Tampoe's argument at the time was that the strike was led by LSSP and CP leaders and therefore the strike was bound to be sold out. Tampoe said he did not want to involve his members in such a struggle doomed to failure. This is the wretched position of the petty-bourgeois syndicalist who has no confidence in the working class and its ability to understand and transform itself to a revolutionary movement by way of its experiences. The task of the revolutionary party at a time like this should have been, as pointed out in the Transitional Programme:

'The Bolshevik-Leninist stands in the front-line trenches of all kinds of struggles, even when they involve only the most modest material interests or democratic rights of the working class. He takes active part in mass trade unions for the purpose of strengthening them and raising their spirit of militancy. He fights uncompromisingly against any attempt to subordinate the unions to the bourgeois state and bind the proletariat to compulsory arbitration and every other form of police guardianship - not only fascist but also democratic. Only on the basis of such work within the trade unions is successful struggle possible against the reformists including those of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Sectarian attempts to build or preserve small "revolutionary" unions as a second edition of the party signify in actuality, the renouncing of the struggle for leadership of the working class.'

This, the struggle for leadership of the working class, is the precise task which the LSSP (R) has abandoned with the worthy blessings of the US.

Tampoe played into the hands of the LSSP and CP leaders by providing them with an excuse to call off the strike. These leaders did not want a strike at all because it would disturb their parliamentary alliances and 'perspectives'.

To cover up for his own role during this period Tampoe writes in his open letter to the LSSP, published in the *Intercontinental Press* November 24, 1969:

'Even when LSSP-led trade unions have fought important battles under the UNP regime, they proved to be ineffective. This is because the LSSP has lost the confidence it previously enjoyed in the field of the class struggle. It is also because it can no longer secure the participation of those sections of the working class that belong to the minorities in the country.'

It must be very pleasant thinking for a trade union syndicalist to assume that all other rival leaders in this field of activity, namely the trade unions, have lost the confidence of the workers.

Then it is only one step further for the syndicalist to think that all those workers are going to join him in the next few days. But in actual reality things do not happen this way. How could Tampoe say that the LSSP and CP leaders had simply lost the confidence of the workers when the strikes were called, according to himself, by those very same leaders? How could he explain the victory of those leaders in the working-class areas in the general election of 1970, even though Tampoe had issued a declaration asking the workers not to vote in the election.

This assumption, that the LSSP and CP leaders have lost the confidence of the workers, was formulated in order to facilitate Tampoe's own abandonment of any struggle against the treacherous LSSP and CP leaders and the government. For the revolutionaries it is not just a question of the reformist leaders losing the confidence of the workers. The Marxist not only fights consciously to break the confidence of the workers in their reformist leaders but also always poses an alternative to this leadership. Tampoe, and also the Unified Secretariat, have rejected the building of the alternative leadership a long time ago.

This is more clearly revealed at the end of the same open letter. His proposal for the LSSP workers was:

'Let us confront the capitalist UNP government and the capitalist class now with a United Front of the working class forces at the head of the mass movement'.

He goes on to say: '. . . let us join forces to provide that leadership'. Why all these calls for a united front if the leaders of the LSSP have already lost the confidence of the workers? Why not ask these workers to come and join the LSSP (R)?

Evidently the reason why Tampoe did not take part in the strike action of 1967 against the devaluation was not because of the reasoning he did at the time. Tampoe thought that there was still room open for his union as a white collar workers' union to bargain with the government independently. Therefore he did not want to disturb his 'special' relationship with the government and the employers by joining a strike with the manual workers of the same industries. Such was the reactionary policy of Tampoe in that period.

He called for a united front with the LSSP in 1969 two years after the massive strike against the devaluation. This was once again a move of the ardent syndicalist Tampoe to preserve his bureaucratic position in the leadership of the CMU. Using his position in the strike against the devaluation as well as his more reactionary policy in the Harbour strike of 1968, the LSSP in 1969 moved in to organize a counter union to the CMU.

Not only did the LSSP penetrate the new industries where there were no unions at all, they also recruited members from the CMU itself. The call for a united front with the LSSP was only a cowardly manoeuvre by Tampoe to try and stop this development. But the LSSP did not agree.

If this is not a complete abandonment of Trot-

skyism, the present-day Marxism, which consciously fights for a revolutionary leadership in the working class against the betrayals of reformists and Stalinists, what is it? If anybody tries to cover up for this sort of treachery, allowing its perpetrators to appear as Trotskyists, are they not participants in the same crime of abandoning Marxism in the most decisive hour of the working class? The Unified Secretariat must be forced to answer these questions before the workers' movement internationally.

The theory of a 'United Front of the working class forces to go forward for the socialist revolution' developed by Tampoe in his open letter has to be given lengthy consideration here because it is the attempt of all the centrists throughout the world to make a fetish out of the United Front. To this end they completely distort the conception of United Front developed by Lenin and Trotsky. This is what the OCI, which split away from the IC, wrote about the United Front:

'The fight for a national strike committee was the political fight *par excellence* at the heart of the heart of the general strike, because it was a fight for this solution by centralizing the strength of the working class in struggle against the bourgeois state.'

A National Strike Committee was the United Front advocated by the OCI during the May-June struggles of 1968. Here the complete bankruptcy of centrism is explicit. The OCI assumes that the centralization of working class forces is equal to the political consciousness of the working class objectively in struggle against the bourgeois state. Although the working class is objectively the destroyer of capitalism that does not mean that workers are able to win power without the struggle of the revolutionary party, within the class itself, fighting for revolutionary consciousness. This is the essence of Lenin's fight against the revisionists. This is the deep-going essence of the statements of Lenin against 'spontaneity' in *What Is To Be Done?* A central strike committee is not by itself a political challenge to the bourgeois state. If it was so we would have seen socialist revolution in Britain in 1926 under the slogan of the Stalinists 'All power to the General Council'. We would have seen revolution in Ceylon in 1963 when the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organizations was formed with the 21 demands which objectively threatened the bourgeois state.

The vital importance of the deepest grasp of the theory of knowledge of Marxism is precisely to go beyond these centrist positions and take up the fight for revolutionary consciousness in the working class.

The role of the United Front formed by Lora in Bolivia within the Popular Assembly once again made more than clear the inadequacy of the centrist conception of the United Front. When the OCI in 1971 came forward to cover up for Lora, the continuator of Pabloism in Latin America, it was not the beginning of the degeneration of the OCI. It was the end of a whole era of centrism within the OCI, covered up with left demagogy, and in which they encouraged Lora's opportunism.

What difference can we see between the Pabloite position with regard to the United Front and the revisionists of the so-called Committee for the Defence of the IC (the OCI)?

There is not even the slightest difference. They take identical revisionist positions against which the IC has been fighting since its origin.

The movement for the '21 Demands' in Ceylon in 1964 was a high point of the development of working-class struggle in Ceylon. But what was lacking was the independent revolutionary party to raise the question of independent political power of the working class without which the demands would not be met. Since this central question was not raised, the door was left open for the stalinist and Samasamajist traitors to ally themselves with the bourgeois government, spreading the illusion that the demands could be won through a coalition government. This lesson of the betrayal by the Stalinists and reformist LSSPers must be burned into the mind of every revolutionary.

The word unity is the dearest in the vocabulary of all centrists. Precisely in the periods where the working class starts to move forward against the authority of monopoly capitalism, these centrists try to confuse the workers with their declarations for unity, among their own ranks. The task of revolutionaries is not to by-pass the instant desires of the working class, but to struggle with the class itself to make the masses understand the objective truth about unity. The hollow call for unity between the reformist class-collaborationist LSSP, Stalinist CP and other centrist parties, is to cover up for the betrayals of those leaders who do not want to challenge the capitalist state. Trotsky analysing the situation in France wrote:

'Under these conditions to think of being able to unify the trade union movement by the simple preaching of unity would be to nurture illusions. To declare that without the preliminary unification of the two trade union organizations, not only the proletarian revolution but even a serious class struggle is impossible means to make the future of the revolution depend upon the corrupted clique of trade union reformists.'

'In fact, the future of the revolution depends not upon the fusion of the two trade union apparatuses, but the unification of the majority of the working class around revolutionary slogans and revolutionary methods of struggle.'

The bitter truth of these words was explicit in the experiences in Ceylon in 1963 under the United Left Front formed by the LSSP, CP and the MEP. The Unified Secretariat gave its full blessing to this unprincipled unity of working-class traitors of all kinds, which actually paved the way for the foundation of the coalition to head off the militancy rising among the workers.

The Unified Secretariat's unification conference, just before the formation of the coalition, declared that the LSSP 'correctly raised the question of a United Left Front, both to arrest the movement to the right and to help these masses to move towards an alternative left'. The IC correctly pointed out at the time that the ULF was the sugar-coating for the bitter pill of coalition. It took only a few months to see the vindication of the statement of the IC.

Did the US learn anything out of this experience? Of course not. Pierre Frank, trying to supply a crude cover-up for the position of the US with regard to ULF, stated in his *History of the Fourth International*:

'With the Ceylonese CP and a petty bourgeois organization with radical colouring (MEP) it formed what was called the United Left Front which found a great response in the Ceylonese masses and but for the insufficiency of its programme, should have been able to form the point of departure of an extra-parliamentary struggle for power.'

What idiotic rubbish is this? Does not this statement admit that the Unified Secretariat believed that the Stalinists and the petty-bourgeois parties were going to develop a struggle for power of the working class. According to them it was just a question of a programme. Can anybody claim this sort of statement has anything to do with Marxism?

Trotskyism developed through a bitter, continuous struggle against Stalinism, realizing that it was the main counter-revolutionary force in the working-class movement. The Unified Secretariat rejected this position in 1953 as it adopted the anti-Trotskyist theory of Pablo which said that sections of the Stalinist bureaucracy could fulfil the tasks of the socialist revolution under 'certain circumstances'. The US actually believed that the petty-bourgeois nationalist MEP, which had already been in a coalition with the Bandaranaike party from 1956-1959 and consequently joined the ultra right-wing party in 1965, also would lead to socialist revolution in Ceylon.

The policy of Bala Tampoe even today continues this same treacherous line. His call, for a United Front of the working-class forces to provide the revolutionary leadership, did not raise any objection from the US.

We have seen how the LSSP took the next logical step from the United Left Front to the formation of the coalition government with Mrs Bandaranaike's SLFP in 1964. Bala Tampoe also extended his call for the United Front of Left Forces in 1969 to include the capitalist SLFP by the year 1971.

Bala Tampoe's interview, published in the monthly journal of the Australian Socialist Youth in 1971, quotes him as saying:

'Recently after the Commonwealth conference in Singapore the LSSP(R) called for a meeting of various political parties and trade unions, youth and other mass organizations to demand that Ceylon quit the Commonwealth. Besides the CMU, only the JVP answered the call . . .'

Tampoe omits here to mention that his call also went to the SLFP of Mrs Bandaranaike! What a fraud it is to call upon the bourgeois party of Mrs Bandaranaike, which today is the direct tool of imperialism, to form a united front to fight imperialism! This was nothing else but actually Tampoe's offer of himself for a place in the coalition. This did not bear fruit, not because Tampoe was not ready to serve Mrs B. along with his predecessors like N. M. Perera and Colvin de Silva, but because of the crisis

of the capitalist system, now more sharp than it was in 1964. The strategy of Mrs B. today is not to include more working-class partners in the coalition but to get rid of the ones she has already in it by making them help her smash the working class at the earliest possible opportunity. The Unified Secretariat is completely silent on these treacherous positions of Bala.

Now, when the *Workers Press* raised the question sharply revealing Bala's reactionary alliance with the extreme right-wing elements in world politics, once again the SWP tries to sweep everything under the carpet by saying this is not the opportune moment to attack Bala, since he is appearing in the courts for some political prisoners in Ceylon.

We say in no uncertain terms that Bala Tampoe is responsible more than anybody else for sending these youth to the prison camps. We say that he cannot get away from the responsibility for the crime of misleading the youth in Ceylon, who were very new to politics. We must analyse and see his role with regard to the uprising of 1971.

An undated leaflet distributed by the IMG in Britain in May 1971 under the heading 'Down with the Workers Press slanders' states: 'The facts are that while the SLL sits in Clapham slandering the JVP, the Ceylon section of the Fourth International, the LSSP (R) is defending them and has been working in an alliance with them and the Young Socialist Front, an alliance which has done much to strengthen [sic] the JVP's political maturity.' We shall see what sort of political maturity the LSSP(R) strengthened in the JVP!

First we would like to say a word about the defences put up by the IMG's collaborator Bala Tampoe for the JVP leaders. We take this quotation from a letter signed by Bala and sent to the members of Parliament asking a series of questions. It states:

'Is there any justification for the continuing arrests or detention in custody of persons who may have only attended political classes of the JVP or been associated with its lawful political activities before it was proscribed on April 6, 1971 and even before the present government took office last year; or merely because of their having been denounced to the police by political, personal or other enemies, or having been connected with insurgent activities?'

The letter does not even raise the question of release of all political prisoners. Tampoe carefully avoids mentioning the JVP leaders who have already been taken into custody and put under severe harassment and torture. Anybody can see the completely fraudulent cover up the IMG supplied for Bala Tampoe, painting him as a defender of political prisoners.

How these revisionists impressionistically tail-end behind any movement involved in an uprising, completely abandoning the responsibilities of Marxists, is revealed in the statements they made during the time of the insurgency. The same leaflet condemned the *Workers Press* for calling the JVP uprising adventurist. We analysed in a series of articles before and during the time

of the struggle itself how the JVP was isolated from the working-class movement as a whole (native as well as immigrant Tamil working class) not accidentally but because of the policies pursued by the JVP itself. Under such conditions the uprising was doomed to failure from the beginning precisely because the JVP did not start from Marxist concepts of the class situation in Ceylon and take up a struggle to break the grip of the reformist leaders in the working-class movement. While Bala Tampoe did not take up a fight against the positions of the JVP, he consciously strengthened the 'political maturity' of the JVP as the IMG leaflet says.

The 'political maturity' of the JVP was to come out openly against the organizations of the working class, namely the trade unions and the trade union struggles for better living conditions. The JVP adapted to the nationalist sentiments of the Sinhala peasantry demagogically exaggerating about an 'Indian expansionist movement'.

Bala himself said in his interview to the Australian Socialist Youth Journal that as a result of his legal work in defence of some JVP supporters before the uprising his party had established very friendly political relations with the leadership of the movement.

This sort of statement can only be made by a centrist. What are these 'friendly political relations'? Why is it that the friendly relations were only with the leadership of the movement? This shows the real unprincipled nature of the alliance the IMG leaflet talks about. Is it the task of a revolutionary party to establish 'friendly relations' with leaderships of the other, counter organizations? Concepts of this nature bring down the role of the revolutionaries to the level of drunken solicitors in a court bar.

To cover up for Tampoe's sham alliance with the JVP, the IMG was forced to draw a false picture of the situation during the time of the uprising. They wrote: 'Everything that has happened since the fighting began confirms that the JVP has tremendous support, not only in the rural areas, but in every part of Ceylon. Posters supporting them have appeared in the countryside and the urban working class and Tamil speaking areas. . .'

The authors of the IMG leaflet deliberately tried to give the false impression that the JVP had the support of the working class in Ceylon. Hence they tried to equate the support of the workers in struggle, to the appearance of posters in working-class areas. Who are they trying to fool with these conscious falsifications? Their own counterparts in America, the SWP, wrote in *Intercontinental Press* two months later (July 14): 'Even though the plantation workers and the urban working class have not been involved in the uprising . . .' and so on.

The IMG as well as Tampoe believed, in the same way as the JVP did, that the working class would join the struggle against the government spontaneously against their existing leadership of LSSP and CP. The theory developed by the JVP was that the workers will join the fight if the fight could be somehow started in the rural areas.

This idealist concept about the development of consciousness is the opposite of the Marxist concept. According to the Marxist theory of knowledge consciousness develops only as a result of a conflict of opposites. It is not a one-sided smooth development. Therefore, to develop the level of consciousness of the working class it is necessary to consciously intervene and create conditions for this necessary conflict. That is the role of the revolutionary party in the working-class movement, and precisely this is what all the revisionists and centrists want to avoid.

When the French OCI stated that what the working class needed was only a programme they similarly rejected the concept of the development of consciousness in the working class through the fight of the revolutionary party in conflict with the existing level of thinking in the working class.

Tampoe wrote in April 1971:

'I am sure that the new radicalisation of youth will manifest itself in Ceylon very definitely on a revolutionary basis, not only with university and school-going youth but working-class youth combining in more and more positive steps to take Ceylon on a revolutionary road which in our view is the only road to the establishment of a socialist democracy in Ceylon . . .'

Bala Tampoe today proceeds along the same lines as the LSSP. Under his slogan for a united front today he joins hands with any reactionary tendency. This is what we see in his Human and Democratic Rights Organization. Even the Parliamentary members of the extreme right wing party, the UNP, are involved in it. Prince Gunasekera, a through and through bourgeois SLFP parliamentarian and a racist careerist who was once introduced to the General Council of the Ceylon Mercantile Union by Bala to give a 'realistic' analysis of the coalition government budget, is also participating in this Human Rights Movement. Everyone can see that this movement has no purpose other than to head off the radicalization now developing among the workers and peasants in Ceylon against the government.

The 24-hour hunger strike call made by Bala as the head of the Human Rights Committee is the severe response of petty-bourgeois pacifism to the severe repression launched by the capitalist class.

The complete bankruptcy of the left-talking Bala Tampoe could not have been more explicit than in his activities around the so-called 'human rights' organization. All his militant speeches and ultra-left optimism have now dissolved into pacifism of the worst kind. Trotsky, in his perspective document for the Third International, wrote:

'Most unstable and untrustworthy is revolutionary radicalism which finds it necessary to keep up its morale by ignoring the dialectic of living forces in economics and politics alike and by constructing its prognosis by means of a pencil and a ruler. A swing in the economic or political conjuncture suffices for such radicals to lose their bearings. At bottom this leftism secretes pessimism and mistrust.' (*First Five Years of the Comintern*, page 303.)

Not only the leadership of the LSSP (R) but that of the petty-bourgeois radicals who dominate every single section of the Unified Secretariat

proves very clearly how deep-going this analysis is.

There can be no compromise with such centrists who do their best to undermine the role of Marxism and the revolutionary party for the coming socialist revolution.

It is through a sharp fight against all these revisionists who want to make a living on the spontaneous radicalization of the masses that the revolutionary parties can and will be built.

But this fight against the revisionists does not mean only a timid criticism of their past betrayals. The betrayals are there for everyone to see. The task of the revolutionary party is to build the

alternative leadership to these traitors. This can be done only by assimilating the struggles and experiences of the revolutionary movement. The experiences embodied in the IC in its fight against Stalinism and Pabloism are a vital part of these lessons. Samarakkody's attempt to criticize the LSSP and Bala and at the same time to avoid the struggles of the IC will undoubtedly lead once again to the same blind alley as the LSSP. The conscious revolutionary practice of the RCL against these new kinds of centrists will be sharpened in its struggle to take the theory of knowledge of Marxism into the working class.

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# APRIL DICTATORSHIP AND THE TASKS OF GREEK TROTSKYISTS

Resolution of the 5th Congress of the Workers International League

(Greek Section of the ICFI)

**THE STRUGGLE** to build the Fourth International was taken up in 1938 to safeguard the continuity of revolutionary leadership, Marxist theory, the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Bolsheviks and the continuity of the Russian Revolution.

This struggle had to pass through unfavourable conditions created by the defeats suffered by a whole generation of the international working class. Responsibility for these defeats lies with the Stalinist bureaucracy who, having provoked them, later used them to their advantage.

The petty-bourgeois sceptics considered the struggle for the Fourth International to be futile, but it was through this struggle that revolutionary cadres, capable of leading the struggles of the working class during the coming revolutionary upsurge, could be trained.

After the war, petty-bourgeois scepticism towards the 4th International appeared in the form of Pabloite revisionism and represented a capitulation to Stalinism and, through it, to imperialism.

The International Committee, having successfully defended the continuity of the Fourth International against Pabloism, constitutes, by its existence today, the most brilliant vindication of the struggle carried out by Trotsky and his followers in the preceding historical period.

Today all the unfavourable conditions formed on the basis of the Stalinist betrayals have been turned into their opposite. From wherever all sorts of difficulties sprang, opportunities have now arisen all over the world for the Fourth International to be turned into a mass leadership of the working class and to lead directly its fight for power.

Nixon's measures on the dollar on August 15, 1971 marked a new epoch for the class struggle and the Trotskyist movement. These measures do not concern technical changes in the functioning of the system, but mean a declaration of war against the working class. It is only in this sense that we maintain that the

crisis of the capitalist system has now entered a new stage and that contained in it are not simply the elements of the preceding period developed on a higher level, but a situation unlike any other throughout the whole history of the system.

The terrible bloodshed and destruction of World War II did not solve any of the basic problems of imperialism, but on the contrary aggravated them. The imperialist dominion came out of the war crippled. In a series of European countries capitalist relations were overthrown by the advance of the Red Army. Later the revolution was victorious in Yugoslavia and China, while in the same period there arose in the colonies a great revolutionary movement of national independence. Against such a background, the imperialists found themselves face to face with the working class in the advanced capitalist countries, a working class that had not recently suffered any serious defeats and was well organized and militant. This was an unbearable situation for the imperialists. It was necessary for them to strike new sharp blows against the working class. But the European ruling class, like the Japanese, having come out of the war exhausted, was not in a position to put itself at risk in civil wars.

It was under these conditions that the imperialists were driven to the Conference at Bretton Woods in 1944. There they were forced to recognize the need to follow a policy of inflationary concessions to the working class in order to blunt its militancy.

However, this did not constitute an irrevocable decision. They tried continually to attack the living standards of the working class, but were continually forced to retreat before its granite resistance. In this sense, it was not Keynesian policies that were imposed on society, but the reverse. The social reality characterized by the strength of the working class forced the bourgeoisie at every step to follow Keynesian policies. But in this situation the most important reason that enabled the imperialists to carry out such



a policy of *orderly retreat* was the Stalinist leadership that castrated the working-class movement and prevented its militancy from being carried to its final consequences.

In 1953 the French Stalinists betrayed the General Strike and in 1961 their fellow-thinkers in Belgium did the same for the General Strike there, assisted by the Pabloite revisionists. In Greece the Stalinists betrayed the working class in the Civil War and in the 1950s saw to it that it was tied to the chariot of the bourgeoisie. They systematically avoided running independently in the elections and did so through Popular Fronts such as the PAME.

The Bretton Woods agreement itself, as well as its application in the following years, was determined by the strength of the working class, although the latter was trapped in the machinery of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies.

What we call the post-war 'boom' was nothing but these continuing retreats of imperialism. The absolute contradiction between the productive forces and the production relations which characterizes the imperialist epoch, appear for these concrete reasons in an inverted form.

The Pabloite revisionists, having substituted impressionism for Marxism, took this form, this temporary immediacy of the 'boom', to be the essence of post-war capitalism, maintaining that it had developed into 'neo-capitalism'. Thus Lenin's theory of imperialism was rejected: it was not the last stage of capitalism.

In addition to the theory of imperialism they rejected the programme of the Fourth International, which is founded precisely on the characterization of our epoch as one of imperialist decay, in which the historical crisis of society has been concentrated and must be solved as a crisis of leadership of the working class.

After the war the economic supremacy of American imperialism appeared overwhelming and immune to European competition. But while the Americans had a huge supremacy over Europe in all spheres, that did not mean in any way that rivalry among the capitalist states, which is a key factor in the crisis of imperialism, had been surpassed. This rivalry had already become sharp in 1958, when sections of the European (and especially the French) bourgeoisie, led by General De Gaulle, in desperation and historically condemned, tried to limit American penetration into Europe.

Even though the logic of American policy is to reduce the European continent to the status of a big colony, this could not be realized in practice. Europe represents the oldest section of metropolitan capitalism, in which each national state has its own imperialist interests. Above all it was the European working class that became an obstacle to this prospect for colonization. America could not have turned back the wheels of history unless it was prepared to destroy the whole system in an atomic war.

At Bretton Woods it was decided that the dollar would take the place of sterling as the basis of the world monetary system. However, British imperialism conserved enough of its

strength of the past century and the Americans were unable to play their world role without some help from the City.

Thus for the Americans the defence of sterling was an international question. From this point of view, the conditions for the devaluation of sterling in 1967 contain another important lesson about the fact that the whole period of post-war 'boom' was not based on certain 'structural' or 'technical' or any other changes decided at Bretton Woods, but that it was imposed at every step by the strength of the working class. That is, the 'boom' was from the first an insupportable situation for the imperialists.

In 1961 the British ruling class made its first serious attempt to liberate itself from this 'boom'. This was the period of wage freeze, stop-go, and the deliberate creation of unemployment in the winter of 1962-1963. But the Tory government, up against the resistance of the working class, was forced to retreat and try again on the eve of the parliamentary elections of 1964, but again without success. Thus devaluation became inevitable and the failure of the Americans to prevent it revealed the tremendous strength of the working class which was dragging the imperialists down.

In the same way the repeated attempts of the American ruling class to force down working class living standards were thrown back throughout the 1950s.

So the 'boom' represented nothing more than the militancy of the workers. No notable expansion of capitalism was realized during the post-war period. Employment was primarily based on the monstrous war expenditure, that is on the production of the means of destruction of the productive forces themselves, and did not represent a new period of real capitalist expansion.

But these retreats, insupportable for the imperialists, had to come to an end sometime—to be transformed into their opposite, that is into a furious counter-revolutionary attack on the working class to force it back into a state of slavery, destroying all its gains, along with the workers' status of the USSR, Eastern Europe and China. This attack has now been let loose and this is the meaning of the measures announced by Nixon on August 15, 1971.

The Americans, by abolishing the convertibility of the dollar and erecting tariff walls, have declared the most deadly trade war. Through this trade war a large part of mankind's productive forces is liable to be destroyed and millions of workers throughout the world face unemployment and misery.

But this trade war is above all a war of the bourgeoisie against the working class in each country. The working class is compelled to fight a life-and-death struggle in defence of its living standards and all its political and trade union conquests. As all the explosiveness of the crisis of capitalism comes to the surface, this is reflected in a mortal crisis of the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies. From every point of

view we have a new situation, in which the role of Trotskyist leadership is the decisive one. When we say we are facing a new epoch for Trotskyism, above all we are talking about the political responsibilities that must be undertaken. From now on every development and the final solution to the historical dilemma—socialism or barbarism—will be determined in the struggle of Trotskyism for the emancipation of the working class from bourgeois ideology and from its Stalinist agents in the struggle for building revolutionary parties in every country, sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

THE APRIL dictatorship in Greece was not an accidental national complication, but an expression of the general crisis of capitalism which drives the bourgeoisie in every country to introduce harsher types of state oppression. This phenomenon is also characteristic of the developed countries today, while in a series of underdeveloped countries, Bonapartist military governments have already been established.

The American imperialists, who began to replace the British as guardians of Greece from 1947 onwards, helped the Greek bourgeoisie with large sums of money under the Marshall Plan and with other kinds of military and economic aid. But this aid was consumed in building the counter-revolutionary army and the state, and in speculative enterprises. There was no improvement in the miserable living conditions of the working class and peasants. This was determined by the very logic of the imperialist epoch, in which Greece, like every backward country, was condemned within this system to remain underdeveloped. The relative social calm of the 1950s was secured only over the graves of the working class which had been crushed because of the Stalinist betrayal in the Civil War.

But from 1956 onwards, the counter-revolutionary regime of the bourgeoisie began to be undermined as new generations entered the arena of class struggle. In the 1958 elections the EDA became the main opposition party with 82 members of parliament. In 1960-1961 the building workers, with their militant strikes and the barricades they put up in the streets of Athens, marked the end of the black decade that followed the defeat in the Civil War.

The ERE of Karamanlis, the big party of the bourgeoisie, having become completely bankrupt, was able to win the 1961 elections only after an orgy of violence and falsifications. This showed already that the bourgeoisie, unable to improve working-class living conditions, could no longer govern through Parliament.

After the assassination of the EDA deputy, Gr. Lambrakis, Karamanlis was forced to resign. 6000,000 people followed the cortège of the assassinated politician in a political demonstration and this was the biggest mass demonstration since 1944. As the crowd flooded the streets of Athens, the police hid themselves—the bourgeoisie was scared!

Under the pressure of the re-grouped working-class movement, political reaction was forced to sound a retreat. In 1963, with the slogan 'Democracy', Papandreou was elected to the government. The short-lived democratic 'idyll' that followed was not different in character from the post-war democracy in Western Europe. It did not at all reflect a real prosperity or blunting of social contradictions, but the opposite. Papandreou came to power as a result of the aggravation of the class struggle and the strength of the working-class movement.

In Western democracy, the Stalinists wanted to see the road to 'advanced' democracy. In Greece Papandreou's ascent appeared to open the way to 'complete democratization'. In reality however in both cases democracy was the inverted form of the real needs of the bourgeoisie, a shell in which Bonapartism was maturing.

In Greece, there was no second party of the ruling class. After the completion of the bourgeois transformation of the country, in 1922-1924, the Liberal Party went into a process of decomposition which resulted in its final dissolution. The Popular Party, the representative until that time of the 'aristocratic oligarchy', evolved into the authentic expression of the bourgeoisie's needs in the epoch of imperialist decay. There was no room for liberal experiments and political reaction governed Greece for many decades in different forms and under different names. (Greek Assembly, Radical Union.)

But the 1958 election results brought the bourgeoisie face to face with the spectre of political polarization. The fear of this eventuality became the basis for the appearance of a second bourgeois party. It is a fact that today the 'Centre Unionists' and the Stalinists admit that the Centre Union was created at that time with the intervention of the American CIA and the State Department. At first General Grivas, who had won false fame from the struggle of EOKA in Cyprus, was suggested as the head of the new bourgeois party. But the first attempt to form a 'democratic' bourgeois party under this former head of the organization 'X' and collaborator with the Germans failed. In 1962 Papandreou founded the Centre Union, and in 1963 with the treacherous support of the Stalinists—which even included abstention in many constituencies in the second, repeated 1964 elections—to the benefit of the Centre Union, Papandreou took the government with 53 per cent of the votes.

The Centre Union had gathered all the remnants of liberalism, as well as the monarchist socialist Tsirimokos, but its backbone was well-known right-wing politicians whose hands were dripping blood from the Civil War period and the black decade which followed. The Centre Union was no different from the ERE at any point in its programme. The real difference was that the CU constituted a handy mixture for the short-term needs of the bourgeoisie. It was a mask to be used in an attempt to avoid the political impasse.

Papandreou, who came to power riding on the wave of the rising mass movement, was well aware of the meaning of his election, and the first

measure his government took was to double the salaries of the military, police and judiciary employees.

That his rise to power was the result of the sharpening of the class struggle can be clearly seen in the strike indices. In 1959, 1,600,000 working hours were lost through strikes. In 1964 this figure had risen to 22,000,000 hours.

Under the Papandreou government, the masses were moving more and more towards the left. Only two months had to pass before the slogan 'Down with Papandreou' could be heard. But the Stalinists had undertaken an attempt to keep the Centre Union in power. They channelled the discontent of the masses, in an attempt to dress up the government. Not 'Down with Papandreou' said the Stalinists, but 'Down with the Minister of Labour, Bakatselos.' But the most striking indication of the masses' leftward move was the municipal elections of 1964. The EDA won them everywhere against the coalition of bourgeois candidates.

The failure of the Papandreou experiment was apparent. A liberal policy would have presupposed making substantial economic concessions to the masses, something of which Greek capitalism was then, in the world crisis, less capable than ever.

According to the myth, Papandreou was overthrown by a coup instigated by the king in 1965. In reality, the Centre Union, under these detrimental conditions, had split and thus Papandreou was forced to resign. The inability of the ruling class to continue to govern through parliament now appeared more indisputable. On the other hand the working class under its Stalinist leadership was not in a position to demand power and to give a socialist solution to the social impasse. Thus the classic equilibrium of the class forces was formed, from whose soil dictatorial coups usually spring. Within this crisis, the young Trotskyist organization, theoretically and organizationally unprepared, was not in a position to intervene effectively in order to give a new course to political developments. Fatefully, on April 21 1967 Papadopoulos' tanks rolled on the streets of Athens.

The essence of the crisis in Greece was the crisis of the world capitalist system which placed society in front of the cruel dilemma; dictatorship of the proletariat or dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

For the Stalinists the crisis was (and remains) an accidental complication; it could be surpassed; 'democratic order' could be restored. In this way they disarmed the masses politically in the face of the gravest danger. They tried in their own way to prevent the dictatorship, but it was precisely their own policies that made it unavoidable.

The Pabloites, although today they are tasting the most bitter consequences of the crisis, still claim that the crisis is a sectarian myth. Even more, they considered the July 1965 crisis to be an accidental 'complication', provoked by the 'rash' intervention by the palace, which had not correctly 'weighed' the possible reactions of the masses. On the eve of the coup they were the first

to throw themselves into the campaign for the elections that had been announced but never took place.

Even the minority of the EDE, having agreed with the Spartacist Robertson (USA) that we are at least ten years away from a serious crisis of capitalism, protested because the organization refused to follow the example of the Pabloites, whom they had permitted to gain a head start. . .

Naturally the Stalinists regard the return to 'parliamentary normality' as absolutely possible, even today. As parliamentarism collapses in countries with a developed economic substructure and the whole world is shaken by the harshest class struggles history has known, they can imagine Greece as an isle of idyllic harmony and freedom.

The Pabloites say that the overthrow of the dictatorship 'must' mean a more fundamental social overthrow. This 'must' constitutes their political shade. As though it were a question of a better choice.

But the April dictatorship, the product of a deep social crisis, is not simply another form of capitalist power, but embodies the crisis of this power. Consequently nothing can succeed it but a working-class government, erected on the shattered remains of the capitalist state. It is not a question of the better choice, but of the only way out of the present barbarism.

The struggle for this orientation is synonymous with the struggle for the political independence of the working class, for its liberation from the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, against all the ideological agents of the ruling class within the workers' movement: the Stalinists, the Pabloites, against every preacher of class reconciliation who is launched in the name of the reactionary utopia of a return to parliamentarism.

The Stalinists, overestimating the endurance and viability of the April dictatorship, and correspondingly underestimating the possibilities of struggling for its overthrow, from the first moment named it 'fascist'.

One of the features of fascism, as mankind knew it before the war in Italy and Germany, is the experiment of 'total self-sufficiency', on the basis of a developed industry and an immediate preparation for war, features plainly lacking in Greece. But the most important is that fascism has at its disposal a certain mass base, also acquired under conditions that never existed in Greece. One of these is that the masses have a more or less lengthy experience of parliamentary democracy and are relatively disillusioned by the idiocy of their parliamentary leaders. But in our country such a parliamentary democracy never existed. The junta, after five years of power and with all its propaganda against 'unscrupulous parliamentary rule' has not managed to acquire the very least popular support.

But even its social policies could not bring better results. It has failed to deceive not only the workers but also the peasants even for a single moment.

The writing off of the peasants' debts was a swindle that could not win sympathy for the regime among the masses of poor peasants. Not

only because the 'measure' was crippled by the so-called 'exceptions', but because the real peasant problem remains in all its intensity. It is the continual deficit in the budget of the peasant family.

The capitalists steal from the worker the surplus value which he produces; from the peasant they also steal a large part of that which corresponds to his wages. This causes debt upon debt to be accumulated and makes the peasant's miserable life increasingly more unbearable. Under these conditions the peasant loses his faith in the land he cultivates and makes a mass migration to the cities or abroad. In the last few decades the countryside, bared of every trace of life and activity, has become deserted.

The junta, having as its aim the greatest possible concentration of agricultural and industrial production, in preparation for the country's entry into the European Common Market of monopolies, is taking corresponding measures. It is taxing the poor while strengthening the rich. The 'gift' of the peasant debts is contained in this policy.

It made a gift of large amounts of loans which concerned the minority—the large farmers who use mechanical means. On the contrary, for the great majority—the poor peasants—the 'measure' was clearly a provocation and a swindle. The debts concerned were frozen ones which were not likely to be paid off. The current debts of that year had to be paid down to the last drachma.

The peasants, the petty-bourgeois in the towns who are hit by the 'business cycle' tax and by every kind of curse, the state employees who are robbed by the obligatory 'premium bond' loans—they are all seized by a silent indignation against the junta and are waiting for the right moment for it to burst out.

The Pabloite revisionists and Kastritis of our former minority, in characterizing the April regime, stopped short at the term 'Bonapartism', correct for this situation. However, they give it a content analogous to the Stalinist 'fascism'. When the dictatorship came—Kastritis wrote—'the workers' movement was in retreat,' 'historical development left behind it the great events of the July 1965 uprising.'

The meaning of these phrases is that the working class has been smashed, that it cannot raise its head and that the junta is standing firmly on its feet. The domination of Papadopoulos is equated to nothing other than the domination of Franco in Spain. The difference however is apparent. In Spain Franco came to power by defeating the working class in a civil war. In Greece the junta managed to impose itself, not because it defeated the working class, but on the contrary because the working class was prevented by its Stalinist leadership from going as far as a decisive encounter with the reactionary forces. So in our country, the 'great events' are not behind us, but before us.

The working class and all the oppressed have the strength and the will to overthrow the rotten Papadopoulos regime. The Stalinists and Cent-

rists of every kind, after having with their policies allowed the junta to dominate, put the responsibility onto the working class and try to present it as defeated and subdued. But the facts give the lie to their slanders every day. They show that submission can be found only in their own heads. Only one year after the coup, 600,000 people flooded the streets of Athens in a political demonstration on the occasion of the funeral of G. Papandreou. Something comparable happened later with the funeral of the poet Seferis, while today the youth are demonstrating openly on the streets in defiance of the threats of the dictatorship. Strike movements among the workers, having begun sporadically from the first year of dictatorship, multiplied and became more fearless in 1972.

The strength of the dictatorship is not to be found in itself, nor in its tanks and guns which are manned by conscripted working-class and peasant youth. The key to its five-year survival can in reality be found in the absence of a revolutionary party, matured in the struggle for the working class to become conscious of the irreconcilability of its opposition to the bourgeoisie and the necessity of fighting as an independent class in order to take the power and thus to propose the only possible succession to the capitalist dictatorship.

There was never such a rotten dictatorship and the masses never had so many possibilities of liberating themselves from its yoke. Even the unsteady Metaxas regime was more hardy than the present one. During that period capitalism had more generally solved its problem with fascism dominating in a series of decisive centres and with the direct preparation for war. Entirely to the contrary, today the world situation is featured by the strength of the working class which paralyzes imperialism.

In any case, Metaxas was a political personality, an agent of the monarchy who, together with it, maintained historical ties with all the aristocratic dregs of Greek society. Papadopoulos emerged out of total obscurity as a common agent of the CIA.

The April regime is completely isolated and the roots of its isolation are to be found in its own history. The tardy bourgeois 'democrats' of the present day were preparing their own dictatorship. 'We expected a coup,' E. Vlachou said, 'but not from them.' 'This dictatorship is not Greek,' complains Lady Fleming, 'it is a foreign dictatorship. It is American.'

The traditional representatives of the bourgeoisie and the palace had given their orders to the generals of the 'big junta'. But the 'traitors' (as P. Kanelopoulos called the captains who arrested him), lower-ranking officers of the 'small junta', got there first.

The king tried to get the revanche in December 1967 but failed. All the power passed to the puppets of the CIA. But in this way the colonels remained completely isolated. Papadopoulos is now forced to confess: 'I can't find men capable of taking over the ministries. They are all busy! . . .

The signs of weakness of the April regime are characteristic. The 'democrat' Papaspyrou, a minister in the parliamentary government of Plastiras, dared in 1951 to send N. Beloyiannis before the firing squad for his ideas. The junta confined itself to imposing a life sentence on Panagoulis for his attempt to assassinate Papadopoulos.

Under this extraordinary 'fascist' dictatorship, where the working class is 'on its knees' and 'subdued', the Press has a field day, the publishing houses fill the market with Marxist books, and journals with socialist content are circulated freely in defiance of the junta's threats.

These phenomena are for the Stalinists and Pabloite revisionists signs of the regime's strength: 'The junta defies its opponents'! They turn reality completely upside down to keep the only reason for the five-year survival of the regime from coming to the surface: the crisis of leadership of the working class.

The fight to build a revolutionary leadership of the working class is today the only real fight against the dictatorship.

The revolutionary preparation of the working class and its concentration around its revolutionary leadership means a struggle for its emancipation from the influence of bourgeois ideology whose main form within the Greek working class movement is Stalinism.

This is not a theoretical aphorism but has a very concrete content. Throughout recent Greek history the CPG has appeared as the main prop of the capitalist regime.

The Greek bourgeoisie in its struggle for power did not create a particular new philosophy. The reason is not only its economic backwardness and its parasitic nature within its world surroundings. The historical conditions, the epoch in which it rose to power, were conditions of imperialist decay. Bourgeois philosophy had been transformed everywhere into its opposite: from Enlightenment, into reaction and obscurantism. The Greek bourgeoisie, proceeding always through compromises with the oligarchy, never fought against feudal ideology and permitted the most rusty idealism to reign in neo-Greek society. Taking pieces from already rotten European bourgeois ideas, adjusting them to the most sterile scholasticism and painting them with the worst medieval colours, the Greek bourgeoisie created an indeterminate and bastard fabrication without identity: an abortion of bourgeois ideology.

The idealist way of thought of the Greek bourgeoisie is none other than formalism. In its historic journey, full of compromises with the oligarchy, the bourgeoisie found itself forced to use, for the ideological defence of its interests, schemata borrowed from other countries and other epochs and to try to fit the content of its own interests into them. Just as in its policies it refused to come into direct revolutionary conflict with the 'aristocracy', so in its way of thought it was seized by a corresponding conservatism. Instead of living ideological struggle it counterposed to the 'aristocracy' its borrowed schemata, which it had raised to super-historical categories.

In any case its compromise with the 'aristocracy' led it to a mixture of bourgeois schemata with Byzantine mysticism, the Byzantine great idea and ancestor-worship.

In 1918, when the material conditions of the socialist revolution had already been formed, incited to save whatever it had won earlier from the destruction of imperialist war, the Greek proletariat through its most advanced elements made a great qualitative leap by founding its first party, the SEKE which was later renamed KKE (CPG).

The SEKE came out of a fog of theoretical primitiveness. As in other backward countries, the revolutionary wing and the base of the party embraced Bolshevism 'not through its theoretical content, which still remained unassimilated and unelaborated, but through its liberating breath of life'. For this reason, while with the fighting power given to them by the revolutionary epoch they forced the right-wingers to retreat, on the other hand with their theoretical inadequacies they were incapable of disarming ideologically the reformists and peasant socialists who had studied in Europe.

Through its theoretical primitiveness Greek communism yielded easily to the formalist way of thought of the Greek ruling class. In the Bolshevik October it saw the Great Canon, a supra-historical form which only needed to be copied.

Formalism was never fought within the ranks of the party. The struggle for dialectical materialism as the *Marxist theory of knowledge* never took place. Only much later, outside the territory of the Stalinized CPG, P. Pouliopoulos, drawing the first conclusions about the roots of the theoretical weaknesses of Greek communism, was able to begin a fight for Marxism against the 'schematic stone blocks' which, as he said, filled the heads of Greek communists.

The revolutionary vanguard in Greece was capable of making a correct choice between the Second and Third Internationals. But the labour party of the Greek proletariat, in adhering to the Communist International and in changing its name to CPG, dragged along with it the old bourgeois way of thought, and so it was quickly obliged to submit to Stalinist degeneration.

After the dissolution of liberalism, the CPG became a refuge for the 'implacable' middle-class radicals. But before the middle-class 'radicals' adhered to the CPG, the CPG had adhered to them politically. In 1934 the 6th Plenum of the CC of the party replaced even formally the socialist strategy of the party with bourgeois democratic strategy. The task of the proletariat was moreover the completion of the supposedly half-finished democratic revolution and not the setting up of its own power. The programme of middle-class 'radicalism', which ignored the nature of the imperialist epoch, became the programme of the proletarian party, as D. Glinos became a theoretician of Stalinism from an ideologist of Venizelism.

As the bearer of bourgeois ideas and programme, the CPG consciously led the working class to destruction in the period 1943-1949.

The middle-class radicals, suckled on fear and

hatred of the proletarian revolution, while they threw the king out the door they brought him in again through the window. (Pangalos, Kondylis.) The CPG, influenced by the formalism and anti-theoretical stand of the Greek ruling class, was inoculated with this cowardly and counterfeit radicalism. The Stalinists not only erased every suspicion of socialism from their policies, but also learned to retreat before the most elementary democratic demands. In the summer of 1965, at the moment when the masses spontaneously inundated the streets for 80 days, with the slogan 'down with the monarchy', the EDA removed from its programme the demand for a republic.

Trotskyism in Greece, born and developed in the struggle against Stalinism, in the final analysis was fighting this counterfeit middle-class radicalism whose agents in the workers' movement were the Stalinists.

During the fascist occupation the Trotskyist movement underwent severe trials. Its best and most implacable cadres were annihilated by the fascists and Stalinists. Pabloism, which later easily dominated because of these catastrophes, represented the negation of the whole bloody tradition of battles against middle-class radicalism for the political independence of the working class and the socialist orientation of its struggle.

But the struggle against Stalinism must above all be a struggle for Marxism, against formalism and against its antipodes, activism and enmity towards theory.

Stalinism, having dominated on the basis of the defeats of the working-class movement which it provoked before the war and after in the civil war, is torn asunder today by the deepest crisis which reflects the crisis of capitalism itself. The class struggle in the present period, being a life and death conflict and not a customary opposition of material interests, does not permit the Stalinists to play their treacherous role without coming into sharp opposition with the working class and being smashed into a thousand pieces. The split in the CPG has behind it this deep cause. For this very reason no power can re-establish its old cohesion.

In defence of the capitalist system in the moments of its greatest death agony, Stalinism moves in an orbit falling completely into line with the bourgeoisie in every country. This tendency, originally expressed in the CPG by Apostolou, and later by Partsalidis, Drakopoulos, Brillakis and Theodorakis, was manifested after the dictatorship in an open split.

This right-wing faction, proclaiming its independence from Moscow and equality among the Communist Parties, covered up its real intentions which were unlimited submission to the needs of the local bourgeoisie and of imperialism. Already Theodorakis, as the representative of the Bureau of the Interior, has stated: 'We are determined to remain in the western camp'. Before the coup, at the 1st Congress of the Lambrakis Youth, Theodorakis asked for organizational dissolution into the Centre Union—EDIN youth movement. Now, via the Patriotic Front, they have dissolved themselves politically into the camp of the bourgeoisie. To be certain, this dissolution has its

limits and cannot proceed beyond the point which allows them to exert their influence on the working class.

Originally the Partsalidis faction with the deceptive slogan of 'renovation' cheated a whole group of fighters. Parallel to this, in criticizing from a liberal standpoint the organizational monolithism of the CPG, they covered up the fact that this was nothing but the consequence of the Stalinist political regime. Within their ranks they unhesitatingly strangled every left-wing criticism. Their real face was not long in revealing itself from every standpoint. Whatever healthy elements they had disappeared. What remained was mainly the middle-class intelligentsia which accumulated on the 'left' especially after the civil war. Thus the fact that the only possible renovation for the Greek workers' movement is the building of a new revolutionary party was verified.

The right-wing Partsalidis faction must be fought as a faction totally enslaved to the needs of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism. Naturally, the Partsalidists do not have a monopoly on this enslavement. Their policies are none other than the policies of the Kollyiannis faction, drawn out to their last consequence.

Smashed to bits and in general ill-repute, Stalinism nevertheless remains the main opponent of Marxism within the working-class movement. The working class has learned to be suspicious of Stalinism, but has not consciously surpassed it. Not only because Stalinism has longstanding historical ties with the working-class movement, but mainly because as a reflection of bourgeois ideas its base is reproduced continually on a mass scale from the very conditions of bourgeois rule. Thus Stalinism cannot be surpassed except in the conscious struggle for Marxism and the measure of the accomplishment of this task is the building of the revolutionary party.

The Pabloite revisionists and Kastritis of our former minority, setting out from the fact of the crisis and degeneration of Stalinism, were in a hurry to write its obituary and thus to deny the vital significance of continuing the struggle against it for building the revolutionary party. This sophistic conception of Stalinism, the banner of all the Greek centrist groups today, comes at a time when the Stalinists are determined to advance to the biggest and most catastrophic betrayals in their history.

While imperialism is preparing for its hardest blows against the working class, the Stalinists participate in this preparation, undertaking to pull the chestnuts out of the fire in every corner of the world: in Vietnam, the Middle East, in Cyprus, everywhere. Even in the American presidential election, Moscow has openly supported the candidacy of Nixon. After the visits of the latter to Peking and Moscow, Stalinist treachery has advanced to a new level.

In Greece these new treacherous policies are going to be expressed with an increasingly more open acceptance of the dictatorial regime. Economic and democratic demands are put forward by the Stalinists, not as means towards a general mobilization for the overthrow of the junta, but

in the spirit of dressing it up.

As the masses are now moving to acts of open opposition to the regime, Trotskyists must intensify and not weaken in any way their struggle against Stalinism.

Building the revolutionary party in Greece can only mean building the section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The CIPG (Pabloite) has positively been transformed into a centrist organ for the liquidation of Trotskyism into Stalinism and the various middle-class groups.

The first attempts to liquidate Trotskyism appeared via the policy of 'entrism'. According to Pablo, the post-war working class could not take a single step without bureaucratic crutches. The Communist Parties which had a mass base at their disposal (one such party was the CPG) could, under the pressure of the masses, go towards the left and play a centrist role, leading the working class in the struggle for power. The task of the Trotskyists was, according to Pablo, the strategy of 'entrism', that is, liquidation into the Communist Parties to aid their leftward differentiation.

In Greece 'entrism' was launched as a tactic for building the independent party: the short cut. But what this policy represented and what the CIPG itself represented could be assessed only from an international viewpoint. Within the framework of what Pabloism represented as an international current. In the final analysis it had to be assessed from the standpoint of the method behind the policy of 'entrism'.

The 'riddles' for the CIPG were solved in 1965. The Pabloites had created strong factions in all the local branches of the Lambrakis Youth. When the July crisis broke out, this youth came into flagrant opposition with its conservative Stalinist leadership. The mass expulsions and departures began. If anyone wanted to create an independent organization, this was the most favourable moment. But the Lambrakis Youth became emaciated and the Pabloites stayed where they were, the most faithful water-carriers of the Stalinist leadership.

At this point the nature of the CIPG became clear. Their 'entrism' was not the way to building an independent leadership but a way to dissolving it.

At this stage, every hesitation to take up in Greece the struggle of the International Committee against Pabloite revisionism was equivalent to a rejection of the task of defending the foundations of the Fourth International and the whole revolutionary tradition of the movement.

After the coup, the Pabloites went even further. The strategy of the Popular Front (Democratic Committees of Resistance—DCR) came to replace the strategy of 'entrism'. Bombs became their tactics, their flag the blue and white.

Kastritis of our former minority again became their opposition. Under conditions where the working class was united behind its Stalinist leadership, he counterposed the United Class Front to the Pabloite 'entrism'. To their DCR again he counterposed the class front. The front

also became the title of his 'organization' for everyday use. Such an opposition makes the party itself superfluous.

In both cases, the 'fronts' come first, while the revolutionary party comes second and tired out. But in every case this means transferring the struggle against Stalinism for Marxism to secondary importance.

The Pabloites' popular front policy and their bombing tactics are a continuation and a consequence of a super-reactionary assessment of the April dictatorship which is based on Mandel's theory of 'neo-capitalism' and presupposes the total rejection of Marxism.

In the April dictatorship the Pabloites discern a progressive historical character. For us—they say—'the historical role of the dictatorship was the accomplishment of the social "progress", the realization by force, even within the bourgeoisie itself, of industrialization and also of the unification of foreign and Greek capital, Greece's entry into the world market of commodities and capital.' ('Apology of a dictatorship—Apology of a resistance'—published in the newspaper *Breche*, of the Swiss section of the United Secretariat, May 1972).

Ascribing a progressive historical role to the April dictatorship—something even the worst Stalinists did not dare to do—this can be done only by a movement which has long since passed into the service of the bourgeoisie. Behind such a characterization of the dictatorship one can easily discern Mandel's theory of 'neo-capitalism'. Under its prism a military dictatorship and a monopolist policy dictated by the death agony of capitalism are transformed into a new . . . industrial revolution, the dictators' gang into a new Restoration movement, Constantine into a modern Othon, Pattakos into a Makroyiannis, modern Othon, Pattakos into a Makroyiannis, the black colonels into black horsemen, the coup into a revolution, reaction into progress. And finally, the historic necessity of socialism into a question of moral order.

On the basis of such a conception of the dictatorship and of capitalism, the proletariat, as the only revolutionary class, as well as the proletarian methods of struggle, are evaded. Instead of a revolutionary movement, a movement of middle-class protest is built. Instead of being defended, Marxism is fought. The working class is betrayed.

Only one relationship is possible between Trotskyism and Pabloism: conflict! And this conflict takes on a more decisive importance for the building of the revolutionary party as Pabloism, covered by 'left' phrases and references to the names of Lenin and Trotsky, the moment the hereditary Stalinist leadership collapses, comes to sow a new confusion and to play the role of the left prop of Stalinism by putting barriers in the path of the working class towards Marxism.

For the first time in the history of the Greek working-class movement very favourable conditions have been created for building the revolutionary party in the struggle to smash Stalin-

ism and Pabloite revisionism through the struggles of the working class.

The manifestations of the crisis of capitalism in Greece are immediate and explosive, no less than anywhere else. The dependence of the Greek bourgeoisie on the USA and the dollar was a factor of relative political stability as long as the international role of the dollar was to give the monetary basis to an inflationary policy of imperialism. But after Nixon's measures, what resembled a benediction is now revealed as a curse. The drachma, tied to the dollar, is collapsing along with it. For a country whose exports represent only 25 per cent of imports, this is not an advantage, but sharpens even more the problems of the bourgeoisie.

The prices of imported goods, of which 65 per cent come from W. Europe, are now much higher and continue on their upward path. The junta ascribes the rise in the cost of living to 'frauds' and 'speculators'. But speculation is created from its very attempts to conserve the level of prices with police price control measures.

Because of the geographical position of the country and certain historical coincidences, the Greek bourgeoisie is forced to share the orientations of European, and especially British, imperialism. But having been forced since 1947 to place itself under American domination, in order to carry out the civil war, now it has found itself between the crushing stones of the competition between America and Europe.

On the other hand; the European imperialists are hesitant and sparing in their help to the Greek bourgeoisie, when the country is governed by a junta which is directly managed by the American CIA.

Under these conditions, the living standards of the masses became suddenly worse during last year. This brought the idea of trade union organization to life again within the working class. Originally a movement spread to free the student organizations from the grip of the junta. The barriers of fear began to be broken down.

The student mobilizations, demonstrations and strikes must not be interpreted narrowly as something that happens simply in the sphere of the student youth. The students found themselves more prepared than the workers, mainly because they are concentrated *en masse* in the schools and universities, but their mobilizations reflect deeper changes which have already taken place in the working masses.

At the present stage there is an urgent need for political and organizational preparation for intervention in the struggles of the masses for their immediate demands. This means preparation for intervention in the legal trade unions. Although they are controlled by the junta, the struggle of the working class for its immediate

demands against the junta, will initially go through such traditional forms.

In the past five years the conditions of illegality inevitably strengthened the political conservatism of the vanguard. In preparation for intervention in the mass struggles of the immediate future, fighting this conservatism has very great importance.

All the national and international conditions have changed. In politics, whatever seemed to be realism yesterday, now becomes conservatism. In our country the youth were the first to show their political and physical courage. In the preparation of the vanguard the most crucial task is to conceive and become conscious of this change.

After five years of dictatorship, during which living standards were forced down, and due to the latest rise in prices, the problems of the working class are so pressing that they cannot wait for the struggle to purge the hirelings of the junta from the organizations. First in some factories and later in institutions of higher learning strikes began led by Strike Committees. In this phase Trotskyists must fight for such Committees, professionally formed, as stable guiding organs in the workers' struggles for their demands and for clearing out the trade union organizations.

Against every attempt by the Stalinists to reduce the movement into protests for dressing up the dictatorship, Trotskyists must fight for leadership against Stalinist treachery through the most elementary struggles of the working class. *Only in these struggles* to win the leadership of the fight for the economic and democratic demands of the working class, for the overthrow of the dictatorship and the setting up of a workers' government with the alliance of the peasants (dictatorship of the proletariat), can Trotskyists free the working class from the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and of its Stalinist agents and draw it together in the revolutionary party. Within this framework, the challenge to the Stalinists (Kolliyiannis faction), directed systematically, 'break from the bourgeoisie, fight for the independent interests of the working class, demand the power with a socialist programme', can play a great educational role.

But above all, emphasis is placed on the need to fill the gap which is a feature of the whole of recent Greek history, the lack of a really Marxist party of the working class. To the degree to which this party is built—and for this today we have all the possibilities in the world—the struggles of the working class acquire a really revolutionary content and the conditions for workers' power are fulfilled, the only power capable of putting an end to today's barbarism.



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Verhindert eine Strauß-Regierung

# WÄHLT SPD!

Der Funke

## Prevent a Strauss Government VOTE SPD

Statement of the political committee of the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter.  
(German Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International)

THE CDU/CSU\* must be defeated in the elections on November 19, 1972. The working class must restore an SPD majority in parliament. This will beat back the plans of the employers who want to bring a CDU/CSU government to power at all costs, in order to discipline the workers, cut wages, and create mass unemployment.

For the first time in the history of the Federal Republic, the parliament has been dissolved and a premature general election has been announced.

The cause lies in the irretrievable end of the economic boom. The coming elections are thus of the greatest importance for the future of millions of workers.

In all the capitalist countries an economic crisis is developing of unprecedented extent. The desperate attempt of the capitalists to defend profits in the struggle against inflation is forcing them to cut wages and crush the working class by mass unemployment.

This is what is concealed behind the call for stability. The struggle of the capitalists to bring a CDU/CSU government to power is a direct part of the class struggle and is their most important preparation for the attacks on the working class.

A few months ago Strauss said that 400,000 unemployed are necessary. Later he attacked the strength of the unions and denounced its socialist tendencies.

The spontaneous wage strikes in the steel and metal industry a few weeks ago and the metal workers' demand in the coming struggle present a continuous threat which the capitalists cannot tolerate a day longer.

Otto Wolf von Amerongen, the president of the German Industrial and Trade Congress, demanded that the wages movement of the unions be stopped. He is therefore calling for a government which makes no guarantee of full employment.

We warn all workers: a Strauss government after November 19 will differ fundamentally from a CDU/CSU government in the 1950s and 1960s.

In contrast to those years, it will revive the most significant features of the Brüning government on a new level.

Brüning became Chancellor of the Reich at the end of the Weimar Republic, following the overthrow of the last social-democratic Chancellor, Hermann Müller, in March 1930. He passed all the laws against the unions as well as the Enabling Act, and thus began the preparations for the dictatorship of the ruling class through Hitler.

The capitalists want to force the working class back to the conditions of the 1930s. In all countries they are starting to abandon bourgeois-parliamentarian forms of rule and prepare their political dictatorship against the working class.

The primary and most urgent task which faces the working class today is to prevent a CDU/CSU government. This requires a clear class decision:

### VOTE SPD!

Despite this important decision to vote for the social democrats on November 19, we must march separately from Brandt in the election campaign. Brandt is not prepared to mobilize the

working class against a Strauss government.

In the April Days, thousands of workers succeeded in preventing a Strauss coup in a political struggle. But Brandt then called on the CDU/CSU to co-operate in combating the political radicalization.

In the disguise of a witch-hunt against a few petty-bourgeois terrorists, he enlarged the Federal Border Guard to form an army of civil war, introduced imprisonment without trial, and increased the expenditure of the Federal Criminal Office from DM22 million to DM122 million.

These measures in 'internal security' are powerful weapons of the capitalists, aimed directly at the working class.

It was this betrayal of Social Democracy alone, which enabled the CDU/CSU to force new elections.

Brandt is a handyman of the capitalists and is trying in the election campaign to find support on the basis of nationalist and anti-working-class emotions. His role is to hold back and disarm the working-class movement until the bourgeoisie is ready for huge attacks.

This is why Strauss and the capitalists are not after Brandt, but after the workers.

The task of settling accounts with Brandt can never be left to Strauss and his supporters, but must be done by the working class. This requires the struggle for socialist policies which defend the interests of the workers unconditionally.

All factories threatened with sackings must be expropriated without compensation and pro-

duction put under workers' control.

Likewise, full wages must be paid for short-time work.

These demands can only be fulfilled in the struggle for political power.

Therefore the decision to vote SPD on November 19 must be the first step in the struggle for an independent SPD government, pledged to socialist policies.

The Stalinists of the DKP play an extremely dangerous and reactionary role in these elections because they fraudulently present themselves to the workers as the only party with socialist policies.

Their appeal to vote DKP† splits the undivided battle front of the working class against Strauss, and serves as direct election support for the CDU/CSU.

We appeal to all members of the Communist Party and to all possible DKP voters to reject the false sham socialism of the DKP and to vote SPD.

The struggle for an independent SPD government pledged to socialist policies is the only way to fight Strauss and the attacks of the capitalists.

At the same time, this struggle creates the best conditions to defeat the traitors in the work-

ing-class movement and build a new, revolutionary leadership.

This task can be taken up only by the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter and the SJB, the German section of the Fourth International.

● *No return to Weimar*

● *Prevent a Strauss government  
Vote SPD*

● *Build the BSA and the SJB  
27.10.72*

\* *Christian Democratic Union/  
Christian Social Union; the  
right-wing alliance in the Ger-  
man Federal Republic elections.*

† *German Communist Party.*

# IN DEFENCE OF TROTSKYISM

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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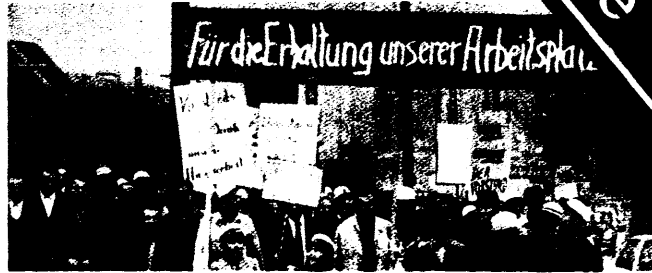
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Der Funke

Vertreter des Finanzkapitals und der Wirtschaft fordern von der neuen Regierung Abben von Subventionen, Steuererhöhungen und eine "maßvolle" Lohnpolitik. Ludwig Poullain, Vorstandsvorsitzender der Westdeutschen Landesbank fordert 10 % Konjunkturzuschlag, unbefristet und nicht rückzahlbar. Das gleiche fordert der ehemalige Wirtschaftsminister und gute Freund von Ludwig Erhard, Karl Schiller, sowie die Anwendung des Stabilitätsgesetzes; Lohnerhöhungen über 8 % sollen durch entsprechende Steuererhöhungen rückgängig gemacht werden. Bereits bei den ÖTV-Tarifverhandlungen soll nicht nachgegeben werden. Von der neuen Regierung dürften keine Reformversprechungen gemacht werden, da diese nicht bezahlt werden könnten, erklärte Fritz Conzen, Präsident der Hauptgemeinschaft des Deutschen Einzelhandels. Der Präsident des Zentralverbandes des deutschen Baugewerbes, Fritz Hackert, fordert die Unternehmer auf, die "soziale Marktwirtschaft" zu verteidigen.

Der Stabilitätsauf der Kapitalisten bedeutet die Rücknahme aller der Arbeitervorteile seit dem 2. Weltkrieg

Dies ist der Beginn, gewerkschaftliche und politische Rechte der Arbeiterklasse zu zerstören. Das Ziel ist die



'Der Funke', November 15, 1972

## 10 per cent Market Tax on Incomes

REPRESENTATIVES of Finance Capital and the Economy are demanding that the government axe subsidies, raise taxes, and adopt a 'sober' wage policy. Ludwig Poullain, President of the board of directors of the West German Landesbank is demanding a 10 per cent unrepayable market surtax on incomes for an indefinite period of time. Karl Schiller, ex-minister of the Economy and a good friend of Ludwig Erhard, is demanding the same, as well as the application of the Stability Act: wage increases of over 8 per cent to be annulled by a corresponding rise in taxes.

There is to be no giving way in the coming wage negotiations of the union of public employees and transport workers. As Fritz Conzen, President of the leading association of German retailers explained, no reform promises can be made by the new government because they cannot be financed. The President of the central association of the German building trade, Fritz Hackert, called on the employers to defend the 'social market economy'.

The capitalists' call for stability means the withdrawal of all the concessions made to the working class since World War II. The capitalists want to fill the gap in the treasury, a result of inflation, by tax increases and an unrepayable market surtax on incomes.

Their demand to put an end to the Brandt government means disciplining the unions and cutting wages in all the coming wage struggles. The political

representative of big capital, Strauss, has attacked the unions several times.

This is the beginning of the destruction of union rights and political rights of the working class. The aim is to create mass unemployment.

All these attacks are not a manifestation of a crisis in German capitalism, but the effects of the international crisis of capitalism on Germany. The trade war between the USA and the EEC, which was initiated by the destruction of the world currency system, has now reached a stage in which the battle for sources of raw materials and for markets is waged on a political level.

The attempt of the capitalists to create a government of no compromise with the working class is dictated by the intensification of the international crisis of capitalism.

Owing to the inflation and the reconstruction of the capitalist economy, the post-war period was characterized by wage concessions to the working class.

Nixon's removal of the gold backing for the dollar a year ago destroyed the world currency system which had existed since World War II and put an end to compromises with the working class.

Faced with shrinking profits, capitalists all over the world are losing faith in production and are trying to derive as much profit as possible from the crisis.

Despite the fear that they are irreconcilable adversaries economically, the capitalists are united in their determination to squeeze profits from the working

class and to act together.

Last year Nixon carried out a so-called wages and prices freeze. This brought the American working class wage cuts, while prices soared.

The Heath government in England recently introduced a wages and prices freeze and again announced their intention of seeking a confrontation with the working class as they did with the anti-strike Act, parts of which they have applied.

As a result of the economic crisis, the capitalist class consciously change their form of rule in the direction of Bonapartism and fascism, as can be seen in all capitalist countries.

With Strauss in power, the state apparatus will be strengthened and preparations made for civil war.

The ruling class knows that the working class will not voluntarily part with its gains. The measures they have announced in Germany show their determination to attack the working class.

Two social camps confront each other: the working class, already entering the defensive battle, and the bourgeoisie, which must get its profits from the only force which creates value—the working class.

Thus the bourgeoisie is consciously striving for a military-police dictatorship which puts the rule of the state bureaucracy above the property owners and propertyless, a Bonapartist regime.

The working class has the task of bringing down a Strauss government by a general strike and thus defeating the plans of the capitalists.

The enormous pressure which the capitalists bring to bear politically will be felt equally by a social-democratic government. A social-democratic government too will go far to the right. Brandt will give way to the pressure of the capitalists, as he has done already in collaborating with the CDU/CSU after the vote of no confidence on April 27.

Therefore the main task is the struggle for socialist policies and for an independent SPD government (i.e., no coalition) which carries them out.

---

### Defend the post war gains

Not an inch may be removed from living standards. Full wage increases in the tariff struggles. No tax increases, no market surtax.

### No job may be sacrificed

No sackings through mergers and rationalization. All factories threatened with closure must be expropriated without compensation and put under workers control.

### Against inflation—automatic wage rises according to price rises

The capitalists want to deceive the working class about their intentions by an enormous propaganda campaign. They are defending their bankrupt profit system with advertisements such as, 'Don't believe anyone over 130: Karl Marx'. In the boom period the capitalists had no need to make such campaigns to defend the 'order of the market economy', but during the crisis this is part of the living class struggle.

Let no worker be deceived by the lackeys of these capitalist liars. These are the bureaucrats

who say there is no crisis, that this is only deliberately pessimistic talk of the capitalists. They help the capitalists deceive the working class and do not really fight Strauss.

Thus we reject firmly the DKP which fights Strauss verbally but supports him in its actions. They do this by splitting the votes of the workers by standing in the elections and denying that the danger of Strauss is a result of the capitalist crisis.

Thus we condemn the attempts of the chairman of the DGB (German league of unions), Vetter, to make peace with the CDU by saying that there is a difference between Strauss and Barzel, and by offering the employers 'summit talks' in the wage negotiations in order to bridge the 'gap' between the negotiating parties. This familiarity is the beginning of the sell-out.—No collaboration with the capitalist class, neither by the SPD, nor by the unions.

Every compromise weakens the working class in the coming struggle.

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BULLETIN INTERNATIONAL SERIES



## BREAK WITH CENTRISM!

# Ein Sieg der Arbeiterklasse

Der Funke

DAS Wahlergebnis am 19. Dezember 1972 markiert den Beginn einer völlig veränderten Klassensituation.

Mit der Wahl der SPD zur stärksten Fraktion des Bundestags hat die Arbeiterklasse die reaktionären Pläne der Kapitalisten, vertreten durch Strauß und Barzel, zurückgeschlagen.

Dieser Sieg der Arbeiterklasse ist von historischer Bedeutung. Das Klassenbewußtsein der Arbeiterklasse und das Vertrauen in ihre Stärke, die Kapitalisten besiegen zu können, ist enorm gestiegen. Gestärkt aus der Boomperiode hat die Arbeiterklasse das Vertrauen, daß sie das, wofür sie kämpft auch erreichen kann.

Aber verbunden mit dieser Wahl ist ein tiefer Widerspruch. Die internationale Krise des Kapitalismus zwingt die Arbeiterklasse



## A victory of the working class

THE RESULT of the general election on November 19, 1972 marks the beginning of a class-situation which has changed completely.

By making the SPD the strongest party in the Federal Parliament the working class has thwarted the reactionary plans of the capitalists represented by Strauss and Barzel.

This victory of the working class is of historical importance. The class-consciousness of the working class and its confidence in its strength to defeat the capitalists has grown enormously. Strengthened during the boom period the working class is confident that it can get what it is fighting for.

But there is also a deep contradiction connected with this election. The international crisis of the capitalist system does not allow a retreat before the demands of the working class. The revaluation of the mark has much worsened the export conditions of the German economy. The war of the US against the Common Market, and the conditions imposed upon the imports to the US by Nixon, are continuously sharpening up the situation on the world market. The capitalists try to keep up their profits by an attack on wages, by restricting production and by investing in foreign countries. Thus an enormous contradiction exists between the expectations of the working class and the capitalist crisis.

Already during the election campaigns and immediately after the victory of the Social Demo-

crats the capitalists dictated the terms for the programme of the government:

1. After the election the 'concerted action' (pay board) has to be called immediately to work out guide lines for wages.

2. If necessary wages have to be lowered by the pressure of unemployment through applying the 'stability law' and by giving the Bundesbank the right to deflationary measures.

3. Reforms must not be introduced.

4. There ought to be tax increases on wages and on top of that a 100 per cent addition to the wage tax is being considered, which will not be repaid.

5. Measures of trade war have to be taken for instance by applying the law for foreign trade.

Since the capitalists did not succeed in bringing Strauss to power they put as much pressure on the SPD as they could. They will put emphasis on their political demands by economic measures—from price increases to redundancies. Thus they want to enforce wage cuts in the present pay negotiations in the engineering industry, to bring down the wages of all workers.

Because of these pressures the Brandt government will go very much to the right.

The Free Democrats (FDP) will play a special role in this government by enforcing capitalist policies. They went into the elections with the slogan that they were the guarantee that this government would not become a socialist one. Genscher, hitherto Minister of the Interior, who brought in the measures for 'internal security', again gave evidence of his hostility to the working class. In a discussion on TV before the elections he declared that he supported a special additional wage tax, which would not be refunded.

The demand of the FDP to get the Ministry of Economics is in line with the interest of the capitalists to impose a course which is hostile to the workers.

Brandt does not oppose the demands of the capitalists. On the contrary, he is prepared for all sorts of collaboration. He even offered his co-operation to the CDU/CSU, which in no way abandons its aim to topple the Social Democrats.

This can only mean that Brandt is prepared to meet the demands of the capitalists.

For Brandt is a reformist and thus he places the preservation of capitalism before the interests of the working class. He starts from the necessities of the capitalist market economy and therefore has nothing to put against the programme of action of the capitalists.

This is a great danger for the working class, for the capitalists very consciously will take advantage of the weakness and the readiness for compromise of the

leadership, to inflict a defeat on the working class.

This completely changed situation puts new tasks in front of the working class. It must reject every attack of the capitalists. Every retreat, every compromise conditionally strengthens the employers and will result immediately in new and bigger attacks on the working class.

It is necessary that all collaboration with the capitalists ends. The working class must force the SPD to throw the FDP out of the government. An exclusively SPD government must be formed resting on the workers mobilized

by the trade unions, which will carry out a socialist programme against the capitalist crisis.

**All the gains of the post-war period must be defended**

Boycott the 'concerted action' (pay board)

No stability pact

Full wage rises

No tax increases or special additional taxes

Full pay for short-time work.

**Not a single job must be given up**

No sackings

All factories which are threat-

ened by closure must be nationalized without compensation and under workers' control

**Against inflation**

Automatic wage rises corresponding to price increases

**No top level talks between trade unions and employers**

Struggle to defeat the employers

**Workers, watch your leadership!**

Fight for building the League of Socialist Workers as the German section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. It is the only organization organizing the struggle to realize this programme.

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rationale sucht weder, noch erfindet sie Atmehemittel. Sie basiert vollständig auf dem Marxismus als der einz-

... Anhängern und ... mit Torres selbst zu verhandeln. Das

# Ein Schlag ins Gesicht

## Noch einmal: Warum wil-SPD gewählt haben

MIT dem Wahlergebnis hat die Arbeiterklasse den Revisionisten und Stalinisten, die entweder zur Wahl der DKP oder zum Wahlboykott aufrufen, eine saftige Ohrfeige versetzt. Sie hat den Anschlag der Kapitalisten, Strauß an die Macht zu bringen mit einem arbeiterfeindlichen Programm, durch die Wahl der SPD zurückgeschlagen und sich mit 91 % an der Wahl beteiligt.

Die arrogante kleinbürgerliche Gruppe Spartacus/BL, die sich fälschlicherweise als trotzkistisch bezeichnet, begründete ihre Unterstützung für die DKP mit den Arbeiterforderungen, die diese Partei für den

Alternative zur SPD sei und trägt in die Arbeiterklasse die Illusion, daß die Stalinisten weniger konterrevolutionär als die Sozialdemokraten seien, die "linken" reformistischen Phrasen der DKP, die sie sich erlaubt, weil sie nicht die Führung der Arbeiterklasse in Deutschland ist, werden gegen die reformistischen Phrasen der SPD ausgespielt. Denn nichts als Reformismus sind die 'Arbeiterforderungen' der DKP und ist das 'Arbeiterprogramm' der Spartacus/BL

Beide gehen von einer falschen und oberflächlichen Einschätzung der Epoche aus, in der wir leben. Statt in einer Periode der

deren Ebene zusammenzuarbeiten wie dies die DKP tut, heißt die Konzentrierte Aktion nur als eine Bremse für höhere Löhne zu sehen, aber nicht, daß Lohnforderungen heute eine Frage der politischen Macht geworden sind.



# A slap in the face

('Der Funke', No. 20, January 1, 1973)

IN THE general election the working-class has given a slap in the face to the revisionists and Stalinists, who either called to vote for the DKP (Moscow Stalinists) or to boycott the elections.

The arrogant petty-bourgeois group Spartacus/BL, which falsely calls itself Trotskyist, justified its support for the DKP with the 'workers demands' which this party puts up in the elections. It shows a completely un-Marxist method to assess a party only by its programme or its demands.

The Stalinist DKP must be judged by its history and its role in the working class. The DKP is no party whose history starts in 1968, but its social and theoretical roots date back to the degeneration of the first workers state of the world under the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Stalinism is an international phenomenon of the history of defeats and counter-revolution of the working class up to the present day. The programme and 'workers demands' of the DKP show that it represents the interests of the bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the GDR\*. To start from the programme, as the Spartacus/BL group does, means renouncing the necessity of developing Marxist theory. For them Marxism is not the understanding of continuously changing reality through dialectical materialism, but the art of formulating so-called 'workers' demands'.

This method negates the history of Marxism, and thus the teaching of Trotskyism that Stalinism is the main counter-revolutionary force in the working class.

In this way Spartacus/BL arrives at the position of explaining to the working class that the DKP is an alternative to the SPD and spreads the illusion in the working class that the Stalinists are less counter-revolutionary than the Social Democrats. The 'left' reformist phraseology the DKP allows itself, because it is not the leadership of the German working class, is being played off against the reformist talk of the SPD. For the 'workers demands' of the DKP and the 'workers programme' of Spartacus/BL are both nothing but reformism.

They both start from a superficial and wrong analysis of the epoch we are living in. Instead of seeing it as a period of capitalist decay in which the world crisis of capitalism has intensified to a degree that the class relations set up after World War II, which were characterized by a compromise between the classes, have turned into their opposite, and the bourgeoisie consciously is changing its forms of rule, Spartacus/BL and the DKP start from a minor recession and from the conception that the crisis of capitalism is continuously deepening and the bourgeoisie is on the offensive while fundamentally everything goes in the old way. They both start from the weakness of the working class and not from the fact that today after the boom period the working class is stronger than ever in its history.

The 'workers' demands' of the DKP, e.g. the demand for a reduction of taxes for workers or the call to leave the 'pay board' are completely reformist. To talk of tax reductions at a time when the capitalists are

preparing to increase them because of the financial crisis of the state does not mean to fight for a defence of the workers' gains after World War II but to spread illusions about the possibility of reforms within the framework of the capitalist system. To call for leaving the 'pay board' and at the same time work together with the bourgeoisie and their political representatives on all other levels, as the DKP does, means that they see the pay board's action only as a brake on higher wages, but not that wage demands today are a question of political power.

Because they start from the phraseology of the Stalinists and not from a Marxist analysis, Spartacus/BL is led to assume that in the DKP there are large sections of disillusioned SPD workers who have given up trying to put pressure on the reformists of the SPD and now try pressure on the DKP.

So Spartacus/BL wrote before the elections: 'Precisely in the present situation, when not only DKP workers sharply confront the SPD, but also old supporters of the SPD turn away from the Social Democrats in disappointment, the DKP becomes the meeting place for many advanced workers. To vote for the DKP in the present general election for them is a possibility to establish their break with the bourgeois parties and to vote for clear workers demands.'

In these elections the Spartacus/BL group in vain has done its best to persuade workers to change from the Social Democrats to the DKP with their slogan 'Vote DKP.'



The reformist 'workers programme' of the Spartacus/BL group starts from the possibility that capitalism can fulfil many reformist demands, e.g. DM1,000 net minimum wage, six weeks minimum holidays, four-day week on full pay etc. Instead of supporting the day-to-day demands of the working class without compromise, and bringing them together with the question of political power, these demands are being 'improved' and nicely formulated. Apparently Spartacus also puts up transitional demands like the cancellation of wage agreements if prices rise more than 3 per cent, or nationalization of the steel and power monopolies. In reality Spartacus/BL does not start from the conception that in the crisis of capitalism each demand of the working class reaches the limits of the capitalist system, and that the working class can defend itself against the crisis *only* through a struggle for socialism by transitional demands by a *socialist* programme. It poses the transitional demands taken from Trotsky's Transitional programme in a reformist way, without raising the question of political power.

The result of the election, which completely contradicts Spartacus/BL's assessment, now forces them to all sorts of twists and turns to justify their policy. So they now declare: 'Millions of trade unionists, who traditionally vote for the SPD, have become more strongly tied to their old leadership in the face of the black threat. But the SPD has also gained from the left.'

And: 'Fear of the openly "worker-hostile" policy of the Union (CDU/CSU) has driven the working masses into the arms of the SPD. Partly because they consider it the "lesser evil", partly because they still have expectations of the SPD.'

So Spartacus/BL had the conception that workers had already consciously gone through the experience with the Social Democrats and would flock to the DKP. They do not accept that the expectations of workers into the SPD are founded on the fact that the SPD is a workers' party with capitalist policies, whose leader even presents himself as an advocate of 'democratic socialism.' In contrast to the working class for Spartacus/BL 'the SPD like the CDU is a party of capital' and therefore they gave out the slogan 'No workers vote for the SPD'.

Contrary to Spartacus/BL the working class understood that the attack of the capitalists in the elections was concentrated on bringing Strauss and the CDU/CSU to power, and this attack could only be fought back by voting for the SPD. 'Vote DKP, but vote it critically' is meant to hide that the DKP cannot be an alternative to the SPD for the working class.

Only the League of Socialist Workers (Section of the IC) and the Socialist Youth League fought consistently in the working class by saying: Stop Strauss, vote SPD! We do not make any principled difference between the counter-revolutionary role of the SPD or DKP, but the only difference is that in Germany the SPD

is the leadership of the working class and not the DKP.

Spartacus/BL ignores that the SPD is the present leadership of the working class, because they are unable to break the working class from the reformists on the foundations of revolutionary and socialist policies. Their struggle against the Social Democrats is moral protest and indignation. That is why they orientate themselves towards the apparatus which uses the most left reformist phrases.

Their criticism of the DKP is this: 'We know that Herbert Mies is not serious when he supports the 35-hour week, for him it is a long-term demand, calculated for the next five to ten years.' Contrary to this the BL are serious . . .

The struggle against SPD is the struggle to break the working class from the influence of the reformists on the basis of revolutionary politics and to win them for the German section of International Committee. This is only possible if the working class is led *consciously* through the experience with the SPD on a struggle for a socialist programme.

The contradiction between the necessity of revolutionary policies to defend the working class against the crisis of capitalism and their reformist leadership must *consciously* be brought to a head in the working class. Therefore our slogan in the elections: 'SPD only (i.e. no coalition) government pledged to socialist policy.'

\* East Germany.

# ITALY'S NEW FASCISTS



The victims of Milan bombing where Gianfranco Bertoli member of fascist group "Ordine Nuovo," injured 40 and killed 1 at top government ceremony.

# ITALY'S NEW FASCISTS



The victims of Milan bombing where Gianfrano Bertoli member of fascist group "Ordine Nuove," injured 40 and killed 1 at top government ceremony.

# ITALY'S NEW FASCISTS

BY STEPHEN JOHNS.

## CREEPING COUP D'ETAT

Italy is on the brink of a crisis which may end in civil war. The ruling class is preparing to destroy the trade unions and the left by force. Already the army, police and many monopolies have declared allegiance to fascism—once more a powerful force in Italian society.

The focus of this dramatic ideological shift is the MSI (Italian Social Movement). Led by Giorgio Almirante, the MSI has 56 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and is the third biggest party in many areas of Italy, notably Sicily and the south.

The MSI is a fascist party. It cannot call itself such, since fascism is 'illegal' in Italy (as are gestures, speeches, uniforms, meetings, etc, of a fascist character, regulations of the para-military police consistently ignore).

In public the MSI maintains a cynical front of ultra-conservative respectability. The duplicity that pervades the movement was best expressed by one supporter who remarked, when Almirante became leader

in 1969: 'For 15 years under Michelini [the old 'conservative' general secretary] the party was dead. We fascists . . . excuse me . . . we of the national right were dead . . . then he came and we all woke up. He was right when he said "less stuffed shirts and more stick".'

Almirante, who plasters his walls with pictures of Il Duce Mussolini, says he is now leader of the 'national right'—*destra nazionale*. In fact MSI members are responsible for bomb attacks, terror against militants and the systematic murder of left-wing activists which generally take place beneath the loving eyes of the police.

To carry out this work, the MSI leaders and deputies control bands of armed 'squadristi'—youth fired by the example of the Black Shirts and the Nazis who are pledged to the physical destruction of communists and socialists. (The connections between the MSI and the fascist terror organizations will be revealed in tomorrow's article.)

But it is the carefully-concocted sobriety that is the most sinister aspect of MSI. This image is a deliberate ploy by the fascists to reassure their

supporters within the ruling Christian Democratic Party, the state and big business. The capitalist class, as always, is a little squeamish over the methods of fascism. It knows it needs the thugs but does not like their activities thrust under its nose.

'Respectability' also provides a convenient cover for the rapid developments towards fascism within the police and the special detachments of the army.

(The support for fascism within industry and the state will also be analysed in a later article.)

The growth of Italian fascism is connected directly to the crisis of imperialism and the chronic malaise that grips capitalism in the Common Market. Investment in Italy is stagnant. Unemployment gets higher every month. The home economy is unable to sustain the lira, which was devalued two days ago. This will mean bankruptcy for many small firms which depend largely on imported raw materials.

The big monopolies, for their part, are keen supporters of the MSI idea of a greater European economic community. This will embrace fascist Spain and the colonels' Greece.

MSI wants to smash all resistance to capitalism by destroying free trade unions and constructing a corporate state on the Hitler-Mussolini model. This is sweet music to industrial giants like Fiat, Pirelli and Montedison.

The story of the Italian fascist revival is a grave warning to British workers. The very forces preparing the reign of terror in Italy are present in the UK and the Common Market. Alarmed by the fear of crisis, they are also baying for action. Italy proves the immediate prospect in Europe is either fascism or socialism.

The origins of the MSI are to be found in the remnants and relics of the Mussolini era. The few fanatical fascists left after the execution of Mussolini in April 1945 regrouped and formed their own party in December 1946.

Many of these men now hold high MSI office.

Almirante himself had to wait until the end of the war before Mussolini rewarded him with a post. The defeated dictator had taken refuge at Salo, by Lake Garda, in the north. From his depleted forces he formed the government of the so-called 'Social Republic'.

The important post of Minister of Culture and Population went to a pro-Nazi, Pavolini Mezzasoma, who appointed in turn a keen fascist journalist called Almirante as the chief of his secretariat. Almirante went to work with gusto. One of his jobs was to call for the execution of partisans and all Italian soldiers who refused to fight the Allied armies.

In May 1944, he issued an order giving all Italians 24 hours to rally to the doomed Salo Republic. He warned partisans and soldiers: 'Those who do not present themselves will be considered outlaws and executed by shooting in the back.'

Almirante always tries to cover up his service of fascism. He was desperate and outraged when this information was posted over wide areas of Italy by socialist councillors a year ago. They called him 'a shooter, massacrer and torturer' of the Italian people. Almirante took them to court and pathetically denied signing the infamous execution order. The judge thought otherwise and found that the words complained of were true.

Other Mussolini men include Pino Romualdi, MSI president and senator in Italy's upper house of parliament. He is an illegitimate son of Mussolini and organised Il Duce's retreat into Switzerland—not very efficiently since Romualdi quickly surrendered to the communist-led partisans.

MSI senator Araldo Di Crollanza was Mussolini's Minister of Public Works and must have had a hand in building the exhibition centre outside Rome—a temple to the fascist mystique—where the MSI held its congress last week.

Many other fossils of the Mussolini era hang around the fringes of the movement. They make appearances at MSI gatherings and play hero to the youthful 'squadristi' who thrill at the days when the jack-boot ruled Italy.

One of these fascist pensioners, General Bergonzoli, in an impromptu address to an enthusiastic crowd last week, re-discovered some of his malevolent spirit as he spoke. His face flushed and his white beard wagged at the spontaneous applause (Bergonzoli looks like Ezra Pound, the poet who broadcast for the fascists in Italy. Pound is an MSI cult figure and his works do a brisk sale at the big meetings).

These connections with the past show that fascism never really died in Italy. After the collapse of Mussolini the Communist Party and the partisans effectively held the power. But under Stalin's orders, the CP held back the masses and worked for a coalition with the reformists and the social democrats.

## TERROR

The coalition made no real effort to destroy the fascist movement. In 1946 secret negotiations took place with fascists and they were allowed to stand for parliament.

In Rome Almirante and Arturo Michelini were elected deputies in 1946 and in Naples Giovanni Roberti, now the leader of the fascist union CISNAL, was returned.

The 1950s and 1960s saw a gradual growth of fascist influence among the middle class. Extra-parliamentary activity included campaigns to secure the release of the few remain-

ing hardcore war criminals and the odd bomb explosion.

One notable development, however, was the formation in the 1950s of several paramilitary fascist groups who boasted their overt allegiance to Nazism and terror tactics. These were later to play an important role in the re-birth of MSI.

Within the MSI there was a split between the general secretary Michelini, who stood for the 'stuffed shirt', ultra-conservative wing, and Almirante, who called for more 'stick' and attracted a big following of new recruits, especially youth.

1968 was the watershed for the MSI. In the elections that year the party won 1,415,000 votes, compared with the CP's 8,500,000. MSI was still a relatively small party, but one with substantial pull among the smaller employers, the middle class and the sub-proletariat of the impoverished south.

But the events of the next four years were dramatic. MSI was transformed from a peripheral, extreme-right tendency to a major political force. A Reuter's dispatch captures the mood of MSI in May 1972, poised on the threshold of its electoral breakthrough.

Over 20,000 fascists had gathered in Rome. A banner draped the platform on which the new Il Duce, Almirante, stood: 'Marxism is the system, death to the system', it proclaimed.

'Fascism and all its trappings are banned under a 1952 law,' Reuter's Rome correspondent wrote, 'but a sprinkling of black shirts could be seen and one youth jubilantly thrust his hand upwards in the fascist salute as Signore Almirante proudly presented the party's latest convert. He is General Giova De Lorenzo.'

Fascism had arrived and the election returns proved it. The MSI doubled its vote to 2,894,000 and won 56 seats in the chamber of deputies and 26 in the senate. In the regions it had 32 deputies and 151 county councillors and 2,953 town councillors. It boasted a membership of 400,000 and 7,560 branches all over Italy.

In the south and Sicily it had formed a pact with the Mafia and the right-wing Christian Democrats. MSI now had an important say

running of half Italy. Almost all the landowners were sworn fascists. Even more important, big business was swinging rapidly behind the fascist movement.

The success of the MSI cannot be simply explained by the attraction its policies obviously had for the capitalist class and frustrated section of the middle class. Back in 1968 support went overwhelmingly to the Christian Democrats—the party officially blessed by the Catholic church.

## UNSTABLE

Deeper forces were at work within the country. Italian capitalism is an extremely shaky institution. It has never been able to survive without massive state support. Public trusts, controlled by the Christian Democrats 'mother' most industry and ensure that private enterprise does not face bankruptcy. This structure was always unstable and became more so as the effects of the post-war boom were dissipated and competition within the EEC grew fierce.

The crisis was made immeasurably worse by an upsurge of militancy by the working class. The years since 1968 were full of continuous class struggle. General Strike followed General Strike and despite the desperate CP Stalinists' policy of confining actions to protest, the working class inflicted serious damage on the monopolies.

In the northern factories a new unity between the immigrant workers from the south and the older industrialized proletariat began to develop. The newcomers, stripped of any Stalinist or reformist ideology, plunged from bitter rural poverty into the most vicious regimes of mass production, rapidly adopted a militant socialist consciousness. Strikes and violent clashes between workers and the military police became daily occurrences. The same tensions led to a wave of student protest.

This was the background to the rise of MSI which adopted the popular cry of order and posed as the force to deal with communism.

There was another significant factor. In Greece the same capitalist crisis (and the same refusal of the Communist

Party to mobilize the masses in political and industrial action) led to the colonels' coup.

All the eyes of the Italian ruling class were turned to Greece. Here was a living example of how to deal with the working class—a point the fascists never failed to drive home. Support was two-way.

Pino Rauti, now an MSI deputy and one of the most hardened fascists in the movement, went to Greece at the invitation of the colonels and was welcomed by Prime Minister Pattakos.

The Greek leader allowed the fascists to organize military training camps on their territory, while in Italy their agent, Constantino Plevris, channeled funds into the MSI and put the Greek pro-fascist student movement at the disposal of the extreme right.

Under the impact of these upheavals the Italian government became a regime of permanent crisis. Government followed government, almost as rapidly as strike followed strike. The Communist Party's refusal to mobilize the working class and campaign for power, strengthened the forces of the right. Amidst the anarchy, the ruling class began to look towards the MSI for salvation.

This was the background to the fascist success at the elections. The situation now is very grave.

Up to a third of the Christian Democrats, backed by Vatican reactionaries, want to see an MSI victory.

There was and is an agreement between these right-wing forces and the fascists over terror. The argument they use is that bomb attacks and other outrages can be blamed on the left and stampede the middle class into accepting a colonels' regime in Italy. One highly-experienced observer in Italy described the policy as one of 'creeping coup d'etat'.

## ALLIANCE

A major example of this conspiracy was the murder of Feltrinelli, the left-wing publisher, at the height of the 1972 election.

Feltrinelli's mutilated body was found by an electricity pylon. The remains of a bomb was found nearby. The suggestion was that Feltrinelli had

been engaged in a left-wing terror attack.

The evidence police offered to support their conclusions was exposed as totally inconsistent by several journalists.

Feltrinelli had been murdered by the fascists, the police, or a combination of both. No one was surprised when, days after the body was discovered, the right-wing Press published lurid stories about two 'Red Brigade' hide-outs discovered in Milan. Police conveniently found Feltrinelli's identity card in one of them.

But in April 1972, more concrete evidence of this alliance between the fascists, the Christian Democrats and particularly the army and police, came to light.

Pictures were published showing Giulio Caradonna, an MSI deputy and leader of the Rome strong-arm squads, before maps of the Rome region of Lazio. Symbols showed troop concentrations and Communist Party strongholds marked with a hammer and sickle. With Caradonna were three of his 'adjutants', Mario Narduzzi, Fernando Philippi and Bernardo De Palma—an ex-graduate of the aeronautical college.

A letter sent to the magazine 'Panorama' explained the plan. It said that a big MSI success in the May 7 elections would lead to demonstrations by the working class. These would be countered with an occupation of key points in Rome by fascist 'commandos'. The army would be held in reserve ready to crush any popular rebellion.

Control of Rome would give the fascists the television network, the ministries and all the centres of power. The letter explained in detail how the operation would take place over three days. Arrests of left-wing politicians and trade union leaders would begin at an early stage. Moreover the NATO command had given an assurance that it would not intervene. For foreign consumption the 'coup' would be presented as a legal operation to restore order.

If election success did not produce the predicted disorder, the plan would change slightly. Squads of fascists would go out attacking trade union leaders and party headquarters to provoke a reaction.

Caradonna's excuse was that the picture was deliberately

taken by the MSI for 'election purposes'. Later it was pointed out that the hammers and sickles and the names of the army and police garrisons clearly visible were hardly consistent with this explanation. He then changed his line. The evidence, he said, was 'photographic' falsification.

The Caradonna affair was concrete evidence that the fascists, the army and police were working to create the conditions for a coup. But more startling revelations were to come.

More incidents that suggested a conspiracy came to light during the summer last year and, in November, Arnaldo Forlani, who held the important post of secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, made a remarkable statement.

He claimed that during the last election Italy had been in grave danger of a right-wing coup.

'This divisive attack,' he continued, 'was prompted by a plot which has substantial financial and organizational roots, arising probably not only from internal, but also from international solidarity.'

'This attempt is not finished. We have in a documented fashion and in the areas of our responsibility that this attempt is still under way,' he added.

The statement caused a public outcry. Forlani was pressed to reveal more, especially about the 'international solidarity'. But he refused. His outburst caused great turmoil within the Christian Democrats, a party split into about nine factions. Originally the party attempted to censor the key phrases, but was forced to admit that Forlani had in fact made the accusations, but only after they were published in the left-wing Press.

It is worth dwelling at length on these conspiracies. They illustrate one important factor in the development towards fascist rule—the connections between the fascist movement and the state and, through the state, the ruling class.

In Italy it would be both foolish and indeed lethal to imagine that fascism must wait for the emergence of some mass black-shirt force. That force is already waiting in the wings within the army, within

the para-military police and the Carabinieri (the armed 'national guard').

That is not to say either that fascism can suddenly 'emerge' as a system from a coup d'etat. A seizure of power by the fascist forces, supported by the forces of law and order, would unquestionably lead to civil war.

All over the north, the home of one of the most militant sections of the European working class, the banner of resistance would be raised. The working class would have to be defeated in battle, their organization destroyed, their leaders murdered before a second Il Duce could rule Italy.

But it is true to say, that while the Communist Party calls on the state to put down the fascists, advanced preparations for a coup are underway.

This is the acute crisis and danger that faces every worker in Italy. As always it expresses itself as a crisis of working-class leadership.

## THE STORM TROOPERS

**Italian fascism has already reaped its first crop of victims. Hundreds of left-wing militants have been murdered or maimed for life by the 'squadristi', the storm troopers of the extreme right.**

The 'squadristi' act under orders from the MSI, Italy's fascist party, which has 56 members of parliament.

Activists in the labour movement court physical attack if they walk round areas like Rome, where the fascists have a strong following, without protection.

No security is offered by the so-called forces of law and order. Most of the police are fascist sympathizers and on occasions have been known to join in the frenzy at outdoor fascist rallies.

The army too is firmly on the side of the extreme right. Paratroopers flaunt their allegiance openly by marching

with the fascists and donning the uniforms of the 'squadristi'.

Theoretically fascism and all its trappings are illegal in Italy. A law of 1952 makes it a crime to organize a fascist party. The use of fascist speeches, uniforms, salutes, principles, emblems etc are also banned by pain of fine or up to ten years' jail.

But the police persistently ignore these regulations. Fascist attacks have been launched right under the eyes of the Carabinieri (the armed 'national guard') and riot police take no steps whatsoever to arrest fascists who salute, wear uniforms and carry emblems at meetings and demonstrations.

Fascists who are wanted in connection with bloody assaults on the left are allowed to wander free. Stefano Delle Chiaie, for example, a founder of the fanatical Avanguardia Nazionale (National Guard), is supposed to be wanted by the authorities, yet he moves openly around Rome with no harassment from the police.

The official MSI line is that they neither approve nor disapprove of the 'squadristi'. In fact the chain of command goes right from the street corners and the dingy bars where the fascist gangs gather to the top of the party.

There are supposed to be two lines in the fascist movement. The fanatics disapprove of the 'respectable' policy of courting the right-wing Christian Democrats (Italy's Tory Party). They stand for 'revolutionary fascism'—the seizure of power by an uprising. Others back MSI leader Giorgio Almirante's drive to gather all the forces of the right behind him ready for power.

But in reality the split is illusory. The MSI leaders know the 'squadristi' are an essential part of the party's armour and appeal. Their more exuberant savagery may sometimes be an embarrassment—but they will always be a part of the movement.

The thugs are called in to guard the big meetings and demonstrations. They were there last week at the 10th MSI congress—sons of the wealthy bourgeoisie, who swaggered round the hall with an exaggerated air of self-importance, and the youth from the working class, driven from the

ranks of the labour movement by years of unemployment and poverty.

The 'squadristi' are fed on fascist literature of the most blatant and rabid kind.

The Congress bookstalls are loaded with the speeches of Hitler, Mussolini, Ezra Pound, the Japanese novelist Mishima, the philosophy of Nietzsche and histories of fascist rebellion—whatever Almirante may say about his movement, he certainly knows what books his supporters like to read.

The mentality of the 'squadristi' is also familiar. They read a magazine called 'Il Borghese' (literally — 'the Bourgeois') edited by MSI ideologue and senator Mario Tedeschi.

'Il Borghese' contains nonsensical but lewd and salacious attacks of figures of the left, intellectuals and artists (except for Eugene Ionesco who gets fulsome praise for attending the fascist's 'Congress of Free Culture'. Ionesco said: 'The revolutions that have been made in the name of justice and freedom have become a living hell.')

Adverts invite the 'squadristi' to buy revolvers, rifles, bugging devices, virility potions and elevator shoes ('Just think, six centimetres... more power, more security, more success').

The magazine reflects the psyche of its readers, their insecurity, paranoia, warped emotional development and a desire to overcome these deficiencies with the mystique of fascism and the idea of being the chosen ones.

The history of the 'squadristi' goes back to the end of the war when a few hardened fascists witnessed the collapse of the Mussolini regime, yet avowed to carry on their activities.

One of the most important of the new 'squadristi' was Pino Rauti an unrepentant fascist.

Rauti is now an MSI deputy who has escaped a jail sentence in connection with the Milan bank bomb outrage which killed 14 people in 1969, because of the law of parliamentary immunity.

He now publishes his own newspaper, 'Presenza' ('Presence') but the start of his political career was less auspicious.

Rauti emerged in 1952 with a pamphlet titled 'Democracy

Here is the Enemy'. His following grew and in 1955 he was able to bring out a monthly magazine.

In the same year he published one of Hitler's Nuremberg speeches, 'Race and Culture of Nazism' (Rauti at the time was a Nazi supporter: he decorated his office with swastikas). 1956 was a seminal year for the emergence of the smaller fascist groups. Several were formed, including Rauti's Ordine Nuovo (New Order—symbol is the axe—see the title head of the series).

A decade later Ordine Nuovo boasted 5,000 brown-shirt members and a weekly magazine called 'Noi Europa'. One of its greatest propaganda drives was towards the army. The movement worshipped a mythical figure called the 'Centurians', a kind of political, fascist soldiers. The ideal was to transform the Italian troops and police into such creatures (in this the movement had considerable success).

## ATTACKS

Other groups formed during the 1950s include Squadrie di Azione Mussolini (Mussolini Action Squad), a secret exclusively terrorist group based in Milan. These fascists specialize in bomb attacks on left-wing premises and murders of militants.

Another important band of terrorists are Avanguardia Nazionale, with an estimated membership of 500 thugs. They are led by Stefano Delle Chiaie, who proclaims his dedication to the struggle against 'ne-illuminationism and the alliance between catholic modernism and socialistic reformism in government'. (The 'illuminati' conspiracy is continual paranoid obsession in fascist movements.)

The other Avanguardia Nazionale leader is the Maquis Felice Genosese, one of the aristocratic fascists now in jail for a bomb attack on a left-wing demonstration.

Outside these two organizations, smaller, freelance groups proliferate—Europe Civilization, Tomorrow's Order, Knights of the Nation, Black Eagles, etc, etc.

The biggest of all however is the MSI's own official movement, Givoane Italia (Young Italy). The Front is a tribute

to the fascism that the MSI publicly disavows. Its members have been involved in bloody attacks on the left and bomb attacks.

They also organize military-style camps in the countryside. One was discovered by Communist Party members in the Zafferana district of Catania, a fascist stronghold.

The camp was held on the land of Coco Francesco, the Christian Democratic assessor for Zafferans. The black fascist flag and the Italian tricolour flow from the camp flagpoles. Superimposed on the tricolour was a black fist holding a torch, the symbol of Givoane Italia.

The trees on the site were posted with MSI stickers and a wide range of literature written by party leaders was also found. The 50 youth at the camp were given a crash course in fascism from several instructors, which included the construction of bombs and the 'art' of karate.

There are many other examples of the direct connection between the 'squadristi' and the 'respectable' MSI leaders. It was, in fact, Almirante himself who gave the open door to the strong-arm wing when he became national secretary in 1969.

He was noted as a hard-liner and the 'squadristi' flocked into the party when he became leader. Rauti was one. He led Ordine Nuovo into the MSI claiming: 'We will give a shock to the movement... we will review it to go towards a completely new kind of state based on racist theory of history, without parties.'

(This was not entirely out of tune with MSI ideology. In December 1970 Roumualdi, the party president, had said: 'We believe in the positive side to racial differences and we pledge ourselves to defend the physical and spiritual form of the Arian race.')

Almirante welcomed the newcomers. He called Ordine Nuovo 'the most consistent, the most serious and the most noble', of the section of the 'national right'.

Wherever he went in the May elections Almirante was flanked by a guard of 'squadristi' and on occasions he has encouraged them to violence. In Florence, for example, he told his young followers:



'Our youth must be ready for confrontation with communists. I have already been misunderstood on previous occasions and I want to prevent misunderstanding now. When I talk of confrontation, I mean physical confrontation.'

But the real leaders of the 'squadristi' within the MSI are parliamentary deputies Luigi Turchi and Giulio Caradonna (Rauti has lost some of his support since Graziani, now on trial for forming a fascist group, pulled some of the Ordine Nuovo out of MSI).

Turchi was the man who whipped in the American Italian vote behind Nixon and Caradonna was the centre of the plot by the fascists, army and right-wing Christian Democrats to stage a coup d'etat after the May elections last year.

## HERO

Caradonna (45), is a particularly nasty character. He has close and personal command of the Rome 'squadristi' and gathers a 100-strong body-guard round his person. The youth go to war with this battle cry: 'And we, by the Madonna, are the squadristi of Caradonna'.

He boasts of his strong-arm activities: 'During my intense activities against Bolshevism and the regime I have been imprisoned more than once, undergoing long periods of detention and numerous trials.' Caradonna is no longer in prison, but in the Italian parliament and in army circles he is a hero.

Two eye-witness accounts give testimony to the murderous savagery of these strong-arm squads. One, in April 1970, describes an attack on university students in Catania. The narrator is Giovanni Centamore, who was badly wounded:

*I was standing outside my house with a group of friends in the evening of April 6. It was 8.30 and we were just getting into a car when we were surrounded by a group of about 20 people who started to insult us with phrases like 'dirty communists' and other insults.*

*We tried to ignore the provocation so as not to play their game, and also because there*

*were girls with us. Recognizable in the group were fascist 'Pichiatori' [fighters] Caudullo, Santogati, Ropisarda, Salmeri, Chiarenza, Marnello, Vitalone and Marotta.*

*We had hardly started to get into the car when the fascists took iron bars, hammers and clubs from their jackets. They first began to beat us savagely attacking those of us who had not been able to get into the car, hitting them on the head till they were knocked out. Then they turned on the car in which I and three of my friends were sitting. They broke all the windows and seriously damaged the bodywork.*

*At this point we decided to get out of the car and try to help our friends who were still on the ground. But as soon as one of us put his head out, Caudullo gave him a blow on the head with a club which cut open his forehead.*

*We finally managed to get out of the car and we were followed into the hall of my house and they only stopped when other people arrived on the scene. They fled, leaving several iron bars on the ground.*

The perpetrators of this attack are still at large. The fascists have big support among the police in Catania.

The second incident concerns an attack launched by MSI 'squadristi' in the university faculty of science. Student Giuseppe Lamartina recounts:

*The meeting had just started, when a group of fascists burst into the room and, without being provoked in any way, began to attack us savagely with iron bars, chains and knives. A student and professor Centineo were seriously injured.*

*I went to hospital with a serious head wound. Another student had several knife wounds, and professor Gabriele Centineo had several stab wounds in the head.*

*After receiving these wounds I have suffered for several months from serious disturbances. I can't write, I can't read, I can't stand strong light and I suffer from terrible headaches and a general lassitude.*

The fascists recognized in this attack were Caudullo,

Vicenzo, Francesco Rajsarda and Filippo Fatuzzo. They are still free.

The last case concerns the communist student Roberto Pecoraio. In January 1972 he was the victim of a murder attempt by fascist Salvatore Ardizzone, a member of Ordine Nuovo.

Ardizzone ambushed Pecoraio as he was distributing leaflets and stabbed him nine times. He fled brandishing the bloody knife. Other students caught him, but not before he had wounded one of his pursuers, Vito Lanzafame.

This time the police were forced to act. Both attacker and victim were arrested for causing an affray. But Ardizzone was freed after three months after being charged with causing bodily harm!

These are just a few of the examples of the attacks by fascists. They are carried out systematically all over Italy, but more in the south where the fascists feel secure.

Violence against the left is an essential part of the fascist policy in Italy. There is overwhelming evidence that the police either support or do nothing to halt this pogrom.

But the police are not the only institutions backing the jack boot.

## THE DOORS TO POWER

To be transformed from a sect to a powerful force, fascism needs the backing of big business. Only the monopolies can unlock the doors to political power and finance the campaigns and conspiracies of the extreme right.

Italy's fascist party, the MSI, already commands considerable support among the largest banks and industrialists and its influence spreads out to the army, the police, the state administration and the judiciary.

This following can only be explained against the background of economic crisis in the country.

The 'Italian miracle' ran out of steam around the late 1960s. After two decades of boom, industry slipped into a

malaise from which it has never emerged. Production in 1971 actually fell 2.7 per cent and investment slumped 9 per cent.

The performance during 1972 was no better. Investment is now stagnant despite a record amount of liquid capital held by the banks.

The recession has dealt the small businessmen a mortal blow. Bankruptcies are common-place and the devaluation of the lira and the sudden introduction of the Italian version of Value-Added Tax will make things worse.

Under VAT the small businessman will be forced to declare his true turnover for tax purposes and the practice of deliberately underestimating his level of business, to avoid the bulk of the inland revenue bill, will come to an end.

The giants—companies like the big three, Olivetti, Pirelli and Fiat—also face the future with considerable gloom. Profits are not expected to improve during 1973 and the monopolies face class war in their massive northern plants.

It is on this rich soil of crisis that the fascists prosper.

It is estimated the MSI shares equally with the Christian Democrats the allegiance of the small business community and the trend is ever towards the right.

Particular support comes from the building employers and shopkeepers in the south, where the fascists are most powerful. Traders in Italy must apply each year for a licence and one is granted only after suitable donations to the party chest.

But it is at the top of the industrial ladder that the most significant shift has taken place.

The peculiar structure of the Italian economy has always facilitated political control and influence. Capitalism in Italy has always needed substantial state support to survive. Industry is sheltered by enormous state trusts which pump in funds to guard against crisis and bankruptcy. Only the car industry, food manufacture and rubber are free from state control.

However, one should banish the idea of nationalization, even on the British model. The state trusts are controlled by political groups who have the interests of private enter-

prise engraved on their hearts. The system is more like the ill-fated Industrial Reorganization Corporation which provided millions to stabilize the private shipyards of the Clyde under the last Labour government in Britain.

The difference in Italy is that the politicians who control the trusts demand a return in the form of millions of lira to the party funds.

One executive described the set-up when he recalled a secret political meeting representatives of his company attended.

'All the large corporations in Italy were represented,' he said. 'We were asked to guarantee a huge loan to the party.' Instead his company made an outright gift—and had done with it'.

Another businessman describes the extent of this corruption:

'A company gives to political parties in proportion to the amount it thinks will be useful to its projects.' One big company, he said, 'gives to all the countries major parties. It gives to the communists—so they won't make trouble—and to the neo-fascists [the 'polite' term for MSI] in case they get more powerful'.

Bribery ('bustarella') is in fact institutionalized. Every major executive has a series of envelopes filled with varying amounts of lira tucked away in his desk. If he wants to get a tax concession or win a contract he calls in a 'consultant', and hands him one of the packages. If the 'consultant' shakes his head, a larger packet is brought forth, and so on until the required result is achieved.

## FAVOURS

If the economic crisis is the basis of the fascists' influence in the board room, institutionalized graft and the tradition of political control has certainly smoothed their way to industrial power.

There are three groups that are widely considered to look with special favour to the MSI.

One is a conglomerate controlled by Attilio Monti based on his import-export business. Monti's influence extends into oil and newspapers. He owns 'Journal Italia', 'Resto Del

Carno', all the popular sports journals and 'Il Tempo'.

All these papers have a virulent right-wing line. One of the major contributors to 'Il Tempo' was Pino Rauti, an MSI deputy who was jailed in connection with the fascist bomb outrage that killed 13 people in a Milan bank.

A letter has been published purporting to be a communication from a secret agent to Monti asking for funds to be handed over to the MSI.

Monti is involved with another admirer of the extreme right, the cement king Presenti (his Italia Cementi has a total monopoly of the product).

The two industrialists have formed a pact with Eugenio Cefis, the president of Montecatini Edison, Italy's biggest chemical and textile combine (it recently added pharmaceuticals to its empire by taking over the biggest firm in this sector).

The Montedison affair is an extremely complicated web of financial intrigue.

The company first made headlines over a year ago when its president, Cesare Merzago, resigned after eight months at his post. He had discovered a \$43m secret fund which was used by industrialists who had interests in Montedison for their own purposes—mainly to channel money into parties and newspapers of the right.

The president before Merzago, Giorgio Valerio, was charged with embezzlement of company funds, accounting irregularities and deception of the public. Several other influential Italian industrialists were charged with him.

This scandal led to a re-organization of the company, the third largest in the European chemical industry.

It was at this stage that Monti, Presenti and Cefis formed a group and began buying up shares. With them in the race was Agnelli, head of Fiat and Pirelli, chief of the rubber monopoly of the same name.

The people who suffered most from this game of financial chess were the small investors, led by Giorgio Pisano, a member of the Italian Upper House of parliament for the MSI.

But the clamour from the small men and Pisano has died down, despite the continued

poor performance of the group. Observers believe that money is being channelled into the MSI to buy their silence.

Theoretically the state trusts are now supposed to control the company. But the Minister of State Ferrari Aggradi sent directives to the state trusts involved not to buy more shares from the private sector of Montedison while allowing the private factions to increase their own portfolios. The trusts have also been excluded from some Montedison board meetings.

The third man of the right is the most interesting of all—Michele Sindona—Europe's most secret financier, dubbed the Howard Hughes of Italy.

He was involved in the Montedison manoeuvres in the early stages, but has now pulled out, many millions of lira better off, in favour of investment in America.

Sindona's empire is based on his Liechtenstein holding company, Fasco AG. Through this he controls 51 per cent of Banca Privata Finanziaria.

Another quarter of the bank is owned by Chicago's largest bank, the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company. The head of this outfit is David M. Kennedy, ex-secretary to the US Treasury and now roving US Ambassador in Europe. Branches of Continental Illinois have recently been opened in Greece and Taiwan.

The other quarter stake belongs to Hambros, the establishment British merchant bank.

Sindona owns the largest English-speaking daily in Italy 'The Daily American', which distinguished itself in the May election last year with very favourable coverage for the MSI.

## CONNECTION

Other indications of Sindona's political persuasions are his passionate advocacy of private enterprise—'I fight everyone who is in favour of nationalization. Mediobanca wants to stick the state into everything, and I wanted to keep it out. I fought for my ideas not for money.'

Sindona has close connections with the Vatican and has acted with them in deals that excited the Milan stock ex-

change. His close personal friend is Monsignore Benelli, under secretary of state at the Vatican and leader of the reactionaries who look towards the MSI to arrest the 'progressive' drift in some sections of the Catholic church.

Sindona's secrecy has led to conflicts with the US Securities and Exchange Commission, who investigate ownership and control in industry. A complicated deal once led to a two days suspension of trading for his US interests after a Wall Street Journal investigation.

But Sindona, born in Sicily, makes light of this concern. The Americans had the wrong impression. They were worrying about 'black gold' from 'gangsters', when actually it is 'anonymous' money from highly respectable people, he says.

To Wall Street businessmen he had called together to discuss investment in the US he exclaimed: 'Ridiculous, if European bankers were to tell as much about clients as American banks do they would go to jail.'

But it is not only from finance capital that the extreme right are attracting support. Industrialists are also casting a keen eye in a fascist direction.

Fiat chief Agnelli has recently become extremely concerned about the working class.

'In Italy today,' he said, 'the amount of unproductive and parasitic income has grown at a pathological rate. This is because wages cannot be restrained in a democratic society.'

He continued: 'The employers have two perspectives only, enter a head on collision with the working class or a series of initiatives to eliminate waste.'

Agnelli seems to have gone for the first option. Fiat now recruits workers from the fascist union CISNAL. Letters have come to light which reveal that Fiat chiefs, in asking for CISNAL workers from the south, prefer the ones who have a strong ideological motivation, since many southerners had been quickly absorbed into the labour movement within weeks of work in the factories of the north.

Fiat's latest plan is to go to the south and build factories. But big concentrations, where militancy grows fast, will be avoided.

The fascists are clearly

anchored firmly in the industrial structure of Italy, but this influence is paralleled by their growing influence within the state institutions and the organs of repression.

The pro-fascist attitudes of the police were described in Wednesday's and Thursday's articles. Latest evidence suggests that there is now a deliberate policy on the part of some police authorities to develop fascist influence within the ranks. The Communist Party newspaper 'l'Unita' has for example revealed that recruits to the police and the para-military Carabinieri are being obtained through CISNAL and the MSI.

The danger to the left of this infiltration is made more acute by a new regulation by which police will have the power to arrest anyone acting in a way that may 'indicate' they are liable to cause a breach of the peace.

If they do arrive in court, left-wing militants will get little joy. Judges, all over the world, are a most reactionary group of individuals, but there is evidence that this tendency among Italian judges is a little more pronounced.

Every year judges speak of their attitude to the job at an inaugural ceremony. From this, their political persuasions can be gauged. From the last inaugurations it is estimated that well over half the judges in Italy sympathize with the extreme right. In the south many have come out openly for Destra Nazionale (the National Right—the monarchist movement now officially part of MSI).

Case histories also testify to the bias.

## CIVIL WAR

In the infamous Milan bomb case the anarchist Valpreda was kept in jail for over two years (his 'co-assassin' Pinelli, a rail worker, was less lucky, he 'jumped' from a police skyscraper block).

The judge on the trial, Falco, prolonged Valpreda's internment despite the fact that there was no evidence whatsoever to connect him with the attack. He and the prosecutor Occorsio (brother-in-law of Italian premier Andreotti) also had the hearing moved to Rome, a fascist stronghold.

This broke all custom and practice—crimes in Italy are always heard where they were alleged to have been committed, in this case Milan—the major working-class centre and a stronghold of the left.

If the armed forces too, the fascist command strong support. About 20 high-ranking officers stood as MSI candidates in the parliamentary elections (two admirals, one colonel and three ex-paras stood in the Rome region of Lazio alone).

Influence is particularly well developed in the 'crack' special forces, the paratroopers and the marines—sections of the armed forces that would be used (as they are in Northern Ireland) to fight a civil war against the working class.

Paratroopers march openly with fascists on demonstrations and the ex-paratroopers association, which organizes periodic re-training for its members, is controlled by fascists.

But perhaps the most sinister aspect of the rightward trend in the forces of repression is the apparent fascist influence within the secret and political police.

There have been several attempted coups by the extreme right with army and police support in Italy in the last ten years. One of the earliest was in 1964—prompted by a crisis in the centre-left coalition led by Christian Democrat Aldo Moro.

Head of the Carabinieri, Giovanni De Lorenzo constructed a plan to 'take the initiative' in the case of a national emergency. Over 1,000 names were passed on to the intelligence service SIFAR by Lorenzo. These were of activists in the left wing and trade union movement who were to be rounded up and flown to internment camps in Sardinia if an emergency was declared.

When the economic crisis deepened in May, De Lorenzo sent a personal message to the armed forces and SIFAR officers. A key passage read: 'We are ready to face the future, united and calm, whatever may happen.'

Preparations continued. Detailed orders outlining a plan to occupy the radio and TV studios, the exchanges and the offices of political parties, trade unions and newspapers, were sent out. The plot was aban-

doned only after De Lorenzo had intervened and the Christian Democrats had resisted pressure from the left.

When these plans were revealed in the radical newspaper 'Espresso', De Lorenzo was forced out of office. He joined Destra Nazionale (the monarchist movement, now part of the MSI) and took with him 36,000 files on politicians and trade unionists all over Italy.

De Lorenzo is now an MSI member of parliament, the files are in a Swiss bank and presumably at the disposal of the fascist movement should the need arise—it is as though the head of Britain's security services had defected with all his files to the British fascist movement!

Since the De Lorenzo affair there have been two known attempted coups from the right. In both cases the security services must have been aware of these plans, but nothing was done. One can only conclude that the political police in Italy, passively, or actively back moves towards dictatorship.

There is one final point of importance to be made when considering fascist influence within the Italian ruling class. The MSI's power cannot be viewed simply within the Italian context. Regimes of traditional bourgeois democracy in western Europe are now the exception rather than the rule—Spain, Greece and France have all relinquished this form of capitalist rule—and the contradictions of the Common Market are forcing the other regimes in Europe in the same direction.

These developments are actively supported by the American's through NATO and the CIA. The American's support the Greek junta. It is an open secret in Rome that they would like to see a 'colonels' Italy. The departure of Gino Birindelli, ex-NATO naval chief in the Mediterranean for example drew approval from many American NATO officers.

The development of fascism is in fact a European, indeed, a world phenomena, since the capitalist world is gripped with the same intense economic crisis. This is why the story of Italian fascism has an immediate importance for the British working class.

The series so far has been inevitably one-sided. It would

be perhaps understandable to assume that in the road to power the fascists face no serious obstacle. This would be totally and completely wrong.

Trotsky once said this about similar developments in Germany:

'Fascism is a product of two conditions: a sharp social crisis on the one hand, the revolutionary weakness of the German proletariat on the other. The weakness of the proletariat in itself is made up of two elements: of the particular historic role of Social Democracy . . . and the inability of the Centrist leadership of the Communist Party to unite workers under the banner of revolution.' (Leon Trotsky, 'The Key to the International Situation in Germany 1931-1932', essential reading.)

In Italy (as in France, Britain and Germany), the working class, once mobilized politically, is immeasurably more powerful than the forces the fascists at present command.

In the final analysis the fascist threat in Italy hangs on the one question of working-class leadership.

## THE FASCISTS CAN BE SMASHED

Only once have the new fascists of Italy faced the united strength of the working class and that once they were soundly beaten.

The confrontation took place at Genoa in 1960 where the fascist MSI was holding its annual Congress. The Communist Party leadership called together other parties of the left and a General Strike was launched.

The response from the working class, which led the resistance fight against Mussolini, was immediate and massive. The factories closed and hundreds of thousands of workers streamed into the city. On July 1 the prefect of police called up the trade union

headquarters. 'Call-off the strike,' he said. 'The Congress has been cancelled.'

It was a blow that the fascists remember to this day with hatred and fear. Their punny social forces had been exposed, it had been proved that the human dust they represented could be defeated by class action.

Over a decade has passed since the Genoa days and the situation now is far more grave. The fascists have been nourished by the deliberate and persistent refusal of the ultra-Stalinist leadership of the PCI (Italian Communist Party) to mobilize the working class against fascism.

The contrast between Genoa and Rome last week, when the fascists held their 10th Congress, was stark and revealing. Until two weeks before the fascists met there was no mention of the Congress or any call for mobilization in the two mass communist daily papers.

Eventually, under great pressure from their own rank and file, the Stalinists did organize a protest and a two-hour (!) General Strike in the city. Even this lethargic campaign called forth a huge demonstration of 100,000 workers, youth and large sections of the middle class—this, in Rome, a city dominated by civil servants, not a noted CPI stronghold.

The masses were marched from the Coliseum to Porta San Paola and the monument for the resistance behind the Italian national flag—the Stalinists always pose as the true guardians of the 'Italian nation'—the only other place such antics were observable was at Palazzo Dei Congressi where the MSI also met beneath the shadow of the Italian tricolour.

The Communist Party leaders refuse to rouse the working class against fascism because to do so would wreck their policy of collaboration with the capitalist and petty-bourgeois parties of Italy.

Once mobilized in political action, Italian workers would not confine their attack to the fascists—the campaign would broaden out to include the reactionaries in the Christian Democrat, Liberal and Republican Parties.

This is what the Stalinists fear most. It would jeopardize their policy of subordinating

class interests to that of collaboration with capitalism. Workers would demand their own socialist reforms in place of the Stalinists' cry for a change in the 'structure' of Italian big business.

So the Stalinists continue their insane campaign of calling on 'the state' to put down fascism—insane because 'the state' is now the main sanctuary of the extreme right. And if the fascists did pull off their *coup d'état*, the Stalinists, despite their craven class collaboration, would be among the first to feel the knife.

The words of Rome PCI leader Amendola, spoken to that 100,000-strong demonstration, give some impression of the treachery of Italian Stalinism.

He called, on the 'people of Rome' to defend the constitution. The constitution the working class are supposed to fight for has a clause specifically guarding the right to free enterprise and in fact reflects many fascist influences. Italy's legal code, for example, is substantially the same as that drafted by Mussolini's Minister Alfredo Rocco in 1931.

Amendola continued: 'To the fascists . . . Rome reserves the kind of greeting you give to those suffering from the plague: moral isolation, the door closed in their face, democratic vigilance to shatter at once any attempt at provocation and fights. We demand resolutely of the authorities that they do not offer any cover . . . to these people.'

In fact the fascists found Rome's door wide open. Thanks mainly to the PCI they held a very successful undisturbed conference.

Elsewhere in his address the Stalinist leader went to truly amazing lengths to convince the capitalist state of his good faith. To the forces of repression he said:

' . . . to the Carabinieri and the police which are present in such large numbers, we address the generous appeal of Giuseppe Di Vittorio: brother, sons of the people, it is your duty to defend the Republic and the constitution and fight the enemies of liberty.'

Later the police, fully armed and firing tear-gas repaid Amendola's trust by invading Teveri, Rome's main working-class area. They could not have

been listening to the Stalinist speeches that night!

The kind of policy represented by Amendola speaks for itself. It is no exaggeration to say that the single biggest prop to fascism in Italy— notwithstanding the army, and the police—is Stalinism—because it is this force that confounds and diverts a working-class powerful enough and capable of driving every fascist into the Mediterranean.

There is a long history of Stalinist treachery. It was the CPI which, after the defeat of fascism, helped to restore capitalism in Italy in 1944-1945.

The working class and CPI militants led the resistance. Between the beginning of the fascist collapse, in 1943, and 1946 party membership rose from a few thousand to 1.7 million (membership now stands at 2.5 million).

But the partisans were ordered by the party leadership to relinquish their *de facto* control of the country to the Allied command, then later to the capitalist coalition government.

## DEFEAT

Despite this total lack of leadership an insurrectionary General Strike broke out across Italy in 1948 when there was an assassination attempt against the CPI leader Palmiro Togliatti. Factories were occupied, road blocks set up and the guns came out. The Stalinists took rapid control and within 48 hours the strike was over.

This was a turning point. The defeat of 1948 opened the way to long period in which the employers and their parties could re-establish their rule. The CPI, for its part, began to openly avow a reformist line.

It dropped all demands for the expropriation of capital and abandoned the call for an end to capitalist exploitation (for example Di Vittorio, the leader of the CPI union, said in 1951: 'This formulation makes quite clear the position of the CGIL and the working class: absolute struggle against all forms of super-exploitation, but full support for the increasing development of the productivity of labour, according to the principles which inspire the Labour Plan.')

Under conditions where Italian workers were the lowest paid in Europe, the so-called Italian 'economic miracle' got underway.

The Stalinists began to mouth exactly the same formula as the so-called left of the Christian Democrats. Both wanted a reform of the 'structure' demanding a greater role for the state trusts, which were in fact a fascist development to guard private profits.

But this criminal complicity was severely threatened by the economic crisis which broke in Italy in the late 1960s.

This, on the one hand, led to a wave of industrial unrest and on the other to the growth of fascist influence in the state and industry.

The Stalinist leadership is now caught between these two forces—the stormtroopers of capitalism and the working class.

Trotsky once compared today's situation in Italy to a pyramid with a steel ball resting on the apex. The ball can roll down one side and break the backs of the working class, he argued. Or it can roll down the other and smash capitalism and the ruling class.

To imagine, however, it can remain balanced on the point of the pyramid is Utopia. The Stalinists would like the ball to balance—so they can continue their collaboration. But this is impossible.

What then is the prospect for the Italian working class?

Beyond the Stalinists are various left groups. They are critical of CPI policy, but their polemic often lacks depth. Stalinist treachery is often put down to mistakes, incorrect tactical formulation—rarely is the CPI characterized as a counter-revolutionary force in Italian society.

Many of the left-wing groups proclaim that 'fascism is the state'. This perhaps betrays an overestimation of the fascists' strength and influence. This, as we have seen, is considerable. But mere possession of certain state institutions does not mean fascism.

For fascism to be established, the working class must be defeated in battle, its trade unions destroyed and its leadership imprisoned or murdered. The Italian fascists certainly have this on the agenda, but achieving it is quite another matter.

The forces of repression can also appear more powerful than they are in reality. The Carabinieri and the police look tough with their rifles slung across their backs, their tear-gas, riot shields and clubs. But this force is a poor body of men often recruited from the most desperate sub-proletariat of the south. Its morale and intelligence is low. Under a united attack of the working class, such a force would be in danger of disintegrating.

## RALLY

The fascists therefore could be smashed by the working class which would rally the poor peasantry and the petty bourgeois to their banner. One thing prevents them—Stalinism.

The key question—how to win the 8.5 million workers who vote for the CPI—is often ignored. Instead many seem to prefer hopeless confrontation with the riot police. This may be courageous, but it is also futile.

Only the power of the working class can smash fascism, the police and the army in Italy. But the working class can only be won from Stalinism with a consistent political campaign.

This must be directed against the fascists. By calling for class action against fascism the Stalinist leadership will be exposed. But an essential part of such a programme would be a revolutionary policy demanding expropriation of Italy's decrepit capitalist system under workers' control.

A policy of concrete action against the fascists, the establishment of factory defence committees, workers' anti-fascist brigades, details and plans of fascist concentrations etc, must go in hand with a bitter political battle against Stalinist politics and a campaign for a revolutionary programme.

Time is now desperately short. Italy really does face two prospects—a workers' state, or a *coup d'état* by forces of the extreme right. A *coup*, of course, would not be the end of the matter—it would lead to a civil war, since workers, especially in the north, will have no truck with Mussolini's heirs.

## COUP

But to fight after a *coup* would be to fight having already sustained a serious wound. To anticipate events is far better.

Revolutionary socialists in Italy face a great opportunity. Revolutionary politics and a bitter war against Stalinist policies can rally the working class—many of whom are disaffected, angry or confused over the laggardly policy of the CPI leadership.

Italy, of course, is not Britain. The social predominance of the British working class, its enormous power and organization, do not aid the development of fascism. But much the same economic conditions that cause crisis in Italy, cause crisis in the UK. The British ruling class too must inevitably look in the fascist direction.

There is another factor that British workers must consider. The monopolies of Europe are looking south to areas like Greece and Spain where the working class suffer super-exploitation and where trade unions are organized under pain of imprisonment. The fascists offer the prospect of bringing both these countries into the EEC and adding Italy for good measure.

A civil war in Italy that went in favour of the ruling class would therefore be a blow for the British working class, because it would greatly strengthen the monopolies all over Europe.

The best way the British workers can help their Italian brothers is by preparing politically for their own revolutionary upheaval—by transforming the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party and constructing a Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

This situation in Italy, therefore, is of central importance to the working class of Britain and Europe. The same economic conditions that plague the Italian capitalist class, also plague the British bosses.

They too will have to turn to fascism. The war clouds now gather over Europe—the first field of a giant class battle may be Italy.



**LENIN and TROTSKY**  
**on EUROPE**

# LENIN ON EUROPEAN UNITY

The fight for a Socialist United States of Europe is basic to the revolutionary movement. From the earliest times the Bolsheviks and Lenin campaigned against any 'unity' of Europe on a capitalist basis and condemned any involvement in such a move by the socialist forces as class-collaboration.

Writing in 1915 Lenin described the idea of a United States of Europe under capitalism as 'impossible or reactionary'.

What he meant was that the antagonisms within the capitalist system—now at its highest stage, imperialism—prevented any planned, rational development of the economy of Europe as a whole.

Any 'unity' proposed by the capitalist governments would be a fraud, a desperate act by the weaker capitalist systems of Europe to protect themselves from the rigours of American competition and an alliance by the big monopolies against the working class.

Such a 'unity' came to pass with the Third Reich. Now the capitalist nations of Europe are embarked on yet another attempt to find a concorde.

The British Communist Party's opposition to this latest attempt has nothing whatever to do with the Leninist position.

The CP Stalinists are primarily concerned over the loss of 'what they call our sovereignty, heritage, etc. This is the foulest kind of petty-bourgeois nationalism, profoundly reactionary in character. Presumably if the Common Market did not challenge the insti-

tutions and ethics of British capitalism, the Stalinists would be pleased to join!

In this important article by Lenin published in August 1915, the Marxist approach is clearly outlined.

It begins from the contradiction within imperialism and proceeds to view any alliance of European states as essentially connected with the warlike trade relations that prevail under imperialism. The article can be found in Volume 18 of Lenin's 'Collected Works', Martin Lawrence 1930.

On Monday we publish Trotsky's own brilliant analysis of the development of Europe.

## Manifesto

Number 40 of the 'Sotsial-Demokrat' carried the information that the conference of the sections of our party situated abroad had decided to postpone the question of the 'United States of Europe' slogan pending a press discussion of the economic side of the question.

The debate on this question at our conference assumed a one-sided political character. This was partly due to the fact that the manifesto of the Central Committee directly formulated this slogan as a political one ('the nearest political slogan,' etc.). The document emphasized not only a republican United States of Europe, but it especially mentioned that 'without a revolutionary overthrow of the German, Austrian, and Russian monarchies' this slogan is

senseless and false.

To argue against such an approach to the question while remaining entirely in the field of political analysis, for instance, to argue that this slogan obstructs or weakens the slogan of a socialist revolution, is entirely erroneous. Political changes of a truly democratic nature, especially political revolutions, can in no case and under no circumstances either obstruct or weaken the slogan of a socialist revolution.

On the contrary, they always make it nearer, they widen the basis for it, they draw into the socialist struggle ever new strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletarian masses. On the other hand, political revolutions are inevitable in the course of a socialist revolution, which must not be looked upon as one single act, but must be considered as an epoch, a number of stormy political and economic upheavals, a most sharpened class struggle, civil war, revolutions and counter-revolutions.

But if the United States of Europe slogan, conceived in connection with a revolutionary overthrow of the three most reactionary monarchies of Europe, headed by Russia, is entirely impregnable as a political slogan, there still remains the most important question of its economic content and meaning. From the point of view of the economic conditions of imperialism, i.e., capital export and division of the world between the 'progressive' and 'civilized' colo-



nial powers, the United States of Europe under capitalism is either impossible or reactionary

## Monopolies

Capital has become international and monopolistic. The world has been divided among a handful of great powers, i.e., powers successful in great plunder and in oppression of nations. The four great powers of Europe, England, France, Russia, and Germany, with a population of 250 million to 300 million, with an area of about 7 million square kilometres, possess colonies numbering almost half a billion (494 million to 500 million inhabitants) with an area of 64.6 million square kilometres, i.e. almost half of the globe's surface (153 million square kilometres, barring the Polar region).

Add the three Asiatic states, China, Turkey, and Persia, which are now torn to pieces by the plunderers waging a war for 'freedom,' namely, Japan, Russia, England, and France. In those three Asiatic states, which may be called semi-colonial (in reality they are nine-tenths colonies), there are 360 million inhabitants, and their area is 14.5 million square kilometres (almost one and one-half times the area of the whole of Europe).

Further, England, France and Germany have invested abroad no less than 70,000m roubles. To receive a 'lawful' little profit from this pleasant sum, a profit exceeding 3,000m roubles annually, there are in existence the millionaires' national committees called governments, equipped with armies and navies, 'placing' in the colonies and semi-colonies the sons and brothers of 'Mr. Billion' in the capacity of viceroys, consuls, ambassadors, all kinds of officers, priests and other leeches.

This is how, in the epoch of the highest capitalist development, the plundering of almost a billion of the earth's population by a handful of great powers is organized. No other organization is possible under capitalism. To give up colonies, 'spheres of influence', export of capital? To think so is to come down to the level of a little minister who

preaches to the rich every Sunday about the greatness of Christianity, advising them to give to the poor, if not several billions, at least several hundred roubles yearly.

A United States of Europe under capitalism means an agreement as to the division of colonies. Under capitalism, however, only force is possible as the basis, the principle of division. A billionaire cannot share the 'national income' of a capitalist country with any one otherwise than in proportion to the capital invested (with an extra bonus in addition, so that the largest capital may receive more than its due).

Capitalism is private property in the means of production, and anarchy of production. To preach a 'just' division of income on such a basis is Proudhonism, is thick-headed philistinism. One cannot divide the income otherwise than in proportion to power; and power changes in the course of economic development. Germany after 1871, grew in power three or four times faster than England and France; Japan, about ten times faster than Russia.

To test the real power of a capitalist state, there is, and there can be, no other way than war. War is no contradiction to the foundations of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable development of those foundations. Under capitalism, equal economic progress of the individual concerns, or individual states, is impossible. Under capitalism, no other means for periodically re-establishing destroyed equilibrium are possible outside of crises in industry or of war in politics.

Of course, temporary agreements between capitalists and powers are possible. In this sense the United States of Europe as the result of an agreement between the European capitalists is possible but what kind of an agreement would that be? An agreement jointly to suppress socialism in Europe, jointly to guard colonial booty against Japan and America, which feel slighted by the present division of colonies, and which, for the last half century, have grown infinitely faster than backward monarchist Europe, beginning to rot with age.

In comparison with the United States of America, Europe as a whole signifies economic stagnation. On the present-day economic basis, i.e., under capitalism, the United States of Europe would mean an organization of reaction for thwarting the more rapid development of America. The days when the cause of democracy and socialism was associated with Europe alone have passed forever.

The United States of the World (not of Europe alone) is a state form of national unification and freedom which we connect with socialism; we think of it as becoming a reality only when the full victory of communism will have brought about the total disappearance of any state, including its democratic form. As a separate slogan, however, the United States of the World would hardly be a correct one, first because it coincides with socialism, second, because it could be erroneously interpreted to mean that the victory of socialism in one country is impossible; it could also create misconceptions as to the relations of such a country to others.

Unequal economic and political development is an indispensable law of capitalism. It follows that the victory of socialism is, at the beginning, possible in a few capitalist countries, even in one, taken separately. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized socialist production at home, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attracting the oppressed classes of other countries, raising among them revolts against the exploiting classes and their states.

## Victorious

The political form of a society in which the proletariat is victorious, in which it has overthrown the bourgeoisie, will be a democratic republic, centralizing ever more the forces of the proletariat of a given nation or nations in the struggle against the states that have not yet gone over to socialism. It is impossible to annihilate classes without a dictatorship of the oppressed class, the proletariat. It is impossible freely to unite the nations in

socialism without a more or less prolonged, and stubborn struggle of the socialist republics against the other states.

It is due to such considera-

tions resulting from repeated debates at the conference of the sections of the Revolutionary Social-Democratic Labour Party situated abroad

and after, that the editors of the Central Organ came to the conclusion that the United States of Europe slogan is incorrect.

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# TROTSKY: FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Attempts by the capitalist class to 'unify' Europe are not new. The German ruling class tried twice, the first time under the Kaiser and the second time under fascism.

Between the wars a section of the French bourgeoisie also made a series of diplomatic manoeuvres in 1929 under the direction of Premier Briand.

This almost-forgotten episode was analysed by Trotsky in an important article of which we print extracts below (the original Russian text appeared in 'Bulletin of the Russian Opposition' No 6, October 1929; an English translation was published in 'The Militant', paper of the Socialist Workers' Party of America in the same year. Later it was published in 'The Fourth International', May 1945).

Trotsky brilliantly foresees the development of European 'unity', under the threat of US domination. At one stage he talks of a disruption of the world economic equilibrium in America's favour which will become the main source of crisis—there is no better description of Nixon's decision to take the gold backing from the dollar on August 15, 1971.

Trotsky, like Lenin, also makes it crystal clear that

European unity as attempted by the capitalist class is completely reactionary. Socialists can have nothing whatsoever to do with such plans. On the contrary they must struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe as the only means of saving mankind from collapse, crisis and war.

Only the working class is capable of uniting Europe on this basis. Hence the slogan for a Socialist United States of Europe becomes central to the revolutionary task.

Briand senses the need of improving the historical lot of 350 million Europeans who are the bearers of highest civilization but who find it impossible to live through a single century without a dozen wars and revolutions.

For the sake of pacifying our planet, MacDonald has crossed the Atlantic. On the agenda are the United States of Europe, disarmament, freedom of trade, peace. Capitalist diplomacy everywhere is cooking up a pacifist stew. Peoples of Europe, peoples of the world get out big spoons to swallow it with.

Why all this bother? After all, aren't the socialists in power in the most important countries in Europe, or else

preparing to assume power? Yes, that is just why!

It is already apparent that Briand's plan and MacDonald's plan pursue the 'pacification' of mankind from diametrically-opposite directions. Briand wants to unify Europe as a defensive measure against America. MacDonald wants to earn the gratitude of America by helping her oppress Europe. Two trains are rushing to meet one another in order to save the passengers from—train-wreck.

How to arrange matters so that the unification of Europe is not directed against America, i.e. without changing the relationship of forces to America's disadvantage?

The 'Daily Herald', MacDonald's semi-official organ, September 10, 1929, characterized the idea of the United States of Europe as 'grotesque' and even as a provocation. Should, however, this fantasy be realized, then the United States of Europe would erect a monstrous tariff wall against the USA, so argued MacDonald's semi-official organ, and as a result Great Britain would be caught between two continents as in a vice.

And the 'Daily Herald' then went on to add: How could

one expect aid from America by steering a course toward the unification of Europe? 'To act in this way would be insanity or worse.' One could not speak more plainly.

No one knows just what the United States of Europe is supposed to signify in practice. Stresemann reduced the whole question to a common monetary unit and—postage stamps. That's a bit thin. Briand proposes to 'study' the problem whose content nobody knows.

The basic task of unification must be economic in character, not only in the commercial but also productive sense. It is necessary to have a regime that would eliminate the artificial barriers between European coal and European iron. It is necessary to enable the system of electrification to expand in consonance with natural and economic conditions, and not in accordance with the frontiers of Versailles.

It is necessary to unite Europe's railways into a single system, and so on and so forth *ad infinitum*. All this, in its turn, is inconceivable without the destruction of the ancient Chinese system of custom borders within Europe. This would, in its turn, mean a single, All-European customs union—against America.

There can be no doubt whatever, that if the internal tariff barriers were swept away, capitalist Europe, after a certain period of crises of regroupment and readjustment, would attain a high level on the basis of the new distribution of productive forces. This is just as incontestable as the fact that, given the necessary economic conditions, large-scale enterprises are decisively superior to small ones. But we have yet to hear of small entrepreneurs voluntarily renouncing their businesses for this reason.

To conquer the outlets the big capitalist must first ruin the small one. The situation with states is similar. Tariff barriers are erected precisely because they are profitable and indispensable to one national bourgeoisie to the detriment of another, regardless of the fact that they act to retard the development of economy as a whole.

Since 1923 we have had to conduct a struggle to have the leadership of the Communist International deign, finally, to

take notice of the United States, and to understand that the Anglo-American antagonism constitutes the fundamental line along which world groupings and world conflicts occur. This was considered a heresy as far back as the era of the Fifth World Congress (middle of 1924).

## US role

We were accused of 'over-estimating' the role of America. A special legend was invented to the effect that we had proclaimed an epoch of the disappearance of European capitalist contradictions in the face of the American peril. Ossinsky, Larin and others spoiled not a little paper in order to 'de-throne' the might of America. Radek, in the wake of bourgeois journalists, demonstrated that ahead lies an epoch of Anglo-American collaboration. Temporary, conjunctural, episodic forms assumed by the reciprocal relations have been confused with the essence of the world process.

Gradually, however, America came to be 'recognized' by the official leadership of the Comintern which began to repeat our formulas of yesterday, without forgetting, naturally, to add each time that the Left Opposition overestimates the role of America.

The present stage has once again assumed the form of military-naval 'collaboration' between America and England, and some French newspapers have even expressed fears of an Anglo-Saxon world dictatorship. The United States of course can and probably will utilize the 'collaboration' with England to tighten the reins on Japan and France. But all this will represent phases not toward Anglo-Saxon but American domination of the world, including Great Britain.

In connection with this perspective, the leaders of the Comintern may once again repeat that we are unable to see anything ahead except the triumph of American capitalism. In much the same way, the petty-bourgeois theoreticians of 'Narodnikism' (Russian Populism) used to accuse the pioneer Russian Marxists of failing to see anything ahead except the victory of capitalism. These two accusations are on a par.

When we say that America

is moving toward world domination, it does not at all mean that this domination will be completely realized, nor, all the less so, that after it is realized to one degree or another, it will endure for centuries or even decades.

We are discussing a historical tendency which, in actuality, will be criss-crossed and modified by other historical tendencies. If the capitalist world were able to endure several more decades without revolutionary paroxysms, then these decades would unquestionably witness the uninterrupted growth of American world dictatorship. But the whole point is that this process will inevitably develop its own contradictions which will become coupled with all the other contradictions of the capitalist system. America will force Europe to strive for an ever-increasing rationalization and at the same time will leave Europe an ever-decreasing share of the world market.

This will entail a steady aggravation of the difficulties in Europe. The competition among European states for a share of the world market will inevitably become aggravated. At the same time under the pressure of America, the European states will endeavor to co-ordinate their forces. This is the main source of Briand's programme of the United States of Europe.

But whatever the various stages of the development may be, one thing is clear: **The constant disruption of the world equilibrium in America's favour will become the main source of crises and revolutionary convulsions in Europe throughout the entire coming period.**

Those who hold that European stabilization is assured for decades understand nothing at all of the world situation and will inevitably sink head first in the swamp of reformism.

If this process is approached from across the Atlantic Ocean, i.e. from the standpoint of the fate of USA, then here too the perspectives opened up resemble least of all a blissful capitalist idyll.

The pre-war power of the United States grew on the basis of its internal market, i.e. the dynamic equilibrium between industry and agriculture. In this development the war has produced a sharp

break. The United States exports capital and manufactured goods in ever great volume. The growth of America's world power means that the entire system of American industry and banking—that towering capitalist skyscraper—is resting to an ever-increasing measure on the foundations of world economy.

## Incapable

But this foundation is mined, and the United States itself continues to add more mines to it day by day. By exporting commodities and capital, by building up its navy, by elbowing England aside, by buying up the key enterprises in Europe, by forcing its way into China, etc., American finance capital is digging with its own hands powder and dynamite cellars beneath its own foundation. Where will the fuse be lit? Whether it will be in Asia, Europe or Latin America—or what is most likely in various places at one and the same time—that is a second-rate question.

The whole misfortune is that the incumbent leadership of the Comintern is totally incapable of following all the stages of this gigantic process. It shies away from facts by means of platitudes. Even the pacifist agitation in favour of the United States of Europe has taken it by surprise.

The question of the United States of Europe regarded from the proletarian standpoint was raised by me in September 1914, i.e. at the very beginning of the (last) imperialist war. In the pamphlet, 'The War and the International', the author of these lines sought to demonstrate that the unification of Europe was irrefutably advanced to the forefront by Europe's entire economic development, but that the United States of Europe was conceivable only as the political form of the dictatorship of the European proletariat.

In 1923 when the occupation of the Ruhr once again posed acutely the fundamental problems of European economy (primarily coal and iron ore)

and coincident with them also the problems of the revolution, we succeeded in having the slogan of the United States of Europe officially adopted by the leadership of the Comintern.

But the attitude toward this slogan remained hostile. Not being in a position to reject it, the Comintern leaders regarded it as an abandoned child of 'Trotskyism'. After the collapse of the 1923 German revolution, Europe lived the life of stabilization. The basic revolutionary questions disappeared from the agenda. The slogan of the United States of Europe was forgotten.

It was not included in the programme of the Comintern. Stalin explained this new zig-zag with remarkable profundity: Since we cannot tell the order in which the various countries will accomplish their revolutions, it follows that it is impossible to predict whether the United States of Europe will be necessary.

In other words, this means that it is easier to make a prognosis after the event than before it. As a matter of fact, it is not at all a question of the order in which revolutions will be accomplished. On this score one can only speculate. But this does not relieve the European workers, nor the International as a whole from the necessity of giving a clear answer to the question: How can European economy be snatched from its present state of dispersion and how can the popular masses of Europe be saved from decay and enslavement?

## World scale

The trouble, however, is that the economic ground for the slogan of the United States of Europe overthrows one of the basic ideas of the present Comintern programme, namely: the idea of building socialism in one country.

The essence of our epoch lies in this, that the productive forces have definitely outgrown the framework of the national state and have assumed primarily in America and

Europe partly continental, partly world proportions. The imperialist war grew out of the contradiction between the productive forces and national boundaries. And the Versailles peace which terminated the war has aggravated this contradiction still further. In other words: thanks to the development of the productive forces capitalism has long ago been unable to exist in a single country.

Meanwhile, socialism can and will base itself on far more developed productive forces, otherwise socialism would represent not progress but regression with respect to capitalism. In 1914 I wrote: 'If the problem of socialism were compatible with the framework of a national state, it would thereby become compatible with national defence.' The formula Soviet United States of Europe is precisely the political expression of the idea that socialism is impossible in one country. Socialism cannot of course attain its full development even in the limits of a single continent. The Socialist United States of Europe represents the historical slogan which is a stage on the road to the world socialist federation.

But the communist parties have their hands tied. The living slogan, with a profound historical content, has been expunged from the programme of the Comintern solely in the interests of the struggle against the Opposition. All the more decisively must the Opposition raise this slogan.

In the person of the Opposition the vanguard of the European proletariat tells its present rulers: In order to unify Europe it is first of all necessary to wrest power out of your hands. We will do it. We will unite Europe. We will unite it against the hostile capitalist world. We will turn it into a mighty drillground of militant socialism. We will make it the cornerstone of the World Socialist Federation.

October 4, 1929

# AGAINST THE REPRESSION IN CEYLON

The political trials involving about 14,000 youth who are being held in the so-called 'rehabilitation camps' are now in progress in special law courts in Ceylon.

These camps were specially set up by the bourgeois coalition government when the mass killings and arrests of youth started 18 months ago. The government also recently brought in new statutory laws to set up special judicial procedures for the hearing of these political trials.

These political prisoners were arrested during the abortive uprising in April 1971, led by Janatha Vimukthi Paramura (JVP). This organization, which came into the open in 1968, was mainly composed of university and rural youth who had experienced long periods of unemployment. No doubt these youth could be an invaluable motive force for the socialist revolution if they were trained and organized on the principles of Marxism and the traditions of Bolshevism.

But from the very beginning the JVP opposed this perspective of building and training an alternative leadership in the working class. In fact they condemned the working class

and its traditional organizations, the trade unions, as reformist, and abandoned any fight to transform the workers and their organizations into cadres and organs of revolutionary politics.

They believed in a revolution from the country to the town, believing that the workers in the towns would join the revolution spontaneously as they saw the rural masses fighting. In this way they developed a conception completely hostile to Marxism on the development of revolutionary consciousness in the working class. They showed this hostility towards Marxism concretely when they attempted several times to physically beat the members of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), the Ceylon section of the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), who fought uncompromisingly to build a revolutionary leadership among the workers and peasants on the basis of Marxism.

## Massacre

The crisis-ridden bourgeois coalition government provoked these petty-bourgeois romantic revolutionaries of the JVP to a battle in March 1971 and with the aid of all the centres

of imperialism and Stalinism perpetrated a massacre on the militant youth throughout the country.

The responsibility for these youth who were thrown into a struggle unprepared and isolated, ending up in a blood bath, lies with the Pabliste revisionists of the Unified Secretariat in Ceylon who covered up for the petty-bourgeois politics of the JVP. They encouraged the JVP in their suicidal attempts by their theories about 'natural Marxists', after the example of Castro.

It also must be stated here that the conscious treachery of the Unified Secretariat is unpardonable as it deliberately covered up for Bala Tampoe, the secretary of the Pabliste section in Ceylon. On the one hand he encouraged these youth for blind terrorism and on the other hand maintained close relations and made himself a source of information to the worst reactionaries, like MacNamara, the head of the World Bank, and ex-Nazi Kissinger, West German Minister.

Today these same Pabliste revisionists have abandoned any struggle to defend these youth in the jails. Instead, starting by writing petitions to Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike preaching

about Buddhist principles and appealing to her to pardon futile one-day hunger strikes in the worst tradition of pacifism.

Aided by these policies of the Pabloite revisionists, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) desperately attempt to maintain their counter-revolutionary alliance with the bourgeois party of Mrs Bandaranaike. But the working class of Ceylon, with its powerful trade union organizations, has come forward today to oppose this condition in all its struggles to defend its basic rights. This is the central political issue involved in all the major strikes which have occurred in the last year. The bank employees have shown their

determination not to bow down in front of the government's threats or strike-breaking attempts, by carrying forward their fight for a wage demand now over a period of more than ten weeks.

The International Committee of the Fourth International demands that all the political prisoners in Ceylon be released immediately and all the democratic rights of the workers and peasants be restored.

It believes that these demands can only be met by the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government which will take the political power from the bourgeoisie. The mobilization of the working class and the peasants for this political task can be achieved today by training a new alternative leadership in the work-

ing class and the rural areas, by breaking the grip of the LSSP and the CP reformists who try to tie the workers and peasants to the bourgeoisie. That is why the fight to mobilize the masses to force the LSSP and CP leaders to break from the coalition and fight for their own government has become so vital and urgent today.

Only through this mobilization of the mass movement for its political independence can we train a new leadership.

The RCL, the Ceylon section of the ICFI, fights rigorously against all the revisionist elements who try to divert the workers and peasants from this central political struggle to build an independent Marxist leadership in Ceylon.

October 30, 1972

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# A NEW STAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS

**In every capitalist country, the struggle of the working class now goes forward in conditions where the preparations for taking state power are beginning to predominate.**

The effects of the international economic crisis are now being reflected directly in politics; and the political effects of the class struggle are having immediate reactions on the development of the economic contradictions.

This combined character of the contradictions, this revolutionary process, has been accelerating ever since the decisions of US President Nixon on August 15, 1971: non-convertibility of the dollar for gold; ending of the Bretton Woods system of fixed parities and international support to capitalist powers, 10 per cent import tariff into the US.

Since that day, revolutionary leadership of the working class could be fought for only on the basis of understanding that the whole foundation of adjustment of class relations since World War II was removed.

Henceforth, the bourgeoisie of each capitalist country, in order to survive in the trade war unleashed by Nixon, must

break the old relationships of trade union pressure, Keynesian policies of concessions and parliamentary democracy, in order to impose Bonapartist forms of rule.

The political struggles which result from this necessity to break the old forms of rule, a necessity which clashes with the working class's trade union strength built up in the boom, are the furnace within which the working class will be broken from reformism and won to revolutionary politics. This was and is the perspective of the International Committee, against all those revisionists who started from the theory of 'neo-capitalism', a new capitalism which could overcome its contradictions.

Since August 1971, these opposed perspectives have been put to the test. At this moment, the spectre of uncontrollable inflation threatens the internal stability of every capitalist country, as well as the whole range of international relations. One year after Nixon's measures the price of gold on the free market rocketed to over \$70 per fine ounce, more than twice the official price in the Bretton Woods period, before settling temporarily at some \$65.

The reality of the inflation caused by the 25-years outflow of paper dollars suddenly burst

through the surface. This inflation means that the living standards of the masses must be brought into line with the real value of money, and this can be done only by crushing the working class.

Every capitalist publicist is uttering warnings that there is an inseparable connection between uncontrolled inflation and the growth of authoritarian and fascist regimes. The treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist leaders, instead of fighting for the overthrow of the capitalist governments, collaborate in the 'fight against inflation', thus granting valuable time to the capitalist class to prepare its repressions and disarming the working class in the name of 'defending democracy'.

## Disarray

Not only has the gold price rocketed. The December 18, 1971, Smithsonian agreement on parities, far from staving off the monetary crisis, has been followed by a period of further uncertainty and speculation against weak currencies. Every meeting of bankers and ministers has ended in disarray. Step by step the capitalist class is forced to the basic problem: settle accounts with your own working class!

The European powers, and

particularly Britain, are now the centre of this crisis. Summit meetings of ministers and bankers together are called to discuss measures against inflation, i.e. against the working class.

The US Treasury sets up a commission to study the implications of sterling's weakness; Nixon's aides are 'studying the implications of more intensive trade war'.

So hopeless has been the search for a new monetary agreement, and so clear has become the prospect of bitter trade war, massive concentration of capital, wiping out of competitors, massive shut-downs and unemployment, that the point has now been reached where the factor of confidence, a vital one at a certain stage of capitalist crisis, is now verging on collapse.

This was the warning contained in the rush for gold and out of dollars, it explains the periodic rounds of speculation against weak currencies, especially the pound sterling at this time. Share markets drift down in a state of nervousness, and unit trust values are collapsing. Speculation is rife. The rate of industrial investment is declining, while property speculation goes on unchecked. These are unmistakable signs.

The British capitalists are set to follow their European counterparts into the EEC, with the aim of merging their economic and political power against the working class. The renewed pressure for rapid political union and for joint European wage controls reflects this strategy of trying to overcome the contradiction between the nation state and the development of productive forces. But this cannot be done.

Ever since 1969, the mass strikes of the Italian workers have forced the EEC powers to support and tolerate a constantly weakening Italian economy. Pirelli, Montedison and other Italian monopolies, as well as the massive state enterprises IRI and ENI, have just recorded runaway losses. Once again, the ability of the bourgeoisie to settle affairs with the working class, or of the working class to take the power, intervenes immediately in the development of the economic crisis and the proposed solutions to it.

Inflation, resulting in the first place from the use of the dominant dollar to back domestic policies of containing rather than confronting the working class, now faces the capitalist class in every country as the very incarnation of the basic character of the capitalist system: a mode of production which raises itself as an independent power against the producers.

It is the latest, uncontrollable expression of the insoluble contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the main-



One year after President Nixon's (above) measures the price of gold on the free market rocketed to over \$70 per ounce.

tenance of capitalist private property and the nation-state.

The capitalists in the metropolitan countries cannot have their hands free to deal with their own working classes. The colonial masses are intensifying their revolutionary struggles even after nearly 30 years of continuous battle.

## Deals

Behind this coming together of the metropolitan and colonial revolutions is the same world economic crisis. For years the imperialists have staved off the approaching crisis in Europe and America by intensifying colonial exploitation. The point has been reached where repayment of colonial countries' debts to the World Bank actually

exceeds the total amount of new 'aid'.

Just as the Stalinist bureaucracy collaborates with the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries to divert the proletariat from its revolutionary tasks, so it now seeks to break the colonial peoples. The pressure of Moscow and Peking on North Vietnam for a deal with the American imperialists contains the greatest dangers to the people of Indo-China and of all the world. It follows the treacherous role of Moscow and Peking in Bangladesh and in support of the repression of the revolutionary youth in Ceylon.

All these betrayals are part of the new trade agreements and proposed security and military agreements between the Stalinist bureaucracy and US imperialism. The wave of repressions in Czechoslovakia and the USSR is the bureaucracy's internal preparation of these betrayals. Here is Stalinism in its counter-revolutionary role. All those revisionists who capitulate to Stalinism share the criminal responsibility.

In August 1971 there were those who prepared an opportunist adaptation by surmizing that Nixon's measures, while seriously affecting some countries, would only marginally damage others. This completely missed the universal nature of the crisis.

The inflation problem confronts countries like the US with high unemployment, as well as those like Germany with a serious labour shortage and internal boom. The continued capitalist expansion in Japan and Germany, far from representing an alleviation or moderation of the world crisis, on the contrary aggravates it enormously, because the strength of the yen and the Deutsche-mark threaten afresh the stability of international payments and currency markets. Yet for Japan or Germany to revalue would mean an immediate slump, so dependent are these bourgeoisies on export of manufactured goods. To make any 'contribution' to international stability would mean for them immediate sacrifice of profits and an onslaught on the working class.

In the weaker capitalist powers, this immediate sensitivity of the international



economy to the internal class struggle is even more serious and is now the crux of the political and economic contradictions. The British capitalists' strategy of European entry, helped at every turn by the Labour and trade union leaders, has foundered on the rock of the strength of resistance of the working class. Now the surge of inflation in Europe in the last weeks has forced the decision of the British bankers to turn and use the inflation directly as the instrument to beat the working class. They hope to drive down the standard of living as well as creating the panic conditions in the 'fixed income' middle class which can turn them against the working class, giving backing to the introduction of authoritarian measures.

This is the pattern for all Europe. And it has already resulted in severe constitutional crisis in Holland. The outbreak of struggles in any one of these countries will be a spur to the next stage of the European revolution. In these circumstances the French franc will be forced to devalue and a round of competitive devaluations could follow. In the case of Italy a whole collapse of the economy is in prospect. Even in fascist Spain, the police have clashed with housewives over rising prices and new economic controls have been instituted.

The bourgeoisie turns more

and more to the Bonapartist solutions necessitated by inflation. Its organ in Britain, 'The Times', is clear: 'If there is no agreement it follows that there will be conflict. The dispute will concern the central issue of the authority of the state. In such a dispute the eventual victor is always the state, because trade unions cannot govern. Such a collision will of course leave scars and divide further a divided nation. It will also produce new impositions of state authority.'

## Training

This is certainly the meaning of uncontrollable inflation, the latest stage of the crisis: either Bonapartist rule, with the state standing with brute force 'above' the classes, as a short transitional phase to fascism; or the building of revolutionary political leadership in the working class for the breaking of bourgeois state power.

In every country, the sections of the Fourth International are called upon to intervene in every mass struggle provoked by the new stage of crisis, training, on the basis of Marxist theory, the cadre which can build for the decisive struggle for working-class power.

In the conditions of mass struggle forced by the international inflation, the programme of demands by the

working class must start from the fact that there is no way out whatsoever within the framework of continuation of capitalist economy. Defence against inflation by the most determined struggle for wages, resisting all attempts at state control; but this struggle can be successful only insofar as it is turned politically against the capitalist governments, and linked with the fight for alternative leadership.

The fight for the right to work must start from rejection of all sackings and closures: through strikes, factory occupations and political mobilizations against the governments, the demand of expropriation of the bourgeoisie, nationalization without compensation and under workers' control, the fight against unemployment must become a central part of the working class's struggle for power.

At every point, the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state must be fought for. But this can be done only in the fight for a revolutionary leadership which will mobilize the unions against the whole enemy class and its government.

Against the capitalist Common Market, we fight for the United Socialist States of Europe. The core of every one of these struggles is the building of sections of the Fourth International in every country. **October 30, 1972**

# The Dollar Crisis

A collection of articles reprinted from **Workers Press**, daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee. Essential reading for gaining an understanding of the world monetary crisis and the development of capitalism since World War Two. **25¢**

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# BOLIVIA:

## YEAR TWO OF THE BANZER DICTATORSHIP

The French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste provided Guillermo Lora with rationalizations for the betrayals by his party, the POR, during the Bolivian right-wing military coup of Hugo Banzer two years ago.

They did this by their distortions of the tactic of the United Front and their unprincipled defence of the Popular Assembly—organ of the Popular Front in Bolivia.

Lora helped to betray the Bolivian revolution (with the Stalinists), but the OCI embellishes the betrayal and presents the defeat to the European workers as if it were an inevitable and accomplished fact; the terminal development in an objective process beyond the control of any party or group leaders. By implication they blame the workers and peasants for the defeat.

This method of belittling the revolutionary potential of the working class is but the reverse side of the 'theory'—Menshevik to the core—which exaggerates the power of the national bourgeoisie and helps to paralyse the will of the vanguard.

This reformist argument is unambiguously stated in the OCI draft statement to their international pre-conference:

... in 1963 at the Reorganization Congress of the Pabloites and organizations which, with the SWP, split with the IC, some documents on the "colonial revolution" were adopted. To justify their capitulation to the petty-bourgeois nationalists in the colonial and semi-colonial

countries Pabloism established "as a general social tendency, the numerical and economic weakness of the national bourgeoisie".

'The mistake had also been made until 1958 by the French majority in the PCI... The theoretical mistake was obvious: Marxism teaches the following: however weak it is, numerically and economically, the bourgeoisie is powerful because of the power of its links with world imperialism.'

### Sinister role

'La Correspondance International' June 1972.

It is this Menshevik 'theory' that informs the opposition of the OCI to any support to the NLF in Vietnam and to their political patronage to the Menshevik policies of the POR in Bolivia.

Marxism, on the contrary, says that the national bourgeoisie is weak not only because of its belated development, but above all, because of the historical decline of world imperialism. To question this basic principle is to revise the historic prognosis of Lenin and Trotsky. This is precisely the role of the OCI.

In this the OCI needs no assistance even from the Stalinists. In doing this and in providing a convenient public forum for Lora in France, the OCI leaders have revealed the sinister rôle of centrism and its shameless capitulation to Stalinism and bourgeois-nationalism.

The Bolivian events have proved in a tragic way that those who make a fetish of the programme, as the OCI do, and use it as an alternative to the struggle for theory, are always

the first to betray the programme.

The International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) states that there can be no struggle for programme without a simultaneous development of dialectical theory. The history of the struggle against every variety of revisionism has shown that the struggle to defend the programme is inseparably connected with and subordinate to the struggle for perspective—a struggle which is impossible without the development of the Marxist theory of knowledge and the party.

In 1951-1953 Pablo proposed to abandon the Transitional Programme of the FI, because he replaced the historical perspective of Trotsky with his middle-class theory of 'war-revolution', 'liberalization of the bureaucracy' and 'centuries of degenerated workers states'.

The struggle against Pablo was much more than a fight for programme. It was a struggle for a correct method of orientation. Today under essentially the same pressures, but under more critical objective conditions, the OCI-POR try to liquidate the FI and revise its programme by attacking the foundations of Marxist theory and the concept of the revolutionary party—both of which are integral to a correct perspective.

### Unprepared

As in 1953 the same question is posed by these unprincipled factionalists and opportunists: can socialist consciousness develop in the working class without a constant

struggle waged by the revolutionary party armed with Marxist theory against bourgeois consciousness? We say unequivocally that the road adopted by the OCI-POR is the road of opportunist-centrist adaptation to the spontaneous labour movement to bourgeois consciousness and leads—inexorably—to betrayal and defeat. That is why in May-June 1968 in France and in August 1971 in Bolivia, historic events of the most favourable variety for building the party and International found these revisionist groups unprepared organizationally and disoriented politically.

Like the ILP and SAP in the 1930s, these groups are nothing more than 'left' appendages of Social Democracy or Stalinism; intermediate centrist groups which are not pledges for the future, but decayed survivals of the past.

The ICFI takes its stand with Trotsky against these middle-class liquidators of Marxism who serve the objective needs of monopoly capitalism and its Stalinist, reformist and petty-bourgeois agencies.

As the Transitional Programme states:

'The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats and consciously prepare for victory.'

This tradition is completely opposed to the systematic centrist adaptation to bourgeois pressure, to the demagogic cover-up of defeats and the prostration before Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism which characterizes the POR and OCI.

It is indeed no accident that Lora—the revisionist who faithfully carried out Pablo's class-collaborationist line in the 1952 Bolivian revolution—should find himself in fraternal solidarity with the OCI leaders in derailing the most promising development in Bolivia in the last two decades.

The support which the OCI

gave to Lora was motivated not by interest in the struggle of the colonial peoples, but agreement with Lora on method and a determination to break with the International Committee, to proceed untrammelled on a course of centrism and opportunism. The OCI agreed with Lora that the role of the party was to reflect the present level of thinking of the working class, of necessity still within a bourgeois framework, rather than to conflict with it. They therefore agreed with Lora that collaboration with Stalinism on the basis of minimum agreements and compromises must replace a ruthless struggle against Stalinism.

The OCI had earlier made formally correct criticism of Lora's adaptation to Stalinism, but now ignored his continuing the same policy. Thus they agreed with Lora on the liquidation of Trotskyism! They used Lora to break from the Trotskyist movement internationally.

The fast-moving events since the split of the OCI from the International Committee fully confirm this assessment.

Immediately after a fund raising tour of France sponsored by the OCI, Lora proceeded to negotiate with the Stalinists, the Pabloites, the guerrillaists, the Maoists, Lechin's supporters and . . . Torres himself. The result was the FRA, a popular-front formation combining workers' parties with the representatives of a section of the bourgeoisie.

Lora, quite consistently with his past practice and his method, proposed that the FRA itself will be the vehicle for the socialist revolution! 'The anti-imperialist front,' according to Lora, has the central aim of 'the construction of socialism and the conquest of power'.

Next the OCI called a special Latin American conference of its supporters (January 1972). At this conference Lora defended the FRA and insisted that it is the natural extension of the Popular Assembly and of his past activities in Bolivia. The OCI, however, tried in vain to differentiate itself from the FRA, while at the same

time maintaining its support for the previous policies of the POR.

The OCI's position was not one of principled opposition to a front with the national bourgeoisie and certainly not a call for the construction of the Trotskyist party. It maintained only that the 'united anti-imperialist front' should be organized by the 'united workers' front'. The conference came to a complete impasse.

Then followed the pre-conference meeting of the OCI's split-off from the International Committee. Lora's POR did not even honour the gathering by sending a representative to attend! The main business of the conference was to declare that not only is the Fourth International dead in general but so also is the International Committee in particular!

In less than a year the full logic of the events of August 1971 has worked itself out, pushed ahead by the swift pace of the capitalist crisis and the international class struggle. The issue in August 1971 was whether or not we proceed to construct Trotskyist parties on the basis of a turn towards Marxist philosophy, breaking from Stalinism and nationalism, or liquidate Trotskyism completely into centrist amalgams with those who betray the working class.

The Fourth International will now be built by those who absorb completely the lessons of the Bolivian events. The renewed movement of the Bolivian masses indicates once again the determination of the working class in Latin America to destroy once and for all imperialism and its native capitalist henchmen. The movement of the workers in Latin America pushes spontaneously beyond the existing leaderships. But precisely at that point it must fall back if a conscious leadership is not constructed.

The horrors of fascism are in store if the task of constructing this leadership is not immediately undertaken. The International Committee is confronting this task.

November 14, 1972

# Mobilize to defend Vietnam revolution

**THE INTERNATIONAL Committee of the Fourth International calls on its sections and supporters in every country to fight for the mobilization of the organized working class in defence of the Vietnamese revolution, against the genocidal onslaught of US imperialism.**

The US army and air force are engaged on the greatest operation of mass destruction of human life in the whole of history. B52 bombing raids in North Vietnam have killed more people in less than two weeks than the Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The tonnage of bombs dropped by US imperialism in Vietnam is greater than the total dropped in the whole of World War II.

The attack now going on marks a decisive new stage not only in the Vietnam war, but in the world crisis of capitalism and the international class struggle.

Early in October 1972, US President Nixon, campaigning for re-election, cynically and deliberately gave the false impression that peace terms were about to be finally signed. The real meaning of that manoeuvre is clear. US imperialism played with the fate of millions of

workers and peasants in Vietnam in order to win time and consolidate their power for their attack on the American working class and, through the trade war, on their rivals and on the working class throughout the world.

The mass extermination in North Vietnam today is the inevitable accompaniment of the new stage in the crisis of international capitalism. The continued heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, despite US imperialism's genocidal policies, is the foremost example of the resistance of the working class.

Imperialism has no answer to the resistance of the masses except this mass destruction of life and of the means of production. Everywhere the capitalists turn, they need to smash the working class, an undefeated working class which resists every attack.

There is now not the slightest question of an agreed solution of the monetary crisis sparked off by Nixon's scrapping of the Bretton Woods system in August 1971. Special Drawing Rights, merely a new form of paper money, have accelerated world inflation and there will be no international agreement on them.

The controversy on IMF loans and Drawing Rights to 'developing' countries means only that 'aid' to these countries is at an end. The new bombing in Vietnam is the traditional capitalist 'solution' to their insoluble crisis—war and mass destruction. The colonial workers and peasants must now be physically wiped out.

Having in the past unloaded their crisis on to the colonial peoples, the imperialists will now turn with renewed ferocity to the repression and destruction of the working class in the advanced countries.

It is in this brutal material form that the identity of interest of the workers of the advanced and colonial countries asserts itself.

Nor will the US imperialists flinch from pursuing the trade war to the point of military conflict, involving the deaths of millions of workers and wiping out of the means of production. They know no other way out of the crisis. The revisionist advocates of a 'neo-capitalism', reputedly free of the old imperialist contradictions and not needing to solve its crises in war, are guilty of the most treacherous deception and betrayal of the working class. This is the criminal responsibility of the (Pabloite) Unified Secretariat of Mandel, and of the Communist Party Stalinists.

Vietnam today is Europe and America tomorrow, unless the working class is mobilized to stop the imperialist attack and move through this struggle to the conquest of power.

There is no other way. None of the capitalist parties has any 'compromise' alternative. McGovern, supported by reformists, Stalinists and 'protesters' of all kinds as the 'lesser evil' against Nixon, has spoken against the new attacks only on the ground that the loss of US air crew is 'excessive'. In Britain and the rest of Europe, the reformist and trade union leaders play the classic role of social-democracy.

Nothing could better exemplify the death of reformism than their utter failure to organize even the slightest opposition to the US attacks. The severity of imperialism's crisis reveals them for what they are—its lackeys. They are indicating to the working class the hangman's role, which they will play against the working class in Europe itself in the new stage of the struggle.

World Stalinism bears the main responsibility for the fate of the people of Hanoi and Haiphong, and for the absolutely criminal refusal to mobilize the working-class internationally against the new stage of imperialist attack.

Ever since Nixon's measures of August 1971, ending the convertibility of the dollar and launching the trade war, everything has depended on preparation of the working class to challenge for state power: all possibility of reform has vanished. The only alternative to the revolutionary struggle for power was and remains a series of wars and counter-revolutionary dictatorships, the only method by which the imperialists can deal with the working class.

But Stalinism, both in Moscow and Peking, draws closer to imperialism. Having betrayed the French revolutionary struggle of 1968 and suppressed the Czechoslovak working class, with imperialist blessing, the Stalinist bureaucracy now accelerates its plans for the European Security Pact and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, all the time continuing to encourage the secret diplomacy over Vietnam.

New long-term Soviet agreements with US imperialism, together with the new approaches of the Chinese bureaucracy, left Nixon free to enter the present

bombing campaign. Thus the Vietnamese workers and peasants were sacrificed to the privileged interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and workers all over the world were politically disarmed.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the Stalinists isolate the Vietnamese revolution by confining the working class of Europe, America and Japan to purely trade union and opportunist types of struggle. The single-minded aim of the Stalinist parties, in alliance with the corrupt trade union bureaucracy, is to prevent the working class from confronting the capitalist class and its governments in a struggle that would lead to proletarian state power.

Successful revolutions in these countries would be the greatest blow of all against US imperialism in Vietnam. Those who hold the working class back from these revolutions are deliberately isolating the people of Vietnam and condemning them to death. The numerically powerful Communist Party of France epitomizes this role in its 'popular front' alliance with the reformists and bourgeois radicals.

All those revisionists, and particularly the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat', its sections like the British International Marxist Group and supporters like the US Socialist Workers Party, who accepted the ideology of the 'third world' as 'epicentre of the world revolution' and consequently restricted the role of the working class in the advanced countries to that of middle-class protest, share directly this responsibility of the Stalinists.

These revisionists propagated the lie that Stalinism had changed its nature and was no longer counter-revolutionary. But on the contrary, Stalinism was preparing its greatest betrayal. These Pabloite revisionists showed their bankruptcy by joining the liberals and Stalinists in announcing that Vietnamese 'victory' was at hand in the period of the US presidential election.

Only the International Committee, starting from the insoluble nature of the international capitalist crisis, could warn and prepare the working class for the new stage of the struggle. The only force which can stop US imperialism in Vietnam is the organized strength of the international working class in solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

In every trade union, every factory, every socialist and working-class organization, there must be a fight for immediate industrial action and mass demonstrations against the bombing and for total US withdrawal from Vietnam.

Every working-class action against the US imperialist attack must be directed against the capitalist class within each country. Notwithstanding the grave inter-imperialist contradictions, the capitalists of Europe and Japan know that when Nixon attacks in Vietnam, it is the preparation against the working class everywhere. It is the inevitable outcome, if left unchecked, of their Common Market imperialist strategy, their attack on democratic rights, their anti-trade union laws, their counter-revolutionary preparations.

The fight against the US in Vietnam is

the same fight as that to mobilize and educate the force which can lead the working class to the overthrow of capitalist governments in every country.

To mobilize working-class action in this way will mean a thorough struggle against the reformist and Stalinist leadership. Thus, in taking up our responsibilities of international working-class solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, we bring forward those forces which will have to build the alternative revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement. On the question of how to fight against imperialist war, how to unite the revolution in the colonial countries and the advanced countries, and how to build alternative leadership, the Marxist education of the youth and the most advanced workers proceeds.

The working class in the USSR, Eastern Europe and China now face an even greater threat of imperialist war to destroy the gains of their revolutions, because of the free hand given to Nixon in Vietnam by the betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The workers in these countries are taking up the fight against the bureaucracy on many questions.

But this bureaucracy seeks strength, against its 'own' working class, from its imperialist alliances. Every step we take to weaken imperialism in Vietnam at the same time weakens the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, and opens the way for the workers of the USSR, Eastern Europe and China to restore their links with the international working class.

At the centre of the struggle stands the working class of the United States. Independent working-class action all over the world to stop the imperialist war, to bring down the capitalist governments, is the way to encourage the working class of the US to take the road of independent political struggle, independent of the capitalist parties: in the first place, the formation of an American Labour Party.

This is what Nixon and the imperialists fear most of all. They are lying in wait, if they get away with the Vietnam outrage, bloodily to suppress the American working class. The anti-strike laws and the 'Pay Board' are only the beginning.

Once again! The Vietnam bombing raids

mark the imperialist response to the irreversible deepening of the crisis of their economic system. They signal the preparation of historically unprecedented destruction of the productive forces, above all of the working class itself.

There must be an end to secret diplomacy. Just as the 1954 Geneva agreement was the formula for depriving the Vietnamese people of the fruits of military victory and the screen for US intervention to reconquer Vietnam, so today the Stalinist support for these 'peace' talks provides Nixon and Kissinger with the cover for the bloodiest counter-revolutionary war in history—and this is only the beginning of the attacks they must undertake all over the world.

Every revolutionary fighter in the international working class, every section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, must fight for the strength of the entire working class to be used in every way—industrial action and mass demonstrations in the first place—to stop the imperialists in Vietnam!

The essence of this struggle is to turn the working class all over the world, in answering every imperialist attack, to the preparation of the conquest of state power. What is at stake is the death-throes of the capitalist system, lashing out in self-defence to destroy everything that stands in its way. The whole future of the working class now depends on building in time the alternative leadership which can take the working class to the smashing of capitalist state power. It is to this end that the working class everywhere must rally with mass actions against the US imperialists in Vietnam.

- Trade unionists in every country must stop the movement of all US and other imperialist supplies to Vietnam!
- Strikes in every country in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution!
- Mass workers' demonstrations in every country against the bombing!
- Stop the bombing now! Immediate withdrawal of all US land and air forces!
- Victory to the workers and peasants of Vietnam!

December 29, 1972

# HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

While the working class in every country is facing the harshest attack by the capitalists on its standard of living and all the rights it has gained, in Helsinki, Finland, the preparatory Conference of the European Security Council is meeting, with the participation of the US and Canada.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is participating in the conference with delegations not only from the USSR and other eastern countries, but also from the western communist parties.

This conference is a conspiracy of the Stalinists and imperialists against the working class, in the whole of Europe and worldwide. The International Committee of the Fourth International cannot help but declare its most absolute opposition.

The Stalinists not only took the initiative on this conference in order to further their counter-revolutionary co-operation with the imperialists, but were also the most ardent supporters of participation by fascist and military dictatorships such as that of Franco in Spain and Papadopoulos in Greece.

'We support the participation of all the European states, without exception, irrespective of the character of their regimes,' said the representative of the Greek Communist Party, V. Venetsanopoulos, speaking at the Conference.

In expressing the policy not only of Greek, but also of international Stalinism, Venetsanopoulos made a distinction between his position and all the 'groups without influence' which reject 'peaceful co-existence of states with various social systems'.

'These groups,' he said, 'maintain that the Soviet Union and other socialist states forget their internationalist obligations and maintain relations even with dictatorial regimes, like those of Greece, Spain and Portugal. That with their relations towards the dictatorial regime they become a serious factor, it is said, in the disillusionment of our people, they belie their hopes and expectations, they create ideological and political confusion.'

'That supposedly they subordinate the interests of the international movement to their own politico-military calculations, and that by making opportunistic, one-sided assessments, they give priority and importance only to their own state interests.'

This Stalinist found nothing to oppose all the accusations he enumerated except the arbitrary opinion that 'these views are foreign to the vital interests of the movement'.

To seek the co-operation and to promise the defence of the security of a world dominated by the monopolies, through reactionary governments, fascism and military dictatorships, means by itself an alignment with the counter-revolution.

Under present conditions, conditions of the deepest crisis of the capitalist system, the security of this world means every kind of insecurity, savage exploitation, oppression and even physical annihilation for the working class.

From the time Nixon took his measures on the dollar in August 1971 and declared trade war on the competitors of the US in Europe and Japan, the crisis of capitalism passed to a higher stage. Stalinist treachery has escalated to the same degree.

The decision of the Stalinist bureaucracy to proceed to a conference on security and co-operation with the imperialists

constitutes a betrayal a thousand times worse than the post-war agreements at Yalta and Potsdam. Then the Stalinists helped the imperialists to avoid the revolution. Now they are helping them launch the counter-revolution.

As to what the defence of 'peace' and 'security' promised by the Stalinists means, we had the opportunity of seeing it, not only in their co-operation with dictatorial regimes, but also in the sell-out of the General Strike in France in 1968, in the intervention in Czechoslovakia, in the fierce suppression of the workers' movement in Poland, in the sell-out of the Vietnamese and Arab revolutions and at every point of their political activity.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, in order to confront the problems created in the workers' states by its reactionary policy of 'socialism in a single country', not only betrays the working class in the west, but places the revolutionary gains of the working class in the east in danger.

The International Committee of the Fourth International declares that only one kind of peace and security can exist in Europe and in the whole world: A peace that comes through the overthrow of imperialism as well as from the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the workers' states.

The IC calls on its partisans to confront the new Stalinist betrayals by intensifying the fight for the building of revolutionary parties in every country, as necessary organs for the overthrow of capitalism and the bureaucracy and for the conquest of power by the working class in the coming great revolutionary struggles.

International Committee of the  
Fourth International.  
February 10, 1973.

# NO PEACE IN VIETNAM

The International Committee of the Fourth International salutes the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in their 26th year of revolutionary struggle.

Faced with the most barbarous repression of imperialism and the joint betrayals of Chinese and Soviet Stalinism, who have deprived them of the necessary weaponry and political help, the Hanoi and National Liberation Front regimes have been forced to a compromise.

This is the meaning of the ceasefire agreement signed on January 27.

While US imperialism is determined to impose a 'peace' which threatens all previous conquests of the Indo-Chinese people, nevertheless the terms of the Paris agreement show that none of the major problems facing the US occupiers and their Saigon lackeys have been solved.

The Paris agreement has not ended the war, but has changed the form which the civil war will take. If US imperialism is too weak to regain control of the south, the NLF and Hanoi conversely have been deprived of the modern armaments necessary to conquer and decisively defeat the Saigon armies and the US air force.

In defining this relation of forces the agreement reveals

the insoluble contradictions of the present situation in Vietnam and makes the continuation of civil war inevitable.

On the one hand the agreement implicitly recognizes the existence of 140,000 North Vietnamese troops and does not make their withdrawal a pre-condition for a ceasefire.

It explicitly underwrites the decision of the US government to withdraw its troops.

But these decisions are qualified and virtually annulled by contradicting clauses which make the operation of a 'cease fire' an impossible task.

Article Three, for example, states that the 'modalities' for the withdrawal of US and allied troops shall be determined by the four-party joint military commission—but this commission, the Agreement stipulates 'shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity'. Moreover, the commission is hopefully expected to complete its job in 60 days.

Article Three (b) stipulates that a two-party joint military commission of the 'two South Vietnamese parties shall determine the areas controlled by each party and the modalities of stationing'.

Far from the commission being able to achieve even a minimum of agreement it has instead broken down because of continuous fighting by the NLF for control of the countryside.

The US imperialists are cynically hoping to woo, if not

split, the Hanoi leaders with prospects of economic aid to rebuild the shattered country and with admission into the United Nations. Dr Henry Kissinger's latest visit to Peking is obviously intended to get Peking recognition for Nixon's policy of two Vietnams at the summit conference which is to take place soon.

Although the agreement recognizes two Vietnams by depicting as 'sacred and inalienable' the South Vietnamese people's 'right to self-determination', this scheme is being continually undermined by the civil war waged in the south and the incessant flow of men and materials down the Ho Chi Minh trail.

The Thieu puppet regime, despite the concessions of the NLF and Hanoi and the technical superiority of its army and air force, has lost the strategic initiative in the civil war. Hated by the peasantry and harassed by the guerrillas the Saigon regime is now rapidly succumbing to the dual pressures of inflation and corruption.

Thieu's control of Saigon and the provincial capitals is proving extremely tenuous since the NLF control all the district towns, the frontier regions and the strategically vital areas of the central highlands and the Mekong delta.

Thieu's hold over the cities is conditioned not so much on US aid, but by the political neutrality of the working class



for whom the bourgeois character of the NLF programme has little to offer.

In the Tet offensive and again in the Spring offensive of 1972, the urban workers did not respond in a big way to NLF appeals, mainly because the PRG programme promises to respect private property and does not include nationalization proposals.

But the massive inflation of food prices and imported necessities in the towns and the dollar devaluation will undoubtedly bring the working class into action against Thieu and create serious problems for the NLF leadership and the Provisional Government.

Thieu's reactionary laws on the Press and the unions and his electoral laws which ensure a one-party dictatorship are guaranteed to intensify popular hatred of the regime and transform any election campaign into a civil war.

So long as the land remains in the hands of absentee landowners and the rural debt is not abolished, so long too will the civil war continue. No 'peace' agreement, no 'cease fire' can eliminate this. As the bourgeois correspondent of the 'Daily Telegraph' reported from Saigon on February 12:

'Neither the Paris conference nor the International Commission of Control and Stability appears able to cause a serious reduction in the number of incidents which occur every day. Scores are undoubtedly initiated by the local Vietcong or North Vietnamese leaders on the spot, but others by the South Vietnamese army.'

These examples suffice to show the unviable and utterly reactionary nature of the Paris agreement. It is also plain that the agreement will not resolve the vexed question of 600,000 political prisoners and that, in fact, the concentration camps and notorious penal settlements such as Poulo Condor will remain monumental evidence of the complicity of world Stalinism in this betrayal of the colonial peoples.

From the beginning, the Vietnamese revolution has been a serious embarrassment to these bureaucracies. Unable to oppose openly the Vietnamese struggle, Stalinism has all along tried to exploit this struggle in order to pressurize French and, now, US imperial-

ism to recognize the *status quo* in Europe and underwrite 'peaceful co-existence' between Stalinism and imperialism.

Thus in the mid-1950s the Vietminh were robbed of the fruits of the historic victory at Dien Bien Phu by Peking and Moscow in order that French imperialism might be persuaded to oppose the remilitarization of Germany. This betrayal consummated at Geneva and hailed by the Stalinists and Pabliste revisionists as a 'great victory' did not bring peace, but laid the basis for the present civil war.

Soviet and Chinese Stalinism's attitude to the Vietnam Revolution, which is a compound of bureaucratic knee-crooking before imperialism and a nationalist and reformist hatred of world revolution, has been highly valued by US imperialist observers.

No greater indictment of Moscow-Peking policy can be found than the succinct appreciation of the Geneva (1954) Agreement by the US Presidential advisers contained in the Pentagon Papers:

'While it is fair to state that the immediate implications of the Accords did not reflect (even according to CIA reports) Vietminh strength and control in Vietnam at the time of the conference, it is equally important to understand why. Vietminh ambitions were thwarted, not so much by western resistance or treachery, as by Sino-Soviet pressures on them to co-operate... Together and separately, Moscow and Peking pressed concessions on the Vietminh.'

'Invariably, the two principal communist delegates, Chou En-lai and Molotov, played major roles in breaking deadlocks with conciliatory initiatives...

'**"Peaceful co-existence" was the hall-mark of their diplomacy. The Chinese, in particular, were interested in border security, buffers, preventing the formation of US alliance system with bases in the region, and reconstruction at home.**

'**The two powers did not hesitate in asserting the paramountcy of their interests over those of the Vietminh.'** (Our emphasis).

So it was in 1954 so it is today!

The alarm and hatred of

the Stalinist bureaucracies toward the Vietnam struggle today is directly related to the fact that this struggle takes place in the context of the greatest monetary crisis in capitalism's history and an unprecedented upsurge of class struggle in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas.

A decisive victory for the NLF would act as a tremendous stimulant to the struggle in west Europe and within the USSR and eastern Europe as well.

Such a victory would severely intensify the crisis of Stalinism.

Another contributing factor towards this policy is the growing agricultural crisis in the USSR, which results from the bureaucratic methods of the Soviet leaders and their gross incompetence in managing agriculture.

Unable to feed the working class and fearful of another series of revolts like those which unseated Khrushchev, the Soviet leaders have decided to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution in exchange for US grain.

For these reasons the Soviet leaders deliberately refused to supply the latest missiles to the North Vietnamese and entertained Nixon while Hanoi and Haiphong were devastated.

While previous Presidents refused to sanction the mining of the northern ports for fear of Soviet and Chinese retaliation Nixon could—and did—pursue a total blockade because both bureaucracies had indicated their compliance with his war aims.

Outside of Vietnam Stalinism has supplemented these betrayals by converting the defence of Vietnam into a pacifist-protest exercise designed to strengthen the domination of 'left' bureaucrats and middle-class politicians and aimed against the development of revolutionary leadership.

In Britain the high point of this betrayal was the refusal of the British Communist Party leaders to campaign against Wilson's visit to Washington in 1969 and their recent campaign to bring pressure on Nixon to sign the agreements.

In the US, Stalinist participation in the anti-war movement was designed to tie the anti-war movement to the Democratic Party and turn the movement into a pawn in the

presidential election.

The American CP did not hesitate to split the anti-war movement in 1970 in order to support 'progressive' capitalist politicians. In these manoeuvres they were aided by the unprincipled intervention of the revisionists who substituted their own brand of 'single-issue non-exclusionary' reformism for that of the Stalinists.

The International Committee of the Fourth International alone preserved and developed the Leninist theory of defeatism by openly attacking the bogus 'united fronts' of the revisionists and Stalinists and by making the Vietnam Revolution a central issue in the programme to build a revolutionary party.

The absolute correctness of the IC and Socialist Labour League's break with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign on the role of international Stalinism and the Vietnam Revolution in 1966 and our refusal to participate in the October 27, 1968, fraud is now amply confirmed by the events leading to the Paris treaty.

The defence of the Vietnamese Revolution means, first of all, a complete rejection of petty-bourgeois, pacifist opposition to the war, which confines the anti-imperialist struggle to a series of adventurist and propagandist gestures calculated to disarm the working-class politically and generate the illusion that wars can be ended by pressure on capitalist statesmen.

Underlying such an opposition is the reformist assumption that wars are accidents of the capitalist system and that the system can exist without militarism and war.

This reformist-pacifist perspective of the revisionists and Stalinists confuses the vanguard of the working class on the inevitability of revolutionary struggles between the working class and the capitalist state and, more importantly, of the necessity to smash and not to reform the apparatus of capitalist coercion and rule by the actions of the working class led by the revolutionary party.

As Lenin stated at the inception of World War I: 'Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are unavoidable.'

The task of revolutionaries, therefore, is to show, in theory

and practice, the inescapable necessity to combine the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle for state power. To do this is to build the Marxist party without which the working class cannot be liberated.

All the activities of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, the Indo-China Solidarity Front, the Student Mobilization Committee, the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance and the various ad hoc organizations set up in the USA under Stalinist and revisionist patronage cogently reveal that 'a propaganda of peace at the present time, if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions, is only capable of spreading illusions, of demoralizing the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie, and of making it a plaything in the hands of secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries.' (Lenin.)

In this sense the differences between the US Stalinists and the US revisionists of the Socialist Workers' Party were completely factitious.

While the CP called on Nixon to 'Sign Now!', the SWP-YSA called on Nixon to withdraw his troops unconditionally.

Both groups based their policies on the reformist illusion that 'public opinion' and the clamour for 'peace' would end imperialist oppression in Indo-China. Neither group campaigned for the indispensable necessity to place no political confidence in the Nixon regime and to break the US working-class decisively from the two-party system by forming an independent Labour Party, with a socialist programme, based on the trade unions.

Their faith in the Nixon regime is but the reverse side of a deep middle-class scepticism about the European and US working class.

Secondly, no defence of the Vietnamese Revolution is possible without an implacable struggle to expose the role of Stalinism in this war and to equip the vanguard of the working class with a correct and comprehensive understanding of the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism.

As the monetary and economic crisis of imperialism

worsens and as the capitalist powers whip up a hysteria of economic nationalism to justify their corporatist measures, the Stalinist bureaucracies in western Europe are already openly collaborating with the monopolist plans to strait-jacket the working class.

While the European ruling classes, particularly in France and Italy, integrate their plans for civil war through the mechanism of the Common Market, the Stalinist leaders prostrate themselves before the decaying organs of bourgeois democracy and swear to uphold the most reactionary constitutions in post-war Europe.

The same doctrine of 'peaceful co-existence' which permitted untold death and devastation in Indo-China and created the basis for a barbaric protraction of the war, means, today, in Europe, the preparation of the greatest and bloodiest defeats of the European working class by capitalist reaction.

In Britain, too, Stalinism consciously opposes every attempt to force the Tories to resign and covers up for the corporatist policies of the trade union bureaucracy and its acquiescence to the Treaty of Rome.

In Greece, Stalinism has plumbed new depths of treachery by its open support of the monarchy and its recognition of a monarchical constitution.

The International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) warns the working class that no step forward is possible in Europe or Asia without the destruction of Stalinism and this struggle cannot and will not be conducted by the centrist movements like Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), Lutte Ouvrière, International Socialism (IS), International Marxist Group (IMG) and the Ligue Communiste, but only through the construction of ICFI sections in every European state.

The Vietnamese Revolution—despite the temporary setbacks—will prove greater than the bureaucratic strait-jacket. But the ultimate victory of the Indo-Chinese people depends, more than ever, upon the struggle of European and US workers to build an alternative leadership to Stalinism and reformism and to smash imperialism. February 16, 1973

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