

Fourth International

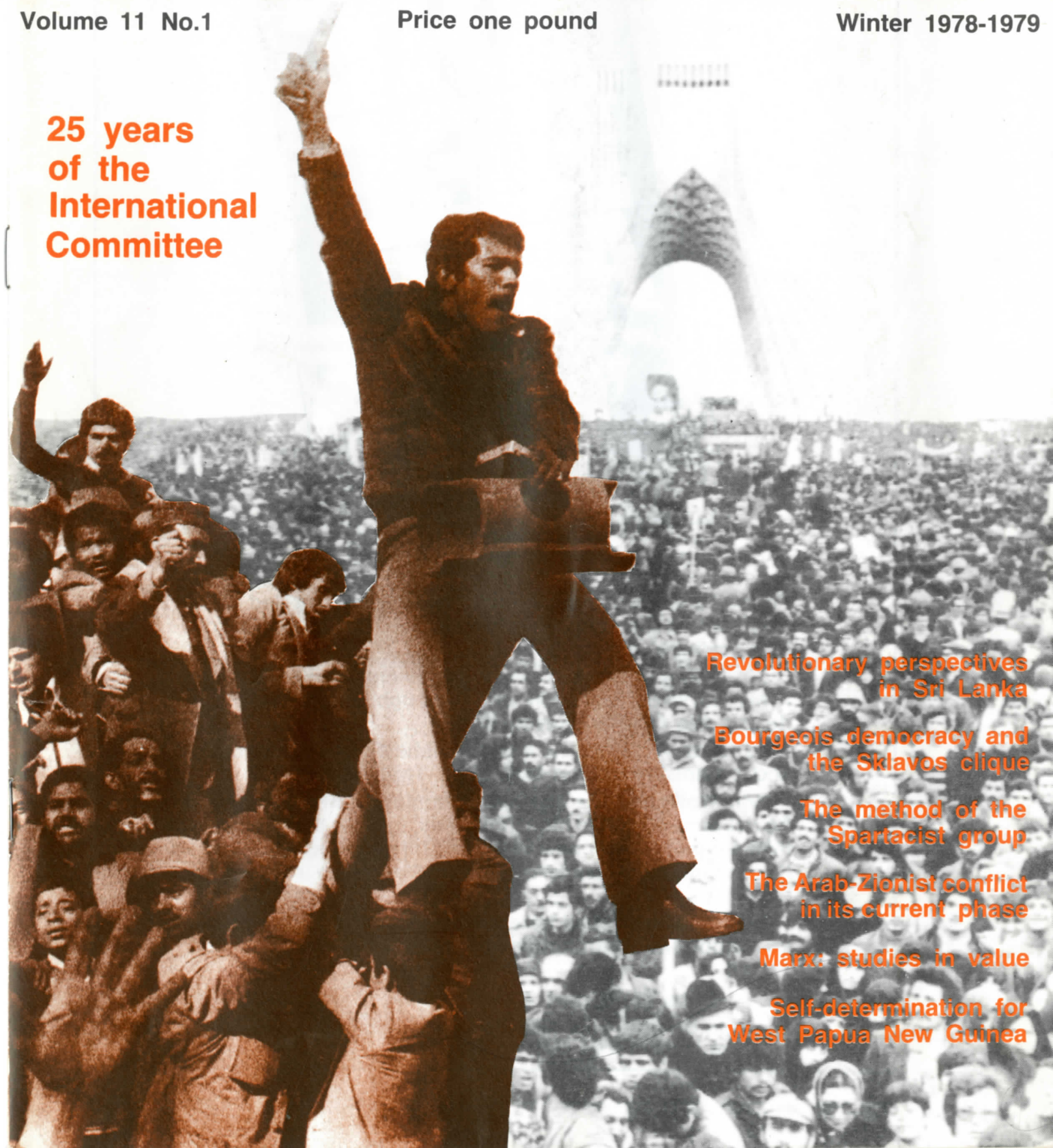
A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Volume 11 No.1

Price one pound

Winter 1978-1979

**25 years
of the
International
Committee**



**Revolutionary perspectives
in Sri Lanka**

**Bourgeois democracy and
the Sklavos clique**

**The method of the
Spartacist group**

**The Arab-Zionist conflict
in its current phase**

Marx: studies in value

**Self-determination for
West Papua New Guinea**

Fourth International

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

Volume 11 No.1

Price one pound

Winter 1978-1979

**25 years
of the
International
Committee**



Revolutionary perspectives
in Sri Lanka

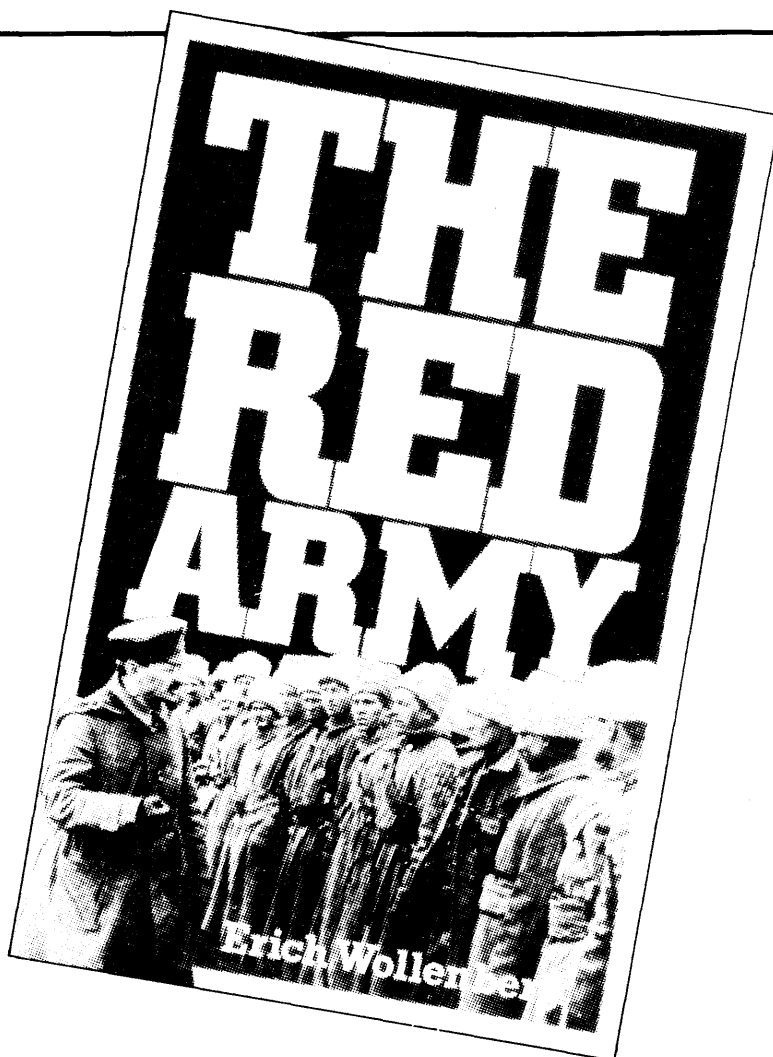
Bourgeois democracy and
the Sklavos clique

The method of the
Spartacist group

The Arab-Zionist conflict
in its current phase

Marx: studies in value

Self-determination for
West Papua New Guinea



Formed and trained in the midst of civil war, the Red Army was built as the revolutionary defence force of the world's first workers' state.

Struggling in the face of fourteen enemy armies, the Red Army survived and won only through determination to defend the October Revolution.

Its ranks included the finest Bolshevik cadre. Its leader and organising genius was Leon Trotsky.

Eric Wollenberg, a German communist, who joined the Soviet army and held high command. He saw the Red Army take shape and later saw Stalin and his bureaucracy head its revolutionary leadership and attempt to re-write its history.

His book, published here for the first time in 40 years is an important contribution to correcting the historical record.

Price £1.75 plus 40p postage and packing

Available by post from New Park Publications 21b Old Town, Clapham London SW4 0JT

Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM

VOLUME 10 NUMBER 1 WINTER 1978/1979

EDITORS: CLIFF SLAUGHTER, MICHAEL BANDA

25 years of the International Committee	3	<i>Editorial</i>
Revolutionary Perspectives in Sri Lanka	5	<i>6th Congress of the Revolutionary Communist League</i>
Trotsky is our comrade	16	<i>Letter to the Workers Internationalist League</i>
Bourgeois democracy and the Sklavos clique	17	<i>Workers Internationalist League</i>
The Method of the Spartacist Group	25	<i>A. Reynolds</i>
The Arab-Zionist conflict in its current phase	32	<i>Majed Abu Sharar</i>
Marx: Studies in Value	40	<i>Axel Davidson</i>
Self-determination for West Papua New Guinea	43	<i>Workers News Editorial Board</i>

PUBLISHED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL
21B OLD TOWN, LONDON SW4 0JT

Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM

VOLUME 10 NUMBER 1 WINTER 1978/1979

EDITORS: CLIFF SLAUGHTER, MICHAEL BANDA

25 years of the International Committee	3	<i>Editorial</i>
Revolutionary Perspectives in Sri Lanka	5	<i>6th Congress of the Revolutionary Communist League</i>
Trotsky is our comrade	16	<i>Letter to the Workers Internationalist League</i>
Bourgeois democracy and the Sklavos clique	17	<i>Workers Internationalist League</i>
The Method of the Spartacist Group	25	<i>A. Reynolds</i>
The Arab-Zionist conflict in its current phase	32	<i>Majed Abu Sharar</i>
Marx: Studies in Value	40	<i>Axel Davidson</i>
Self-determination for West Papua New Guinea	43	<i>Workers News Editorial Board</i>

PUBLISHED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL
21B OLD TOWN, LONDON SW4 0JT

25 years of the International Committee

'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL' has always concentrated its fire against that revisionism with which bourgeois ideology works to destroy Marxism from within. Since the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International exactly 25 years ago, it has been necessary to combat the revisionist forces led by Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and, in the first place, Michel Pablo. In 1963, after years of unprincipled manoeuvres, Joseph Hansen, now exposed as an accomplice of the GPU and an FBI informer, led the Socialist Workers Party (USA) back into the Pabloite camp. The justification provided was that all those who considered Cuba a workers' state must unite. Cuba was only the pretext. Because the left petty bourgeois nationalism of Castro produced a situation which corresponded to Hansen's uncritical definition of a deformed workers' state, all questions of permanent revolution, revolutionary leadership and Marxist theory, were dispensed with. According to Hansen, in the theoretical discussion forced by the initiative of the Socialist Labour League (forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain), Marxism could be satisfied with such a conclusion about Castro because dialectical materialism is only 'consistent empiricism'.

This empiricism was the method of Mandel, too, and this was the basis for the unprincipled 'reunification' of 1963, a reunification based on the explicit decision to *exclude* as 'divisive' the disputed theoretical and political questions of the 1953 split. The headlong rush of the Pabloite section in Ceylon, the LSSP, towards entry in the capitalist coalition government, was also given the perfect cover by this 'reunification' and its ban on contentious matters (specifically on Ceylon).

Mandel's 'empirical' conclusion from the boom of the 1950s and 1960s was that imperialism had turned into 'neo-capitalism', something as different from imperialism as imperialism had been from competitive capitalism. This renowned 'economist' could not analyse the inevitably approaching economic crisis and his political role was the opposite of any preparation to meet it when it came. He — and Hansen in the US — prostrated themselves,

discrediting the name of Trotskyism by so doing, before every middle-class protest movement in the boom, and bitterly opposed the International Committee, with its consistent analysis of the developing crisis and its turn to the training of cadre for intervention in the workers' movement.

Since those days the revisionists have gone through many internal conflicts, but have been driven together by the necessity they feel to fight the International Committee. In the face of all the indisputable evidence, and regardless of Hansen's arrogant silence of the main questions, they band together to defend him and prevent, so far as they can, any development of the struggle to expose the GPU in the Trotskyist movement. Furthermore, far from learning the lessons of past mistakes, they are driven by the latest developments of the world revolution to even more craven betrayal. The IMG in Britain, on the eve of the revolutionary upsurge of the Iranian masses in October 1978, was assuring its readers of the religious control of Islam over the masses, and of the total political backwardness of the proletariat! In Spain, the November 'unity' congress of the revisionists at the end of October, with Mandel, Frank, Maitan and Sheppard present, produced a political perspective which was almost identical. Spain, they declared, is now a bourgeois democracy in which no great radicalisation of the working class is to be expected in the immediate future. This extrapolation from the 'facts' — in reality nothing more than vulgar impressionism — is the permanent method of Mandel. It finds a natural ally in American pragmatism, a method for arranging how to overcome the problems posed by the changing appearance-forms of every-day experience without ever penetrating beneath these forms.

When these revisionists pay lip-service today to the crisis of imperialism, it is no better than their previous position, that 'neo-capitalism' had abolished the possibility of the type of crisis which had characterised the imperialist, last stage of capitalism. For them, there is a recognition of the 'facts' of unemployment and 'slower growth' of the economy (Mandel), but there cannot be a perspective based on the revolutionary implications of the

impact of this world crisis on the relations between the classes all over the capitalist world, whatever the variations in tempo and form, whether it be in Iran, in Spain, in Britain or in the United States. Years of a revisionist practice which liquidates Marxism, separating doctrine from an activity which is only adaptation to the bourgeois order and its bureaucratic defenders, has brought them to the point where they become defenders of the most basic philosophical positions of the bourgeoisie in the imperialist epoch: the philosophy of neo-positivism, which is that variety of empiricism which explicitly acknowledges the inability of thought to go beyond surface impressions, beyond the 'facts of life'. Their hysterical attacks on the International Committee for its concentration on philosophy, on dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism and the foundation for the training of the cadres of the revolutionary party, is the natural reflex of people steeped in the bourgeois world outlook. Such an ideological situation in the revisionist ranks provides the surroundings in which agents can and do whip up the attacks in such a way as to provide ammunition for the class enemy.

This was the case, for example, in the legal proceedings in which the Workers Revolutionary Party took an action for libel against *The Observer* newspaper. *The Observer* had suggested that arms were held in WRP premises (at its Education Centre) and that interrogation, intimidation and detention against her will had been imposed on a certain Miss Irene Gorst. All the revisionist attacks characterising the International Committee and the WRP as 'violent' and 'paranoid' were echoed by Mr. Ross-Monro, the lawyer for *The Observer*. In addition, *Intercontinental Press*, at the time of the allegation in 1975, had reported the incident of the police raid and the *Observer* article in such a way as deliberately and directly to imply that the methods of the WRP brought these events upon its head.

In the USA itself, the latest developments surrounding the penetration of the Socialist Workers Party by FBI agents show the great dangers from revisionism. What happened in Ceylon in 1964, when the revisionists' section in Ceylon, the LSSP, joined the Bandaranaike capitalist government, with ministerial posts, now has its equivalent in the centre of world imperialism. Having admitted that something like 1,000 FBI agents had worked in the SWP ranks in the last 20 years, 16 of them remain in high positions in the SWP. Rather than comply with a court order to hand over the files of these agents, in the course of a lawsuit taken out by the SWP, US Federal Attorney-General Griffin G. Bell has risked a contempt order and loss of \$40m damages, on behalf of the US government.

The decision not to comply with the court order for these documents was taken at the highest level: a meeting with Carter at Camp David. Attorney Robert Fisk, on Bell's behalf, has stated that ques-

tions of America's national security are involved: 'We would rather lose the case than turn over the files of these informants.' Now it is possible to measure the significance of the remark of SWP National Committee member Larry Seigle: 'We might maximise our gains by forcing them to make concessions and settle out of court.' Here are the makings of the deal. The SWP, already content to harbour Joseph Hansen, whose connections with the FBI since 1940 are proved and not challenged, now considers the prospect of accepting payment in return for allowing FBI spies to stay in its ranks; spies whose connections are so vital that they obviously tie up with espionage and counter-espionage. It is clear that the whole history of the connections between the FBI, the SWP, and the circumstances surrounding the trials of 'atom spies' and Soviet espionage agents in the 1950s, are at stake. At the centre of all this are the life and death historical questions of Security in the Fourth International and the assassination of Trotsky, with Hansen the key figure in everything that the International Committee has revealed. When Tom Henehan, Political Committee member of the Workers League of the US (in political solidarity with the International Committee), was assassinated on October 16, 1977, the silence of the SWP revisionists was deafening. It was shared by the capitalist press and the police, who try to cover it up as a 'non-political' killing. Just as the revisionists prepared the ground for the court attacks on the Workers Revolutionary Party, so the months before Comrade Henehan's assassination were marked by the SWP's campaign to paint the Workers' League as a 'violent' organisation.

Now, at the time of the 40th anniversary of the founding of our movement, the Fourth International, the balance-sheet is clear. When the revisionists hold their rallies and 'celebrations' they will bear the same relation to Trotsky's International as the Stalinists of the 1930s did in Lenin's and Trotsky's Communist International. In the revolutionary struggles brought forward inexorably by the world economic and political crisis, the working class depends above all else on its political independence from the enemy class. For that, the revolutionary party based on Marxist theory is the essential condition. The revisionists who opposed Trotsky's injunction to fight to develop this theory against the positivism and pragmatism of bourgeois ideology created the conditions in the SWP and the Fourth International for the work of hundreds of paid agents of the imperialists and of the GPU. The so-called 'United Secretariat' of Hansen and Mandel is the product of that theoretical and physical prostration before the class enemy. The International Committee, celebrating its 25th year since its foundation in December 1953, is the centre of the struggle against this revisionist enemy, the world party of the socialist revolution, the continuation of Trotsky's work, the Fourth International.

Revolutionary Perspectives in Sri Lanka

[Extracts from the Draft Resolution on Political Perspectives to be presented at the 6th Congress of the Revolutionary Communist League of Sri Lanka (Ceylon)]

The Indian Subcontinent

THE QUALITATIVE transformation of the world crisis and especially the transformation of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank into the fundamental instruments which unleash the class war have already damaged irreparably the class relations established in the Indian sub-continent after the war. The birth of Bangladesh by breaking up Pakistan in 1971, the collapse of the Indian Congress for the first time in 1977 and in Sri Lanka the replacement of the old parliament with a Bonapartist regime in 1977 are definite symptoms of this situation.

The imperialists in the 1940s, in pursuance of the strategy commencing from the Bretton Woods Agreements, divided India and thereby kept under control the great struggle of the Indian masses for self-determination and complete liberation from imperialism. This strategy found even a temporary basis only because of the capitalist Congress's policy of supporting the division of India and hanging on to the tail of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and because of the support it received from Stalinism.

Even though supported by this betrayal, imperialism would not have succeeded in its strategy had not it been able to divert a large amount of its resources into India through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and give room to Indian commodities by expanding the world market. This strategy was a costly one. Ultimately it recoiled with great force on its own creators. The gigantic economic collapse, the trade war and the break-up of the very basis of world trade and transactions which is being experienced now, is the total collapse of this world strategy of imperialism.

The compromise struck by imperialism with the national bourgeois ruling classes of India and the other countries in order to stop the socialist revolution could be maintained only under conditions of an expanding world market and a stable currency unit.

The beginning of the erosion of these conditions from the 1960s onwards and the knocking out of the basis of the Bretton Woods agreement in 1971 broke down the relationship which had hitherto existed between imperialism and the erstwhile colonies.

From the 1970s the International Monetary Fund assumed the role of a policeman in relation to these countries.

It is this transformation which triggered off the youth rebellion in Sri Lanka in 1971 and the liberation movement of Bangladesh. The erosion of the people's living conditions, the plunder by the International Monetary Fund, and the difficulties the imperialist's faced in maintaining a divisive catspaw like Pakistan unleashed a massive national struggle in India.

This struggle necessarily assumed a national form. But its content was the world revolution. This for the first time initiated the process of crushing the imperialist strategy to keep India split and set off irreversibly the movement to dissolve Pakistan.

The national bourgeoisie turned to the left at that stage of the struggle. The Indian bourgeoisie fought against the Pakistan catspaw in Bengal to defend its internal market and to find a means of escaping the trade war that loomed. But that was the beginning of the end. There is no doubt that the establishment of Bangladesh was a major blow to imperialism.

The real context of the struggle in Bengal, as well as the struggle of the Indian workers and peasants which gathered underneath the military intervention of the Indian Congress Government against Pakistan in Bengal, was to free India from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and imperialism. From this arose the problem of overthrowing the national bourgeoisie against the compromise which they made with the imperialists because of their historic weakness and limitations; the problem of unifying India on the basis of the socialist revolution. As this question emerged more and more clearly the capitalist class of India and Bengal came forward as the hostages of the International Monetary Fund.

Utilising the historic weaknesses of the Bengali capitalists the International Monetary Fund created national bankruptcy in this region, directed a series of blows at the people, using Mujibur Rahman's government, and brought in a right wing military Government in the context of the situation arising therefrom.

This policy was carried out within India itself. The Indian Congress was pushed into conflict with the working class and the oppressed masses on a

hitherto unheard-of scale. The semi-Bonapartist government of Indira Gandhi arose from this crisis. Attacking living conditions viciously, making strikes illegal, imposing birth control policies by force, the Gandhi government tried desperately but without success to remain free of the pressure applied by the International Monetary Fund.

Yet the qualitative development of the economic crisis on the one hand raised the struggle of the masses higher, and on the other hand pushed the bankrupt Indian bourgeoisie more rapidly into the hands of the International Monetary Fund. In this situation the need to unleash civil war to crush the working class was on the agenda of considerable capitalist sections grouped inside as well as outside the Congress. The 'civil disobedience' movement launched by the section led by Jayaprakash Narayan and others was not aimed fundamentally at the Congress: rather its purpose was to unleash civil war against the mass scale popular discontent which had developed in opposition to the Congress Government.

The support given by the Stalinists to Indira Gandhi's Bonapartist regime was basically a programme to disarm the workers and peasants in the face of this threat. The two main groupings of Stalinism — the CPI and the CPM respectively — gave support to the Gandhi Government and the right wing opposition to Gandhi, thereby deliberately giving time to a vicious policy of politically immobilising the working class until the Indian bourgeoisie resolve their crisis of power.

This strategy was shattered by the class struggle at the end of 1976 just as it attained the most vicious height. The Congress regime collapsed before the bourgeoisie could organise to build any definite alternative organisation in its place.

The assortment of parties and groups under the Janatha Party was assembled in haste only in order to check the mass movement. The Janatha Party is by no means the instrument that the bourgeoisie prefers to wield in the midst of the social crisis generated by the fall of the Congress. It is a stop gap organisation set up to organise the real civil war utilising the Stalinist betrayals. Everybody ranging from the 'Democratic Congress' who had fled for fear of the mass movement which rose up against the Gandhi Government, up to the extreme right-wing fanatics of the Jan Sang and the Bharatiya Lok Dal of Charan Sing, set up camp to contain the exploding mass movement. The so called Marxist Communist Party joined this in the name of defence of 'democracy' while the reactionary Socialist Party crept into it under the pretext of preventing the country from being taken over by 'communism'. The nature of this front and the haste displayed by the Indian bourgeoisie in setting it up directly shows the absolute treachery of the politics of Indian Stalinism carried on under the guise of the formula of the 'Democratic Revolution.'

From the collapse of the Congress arose a situa-

tion where the masses stood up in opposition to the rule of the whole bourgeoisie in a context in which the bourgeoisie was desperately split. Short of the counter-revolutionary work carried on by the Indian Stalinists to contain this gigantic advance of the world revolution into a 'democratic opposition' at any cost, the Indian bourgeoisie would have found no room either to organise the Janatha Party or to prepare civil war taking cover behind the Janatha Party.

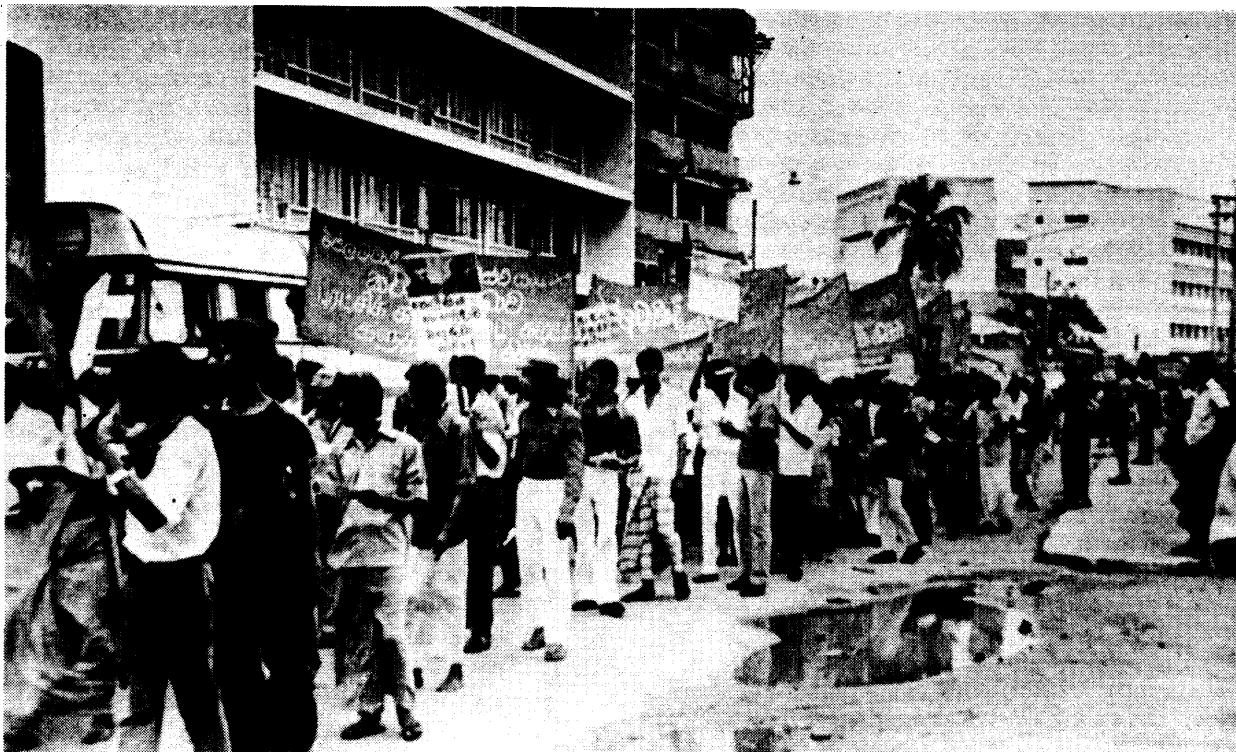
The Janatha Party was pushed to power precisely at the moment when the crisis of imperialism underwent a qualitative transformation. Yet this Government is not the Government that the Indian bourgeoisie needs now. The depth of the crisis and the development of the mass struggle is bound to break up the Janatha coalition. Every moment's delay in organising the Indian working class to take the power will open the door for the plans of the rightist military dictatorship.

The immense parasitism of the Indian capitalist economy and the reflection of the present stage of the crisis of imperialism within the Indian economy will directly prepare the ground for a massive class polarisation heading to civil war.

The outcry maintained by the Indian bourgeois organs around the fact that the foreign assets of the country went up to Rs. 40,000 million in 1977 (from only 10,000 million in 1973) cannot cover up the real nature of the crisis. While the foreign assets have accumulated up to 40,000 million the economy has expanded only 1.6%. In the same period the population grew by 2%. In relation to this it is clear that the economy has in fact fallen back to the extent of 4%. According to economic reporters the per capita income has fallen by 6%. This means that it has sunk below Rs. 360/-a year.

The rise in the foreign assets indicates not the strength of the Indian economy but its immense parasitism. One quarter of this is income sent by the Indians employed in the Arab countries. The rest has been accumulated by selling low quality articles such as Tata buses & scooters to backward countries in the context of the world trade war. This is not a permanent market and is already dwindling. The sharpening of the trade war especially is being reflected in the economy. Because Japan has decided to cut the iron ore imported from India by 5%, 100,000 Indian workers already face unemployment.

On the other hand the foreign assets accumulated in the country do not supply any stimulation to investment. Industries which already function far below capacity cannot make any use of this capital. The reason for this is that the home market for these articles has contracted. In a situation where 51.5% of the people live below the poverty line one can appreciate the crisis in the home market. This creates an unprecedented situation. The industries have to cut down production and destroy employment on a gigantic scale. On the other hand what they have already produced stagnate on a large scale.



Revolutionary Communist League demonstration in Colombo, May Day 1977

The most brutal expression of this situation is that 17 million tons of cereals have been stockpiled in the midst of a famine situation. The accumulation of vast quantities of articles in this manner, the non-utilisation of a large part of the capacity of the industries — in some instances 54% — the increase in the money supply by 18.6% owing to the large scale credit supplies from the banks and in the midst of all these conditions the existence of 51% of the population in dire poverty, all point out the scale of the social explosion that is on the cards.

On the other hand the foreign debt of the government is 82,220 million in Indian Rupees. The interest alone amounts to 21% of all foreign earnings.

It is this world crisis which has laid the basis of the most violent conflict between the Janatha Party government and the Indian masses, a massive popular uprising is created against the results of the recession and police state preparations already within a period of less than one year of the government coming to power. The large scale Bandh struggle and the general strike which burst forth in the first half of this year and the rebellion and general strike which has developed in Hyderabad against police brutality are only signs of struggle to come.

Reeling in the face of this massive uprising the Janatha Party is already split. The Jan Sing and the other rightist groups which joined forces in the Janatha Party 'taking on a democratic guise' in order to prevent the power which had slipped from the Congress Party from falling into the hands of the working class now clash openly against the Desai leadership.

The inability of the Desai leadership to pass anti-trade union laws and discipline the working class means the ruling class must build the military and semi-military instruments necessary to launch brutal repression.

The campaign carried on by the Marxist Communist Party to oust 'Rightists' from the Janatha Government as well as the campaign carried out by the Pro-Moscow Stalinists to bring together 'Progressive' congress forces are campaigns to disarm the masses before the counter revolution. Within India the task is to take the initiative to build a leadership with the perspective of defeating this treacherous leadership with the perspective of establishing the Trotskyist leadership. To take this initiative even on a small scale will be the beginning of the most massive transformation in the context of the present crisis in India.

The reflection of the world crisis in Ceylon

THE COMING to power of the UNP government in Ceylon in 1977 with an unprecedented number of seats in parliament is a result of the qualitative change in the world crisis. The total collapse of the post-war imperialist strategy and the bankruptcy of the attempts to postpone the proletarian revolution by means of the Stalinist and Samasamajist leaders is behind the return to power of the present UNP Government.

This marks the end of the period beginning from 1977. Considering that the return to power of the UNP was the beginning of a polarisation of class forces, the Revolutionary Communist League based

its struggle on the perspective of overthrowing the UNP ever since July 1977, because the RCL had struggled to base its work on the qualitative transformation of the world crisis. It was on this basis that our struggle to free the revolutionary movement from every influence of revisionism and centrism, which rejected the qualitative transformation of the world crisis and the movement of the working class towards power, and worked to confine the working class within the limitations of the RSSP-CP leaderships, was developed ever since July 1977.

The left Samsamajist centrists, Tampoe of the United Secretariat, the Samarakkody-Andradi clique as well as the JVP, attacked our perspective of overthrowing the UNP explaining that the return of the UNP to power was a result of the exhaustion and weakening of the working class due to the betrayal of the Stalinists and the Samasamajists. By doing so they took up the position of joint partners in the new strategy of imperialism. The return to power of the UNP Government and the counter-revolutionary programme put into action along with it cannot be taken as a 'thing in itself'. All those who do not analyse the role of the UNP as the end of a strategy which the ruling class had adopted to escape the socialist revolution are not capable of grasping the gigantic transformation of the class situation and the struggle for power brought up by it.

The decline and the rotting away of the capitalist class in Ceylon is intimately connected to the death agony of imperialism, specially British imperialism. British imperialism which had included Ceylon and India as parts of itself had arrived at a situation not only of not being able to get out of its own internal corrosion but of total impotence before the gigantic upsurge of the colonial masses.

Steps could be taken to continue further the relics of imperialism and British capitalism because the American ruling class came up to shoulder the burden of Bretton Woods and the national bourgeois leaders and the Stalinists gave their support by means of a series of betrayals.

Imperialism took steps to declare 'independence' for Ceylon and India after having got the agreement of the National Congress leaders to divide India and the agreement of the Stalinists to keep the class struggle confined within the parliamentary boundaries. This was a dangerous gamble with the social revolution in India and Ceylon. Its success did not merely rest on whether the national bourgeois leaders and Stalinists were ready to betray but also whether the IMF and the World Bank were capable of spending money to prevent social upheavals in these countries.

One aspect of this strategy was to go to the leaders of the LSSP, which had never been a Trotskyist movement, to line up behind the 1947 agreement. Samasamajist leaders as well as the Stalinists prostrated themselves before the 1947 settlement. Thus a parliamentary labyrinth was prepared to derail the social revolution, utilising the so-called Samasama-

jist theory of 'Socialism in one country' and the Stalinist theory of revolution in two stages. The social revolution which had been submerged by tricks and manoeuvres raised its head again.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party which took some steps to mobilise the working class against the massive fraud was liquidated inside the LSSP by its leadership and the forces that worked to liquidate the Fourth International inside Stalinism. In 1950 all those leaders supported the establishment of a Central Bank and the policies of the World Bank which came behind this move.

In 1953 with the end of the Korean War boom, the revolutionary struggle suppressed in 1947 by manoeuvres and conspiracies again came to the surface. The 1953 Hartal came to the very edge of being a struggle for power. The urban working classes and the rural peasantry as well as the oppressed Tamils of the North participated in the Hartal struggle and exposed before the ruling classes that they had no support among the layers of people.

In this situation the conscious strategy of the ruling classes was to bring into the arena the SLFP, which had separated from the UNP prior to the Hartal, and open the door for coalition government carried on with the participation of the Samasamajist and Stalinist leaders. Bandaranaike was placed in power in 1956 on this basis. The Bandaranaike regime is the result of the abortion of the Hartal of 1953. Utilising the boom in the advanced capitalist countries and the class upsurge in the colonial countries in order for the national bourgeoisie to escape the pressures of imperialism, while at the same time avoiding the conflict with the working class, the national bourgeoisie was forced to take a series of steps.

The series of reforms carried out by Bandaranaike, using the state machine to defend the interests of the national bourgeoisie, constituted trade restrictions to safeguard the home market from the cheap goods of the world market, and nationalisation in certain sectors. These measures succeeded, even though temporarily, in suppressing the problems of rising prices and unemployment. But there arose another result from this — that was the immediate and broad development of the trade union movement and improvement of the living condition of the working class to a certain extent through the struggle of trade unions.

If the so-called Bandaranaike programme did to a certain extent cultivate the myth of the independent development of the capitalist class, it also increased the strength of the working class in numbers and organisation and created a great fear in the minds of the bourgeoisie about the working class as a force that ate up the development achieved by the capitalist class with great difficulty. That is why the capitalist class itself conspired to kill Bandaranaike and destabilise the first MEP government.

Because of the pressure applied on the US dollar in the 1960s the imperialists began to unload the

weight of that crisis on the colonial countries. This led to the explosive collapse of the Bandaranaike era. This was unavoidable. The capitalist class now not only faced a situation where it felt that any development was inundated beforehand even before it was achieved, they also felt that the working class, which was even better organised than before, and the peasants who rose up against the removal of subsidies in 1953, had subjected them to a deadly threat.

The capitalist class avoided the recurrence of a Hartal in 1964 by admitting the LSSP into a coalition. The reality that the capitalists faced was revealed by Mrs Bandaranaike herself in the following words. 'Either a coalition government or a military government.'

Although the LSSP and Stalinist leaders deserted for the open protection of the capitalist class and abandoned the working class totally the coalition government failed to win the support of imperialist financial institutions. The attempt made by the succeeding UNP government to enforce the policies of the bankers resulted in the ouster of the UNP government through a popular uprising and the return of the coalition to power in Parliament as a result of the attempt of the leadership to contain this movement within parliament.

When we emphasise that the bringing down of the coalition government in Ceylon by the 1971 uprising of youth and the massive wave of strikes in 1976 is the beginning of a new era of class struggles in Ceylon, we say unequivocally that all the efforts of

NOW AVAILABLE



First issue of the new theoretical journal of the Sri Lankan and Australian sections of the International Committee.

Order from the Paperbacks Centre, 28 Charlotte Street, London W1, or from the Brixton branch, or Merseybooks, Liverpool. Price £1.10 (including postage).

the capitalist class to contain the working class utilising the Samasamajist Stalinist leaderships and the institutions of parliamentary rule since 1947 have broken down finally.

The UNP came to power in 1977 on the shoulders of a popular opposition which sprang up all over the country against the recession and the relentless attempts of the leaderships to impose the conditions of recession on the masses. Thus the election results contained massive contradictions. This contradiction contained a gigantic explosive strength. It can and will explode, creating a struggle for power. The Revolutionary Communist League should start all its activity from the perspective preparing this struggle.

The UNP government is the real cudgel of the World Bank and the IMF. It has now come to power at a moment when the crisis of imperialism has become incurable. The task this has set before the government was made adequately clear last year. Its definite task is to reverse completely the programme of adaptation to the Ceylonese working class and the oppressed people carried on by the national bourgeoisie hand in hand with imperialists since 1940.

Although a large number of corporations and industries did not operate at full capacity their indebtedness has increased by leaps and bounds. The textile Materials corporation was indebted to the extent of Rs. 11.08 million in 1978, while this rose to 28.8 million in June 1977. The Petroleum Corporation increased its debts from Rs. 29.17 million in 1976 to Rs. 41.41 million in 1977, the CWE from Rs. 3.47 million in 1976 to Rs. 10.87 million in 1977 and the National Textile Materials Corporation from Rs. 7.82 million in 1976 to Rs. 12.39 million in 1977.

Especially when the present finance minister says that the policy of the previous government in infusing money into the industries and corporations, in order to save its life in the face of the onslaught of the working class, is the root cause of inflation, it should be understood as heralding a policy of massacring jobs. He did not only take steps to devalue the rupee by 100% and reduce the money but he took an even more atrocious step. He removed the restrictions imposed since the 1950s to save the home market from the influx of foreign goods and stated at the same time that the government does not want to continue its support to any industries other than those which can compete with foreign goods and survive. This is the UNP strategy of creating monstrous unemployment by closing down industries.

On the other hand, eight months after the UNP Government came to power after promising that it will bring down the cost of essential items immediately and make them available to everybody, the prices of all articles are increasing by leaps. The cost of living index which was 204.8 in July 1977 has gone up to 221.7 by February 1978. The annual rate of inflation is 17%.

The rural peasantry too have been subjected to the UNP's onslaught. The policy that the UNP has carried out in the rural areas behind the facade of speeding up the Mahaweli Project is bringing the most destructive consequences on the peasants. Fundamental to this is the policy of driving out the peasants from the areas under the Mahaweli Scheme. Already this policy is being put into action in the Rajangana area in Anuradhapura.

Already steps have been taken to punish the peasants who have not paid their debts and stop loans to cultivators on the advice of the World Bank. By this attack on the very basis of agriculture and increasing the prices of all essential articles, conditions have been created to oust poor peasants from their flats.

The UNP government raised the prices of all seeds, chemicals, implements and everything necessary for agriculture. The continuous increase in their prices has now become a constant feature. The government has plans in hand to do away with the fertiliser subsidy altogether. The poor farmers as they cultivate are caught in a trap by groups of speculators who are encouraged by the government. The speculators wrest the products of the peasants at the cheapest possible price and sell at the maximum prices to the consumer. During the last 'maha' season which gave a record paddy harvest the peasants have become victims of a worse crisis. The grip of the black marketeer has become tighter with the peasant being unable to quickly dispose of his produce.

There has never been a government which aimed such a series of harsh blows on the working class as this government has done. Behind this desperation of the government is the world crisis. This crisis has now developed to a level of wiping out entirely the national bourgeois industrialists in the Island. In 1977 only 64% of the capacity of state industries was used. These are the characteristics of an economy contracting and collapsing very fast.

While the economic stagnation and collapse proceeds thus the total debts in Ceylon have risen to Rs. 15,000 million. Interest payments alone amount to Rs. 2,800 million. The total export income of 1977 was Rs. 6,650 million. This included an additional Rs. 650 million coming from the increased price of tea. Therefore, the import bill which amounted to Rs. 6,650 million could be met in 1977. The foreign assets including the foreign debt received by October 1977 amounted to Rs. 2,739 million.

But at the end of this year may come bankruptcy on a level with Turkey. The interest payments are Rs. 2,500 million. Due to the fall of world prices, the average price of tea is being halved in a year to Rs. 7.50 per pound. The devaluation of the rupee by 100% and the liberalisation of imports have liquidated foreign assets considerably. If the price of tea goes down further and the loans expected from the IMF do not materialise the Government will not be able to pay its import bills at the end of this year.

It is this crisis that has pushed the UNP government into the lap of the IMF. The IMF has already wrested from this government the power to decide every policy in the country. Cutting all the existing subsidies, raising the prices of all articles in line with the increasing prices of the world market have already been prepared by the IMF as condition for the loan that is being agreed on now. The IMF has told this government that these measures must be taken by October.

The question whether the workers take the power or accept barbarism has been posed in the course of the present class struggle.

Bonapartism and the preparation for civil war

ALL THE agitational activities carried out by the RCL now take place under the shadow of a civil war between the undefeated workers and peasants movement which is nourished by the immense forward thrust of the world revolution on the one hand and the parasitic ruling class which is immediately tied up with the programme of the international monetary fund.

The period of bourgeois democracy is finished for ever. The extreme economic bankruptcy of the capitalist class has opened the door directly to every conspiracy that is being hatched by the IMF and imperialism against the revolution in the Indian subcontinent. Already the subservience of the government to the IMF has developed to the extent of agreeing in principle to the establishment of imperialist military bases in Ceylon.

There is no measure that imperialism would not take against the danger of defaulting on loans and to secure the defence of imperialism in a decisive and strategically crucial area. Especially in the light of the crisis of the Janatha government and the beginning of the revolutionary upsurge on the Indian subcontinent, the bankers are preparing every step to utilise every desperation and every weakness of the bourgeoisie.

The struggle against the UNP Government is the struggle against this strategy. It will be a struggle which could be won only under the revolutionary unity with the workers and peasants within the Indian subcontinent.

The struggle for the power of the working class against this strategy will have to be carried out by the working class and the League under illegal conditions. In this situation every illusion that one has about bourgeois democracy will lead to the betrayal of the working class and the peasantry to fascist barbarism.

This demands cadre training of an entirely new type. It includes developing independent leaderships in every area and the training of editorial boards, thousands of agitators, and propagandists. The qualitative meaning of transforming the Revolutio-

nary Communist League into the revolutionary party flows from this objective situation.

The bourgeois ruling class which is sunk neck deep into economic bankruptcy is using every misleadership and every confusion existing in the workers movement to escape from the impasse they have arrived at. While the bourgeoisie is preparing mainly for a military intervention the Samasamajist-Stalinist leaders and every type of centrist movement are being called upon to rejuvenate myths about bourgeois democracy and catch the working class in a protest trap. The war which the UNP government is carrying out hand in hand with the International Monetary Fund to destroy basic living conditions and basic rights can be won by the working class only by leading an uprising of the working class and peasantry under the leadership of the revolutionary party to smash the state machine and appropriate the property of the capitalist class. Everything done to hamper the preparation of the workers and peasants for this task is to open the door for dictatorship.

The Bonapartist presidential system of rule established by J.R. Jayawardena in February 1978 is an advanced stage of this civil war preparation. The first step taken by UNP Leader Jayawardena, who received a four-fifth majority in parliament, making use of the conditions created by the betrayal of the LSSP and CP, was to establish the executive power outside of the parliament under the precept that the president is directly responsible to the people and not to the parliament. Here is a bonapartist dictatorship not even controlled by any limits. Jayawardena is neither responsible to the voter nor to the constituencies.

At the same time the president has entrusted himself with all the power to dissolve the cabinets and the parliament, to appoint the cabinets he needs, to declare emergency and to mobilise the armies. This is a plan to rule on the basis of the armies and the state bureaucracy extra-parliamentarily.

As the other part of this plan the government has taken steps to resurrect laws which had been confined to the rule book. Section 120 of the Penal Code, i.e. that it is an offence to instigate people against the government, has been now used to keep leftists and trade union leaders under detention without trial.

These measures taken to bar even the limited opportunity the workers and peasant masses have to intervene in state power by creating parliamentary crises, are directly linked to the politics of the slump which the UNP government is implementing. What arises out of this is not a period which creates fertile ground for protest struggles as the revisionists claim, but a period in which any kind of protest struggle is instantaneously made to confront the state power. This marks the beginning of a new qualitative stage of the class struggle, where no fight of the workers and peasants against the slump would be contained within the limits of pressure or protest.

This situation where all the struggles of the workers are merged as a part of the revolutionary struggle for power, has posed in the most concrete form the task of preparing the struggle for power by establishing the leadership of the RCL in the broadest manner. Along with the establishment of presidential rule, the first attack of the government was aimed at the organised working class. The anti-trade union white paper introduced by the UNP government, designed to pass corporate laws, to outlaw the right to carry out trade union struggles and picketing and to legalise the 'right' of employers to lock-outs, came forward as a necessary part of this plan. This was directly connected with the attempt to establish junta rule in a sector of the country, abolishing the common law in that area in order to open the door for investments on their own terms.

It is essential to emphasise the fact that the UNP established its Bonapartist presidential rule in a context where the working class was not inflicted with any defeat. The aggravation of the economic slump, as well as the pressure enforced by the IMF, had created a situation where a series of ruthless attacks against the undefeated mass movement was unpostponable. Now the government has taken steps to block all earlier avenues used under the parliamentary system to postpone the direct class confrontation. Under the new circumstances the working class has no room to waste time in a labyrinth of constitutionalism using pressure on the ruling class. The only meaning of the fact that all avenues for pressure politics are blocked by Bonapartist rule is that the working class is pushed towards the door of class power in all its struggles. The decisive battle gets closer.

Although this path taken by the ruling class is dangerous for themselves there is no other way out for them. This is why we emphasise that these are steps taken for the civil war to defeat the working class decisively. The struggle against the anti-trade union white paper as well as the struggle launched by the teachers and students against the education cuts has clearly led them to confront the question of state power.

It is here that more than at any other time that the UNP government is dependant on the LSSP and CP leaders in the preparation for civil war. Without the service of the LSSP and Stalinist leaders to divert the working class to constitutional protest where it confronts the capitalist class power under conditions where the government has blocked all the avenues for protest and pressure movements, the government would be unable to mobilise the military and police against the working class.

Everything done by these leaders to derail the struggle for power and to demoralise the working class and create a clear wedge between the working class and the petty-bourgeois class, has to be understood as work done to openly support the civil war preparations of the UNP Government. The essential

pre-condition of the struggle to overthrow the Bonapartist rule is to end the paralysis in the working class by replacing these leaderships.

When the fight against the White Paper achieved broader proportions the government, realising that it cannot be implemented just by legal means, retreated from implementing the White Paper and launched a thuggish attack against the worker and student movement. Here the thugs were mobilised under the protection of the state and as auxiliary forces of the state.

In this situation the policy of the LSSP and Stalinist leaders was to force the government to intervene with the state forces against these thugs. When the leaders took steps to confuse the working class by these measures the government mobilised the armed forces. Forces were sent to the university campuses under the pretext of a search. When the police confirmed after the search that the students were unarmed, within a few hours the thugs once again invaded the campuses. Here one thing is pretty clear. The thugs derive their strength not from a mass fascist movement, but from the state. Precisely when it is difficult for the state to intervene and when the state decides to use thugs the LSSP and the Stalinist leaders demand state intervention. This is how the civil war is being prepared.

There is no worse fraud than the one adopted by the Samasamajist and Stalinists in calling for a 'fight against fascism' in defence of the democratic rule. This uproar against an abstract 'fascism' is to tie down the working class behind the armed forces of the 'democratic states'. What was proved by the experience of Chile in 1973 and Thailand in 1976 is that the fascist movements in underdeveloped countries are activated through the military and the police. Thug forces cannot be separated from the military and the police. What is demanded by the intervention of the thugs is to drive out the UNP and to dissolve the capitalist state. In the fight to raise the working class to this task a mass campaign to mobilise the workers and peasants around the socialist policy and to form defence committees, and to dissolve the capitalist state, is necessary.

Mass support is being received for all the agitational campaigns of the RCL especially in the rural areas — and the constant attempt by the workers and peasants to move forward, discarding the traitors, demands from us a bold and open turn outwards on this full programme of socialist policies. Both by-elections held showed how the votes for the UNP as well as the SLFP have decreased unprecedentedly. In the constituency of J.R. Jayawardene, which has a majority of middle class voters, UNP votes decreased from 21,000 to 13,000 while 43% of the voters abstained. This position of the middle class issues a very clear signal for us.

The struggle against the increasing inflation and the joblessness forces workers, youth and housewives to take definite steps to expropriate capitalist property. This is the condition which rallies millions

of oppressed masses around the fight to mobilise the trade unions to open the books of the capitalist industries and for factory occupations. We agitate to force the Samsamajists and Stalinist leaders to drive out the UNP, thereby to smash completely the political credibility of those leaders on this basis. To expose the centrists who cover up for these leaders as well as the teaching of these leaders, we will fight to intervene among the supporters of the LSSP and CP and the centrist movements, in our struggle for action committees to unite and mobilise the workers and peasant against the UNP government. It is through such a struggle that the working class and the peasant masses will be led forward to develop their own power.

The whole League must grasp the urgency demanded by the situation which has developed. What has erupted is an unprecedented situation for the building of the revolutionary party. But every single movement formed on the basis that events spontaneously would become favourable to us will be utilised by the ruling class to once again re-establish their predominance. Only a struggle against all forces of routinism and lethargy to unite and mobilise the worker-peasant masses on the basis of socialist policies, to drive out the treacherous leadership and to establish the revolutionary leadership, will open the door for the League to be transformed into the revolutionary party.

The problems of minorities

THE BREAKDOWN of the post-war imperialist strategy has brought forth in its sharpest form all the unresolved problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Ceylon and the Indian sub-continent. The basic question of national unity and the problem of the democratic rights of the minorities which were swept underneath by the manoeuvres of the national bourgeois ruling classes during the temporary imperialist boom period now thrust forward in an unbreakable and unpostponable manner. The solution to these problems is linked completely to the question of capturing state power by the working class in Ceylon and India by overthrowing the rule of the imperialists and their agents in this whole region.

There can be no solution to the unresolved problems of the democratic revolution without a planned property system expropriating the capitalist class and a united socialist republic including the Indian sub-continent, Burma and Ceylon.

The revisionists, who separate the movements which have now erupted in many parts of India and especially in the northern and eastern provinces of Ceylon for the democratic rights of the minorities, from the strategy take these questions as 'things in themselves' and are opposed to the fight to complete the democratic revolution.

The other face of this humiliating capitulation of

the revisionists to the UNP government in Ceylon and the Janatha Party government in India is their agitation for separate states in the Northern part of Ceylon and regional states in India. Precisely at the juncture where the unity of the forces of the working class and the peasant masses in the Indian sub-continent and Ceylon has become vitally necessary against the UNP government, and Bangladesh the support given by the revisionists to divide India and Ceylon is a direct support for imperialism.

Here they have unscrupulously deformed Lenin's theory of national self-determination. They have made the fight for the democratic rights of the minorities not a struggle against the reactionary capitalist classes in India and Ceylon who are unable to achieve national unity, but an opportunity to dismantle the national unity and open the door for the imperialist strategy of divide and rule.

The preparation of the working class for state power is an objective challenge forced by the stage reached objectively by the economic crisis in the class struggle. The struggle now being waged by the RCL to bring down the UNP government and to establish the revolutionary party by replacing the treacherous LSSP-Stalinist leadership, in the course of the struggle to unite the working class and the peasantry around a socialist programme, is directly based on the objective understanding abstracted from the qualitative change in the economic crisis and the rapid transformation of the class struggle.

The intensification of the class struggle and the development of a crisis which raises the question of power is not something determined by the consciousness of the working class or the revolutionary party. On the contrary every fight waged by the workers and peasants against the effects of the depression is confronted by the objective reality of the class struggle. That is it is forced to confront the bourgeois state power. The content of economic crisis which transcended the old forms of struggle of the workers and peasants creates the objective dynamism for taking the lead forward to power. This leap must of necessity be taken. However in order to guarantee the victory of the working class it is necessary for the revolutionary party to provide the working class with conscious revolutionary practice. This inevitably demands an intensification of the struggle against the politics of the centrists and revisionists who adapt themselves to the spontaneous consciousness of the working class and the youth and prevent the working class from taking the objectively necessary lead.

The practice carried out by the RCL to overthrow the UNP to prepare workers' power and establish the revolutionary party by defeating Samasamajism and Stalinism has won the hostility of all the varieties of revisionists, centrists and the JVP.

Those sections which are prostrate before the 'strength' of the UNP government and the 'strength' of the betrayals of the Samasamajist and Stalinist leaders came forward to condemn the 'ultra

leftism' and the 'adventurism' of the RCL in chorus with the Stalinists and the Samasamajists.

The Pabloite revisionists, including Tampoe, have joined hands in the Trade Union front with the Samasamajist-Stalinist leadership who are opposed even to protest strikes. The Samarakkody-Andradi clique has openly called our perspective of a general strike to bring down the UNP government 'ultra leftist' madness and are clinging on to a formula of 'advancing the class struggle'. The Left Samasamajist Centrists and the Centrists inside the Lanka Guru Sangamaya (Lanka Teachers' Union) say that since the Samasamajists and Stalinist leaders do not allow any steps beyond protest strikes they themselves are prevented from going any further.

The open JVP position is that since Samasamajist Stalinist leaders betray and since the working class is not 'ready', it is a criminal political mistake to summon the working class in any sort of struggle. The fact that all these sections have lined up behind Samasamajism and Stalinism at the decisive moment indicates that the class struggle has reached a stage where every tendency hostile to continuity of revolutionary Marxism represented by the International Committee of the Fourth International which managed to wear a revolutionary mask to left phraseology and protest action in the past, is now being ruthlessly exposed. This is a clear signal of the development of the struggle for power. On the other hand it creates the opportunity for raising the question of the preparation of the revolution in the most concrete manner.

The methodology of all these groups is that of subjective idealism and impressionism. They reject the revolutionary role of the working class and qualitative change in the world capitalist crisis. In the midst of every struggle during the past few months, every time they come forward to warn about the immaturity and the 'unpreparedness' of the working class and to say that any steps taken to develop revolutionary preparation would open the door to counter-revolution.

Rejecting the dialectical relationship between the immaturity of the working class and the struggle to establish the revolutionary leadership which, replacing the Samasamajists and Stalinists, will lead the struggle for power, they place themselves in an increasingly vicious circle; they openly state that the working class on the one hand cannot face up to the revolutionary challenge because the leadership betrays and on the other hand that the treacherous leadership cannot be defeated because the workers continue to remain at this level. By this they have opened the door for them to establish a counter revolutionary alliance with the Samasamajist and Stalinist leadership.

The positions taken by the JVP leadership are the clearest example of this. They openly state that since the working class lacks the necessary consciousness and preparation for solving the crisis of power raised by the general strike such a struggle would inevita-

bly bring to power an extremely destructive and adventurist one. Their alternative proposal is to engage in activities that suit the 'preparedness' of the working class. What they say is that an 'ideological struggle' must be waged to change the consciousness of the working class while the JVP at the same time clings to the bourgeois consciousness of the class in practice. This is the methodology that has been adapted by all opportunists since the Russian Mensheviks. The reply that Lenin made to this methodology express the real task of revolutionary preparation.

On the question of *winning* power, the Central Committee at once adopts the petty-bourgeois idealist and not the proletarian materialist print of view. It deduces 'natural succession' to power from the most widespread 'idea' ('in the eyes' of the people), and not from the realities of the struggle. It fails to understand that the 'natural successor' will not be the one who will be *victorious* in the struggle. The issue will not be decided by the 'mind of the people' but by the *strength* of the respective *classes* and the elements of society. (Lenin *Collected Works* Vol II pp154-155)

The strength of the class is not determined in an abstract manner. It is linked above all to the building of a leadership within the class to guide the class in carrying out its role in the struggle that is bound to develop.

The scepticism that is being peddled by the JVP and other centrists precisely at the moment when all the advanced signals of the instability that has been generated within certain layers of the petty bourgeoisie by the depression inevitably ends up by coming to the reactionary conclusion that there is no possibility at all for going beyond the limits proposed by the Samasamajist-Stalinist leadership. They come to this conclusion just at the moment when the working class is searching for a way out from the trap that has been set up by the Samasamajist-Stalinist leadership.

What is the most instructive for the struggle that we wage to build the revolutionary leadership is the nature of the ideological pressures released through all these tendencies of the class enemy. They do not accept that every specific experience to which they react in an impressionistic manner is in fact a contradictory reflection of the content of the insoluble crisis of capitalism and the revolutionary struggle that it has necessarily generated. The struggle that will be waged by the workers and peasants against the attacks of the UNP government, now driven on by the recession, will take many different forms. The form taken by the struggle of the masses will be a contradictory expression of its contents. As Lenin once explained:

The form which the coming struggle will probably take is determined partly by its content and partly by the preceding form of the revolutionary struggle of the people and of the counter revolutionary struggle of the autocracy (Lenin *Collected Works* Vol II. p.118).

Though the form of the struggle is determined by the experiences of the working class up to now and the pressures applied by the bourgeoisie, its content is determined by the insoluble economic crisis. The role of the revolutionary party is not to obstruct the revolutionary leap by being united with content while at the same time clinging to the form which stands in contradiction to it: on the contrary its role is to wage a struggle against the old form for the practice and method of struggle necessary to allow the revolutionary content which is striving to go beyond the old methods of struggle — the old form — to destroy, transcend and secure them. The rejection of this necessary struggle against spontaneity is to accept the existing dominance of the working class by the bureaucracy and capitalism.

The attacks on the picket movement against the White Paper by thugs and the student struggle created a crisis in the method of struggle which the working class and the students have been used to. The immediate appearance seems to show a situation where the working class retreated to a level of even refusing defensive struggles and protest action. It was this contradictory form that all revisionists, centrists and petty-bourgeois radicals utilise to attack the 'ultra Leftism' of the RCL. When the working class refused to respond to the verbal protest movement they organised the Stalinist Panditha called this an indication of the 'unpreparedness' of the working class and used this to initiate a witch hunt against the struggle of the League within the unions.

The essence of all the revisionist attacks on Marxism was the attempt to impose the dominance of this contradictory form on the revolutionary movement but it is precisely at the moment when the contradiction between the old form of struggle and its now revolutionary content is raised to its peak that the specific decisive responsibilities of the revolutionary leadership begin. The working class is prepared for power only by the intervention made by the cadres of the revolutionary party armed with a new set of practices to transcend the old method of struggle.

When the RCL intervened against the treachery of the revisionists and centrists not only did it generate a new favourable response but also it created a situation which marked a new qualitative stage in the struggle between the bureaucracy and the working class. The struggle of the League against the destruction of jobs is an example of this situation.

The intense crisis and bankruptcy of Samasamajism and Stalinism in this situation may provide some room for development of centrist and petty-bourgeois radical movements. The working class which breaks from the bureaucracy and moves left will meet the centrists who inhabit the middle ground between revolutionary marxism and reformism. However in the present world situation no room exists for the development of powerful centrist

movements that will survive for substantial periods of time. The sharpness with which the tasks of the struggle for power are posed and the undefeated nature of the working class will very rapidly precipitate conflict between the working class and centrists.

The main centrist tendencies that have to be ruthlessly exposed in the struggle for revolutionary leadership are the left Samasamajists who are attempting to forge a 'centrist international' with the opportunist Grant clique of Britain and the centrist leaders of the Lanka Guru Samgamaya and the Bank Employees Union. All these people make a lot of noise about how the Samasamajist-Stalinist leadership betrays and how it 'refuses to fight' but at the same time they say that the position of the Samasamajist and Stalinist leaders makes it impossible for them to initiate any revolutionary struggle within the Trade Union Committees. They clash with the Samasamajist-Stalinist and Tampoee leadership with proposals for token strikes etc. Once outside the committees they say that even though they waged a valiant struggle there was 'no change in the situation'. This politics of pressurising the bureaucracy and criticising it from the 'left' serves to provide a power for the bureaucracy. There is no other section within the mass workers' movement more hostile to the struggle to remove the Samasamajist-Stalinist leadership. Confronted with this struggle, their excuse is that the working class is not prepared.

Our intervention in the situation created by the armed forces in the Universities and the other related developments helped to expose the alliance between centrism and the bureaucracy. They stated that they were opposed to the slogans put forward by the Samasamajists and Stalinists calling for state intervention against the thugs. Yet, when the question was raised as to how the working class could be mobilised against the thugs without removing this leadership, what they said was that the class would directly become hostile to them if they attempted to change the leaders.

Together with this covering up for the bureaucracy, they came forward to build 'anti-UNP fronts together with the discredited SLEP. The absence of the Samasamajists and Stalinists from the SLEP platform and the refusal of the RCL to appear on that platform was explained by them as being due to the 'sectarianism' of the Samasamajists, Stalinists and the RCL.

Centrism is directly opposed to the class independence of the working class. Its role is to mislead a section of the working class which breaks with the Samasamajism and Stalinism and to make them once again a prey to popular front politics. Exposing this centrism at each stage of the struggle and defeating it is the pre-condition for winning over of the working class from the bureaucracy.

Trotsky is our comrade

Letter received by the Workers Internationalist League of Greece

WE ARE eight soliders who are serving our unbearable military service on one of the Aegean Islands. We have recently learned about the campaign you are conducting through your columns for the rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky, Bukharin and all the Bolshevik guard murdered by Stalin.

With this letter, comrades, we want to express our warmest support also for this campaign.

Some of us are COMMUNIST YOUTH members and PASOK youth members, and may have political differences with you. This fact, however, is secondary, in this concrete case; the primary fact is to take a position on the TRUE history. We believe we are honest Communists and as such, we do not hesitate to say: Trotsky is our comrade and his position is not in Coyoacan in Mexico, it is in the Red Square of Moscow next to the great Lenin.

Today, when revolution has begun to occupy the world arena, it is not possible to refuse to take this Communist position. The epoch when history could be falsified and be cut to measure by certain people who were speaking in the name of Communism, has gone forever. Today, in order to be able to overthrow the barbarous capitalist system which attempts to eliminate us, the necessary precondition is to bring to the centre of this struggle of ours the whole history, and above all, the history of the Great October and all the tremendous historical events that followed it.

We do not believe that men who dedicated their whole life to the cause of the proletarian revolution, that they supposedly became at the end collaborators of fascism. We do not believe that almost the whole of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks, Lenin's collaborators, were reduced to agents of imperialism.

How is it possible that the founder of the Red

Army, who was leading, together with Lenin, the smashing-up of black reaction and the establishment of Soviet power in Russia, would conspire with fascism in order to bring back that which he implacably brought down? It is impossible that the great Red generals Yakir, Ubovitch, Tuchachevsky, etc. have conspired . . . Colossal is Stalin's crime: this is what we discover and we condemn it.

We believe that we cannot proceed forward without condemning the Stalinist methods of dirty slanders and crime in the workers' movement. These methods led the world revolution to defeat in the 1920s and 1930s. We know that the Marxists never use this method. And this not because of some cheap priestly moral. They do not do so, because they believe that the world does not change by slanders and lies, but only through the organised revolutionary mobilisation of the working class and all the oppressed masses. Lies and falsifications and murder are the methods of the historically condemned class who is going to disappear from the historical scene, and this is why we do not adopt it. We adopt only the method of the socialist revolution.

Comrades, we believe that the campaign you are conducting is of great historical significance. This we have drawn through our own experience. By discussing this campaign and without understanding how, we found ourselves discussing about all our previous theoretical inheritance. By doing this of course we believe that we are arming ourselves in the struggle we are waging for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the Socialist Revolution.

We think that the same thing must be done by every worker and every fighter who speaks in the name of Socialism.

Comradely greetings

Bourgeois democracy and the Sklavos clique

*Document of the Workers Internationalist League, Greek section
of the International Committee of the Fourth International*

THE BASIC historical features of the imperialist epoch of war and revolutions are condensed in a particularly explosive way in Greece, three years after the overthrow of the military dictatorship. The working class, which passed through a General Strike in defence of all the democratic rights it has won against the Karamanlis government, is getting ready for tremendous class struggles, at a moment when the prospect of a bloody war between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean is becoming terribly immediate.

Behind the swift pace of developments lies the sudden deepening of the economic crisis. International imperialism, headed by American imperialism, is trying to escape from the impasse through conspiracies to deprive the working class of its political initiative and to restore imperialist control in the vital Eastern Mediterranean area.

Imperialism aims at smashing the Lebanese working class, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Arab Revolution, by finalising the partition of Cyprus, by imposing a military-fascist dictatorship in Greece, by preparing a Third World War. All these attempts are intensified, as the imperialists watch with fear the spread of revolution from the Middle East and Africa to Southern Europe and the imperialist nerve centres themselves, Britain and North America.

At this very advanced stage of decay and historical parasitism, the capitalist class bases all its hopes of success for its counter-revolutionary plans on the political control exercised over the masses by the Stalinist and reformist bureaucratic machines, a control defended by every kind of revisionist group.

In these material conditions, the recent period has seen a development of the sharpest struggle between the enemies of Marxism and the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International. In the past two years, a new wave of unprecedented revisionist attacks has been launched worldwide against Trotsky's International, expressing the most immediate and urgent need of decomposing imperialism: to prevent the working class from arming itself with the revolutionary Marxist leadership demanded by today's class struggles, struggles of immediate preparation for power. This is the historical basis of the appearance in Britain of Blick and Jenkins and Thornett, in the US of Wohlforth, in Greece of Sklavos.

The recent sharp battles of international Marxism against revisionism constitute the most urgent preparation for grasping the decisive content of the new practical revolutionary tasks. This struggle revolves around the training of a new generation of Marxist cadres able to organise in a mass way and lead the working class in a revolutionary way, through the smashing of every obstacle set by the class enemy. First of all *through the smashing of every element which tries to deceive the working class movement, saying that there is another way out besides social revolution.*

An important historical proof of the above is the rich experience derived by the Workers Internationalist League and the International Committee of the Fourth International from the recent struggle against the renegade Sklavos, as the most necessary step for building the Marxist party in Greece.

Historic test

The opening of a period which places on the agenda economic destruction, war and revolution, puts every organisation, group and tendency in the working-class movement to the highest historic test. The Workers Internationalist League was the only organisation in the National Strike last May which fought with the clear perspective of the overthrow of the Karamanlis government through an indefinite General Strike. It is the political organisation of the working class which organised, from the first moment of the Syrian intervention in Lebanon, the only public meetings in Greece on a wide campaign of defence of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the left Moslems. Only the Workers Internationalist League carries out the revolutionary struggle against the threat of imperialist war in the Aegean, on the Leninist line of revolutionary defeatism.

The Greek section of the International Committee established its revolutionary identity in the working class as the only heir of Trotskyism in Greece, by organising with unprecedented success rallies in Athens and Thessaloniki for the 36th anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, winning wide support from new layers in the struggle to uncover the crimes of Stalin and the GPU accomplices, Hansen and Novack. These important steps in building the party would have been impossible without the



Workers and youth at the Polytechnic on the anniversary of the occupation

victorious philosophical, political and organisational fight in the immediately preceding period against the idealism and Menshevism of the former general secretary of the WIL, L. Sklavos, and his liquidationist group.

During the eight months which have passed since the Sklavos group reneged and was expelled, it has undergone the swiftest ideological, political and organisational decomposition ever to appear — reflecting the acceleration of international economic and political developments. Out of the few dozen Sklavos had managed to lead into his anti-party manoeuvre, only a wretched handful of elements remain, which are now also being liquidated, in the name of 'entryism' into the capitalist PASOK and the Stalinist organisations.

Immediately before this final liquidation, the 'discussions on unification' between Sklavos' group and the microscopic Greek section of the Pabloite Secretariat, the Organisation of Communist Internationalists of Greece, ended up in the most unbelievable fiasco. The Pabloite revisionists, who initially leaned with a great deal of sympathy toward the new enemy of the International Committee of the Fourth International, now politely call him an 'acrobat' and 'Koestler's ape'. Of course, such things do not prevent them from welcoming his aid in covering up for the accomplices of the GPU. . .

Sklavos' 'journalistic organ', during the past few months has had the same fate. In the beginning it appeared as a counterfeit *Socialist Change*, weekly paper of the equally counterfeit 'WIL majority'. Very soon and with no explanations it became twice-monthly. After his legal defeat over the title, Sklavos' paper was transformed into *New Course*, 'twice-monthly' newspaper of the 'Communist Internationalist League', whose issues were few and far between, until it was finally closed.

As soon as he had reneged from Trotskyism, Sklavos began, together with all the revisionist mob, his demagoguery about the closing of the *Workers Press* — to be piteously contradicted by the issue of the *News Line*, the new mass circulation daily Trotskyist paper in Britain. Then he made the accusation that 'after Pablo, Healy has struck the greatest blow to Trotskyism' by closing the *Workers Press* and

stated in his document on his break with the International Committee and the WIL that the revolutionary party 'cannot be built without a regularly published newspaper' ('Defend the method of the Transitional Programme against the petty-bourgeois leading sect of the International Committee', in the pseudo-*Socialist Change* of February 21, 1976.) Now, with a leap, he justifies the closure of *New Course* in its last issue, with the unbelievable position that only . . . a mass party can have a newspaper!

All sections of the International, and the WIL in Greece, are intensely preparing to arm themselves with daily papers precisely because they are preparing the proletarian revolution, which demands the daily 'collective organiser, propagandiser and agitator'. The revisionists and Sklavos are preparing no revolution, in fact they are hostile to the very idea of it, which is supposedly 'premature'. The revisionists' indifference to the development or even the preservation of their Press expresses precisely their social role against the proletarian revolution and their parasitic existence on the side of the bureaucratic machines. What could be more scandalous, for Sklavos, than the existence and circulation of a daily Trotskyist paper, which would break the monopoly of the *Rizospastis* and the *Avgi*, the 'labour Press of the masses'!

Behind the swift collapse of the 'organisation' and paper of L. Sklavos lies his insurmountable hostility to Marxist philosophy combined with his deep hatred for revolutionary centralism and the Leninist-type party. The present world crisis makes every renegade terribly impatient. In the *very first* document published after his break from the Fourth International and the WIL, Sklavos hurried to defend not only his reactionary philosophy but all its political consequences. He reiterated his old positions which had been combatted by the International Committee and the Party Conferences, the position which sees an immediate struggle to overthrow the Karamanlis government as 'premature', and the position in favour of 'Unity' between the split portions of Stalinism in Greece.

During the past year and a half Sklavos and his few supporters have exhausted all the means of opportunism: every form of flattery to political

backwardness, trade-union illusions, and apparatuses, have been dragged along behind the 'Consumers' Institute', the state GCWG, the Stalinists, the PASOK; the seeking of an alliance with Thornett, Wohlforth, Robertson, the Pabloites and Hansen, for the purpose of gaining forces which they so desperately need in order to fight the WIL and the International Committee — and they have been miserably unsuccessful. History has judged them and condemned them — particularly in the recent period marked by the General Strike in May, the developments in Lebanon, the threat of war between Greece and Turkey and the rise of the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The May 1976 general strike

Five days before the two-day General Strike last May, motivated by the passing of the anti-trade union Bill 330, the *New Course* (No. 4) dealt ironically with the policies of the WIL:

They [the WIL] call for a General Strike which will overthrow Karamanlis, now! If the working class is ready, if the correlation of forces is favourable for overthrowing Karamanlis now, then of course it is ready to come into conflict with his police. Consequently the WIL not only should not avoid conflicts but on the contrary should call for militant (Third Period) mobilisations. However if the working class is not ready, if the correlation of forces is not yet favourable for a conflict with Karamanlis' police, then of course it is even less favourable for a General Strike to overthrow him. Consequently, in this case the WIL should abandon the infamous slogan . . .

The ink had not yet dried on the above lines, which 'were a burning denunciation of the inconsistent, Third Period, adventurist policies' of the WIL, when half a million working people headed by the industrial proletariat rose up against the Karamanlis government, in defence of the democratic rights won with the overthrow of the junta and in defence of the *class* independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois state.

The WIL, which fought during the whole preceding period against the opportunist Sklavos, for the line of an indefinite General Strike to bring down the Karamanlis government, and for a workers' government with socialist policies, was the only political force which was not disoriented in this acute class conflict — contrary to what happened to all the centrist groups and Sklavos.

The consistent policy of the WIL in this unprecedented mobilisation made important gains in authority and response from broad and completely new layers of the working class. Our intervention in the General Strike would have been impossible without the preceding struggle and break with Sklavos. On the other hand, without this organised

intervention of the party, this historical continuity of two years of political campaign for the overthrow of Karamanlis through a General Strike, the successful first Conference of the Socialist All Trades Unions League in July 1976 and the beginning of the deeper penetration into the most oppressed layers of the working class would have been impossible.

Today, precisely on the basis of the irreconcilable break from the tendencies of adaptation to spontaneity and the so-called 'proletarian orientation' of Sklavos, the Workers Internationalist League, after the May General Strike, is undergoing a profound internal transformation into a truly *proletarian* party.

The General Strike terrorised the government and every enemy of the working class. The Stalinists tried to break the strike, deepening their conflict with the class, particularly with the proletarian youth. On the other side, the preachers of scepticism in relation to the capabilities of the proletariat, the Sklavos group and the Pabloites, were taken by surprise. But they did not abandon their scepticism in the least. On the contrary.

On the first day of the strike Sklavos circulated a leaflet which not only failed to go beyond the narrowest trade union framework, but even failed to surpass the low horizon of dead Greek parliamentarianism. The basic slogan of the leaflet for the strikers who had assembled in Athens was to march on Parliament. And Sklavos' basic 'challenge' to the Stalinists was to refuse to discuss the clauses of the Bill by withdrawing from Parliament during the discussion of the anti-trade union law!

This slavish kowtowing to Parliament and bourgeois parliamentary democracy, and that in conditions of a General Strike, is the logical conclusion of Sklavos' adherence to his impressions of Karamanlis' election victory in 1974 and the '54 per cent complex' which in his opinion is tormenting the Greek working class — even when it rises in a nationwide mobilisation against the Karamanlis government!

After the General Strike, the Pabloite revisionists and Sklavos held a joint meeting 'against the talk about provocateurs' where they dealt with the attacks and slanders of the ruling class and the Stalinists over the street conflicts in Athens on the second day of the strike, but not at all with the General Strike itself and its lessons for the working class, for the next step. All the revisionists' attempts coincide with the needs of the class enemy to black out the political content of the General Strike and the new tasks of the working class.

The Pabloite revisionists proclaim that a period . . . of retreat of the mass movement has opened up! Sklavos, on the other hand is trying at all costs to remove the explosive political content of the General Strike and the period which it has introduced. In the *New Course* No. 6, on the subject of a commentary by Cde. Louvris in the *Socialist Change*, Sklavos says:

'... the wretched group (the WIL) imagines, or wants to imagine, that the General Strike was a confirmation of its policies. A strike against the bill is, objectively, action against the government. But everyone understands what the cuckoo's-nest dwellers refuse to accept: a General Strike for the overthrow of Karamanlis, and with the declared purpose of establishing a workers' and peasants' government with socialist policies is one thing, and a strike against an anti-trade union law is something else.'

These words express not only contempt for the real content of the May General Strike — they erase all the scientific theory on the laws of a General Strike developed by Marxism, by Lenin, the Bolsheviks, the Communist International, and Trotsky himself. There is no more timely answer to Sklavos and the Pabloites than Trotsky's analysis in *Whither France?* — a valuable analysis for the action of the party and the working class in the next period:

'The General Strike, as every Marxist knows, is one of the most revolutionary methods of struggle. The General Strike is not possible except at a time when the class struggle rises above particular and craft demands, and extends over all occupational and district divisions, and wipes away the lines and the parties between legality and illegality, and mobilises the majority of the proletariat in an active opposition to the bourgeoisie and the state. Nothing can be on a higher plane than the General Strike, except the armed insurrection. The entire history of the working class movement proves that every General Strike, whatever may be the slogans under which it occurs, has an internal tendency to transform itself into an open revolutionary clash, into a direct struggle for power. In other words: the General Strike is not possible except under conditions of extreme political tension, and that is why it is always the incontestable expression of the revolutionary character of the situation ...

'The fundamental importance of the General Strike, independent of the partial successes which it may and then again may not provide, lies in the fact that it poses the question of power in a revolutionary manner ...

'Whatever may be the slogans and the motive for which the General Strike is initiated, if it includes the genuine masses, and if these masses are quite resolved to struggle, the General Strike inevitably poses before all the classes in the nation the question:

Who will be the master of the house?

'The leaders of the proletariat must understand this internal logic of the General Strike, unless they are not leaders but dilettantes and adventurers. Politically this implies that from now on the leaders will continue to pose before the proletariat the task of the revolutionary conquest of power. If not, they must not venture to speak of the General Strike. But by renouncing the General Strike, they renounce thereby all revolutionary struggle, that is to say, they betray the proletariat to Fascism.' (*Whither France?* pp. 65, 71 and 72.) New Park Publications edition, 1974 — Our emphasis).

Sklavos' subjective idealism cuts off the May strike from the universal historical development and its *objective* laws and tries to 'determine' (more correctly, to obscure) its character, starting from the

ideas of the participants in the mobilisation. This reactionary idealist reversal of the relations of Being and Consciousness, whose class role and *anti-proletarian* content is clearly revealed in the General Strike, also lies behind the monstrous distortion of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International which Sklavos makes, following blindly in the footsteps of Thornett and the OCI.

Transitional Programme and revolutionary leadership

After 1971 international revisionism chose as the starting point for its attacks on dialectical materialism and the International Committee, an unrestrained demagogy about the Transitional Programme — a demagogy which does not differ from prostitution. Sklavos has carried this international tendency to its extreme limit, thus involuntarily uncovering its class role.

Sklavos recapitulates and surpasses all the arguments of his predecessors, the French OCI, the Blick-Jenkins group and Thornett. He takes the basic contradiction of the epoch, emphasised by the Transitional Programme, the contradiction between the mature subjective factor, and renders the two terms of the contradiction, the objective and the subjective, lifeless, in complete equilibrium and levelled out. Next it seeks a bridge between the equal terms of the contradiction, a levelling of Marxism with political backwardness — in reality a bridge toward the bureaucratic apparatuses.

No revolutionary strategy and tactics can be elaborated from this rotten philosophical basis which places the being of the working class and its backward consciousness in an equal and parallel position. The whole historic and irreconcilable struggle between materialism and idealism was waged on the question of *priority* of Being or Consciousness.

For the International Committee and the Workers' Internationalist League, of primary and decisive importance in the elaboration of policy is *Being*, that is, the advanced stage of imperialist decomposition and crisis, the break of the productive forces, among which the working class — the only revolutionary class — is the main one, with the capitalist production relations and the nation states. For Sklavos and the revisionists there is no such priority. Of equal importance for them is the backward consciousness of the working class, to which revisionism attempts to adapt itself.

After Thornett, Sklavos come to make accusations of 'ultimatumism' against the IC, which puts forward a 'maximum socialist programme', starting from a 'mechanical' conception of the relations between economics and politics and from a 'one-sided hyper-emphasis' on the economic crisis.

In this case, too, apart from the slander, we have a direct attack not on mechanical determinism but on

every conception of the causal interconnection of the processes of the material world in motion. If for the determination of policy the *primary, decisive* importance is not placed on the character of our epoch, which demands the preparation of the proletarian revolution, then for Sklavos what should the methodological criterion be?

His reply to this question is crystal-clear. His 'graduated bridge' will put forward more radical demands or remain on more conservative ones, *according to the moods of the middle class!* The so-called 'Programmatic Resolution of the Founding Conference of the Communist Internationalist League ('New Course' July 13, 1976) says:

'The spirit and moods of the proletariat are not determined automatically by the economic conditions but are shaped simultaneously in the relations with the lower layers of the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasants. The workers are obliged to calculate at every step the moods of the petty bourgeoisie. *Every step by this class to the left opens the way for the workers, in order to proceed and advance more radical slogans.*' (Our emphasis).

In this astonishing extract the class basis of Sklavos' idealism is uncovered. The reversal of the relations between Being and Consciousness leads to the reversal of the relations between the middle and working classes, where the former 'opens the way' for the latter. In this way, Sklavos wants to open the way to the delusion of the petty bourgeoisie itself by the ruling class and to the subordination of the working class, through the middle class and the bureaucracy, to the ruling class and imperialism.

Up to now there has perhaps been no more profound analysis of the relations of the proletariat with the middle-class layers, in the period of preparation for revolution, than Trotsky's *Whither France?*

'The proletariat must speak the *Language of revolution to the peasants*: it will not find another language in common. The workers must draw up a programme of revolutionary measures for the salvation of agriculture jointly with the peasants . . .

'None of these measures is realisable under the rule of the bourgeoisie. Meagre charity will not save the peasant, he has no use for palliatives. He needs bold revolutionary measures. The peasant will understand them, approve them and support them, if the worker makes him a serious proposal *to struggle jointly* for power.

'We must not wait for the petty bourgeoisie to decide for itself but we must *mould its opinions*, strengthen its will — that is the task of the working class party. It is solely in this that the union of workers and peasants can be achieved.' (op. cit. pp 81-82 Trotsky's emphasis).

Sklavos' reactionary theory of passivity wants to paralyse the working class and its Marxist party in the position of passive waiting and 'after the event' reactions to the spontaneous movements of the petty bourgeoisie. Such a conception of the Transitional Programme which reduces it from a programme of revolution to a programme of passivity, opens the way to the abandonment of the middle-class layers

to the bourgeois demagogues, to the capitalist PASOK, and even beyond Karamanlis, to the fascists.

'Now a programme is needed', said Trotsky, 'not to ease the conscience but to guide revolutionary action . . . Socialism can advance the most scientific programme but its value will be equal to zero if the vanguard of the proletariat does not unfold a bold struggle to capture the state. The social crisis in its political expression is the crisis of power. The old master of society is bankrupt — a new master is needed.

'If the revolutionary proletariat does not take power, fascism will inevitably take it!

'A programme of transitional demands for the "middle classes" can naturally assume great importance if this programme corresponds, on the one hand, to the real needs of the middle classes, and on the other, to the demands of the development towards socialism. But once more the centre of gravity does not exist now in a special programme. The middle classes have seen many programmes. What they need is confidence that the programme will be realised. The moment the peasant says: "This time it seems that the working class parties will not retreat" — the cause of socialism is won.

'But for that it is necessary to show in action that we are firmly prepared to smash every obstacle in our path.' (Trotsky, *op cit.* p36, our emphasis.)

The central question is not to inform the masses of our programme — and we are talking about the Marxist programme, not Sklavos' caricature of it — and call upon them to compare it with the programme of the Stalinists and discover its virtues. The central question is to win, in our practice of building the party, the confidence of the masses that this party is prepared to smash every obstacle and carry out the Programme. To show in practice, that we are that independent active historical political force which can lead the working class to power.

This presupposes, as the practice of the International Committee of the Fourth International has shown, the most systematic training and penetration into the fundamental questions of Marxist method and philosophy, against all those, like the OCI, Thornett and Sklavos, who reduce the theory of Marxism to a 'study of the programme and its method'.

Sklavos' hatred toward the development of the Practice of Cognition by the IC has led him, openly and in the name of the Programme, to the rejection of the *active* vanguard role of the working class and first of all its revolutionary leadership.

The 'petty bourgeoisie who open the way to the working class', according to Sklavos, naturally also lead to the establishment of 'workers' states' in Cuba, Algeria, or Angola, states which can take steps towards socialism . . .

This blue-blooded Pabloite conclusion has found

its natural place in the 'Programmatic Resolution' of the Sklavos group:

... in Cuba, in Algeria, in Angola today and elsewhere, it was not the Communist Parties, but other forces, middle-class radicals, who gave leadership to the masses and who were then obliged, through this epoch of imperialist decay, in order to rid themselves of imperialist dependence and establish radical democracies, to carry out in certain cases, to a greater or lesser degree, steps toward socialism, that is to carry out nationalisations.

We are not surprised by the ideological kinship between Hansen's defence counsel, Sklavos, and the pioneer of the theory of 'Castro as a natural Marxist'! Nor are we surprised by the fact that Sklavos, while ready to declare Cuba and Algeria countries 'which are taking steps towards socialism' — for us such steps can only be taken by *workers* states, dictatorships of the proletariat — on the other hand rabidly slanders the principled support given by the IC and the WIL to the struggle being waged by the PLO and the Lebanese working class!

Sklavos and the OKDE Pabloites intoned abstract wishes like 'victory to the Lebanese revolution' or 'defence of the Lebanese revolution', but fought madly against the revolutionary line of the IC for *Victory to the PLO*. We supported and support without reservation the victory of the PLO without ever characterising the Palestinian leadership as 'natural Marxists'. Sklavos' and the Pabloites' refusal to support the victory of the military and political struggle of the PLO falls into line with the needs of American imperialism, Zionism, the Falange, Syria and Arab reaction which can tolerate any 'leadership' of the Palestinian people besides the PLO. The OKDE Pabloites had reservations and supported — of course in a lukewarm way — the democratic Front of Hawatmeh — which 'by coincidence' is more law-abiding to the Kremlin than Al Fateh.

Sklavos' attitude towards the PLO — a repetition of the positions of the OCI and Robertson on Vietnam and Palestine — is inseparable from his attitude towards the working class and the General Strike in Greece. In May, 1976, at the time of the General Strike and the military offensive of the PLO, the Greek working people in Rhodes and the Aegean islands were mobilising against the 6th Fleet of American imperialism. The fight against the Karamanlis government, the bourgeois state and American imperialism was and is inseparably tied to the evolution of the Arab revolution headed by the PLO.

Sklavos' rejection of the revolutionary content of the mobilisations in Greece, his reverence for parliamentary democracy, his nationalism, and his rejection — so in accordance with imperialism — of a victory of the PLO, express the reaction of the most disoriented section of the middle class in the conditions of crisis, where the *initiative* belongs to

the international working class which is on the offensive.

In the period 1974-1975, when Sklavos, still in our ranks, was wavering between the characterisation of the Karamanlis government as the junta and its characterisation as a 'Provisional Kerensky Government' which cannot be immediately overthrown, he was toying with the idea of possible support for Karamanlis in the fantastic event of... a war between him and American imperialism. (In that period Karamanlis was still using demagogy about the 'withdrawal' of Greece from the military wing of NATO — a withdrawal which in fact was never realised.)

In May 1976 the working class not only came into motion directly against the Karamanlis government and the bourgeois state, but also took the initiative in the anti-imperialist fight of the masses against dependence on the US and NATO. It prevented the 6th Fleet from entering the Aegean ports at the same moment that the PLO, with the courageous statement of Yassir Arafat, was threatening to sink the American ships if they entered the Lebanese ports. Sklavos reacts to precisely these developments.

The Workers Internationalist League saw and sees the preparation of the proletarian revolution as inseparable from the frustration of the imperialist conspiracies in the area, and the military victory of the PLO. The position of every organisation and tendency towards the crisis in Lebanon and the struggle being waged by the PLO, was the forewarning of its position on the crisis in the Aegean and the course towards an imperialist war between Greece and Turkey. Behind Sklavos' reactionary position on the PLO, lies a dark warning of his capitulation to the war plans of American-NATO imperialism in the Eastern Mediterranean.

War, bourgeois democracy and the Fourth International

It is no accident that only the WIL had the courage, particularly in the recent past, to wage an anti-war campaign, on the line of revolutionary defeatism, in the unions, places of work and among the youth, finding a response even from members of the Stalinist parties (see the interview with a CPG (Interior) member in *Socialist Change* No.102). War is the continuation of politics of peacetime by other means. It is the consistent political campaign over the past two years now, for the overthrow of the Karamanlis government through a General Strike, a political campaign which drew the deepest dividing line between the WIL and all the other organisations and tendencies in the working-class movement which today permits Trotskyism to be the sole defender of the best traditions of Leninism against imperialist war.

The only method to prevent the course towards a war massacre in the Aegean is the immediate preparation for revolution which involves the offensive

of the masses for the overthrow of the rotten pro-NATO government of Karamanlis. The slogan 'War on war' is empty and delusive without the slogan 'Down with Karamanlis'.

All those who denied the strength of the working class, who limited the choice of the proletariat either to the Karamanlis 'solution' or the tanks, who were fearful of the 'chaos', that is the revolutionary uprising, which will follow the fall of Karamanlis, are now paralysed before the danger of war and are even more unabashedly capitulating to imperialism. The Stalinists play the leading role in the creation of a 'National Front' and the centrists want to put up a smokescreen in front of the workers, saying that there is no immediate war danger.

Sklavos, in a previous period, formally repeated the abstract principles of revolutionary defeatism. In one phase, he wanted to 'make them concrete' by advancing the slogan for . . . a referendum which will show if the people want the war! (In this way, formalism becomes ridiculous, in his attempt to repeat mechanically an old tactical slogan of the American Trotskyists, tied to the completely concrete conditions of the beginning of World War II, when the US was still preparing to enter the war).

But when the danger of a Greek-Turkish war became more immediate than ever, with the *Sismik's* voyage into the Aegean sea, Sklavos made a sharp turn. While in the previous period he did not regard it as difficult to talk abstractly about 'the anti-war struggle', he suddenly wiped out all the urgency of such a struggle. In the leading article of the second-to-the-last *New Course* (No.9) Sklavos agreed with the Pabloites that the whole crisis in the Aegean is fireworks:

'It (the government) is obliged to resort today to cheap propagandist devices of war-mongering, to get the masses' attention away from the critical political and economic problems it was unable to solve. For weeks now the bourgeois Press, aided by *Augi Rizospastis* and *Exormisis* serves propagandistically the government and the capitalists, occupying itself to the point of ridiculousness with the famous *Sismik*. The *Sismik* is coming out. The *Sismik* is sailing south. No, it's sailing north. No, it hasn't come out yet. It's broken down. It's been fixed. The *Sismik* started out with cries of . . . Allah Allah!

The style is the man, said Buffon! In the last (No.10) issue of the *New Course*, the leading article is entitled 'Stalinist Nationalism', but it is pointed not against the chauvinism of the CPG and CPG (Interior): it turns against the nationalism of Moscow which in its announcement on the Greek-Turkish dispute has in mind the interests of its defence and not in Cyprus! What a 'criticism' and what a 'clear position' on the question of the Greek-Turkish dispute and the role of Stalinism!

In Sklavos' case, as in that of the Greek Pabloites who reject every danger of war as 'warmongering', together with the denial of the character of the

epoch, is also the *evident cowardly evasion* of the taking up of a revolutionary struggle against war, which presupposes the struggle to overthrow the Karamanlis government. By exorcising the ghost of war they think they avoid taking, clearly and courageously, the position of revolutionary defeatism, as an *immediate* urgent task. Such cowardly exorcisms owe nothing but an ashamed cover for their chauvinism and capitulation to imperialism.

In 1974, when the junta brought the country to the threshold of war with Turkey, Sklavos and the Pabloites had no great difficulty in speaking about defeatism and the main enemy in 'our own' country. The same was true of the Mensheviks in the Russo-Japanese war, but not in 1914-1917.

It is much easier to play the 'Leninist' when Greece is being governed by the military junta. It is completely different when there is a 'democratically elected with 54 per cent' Karamanlis government. The position of Sklavos and the Pabloites on the war is connected to the evidence of bourgeois democracy, identifying the latter with the democratic rights of the working class.

Engels once said that in a revolutionary period all reaction rallies round the flag of democracy' against the proletariat. On this common line today, on an international scale, Mandel with the anti-Soviet 'Euro-communism' and Hansen with Soares, Wohlforth, the Blick-Jenkins group, Thornett and Sklavos are all rallying round it. It is this common basis — and the common hatred for the International Committee — that led Sklavos' wretched clique to meet outside the site of the two-days' rally of the WIL on the 36th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination and hand out leaflets defending the accomplice of the GPU, Hansen, and asking for the prevention of the formation of a Committee of Investigation which will throw light on the assassination of the founder and the cadres of the Fourth International.

All these apologists for bourgeois democracy kneel respectfully before the state — the armed bodies of the ruling class. On the question of war, the way of dealing with the bourgeois army and the task of arming the masses draw one of the deepest dividing lines between Marxism and centrism.

At the moment when Greece is on the verge of an imperialist war and civil war and the moment when the country has just come out of a seven-years' blood-stained military tyranny, Sklavos brands the propaganda and agitation for the liquidation of the bourgeois army and its replacement by the armed working people 'premature'. Such a slogan — Sklavos maintains — has its place only in a revolutionary situation. Now we must limit ourselves to slogans on strike guards, self-defence committees' etc. and demands for 'radical reforms' in the bourgeois army . . .

The same argument, the absence of a 'revolutionary situation', used against the policy of overthrow-



Thornett: Sklavos echoed his philosophical positions



Hansen: Accomplice of the GPU, defended by Sklavos

ing the Karamanlis government, (an argument beloved of the CPG Stalinists) is also used against the policy of replacing the bourgeois army by the armed workers and peasants.

'At the time of the first impetuous strike wave in Russia, there was only a single fraction of the Russian Social-Democracy which tried to restrict it to partial economic demands: this was the group called the "Economists". In their opinion, it was necessary to reject the slogan, "Down with Autocracy" until the appearance of a "revolutionary situation". Lenin thought that the "Economists" were miserable opportunists. He showed that a revolutionary situation must be actively prepared, even during a strike movement.' (Trotsky, *Whither France*, pp. 56-57).

Sklavos not only rejects the chief task of *active preparation of the revolutionary situation by the Marxist party*, but also clearly goes over to the other side, accusing every 'attempt' which harms the bourgeois State of being premature.²

That is why he hides behind the narrowest trade union limits, just like the economists, and is led to corporatism.³ His position on the bourgeois army has the same content as his attempts to democratise the state GCWG from which the overwhelming majority of the trade-union organised working class has been excluded and with his slander that every fight for a new GCWG, independent of the state, is 'splitting'.

Finally, the question of the bourgeois state and the central task of organising the forces of revolution, which under Trotskyist leadership will smash the state, unmasks every opportunist and enemy of the Fourth International. 'The struggle for the dictatorship of the working class', wrote Trotsky in *Terrorism and Communism*, 'means at the present moment a hard fight against Kautskyism in the working class'.

The hard fight of the ICFI and the WIL against Sklavos' revisionism must be seen from precisely this viewpoint: the viewpoint of the *conscious, active, practical preparation of the proletarian revolution and its victory under the banner of Bolshevism - Trotskyism*.

Notes

¹ It is apparent that Sklavos has a very peaceful conception of unarmed self-defence committees against the fascist and monarchist attacks.

² Sometimes this respect for the State leads to the most comic positions: Thus, Sklavos' 'Programmatic Resolution' proposes Popular courts which will judge and condemn the juntaites . . . in absentia! Something of the sort has already been done last year by a graphic, only slightly political, and rather sympathetic figure of Athenian life . . . doctor Isironis and his family.

³ The new 'key' to the door of the Greek revolution discovered by Sklavos is the corporatist collaboration with the . . . Bourgeois Market Inspection. Alongside it — again according to Sklavos — a Price Control Committee of consumers, and 'element of dual power' must cooperate!!

The Method of the Spartacist Group

by A. Reynolds

Spartacus was soon great and fearsome, but calculated the probabilities; and since he didn't think he could conquer Roman power, he led his troops towards the Alps, thinking that they ought to cross the mountains and go back to their homes. (Plutarch)

THE INTERNATIONAL Spartacist Tendency, founded by J. Robertson, formed with a split from the 1966 conference of the International Committee. The 'real issue' according to a Spartacist delegate was 'whether the present International Committee ... constitutes the *sole organised successor* to the Trotskyist movement?' The International Committee agrees with that assessment. (*Problems of the Fourth International*, by G. Healy, American edition, p.48.) The differences between the International and Spartacist appear quickly to involve the question of what Marxist theory is and how it develops, since the International Committee's claim to be that sole organised successor is not a conceit, but a scientific assessment of the revisionism of the 'United Secretariat' which usurps the name of the Fourth International. Just what Spartacist means by denying the International Committee's claim is less clear, but must, in any case, similarly involve their own understanding of what Marxism is, and how it develops in so far as that is at issue in the problem of what real succession is.

Only if there is awareness of the great difficulty of incorporating the entirety of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical achievement in an organisational form that keeps its bearings in practice independently of the moods of workers, and, indeed, through a whole generation of class compromise, can any clarity and development arise from the struggle against revisionism. Robertson's attacks on the International Committee, however, began in subjective and opportunistic reactions to internationalism, and never reached the level of fundamental theoretical analysis. Behind this was the opportunistic and middle-class practice of a tendency which quickly adapted to the United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers Party of Hansen.

Politically, both Spartacist and the SWP abandoned the theory and practice of a revolutionary party, and orientated themselves deliberately to other organisations of 'progressive', 'peace-loving', 'anti-sectarian' forces. They no longer even remotely proceed from the working class's requirement of the kind of clarity necessary to free mankind from its present way of relating to nature — its entire very mode of production. Instead, the requirements of the organisation as such rise up and dominate the

perspective of the group. Revisionism has the fundamental character of the abandonment of the party understood as a negator of capitalist social formations: sociological theories of a 'nucleus' which agglutinates or 'regroups' with other nuclei can then crowd in, since the party has indeed become a social formation — of the middle class.

The International Committee has interpreted the development of revisionism within the Fourth International as requiring at least as deep and broad a theoretical analysis as Lenin and Trotsky were driven to, confronting the catastrophes of the Second and Third Internationals, which forced Lenin to a study of Hegel's *Logic*, and which forced Trotsky to develop his theory of bureaucratisation in *The Revolution Betrayed*. The approach required, however, goes beyond 'political clarity' over political positions in themselves. For example, it was not the terminology to be used in characterising Cuba which was at issue in the struggle with the Socialist Workers Party in 1961-1963, but rather what kind of analysis was required in order to establish whether Cuba was a workers' state.

So for the International Committee, the degeneration represented by Pabloism could not be adequately confronted by merely reasserting any programme or 'method of the programme', but it could be defeated and overcome only by just as fundamental a philosophical rearming as Lenin accomplished in his own time. To all those who have tailored and truncated Marxism to some accumulation of political positions, this could only appear to be an obscurantist 'evasion of politics'.

But an organisation will not be accepting the obligation to bring the entirety of Marxist-Leninist theory to the working class, unless it struggles to embody all the theoretical acquisitions of the workers' movement in its organisational expressions. A split at the level of the Fourth International cannot be over mere tactics, but must imply that there are differences of the profoundest level about how a mode of production is to be specifically negated and replaced with a higher mode. Would more difficult philosophical questions than those involved in such an awesome task be encountered anywhere else?

It would be idealistic to suppose that complete

clarity is achievable in some speculative way about the necessity of a particular split. The International Committee was hardly fully aware from the start of the full dimensions of its incompatibility with Pabloism. But it could seize upon Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks* when they were published (1960), and has progressively sought to expose the pragmatism lurking in the method yielding all the various political positions taken by Pabloism.

For example, the Socialist Workers Party's George Novack, after attacking the Workers League for raising the question of the Labour Party, pushing 'it forward as a central slogan for action on any and all occasions', goes on to remark as follows:

We haven't worked out a programme for the American peasants, because we don't have so many. There are only about 5 million farmers compared to 95 million college students in this country. Thus the student population which is in motion is more important than the farm population, politically speaking. (*The Transitional Programme for Socialist Revolution*, 1974 Pathfinder, p.66 following: essay by Novack, 'The Role of the Transitional Programme'.)

Perspectives

A party proposing this in 1974 has lost its orientation, although that is just what the Transitional Programme is supposed to provide, according to Novack himself. There might seem to be nothing so 'orthodox' as the re-publication of this text of Trotsky's, but it reveals how unable even the best of programmes is to prevent the pragmatism of today from becoming the idealism of tomorrow. It is clear that as a proposal for setting party tasks, Novack's perspective ignores the laws of motion of capitalism. It is the 'sectarian' Workers League, by sustaining a fundamental orientation to the Labour Party, that can draw class lines within the farmers' movement, and propose a basic political orientation. On what other basis was it possible to deepen the political understanding and organisation of the farmers?

What emerges is that the Workers League and Socialist Workers Party, both claiming to stand on the same Transitional Programme, completely disagree about what the construction of party perspectives is like, and, hence, about what Marxism knows and the method by which it knows it. The basis for a split clearly exists, and the Workers League and International Committee are in a position to deepen their understanding of the nature of Marxist method, and to educate their cadre, by the ongoing struggle against Pabloism, inside and outside their ranks. There is no other serious way for a Bolshevik organisation to proceed.

In 1966, the International Committee concluded about James Robertson, of the Spartacist League, that he was not proceeding, with respect to the essential requirement of Marxist-Leninist theory

and practice, that it be international, in a serious way. Cde. Healy wrote: (op. cit., p.48), 'It was a good, clear, politically-motivated split on the principle issue of responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the international conference.' The International Committee wrote:

Even if Robertson had thought the conference wrong on a procedural question or that he had been organisationally dealt with on the political questions, his duty as an internationalist and a communist would have been to abide by the conference decision and fight to clarify the movement. His refusal to do so and his placing of personal prestige above considerations of his international responsibility condemn him. (*Fourth International*, August 1966, p.121).

The pamphlet of Wohlforth, *What is Spartacist?* could hardly cite these remarks, since its author had not himself considered the conference important enough to attend, and since they condemn him equally. His own revisionism can be measured by the remarks in his introduction (p.9): 'Having broken from internationalism and denying the continuity of the Fourth International, Spartacist cannot develop any understanding of the capitalist crises and therefore any perspective. It has positions, many of them, but no perspective.' The reality is rather stark. When this was being published in June of 1973, the International Committee had joined the battle with Wohlforth precisely over his inability to generate a concrete American perspective, and had even to note his lack of awareness of any necessity for such a thing. In the event, the Workers League experienced a conversion by Wohlforth of everything, from English perspectives to Hegel's *Logic*, into pragmatic tools. Wohlforth's pragmatically abbreviated Marxism inevitably produced 'spectacular' effects, as his journalistic talents ran out of fuel.

So, in hiding behind a critique of Spartacist method, Wohlforth cannot develop any account of the laws of motion of this organisation, especially since its political nature shared Wohlforth's own pragmatism.

Since it is Spartacist's ability to demonstrate that the International Committee is revisionist that would be to legitimise its own claim to be the real negator of Pabloism, the nature of its on-going polemical with the Workers League over the last year must be scrutinised in the absence of any fundamental theoretical statements. Spartacist has put us under the necessity of being as tedious as that, by its initial and perpetual refusal to develop the theoretical grounds for its rejection of the International Committee, beyond such phrases as 'inverted Pabloites'. The ineffably nasal, moralistic tone which resonates through their attacks is, after all, simply entailed by their theoretical poverty as they confront the task of explaining why they exist, why anyone should join them.

The nature of Spartacist critique emerges from



James Robertson



George Novack



Tim Wohlforth

virtually every reference to the Workers League in their newspaper *Workers Vanguard*, since the same terms are repeated: 'idiotic', 'opportunist', 'political bandits'. Whereas for the International Committee, one's movement is in no way immunised against the invasion of bourgeois methods, by merely shouting 'betrayal!' at (for example) Novack's positions — but it is necessary to see through the variety of political positions to their latent rationale: as we shall see, Spartacist's 'critique' of the Workers League totally vacates any responsibility for a sustained interpretation of the Workers League as an expression of some revision of Marxist method. Their procedure is evidently the idealistic one of vituperation, by which to defend their movement from theoretical adaptations to the Workers League (whatever that would be like).

So in the *Workers Vanguard* of (July 14, 1978, p.6), we find the litany of terms: 'idiotic', 'wildly gyrating opportunist', 'political bandits', with reference to the Workers League's positions on 'oppositionists' in union elections. Spartacist takes an abstentionist position on all such elections, preparing to tell the workers 'I told you so,' as the bureaucrat in question carries out his inevitable betrayal. Now the policy of the 'gyrating' Workers League is consistent, in trying to discover even in union elections whatever tactical advantage for the workers can be achieved, for the struggles with which the disintegration of capitalism must confront them, even among the various fakers stepping forward from the ranks of the bureaucracy. Such tactical considerations are utterly different from the principled question of refusing to vote for bourgeois parties in elections, since there is no question of deceiving workers in such tactical considerations. In the case of Lee Leroy Patterson, the central question was not whether he uses anti-communist rhetoric, but whether his candidacy poses what the Workers League knew was going to be the central question for the miners: the intervention of the state, since then the workers would have something to which to try to hold their bureaucracy in their struggle. Leftish words here are just irrelevant. The entire labour

bureaucracy is deeply committed to the status quo, as a social formation and not just at the pinnacles of power. The International Committee split with the Thornett group, as Spartacist knows, involved Thornett's assertion that the trade union bureaucracy was open to 'pressure from the left'. The Workers League's assessment of the situation confronting the miners at their last election was that the government would seek to intervene in their union, and that precisely government intervention would be the central political question of the UMW. The fact that Patterson, for whatever factional reasons, put that forward as a danger for the UMW meant that that question could be raised best in the context of critical support for him. Now, was the Workers League's prognosis for the miners' strike correct or incorrect? If Spartacist had any interest in generating theoretical clarification out of its polemics, that is the question it would confront.

It is true that the Workers League supported the vote for Miller against Boyle. Can Spartacist find any reference to Miller in the *Bulletin*, after urging that vote, which is other than deeply critical, and such as to warn the miners of how little they would have accomplished in replacing even a Boyle with such a democratic phrase-monger as Miller? To find some small tactical advantage in Miller has nothing to do with proposing Miners for Democracy as a fundamental way forward and organisational alternative to the struggle for a Congress of Labour to form a Labour Party. It is the revisionism of the Socialist Workers Party which proposes such organisational blind alleys — which can only provide careers for new bureaucratic forces waiting in the wings, and prevent the militancy of workers from achieving substantial political expression. It is the revisionism of Spartacist which clucks disapprovingly, as workers try to clear the terrain as best they can for their battle with capital. The Workers League knows better than Spartacist that Patterson did not have the answers, but it also knows that 'the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus'.

That is, the laws of history now entail the jettison-

ing of parliamentary democracy and the move towards the corporate state. For much of the labour bureaucracy, that means they should now study labour law so as to secure a job for themselves in the *American Arbeitsfront*. The candidacy of Patterson is then the one which poses more clearly than the others (whatever he may think) the urgency of political struggle by the entire working class to defend the unions against the state.

At no point has the *Bulletin* represented the stakes in these union elections as in themselves posing victory or defeat for the workers, nor can Spartacist, in its display of headlines of revisionist newspapers (*Workers' Vanguard*, March 28, 1978), find anything in the *Bulletin* to use for the purpose of proving the Workers League's alleged disorientation on Miller. But Marxism requires that an interpretation of these forms of class struggle be illuminated by a scientific account of the law of value, as it is expressing itself internationally, so that the working class can be adequately warned about the weakness but also the desperation of the government of the bourgeoisie, confronting a disintegration of its mode of production far beyond its ability to control or even comprehend. Without the ability to generate such a perspective, Spartacist can only be concerned to keep an 'unblemished' escutcheon. But if this is not the time for Trotskyism to show its fighting ability, what time are they waiting for?

This method of the unsullied coat-of-arms preserves Spartacist from the obligation to penetrate political appearances to their revolutionary content — which may be at many removes. And it is at the point where the class struggle reaches its sharpest form, in the Middle East crisis, that Spartacist exhibits more than mere inability to provide leadership. The headline of the article 'Jimmy Carter: Smiling on the PLO?' (*Workers Vanguard*, October 28, 1977) introduces an attempt to disqualify the PLO by writing that it has 'become more respectable', and ends (p.11) as follows:

While we defend the Palestinians' right to a 'mini-state', this is not a solution to the Palestinian question and is certainly neither just nor democratic. A genuinely democratic resolution of the Palestinian right to self-determination which also recognises the right of the Hebrew people to self-determination can arise only out of the revolutionary overthrow of the reactionary Zionist and Hashemite regimes by the Hebrew and Arab proletariat.

This is a stand in opposition to the PLO's programme of a secular, democratic state in Palestine in which Arab, Christian and Jew can live in peace, and which Arafat proposes as being in the interest of Jewish workers. Instead, they support a political construct which they admit is 'neither just nor democratic'. What do they say to the critique that it would be a 'South African'-type preserve, a Bantustan, which could hardly be other than a deadly trap for the Palestinians? Well, they would prefer a 'revolutionary overthrow'. But of all the elements

actually involved in the struggle, they would prefer that they disappear: they agree with the bourgeois mass-media that the PLO commando raid of March 1978 on Zionist military installations was 'terrorism'. They agree with the mass-media that Gaddafi is a 'madman' (*Young Spartacus* March 1978, p.5).

Spartacist above all tries to deny that anything like an Arab revolution is involved. They must then explain how it was possible for the PLO to create a fighting alliance with Jumblatt's forces in Lebanon, in struggle against the Phalange. They simply disallow any class content to the Lebanese conflicts. 'None of the nationalist and confessional formations merits the military support which a conscious proletariat would grant in a just struggle.' The presence of foreign troops 'does not change the nature of the war'. (*Spartacist*, Fr. ed., April 1977 p. 19). The intervention of Israel 'does not change in any way the fundamentally intercommunal nature of the war.' (p. 23) But as expressions of mere 'intercommunal' strife these are surely unique: what kinds of proof that the implications of these struggles transcend communes would Spartacist accept? How much weaponry does Carter have to send to the right-wing Lebanese 'communes'?

In seeking to concretise its support for the self-determination of the Palestinian people, the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee, found that 'movements in the Middle East, Africa and Asia are being continually helped financially and materially by the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

'When oil revenues in some Arab countries are used to build bigger and bigger palaces for the feudalists, while Sadat grabs international loans to enlarge the fortunes of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, Gaddafi has taken a different road.' (reprint in *Bulletin* January 13, 1978.) On August 8, 1977, the British section and the official delegation of the Jamahiriyah issued a communique in support of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, the Libyan revolution, and the unity of the Arab peoples and European working class. This was proposed by the Workers Revolutionary Party as a 'major step forward in the united struggles of the colonial peoples and metropolitan working class' (*News Line*, August 10, 1977). Spartacist calls this 'unsavoury', (*Workers Vanguard*, September 23, 1977), quoting the Workers Revolutionary Party's contention that 'the overthrow of Colonel Gaddafi would be a major setback for Palestine and for Africa'. Their article manages to take no stand on that question, but goes on to attack Libya (with the *New York Times*) as if the International Committee had advanced an analysis of the social relations obtaining there.

These attacks by Spartacist go with their repetition of the Socialist Workers Party's epithet 'messenger of Gaddafi', which they apply to the International Committee. So Spartacist includes reference

to 'filthy attempts to smear Joseph Hansen'. The formulation of that 'smear' reads as follows: 'as an "accomplice of the GPU" in Trotsky's assassination' (*Workers Vanguard*, *ibid.*) Similarly, in *Young Spartacus* (March 1978, p.2), we read of a 'repugnant campaign of vile slander 'against' Joseph Hansen and George Novack charging them with being accomplices to the GPU and FBI in the murder of Leon Trotsky! (Also *Workers' Vanguard*, of January 21, and February 18, 1977). What document do they claim to be citing? The five charges against Hansen are explicit enough, but none of them says this, to say nothing of the grounds proposed for an inquiry into Novack.

The International Committee does claim to have unearthed new evidence, and that is what must not be obscured, when one compares Spartacist's eager support for an inquiry into Varga. In that case, the OCI's document *Provocation dans la IVe Internationale* produces, in substantiation of the charge that Varga (p.15) is a 'double agent, provocateur paid by the CIA, worked for the benefit of the NKVD', nothing that had not been available to them during the whole period they worked with him, quite apart from the document's manifest irrelevance to the charge. For the International Committee there was nothing to dignify with attention, and no more was done than to try to bring that leader of the OCI who was proved to have been aware of the fraudulence of the whole manoeuvre, Pierre Broué, to take a principled stand on the question. Spartacist, however, plunged in. Now the charges, at least, were clear. But, in a way which appalled its fellow 'investigators' *Lutte Ouvrière*, Spartacist, though it could find nothing to substantiate the charges, proceeded then to replace the brief with another and to discover that Varga was a 'dubious' figure. Can Spartacist claim to be moved in this matter by any principle higher than that of the need to keep its options open for manoeuvres and fishing expeditions within the radical milieu? Though Spartacist does not show how the evidence that the International Committee adduces to prove (e.g.) that Hansen handed internal documents to the FBI can be interpreted in any other way, it continues to call him 'an honest revisionist' (*Young Spartacus*, *ibid.*). What, then, would qualify as dishonest for these knights of the unblemished escutcheon? Spartacist has been consistent in every detail, since 1966, in directly serving Hansen and the Socialist Workers Party against the International Committee.

The only way to learn from a confrontation with Spartacist is to keep returning to the central questions of method and philosophy. This organisation precisely has failed to produce a coherent and sustained account of capitalism in negation of Mandel's 'neo-capitalism'. By 'orthodoxy', Spartacist means to constrain the development of Marxist theory within the Trotskyist movement to the level of James P. Cannon: a stringing together of political stands, taken mostly from the 30's. So, of 'Healy's'

International Committee, 'whose phony "dialectics" serve only to mask a constantly changing line and whose only principle is unconditional submission to the Führer principle' (*Spartacist*, Spring 1977, p.21), they have no Marxist critique, on the basis of which to develop their own movement.

Spartacist Orthodoxy

IN FOUNDING an English section, Spartacist writes of the Workers Socialist League, Thornett's split from the International Committee from which half of Spartacist's membership derives: 'When the WSL was expelled from the WRP in 1974 the clash was wholly over Thornett's view that the WRP's sectarianism was endangering this core at Cowley.' (*Young Spartacist*, April 1978, p.5.) It might seem that Spartacist accepted Thornett's view since it found his 'orthodox-sounding defence of the Transitional Programme, his well-publicised industrial militancy and opposition to Healy's sectarian practices' to be 'an attractive combination.' (*Workers' Vanguard*, April 7, 1978, p.4.) And yet *Spartacist* characterises the Workers Socialist League as 'workerist', 'a split to the right', allied with 'rightest grumblings'. Of the Workers Revolutionary Party (p.5) the account is that it 'had gone off the rails altogether, spending most of its efforts in slandering Joe Hansen (of the American SWP) and more recently in praising Libya's fanatical Muslim dictator Gaddafi'. Such is the theoretical capital with which they seek to build an international: even they find Thornett indefensible on the central questions; they will not speak concretely on the five charges against Hansen; they do not try to explain how praising Libya's material assistance to national self-determination struggles is a derailment; and finally the imputation that the Workers Revolutionary Party spends more time on Hansen than, say, on the Euro Marches, is unserious. Why do they say nothing about these marches? What about the time spent by the Workers Revolutionary Party in electoral campaigns? Here they appear to agree with the Workers Revolutionary Party's confrontation with the Labour Party. But no reckoning seems to have been demanded of the rejection of this election policy by Thornett's group. Who is involved in 'opportunistic gyrations', here?

Robertson writes: (*Workers' Vanguard*, October 21, 1977, p.11) 'To split is no crime, provided that there is sufficient political clarity and necessity to make a split.' Thornett, in simply resigning from the Workers Revolutionary Party, proved to be so uninterested in clarification that the Workers Revolutionary Party had to bring him back inside their movement in order to conduct the kind of struggle which would clarify the politics represented by this resignation. But since Robertson has only the contumelious treatment he believes he was accorded in 1966 to base his own split upon, naturally he

cannot fault the Workers Socialist League in this regard.

The term 'political clarity' conceals all the questions really at issue. The International Committee assessed the OCI back in 1971 as incapable as it stood of developing Marxist knowledge adequately to keep on course, and forced the issue to the point that the OCI had to leave the International Committee or turn towards dialectics. Though Spartacist had nothing to contribute to that dispute beyond siding in general with the OCI, even it has had to agree that an astonishingly rapid degeneration into revisionist positions has taken place in that organisation since that time. Does not this mean that *programme* (a fetish which which Spartacist shares with the OCI) is a feeble weapon with which to fight Pabloism? If it could produce an account of the OCI, it could try to *show* the phoniness of 'dialectics'.

Disintegration

Young Spartacus (April 1978 p. 11) notes that 'a dispute arose in the WSL over the acceptance of the Healyite "crisis" economic theory'. This might appear to be a promising point at which to develop a substantial critique of the International Committee as a revisionist movement. By the 'crisis' theory, presumably Spartacist refers to the assessment of the International Committee that August 15, 1971, represented an end of the post-war boom in general, and that the most important aspect was the severance of the dollar from gold. Capitalism had been displacing its contradictions into the monetary sphere since the war, and history was now catching up by generating inflation that would stifle the accumulation process, and prevent booms from reaching their previous levels. A convulsive decline was on the historical agenda.

Spartacist took a very different view of August 15. In the 'Economic Appendix' to *Marxist Bulletin*, No.9, of August 30, 1971, no mention of the severance of the dollar from gold is made: only of the wage-control policy and the 'competitive devaluation'. Noting the 'Dollar Crisis', *Workers' Vanguard* of May 5, 1978, finds itself in agreement with Mandel (p.8): 'As a piece of economic analysis Mandel's article is essentially correct. He understands that the present dollar crisis is not purely conjunctural but expresses the long-term decline in American industrial productivity relative to the other major industrial countries.' That is, it is not a question of the declining rate of profit of capitalism as an international mode of production rendering capitalism unable to sustain its own accrued indebtedness and purify its monetary instruments. It is not a crisis of capitalism, but one of imperialist relationship. It is evident that this perspective means prostration before Stalinist anti-monopoly coalitions, and work-

ing with 'progressive' rather than 'imperialist' capitalists.

We invite Spartacist to develop this theory of Mandel's. It will dispense them of further intrinsically idealist attacks on the International Committee 'political banditry', since they will be able to show that the International Committee is unfortunately wrong in posing a unity of relations of circulation, and that monetary disintegration is merely an epiphenomenon of international relationship, not of capitalism. They would thereby be able to prove that Marx himself was a revisionist. All the greater their achievement!

The fact that the virulence of their attacks on Mandel's positions has not prevented them from joining him on essentials is what emerges. This virulence is only surpassed by that which they direct against 'Stalinism'. If there are grounds to doubt that they can see Mandel's method at work within altered terminology, there must be doubts about their ability to identify and combat Stalinism, as well. It is clear that it has no theoretical content, for Spartacist. It has no reasons but only causes: 'Had the proletariat come to power in Germany in 1923, the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union simply would not have occurred.' (*Workers' Vanguard*, February 24, 1978, p.10.) It's simple, but is it Marxism?

On the basis of this mechanical account, reducing Stalinism to a social formation, they are consistent in writing (*Workers' Vanguard*, March 12, 1978, p.2) that 'it is clear that in the case of Carrillo's party, a definitive break with the Moscow bureaucracy has taken place, so that it can no longer be termed Stalinist'.

Here we see the reason for the stale and formulaic character of Spartacist analysis. This organisation does not even perceive the need to develop Marxist theory, but in fact agrees with Mandel that the 'classics, that is the corpus of Marxist doctrine, are only a scientific systematisation and generalisation of one hundred and fifty years of experience of real, proletarian class struggle, on a world scale'. (*Critique de L'Eurocommunisme*, p.306.) Reassertion is all that such an organisation requires of itself, in order to maintain 'orthodoxy', and the Stalinists can proceed to claim to be developing Marxism in ever so professional and serious a way, without contestation: Spartacist is content to have its principles and its believers, disdaining 'phoney dialectics' and Marxism as a theory of knowledge.

For the International Committee, it is dialectics which is exacting so cruel a tribute from the Spartacist League. Unable to conceptualise the contradictory evolution of the forms of appearance of the 'laws and motion of modern society': Spartacist can only see, election after election, a 'shift' to the right in the US. As long as there is no fighting alternative to the perspectives of the labour bureaucracy, there will continue to be the appearance of a 'shift to the

right', as the rank and file sink into despair of the meaningfulness of militancy, and the bureaucrats can lament their 'apathy' with a sigh of relief. For dialectics, this is at the same time a shift to the left, only it requires a deeper and more sustained praxis by the revolutionary party to elicit the revolutionary potential of the development. Workers will be taught by capitalism that it doesn't work any more, and their very pragmatism will give them the potential of leaping far to the left of *Workers' Vanguard*. But if this power is not captured in the cylinder, it will not drive the piston of revolution, as Trotsky said. That is the work of the party. Even while talking of the 'corpse' and 'dwindling numbers' of the Workers League, Spartacist announces that it is cutting back its press 'into line with current North American political, social and financial realities'.

They write this when even the *Monthly Review* (June, 1978, p.4) finds that 'the time has come to raise the banner of socialism not as a utopia or panacea, but as a scientific explanation of the crisis of the system and the only possible way forward'. Knowing that the revolution will not be made by Sweezy, however, to say nothing of Spartacist, the Workers League is proceeding to develop its press, basing itself on its perspectives which reveal the peril which threatens a party which fails to deepen and multiply its ties to the working class in this period, since there will be no political Easter Island upon which to wait and see what happens. But only a party which is materially equipped to learn from the experience of the class, as this ever more complex crisis unfolds, will be equipped to bring in the programme that will take workers forward.



THE WORKERS Revolutionary Party Central Committee issued a special statement on October 16 to mark the first anniversary of the murder of Tom Henehan, a Political Committee member of the Workers League, the Trotskyist organisation in the United States.

Henehan, a leading member of the American Young Socialists, was a full-time printer on the Workers League's twice-weekly paper 'The Bulletin'.

He was gunned down on October 16, 1977,

while carrying out party work in the Bushwick sector of Brooklyn, New York.

To this day, no one has been arrested for the crime, although the name of the man who fired five shots into Henehan's body was given to the police.

This was a ruthlessly executed political murder. But the revisionist, agent-ridden Socialist Workers Party of Joseph Hansen has maintained a shameful silence on Comrade Henehan's death.

The Arab-Zionist conflict in its current phase

*Presented by Majed Abu Sharar, secretary of Al-Fateh, at
the Lebanese, Arab, International Kamal Jumblatt Seminar
on Problems of National Liberation and Democracy*

March 13-15, 1978 — Beirut

THE ARAB REGION is currently passing through extremely difficult and complex circumstances, whereby the whole region seems to be in the grip of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary forces. These circumstances complicate the analysis of events in the region, which leads to further confusion and hesitation. There are daily attempts to deceive the laws of contradiction and conflict, through the violent crisis experienced by the Arab national bourgeoisies which since the June 1967 defeat have submitted to organised and continuous blackmail by the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary enemies of the Arab Nation.

Israel has therefore succeeded, by its surprise military offensive against these regimes in 1967, in spreading terror among the latter's ranks, pushing them into accepting, in varying degrees, the formulae suggested by Israel. In this, Israel was acting under the illusion that it was preventing attacks on itself and consequently imposing changes on these regimes which will serve the aims of the enemies of the nation by taming these regimes at the expense of their progress and development.

It is consequently erroneous to believe that current moves are aimed at reaching a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the contrary, these moves in their essence aim to define the features of the Arab region and the identity of the forces that will prevail in it. Will the right-wing fascist forces — the obedient tools of the USA and Israel — prevail and attack the Arab democratic forces in the style of the blow dealt by the fascist regime in Indonesia against the democratic forces there and in the style of what happened in Chile? Or will the democratic forces emerge from their present crisis and wage the battle of self-defence, thus asserting their presence and step into the phase of resurgence and control?

In this context, it is imperative to stress that the enemy is the strongest in this confrontation battle. For the enemy is the international imperialist forces, headed by the USA, the one who has the greatest interest in controlling the region and submitting it to its influence, subsequently protecting its oil wells. These are the principal source of energy which imperialism will be in need of until the end of this century and until it finds an alternative source of

energy. Here Israel takes its major role as the protector of imperialist interests together with Arab reactionary regimes which have less ability potentials and opportunities to undertake this role. Therefore the choice of Palestine as a target of Zionist-colonialist activity in harmony with the imperialist forces' aim of colonising the Middle East, firstly because it is a strategic passageway and a commercial route, and secondly to hold on to and consolidate the Zionist project, after the discovery of oil in Iraq, the Gulf and Saudi Arabia.

The Balfour Declaration was thus issued in 1917 to implement Britain's colonialist interests in the Middle East, the Gulf, India and the Far East; of which the Campbell-Bannerman Report in 1907 formed the basis. The latter had mentioned the necessity of planting a foreign body in the region which would prevent its unity and link its parties to colonialism. The partitioning of the Arab states on the basis of the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 was a step towards realising that goal.

Origins of Zionism

THIS ZIONIST movement appeared in Europe and particularly in Austria-Hungary, after the ideology of which Zionism was the continuation, i.e. the specificity of Jewishness, had prevailed in France, Germany, Austria and a number of neighbouring states, taking the form of racism of a limited perspective and Darwinism of a political nature. It did not differ in any way from its counterparts, the other fascist and racist movements that appeared in Europe. Its specificity was in that it was limited to Jews. It tried since the beginning to work on a parallel line with the other fascist movements, but it failed because of the provisional rejection it faced from these other movements. Zionism therefore emerged from an atmosphere of racist thought based on political Darwinism. For this reason, any form of struggle with it was one between the 20th century and the 19th century with all the intellectual ossification that the latter entailed. Menachem Beigin is the Zionist leader who most obviously and blatantly expresses the sterility and ossification of this ideology.

Naturally, if there had not occurred an intermarriage between the Zionist movement and colonialist ambitions, the Zionist project would not have seen the light in Palestine. Consequently the Zionist project is linked in the future with the imperialist presence. For a retreat and collapse of imperialist dominance will lead inevitably to the collapse and retreat of the Zionist project. This explains why Israel in practice 'refuses' to consider itself a Middle Eastern state: Israel is in fact affiliated to colonialist Europe and cannot undo this tie, for that would mean the beginning of its disappearance as a state. That was why the Zionist movement succeeded in setting up its project on the basis of the link established between that project and capitalism at the moment the latter was moving into the phase of colonialism and imperialism.

In this context, one should note that the religious, mythical form given this project does not cancel out its blatant colonialist reality, for that is why Zionism grew in Palestine with the growth of colonial interests:

First: the strategic and commercial route.

Second: the discovery of oil in Iraq, the Gulf and Saudi Arabia.

The intervention of the USA was essentially meant to ensure its goal of controlling the Arab oil wells via a local power linked to it economically, militarily and politically. The establishment of Israel is consequently an expression of the unity of colonialist and imperialist interests and their agreement in backing Zionist ambitions in Palestine. One of the reasons for the success of the Zionist project in Palestine was that colonisation took place in a sparsely populated agricultural country through the force and superiority enjoyed by the Zionists, supported by British colonialism.

The Arab people of Palestine opposed settlement and fought it from the start, but in extremely difficult circumstances. They waged a fierce struggle against British colonialism and Zionist settlement, in spite of the fact that Palestine was then encircled by the British and French mandates and by feudal Arab regimes that were lackeys of colonialism. These regimes had no sooner obtained the cover of the 1948 war, than they began to export their own 'Arab Jews' through terror and temptations in a wide-scale operation of complicity that drove most Arab Jews to emigrate to Palestine, where they still form 60 per cent of the Jewish population.

From the Balfour Declaration up to the establishment of the Zionist entity in 1948, the Palestinian people expressed their resistance to colonialism and to Zionist immigration through mass uprisings, strikes and sometimes even through armed struggle. The 1936 Revolution of the Palestinian Arabs was one of the most important revolutions of the Palestinian people up to the tragedy of 1948. The 1936 Revolution was an expression of the Arab Nation's rejection of the colonialism and partition consec-

rated by the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and its opposition to Zionist immigration to Palestine. The British Peel Commission, which studied the situation of Palestine Arabs after the 1936 Revolution was aborted, pointed to two major causes that led to the Revolution.

1. The Arabs' desire to gain national independence.

2. Their absolute rejection of the creation of a Jewish national homeland and their fear of it.

The geographical position of Palestine, the nature of its soil and the classes of its society, have all helped group major forces from among the Arab liberation forces in Syria, Iraq and the Emirate of East Jordan, their interaction with the Palestinian liberation movement, and the starting of preparations for the 1936 Revolution. The experience in organisational perfection — in spite of its relapse — at the moment it began to practice armed struggle, represents a unique and advanced model in our Nation's ability to rebel and fight.

Despite the creation of the British Mandatory power through the concentration of all its military potentials and expertise (20,000 soldiers) in repression, the 1936 Revolution was launched, planted its roots in all Palestinian towns and villages, whereby the people of Palestine gave this revolution all their support and backing; with its best men joining its ranks. Militants from neighbouring Arab states also converged to take part in this revolution, which acquired all the features of popular revolution. This pushed the mandate authorities to change their methods in fighting the revolution, resorting to the feudal Arab regimes linked to colonialism, which undertook to contain the revolution and control its leadership, thus aborting it.

In addition to harassing the militants and limiting their movements, and to the closure of frontiers before them, the Mandate pushed its agents among the country feudalists and the city bourgeoisies of Palestine to the top ranks of the revolution. These agents thereupon undertook to split the unity of the revolution and consequently Palestinian national unity. This facilitated for the Arab regimes their subsequent role of pushing the revolutionaries to lay down their arms in return for a false promise by these regimes to solve the Palestine problem through negotiations with the British Government.

In this context, King Abdel Aziz al-Saud on 25 Rabi' al-awwal 1355 H, sent the following letter to Prince Abdallah of Jordan:

In view of our knowledge of the dangers of the situation and fearing an excessive action which would bring harm to the Arabs in general and the people of Palestine in particular, would Your Highness agree to address a public call in which King Ghazi, Imam Yehya and myself would join you, and in which we would ask the people of Palestine to end the disturbances and give scope to the British government to

show them equity in a calm atmosphere. Such a call, if accepted, and if the movement stops in its wake, will give us all a good face with the British government in urging it to accept the demands of the people of Palestine and their just treatment.

Prince Abdallah answered with the following suggestions:

It is in the interest of the Arabs that they should in the meantime make an attempt in the field of politics, in which they would strive to preserve their entity in Palestine, and to achieve their aims in the negotiations with the British Royal delegation. I consider the people of Palestine in the trust of God and Abdel Aziz, who replaces the lamented king Hussein, who on the day of the great war was following the same programme regarding their legitimate goals, which were entrusted to him until he died.

The Arab kings in fact addressed a joint call on October 10 1936, according to the designed plan, and the Palestinian committee announced the halting of violence as of October 12, 1936. In order to indicate the size of infiltration by the agents of Arab regimes into the Palestinian leadership during the 1936 Revolution, we shall reproduce the text of a statement issued by the Arab Higher Committee on August 30 1936, which said:

During several days of talks between the Arab Higher Committee and Nouri Said Pasha, Foreign Minister of Iraq, the two sides studied all aspects of the cause of the Arabs of Palestine in an atmosphere of confidence and frankness. The talks led to a complete understanding, and a unanimous agreement was reached over the intervention of the Iraqi government and of the Arab Kings and Princes, in an atmosphere where satisfaction and equanimity prevailed. The above-mentioned Minister will under-take the necessary contacts in this regard, and the Higher Committee will simultaneously present this suggestion to the population, in order that the conference of national committee will simultaneously present this suggestion to the population, in order that the conference of national committees should initiate its adoption.

Meanwhile, the general strike will continue in its present status and in firm steadfastness, until a firm basis is given to these negotiations, which would guarantee the existence of this Nation and realise its legitimate aims and aspirations, God be willing.

This call was preceded three days earlier by a statement made by Nuri al Said to the New York Times correspondent in Jerusalem, which was published on August 23, 1936. Nuri al-Said said in the interview that he had reason to believe that the British Government would order the halting of Jewish immigration as soon as violence would stop.

So, the 1936 experience was among the most important experiences of the Arab Liberation Movement, which has enabled the Palestinian Revolution in its present phase and after assimilating the lessons of 1936, to resist all official Arab attempts to contain the revolution; and to foil all the

attempts of the regimes to strike at Palestinian national unity or disarm the fighters and push them to build alliances harmful to their revolution.

Israeli Occupation

WITH THE growth of Nazism in Europe, the murder and dispersion of Jews and the flight of an important part of Jewish capital to Palestine and the latter's investment in choice projects there, the size of immigration to Palestine increased and the Zionist movement began to complete building its apparatuses and institutions of which the most important and dangerous was the military. The British Army in Palestine had participated in training and arming Jewish soldiers, and facilitating for them the smuggling of weapons and military equipment. Jewish agricultural settlements were therefore transformed into military fortresses controlled by Zionist institutions.

At the same time, any Arab possessing a weapon was sentenced to death and this tilted the balance of forces in favour of the Zionist military force. Consequently, the collapse of Palestinian resistance in 1936-1937, the density of Jewish immigration in the years that followed and the persistence of Arab regimes in the grip of colonialism, all led to the Partition Resolution of 1948 and to the sweeping victory of the Zionist movement both politically and militarily in 1948, in spite of the help to the Palestinian Arabs by six Arab armies.

Due to the ties between these regimes and colonialism, however, these armies did not defend the Palestinian regions which Palestinian fighters had succeeded in controlling, but they also disarmed the people of Palestine and handed over large tracts of their land to Israel. What remained of the West Bank was annexed to Jordan, and the Gaza Strip was put under Egyptian administration on the basis of Arab League resolutions. The League had been established in 1943, and throughout those years, it could never undertake an effective role in directing the Arab-Israeli conflict, with the exception of its decision to boycott Israel — the same boycott which is still an important factor in encircling Israel and preventing its becoming an economic base covering part of the Arab market's needs.

The establishment of Israel also resulted in the dispersion of around 700,000 Palestinian Arabs.

The fall of Palestine as an entity for the Palestinian people, and the establishment of Israel on May 15, 1948, led to the first explosion of the Arab world which resulted in further violent ones throughout the region. The masses then began to move under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie to overthrow the alliance of feudalism and the comprador class, and were able to bring about the first change in these regimes in Syria, Egypt and Iraq.

In Egypt, Abdel Nasser began to set up the first independent Arab state, liberated from colonialism

and not linked to the West. He closed British bases, nationalised the Suez Canal, and began to conclude sound alliances as symbolised in the arms deal with the socialist states. He also began important internal reforms at the expense of feudalism. But Israel immediately took up its role as a curb on liberation and progress in the Arab region, when it occupied the Gaza Strip and Sinai in 1956, taking the Arab-Israeli conflict to a new, fiercer and more dangerous phase.

At the same time, Israel put Abdel Nasser at the top of its list of concerns. In this context, Ben-Gurion said, in the wake of the tripartite aggression against Egypt:

I always feared the coming of a personality like those that appeared among Arab rulers in the 7th century, or like Kamal Ataturk who came to power in Turkey after the latter's defeat in World War I, and raised the morale of the Turks and turned them into a fighting nation. That was a danger, and the danger remains, since Nasser is such a man.

That same period also witnessed the beginnings of the resurgence of factions of the Arab liberation movement which started to re-organise its ranks and to draft new programmes to deal with the requirements of struggle, in light of the establishment of Israel and its taking up its role as an expansionist aggressive entity, and in spite of the suppression it met at the hands of most Arab regimes. The most important achievement had been realised however despite the failure of the national bourgeois regimes to seriously plan for the confrontation with the Zionist danger, and despite the shakiness of the Arab liberation movement's factions and the failure of several of its programmes. This accomplishment can be expressed in the politicisation of the masses, which led to the discussion of several issues, such as 'imperialism as the enemy of our nation', 'corruption and exploitation as major obstacles to the building of society'; and the 'search for new and correct alliances'.

Palestine, however, remained the axis and the basis, the ever-bleeding wound, the knife threatening the regimes, and the ambition of every militant. And the Palestinian refugees remained not only a symbol of the loss of Palestine, but also a symbol of humiliation, weakness and guilt for every Arab citizen. Meanwhile, Palestinians offered a daily impetus and an endless challenge to the vanguards of this nation, which particularly took roots in the rank of the dispersed Palestinian people in the form of an advanced militant trend, by-passing the Arab reality. This trend led to the launching of the armed Palestinian Revolution at the beginning of 1965, while Fateh began its secret political and organisational work years before the launching of armed struggle.

Thus Fateh succeeded, for the first time in transferring the struggle from the official framework of

the regimes to a new one *via* which the organised, mobilised and armed masses play an important role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Fateh also put forth people's liberation war and armed struggle as a method of liberation, accompanying this with serious and conscious development of the Revolution's political programme, committed to the nature and laws of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Through this, it sought to win a broad camp of allies and to win world public opinion which had remained for long years a prisoner of Zionist propaganda.

Fateh organises

THE EMERGENCE of armed struggle as a phenomenon with the launching of the Assifa forces, created a storm of contradictory reactions in the region:

1. On the popular level, the Palestinians felt that they have reached the start of the correct course. They immediately adopted the underground cells of Fateh, and followed up with enthusiasm the military operations of the Assifa forces in the occupied territories. On the Arab popular level, armed struggle won more interest with the increase in military operations.

2. On the official level, the phenomenon of armed struggle was opposed and resisted by several Arab regimes and was met with caution by several others. The aim of all regimes was to uncover the identity of Fateh in order to absorb it and contain it. Here we wish to point out that the first martyr of the Assifa forces fell from the bullets of King Hussein's army, while Jordanian prisons filled up with hundreds of Fateh militants and supporters. That was also accompanied by an unfair and concentrated campaign by journalists and intellectuals who shed doubt on the seriousness and goals of commando action.

The defeat of the regimes in June 1967 gave the Arab popular action and the Palestinian armed struggle full opportunity to fulfil themselves. Later in 1968, the battle of al-Karameh gave the armed struggle its official and popular legitimacy.

On the opposite side, Israel's objective had become clearer for she strikes on average once each 10 years to force the nationalist bourgeoisie to pull back from the nationalist alliance in the interior and recoil from an external alliance with friendly states, headed by the Soviet Union. This is why the June 1967 aggression represents a grave turning point in the course of the Arab national liberation movement. It has virtually pushed some factions in the movement, which had for years adopted the slogan of armed struggle, into translating this slogan into action.

However, and almost immediately afterward, some Arab regimes created their own extensions within the Palestinian arena as a remedy for their

own impotence, on one hand; and to contain and participate in Palestinian decision making, on the other. In face of this situation, Fateh promptly reacted to absorb the PLO — which was established by an Arab League resolution — to revolutionise it and end its official patronage. Thus Palestinian rifle-bearers overpowered the leadership of the organisation.

With the escalation of armed struggle, the Palestinian Resistance movement was faced with a difficult problem which was how to define the bases and means of co-operation between the Resistance on one side and between the factions of the Arab national liberation movement and the Arab regimes, on the other. Thus, two major currents appeared at the top:

First: a current seeking to orient the Resistance's relations and alliances in the direction of Arab regimes.

Second: a current which considers that the strategic relationship should be established with the Arab masses as represented in their vanguards, the factions of the Arab national liberation movement. According to this current, any relations with any regime should serve and consolidate this strategic relationship.

As for the first current, it got into a conflict with the regimes whose programmes for dealing with the Arab-Israeli problem differed and even totally contradicted those of the Resistance movement. However, almost all the time, these contradictions were settled in favour of the regimes' programmes.

The second current faced the same problem, but it was able to create a firm platform for the appropriate frameworks of joint action, such as the Arab Front for participation in the Palestinian Revolution. Hence, the experiment of the Resistance's alliance, with the factions of the national liberation movement proved that it was always possible to reach a political and organisational programme which governs this relationship and defines the horizons of work. Moreover, this relationship developed until it became an advanced example through the solid relationship between the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese nationalist and progressive parties and forces, which thanks to the basic role of martyr Kamal Junblatt, was set up, consolidated and given patriotic and nationalist horizons.

As we said earlier, imperialism had succeeded through its stooge, Israel, in forcing the nationalist bourgeois regimes to give up their local alliance and retreat from their correct external alliances. An explanation of this is the 1970 September massacre in Jordan against the Palestinian Revolution, in which Jordan was used as a tool to foil the Revolution's programme to the advantage of the regime's programmes, after the Revolution had revolted against the co-existence between Israel and the regimes. All

events and conspiracies which preceded and succeeded these massacres unequivocally prove that it is extremely difficult to reach a clear and a firm relationship with the regimes, due to the conflicts between programmes on the one hand, and the nature and contradictions of these regimes, on the other.

The commitment of any regime to the Arab-Israeli conflict should be bound by three principles:

1. The stand vis-a-vis the cause of the Palestinian people and their vanguard, the Palestinian Revolution.

2. The nature of the forces dominating the structure of the regime, and the nature of its economic system.

3. The nature of the regime's relations on the Arab and international levels.

From Nasser to Sadat

ACCORDING to these principles, we are able to make judgements about the positions, and to determine the dimension of any regime's act in dealing with the conflict. According to the same principles too, we can say that Gamal Abdel Nasser was among the pioneers who defined the dimensions and the rules of this conflict and who exerted exhausting and sincere efforts to rouse the national and patriot sentiments in favour of the Palestinian cause. He also took important steps towards building up Egyptian society and organising its productive relations in a way serving the rules of the Arab-Israeli conflict. He furthermore made many attempts to re-organise the Egyptian democratic forces, established unity with Syria, and sent the Egyptian army to Yemen. He became a strong pillar for the factions of the Arab national liberation movements and laid down the two following important slogans:

— What has been taken by force, can only be recovered by force.

— The Palestinian Revolution was launched to remain.

And in order to protect and reinforce his initiatives, Nasser distinctly ruled off the camp of friends from that of the enemies. He thus established deep-rooted and strong ties with forces of liberation all over the world, crowning these relations with a strong alliance with the Soviet Union, the loyal friend of the Arab Nation.

Nasser moreover succeeded in establishing a very particular kind of relationship with the Palestinian Revolution. As he gave himself the freedom of dealing with the conflict and accepting UN resolution 242 and the Rogers initiative, at the same time he gave the Revolution the right to reject 242 and oppose the Rogers initiative. This is why Nasser, as an Arab national chief and leader all through the long years of bitter and hard struggle, was a target for the fiercest imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracies.

It is no coincidence that imperialist and colonialist forces had, via Israel, launched the wars of 1956 and 1967. Unfortunately his declining health did not give him the opportunity to wage a war against Israel, a war for which he had begun to prepare, armed with the experience of previous wars. And the great crossing of the Suez Canal by the heroic Egyptian army was but the fruit of his preparations and efforts an operation, which unfortunately the Egyptian leadership failed to push to its utmost or to exploit its results, because of Sadat's total bias in favour of the imperialist enemy and his abandonment of Nasser's historic and correct alliances, particularly with the Soviet Union.

It was thus inevitable for Sadat to fall into the grip of Arab reaction, which made him kneel at the feet of Zionist and imperialist rulers through his infamous capitulationist initiative in visiting Israel. This initiative consequently placed the Arab confrontation forces before an extremely serious turning point. It led them to set up a Confrontation and Steadfastness Front, finally exposing the alleged slogan of Arab solidarity, under whose cover the most vicious crimes were perpetrated, and at the same time restoring the distinction between friends and enemies; a distinction originally drawn by Nasser to enable him to devise an Arab confrontation tool after liquidating its contradictions and striking at the imperialist hold over its ranks.

A spirit of what is called Arab solidarity prevailed during and after October 1973, and this 'spirit of solidarity' governed the relationship between the regimes at the expense of the rules of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Hence, under the cover of this accord, Arab oil was pumped again to the USA and its allies; a disengagement of forces took place along the Syrian and Egyptian fronts and the second Sinai agreement was concluded, an agreement which was definitely conducive to Sadat's capitulationist initiative. Also taking place under the umbrella of 'solidarity' was the two-year war in Lebanon, whose real aim was to crush the two most prominent and important factions in the Arab liberation movement; the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese nationalist and progressive movement.

PLO programme

FOLLOWING October 1973, the settlement of the Middle East conflict came upon the scene, preceding this settlement on the official Arab level were resolution 242 in 1967 and resolutions 338 and 339 in 1973, which called for a cease-fire and for the beginning of direct negotiations involving the parties to the conflict in the region, through a peace conference to be held in Geneva. However, on the level of the Palestinian Resistance and of many factions of the Arab liberation movement, the matter was different. Thereupon, the Palestinian Resistance declared that the cease-fire decision was none of its concern, re-affirming at the same time its

rejection of 242, which did not deal with the cause of the Palestinian people from its roots, but rather as a result of the Middle East conflict. Therefore it is only an attempt to deal with the results and not with the causes.

Meanwhile as the Resistance continued its armed struggle inside the occupied territories, calm prevailed along all the Arab fronts. However, the Palestinian Resistance came under various forms of pressure to force it to respond to the proposed settlement. At that specific time, the Palestinian arena witnessed a rich democratic dialogue, the result of which was the adoption of a ten-point political programme (the national authority) which was ratified during the 12th session of the National Council in 1974, and which was in fact induced by Palestinian democratic forces as a programme countering US capitulationist solutions, which the USA had begun to execute through its pawns in the area, and which are based on the USA and Israel's negation of the Palestinian people's rights, and of their legitimate leadership, the PLO.

Contrary to the wish of those behind the conspiracy, the PLO were able to turn its programme into a programme of confrontation, rallying around it strong Arab and international alliances and bringing about, on its platform, the resolution of the Rabat 1974 summit and UN resolutions, especially resolution 3236. It thus unleashed the rancour of the USA, which promoted the second Sinai disengagement agreement via Sadat, who lost all possibility of resistance before the US-Israeli blackmail. Needless to say, this agreement was vehemently opposed by the Palestinian Resistance and by the rest of the factions of the Arab liberation movement, particularly by the progressive and national parties in Lebanon, where the Resistance has its strongest presence, and where an advanced example of cohesion between the two strongest and most effective factions of the Arab liberation movement was achieved.

Martyrdom of Jumblatt

BECAUSE of Lebanon's geographical situation at the north of Palestine; because of the capability of the Lebanese nationalist movement to interact more than any other with the Palestinian people's cause and their revolution; because of the presence of Kamal Jumblatt at the head of a sweeping national popular current in Lebanon, which gave its full support to Nasser and launched the 1958 revolution in defence of Lebanon's Arabism and its commitment to Arab causes; and because of the ability of the Lebanese progressive and nationalist parties to develop their political programmes in conformity with the intensification of the Arab-Israeli conflict and with the crystallisation of popular aspirations; the Lebanese arena became one of the most efficient arenas in the Arab world in dealing with the Middle East conflict on the popular level, at a time when

Syria and Egypt retained their positions as the biggest Arab powers in dealing with the conflict on the official level.

Thus, when the official arena veered towards reconciliation and capitulation before reactionary Zionist imperialist pressures, the popular arena opted for intransigence to resist pacification and capitulation. This is why the decision to strike at this arena came up promptly and lasted for two years during which the Palestinian Revolution and the nationalist movement resisted under Jumblatt's leadership all attempts at crushing them.

We will not go into a study of the two-year war but we will note that the Palestinian Resistance and the LNM succeeded in creating the most developed frameworks for controlling the conflict on the Lebanese stage without, however, committing the slightest error towards the treatment of the conflict against Zionism and its allies. It is no coincidence that Kamal Jumblatt was martyred a year ago while striving to form combatant Lebanese factions which would fight against Israel in south Lebanon, thus translating into concrete terms what he always affirmed: that the axis of all Arab causes is the Palestinian cause, and resisting all the temptations he was offered in order to support the secondary causes at the expense of the primary one.

While celebrating the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Kamal Jumblatt, I lay stress on some of Jumblatt's statements about the Arab-Israeli conflict:

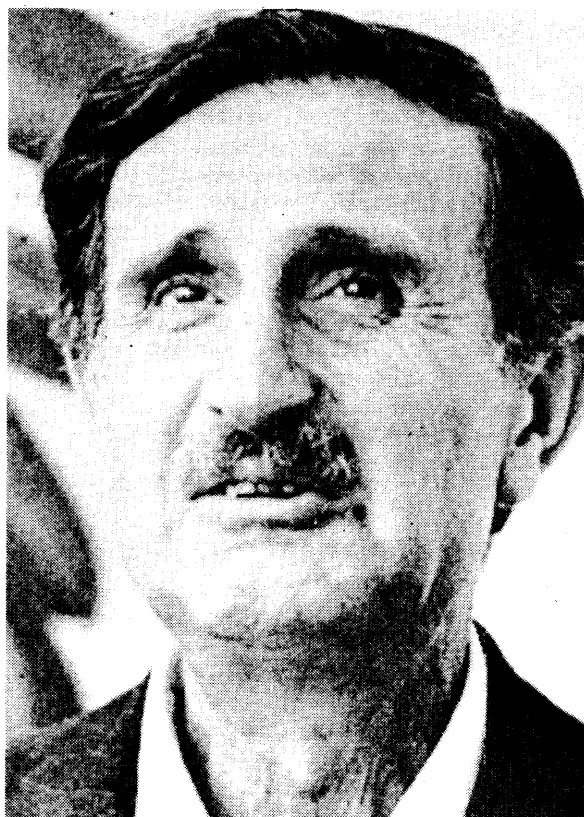
'This phenomenon of the Palestinians taking over the administration of their affairs, directly and without outside intervention; the formation of popular leaderships from the fields of the same struggle, give the Palestinian people the necessary framework of organisation and command, and constitute the spinal cord which groups and unifies all their material and moral potentials.

'This also signifies and will signify more and more that it is no longer possible to settle the problem of Israeli usurpation of parts of Palestine in 1948; that the Israelis should become aware that any settlement of the 1967 June aggression is a provisional step and not more, no matter how far they are offered protections and guarantees, and to what extent some Arab governments yield to them politically . . . Because it is difficult to imagine the Palestinian people, who must return to their homeland and ancestral land, stopping their armed struggle after the consciousness they felt and the organisations around which their individuals rallied and in which they are united.

'This is why the Israeli government is anxious not only regarding the present Fedai action, which is still limited and in its primary stage, but also over the future dimensions and directions of this action, which would pounce on the capitulationists before reality and the logic of settlements. This anxiety leaked to the minds of certain Arab governments.'



Yassir Arafat



Kamal Jumblatt



Palestinian commandos: armed struggle inside the occupied territories



Sadat, Begin, Carter at Camp David

Marx: Studies in Value

THE INTERNATIONAL Committee of the Fourth International has interpreted the collapse of the monetary system announced by the dollar's severance from gold on August 15, 1971, as ushering in a new historical period. It was to be marked by the end of class compromises in the capitalist nation-states and the intensification of impulses toward war and revolution internationally. The establishment of the monetary instruments enabling the recreation of international trade to take place, disrupted as it was by the trade war/world war sequence of the 1930s, gave the central responsibility for the maintenance of the stability of the international market to the US dollar, on the creation of the International Monetary Fund in 1944, since the dollar was to function as an international reserve currency.

Such a stabilisation of the dollar would have entailed that excision of just those inflationary impulses which imperialism was quite unable to accomplish at that moment: the elimination of a huge public sector developing out of the armaments 'race', and abstention from just that credit expansion which was to prevent a return to the 1930s, when fear of productive investment kept capitalism from bouncing back as it always had before from its 'cyclical downturns'. Economists like Samuelson were then saying that an inflation of five per cent was healthy for an expanding economy. Behind the whole 'Bretton Woods' settlement was the inescapable necessity for capitalism, of a calculated policy of retreat and concessions in face of the working class, a policy requiring Keynesian policies of state spending on a large scale. For this to work, international Stalinism's collaboration was indispensable.

In order to understand this displacement of the contradictions of the productive process, as they obtain under the private ownership of the means of production, *into the monetary sphere* (the process of circulation), the International Committee had to deepen existing Marxist understanding of the unity and conflict of these two processes. Other tendencies claiming to be Marxist were only prepared to reassert the primacy of material production, and could not develop scientific perspectives from which to elaborate the strategy, tactics and propaganda necessary for the essentially altered conditions of struggle faced by the working class.

The US organisation called the Spartacist League is typical of revisionists in its disqualification of the need for this kind of concretisation of perspectives. Without this concretisation, there is no scientific

basis for revolutionary politics. For Marxism to be a 'guide to action', the legacy of political analysis left by Trotsky must be put to work against the background provided by the 'laws of motion of modern society' as Marx's *Capital* shows us how to track them down. Until the struggle over *value* and its appearances is put at the heart of a party's theoretical life the mere re-warming of analytical conceptions derived from political forms of the 1930s can only have an idealistic character, the party being unable to fight with the working class for an understanding of the depth and scope of the policies which can alone save it.

Revisionist critics claim to see only 'crisis-mongering' in the International Committee's insistence that political analysis be sustained at this level, so that the fundamental presence of death-agony (beneath the various evanescent 'booms' in consumption goods and real-estate, for example) should not disorientate the party's work. For the International Committee nothing but this *entirety* of Marxism is sufficient now to generate the clarity with which the revolutionary party must inform its policy and practice in the working class. The 'Spartacists' for example, objected to being branded believers in capitalist stability and replied (*Workers Vanguard* April 29, 1977): 'But of course the decaying capitalist system cannot escape periodic severe crises. Finally the Workers League [International Committee supporters in the US] has got its long awaited "crisis".'

Capitalist crisis

Now everyone who is conscious of capitalism as of a mode of production has been aware of 'periodic' crises (found occurring from at least 1825) and every labour faker is ready to pound on the table, drumming the working class forward as the crisis unites them, and administering its retreat, as an economic upturn again atomises the workers' perceived material interests. If a crisis is 'severe', you may have to wait it out and hope for an improvement, while letting the workers blow off steam through safety-valve activities.

One can experience all this, and still not doubt that capitalism is *fundamentally stable*, because a crisis is in fact a sign of the *health* of capitalism, its continuing ability to sweat out the poisons of unprofitable industrial apparatus and cancerous 'service' industries which have scope to grow during a boom. If the revisionists think this reality no

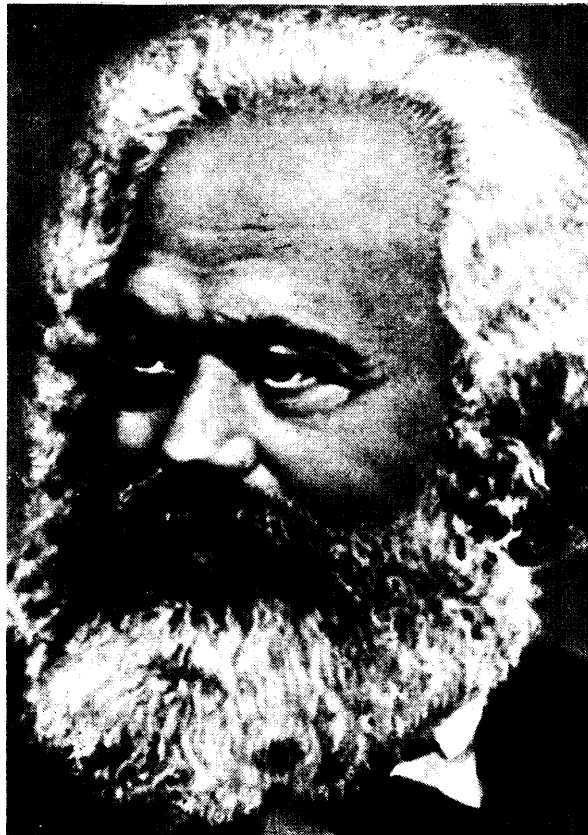
longer obtains they have yet to say so, and say *why* (since they repudiate the appearance of fundamental crisis within the process of circulation), and in the meantime they must be assessed as believers in the fundamental stability of capitalism by anyone who makes heightened demands for theoretical precision upon a working-class leadership.

Such demands can only be seriously met by a party which neglects nothing of Marx's theoretical output. That is the context in which to put the International Committee's recent publication of texts on the theory of *Value*, the cornerstone of Marxist methodology. (*Marx: Studies in Value*, New Park Publications 1977, £1.75). That such texts have not been brought into the workers' movement in almost a century after Marx's death is a salutary warning of the danger of revisionism, which can only survive by concealing the essential questions through the elaboration of new categories such as 'state-monopoly capitalism', 'neo-capitalism', 'organised capitalism', etc. Since the Fourth International has arisen out of a struggle with the Third, just as the Third arose out of a struggle with the Second which encompassed all dimensions, both practical and theoretical, so it is necessary to get to the basis of the theory of the Stalinist movement, in order to secure the clarity of the revolutionary movement over and over again. Theory is never a permanent piece of property.

Stalinism and the state

Stalinism remains united around the banner of state-monopoly capitalism, even as the various national parties on their national roads to socialism arm themselves against one another, in rallying to the defence of their various bourgeoisies, just as their predecessors in revisionism, the Second International, ended by doing. But, whereas the Social Democrats no longer claim any commitment to Marx, the Stalinists claim his legacy and carry out an extensive publication programme, which is by no means theoretically negligible — especially at the points where it latently contradicts the assumptions of the reigning ideology. So much for 'de-stalinisation'.

The theory of state-monopoly capitalism was developed by the Stalinist bureaucracy after World War II in order to explain the peculiarities of economic development originating in increased state intervention into the economic process itself. These peculiarities appeared to have arisen out of the conflicts which the movement of capitalist production creates, and thus to have a law-governed, systematic character. It appeared that a higher form of monopoly-capitalism was evolving out of the need for the state to intervene into the process of the valorisation of capital. The economic power of monopolies was increased by the political power of the state in order to make possible the reproduction of capital.



Karl Marx

To be sure, even at the height of 'competitive' capitalism, capitalists had sought to take advantage of state power whenever they could, and in that sense there never was a *laissez-faire* capitalism. Nevertheless, a new model of economic reality would seem to be introduced by, for example, the participation on an equal basis of staff from the state and staff from IG Farben in the drawing room of Hitler's Four-Year Plan in 1936. And when this becomes not simply a mutually advantageous policy, but a systematic response to a problem posed objectively by new factors affecting the movement of capital one might well wish to speak of a new 'phase' of capitalism.

One such factor is the 'technical revolutions' which are thought to produce qualitatively different conditions, requiring state intervention in order to make room for a movement of capital which is in conflict with these new 'productive forces'. A second is the development of a 'socialist system' in the post-war period of the decay of colonialism. Since the conflicts which arise from the movement of capitalism itself cannot be allowed to run their course under the new conditions wherein there is a competing system against which to measure performance, state intervention is necessary.

The Nazis pioneered. State investment went from 20 per cent of total investment in the Weimar Republic in the 1920s to 44 per cent in 1935. But the order of magnitude of 36 per cent is attained now in advanced capitalist countries. In industries

favoured by research and development, state subsidies and direct investment rise to one-and-a-half times that of the private sector. So what is at issue is a necessary adaptation of capitalist productive relationships to the level of socialisation of production which is produced by the impingement of the internal and external contradictions of that very productive process. The state has been brought directly into the process of reproduction and realisation of capital itself.

From this sketch of the theory, one can understand why a vast and important mass of statistical information could be accumulated under its aegis; but one must all the more resolutely contest its consistency with Marxism especially since such work decorates itself with terminology of a Marxist and Leninist flavour. On this basis, a method evolves for turning all questions into empirical ones: 'dialectic is the art of taking things as they come,' in the words of Momjian's textbook. No perspective for class struggle could ever emerge and contradictions threatening the system can be taken outside of it and located in the peaceful challenge of the 'socialist system' to be fought out in a gentlemanly way in terms of economic efficiency. This revisionism turns a revolutionary theory into its direct opposite — a method for helping capitalists smoothen their contradictions, lest they erupt in an explosion which would impede the inevitable and law-governed triumph of the higher mode of production. But in order to gut Marx's teaching in this way, Stalinists must keep at a very discreet distance from questions of *value*, where the objective necessities of the capitalist mode of production are located in a way that no empirical cluttering of the scene with governmental forms can conceal.

Starkly and simply put, the theory cannot explain how the state can play the role the Stalinists assign for it, and therefore what limits there are to this intervention. For that reason, the theory foresees no difficulty in the course of capitalist development which additional intervention may not solve, none which can be assessed as creating favourable conditions for intensifying class struggle and deepening the revolutionary consciousness of the workers. Above all, in order to obviate the very possibility of a unity of theory and practice to be expressed in the conscious deepening of the political content of spontaneous class confrontations, the Stalinists seek to arm themselves to draw any and every conclusion from appearances. Whereas Lenin concluded from the impulses towards the fettering of the productive process by monopolisation that force was inevitable (a period of wars and revolutions), the Stalinists are enabled by their 'theory' to draw from the same data, while quoting Lenin at every turn, *exactly the opposite conclusions*: detente, the technological duel of 'two world systems'.

In order for Khrushchev to be able to claim the role of gravedigger of capitalism for his bureaucracy, and thereby disqualify the proletariat, which

Marx thought was the only force with that task, the basic principles which move capitalism must be decentralised and turned into one 'factor' among many. A capitalism moved by free competition is posed as that which was analysed by Marx, and as something which was replaced by *another kind* of capitalism moved by *monopolists* (that which was analysed by Lenin).

Once Marx is rusticated to the nineteenth century, it becomes a simple matter to introduce 'new factors' into the analyses of economic conjunctures as needed, in order to reveal the 'impossibility' of independent movement of the working class as the necessity arises. There is, accordingly, a selection, under conditions defined by bureaucratic self-interest, for a certain kind of theoretical inadequacy; the theoretical dimension of the struggle to remove the roadblock thereby constituted necessitates that greater clarity which is only attained as the paths of mediation of the *law of value* to contemporary forms of appearance are more precisely delineated.

Competition and monopoly

In *Capital III*, Marx refers to monopoly as an exception wherein the *pure* form of the law of value is broken through, the pure form being competition. Competition is simply the expression of the unsentimental nature of value, whereby the differing *qualitative* conditions for its formation and reproduction in some particular branch are mediated with the appearance-form of value as a *quantity*. Competition is the moment of truth when it is decided whether a capitalist has been wasting his time: whether what he has produced under the requisite quantitative criteria really corresponds as exchange-values to the qualitative use-values in capital as such all along, as *value*: unsentimentality towards its own status as *use-value*, but total dependence upon the judgements passed by the process of the reproduction of capital in society at large, as a totality. The capitalist must be in a position to manoeuvre as sharply as the environment of his competitors requires, trying for his own monopolisation schemes and thwarting theirs.

Pure competition in all this is a dialectical abstraction required by Marx in order to 'present' the logic of capital's motion as it struggles to valorise itself against other capitals, and thereby creates the average rate of profit. In *reality*, monopolies of one degree or another will be springing up constantly. 'Free competition' is just *that* mutual influence of differing capitals which makes for an average rate of profit, although it exists only as a tendency. Capital is a value only as a quantity seeking to maximise its profit, and monopoly is one of the ways in which this striving appears, not a special historical period following some earlier market phase.

It is essential not to confuse the differing levels of analysis specific to Marxist methodology, precisely

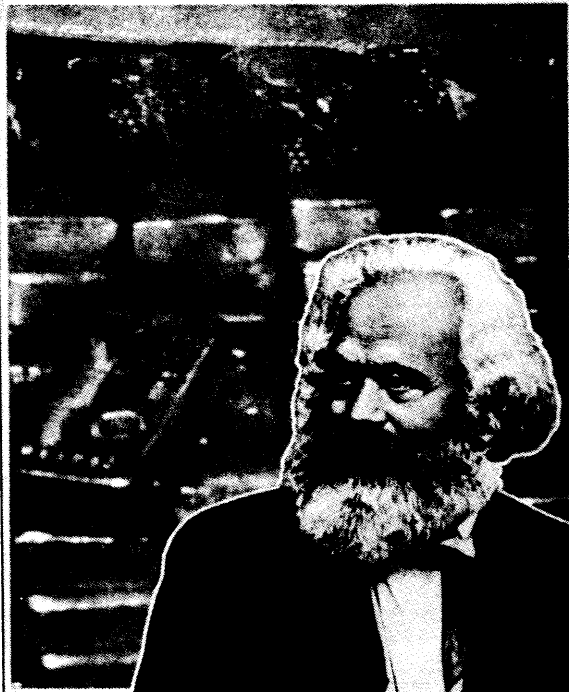
because one can only then proceed as did Lenin to explicate the new forms, which intertwine economics with politics, without sinking down into an eclectic confusion of economic necessities with political possibilities. So when the Stalinists propose that the state is required to guarantee the maintenance of the reproduction of capital, one must ask how the state could know more about the preconditions for this reproduction than the capitalists — who precisely confront the process as an anarchy. It is all too obvious that the 'state' is totally ignorant about how to restore profitability by intervening into the economic process. 'World-historic' agreements like Nixon's 'Smithsonian' last but months. The state *does* know how pragmatically to enable intensified exploitation of the workforce to take place, and that is what it will achieve if the working class follows the perspectives of Stalinism.

The other question one must pose is whether the state is always *able* to intervene with adequate financial resources. The reality is that the cancer of war industry has so reduced social productivity, as have the other parasitisms, that the famous state interventions are entering into contradiction with the function of the state itself, whereby governments cannot even save themselves.

This appears as the problem of inflation, resulting from the untrammelled credit expansion implemented by state decision. If state-intervention is such an uncontradictory resolution of the problems of market capitalism as the Stalinists say, their account of inflation might prove most instructive. Their objective task, one might say, is to conceal the fact that the inflation of the means of circulation directly contradicts their function of making possible the unrestricted circulation of commodities since uncertainty as to whether one's money will still retain value tomorrow causes one to flee money for real goods, thereby restricting circulation. Since, for Marxists, the process of production presupposes the ability of bosses to *buy* labour power, (whereby the unity in conflict of production and consumption processes is achieved), the destruction of circulation entails tendentially the destruction of production.

Inflation, for Stalinists, is located among the monopolists' gimmicks for attacking workers surreptitiously through their spending. To the extent monopolies can be assigned 'guilt' (their term), so far does the strategy of democratic anti-monopoly coalitions retain its plausibility. 'In the search for the real inflation-motor we come upon the profit-grabbing and price-politics of the big businesses.' (*Inflation heute*, German Communist Party, 1972.) On the next page there is a verbal genuflection to reality: 'If we characterise inflation today as expression and result of objective contradictions of the capitalist system in its present stage of development, that does not remove the guilt from those who sit at the levers of economic and political power.' There is a method behind such preposterous political confusionism. It justifies leftish verbiage against bosses,

VALUE STUDIES BY MARX



'Value: Studies by Marx' presents four texts — two of them appearing here for the first time in English — which are closely related to Volume I of 'Capital'. They are the previously untranslated first edition version of Chapter I, the Appendix on 'The Form of Value', notes for an unpublished chapter and a new translation of 'Notes on Wagner'. Together they form a major contribution to the study of the commodity and law of value. They are vital documents of Marx's struggle for dialectical materialism: Price £1.75 plus postage and packing 30p

Available from the Paperbacks Centre, 28 Charlotte Street, London W1 — or by post from New Park Publications Ltd., 21b Old Town, Clapham London SW4 0JT.

I would like to order copies of 'Value: Studies by Marx'. Enclosed

Name

Address

while a praxis based on rallying the 'swimming-pool soviet' of guilty liberals against 'guilty' monopolists can create limitless opportunities for fund-raisers and dissipation of class hatred. The most accurate descriptions of the actual mechanisms of control that prevail in contemporary capitalism are a very dangerous acquisition as long as they are not shown arising out of the relationship of wage-labour to capital, since they otherwise enjoy a spurious impenetrability and unchangeability which is just that required by Stalinism to contain the potentially disruptive growth of class struggle directed against capital itself.

The ideological nature of the Stalinist theory is underscored by the awareness that Soviet monetary scholars reveal about the realities of capitalism, without their scholarship having any effect upon policy whatsoever. For example, consider Barisov, S. *Zoloto* (Moscow 1968) p.3: 'Monetary relationships are the most wounding point, the Achilles heel of capitalism.' M. Bortnik provides an account which evolves the credit relationships obtaining now internationally from Marx's evolution of value forms.

Contradiction

But there is a certain selection against the inclusion of their analysis in the proliferating economic texts published by the Stalinists. In a textbook of 1975, (*Politicheskaia Ekonomia*) one finds only the triumphant march of the socialist system, with 'the development of a new antagonistic contradiction — the contradiction between two contrary social systems: growing socialism and dying capitalism — the fundamental contradiction of the present epoch' (p 126). So don't get in the way with some 'non-fundamental' contradiction like the mere class struggle! On the next page we read of 'the unification of the power of monopolies and of the power of the bourgeois government into a single mechanism, employed for the enrichment of the monopolies, the repression of the worker and national-liberation movement, and the safety of the capitalist structure'.

Not a sign of a contradiction within this 'programming of the capitalist economy' (p 131). Ideologically, 'state-monopoly capitalism' rushed in to fill the theoretical gap left as Stalinist expectations that the contradiction of capitalist markets, produced by the geographic expansion of 'socialism', would weaken capitalism to the point that it would settle for an accommodation. The Stalinist economist Varga had sought to establish that Keynesian intervention by the state would stabilise capitalism for a period.

One would not gather that the problems facing the capitalists were in the same world. There have been roughly one thousand currency devaluations since the war. Through inflation up to 1972, the

dollar lost three-fourths of its purchasing power and other currencies 85 per cent on average. The 'boom' 1950s produced a growth in United States GNP of only 3.8 per cent per year and this was raised to 5 per cent in the 1960s only by raising Federal Reserve credit by 164 per cent, two-and-a-half times the output of goods and services. The money supply went up 145 per cent and federal spending 144 per cent.

Empirical

Not only was the prosperity of the 1960s based upon this creditary expansion, but an inflation into the 1950s was fuelled by the policy of releasing \$5 billions in gold reserves adopted by Congress in 1945. Bourgeois economists, whether monetarists or Keynesians, can only seek to grasp these problems in terms of 'money-markets'. They are united in their oblivion of the fundamentals of *value*: there can only be a market when there are at least two commodities, and paper money has only the reality of a stand-in for *gold*. Since gold cannot really be being exchanged for itself, their theories can have no grip on reality.

The Stalinists are no better equipped than the economists to grasp the real motors of capitalist crisis at this point. Although it is obvious that the state's monetary policies have defined the preconditions for the propping up of 'prosperity', the Stalinists have to remove all the contradictory aspects of this mode of state functioning by posing the problem of the state simply in terms of the empirical description of channels of influence and connections between monopolies and the state.

It is not surprising, then, that in the *World Marxist Review* (February 1977), P. Fedoseyev does not even mention a Marxist interpretation of the conjuncture of world capitalism as an object of 'fundamental' research; but he speaks rather of problems of developed socialist society, 'economic planning', 'development of the international workers' movement', 'the world revolutionary process'. The contribution of the Party 'to the theory of scientific communism is based on generalisation of the Soviet Union's epochal experience and on the achievements of world socialism. The constructive effort of the masses is thus given a theoretical interpretation.' He ends by reassuring us that 'measures are being taken to put an end to scholastic theorising and useless abstract discussions'.

Without Marx's *laboratory of abstractions*, there is no way of assessing the fundamental realities confronting workers as changeable ones. Stalinism has to declare its contempt for the intellectual demands of proletarian leadership without concealment, since there is no longer any clarity about the law of value which is not revolutionary.

Axel Davidson

Self-determination for West Papua New Guinea

Reprinted from Workers News, paper of the Socialist Labour League, Australian section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, August 17, 1978

THE Socialist Labour League supports the struggle of the people of West Papua New Guinea against the Indonesian occupation. We salute the struggle for self-determination, now led by the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free Papua Movement — OPM).

The continuing guerilla war led by the Free West Papua Movement against the Indonesian occupation of West Papua New Guinea raises the vital questions for the working class in Australia. Since the mid-1960s the Indonesian junta has stepped up its barbarous attacks on the people of West Papua New Guinea and its attempts to crush forever any opposition to its rule. These moves have been stepped up particularly since the decisive defeat of US imperialism at the hands of the Vietnamese revolution in 1975.

From that time on, US imperialism undertook what was to become known as the 'Pacific rim strategy' in that region. That is, with the presence of large-scale US ground forces in South East Asia becoming impossible to sustain after that defeat, imperialism turned more to prepare its forces off the mainland centres of South East Asia. That involved such military and intelligence networks that led to the construction of the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean, down to the Pine Gap base in central Australia and others in the north-west coast.

This was part of the containment strategy against the revolution in the South East Asian region, where imperialism sought to maintain its rule through its willing partners in the Australian bourgeoisie and the Indonesian junta. Hence the Australian-Indonesian co-operation in the invasion of East Timor in late 1975, and the current co-operation against the OPM in West Papua New Guinea. Australian military aid and advisors have been sent both directly into West Papua New Guinea and also to Papua New Guinea whose defence forces are now assisting the Indonesians against the OPM. This intervention has been concealed both by the Fraser government and the Whitlam government before it.

The 800,000 Melanesian people of West Papua New Guinea were incorporated into Indonesia in 1962 by an administrative decree of the then Sukarno government. Then in 1969, the West Papuans were forced virtually at gunpoint to hand over their country to the generals' junta in the fraudulently-named 'Act of Free Choice'. Since

then the 'Indonesianisation' of the region continued at full pace, with the will of the generals being imposed onto the West Papuan people in administration, education and in the economy.

The old colonial practice of forced labour on roadways and public works — not seen since the Dutch occupation in the 1930's and 40's is again imposed on the people. At the same time, foreign capital is given a free rein in the country which is disrupting the traditional methods of food production and village life. Backing this up has been the military and the police who particularly over 1977-78 have stepped up aerial and naval action against the population of West Papua New Guinea. Thousands of innocent men, women and children have been slaughtered in Indonesian strafing and bombardment of villages and settlements.

The Australian ruling class is deeply implicated in the actions of the Indonesians. In fact, the Australian government has played a role completely in keeping with the strategy of imperialism in the South East Asian region, and has acted as the broker for the counter-revolutionary plans of the Pentagon and the CIA in the area. It was the Australian capitalist class, under the Whitlam Labour government, which handed over the administration of New Guinea to Port Moresby in 1973. This was not to allow self-determination to the people of New Guinea, but was intended to set up PNG as an outpost of imperialist policy in the region.

As far as imperialism was concerned, the aim of an independent New Guinea was to give it the power to seal the border with West Papua New Guinea and return any refugees to the Indonesians. The arrangement was engineered by the Whitlam government in 1973 and ratified by the Somare government in Port Moresby in 1974. Written into the sovereignty of PNG is the pledge to 'honour' Indonesian control over the Melanesian people. In other words, in return for the partial removal of Australian control, Papua New Guinea was committed to the organisation of joint military arrangements with the Indonesians. Now PNG defence forces are mobilised along the border to stop refugees from Indonesian attacks crossing it.

The fifteen year war launched by the Indonesians, particularly stepped up after the seizure of power by the generals' junta in 1965, is directly linked to the

region's huge mineral resources. West Papua New Guinea has a high concentration of oil reserves, of the quality that is lacking in much of Indonesia's own resources. As production of Indonesia's high-sulphur content tails off, the generals who sit on the corporate board of Indonesian oil production will turn more and more to West Papua New Guinea as an alternate source. Already the province provides about 7 per cent of the Indonesian production of 1.68 barrels of oil a day. This total will be boosted by new leases soon to be conceded to multinationals such as Total and Conoco. West Papua New Guinea also possesses a wealth of uranium, tin, timber and nickel. The most established capital in the province is the giant Freeport copper mine, worth \$ 15 million a year to the Indonesians in tax revenue alone.

But this takes place at the same time as the political crisis within the generals' junta develops. With the army also bogged down in East Timor after three years of fighting, there is developing a more and more vocal section of the junta which wishes to withdraw from the fighting altogether. This crisis shows itself in increasing student unrest, opposition from Moslem parties and in the army's lack of confidence in President Suharto.

In the student unrest that developed earlier this year, both General Nasution, a former Defence Minister and General Dharono, ASEAN secretary-general, publicly came to the defence of the student's demands — which included the ousting of the President himself. Hence the desperate military measures both in East Timor and in West Papua New Guinea do not come from any strength that the regime may have, but from the fact that Suharto must score quick victories in both areas to quell opposition at home. That is what lay behind the full-scale invasion of Timor in June by 15,000 commandos and the dropping of thousands of paratroopers into West Papua New Guinea last month.

It is clear that the days of Suharto are numbered, and that the crisis of the regime has been provoked still further by the struggle for self-determination of the West Papuans.

- Down with imperialism!
- Down with the generals' junta!
- Withdraw all Australian military from West Papua New Guinea!
- Self-determination for the people of West Papua New Guinea!

COME LONIA NIGHT

Maria Joffe

MARIA JOFFE survived 29 years in the prisons and camps of Stalin's Russia to write this book. It is her own story of the worst year of the purges — 1937. She is the widow of Adolf Joffe, who chaired the Soviet delegation at the Brest Litovsk peace talks of 1918. She shared his fight against the rise of Stalinism and was

arrested in 1928 — one year after her husband committed suicide in protest against Leon Trotsky's expulsion from the Communist Party and the suppression of the Left Opposition. She gives the first full account of the massacre of the Opposition in 1937 and indicts Stalin, his prison chiefs and secret police agents.

“... record by a woman of exceptional courage and character . . . A reminder of the depths of depravity to which human beings can sink.” — SUNDAY TIMES

“The most powerful eye-witness account of Stalin's labour camps ever to come out of the Soviet Union.”

— NEWS LINE

Translated by Vera Dixon. ISBN 0 902030 03 0. Hardback 247 pages

Now available by post from: New Park Publications Ltd, 21b Old Town, London SW4 OJT. Telephone 01-622 7029 PRICE £5.99, POSTAGE 54p

1903



1903: SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Translated by Brian Pearce

PUBLISHED here for the first time in English, the complete minutes of the congress where Lenin split with Menshevism and prepared to form the Bolshevik Party. This verbatim record shows the unfolding of the struggle analysed by Lenin in 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Back'. It demonstrates that Lenin's stand on Paragraph One of the Rules came out of an intransigent fight for Marxist principles against every manifestation of bourgeois ideology and circle politics within the party. Fourteen years later, the Mensheviks who opposed him at this congress, joined the camp of imperialism against the revolution; but the seeds of the victory of October 1917 had been sown here in the struggle against them. Contains vital lessons for the building of the revolutionary party today. 538pp.

PRICE: Hardback £10.00 (postage 66p): paperback £6.00 (54p postage)

Please send me copy/copies of '1903: Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party'.

Name

Address

Amount enclosed

Fill in form and send to New Park Publications,
21b Old Town, Clapham SW4 0JT

EURO-MARCH PAMPHLETS

Two publications giving a full illustrated record of the historic Euro-Marches of 1977 and 1978. Organised by the International Youth Committee of the Fourth International, they won the support of workers throughout the Common Market countries in the fight for 'Jobs for Youth — Now!'

EURO MARCH 78



FORWARD TO THE LONG EURO MARCH!



30p
each

Obtainable from the Paperbacks Centre, 28 Charlotte Street, London W.1; 10-12 Atlantic Road, Brixton; and Merseybooks, Liverpool

Subscribe to **Fourth International**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

.....

.....

To: New Park Publications Ltd.
21b Old Town
Clapham, London SW4 0JT

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

Price £1 per issue, plus p&p 15p inland and surface
45p Zone A air (Middle East, N.Africa)
50p Zone B air (USA, India, Ceylon, S. America, Africa)
65p Zone C air (Australia, Japan, New Zealand)

Subscribe to *Fourth International*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

.....

.....

To: New Park Publications Ltd.
21b Old Town
Clapham, London SW4 0JT

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

Price £1 per issue, plus p&p 15p inland and surface
45p Zone A air (Middle East, N.Africa)
50p Zone B air (USA, India, Ceylon, S. America, Africa)
65p Zone C air (Australia, Japan, New Zealand)

Subscribe to *Fourth International*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

.....

.....

To: New Park Publications Ltd.
21b Old Town
Clapham, London SW4 0JT

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

Price £1 per issue, plus p&p 15p inland and surface
45p Zone A air (Middle East, N.Africa)
50p Zone B air (USA, India, Ceylon, S. America, Africa)
65p Zone C air (Australia, Japan, New Zealand)

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

Leading publishers of Trotskyist literature and Marxist classics

Titles include:

Trotsky's works

Collected Writings and Speeches on Britain, 3 vols	each £2.00
Political Profiles	£1.50
Social Democracy and the Wars of Intervention	£1.20
The New Course 1923	£1.00
Lessons of October	£0.90
First Five Years of the Communist International, 2 vols	each £2.00
Permanent Revolution	£1.50
The Third International After Lenin	£2.00
Problems of the Chinese Revolution	£2.50
The Stalin School of Falsification	£1.80
Towards Socialism or Capitalism?	£1.00
Whither France?	£1.80
Revolution Betrayed	£1.75
In Defence of Marxism	£1.50
Stalin's Gangsters	£1.20

Marxist Classics

The Evolution of Property <i>Paul Lafargue</i>	£1.65
History of the Paris Commune <i>Lissagaray</i>	£3.00
Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain <i>Felix Morrow</i>	£1.75
Value: Studies by Karl Marx	£1.75
Absolutism and Revolution in Germany <i>Franz Mehring</i>	£2.00
History of the Bolshevik Party <i>G. Zinoviev</i>	£2.00
From NEP to Socialism <i>E. Preobrazhensky</i>	£1.50

History of the movement

Second Congress of the Communist International, 2 vols	each £3.50
Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East	£2.10
How the GPU murdered Trotsky <i>International Committee</i>	£3.00
The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement <i>G. Vereeken</i>	£3.00
Trotskyism versus Revisionism, 6 vols	each £1.80
Essays in the History of Communism in Britain <i>Pearce and Woodhouse</i>	£1.65

plus a large selection of books and pamphlets

All publications and full list available from..

New Park Publications Ltd., Registered Office, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT
Telephone 01-622 7029

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

Leading publishers of Trotskyist literature and Marxist classics

Titles include:

Trotsky's works

Collected Writings and Speeches on Britain, 3 vols	each £2.00
Political Profiles	£1.50
Social Democracy and the Wars of Intervention	£1.20
The New Course 1923	£1.00
Lessons of October	£0.90
First Five Years of the Communist International, 2 vols	each £2.00
Permanent Revolution	£1.50
The Third International After Lenin	£2.00
Problems of the Chinese Revolution	£2.50
The Stalin School of Falsification	£1.80
Towards Socialism or Capitalism?	£1.00
Whither France?	£1.80
Revolution Betrayed	£1.75
In Defence of Marxism	£1.50
Stalin's Gangsters	£1.20

Marxist Classics

The Evolution of Property <i>Paul Lafargue</i>	£1.65
History of the Paris Commune <i>Lissagaray</i>	£3.00
Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain <i>Felix Morrow</i>	£1.75
Value: Studies by Karl Marx	£1.75
Absolutism and Revolution in Germany <i>Franz Mehring</i>	£2.00
History of the Bolshevik Party <i>G. Zinoviev</i>	£2.00
From NEP to Socialism <i>E. Preobrazhensky</i>	£1.50

History of the movement

Second Congress of the Communist International, 2 vols	each £3.50
Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East	£2.10
How the GPU murdered Trotsky <i>International Committee</i>	£3.00
The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement <i>G. Vereeken</i>	£3.00
Trotskyism versus Revisionism, 6 vols	each £1.80
Essays in the History of Communism in Britain <i>Pearce and Woodhouse</i>	£1.65

plus a large selection of books and pamphlets

All publications and full list available from..

New Park Publications Ltd., Registered Office, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT
Telephone 01-622 7029