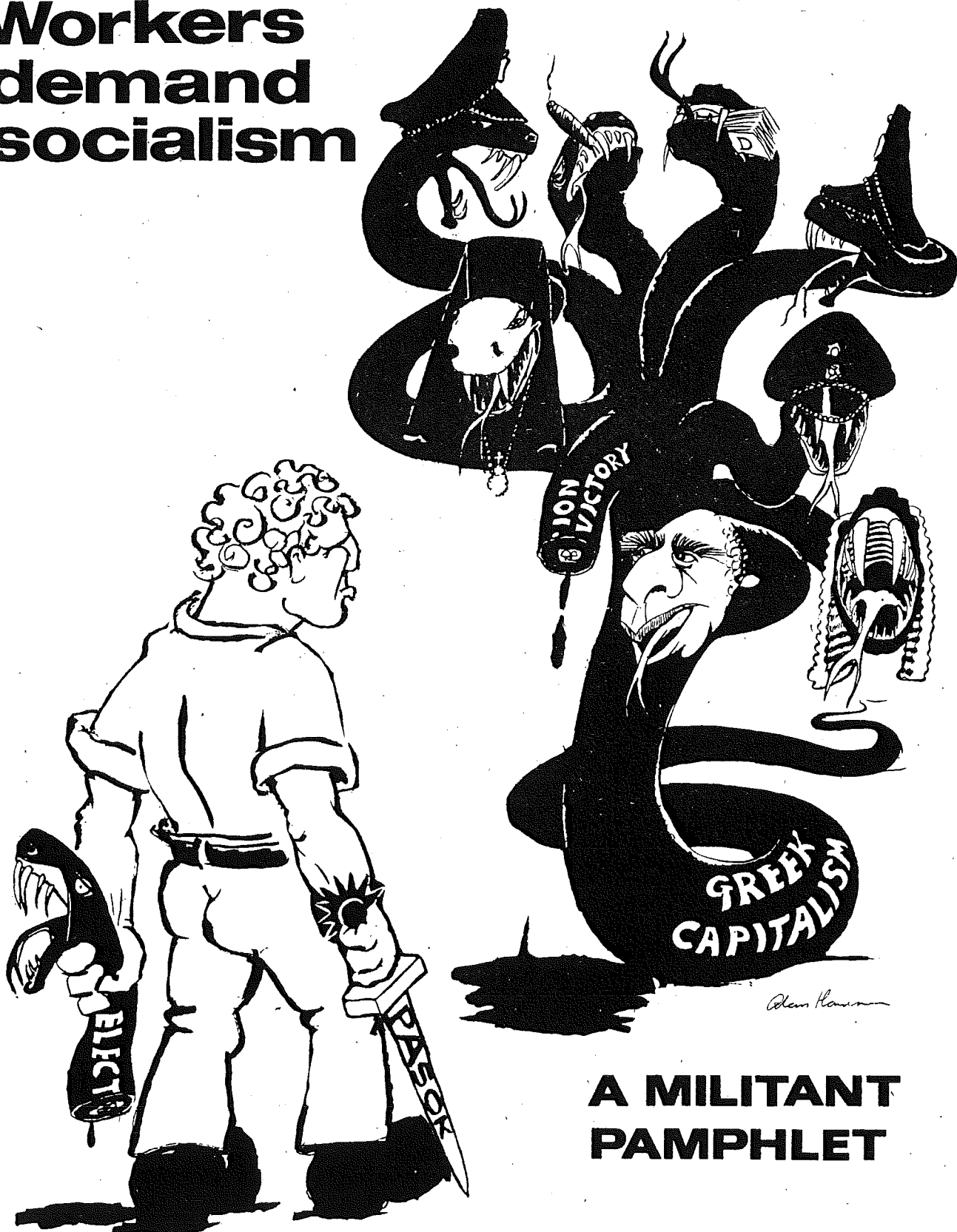


# GREECE

**Workers  
demand  
socialism**



**A MILITANT  
PAMPHLET**

4. 75872 ?



# GREECE

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The fall of the Greek junta in July, 1974, open the floodgates of mass activity. As the strategists of the ruling class had warned, by their adventurism the colonels had only pushed all Greece to the brink of revolution. In the last two years, Greece has been in the throes of a social crisis as deep as that of Italy. Long and bitter strikes have rocked the economy, involving as many as one fifth of the labour force in the first three months of 1976 alone. The peasants are in violent revolt. To cope with the masses' mood Karamanlis, the arch-reactionary of the 1950s, has dressed himself in the garb of "social-democrat"—only to be attacked by the industrialists for allowing a plague of "socialmania" to infect Greece! Having tricked the electorate into allowing him to impose a Gaullist constitution, he dare not try to implement its powers. He cannot even assume his designated office as President for fear of the governmental crisis that would follow his departure as Premier. The ruling class cannot decide which way to turn. Playing for time, it is beating the drum of Greek chauvinism to divert popular feeling against the external enemy. Looming ahead is the prospect of a Popular Front, brought to power on the crest of a wave of strikes and occupations, in which given the absence of a stable trade union apparatus new organs of struggle can be thrown up. As in Spain, a situation of dual power could materialise.

The fall of the junta also marked a turning point with regard to the Labour Movement. It found the traditional opposition fragmented. The liberal Centre Union was discredited and the EDA (formerly the front of the banned CP) hopelessly compromised by their treacherous vacillations before the coup. The underground CP split after the 1967 defeat into a reformist wing trying to reach an accommodation with the

Centre Union in the style of Berlinguer and Carrillo and an orthodox wing which retains a certain industrial base but which is distrusted for its Stalinist record and its ties with Eastern Europe.

Into the vacuum stepped Andreas Papandreou, who on 3rd September 1974, proclaimed the foundation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). Papandreou before was not even a Social-Democrat but a radical demagogue from the Centre Union, a liberal and a Harvard economist. But the irresistible pressures of the approaching revolution have forced him into the position where he presides over a mass centrist party. The new party was greeted warmly by a working class and especially the youth, looking for a party untainted with the betrayals of the past, capable of articulating their interests. Once again, this was no random experiment: during the great constitutional crisis of 1963-67 it was the CP which had built up Papandreou's popularity among the workers.

PASOK's subsequent history shows the explosive development of a new Socialist Party in the ferment of a pre-revolutionary crisis. The original Declaration of 3rd September was a fairly modest statement placing emphasis on the fight for national independence. But the militants who flocked into PASOK from the beginning tore ever more sweeping demagoguery from its leaders' lips, creating PASOK as a magnetic pole of attraction to ever wider strata. Although the active party membership is still relatively small, without doubt, PASOK commands the support of the majority of workers. Four months after PASOK's foundation, Papandreou was already talking a new language.

"We are not Social Democrats... The difference between Social-Democracy and Socialism is a qualitative and not a quantitative one. It is like

black and white...Social-Democracy must be judged not by its proclamations. It must be judged by its actions...It has supported...monopoly capitalism in Western Europe... Our Socialist movement, in contrast, is based on the principle that we must pass beyond capitalism to a socialist transformation...Capitalism today has entered a phase of decline...Without doubt, the working class...will come to realise in the period which approaches that their economic demands are not going to be satisfied if they do not become politicised and join the course...towards social liberation...The foundation of PASOK coincides with a period of great change in the West... The fact that we have chosen a democratic path does not mean that we are historically naive...We put the burden on the shoulders of the opponent...When the hour of majority comes, as it will come, for the majority to rule, and they refuse it to us, they will have abolished the political order...PASOK aspires... to create such an organisation at the base to act as a counterweight to the schemes of the foreign and domestic establishment."

Unfortunately, these stirring words, spoken in the cloisters of a Central Committee meeting, are not matched by a public call to action. Papandreou responded to the threat of a war with Turkey, not with an internationalist class appeal to the workers of Turkey and Cyprus, but in words that could have come from Karamanlis: "We are ready, regardless of the policy of our party, to shout 'present!' in every national struggle. The Greeks will defend their right to national independence, our territorial integrity, whatever the price might be...The time has come for the nation to find its soul and the people their course."

The grotesque political contradictions within PASOK are reflected in a saga of organisational con-

vulsions. PASOK still has no Constitution. There are no horizontal links between branches and regional committees are being appointed from above—in some cases including non-party members! Three times the National Conference has been postponed; now a new date has been fixed...for May 1977! Arbitrary expulsions have abounded, against the Right, Left and Stalinist wings. Now the Organisational Committee has itself been disbanded.

This internal chaos reflects the

instability of a mass centrist party, and the panic of being called to account by a rank and file thirsting for deeds, for a consolidation of PASOK as a revolutionary party. But the dead hand of bureaucratism has provoked a counter movement from the local branches. They are appealing for PASOK to live up to its original promises of internal democracy. Papandreou said in January 1975: "It is imperative that differences and tendencies exist. If they did not exist—if somehow we had

managed either with brainwashing or with policing—these are the only two methods I can imagine—to agree unanimously, then we would end up with a bureaucratic type arrangement, something which our movement condemns explicitly. For then we would have found a home in some Communist Party of Greece." But increasingly the rank and file are drawing the conclusions from PASOK's lack of democracy and are pressing for Marxist policies.

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# FORTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE

The crisis that has rocked Greece in the three years since the collapse of the dictatorship has been shrouded in secrecy by the capitalist press. As with Spain, rather than draw attention to the struggles of the working class, the capitalists prefer to console themselves with fairy tales. But the picture of Karamanlis as a knight rescuing Greek democracy from the ogre, and of a stable government resting on the biggest parliamentary majority in Europe, is a distortion.

The workers understand instinctively that they must fight every battle to the bitter end, before the class enemy regains the initiative. The history of Greek capitalism is a cycle of bloody repression, heroic resistance by the workers, brief interludes of turmoil, electoral fraud, betrayal by the liberals, and new defeats.

## 'Down with Fascism!'

Never has there been a working class more resilient. If, as Trotsky said, the Spanish workers could

have made ten revolutions between 1931 and 1939, then the Greeks could easily rival them in the elemental waves of revolution between 1936 and 1949.

The rout of Greece in Asia Minor in 1922 brought refugees streaming home, swelling the population by 20%, and led to the overthrow of the monarchy. The young Communist Party gained strength as the Republic showed its impotence in the Depression, when the value of Greek exports slumped by 70%. The restoration of the monarchy on a fraudulent referendum in 1935 met with little opposition from a disenchanted population. Within a year, the King imposed the dictatorship of General Metaxas, an admirer of Hitler. Despite his unpopularity, the liberals handed him power rather than form a bloc with the CP.

But where the peddlers of fine phrases capitulated, the workers joined battle. Like the Asturian miners in 1934, the Greek workers rose up in May and June 1936 to avoid the fate of the Italian,

German and Austrian workers. Whole cities, including Salonika, fell under their control for days. The dictatorship avenged itself by building up a formidable apparatus, using spies, infiltration, police files, forced declarations of loyalty, forgery, and the torture and imprisonment of 50-100,000 people.

The people were temporarily stunned. But when Mussolini, thirsting for instant glory, invaded Greece in 1940, they saw their chance to fight, no matter how hopeless the international background. A popular uprising beat back the Italian armies well into Albania.

So loud was the cry "Down with Fascism!" that the Metaxas press had to insist: "Greece is fighting not Fascism but Italy." When Hitler was forced to intervene, the Greek officer caste, shaken by the intensity of mass feeling, capitulated to Hitler despite Greece's time-honoured commitment to the interests of British imperialism. The King was whisked out to safety in Cairo. The rulers of Greece absconded, leaving the people at

the mercy of Hitler and a handful of quisling collaborators.

Resistance was left to the underground CP, which organised the EAM, a broad anti-Fascist resistance movement, adorned with various liberal figureheads at the top. The workers and peasants and even the middle class, abandoned by their traditional leaders, flocked to EAM.

In a country which already had the lowest per capita income in Europe, the people suffered the famine of 1941-2 (in which 260,000 people starved to death) and later hyper-inflation (by 1944 a kilo of bread cost 122 million drachmas). Hatred spread for the SS and collaborators, and food speculators.

By 1944 the CP had grown to 450,000 members, the EAM to at least two million—over a quarter of the population—and the guerrilla army, ELAS, from a handful in 1942 to an army of 75,000, which liberated 27 out of the 31 provinces of Greece. The daring exploits of ELAS cut off Rommel's supply line, tied down 300,000 occupation troops, and thus delayed the Battle of Stalingrad those fateful months into the winter, possibly changing the whole course of the war.

## Workers' Risings

ELAS was the most successful resistance army in Europe. The peasants afforded protection to the partisans in the teeth of savage reprisals from the Nazis, including the burning down of whole villages with their inhabitants inside, and the tossing alive of men, women and children into the local bakers' ovens.

The workers in the towns were no less heroic. The Nazi occupation forces were beaten more than once by mass unarmed workers' risings. Threatened in 1943 with civil mobilisation—the rounding up of the male population for the slave camps in Germany—the Athens workers surged forward bare-handed in their tens of thousands on the Ministry of Labour. Marching forward into the line of fire of the German guards' machine guns, their first ranks faced certain death. Wave after wave replaced them, to be chopped down in their turn, until by sheer force of numbers, the sea of humanity engulfed the guards, tore the guns out of their hands and stormed the Ministry. The files were burned and the Nazis had to cancel their plans.

The resistance triumphed despite the treachery of the British Command, perched in Cairo along side the exiled Glucksberg King, which actually colluded with the Nazis to weaken ELAS, and set up little rival guerrilla bands to attack ELAS from the flanks.

They formed a puppet government-in-exile under a tamed republican, George Papandreou, who had previously been offered leadership of EAM, but who had promptly offered the British his services in a grovelling memorandum counterposing "Anglo-Saxon Liberalism" to "Pan-Slavic Communism". He too served only as an adornment, for it was the rabid royalists and Metaxists who commanded the Greek Armies serving in the Middle East War. Mutinies against these reactionary officers were crushed with the utmost ferocity by the British.

The people had to contend also with the cowardice of the EAM leaders, who responded to British blackmail by meekly accepting the leadership of this artificial government, despite the fact that all the fighting was being done by ELAS. Thus the way was paved for the civil war.

The resistance of the Athens workers was punished with massacres in Kaiserianni and other red working class districts. Whole populations were driven out of their homes on to the public squares, where hooded informers marched up and down their ranks picking out known militants. Hundreds were shot on the spot and thousands sent to concentration camps.

But even this was not the last word. The Athens proletariat rose up yet again in a general strike which effectively overthrew the Nazis in the last days as their military grip weakened.

## Civil War

The workers had little time to celebrate their liberation. Hard on the Nazis' heels came a British occupation force determined to crush them. To secure freedom of operations in Greece, Churchill had offered Stalin control of Rumania and partially Bulgaria, plus a 50% interest in Yugoslavia. Churchill described his ally's reactions:

"There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down...After this there was a long

silence. The pencilled paper lay in the centre of the table. At length I said: 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed that we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner? Let us burn the paper.' 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin."

With a stroke of his pencil Stalin signed away the fate of Greece. Hoping for a painless accommodation with the British, ELAS stayed out of Athens, abandoning the workers to another dose of military repression, this time from the British. Not only the troops, but the hated collaborationist Nazi Security Battalions and the Fascist General Grivas' "Organisation X", were turned loose on the workers, by Papandreou and his British C-in-C, Scobie. Yet again the workers organised a general strike, and half a million people followed the funeral procession of workers shot by Fascist murderers under British protection in December 1944.

Churchill cabled to Scobie: "Do not...hesitate to act as if you were in a conquered city where a local rebellion is in progress...We have to hold and dominate Athens...with bloodshed if necessary."

Yet even after the British had clamped their military stranglehold on Athens, EAM yearned for a compromise with its sworn enemies. Siantos, Acting Secretary of the CP, said: "The conflict between the British and ELAS is the result of a regrettable misunderstanding." Soon afterwards ELAS even signed the humiliating Varkiza agreement, voluntarily disarming

the partisans! This surrender betrayed them to a remorseless terror campaign. The arms used by the Fascist squads to kill partisans were the very ones surrendered by ELAS at Varkiza!

In a menacing atmosphere, on rigged electoral registers, and with EAM abstaining in protest, elections were held in March, 1946, giving a semblance of legitimacy to the intensified murder campaign.

In retaliation for yet another protest general strike, the government kicked out the elected trade union leaders and replaced them with its own stooges. Tens of thousands of workers were arrested. The Minister of Justice even had the nerve to suggest that "the immense number of accused is the result of a deliberate manoeuvre on the part of the detained persons to overburden the judicial system!"

This victory was hastily followed up by a rigged monarchy referen-

dum. For the third time the monarchy was foisted on Greece by force of British arms. It became again the figurehead of the corrupt hierarchy, its courtly sycophants dressing up the rule of the Generals, blooded and brutalised in the Metaxas, collaborationist and Civil War regimes, hell-bent on a crusade against Communism. It is ironic that George Papandreou himself was to fall victim to its power.

For sheer self-preservation, the partisans were forced back to the mountains. The civil war began again in conditions far less favourable to EAM as a result of its blunders.

A grisly manhunt was launched. A price was put, literally, on the heads of decapitated partisans which could be exchanged for cash prizes. Corpses were mutilated in order to furnish the press with faked "Red atrocities". Hostages were shot in the prisons.

The strain of propping up this contemptible regime was too heavy for British imperialism in its weakened state after the war. When Attlee announced that Greece was to be abandoned, the US President Truman appealed to Congress for \$300 million, stating that "without financial aid from America, Greece will fall under Communist domination within 24 hours." Dollars poured in. Inflation reached 50% between March and August 1947.

## 'Eat Dirt!'

Meanwhile, the Americans introduced to Greece all the fiendish techniques later perfected in Vietnam: strategic hamlets, defoliation, napalm... But the Stalinist leaders still whimpered for a coalition with the butchers of Athens. The blood of the partisans was spilt recklessly, to score bargaining points. Despite their bravery, after three years the odds were hopeless. As a final stab in the back, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia sealed their borders to the partisans, and they were defeated.

Nearly one tenth of the population of 7 million had died fighting in turn the Italian, German, British and American occupations. Another 700,000 homeless refugees were stranded in camps, and nearly 100,000 Greeks had fled to exile. Although the civil war had been won in the name of "democracy", the survivors were left in no doubt as to the outcome. Thousands of political prisoners herded on the Makronisos island prison camp

were harangued by the commandant:

"Communism fell at Vitsi and Grammos. Now it's going to eat dirt at Makronisos... We stop at nothing. We are the winners, you are the losers... The time has come to crush you... You submit or die. The army runs things here... We have all the rights and power and we want you to know it."

48 hours' torture for the first batch of 3,000 prisoners produced the following gruesome statistics: 17 deaths, 100 attempted suicides, 600 bone fractures and 250 mental cases.

That was the real face of the victors of the Civil War and their "Anglo-Saxon liberalism." The workers were defeated. But their will was not crushed. For all the horrors, their political memory had not been obliterated by the systematic annihilation of the labour movement accomplished in Fascist Spain or Germany. In the 1950 elections, the left already scored 10%, and the right less than 20%.

But as the Cold War intensified, the US Embassy intervened to appoint as Prime Minister Field-Marshal Papagos, drenched in blood from the Civil War, head of the Generals' sinister secret society, IDEA. On a vote of 49%, he won 82% of the seats. On his death in 1955, he was succeeded by an obscure backwoodsman, hand-picked by CIA chief Allen Dulles as a pliant tool—Karamanlis, who was Prime Minister from 1955 to 1963.

Karamanlis presided over the devastated battlefield of Greece as the IDEA perfected a shadowy police state under the camouflage of "emergency legislation." The officers exacted revenge on workers who were blacklisted, on militants who were assassinated; and on the political prisoners, of whom there were still 1,000 left in 1963.

## New Confidence

In the early 1960s urban unemployment was 11%, and in the countryside anything up to 25%. Net emigration overtook the birth rate, and the population actually declined. Wages were clamped down and Greece became a profit haven for foreign investment which poured into construction, shipping and the tourist industries. On the basis of cheap labour, the national income grew by 5½% a year.

The wounds of the civil war were quickly healing. The feverish boom

gave the workers a new sense of their identity as a class. As early as 1958, EDA (the front for the banned CP) won 25% of the votes. To soak up the opposition into safer channels, the ruling class scraped together a new party, the Centre Union, under the leadership of the "old fox" Papandreou and the royalist Venizelos.

Meanwhile, a new terror campaign was unleashed, paving the way for the rigged elections of 1961 in which Karamanlis increased his majority by 10% at the expense of EDA. This remarkable result was achieved by a military plan, "Operation Pericles" involving the whole state machine, master-minded by the intelligence agent and liaison officer with the CIA, Colonel Papadopolous—the same man who later become dictator!

In the towns, 500,000 false names were added to the register. In the country, a wave of violence intimidated the voters. The Centre Union led a campaign of protest. Popular discontent reached boiling point when the EDA deputy Lambrakis was murdered with police collusion. Half a million people followed his coffin.

As tension mounted, the King dismissed Karamanlis, who had to slink out of Greece on a false passport. That is how he managed to avoid being tainted with the intrigue of 1963-7 and could pose in 1974 as the saviour of Greece from the dictatorship installed by his former arch-accomplice Papadopolous!

By 1964-5 EDA had at least 90,000 members and a youth movement of 60,000 and was winning 33% in municipal elections. It was necessary to let off steam by cautiously allowing the Centre Union to come to power. In the elections of February 1965, the Centre Union won a stunning 53%. But in semi-bonapartist Greece, even a mildly liberal government, by boosting the workers' morale and curbing the worst excesses of the police, posed a threat to the precariously balanced power structure which kept the revolution at bay.

Andreas Papandreou, George's son and a Minister in his government, admitted later: "We did not estimate correctly the magnitude of the task confronting us... We placed many hopes, much too many, on the possibility of mobilising the private sector of the economy." Two banking complexes controlled 97% of finance, and 30 industrial companies 70% of credit.

Detailing certain necessary, though themselves inadequate, reforms, he continued: "Certainly, such reforms would have led to a hostile reaction on the part of the foreign investors, the Greek industrialists and the big merchants.... What happened in fact is that our much milder...programme—which had been intended to prevent the alienation of the Establishment—created no less hostility...Since any reform was poison to them, we might just as well have gone further."

Karamanlis' successor, Kanelopoulos appealed for renegades to split the Centre Union. Papandreou retaliated by exposing the facts of the 1961 Pericles plot. Little did he realise he was playing with fire. By exposing the role of the Generals, he spotlighted the rotteness of the state machine, promoting a scandal of the dimensions of the Dreyfus affair. Like a cornered rat, the King demanded the punishment, not of the Pericles criminals, but of the officers who had investigated them! They had "violated the hierarchical principle of Army organisation"!

## Royal Conspiracy

While Papandreou stalled, the officer caste countered with the "Aspida" frame-up. A handful of junior officers had set up a protective organisation—Aspida (The Shield)—against a future military coup. The right raged about a "Red plot" and made the absurd accusation that Andreas Papandreou—a Harvard economist—was implicated.

The King brazenly refused to accept the dismissal of the Army C-in-C who had taken part in the Pericles coup or allow the Prime Minister to take over the Defence Ministry. A head-on conflict developed between the government and the King. Using bribery, flattery, bullying and blackmail, defectors were enticed to rat on the Centre Union and the King dismissed Papandreou in July, 1965.

Let us remember that the Greek monarchy was a British import, modelled on British constitutional practice, and that King Constantine's actions were later repeated by the Queen's representative in Australia.

## 'Give us Arms!'

The masses rallied against the

King. One million people flooded the streets to greet Papandreou after his dismissal. A general strike was called. The building workers marched through the streets shouting: "Give us arms!" As one government toppled after another, they saw clearly the danger of a coup.

The Centre Union, together with EDA, were poised to win a crushing victory in new elections scheduled for 28 May 1967 with a popular mandate at least to curb the rule of the Palace, the Army and the US Embassy.

Andreas Papandreou was even warned by a top US diplomat that "unless the Centre Union were willing to lose the next election...it was inevitable that we would face a dictatorial solution; for the Establishment would not tolerate an out-and-out victory of the Papandreous."

The Palace and the IDEA Generals were faced with a delicate situation. If they allowed elections to go ahead, giving the Centre Union and EDA a massive majority, that would be a rebuff to the King, a denial of his right to maintain a state machine unaccountable to Parliament. It would open the floodgates to revolution.

On the other hand, as they were advised by Tsirimokos, a former EAM leader and a turncoat, "when the people are on the go, one cannot tame them with dictatorships." It would be necessary first to compromise the liberals, who after all were no less frightened than the conservatives at the tiger that they found themselves straddling.

## Liberals Vacillate

Papandreou could not capitulate without losing all credibility, but he did all he could to appease reaction. He supported the reactionary Paraskevopolous government. He limited himself to neutral slogans like "the King reigns, the people rule," "The army belongs to the nation," and "Allies of the USA yes; satellites, no."

According to his son, "his tone towards the King was respectful, reserved. Every so often he would attack the Left so as to offer palpable proof that a popular front was not in the making." By avoiding a showdown he "gave time to the King, IDEA and the para-government of the right to prepare their counter-attack." The EDA trailed along behind him.

But as elections approached, the eyes of the masses were still pinned

on the hope of striking a blow at the right.

The palace worked out a tentative contingency plan—elaborately prepared for use in all NATO countries, known in Greece as "Operation Prometheus"—for a military coup, to be put into operation either just before the elections, or soon afterwards, when the Papandreou government had begun to discredit itself.

But such a measure was fraught with dangers. At best, the intention was to organise a "mild" coup along the lines of Gursel's coup in Turkey in 1960, to postpone elections for one year on the pretext of "security dangers", organise a new party firmly under the King's control, rig the registers, harrass the opposition and gamble on an electoral victory for reaction.

## Colonels' Coup

But the CIA, never renowned for its strategic subtlety, urged on the colonels organised in the EENA conspiracy—to whom they were closer, the Palace being still closely tied to British influence—to set the mechanism in motion prematurely and present the King with the choice of swearing in the new junta or mobilising popular resistance. There was no doubt which course he would take.

On 21st April, tanks rolled into Athens. 8,000 people were arrested. For the workers, a seven-year nightmare began. The liberal speechifiers had betrayed them yet again.

Andreas Papandreou recounts how following the coup he wondered: "What had gone wrong?... What had happened to the Democratic Leagues? To our youth organisation? To the labour unions? Somewhere, we had failed. We had been taken by surprise." And yet ample warning had been given, by the King, by the US Embassy, by the workers themselves, who had seen the whole chain of events take place more than once before. George Papandreou had replied privately to the warnings of a coup with the retort: "This is not the Congo!" Andreas, leader of the Centre-Left, too, had stated: "In Europe in the year 1967 a military dictatorship was inconceivable."

So the workers were left defenceless. Andreas Papandreou admitted later: "Had we given serious attention to the establishment of a clandestine, resistance-orientated organisation, had we formed the nuclei throughout the country, had

we given clear instructions for action in response to a coup, had we distributed radio transmitters and mimeograph machines, and had we rented apartments under cover to protect the leadership of the organisation, then possible we could have frustrated the coup within the first few hours...No one had emotionally accepted the possibility of a coup, although all the signs of an impending coup were there."

The liberals' touching faith in the decency of the officer caste was linked to their unwillingness to start a chain reaction that could

only end in the socialist revolution. They were not prepared even to pose the abolition of the monarchy, a break with NATO and United States domination, let alone socialist demands.

The serious strategists of the ruling class were alarmed at the colonels' indecent haste. They realised that, since the junta had no social base but ruled solely through brute terror, it could not hold the masses down for long. It would be practically impossible for any capitalist politician to keep Greece safe for capitalism following the inevitable disintegration of the

junta. That is why figures like Karamanlis, Kanellopoulos, and Eleni Vlachou, none of them notably-squeamish about the use of violence to suppress the masses, all loudly opposed the regime. Even the King went through the motions of a half-hearted counter-coup to try to restore his flagging credibility.

**The fears of these most farsighted representatives of the Greek ruling class have been dramatically justified by the events of the last three years.**

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# THE CRISIS DEEPENS

The colonels who took power on April 21st 1967 imposed a regime of ferocious reaction, of overcrowded concentration camps and bestial tortures. Among their first acts were the banning of long hair and mini-skirts, the censorship of "immoral" literature, including several classic Greek tragedies, and the imposition of archaic Greek for use in schools.

The attitude of these demented reactionaries towards more complex social issues was no less insensitive. They thought that it was enough to stamp their feet like sergeant-majors at a parade-ground and scream at the class struggle to "stand to attention!" They treated the capitalist economy, too, like a regiment, issuing constant "decrees".

## Regime Crumbles

Mostly former NCOs of rich peasant stock, and a

background in the bloody school of the Civil War, they had grown impatient at the atmosphere of guile and hypocrisy surrounding the Palace, its fawning courtiers cocooning it off from reality. They had formed the secret society, EENA, which the CIA, with its 300 agents in Greece, had cultivated and perfected into a sophisticated intelligence tool.

The King's junta, IDEA, composed of the Generals, had been beaten to the finishing post. Their mechanism for a coup had been prematurely put into operation by the Colonels. But this alone was not sufficient to explain their misgivings about the coup. They were appalled at the likely social consequences of handing over power to these uncouth upstarts. As strategists and not merely field commanders, they had had a lifetime of experience at taming the revolution. They understood that sometimes a cut of the whip will only enrage the beast all the more.

The whole fragile system of cautious preparation for a coup, the devious schemes to compromise the Liberals and confuse the workers, their tortuous pretexts to

postpone elections—pathetically inadequate though they were—were trampled underfoot by the Colonels' jackboots. The vow to "stamp out Communism" was a dangerous appeal to the brute instincts of the civil war, just at a moment when the workers' morale was beginning to be lifted. By taking over without first preparing a broad social base for their regime, these boneheaded Colonel Blimps were putting a question mark over the very survival of capitalism.

This was the fear underlying all the mealy-mouthed protests of the most experienced guardians of capitalism's interests. At times they blurted out the truth. Kanellopoulos warned that "unless freedom is reinstated soon, destructive forces will be unleashed that could undermine the foundations of the social regime." Karamanlis said: "The situation is dangerous. If it is prolonged excessively, without any wise and bold measures to restore legality, it is liable to lead to Communism."

The seven unstable years during which the junta clung precariously to power amply confirmed their fears. For all its brutality, it was tossed helplessly from crisis to crisis, lurching in drunken zig-zags from one contradictory decree to the next. Within the seven years of enforced "stability" Greece was in turn a monarchy, a regency and a republic!



The King's token counter-coup, a charade acted out mainly for the record, could have been a scene from a pantomime. The King, together with his family, jewellery, clothing, butler, servants, doctor, nurses, dog and Prime Minister, took to the hills, made a broadcast hardly audible in Athens, appealed for support, and slipped out within hours to a comfortable refuge in the fleshpots of Rome, where the King lived happily ever after as a playboy on a pension of £126,000 a year!

The junta looked nervously over its shoulder, not at the King but at the workers, desperately seeking to placate them by a feverish resort to the printing press, churning out banknotes to buy off their acceptance of the dictatorship. Hyper-inflation reached 33% by 1973, the highest in Europe. The regime was perched on top of a volcano liable to erupt at any moment. In its last two years, 1972-4, the economy reached an impasse. Inflation had eaten huge bites into living standards. Where previously up to 90,000 Greeks a year had emigrated to Germany and elsewhere, the ban on foreign guest-workers, together with the slump in the tourist market, hit Greece hard. 40% of the budget was meanwhile drained off into defence expenditure.

From early 1973 the regime was visibly crumbling. In February the first student occupations began in the Law School. In June, a royalist, Admiral Pappas, led another half-hearted naval mutiny to restore the King to his throne. After briefly showing the flag, the Admiral sailed away to freedom, mumbling: "My action could have been more dynamic...but I had taken no decision to provoke...civil war..."

This led to another abrupt lurch in the regime's policy. Like a cornered rat, Papadopoulos played his last trump card, cashing in on popular hatred of the King by denouncing him as "a leader of adventurers, bankrupts, yellow-travellers, saboteurs, and even murderers," proclaiming a Republic, appointing himself as President, and hastily adding: "And I promise before God and men that...by the end of 1974 the Greek people shall elect its representatives for Parliament in General Elections." As it turned out his promise was probably more accurate than he himself realised!

The panic of the junta, and the precious glimpse that had been gained into the split between its rival factions, led directly to the uprising of November 1973. Beginning as a student occupation within the Athens Polytechnic, young workers joined in, swelling the sit-in to 1,500 people. A huge crowd of 100,000 massed outside the building to support them. An underground radio station broadcast revolutionary slogans. Bus drivers shouted slogans to their passengers. The police cordon was broken repeatedly by workers and housewives offering food and medical

supplies to the students and workers. Other public buildings were occupied.

After three days, troops were called in. Barricades were set up to block their path. Marines, commandos, military police and tanks were thrown against the unarmed masses. Soldiers refusing to open fire on defenceless civilians were shot in the back by their officers. The revolt was crushed only after about 100 people were killed, and 1,000 wounded.

But it was clear that the days of the dictatorship were numbered. In sheer rat panic, the hated chief of the military police, Ioannides, elbowed Papadopoulos aside and imposed a new regime of terror. He knew all too well that, however rigged the promised elections, once the masses felt the grip loosening, his gang of torturers could well end up decorating the lamp-posts of Athens. His coup was a desperate gamble, which did nothing to impress the ruling class. After the Portuguese revolution of April 25th 1974, one bourgeois newspaper commented: "48 years of authoritarian rule...and Portugal ends up with Communists in the government!" The warning did not go unheeded. The dictators were thrown even deeper into despair.

In a vain search for glory, they launched their lunatic adventure in Cyprus, overthrowing Makarios, partially at the prompting of the USA which was seeking a pretext to achieve the partition of this vital strategic base. Instead of basking in the glory of "Enosis", the union of Cyprus with Greece, the dictators found themselves embroiled in a hopeless war with the Turks. The regime fell to pieces in utter panic. The mobilisation of reservists, putting guns in the hands of Greek workers, frightened them even more!

The puppet Ministers fled the country, without even bothering to submit their resignations! One of them admitted: "We are a ridiculous government, a laughing stock...Even my own friends have stopped greeting me!" President Gizikis, left holding the baby, convened an urgent meeting of capitalist politicians, announcing: "Greece is without a government." Unanimously and with relief, the meeting agreed to recall Karamanlis.

## A Gaullist Solution

That is how the semi-dictator of 1955-63, forced to flee the country in disguise and under a false name eleven years previously, managed to fly back to cheering crowds in 1974. He flew back in the private jet of his friend Giscard d'Estaing, and was sworn into office by the gangster Gizikis, still wearing military uniform and dark glasses, Pinochet-style. Karamanlis' plan was clear. He had argued previously that the Colonels' coup could have been avoided "if...the

political parties had followed the example of certain political formations in 1958 in France." In other words, he proposed a Gaullist solution.

The disgraced crook of 1963, awkwardly draped in the mantle of democracy, was the best Greek capitalism could come up with as a "symbol of unity"! He posed as the saviour of Greece from the dictatorship installed by Papadopoulos, his partner in crime of 1961! He was no less uneasy in this unaccustomed role than his counterparts further West, Spinola or Juan Carlos. Like them, he prattled about democracy, while plotting counter-revolution. All the squabbling factions of the ruling class gratefully clutched at this straw. His party was hastily scrambled together out of monarchists and junta supporters, "resistance democrats" and conservatives. It was graced with a remarkably appropriate title—the "New Democrats". Certainly, democracy was a new departure for Karamanlis.

The fall of the dictatorship found the ruling class far better prepared than the workers' political parties. Its perspectives had been clearer. The Portuguese capitalists, enmeshed at every level with the overthrown Fascist regime, staved off elections as long as possible and even then saw the workers' parties between them win two-thirds of the votes. In Spain fake "democratic" parties were evolved over prolonged negotiations at the dinner-tables and in the clubs, which even then would have fallen flat on their faces but for the credence lent to them by the leaders of the workers' parties. In contrast, the Greek capitalists rushed to organise elections before the workers' leaders had woken up to the new situation.

## The CP Splits

For the betrayal of 1967 had wrought great changes in the underground workers' movement. The memory of the betrayals of the civil war era still remained in the minds of living workers. And the junta had not been strong enough to massacre a new generation of workers as under a Fascist regime, or even like the Chilean junta which had first prepared for itself a certain social base. Hence the lessons of the turbulent '60s remained fresh in the minds of the workers.

The younger generation in particular felt a revulsion against the role of the CP leadership. Within a year of the coup, the activists resisting inside Greece vomited out the old leadership, safe in their Bulgarian exile, and formed the "Communist Party (Interior)". This was the only effective resistance force, operating mainly in the student field, but it attracted many of the healthiest fighters to its banner. Its leaders, however, rejecting domination from the Kremlin, adopted instead a reformist "Eurocommunist"

posture, slavishly trailing behind Karamanlis and other "patriots and progressives". Those members who questioned these policies were actually denounced to the police. In that respect, at least, the new party was faithful to the traditions of the old CP.

Meanwhile, the old CP, propped up by Eastern European funds, retained a tradition among industrial workers. To complicate matters further, the EDA, front for the banned CP in the '50s and '60s, also hastily extricated itself from the CP. The dummy came alive and turned on the ventriloquist! But each of the three fragments of the old CP scrambled to compete for the approval of the capitalists.

## 'Me—or the Tanks!'

On Karamanlis' return, Drakopoulos of the CP (Exterior) called on "all Greeks to unite to face the national crisis over Cyprus," the CP (Interior) expressed the hope that elections would be held "in an atmosphere of responsible dialogue" and Eliou of EDA "voiced support for the efforts of Mr Karamanlis and urged on his followers patience and prudence." This, at a time when the state machine had disintegrated, when the whole population were dancing in the streets, the police were skulking in hiding and the officers had locked themselves up in the barracks to protect themselves from the troops! The workers could have taken power without a shot being fired!

Thus a gaping vacuum existed to the left of the CPs. The workers and the youth with their instinctive revolutionary aspirations were disenfranchised. But history moves in the most circuitous routes to overcome the obstacles put up by encrusted bureaucracies! In France, the betrayal by the CP in 1968 turned a generation of militants into the ex-Catholic CFDT which in turn breathed new life into the reconstituted Socialist Party. So too in Greece, it was the unlikely personage of Andreas Papandreou, Harvard economist and radical demagogue, his head swelled by the ovations of 1965, his prestige built up among the workers by EDA itself, sniffing the chance to stake a claim to the leadership of the Left, who became the pole of attraction to the radicalised youth.

At the decisive moment he entirely misjudged the situation and shrugged off the junta's collapse as "the NATO solution". Like many of his kind, he correctly read the minds of the professors and politicians with whom he rubbed shoulders, but assigned to the masses at all times only a passive role.

The political ferment sweeping the Left, the decisive action of Karamanlis, the use of rigged election registers dating from the junta days, excluding the youth under 21, the hundreds of thousands of Greek workers in exile,

and known militants, and in particular the bullying tone of Karamanlis' slogan: "It's me or the tanks!" combined to give him a 54% vote. Without enthusiasm, the peasantry and middle class weighed up the alternatives and plumped for Karamanlis! Their eyes still blinking in the sudden glare of democracy, they blindly followed the strongest lead.

It was a hollow victory. Like Suarez, Karamanlis is paying heavily for his attempt to play hide-and-seek with the revolution. Both will meet the same sudden end as Spinola did, despite the fawning attitude of the workers' leaders. The elemental logic of the revolution itself has already nullified his plans.

Karamanlis used all his considerable cunning to carry through the tricky operation and impose a Gaullist constitution which, on paper, seems tailor-made for his purposes. Cautiously avoiding any commitment to the hated monarchy, Karamanlis held a referendum which revealed the true balance of forces. 68% voted no! Like Alfonso of Spain in 1931, as Constantine had feared, despite his perfunctory protests against the régime, he sank together with it. Then, refusing to consult the electorate, Karamanlis used his packed Parliament to rush through his Gaullist constitution bestowing dictatorial powers on the President.

## Huge Strike Wave

But if concentration camps are not enough to tame a revolution on the move, paper constitutions are powerless. What Karamanlis failed to reckon with is the actual objective pre-revolutionary crisis, gripping Greece today no less than Italy or Spain. Instead of tricking History, he became its victim. To this day he has not been able to take up his designated place as President, for fear of breaking up the uncomfortable coalition making up his massive Parliamentary party into its component parts.

All the objective conditions for revolution remain. Although the press has blotted out the truth about the explosion of industrial struggle sweeping Greece, the figures for striking workers tell the whole story. In 1975, 380,000 workers went on strike. In 1976, 1,250,000. And already in the first half of 1977, well over a million! That is the highest figure in Greek history, apart from the stormy years of 1965-7.

The strike wave has flooded light and heavy industry, telecommunications, transport, steelworks, banking, building, the mines and shipyards, the power stations and printing, the civil service, and every other sector of employment. They have been bitter and prolonged strikes against overwhelming odds. In recent months, lithographic

workers, hospital doctors, and civil servants have followed the lead of miners, airport and engineering workers in defying government decrees. In May 1976 a two-day General Strike was supported by half a million workers. Meanwhile, in the countryside, peasants, herdsmen and farm workers have been engaged in massive struggles.

## Capitalists Impotent

Against this tornado, Karamanlis' strong-man act has been pitiful. He has sent the gendarmerie and police tanks against striking miners, put airline workers under military discipline, used Fascist thugs against union militants, invoked laws to threaten strikers with the sack and their leaders with jail, and in the aftermath of the May general strike even sacked 1,800 militants including 240 elected trade union officials.

The government has meanwhile intervened to nationalise airlines, refineries and banks, and take a share in numerous other industries, in a huge rescue operation for capitalism. The employers' federation SEV has protested against the government's "socialmania". They have responded with an investment strike. But the level of state intervention reflects precisely the ruling class' anxiety at the threatened collapse of the economy. All it can achieve is isolated sorties against individual groups of workers.

The Minister of Economic Affairs has even claimed that "the distance which separates Socialist or Social-Democratic parties from the other democratic parties of the West, such as the New Democracy, has nearly disappeared." Karamanlis has moved a long way since 1963!

The ruling class is veering between reform and repression, undecided which way to turn. It is thrown into confusion by this explosion of pent-up rage. The New Democracy is bursting at the seams, its various factions thrown apart.

A long trial of strength is in prospect, on political as well as economic issues. The workers feel enraged—at the fact that the former dictators are lounging in luxury "prisons" biding their time until their recall in more favourable conditions; at the nominal sentences passed on the murderers who killed 100 youths at the Polytechnic and thousands in the abortive Cyprus coup; at the gentle treatment accorded to the torturers who at their trials interrupted harrowing accounts from their former victims with a display of raucous jeering from the dock; at the brutal police attacks on public demonstrations, and the free hand given to Fascist provocateurs to disrupt them; and at the murder of the heroic Panagoulis, a left-liberal MP who was about to expose the complicity of Averoff and other Ministers in the crimes of the

junta.

Every revolutionary lesson is hammered home in their minds. Time and again, Athens has rung with the tramp of a million workers marching the streets—out of a total national population of 9 million!

What are the options for the ruling class? The present situation cannot endure for long. As the bourgeois paper 'VIMA' pointed out, "the maintenance of democracy has become dangerously difficult as the government becomes daily weaker with no sign of any alternative." Already the ND vote has slumped to 35% in the opinion polls.

The "war" scare is no solution. A prolonged conflict with Turkey would be stopped by NATO. In any case, inevitable defeat at the hands of the Turks in a full-scale war would have the same inflammatory effects as the Russo-Japanese war which provoked the 1905 revolution.

The right wing hankers after a new dictatorship. But after the lessons of 1967, such a measure would be resisted to the last drop of blood. Never again will the Greek workers submit without a fight. In any case, the Army today would be entirely unreliable. A conscript army composed of radicalised young workers, repressed by the Fascist officer caste bequeathed from the civil war, it could never in today's conditions be used against the workers. A new coup would blow up in the Generals' faces, like that of Spínola in March 1975. The only prospect for the ruling class is a succession of weak coalitions, intriguing and jockeying for position in the shifting quicksands of Parliament.

Sooner or later, the ruling class will have to cede power to a Popular Front encompassing some, or probably all, of the workers' parties. In Greece, this would have earth-shattering repercussions. Quite alone in Europe, Greece has never had a government in which any workers' party has ever been allowed anywhere near the levers of power. Even more than in Italy or Spain, it would be seen by the workers as a green light for a wave of strikes and occupations. It would hold back the workers' fury for barely a moment, before throwing their parties into even deeper convulsions.

Under the smokescreen of such a government, a new coup would be plotted. Karamanlis himself has pointed out that "democracy in Greece was always unstable...Periods of democratic government were brief, few and far between...Greece may be confronted with the dilemma between communism and dictatorship."

At present, finding themselves without a stable traditional political channel, the workers are fighting out their battles on the industrial front. At the same time, without a unified independent trade union organisation either—since the Civil War the frail trade union movement has been

controlled by the government—there has been a spilling-over of industrial militancy into ad-hoc action committees, and semi-official factory councils, and partially there has been a localised recapture of the official trade union bodies.

That is another factor making for an explosive movement. As in Russia, a Popular Front could be brought to power on the crest of a wave of strikes and occupations organised by spontaneous organs created in the course of struggle—Soviets, as have also sprung up recently in some areas of Spain. In May 1976 the inspiring two-day General Strike was led by an ad-hoc National Action Committee.

The working class has a high political consciousness that is at present at variance with the programmes of its political parties. Its awareness derives from its rich and varied experience, the sharp alternation of political regimes. The modern history of Greece is a study on the role of the state. The workers understand the role of the monarchy and also the impotence of the bourgeois republic. They understand the limitations to the power of the military, and they have valuable experience of the fraudulence of referendums and parliamentary elections. At every election in Greece, a different system of proportional representation has been used, to tilt the balance on every occasion to the Right in keeping with current circumstances!

They have a clear memory of the record of the political dynasties. They remember what Karamanlis stood for in the days before the junta—and they remember too the failures of Papandreu's leadership in the 1960s! They have learned the need to resist a future coup—but they have learned also that even the most heroic sacrifice in civil war is not enough, unless the workers are armed also with a clear programme and a leadership that can be trusted.

They are fighting now with every nerve and sinew, because they realise instinctively that unless they win their historic goals and overthrow the bloodthirsty capitalist system now while the relationship of forces is favourable to the workers, then it cannot be long before they will be menaced by a new dictatorship so ferocious that it will make the Colonels' regime look positively liberal by comparison.

## The Role of PASOK

The key to the future is PASOK, the party founded by Andreas Papandreu to fill the vacuum left by the break-up of the CP. As with other Southern European Socialist Parties, parties swept forward by the energies of youth seething with radical ideas, new parties which have no crystallised hierarchy of trusted functionaries who can contain and dampen down the creative exuberance of the rank and file, the

youth flocked to its banner and tore it to the left.

Within months of its foundation, Papandreu the Harvard economist found himself talking a language no less unfamiliar than Karamanlis did! "We are not Social-Democrats...We must pass beyond capitalism to a socialist transformation...The fact that we have chosen a democratic path does not mean that we are historically naive...We put the burden on the shoulders of the opponent..."

For a time, PASOK was undoubtedly the leftest mass party in the world. However, as a volatile centrist party it has lurched from left to right, adventurist to chauvinistic. Papandreu has at times even called for "the co-operation of the ruling party" in "the establishment of national unity."

PASOK is even more peculiar than are centrist parties in general. Always unstable parties in transition between the poles of Marxism and reformism, PASOK is based on a single personality, focussing the workers' hopes for a new leadership. Papandreu is terrified of any spontaneous activity by the rank and file, and in particular of the Marxist wing which could act as a catalyst in polarising the party.

Papandreu in his first gush of enthusiasm promised: "It is imperative that differences and tendencies exist...If somehow we had managed either with brainwashing or policing... to agree unanimously, then we would end up with a bureaucratic-type arrangement, something which our movement condemns explicitly." In reality, PASOK up till now has been nothing more than a personal fan club. This self-proclaimed democratic party embarked on a savage wave of arbitrary expulsions, and mass closures of branches, as soon as a coherent opposition tendency developed. So afraid was Papandreu of the rank and file, that he even appointed non-members of the party to police it as regional officials! But he has been dragged, after three years, grudgingly, to the construction of a genuine stable party with a secure framework. Area and Pan-Hellenic Conferences have been held over the last few weeks, the precaution being first taken of a new blood purge of Marxists, the dissolution of some of the best branches, the appointment of phoney delegations, with rigged discussions, appointed chairmen, the bullying and restriction of delegates from the floor...Nevertheless, the forum for mass participation in PASOK is being painfully erected at last.

The Party so far, despite its early protestations, has been viciously bureaucratic. The leadership has got away with these measures by a combination of factors, including its largely petit-bourgeois active composition at this stage, the small-scale artisan nature of wide strata of the working class, and

above all the absence of any stable reformist tradition in Greece, of a Social-Democratic or even a trade union nature, up to now.

The monopoly of a vicious Stalinist bureaucracy on the labour movement for four decades has left deep scars. On the death of the Stalinist leader Zachariadis, his house was found to contain a private cell, in which was found the corpse of a CC member who had raised criticisms of the Party's Civil War strategy! The tradition of merciless

victimisation of political opponents is powerful.

The creation of PASOK was a gigantic stride forward for the working class, breaking the stranglehold of Stalinism on the labour movement. On the basis of erratic zig-zags by an uncontrolled bureaucracy, it can only disintegrate. But by thrashing out a policy corresponding to the revolutionary mood currently sweeping the working class—and that is the force that really created PASOK, not the

whim of a political celebrity—it can be transformed into a mass revolutionary Party.

The role of the Marxist wing of the Party [whose call for a United Front of workers' parties for a socialist programme met enthusiasm at the PASOK Conferences] faced with terrible provocations and harassment, can be crucial if it retains stamina and a clear perspective. Around its banner a party worthy of the heroism of the Greek working class can at last be built.

# THE SICKNESS OF GREEK CAPITALISM

**The British press presents Greece as a pleasant holiday resort with ruins, hundreds of islands and a few millionaire ship owners marrying and divorcing each other. But behind this facade there is a situation developing which could easily threaten the very existence of Greek capitalism.**

In the middle of June the Greek government was forced to suspend Parliament for its summer recess 20 days early. In spite of its 52 seat majority in Parliament the capitalist Karamanlis government was so unsure of getting a majority in the Parliamentary Committees that it sent MPs home early to avoid the risk of defeats.

Practically every day there are more rumours of splits in the ruling New Democracy party and more government reshuffles as both the government and its MPs rack their brains about how to deal with Greece's economic crisis and the Greek workers' growing strength.

Although the situation is becoming more acute, it is not new. Greece has been gripped by continuing crises since before the downfall of the Colonels' Junta in July 1974. Since then there have been periodic waves of mass struggle, which have laid bare the weakness of the Greek ruling class.

Faced with a rising tide of opposition, expressed in strikes and the Athens Polytechnic uprising in November 1973, and the collapse of its Cyprus adventure, the Junta and its ministers simply fled to escape

the wrath of the population. The ruling class moved quickly to fill this void by flying in Karamanlis from Paris, installing him as Prime Minister once again. The old reactionary had lived in exile since opposition to his authoritarian rule had forced him to resign as Premier in 1962.

The absence of any alternative policy from the leadership of the Communist Party (Interior) (which was at that time a major Greek workers' party) allowed the ruling class to carry out this manoeuvre and let Karamanlis win the subsequent snap election with his slogan of "It's me or the Tanks" (see 'Militant' nos. 366 & 367). But despite this initial success there has been a continuing radicalisation and polarisation in Greek society since then.

The Greek capitalists themselves have lost real confidence in their future. There has been a steady decline in the rate of increase in production: in 1977 industrial production rose by only 1.5% compared with 10.6% in the

previous year.

While the total rate of investment did slightly rise from 7.1% in 1976 to 8% in 1977, there was an actual fall in industrial investment, most of the increase was in property. The papers have spoken of an 'investment boycott' by the Greek bosses. This is not only the result of doubts about the profitability of investing but also, as 'The Times' reported, because "above all Greek businessmen resent the prevailing anti-profits climate which forces them to prove at all times that they are not crooks, exploiters or tax dodgers, they prefer to lie low and let the storm wear out," one economist explained." [28.4.78].

Last May the government announced new incentives to try to bribe the bosses to invest, but even while giving the details Karamanlis was forced to say that "incentives are not enough. We also, need economic and social stability, and this stability is being undermined by unreasonable and untimely claims. Above all it is undermined by strikes that are often politically motivated."

The Bulletin of the Congress of Greek Industrialists (EB) added on June 15th that on the "question of both industrial production and industrial investment low demand is a major factor put forward by industrialists." The Bulletin went on to explain that this low demand was the result of the fact that the "increase in real incomes was lower in 1977 than in 1976...for industrial workers the real increase was 4.5% compared with 11.1% in 1976...In the first five months of 1978 the general price index rose by 5.8%, but food prices went up by 10.9%."

When it is remembered that the Bulletin's figures are the official ones, which underestimate the situation facing the working class, one begins to understand the plight of Greek workers.

At the beginning of this year the government attempted to "expand the economy" by increasing its own spending by 20%. This immediately resulted in an upsurge in imports which worsened the January-May trade deficit to \$1,768 million compared with \$1,531 million in the same period last year. In addition to the jump in imports Greek exports are falling, a process which moves like the recent Common Market restrictions on the import of Greek textiles will only worsen.

This effort to boost the economy by printing more money also led to an increase in inflation from 12.8% to 15% according to the official figures. In reality the figure is much higher as the official Post Office interest rate of 10.5% indicates. Inflation is also being fuelled by an annual average fall of 14% in the drachma's value on the world currency markets.

## Pessimism

This situation forced the government five months later to completely reverse its January policies by cutting spending in each sector by between 15% to 20% and reducing public investment. But military spending, which consumes a massive 23.8% of the government spending, was left untouched.

The government's 'stop-go' policies are now making their own impact as the capitalists are unsure of the future government policy and even less willing than before to risk their money in production and investment. The government's policies mean that workers are faced both with an acceleration in inflation and the probability of unemployment rising still further.

Already the unemployment rate is 10%, and the situation has been made worse by the closing off of the opportunities to find work outside Greece as other capitalist countries have also been hit by mass unemployment. This all adds to the powder keg, preparing the way for an inevitable political explosion by the working class.

The June edition of the economic review, 'Epilogi', summed up the situation as follows: "The government's targets on all major economic fronts are not being met and it seems that the more pessimistic projections are coming true. All the facts and figures for the first four months of 1978 show a positive deterioration in both internal and

external stability."

Greek capitalism itself has a very weak base. In many senses Greece, like Portugal, is only a semi-developed country. Only 20% of Greece's Gross National Product comes from manufacturing, less than Turkey!

The industrial base of Greek capitalism is very narrow. Much of the ruling class's wealth comes from shipping, finance and tourism. Over 60% of the Greek workforce are either self-employed or unpaid family workers in retailing, tiny workshops or on the land.

84.4% of Greek firms have less than four workers, and 9.2% employ between five and nine workers, which illustrates both the backwardness of Greek capitalism and also the enormous weight of the few large firms in the economy. The fact that the public utilities, such as the telephone company, railways and Olympic airways, are the biggest employers of labour also shows the important political and industrial role of these workers.

It is because of this weak industrial base that Greece permanently has a large trade deficit, which in the past has been partly covered by money coming to Greece from workers abroad, tourism and shipping, which have all been affected in the recent period by the ups and downs of the world economy.

The government itself is even less sure than its capitalist counterparts what is happening in the economy. Its estimates of the proportion of the population involved in agriculture, for example, range from 20% to 35%!

But in spite of the weakness of its statistics the government and the ruling class in general have no doubts whatsoever about their need to hold down workers' living standards in order to both make Greek industry more competitive and to limit the demand for foreign goods. The problem for them is how to do it.

The barrier standing between the Greek bosses and their objectives is the strength of the Greek working class. Since the Junta's fall Greece has seen wave upon wave of struggle as workers have increased their efforts both for improved conditions and against the capitalist government and its anti-working class laws. In 1976 1,250,000 days were 'lost' in strikes, but in the first four months of this year already over 1,600,000 were 'lost'.

In the face of a mounting working class offensive the government last year decided to hold the general elections a year early, before the developing swing to the left undermined both its majority and

squeezed out the other capitalist party, EDIK, the Centre Democratic Union. But the results still showed the massive shift to the left in Greece since 1974.

The vote of PASOK, the Socialist party, nearly doubled to over 25% and the number of its MPs jumped from 15 to 91. The pro-Moscow Communist Party, the KKE, won a further 9% of the vote and 11 MPs, while the alliance of small parties led by the "Eurocommunist" Communist Party (Interior) got 2.7% and two seats. In all the workers' parties won over 36% of the vote.

At the same time Karamanlis's New Democracy lost 41 seats and its share of the vote went down from 55% to 42%. In this polarisation EDIK was crushed, its vote falling from 20% to 12%, leaving it with only 15 MPs, compared with 57 before, who immediately began to fight amongst themselves.

## Strike wave

In the three major cities of Greece (Athens/Piraeus, Salonika and Papras) the workers' parties won 44% of the vote, while in solid working class areas like Piraeus they won a total of 51%. This giant step forward for the left gave a massive boost of confidence to the working class which resulted in a terrific intensification of the class struggle. Strike after strike developed as workers pushed forward to win their demands.

Generally these demands centred around calls for a 30% wage increase; a sliding scale of wages linked to a price index drawn up by the trade unions; pensions to be 80% of the minimum wage; a 5-day, 40-hour week with no loss in pay; retirement after 35 years working with a pension; workers' control of pension schemes; abolition of all anti-working class laws; admission of all trade unions to the Trades Councils and GSEE (Greek TUC); democratic elections and abolition of the Junta constitutions in the trade union Federations, Trades Councils and GSEE. This wave of struggle culminated in the 600,000 strong March 1st General Strike which involved wide layers of workers, although the struggles have continued since then in many areas.

Parliament was sent on holiday 20 days early because many New Democracy MPs were either failing to appear or abstaining on votes and thus putting the government in a minority. In the days just before the adjournment there were public rows between New Democratic MPs and Ministers and one MP was expelled the day before he planned to announce his resignation!

Obviously many New Democratic MPs are fearful of their future careers, let alone the major question of how Greek capitalism can solve its problems. Although the government is trying to take advantage of the current limited lull in the class struggle to attack the working class, it is clear that the ruling class are not confident of their ability to contain the labour movement at the present time.

The Greek bosses dare not at present attempt to use the armed forces again to cower the working class. The memory of the Junta terror is still too fresh in workers' minds and a new coup attempt now would lead to an uprising and general strike.

The 1967 coup proved ultimately to have been a miscalculation on behalf of the Colonels, CIA and sections of the ruling class. The end result of the Junta's rule in 1974 was that the bosses were faced with an even stronger and more militant working class than before April 1967.

Therefore at the present time the more far-sighted sections of the Greek bosses see that the only way in the short term that they can put into effect their policies is by securing the agreement of the workers' leaders to their implementation. The June edition of 'Epilogi' stated that: "In preparation for lowering the demands for wage and salary increases in the coming year the political parties and trade union organisations must give a decisive contribution by changing their attitude to facing the national economic problems."

## Leaders

In effect 'Epilogi' is calling for a Greek version of the British Social Contract or Spanish Moncloa Pact, an agreement between the workers' leaders and bosses for "restraint".

In recent months the leaders of PASOK and the KKE have attempted to restrain the working class. They have not organised a real struggle against the government. Yet despite this the Greek workers have shown a magnificent ability to fight back. Tremendous periods of struggle have unfolded despite the organisational weakness of the Greek working class.

The Greek labour movement is divided into over 3,500 small unions, many of which are just factory unions, although there also exist unions which attempt to cover an entire industry or craft in a local area or nationally. There are Federations in existence which try to link unions in individual industries or firms together, but they vary enormously in strength.

## Bureaucracy

Many of these small factory unions have only been formed in the past four years. This movement to become organised represents a great step forward for previously unorganised workers, while at the same time having big weaknesses because it is based on factory unions. One of the reasons for this particular kind of organisation is the mistrust which many workers feel towards the government supporters who bureaucratically run most of the older established unions.

The Greek TUC, the GSEE, most of the Trades Councils and some of the Federations and unions are under the control of these government supporters. Greece has never had a trade union movement independent from the state. When the Colonels, on seizing power in 1967, closed down over a hundred unions and arrested their leaders, the GSEE's then chief sent them a telegram of congratulations!

The present GSEE leadership was appointed by Karamanlis after the Junta's collapse and only later sought to have its position legitimised through elections. Since then it has maintained its position by regularly expelling unions which are taken over by the left from the GSEE, at the same time as admitting stooge bosses' unions which are given inflated membership figures and votes. The 'Financial Times' commented recently that for years the GSEE leadership "has depended more on the good will of the government and the labour section of the security police than on workers' support."

The government attempts to keep a grip on the trade unions through various anti-working class laws. For instance it is illegal for unions to have strike funds or to amalgamate with other unions. Each registered GSEE union gets a subsidy from the Ministry of Labour. Demands for the repeal of these, and many other, anti-working class laws and for a democratic labour movement are some of the most important being made at the present time. It was only two years ago that a court ruled that a boss was justified in dismissing 20 workers who had tried to form a factory union because they had failed to notify him of their plans!

The government and the ruling class has attempted to make use of the present lull in the class struggle both to pass new repressive laws, such as the Anti-Terrorist Law and a law banning the sale of newspapers on the streets, and to continue the sacking of thousands of militants. 'Rizopastis', the KKE

daily, reported that in 1975 1,277 workers were sacked for union activities, of whom 87 were members of union Executive Committees. In 1976 1,816 were fired including 239 EC members; in 1977, 2,462, including 210 EC members, and in the first three months of 1978 1,125 workers were sacked including 100 EC members.

## Challenge

As a result of the organisational weakness of the Greek trade unions and the rottenness of many of their formal leaders a large role industrially is played by PASOK and the KKE. Both parties have industrial wings which aim to organise their members and supporters in most workplaces and unions.

The PASOK's industrial organisation is the PASKE and the KKE's is the ESAK. At the present time ESAK is far bigger and better organised than PASKE, in spite of the fact that the majority of workers support PASOK. This is a result of the PASOK leaders' fear of really active, large PASOK or PASKE branches which could provide the basis for a rank and file challenge to their leadership later.

But in spite of PASKE's current weakness both play an important role in strikes and in fighting to win control of the trade unions, Trades Councils and ultimately the GSEE.

Most of the active workers look to PASOK or the KKE to provide a direction to their struggles, whether industrial or political. Thus the moving forces behind the March 1st strike were the unofficial co-ordinating committees of trade unions and Federations led by PASOK ('Committee of Public Employees' Organisations') and KKK ('Committee of 70 Factories' in Athens). But since the March 1st strike both PASOK and the KKE have held back from developing the struggle, thus allowing a certain lull to develop and giving the ruling class an opportunity for a limited counter-attack.

# HISTORIC VICTORY FOR GREEK WORKERS

**The brilliant victory of the Socialist Party PASOK in the Greek elections opens up a new epoch in the turbulent history of Greece.**

**Following the spectacular socialist victory in France earlier this year it provides renewed confirmation of the huge left wing move of society that has begun throughout Europe.**

**PASOK alone won 48.07% of the votes—as much as the British Labour party in the landslide of 1945. In addition, the pro-Moscow Communist Party won another 10.88% and the break-away Euro-Communist Party 1.35%—amounting to a massive combined left vote of 60.3%!**

This is the second highest left vote recorded in any election in the world—higher even than the 56% achieved in France! Only Portugal has seen a greater vote, where the workers' parties scored 66%. And that was in the special circumstances of the 1975 elections, which ratified the already accomplished gains of the revolution and the nationalisation of 70% of the economy.

Here in Greece, the workers' parties smashed their way to an unprecedented victory against all the odds of a Gaullist bonapartist constitution, an electoral system which is designed to tilt the results

## Report from Roger Silverman in Athens

heavily to the right, by excluding 18 to 21 year olds and hundreds of thousands of Greek workers in Europe, and which penalises smaller parties so that the CP with 11% of the vote won only 4% of the seats.

PASOK was formed only seven years ago, after the collapse of the Colonels' Junta, filling a vacuum left by the discredited Communist Party which twice in one generation had led the workers to terrible defeats.

It was founded on the socialist aspirations of the youth to build a new society and cleanse Greece of the reactionary filth surviving from the civil war, which had for seven nightmare years from 1967 till 1974, returned to crush its jackboots on the neck of Greek society.

PASOK's victory today represents a mandate for

decisive revolutionary change.

The workers celebrate this triumph with their old enemies lying prostrate and humiliated at their feet. The capitalist New Democracy Party of Karamanlis has seen its votes drop from 54.37% in 1974 (when Karamanlis won on the 'brilliant' slogan 'me or the tanks') to 41.84% in 1977 and 35.92% today.

The pro-junta fascist "Progressive" Party, whose friends ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974, suffered a fall from 6.82% in 1977 to 1.69% today. The two bleeding halves of what is left of the Liberal Centre Union (which scored 52.72% of the votes in 1964, and following the fall of the junta dropped from 20.42% in 1974 to 11.95% in 1977) scored in total only 1.13%!

The result is also a disappointment for the CP which had put all its efforts into jumping the 17% electoral barrier which gains proper representation in Parliament. The minor parties have been squeezed out in a sharp polarisation of society, and only three parties today are represented in Parliament, compared with seven before.

This is an historic victory and a testimony to the revolutionary energy of the working class and the poor peasants—all the more spectacular in that the industrial working class amounts to only 30% of the population.

Never before in Greek history have the workers' parties been allowed to participate even as junior partners in coalition government. From 1945 to '49 a bloody civil war was launched in which 1 million were killed to prevent a Popular Front government coming to power.

In 1967, the Colonels imposed a military dictatorship rather than permit the

capitalist Liberal Centre Union, led by Andreas Papandreou and his father win the impending elections in alliance with the CP front organisation, the EDA. The fate of the unpopular monarchy and the repressive army officer caste, were threatened by the masses' pressure on such a government.

Today reaction is impotent. The ruling class is stomping and gritting its teeth. They are paying the price, 14 years later, for the precipitant impatience of the colonels. After the hideous experience of the Colonels' dictatorship and its ignominious disintegration, there will be no possibility of a new military intervention for many years to come. The workers would fight to the last.

In 1964-67 the colonels discovered to their cost that they lacked a sufficient social base for a stable bonapartist regime. Today the pitiful votes for their party shows that such a solution is unthinkable.

The workers in Greece have the opportunity today to take the power into their own hands and build a socialist Greece. But first the most advanced workers in PASOK will have to challenge the current policies of Andreas Papandreou.

His popularity stems from his record in defying the intrigues of 1964-7, his persecution by the junta, and his opposition to Karamanlis in 1974.

Karamanlis was a semi-dictator from 1955-63 presiding over the devastated battlefield after the civil war. He only won the 1961 elections because of massive rigging and intimidation by his trusted accomplice Colonel Papadopoulos who later led the 1967 coup.

Karamanlis had to flee the country in disgrace under a false passport in 1963. He

was the faithful servant of capitalism who opposed the colonels from a comfortable exile in Paris, only because he understood that by their stupidity they had brought nearer the danger of 'Communism'.

Today Karamanlis as President is poised to play the same role as King Constantine in the '60s. He will try to use his formidable presidential powers to frustrate the will expressed so resoundingly by the people.

Andreas Papandreou will have to put into practice his ringing declaration of the heady days of 1974 for the overthrow of capitalism and the mobilisation of the masses to overcome attempts to interfere with the democratic wishes of the people.

But the signs are that

Papandreou is watering down his already disluted election programme for withdrawal from NATO and the EEC, nationalisation, etc.

It is ominous that Madros of the Liberal Centre Union at the last moment was seduced into the PASOK lists, and the appointed parliamentary candidates came almost exclusively from Papandreou's personal coterie and were not selected by the rank and file of the party.

Right-wing European Social Democratic leaders Felipe Gonzales and Olaf Palme were invited to lend moral support at election rallies.

PASOK must base itself unflinchingly on the will of the masses for socialism and

destroy the rule of the capitalists and their state machine while the balance of forces is so uniquely favourable.

Unemployment has been estimated by the EEC to be anything between 9% and 15%. 28 out of the 35 industrial sectors are suffering an absolute decline in output, and 1,000 large and medium sized companies have gone bankrupt. And yet inflation is running at 25% per annum, for the third year running.

If PASOK cannot live up to its policies, to change the lives of the people—which means a decisive break with capitalism—then the results over the years will be disappointment and despair. If as a result, reaction ever again gained the initiative then the

horrors of the Metaxas police state, the bloodthirsty repression of the civil war and the brutality of the junta will provide ample evidence of the bloody vengeance that will be reaped.

The Marxist wing of PASOK will, by patient explanation and work among the masses, win growing support despite the likely attacks by the capricious party leadership. Together with the workers of Europe and the world, the Greek workers can use this smashing victory as a spring board for a socialist federation of Europe.

# GREEK WORKERS GO INTO ACTION

**PASOK's magnificent victory in the Greek elections was greeted by more than dancing in the streets, wild parties and mock funerals of the Right.**

**Within hours, workers had moved into action to avenge the defeats of the past—particularly the last two years' vicious reprisals against trade union militants.**

**Workers are not prepared to wait passively for the new government to introduce legislation from above. They are already implementing its programme in the factories.**

The very day after the election, a leaflet was published by the biggest union in the Greek Electricity Corporation (DEI).

"We greet the victory of the working people in the elections...and we ask you to carry out the tasks of

**By Roger  
Silverman**

CHANGE...The people who supported our struggles in the past have condemned the government of autocracy, of victimisation and sackings, and decided with a tremendous majority that the public utility companies like DEI should from now on serve the interests of society.

"So, starting from today, we, the workers of DEI, begin to put into practice the decisions of the Greek people. Real power within our company is now transferred to the hands of our workers and other representatives of popular power, who will implement

the slogans that the Greek people were shouting in the streets: the people and PASOK in power!...

"All DEI workers must be in the forefront of struggle to firmly establish a change and guarantee the implementation of the will of the people...Our Federation calls upon all our colleagues who in the past were sacked for trade union activity to return to the Corporation and start work in the next few days.

"Also we ask all our brothers who were victimised by being transferred to other parts of the country to return to their original workplaces...Fight for the decisive participation of workers in the running of our company, which must serve the interests of the Greek people..."

On the following day, 350 out of the 1000 workers sacked two years ago after a bitter six-month struggle in the Pitsos electrical equipment factory besieged the

new Minister of Labour demanding reinstatement in the same jobs to begin afresh the fight for union recognition.

It was not only workers who saw the election as a green light to move into action. A hundred prisoners in Nafplio prison barricaded themselves into one part of their prison the day after the election and demanded to speak to the new Justice Minister on the demands: fire the Governor, better conditions, stop warders' terrorisation, and no victimisation.

After a week they called off the occupation, having been assured that the Governor had already been sacked and that all their demands would be sympathetically considered.

At the other end of the spectrum, PASOK activists in Arta were astonished on election night to have three policemen fling their arms around them in jubilation, at PASOK's victory, ask-



ing: "Is Papandreou going to give us trade union rights at last?"

They then insisted: "The new government must move fast, while the Generals and police chiefs are stunned."

These incidents, and hundreds more, all taking place in the first two days after the election—before the government was even sworn in!—demonstrate the revolutionary upheavals that will be shaking Greece from now on.



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# PASOK VICTORY

## The beginning of the Greek Revolution

**1981 has seen renewed social upheavals throughout the capitalist world.**

There have been the riots in Britain, attempted coup in Spain, the new movement of American labour and the French and Greek electoral earthquakes. As in 1974, the slump has jolted society and brought to the surface all its hidden contradictions.

For the workers' parties to win 60% of the votes is unprecedented even in the most industrially developed countries, let alone in a country like Greece, in which only 30% of the population are industrial workers. Only in Portugal in 1975 was this figure exceeded, but that was in circumstances in which the capitalist state had already disintegrated, the majority of the economy nationalised, and the press was in the hands of the workers' organisations.

But in Greece, this overwhelming victory was achieved in the teeth of fierce reactionary propaganda from the press and television, and on the basis of electoral registers which excluded the 18 to 21 year-olds and the hundreds of thousands of emigre workers, and were rigged to

weight the votes against the urban areas.

The slogans of the cheering crowds "the people and PASOK in power" and "for change", and the programme of PASOK which includes the sliding scale of wages and pensions, a progressive income tax, reduced hours, a big increase in holidays, a free health service, nationalisation of the top ten families, the burning of police files, the democratisation of the trade union movement, the secularisation of the state and radical changes in foreign policy, all indicated the revolutionary significance of this result.

Reaction is paralysed. The bloodstained ogre of the Greek ruling class and its armed mercenaries does not dare to budge. In the past the Greek capitalist class met all attempts by the workers to improve their lives with brute force, at the hands of the pre-war Metaxas dictatorship, and in the civil war of 1945 to 1949 in which one million people were slaughtered to prevent the victory of a Popular Front government.

The capitalists understood that, despite its liberal democratic programme, such a government resting on the armed force of the partisans and resistance fighters would be forced to

establish a deformed workers' state, despite Stalin's deal with Churchill, in the same way as in Yugoslavia.

### Seven nightmare years

Following the civil war, the workers were subject to horrific police repression. When the workers between 1963 and 1967 tried to curb the excesses of the monarchy, the police and the army chiefs, their movement ended in a new military defeat at the hands of the colonels, who prematurely put into operation the King's contingency plans for a coup.

For seven nightmare years, the workers languished under the jackboot; but for all its brutality the Junta lacked a social base. In 1974, faced with the crisis in Cyprus and the threat of war with Turkey, rather than wait to be overthrown by the mobilised population, the colonels packed their bags and fled.

The whole adventure only confirmed the fears of the most farsighted representatives of the bourgeoisie that the colonels' haste and crudeness were "liable to lead to communism" (to quote Karamanlis). The collapse of the Junta in 1974 did indeed mark the beginning of the Greek revolution.

Now, after another seven years' protracted lull, the revolution has entered a brilliant new phase. So

crushing is the weight of the workers' parties in Greece today, that not one single demented officer has dared to even raise the question of a military solution. Any attempt to use the Army would cause it to break in pieces. The soldiers are discussing, meeting, ignoring the orders of their superiors and celebrating.

Even the rank and file policemen are jubilant. The vote for the fascist 'Progressive' Party slumped from 7% only four years ago, to 1½%. The once powerful Centre Union got even fewer votes.

The ruling class has to stand by passively while PASOK, perhaps the furthest left mass workers' party in the world, forms a government.

What a contrast to the self-assurance of the colonels, who stepped before the 1967 elections to prevent the victory of the Liberal Centre Union, in alliance with EDA, a small front organisation for the Communist Party. Though such a government in 1967 would have put into question the survival of the repressive post-civil war state apparatus, there was nothing in its programme that began to question the survival of capitalism.

If PASOK had a bold and clear-sighted Marxist leadership, then power could be in the workers' hands without a drop of blood being spilled. The workers have not waited for reforms to be gradually introduced from on top, but have moved straight into ac-

tion, to implement the programme. Workers have broken into the directors' offices and sealed all files pending a transfer of control.

The day following the election, the workers in the Electricity Board of Greece proclaimed that "power in the company had been transferred into the hands of the workers and other representatives of popular power" and appealed to all their colleagues who had previously been sacked for trade union activity to report back to work!

## Ruling class demoralised

Hundreds of workers victimised and blacklisted for trade union activity in the last couple of years, including those from the protracted PITSOS and Deutsch strikes, besieged the new Labour Minister from his first day in office with demands for reinstatement in their old jobs. Already strikes and occupations have been victorious, for instance the Henninger strike in Salonika.

The demoralisation of the ruling class is eloquently testified to by the flight of capital preceding the election. Every day 10 million dollars were smuggled abroad. In the last few years, 15 billion dollars were exported, the equivalent of half the annual GNP, and this year alone 2 billion dollars have been exported—more than the total sum invested in industry.

Even in the period of qualified bourgeois democracy since 1974, some reactionary generals had already been engaged in plots for a new coup. Now the tidal wave of revolution has engulfed them. The spasmodic industrial and political upheavals of 1974

onwards were followed in the last two years by a period of dejection and defeats.

## ELAS/EAM rehabilitated

It is galling for Averoff, a long stalwart of the right, to be forced to hand over the keys of the Ministry of Defence to Andreas Papandreu, who was brought to trial in 1966 on a charge of subversion of the army in the notorious 'Aspida' frame-up.

It is a further irony that the first act of Papandreu was to undermine the whole moral foundation of the State by according recognition 40 years later to that same heroic war-time resistance movement ELAS and EAM on which his father George Papandreu declared civil war in 1945.

There are rare and inspiring precedents in history for these events. The election of the Popular Front government in Spain in 1936, the election of the Popular Unity President in Chile in 1970, and the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 were all signals for the masses to move into action. In Portugal, although there is a relatively weak working class, with incomparably poorer tradition than the Greek working class, nevertheless, even after seven years' betrayal, the Portuguese revolution, and the gains won by the workers from 1974-75 have still by no means been decisively crushed.

Greece of all countries is a Marxist study of the state. Three times the monarchy was imposed by British imperialism. The Italian invasion was resisted by popular mobilisation and the German Nazi occupation force had terrible difficulties in suppressing the population. More than once they faced the most magnificent and heroic risings of the population in Athens and the other cities, quite apart from the massive partisan resistance movement.

The monarchy and the British puppet bourgeois government were exiled in Cairo while the people struggled. Years of savage civil war were needed for

the partisans to be disarmed and crushed, first by British and then by American imperialism using all the techniques later used in Vietnam—napalm, strategic hamlets, defoliation, etc—to instal the unstable capitalist state machine.

## Youth flock into PASOK

Even during the seven years of the Junta, Greece passed from a monarchy to a regency to a republic and produced a 'coup within a coup'. Once again a hastily devised new Constitution was imposed after 1974.

Hideous though the rule of the Junta was from 1967-74, because of its precarious social basis and its nervousness at provoking a determined resistance, it was not able to drown a generation in blood, as could the Generals of the civil war years.

Hence the painful memory of the workers and the youth could not be blotted out. It was this which split the previously monolithic Communist Party into two, and, more important, decisively broke the previous Stalinist stranglehold on the workers' movement.

Twice within 20 years, the Communist Party had led the workers to a terrible defeat. The political vacuum following the collapse of the Junta in 1974 was quickly filled by Andreas Papandreu, a Harvard economist who had gained popularity by his defiance at the intrigues of the King in the 1960s when he was a Minister in his father's Liberal government.

The youth, searching for a democratic and radical new party, flocked into the ranks of PASOK, determined to ensure that this time it would carry through to a finish the fight against the grisly civil war apparatus, begun in 1965 and symbolised by Andreas Papandreu, the hated target of the Army establishment.

But Papandreu has the illusion that PASOK is his own personal property. On

the contrary.

PASOK was created by the irresistible pressure of the working class and especially the youth. Within three months of its foundation, initially on a mild nationalist programme, it had lurched violently to the left, with the youth tearing evermore radical slogans out of the mouths of its leaders, and transforming it into a centrist party, hovering and zig-zagging between reform and revolution.

When the masses are in full flow, such a party sweeps ever further leftward. When the class struggle ebbs and society becomes stagnant once more, it retreats to reformism and chauvinism. For the very reason that it has a precarious and unstable base, and no authority or tradition, the bureaucracy behaves with the utmost arbitrary and capricious methods, all the more so in a country where the workers are accustomed to the repressive internal party regime of Stalinism.

The heady ringing rhetoric of 1974 has been muffled and the last period has seen wave after wave of expulsions and disaffiliations.

Now however, the masses are flocking into the party once again. 100,000 strong, it has a target of 250,000 by the spring. The intense activity and enthusiasm of the entire working people will push the PASOK leadership far to the left of its favoured cautious programme of moderation, just as was the case with Allende in Chile, or the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal in the early years.

But unfortunately it will be necessary for the workers to learn afresh the lessons of their past, the lessons of Chile, of Spain, etc. Papandreu has apparently already forgotten his own history.

After the stunning electoral victory of the Centre Union in 1964, the King and the ruling class used unlimited pressure, bribery, cajolery and intimidation to lure defectors from the Parliamentary majority and undermine the parliamentary base of the Centre Union.

In the shape of Mavros,



PASOK workers celebrate their party's unprecedented electoral victory

leader of the now discredited rump of the Centre Union, inserted in the PASOK lists under pressure from Karamanlis, Papandreou has accepted a Trojan horse for reaction within the ranks of the parliamentary majority. He is willingly making himself vulnerable once again to pressure from the threat of defections.

The same insidious and undemocratic role that was played by the hated monarchy in the 1960s is now being filled by Karamanlis, the semi-dictator who from 1955 to 1963 presided over the triumphant reaction which wreaked terrible revenge on the workers.

In 1963, Karamanlis was disgraced by new evidence that he had rigged the 1961 elections with the aid of his trusted accomplice, Colonel Papadopoulos (leader of the 1967 coup) and he had to flee the country in disguise on a false passport. This scandal brought the Centre Union to power.

From his splendid isolation in Paris, Karamanlis criticised the adventurism of his colonel friends and supported the half-hearted

efforts of the King to organise a counter-coup. Following the collapse of the military regime, he was flown in at the expense of the departing dictators, and sworn into office by their puppet President Gizikis.

### 'Me or the tanks'

He thus inherited the power from these gangsters in just the same way as Juan Carlos of Spain was handed the power by the Franco family, or Marshal Badoglio by the Italian Fascist Grand Council in 1943.

Karamanlis, the Greek Spinola, has openly warned that "democracy in Greece was always unstable.... Greece may be confronted with the dilemma between communism and dictatorship." The undemocratic Gaullist constitution which was proclaimed by Karamanlis has never been voted upon.

Having bullied the electorate into supporting him in the hurried elections of 1974, under the slogan "Me

or the tanks", Karamanlis used his packed parliament to push through his Constitution and later to proclaim himself President.

In 1974, Papandreou denounced the restoration of Karamanlis as "the NATO solution". He correctly demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly. Now he has bowed to Karamanlis and been sworn into office by the same Archbishop who previously sanctified the Junta. He has said nothing about the constitution. In this too he is creating enormous dangers for his government.

### It is certain Karamanlis will use his Presidential veto and provoke a constitutional crisis

Yet PASOK and the Communist Party together,

have 185 out of 300 seats in Parliament, more than the required three fifths majority needed to revoke the Constitution and set in motion the procedure for electing a Constituent Assembly!

It is certain that sooner or later Karamanlis will use his Presidential veto and provoke a constitutional crisis. But for PASOK, now is the time to act, in the first flush of its resounding mandate.

The same applies with even greater force to the question of the Army. It is only a few years since Andreas Papandreou was in the Colonels' prisons.

Now, Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, he tells the people that "the officers have learned from the mistakes of 1967", "the people and the Army are now friends", "there must be no political activity in the Army", etc.

All the mistakes of Chile are contained in those phrases. But in Chile there was, at least in appearance, a thousand times more justification for such illusions than there is today in Greece! Like in Chile, the salaries of the officers are to

be raised, in order to placate them. But Chile showed that rabid sadists of the Junta cannot be bribed to respect democracy.

If the officers are indeed "democrats", then surely there will be no objection to the formation of trade unions in the armed forces and the right of soldiers to organise politically to forestall another coup.

In a situation of falling production, falling investment, export of capital, record bankruptcies, a record balance of payments deficit, a budget deficit amounting to two thirds of the annual budget, inflation at 25% for three years running, unemployment at 13-14% and unprecedented falls in living standards, the reforms contained in the PASOK programme will be pitifully inadequate.

Half measures will not do. On this basis, disillusion and disappointment will set in, particularly among the non-proletarian strata in town and country, and the political conditions will be prepared for defections from the PASOK parliamentary bloc, Presidential vetoes, and eventually new military intervention.

The most advanced workers and activists in PASOK will enthusiastically support every reform taken by the PASOK government. They too would like a painless transition and transfer of power. But the only way to fundamentally change society without incurring the risk of terrible bloodshed is by immediate, decisive and drastic action.

If the Greek workers suffer another bloody defeat, it will be the responsibility of Papandreou and others who try to dilute the programme of the people. The workers will undoubtedly move into yet further action, to form Committees of Struggle, to organise the rank and file of the police and army, to set up committees for PASOK, and, equally important, to promote real inner-party democracy.

Papandreou himself in an earlier period, before the waves of expulsions, spoke in favour of party democracy. Yet today there

is no provision in PASOK for debate or accountability of MPs. Both the election programme and the candidates' list were announced without consultation. This has incurred the wrath of the rank and file.

In the absence of a bold leadership for the revolution, and equally of sufficient social reserves for counter-revolution, it is clear that Greece has entered into a protracted period of crisis and upheavals. Neither victory nor defeat will come soon. But that is not to say that the era will be stable even for one moment.

History will compensate for the slow pace of events in the last seven years with a dizzying, rapid, colourful procession of shocks: mass uprisings, jubilation, lulls, intervals of confusion and even despair, premature abortive coups, new peaks of popular resistance and higher pinnacles of glory, constitutional crises, splits within the mass workers' organisations, both to left and right, strikes, occupations, mutinies, and even insurrections.

It will be a similar period to that which has lasted for seven years in Portugal, but on a much higher level. There could be two or three PASOK governments before the movement would be extinguished. It will be a long time before reaction is strong enough to crush the movement.

## The PASOK rank and file must prevent another 'Popular Unity' disaster

A premature abortive coup could have the same effect as that of Spinoza in 1975, in spurring the workers on to further victories. The memory of the dic-

tatorship is still fresh and painful. The population will fight to the last breath rather than ever again submit without a struggle, and even the conscript army would disintegrate.

The crisis of 1963-67 will be as nothing compared to the tremendous events to come. Like Kerensky or Allende, Papandreou will be pushed hither and thither like a cork on a stormy sea.

It is only because Kerensky was overthrown by a mass workers' party that he is remembered as a ridiculous last tool of capitalism. If General Kornilov had succeeded in overthrowing him in August 1917, he would be remembered in history as a martyr alongside Allende.

The rank and file of PASOK must push their Party into becoming, not another Popular Unity disaster, but a Bolshevik Party that can lead the workers and peasants to victory.

The Greek workers today have the enormous advantage that the whole of Europe is lurching to the

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**PASOK must destroy the rule of the capitalists and their state machine whilst the class balance of forces is so uniquely favourable.**

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left and that in France another left government is in power with both the Presidency and the Parliament.

Likewise in Spain the Spanish Socialist Workers Party is likely to win the impending elections. Such a victory would be even more decisive in Spain than in Greece.

The Marxist tendency in PASOK will have a wide and receptive hearing from the workers who have learned through bitter and painful experiences of the past. No working class has so heroic and rich a history of repeated struggle against such overwhelming odds.

In the context of the socialist '80s, we can be confident that a leadership will be created worthy of the finest traditions of the Greek working class, and capable at last of rewarding its sacrifices with victory.



PASOK gained an immediate response from the youth and workers: now it needs Marxist ideas to give them a way forward.

# Militant

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Greek Marxist paper

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## ΞΕΚΙΝΗΜΑ

ΜΑΡΞΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΝΕΟΛΑΙΑ  
ΦΥΛΛΟ 58-ΜΑΡΤΗΣ 82- ΣΥΝΤΑΣΣΕΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ-ΔΡΧ 10

«Αφήστε την άρχαιον τάξη να τρέμει... Οι εργάτες δεν έχουν να χάσουν τίποτα εκτός από τις αλυσίδες τους και έχουν να κερδίσουν έναν κόσμο ελεύθερο. Προλάστε να είναι των καρτών ενοχότεροι!»



**ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΤΟ ΜΠΟΥΚΟΤΑΖ  
ΤΩΝ ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΩΝ**

**ΤΟΛΜΗΡΑ**

**ΣΟΣΙΑΛΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΜΕΤΡΑ**

Το χαρακτηριστικό των τελευταίων ετών στην χώρα μας είναι το δύναμι της κοινωνικής παρουσίας των εργαζομένων και της νεολαίας στο πεδίο της ταξικής πάλης.

Η εξήχθη αυτή σηματοδοτείται από την έγερση των απεργιών στα εργοστάσια από τις οποίες κέρδι για απεργία στους χώρους της Κ.Ο. (Ο.Α.-ΔΕΗ-ΕΑΣ), των τροφικών, από τα Αγροτικά Συνασπαστήρια και Σύντακτες και από τους αγώνες των φοιτητών και μαθητών. Ποιοί είναι όμως οι λόγοι που οδηγούν σ' αυτή την αγωνιστική εξέλιξη;

Είναι πρώτα απ' όλα η παρτίδα αδέντων των προβλημάτων των εργαζομένων του κράτους, της εκμετάλλευσης που μέτρου τους από λίγους μεγαλοεργαστές. Και είναι ακόμα οι ανεκχώρητες υποσχέσεις της Κυβέρνησης για μια νέα βελτίωση της κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης.

Ολοι καταλαβαίνουν ότι η Κυβέρνηση παράβλεψε «Και μόνιμη γη». Και περισσότερο από τον καθένα οι εργαζόμενοι οι οποίοι εντάθηκαν και νίκησαν την κυβέρνηση διακήρυξαν στην πράξη πως βέβαιον την κυβέρνηση η ακολουθεί λαθαινό βήμα.

Για παράδειγμα, το ΙΚΑ είναι υποκαταμένο και δεν έχει να δώσει από και τρεις μήνες της αυξήσε στους συνταξιούχους.

Αντί η κυβέρνηση να πείσει τους βιομηχανικούς που χροστώνε 16 δις, και να τους κέρδι να σταθαιν, τους επέτρεψε να σταθαιν σε 48 δις και να τους χροστώνε 11 δις.

Στα εργοστάσια οι εργάτες δεν κέρδι τίποτα αλλά, παρό να σπώνονται κόντρα στις απεργίες, στην προνομοκρατία

και στην εντατικοποίηση της δουλειάς, γιατί η υψή της 18 Οκτώβρη δεν άλλαξε την σκληρότητα του εργαζομένου και της εκμετάλλευσης. Γιατί δεν μπορεί να υπάρξει στο εργοστάσιο «ημιο κλίμα» και «10 σέκτα» «ημιο κλίμα», αυτό θα υπερασπίσουν μόνο οι πιο βίαιες απεργίες, με την απειλή της απεργίας.

Κατά απ' αυτό τις συνθήκες, η βέβαιη του Υπουργού Στρατονομίας κ. Γιαννούκου ότι «η αναταραχή στις βιομηχανίες είναι μικρότερη» βρέθηκε ο ίδιος από τους απεργούς του ΕΑΣ και ολη την εργατική τάξη.

Το παιχνίδι της διένεξης το παίζουν όσοι συνεχίζουν να φορτώνουν στο λαό τα βάρη της κρίσης και αναγκάζουν τους εργαζόμενους και λέει φωνά και φωνά ότι σ' αυτή την τακτική.

Πράγματι η Κυβέρνηση με τίποτα τον κρατικό προϋπολογισμό του 1981, κέρδι στέγαι του οποίου είναι η ενδυνάμωση της απεργίας και η διακοπή της αναταραχής του εργατικού κινήματος.

Η Κυβέρνηση κατ'εξουσιοδότησε τον προϋπολογισμό-μειοδότη, του οποίου των 923 δις. Και αυτό για να δώσει σ' όλους και να μην κερδίσουν οι εργάτες, παρά ολόκληρο τον ελληνικό λαό. Για να αυξήσει τις πολιτικές δαπάνες, τα κτήρια και τις επενδύσεις στους βιομηχανικούς, κερδίσ και τις βιομηχανίες για υγεία, παιδεία, γυμναστική κλπ. Με αποτέλεσμα να έχουμε μια τριτοταξη σύσταση της φορολογίας και της δαπάνης και της δαπάνης. Συγκεκριμένα: από 125 δις, κέρδι οι αμοιβές (αύξηση 46,1%) και αμοιβές κέρδι, που πλήρουν κέρδι τους εργαζόμενους από 255,30 σε 394 δις (αύξηση 54,4%). Είναι η σχέση δίκαιου και άδικο, από 32,2% και 67,8% που πταν κέρδι, κέρδι 31,1% και 68,9% αντίστοιχα, σε κέρδι των εργαζομένων κέρδι.

Αυτο όμως δεν είναι «κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη», όταν κέρδι ότι η έμμεση φορολογία επιβάρυνε κύρια τους εργαζόμενους κέρδι από το 62,2% από και των άδικο του κέρδι και των κέρδι. Αυτό θα σπώνονται «παράφορο το κέρδι».

**ΔΙΑΒΑΣΤΕ**

**ΚΥΠΡΟΣ**

Ενα άρθρο που αναφέρεται στις αρχές του προγράμματος κληρονομιάς (αλλά 5)

**ΓΑΛΛΙΑ**

Οι δημοτικές εκλογές στην προεδρευόμενη για τους επόμενους τριάντε μήνες στη Γαλλία (αλλά 4)

**ΓΙΑΤΙ ΔΕΝ ΕΠΕΝΔΟΥΝ ΟΙ ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΟΙ**

Ενα άρθρο στην σελίδα 7 που αναφέρεται στις συνθήκες της επενδύσεως των βιομηχανιών

**ΕΝΔΙΑ ΚΡΑΤΙΚΗ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ**

Μια επιθετική για την ανάπτυξη των εργαζομένων



**ΓΙΑΤΙ Η ΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΤΑΞΗ**

**Xekinima  
Odos Maisonos 1  
Athens  
Greece**

