

**ON THE
STRUGGLE
AGAINST THE
ACTIVITIES
OF THE
AGENT-
PROVOCATEURS**

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The people's revolutionary movement, from its very beginning, is forced to deal with a serious danger which, at times, becomes literally the whip on its back, that is, the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies. The experience of the revolutionary movement till now has shown that in certain countries and during certain periods agent-provocateur and police-spying activities ravage in an unbridled fashion on the revolutionary movements, parties and organisations, and have caused damages. Time has shown, that the class enemy, reaction on an international and national level "expands" and improves these tactics against

the organised movement of the proletariat and it has even raised it to the level of a full science. We can even say, that, at certain periods, the agent-provocateur and espionage activities are the main method of struggle by the reactionaries, without them ever abandoning it as their permanent method.

The experience of the Communist Parties has shown that 90% of all arrests are the result of the activity of police spies, although few can be attributed to omissions, carelessness, or to bad organisational work. The same thing also applies to the failures and political defeats of the Communist Parties. Here, too, 90% must be attributed to the work of agent-provocateurs and police spies.

It is precisely from this accreditation that the need has arisen for the struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies. And this struggle, when and where it was correctly developed, has shown that it led to glorious results, and has led the revolutionary parties to great successes, while, at the same

time, preventing, through this struggle, blows and failures, political defeats and betrayals. The open exposure of a number of provocateurs made the revolutionary parties more stronger and heightened their prestige.

The Communist Parties have acquired great experience in the struggle against the agent-provocateurs and police spies. Above all, they have been educated that, the prevention and fight against the agent-provocateurs and police spies is a supreme and paramount task, which does not put up with the slightest slack in vigilance, nor in omission or of favour. And it has been proven, in the most tragic manner, that, each time the Communist Parties blunted their vigilance, neglected their struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies, and attributed to individuals who were gathering basic suspicion, these parties paid very dearly for their carelessness.

There are many examples, both big and small, whereby the agent-provocateurs created great political commotion with international repercussions. Either they were used for the unleashing of a wave of terror, and the hunting down of communists, or, they were used for undermining and

deviating a revolutionary organisation from its political line. In general, we can say, that, the activities of agent-provocateurs and police spies play an important role today in the political life of bourgeois states and they constitute the main characteristic in the methods of work of the secret police in bourgeois states. Besides, these shameful methods completely fit in with the nature of the rotten and all-out dirty system of capitalist oppression.

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The fascisation of bourgeois democracy heralded the generalized use of agent-provocateurs by the reactionaries. In a number of countries, before and after the Second World War, the bourgeois regime threw away its democratic façade, abolished parliamentarism as a form of government for exercising the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and proceeded towards the open form of bourgeois dictatorship, fascism. With the passing into the new form, the methods for the suppression and subjugation of the proletariat were intensified. Thus the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies play the principle role in destroying the organisations of the proletariat.

The voices of a few bourgeois democrats, which were heard opposing the police methods, became weakened, and with time, disappeared altogether.

The denunciation of torture as a method of "oriental despotism" ceased. Torture, as a means of eliminating the opponents of the bourgeois dictatorship were put into general use by the bourgeois state, and they have developed it into an art.

The methods of criminals, of the underworld, and those of gangsters became methods of state oppression by the bourgeois regime. Thus, within the secret police are concentrated the most corrupted and abnormal elements, those who have sold themselves out to the bone to the plutocratic criminal monsters, and who thrive on their hatred against the people's fighters, and on the blood of their victims. For a higher salary and more stripes, they distort reality and resort in a dirty rivalry on who will surpass the other in sadism. The profession of the secret policeman has become synonymous with that of the criminal, the terrorist, and the torture.

The fascisation of bourgeois democracy revealed as well, the cruelty and fierceness of class war as it is waged by the reactionaries. Prisoners of war are neither tortured, executed, nor physically annihilated. Only the people's fighters - prisoners of class war - are tortured inhumanly at the

hands of the security police till they are rendered physically useless, are executed, or are imprisoned without trial though they have not committed any particular injustice for many years in the bourgeois invented prison-castles.

Basically, the methods of the police have not changed. The new that has been added, apart from attempts to collect indispensable information is that the secret police also attempt to develop through its agents, political activity within the ranks of the organisations, which are under surveillance, in order to distort and alter the political line of the organisations. For this work, it has at its disposal experienced personnel who have been trained at various special schools. Such schools are arranged by secret services which operate internationally, such as the Intelligence Service, the C.I.A. and others, which not only train cadres for other secret services, but also personnel from other countries for the benefit of their own. Such a school used to operate before the Second World War in Kerkira (Corfu), Greece, where agents for all the Balkan countries used to be trained. Time and again agents were uncovered in various movements, who were not working on behalf of the secret services of their

own countries, but, on behalf of the secret services of a foreign country. This internationalization must be understood as a result of the activity of the imperialist nations in the colonies and dependent countries.

The international collaboration between police forces is continually being systematised. Before the war, there used to exist a kind of international police, having as its chief, Somber, the minister of external affairs of Austria, and, as its political instructor, the social-democrat Sebering, minister of internal affairs of Prussia. The police forces of the Baltic countries had even concluded a pact for the exchange of experience, information, the drawing up of mutual police files on "anarchist elements", etc.

It is within this framework of international collaboration of secret police, that the frequent meetings of police chiefs and cadres, the extra training, as well as the exchange or disposition of personnel fits in. In 1931, for example, the heads of the political secret services of all the Balkan states convened a kind of conference in Bucharest. As an example, we can further mention that the Athens city police force, before the war, was under the direction of the policeman Hallindry, former chief of the British police in Alexandria.

Furthermore, Oufkir, notorious for his crimes and minister of internal affairs for King Hassan of Morocco, was a cadre of the French police. Also, it is a well known fact that for certain arrests of communists in Athens during the period 1950-52, it was the result of the collaboration between the French and Greek secret services.

Today, a kind of international police force is again in the making, composed from all the member countries of the European Economic Community. The headquarters of this international police is located in Brussels. Armed with the latest technical means, such as telecommunications, electronic computers, spectrometers, chemical laboratories, etc., they analyse the elements contained in the police files of the various secret police forces of the member states of the E. E. C.; they collect information on persons and revolutionary movements, they gather together all the revolutionary publications, and they write up reports on persons and organisations, which they send to their branches. This international police is entirely the work of the West German secret police, from which it wants to exercise control of the European continent. The Zurich branch

office of this international police in fact even circulated a book entitled "The Maoists", in which information is published on individuals, publications and communist movements of all the countries of Europe. This book was sent to all of the police forces, to other secret services, and to the deputy-members of the German-speaking states.

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In spite, however, of the fact that the Communist Parties, organisations and movements are aware of the serious dangers which can come about from the activities of agents-provocateurs and police spies, they still exhibit a number of weaknesses and weak points in their struggle against this menace, and on most occasions, many obstacles and superstitions need to be overcome before they commence on an all-sided, firm, and effective fight against agent-provocateur activity.

In most cases, the struggle is waged on a chance basis, restricted in size and time, and it is not conducted as a basic and permanent struggle of the entire party, with the active participation of all the members. The mass mobilization in the struggle against the activities of agent-provocateurs and police spies is usually substituted by

investigations and decisions by a small committee which conducts investigations and makes decisions in complete secrecy. Already during the period that the campaign for the Bolshevization of the Parties - members of the 3rd Communist International - was launched, the method of setting up "special committees" was criticized as a wrong method, while the Bolshevik method of struggle against agent-provocateur and police spying activities through the mass mobilization of all party forces was promoted, with the open denunciation of agents and the exposure of the methods adopted by the class enemy.

There exists the view that, when a Communist Party openly exposes and denounces the activities of the agent-provocateurs and the police spies, that it, therefore, commits a grievous deed in regards to its prestige, while, at the same time creating an atmosphere of insecurity and fear of police agents amongst its members and amongst the masses in general. This view is not correct. It is a view entirely incorrect, which whenever it became predominant, brought about great damage.

It must be made clear that, the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies is the work

of the same class enemy, which also constitutes the component element of its own struggle. Whatever the extent of their work, in fact, it is only turned against the reactionaries. It must be made clear that the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies will never stop. The police spies will always be hiding beneath the shadow of the revolutionary movement in order to harm it. They will be in existence as long as the bourgeoisie exists, as long as the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat lasts, until final and complete victory, till the abolition of classes.

It must be made clear that the denunciation of the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies does not harm the prestige of the revolutionary organisations of the working class. The prestige of the revolutionary organisations is harmed only when the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies are left lying in the shadow, are left in silence, are not openly denounced, and when a systematic mass struggle against them is not undertaken. Silence has been proven to be a very dubious means. A number of Parties and organisations have come to accept the fact that silence has been able to cause harm when, this silence, of course, was forcefully broken

by a number of systematic arrests, and other kinds of blows, defections, and betrayals.

Communist Parties differ radically from the organisations of conspirators and anarchists. Their starting point and end are the revolutionary masses. This characteristic of the Communist Parties also determines the types of methods of struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs, which are the methods of open, mass activity and which also openly denounce to the entire proletarian public opinion, the attempts of the class enemy to defame the revolutionary movement of the working class and to divert it from its revolutionary path. The class enemy has every reason to conceal its methods, to cover up all of its shamelessness with mysticism, and, to protect and conceal its agents. The revolutionary organisation, on the contrary, has every reason, in turn, to expose widely to the popular masses, the enemy's agent-provocateur activity, to expose and denounce all individuals participating in the activities of the agent-provocateurs, in order to protect, in this manner, the popular masses and their revolutionary cause.

It often happens that the struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs is hindered

by opposition from within the Organisation, an opposition which is put forth by a number of cadres and members. In fact, this is so, either because of a lack of steadfastness and resoluteness on the part of the comrades, or, because of the presence of the class enemy, which wants to frustrate the commencement of such a struggle. The Third Communist International used to point out that, the manner in which a Communist Party waged struggle against the activities of agent-provocateurs was greatly indicative of its degree of Bolshevization.

The lack of revolutionary resoluteness can be viewed in that petit-bourgeois subjectivism which has not yet been rejected by certain members, and even cadres, and which becomes the basis for developing an atmosphere of tolerance and "blind" faith in people having a militant past. This subjectivism obstructs from viewing these individuals from a critical angle and, even more than that from subjecting them under supervision. Thus, it has frequently occurred that the agent-provocateurs and police spies would be fortified behind the wall of their "militant past", only to be uncovered after jolting events. Tolerance, which is also derived from subjectivism, contributes in

giving back responsible positions to comrades who have committed serious mistakes, or who have even capitulated before the enemy.

However, this opposition which the struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs meets might not have, as its origin, the lack of revolutionary resoluteness. During periods of legal work, for example, the struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs is blocked or hindered to a great degree by the legalists who develop the view that the enemy is not preparing to deliver a serious blow, and that the period of legal activity will be relatively long. But it is precisely these periods that are the periods of intensive activity by the class enemy, for it to infiltrate its agents, to locate the weak members and the weak points of the organisation, to collect information, in short to complete its preparation in order to deliver the great blow. The fact that, during legal periods there are no arrests must not deceive the communists. This is why the correct line under these conditions, that is the conditions of legal activity, imposes that the Communist Parties develop work amongst the masses, to wage an irreconcilable struggle against democratic and parliamentarian deceptions, and to orga-

nize effectively the struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies; thus, thwarting the preparatory plans of the class enemy.

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The tactics of the police in infiltrating its agents inside the revolutionary movement is a permanent and fundamental tactic of theirs. This tactic, however, is more pervasive during certain periods, either as an attempt at times, to deal with the crises of the bourgeois regime, or, at times, to exploit certain particular circumstances existing within the movement.

In the first instance, we have to deal with those kinds of agent-provocateur activities which aim at developing an atmosphere of hysteria against the revolutionary movement, to place the blame of all the bourgeois regime's ills and shortcomings on the back of the revolutionary movement, as well as on the activities of the Communists, and to prepare the ground for starting arrests, of 19

conducting kangaroo trials, the banning of people's organisations, the shutting down of the progressive press, etc. The form which the activities of the agent-provocateurs take on, in this particular case, are usually political assassinations, bomb explosions, sabotage on military installations, treacherous damages in factories, incidents at demonstrations, arson, kidnappings, the "revelation" of false documents, the stockpiling of weapons, etc., and all of this organized by the security police, either directly or indirectly through agent-provocateurs, who operate within the revolutionary movement.

In the second instance, as regards the peculiar circumstances of the movement, we can mention here the existence of factionalist infighting, the existence of many groupings, during the period of the re-organisation and consolidation of Party units, etc. It is precisely during these periods of peculiar conditions that the class enemy intensifies its efforts to the highest degree in order for it to infiltrate agent-provocateurs and police spies within the ranks of the movement, to come into association, through different ways, with the weak members and cadres, and to convert them into its instruments. It is possible to say that

the different forms which the activities of the agent-provocateurs take on are beyond the accustomed form of enumeration.

In general, though, the system of political provocation as a whole, can be summed up as follows:

1. THE LIQUIDATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

For this, the method mainly used is that of vilifying the political line and leadership of the Party. The agent-provocateurs begin to mock, to vilify and misinterpret the organisation's political line as well as, to develop an anti-Party leadership spirit, spreading various lies and slanders against the Party leadership. While trying to undermine the authority of the leading cadres, they, at the same time, develop the view that the organisation as a whole, does not have in its possession, comrades with authority and leadership abilities. Vilification is not restricted just to leading cadres, but in general embraces the whole of the organisation as an organism, presenting it as unable in dealing with "the importance of historical necessities", as impotent and that its concrete political line will not bring about any successes. Finally, the agent-provocateurs complete their work by trying to destroy any

possibility of adopting a correct political line. Such agent-provocateurs spring up when the organisation is in the process of adopting its political line, the maintenance of which they foresee will lead to successes.

2. THE CREATION OF DIFFERENCES

To do this, the method of forming groupings within the organisation is mainly used so as to promote factionalist in-fighting. The agent-provocateurs take up the well-natured criticism and they swell it up, they exaggerate and dilate opposite views, exaggerate the significance and consequences of certain errors and failures in omissions. In this fashion, they prepare the way for the formation of groupings. On most occasions, the enemy is fortified behind such groupings and fosters the development of quarrels. At the same time, the very nature of the factionalist in-fighting facilitates the police to infiltrate more agent-provocateurs into the organisation. There are many known examples in which the factionalist in-fighting was directly led by the secret police. In any case, there is no revolutionary movement that hasn't undergone at least one period of factionalism, but it must be mentioned that the Greek revolutionary movement suffered greatly from the activities of the factionalists. On the other

hand, the Greek secret police have also acquired much experience and skillfulness in creating and directing the factionalist in-fighting. In a brochure relating to the struggle against the agent-provocateurs in which its editorial is drawn up from reports of Communist Parties to the Third Communist International, two particular examples are mentioned: "Something of the kind also occurred in Greece, when at one time, certain communists were arrested, it was reported to them, while under interrogation at the security police that: "To be quite frank, we do not understand why you think of us as your enemies. Don't we help you destroy your rival faction and don't we arrest most of its members?" During another instance the Greek police had surrounded a particular house in which an underground meeting was going on. When the participants started leaving, the police arrested the members of the one faction, leaving the rest to go free.

This tactic was confirmed by the security police itself. In writing about the "achievements" of the arch-agent-provocateur, Lambrinopoulos, the security police in one of its books writes: "M. Lambrinopoulos was at times arresting and displacing cadres of the one faction with the aim of

weakening or strengthening the other factions. At other times he was arresting cadres of the overstrengthened factions and freeing cadres of the other ones." The examples cited here are from a period of the Communist Party known as the period of factionalism, 1929-31.

3. THE DEFAMATION OF COMRADES

For this, the method mainly used is that of spreading slanders of the type that such and such comrade has connections with the security police, or, even that the organisation as a whole is being led by police, or by some espionage service.

By this tactic of theirs, the agent-provocateurs aim at the Party's rank and file, on the one hand to liquidate it, by undermining the confidence of its members, and on the other to cover up their own police agent activity.

This method is usually used during the period of illegality, where carrying out investigations is difficult and whereby the repercussions and consequences of such a slander are great. Moreover this method is also usually used during the period immediately following a political defeat of the Communist Party, during which time their prevails uneasiness and confusion amongst its ranks. Many instances of this kind of agent-pro-

vocateur activity are known to have been conducted against cadres, leaders, Communist Parties, and even against the leaders of the international proletariat.

According to the agent-provocateurs, Lenin was an agent of the German secret police, while Stalin was an agent of Ohrana. It's even known that Markos Bafiadis, in his letter to the Soviet leadership, slanders N. Zahariadis as a collaborator of the Greek police. Recently, a serial is being published by the "police Chronicles" and written by the well-known torturer and policeman Koubas, in which it tries to portray N. Zahariadis as a Nazi collaborator using the argument of "Why was he saved from the Dachau soapworks."

This sort of agent-provocateur activity is a very dangerous game used by the secret police and agent-provocateurs against the communists.

4 THE FABRICATION OF LEGAL PRETEXTS

For this, the method mainly used is that of facilitating bourgeois justice, to find legal arguments for the sentencing of comrades, to take decisions on prohibiting the distribution of publications, to impose fines, to take decisions on the banning of the organisation's work, the exclusion of leftist candidates, and for the cancellation of elections,

etc. Generally, the legal pretexts are put forth by so-called prosecution witnesses at trials against the people's militants or at trials at which other cases are being tried. These witnessed, mainly known secret policemen, or agent-provocateurs give false testimonies or fabricate false evidence, on which charges, court decisions, bannings, etc. are based upon. This "evidence" may consist of fictitious reports, fantastic stories, false events, distortion of the organisation's decisions, anarchist acts, statements about arson activity published in false leaflets, or of weapons and other things, which the agent-provocateurs themselves have placed in order for the police to "uncover" them.

5. "THAT THE PARTY IS FOREIGN-LED".

Here we are concerned with a very old song of the reactionary forces, and of all reactionary regimes throughout the world, in general. For this, the method used is that of slandering the organised vanguard of the working class as an organisation which is an agent and servant of the interests of a foreign state. The communists are branded as organs of Moscow or Peking, and in the Party's activity there is always the so-called "foreign element", and the "roubles" while the people's fighters are baptised as "slavic communists", etc. Distinguished in this kind of provocation are the Trot-

skyites, the partisans of "independent communism" and the present-day "theoreticians" of "the movement's independence" who act as the right hand man of the secret police.

6. TERRORIST ACTS

For this, the method commonly used is that of throwing the blame for terrorist acts on the communists. The agent-provocateurs attempt to push the Party to committing terrorist acts, and they develop the theory of "putchism", that is to say, that the seizure of power by the proletariat and its allies will not be the result of a protracted and continuous development of class struggle, but the result of a "sudden armed attack", a kind of coup d'etat by the Communist Party through a series of terrorist acts, such as assassinations, arson on public buildings, bomb explosions, etc. The agent-provocateurs usually fail in pushing the entire organisation to committing terrorist acts, and for this reason they try to induce communists on an individual basis, those who are the most inexperienced and anxious. Of great help in this method of provocation by the class enemy is rendered by the bombists and anarchists, who present themselves as leftists, and who attempt to replace and substitute their own political backwardness and

inadequacy by the use of bombs and ambushes. It's mostly anarchists, along with right-wing opportunists that are found doing this type of agent-provocateur activity, thus exhibiting and satisfying their own petit-bourgeois weaknesses.

7. DISTORTING ORGANISATIONAL GUIDELINES

The agent provocateurs distort the organisational guidelines of the Organisation, thus aiming to parallelise it exactly during those moments when the organisation is called to action. They mainly distort the guidelines that concern the organising of mass rallies, demonstrations, strikes, marches, and even the guidelines which concern the stands of communists at meetings, during strikes, and work stoppages, at general assemblies of associations and organisations, during elections, etc. During underground conditions, special attempts are made by the agent-provocateurs in distorting organisational guidelines, particularly when these guidelines concern the carrying out of work, such as, for example, the distribution of leaflets, tracts, and other kinds of propaganda, the painting of slogans, etc., in such a way that they are carried out wrongly, that is to say, the painting of slogans other than those expressing the organisation's po-

litical line, and placing the comrades carrying out this activity to further danger.

8. THE CREATION OF INCIDENTS. For this, the method generally employed is that of open clashes in demonstrations, rallies general meetings, at conventions of organisations and associations, at workers' conventions, at rallies of striking workers or at meetings of striking workers in a factory or a trade taking strike action, etc., in such a manner so as to, on the one hand, defame the rallies in general, and to dishearten and terrorise the vacillating elements, while on the other hand, it gives the police a pretext to shoot, intervene, and to disperse the rallies, carry out arrests, or to give the judges a pretext to outlaw an organisation or postpone election results, etc.

For creating incidents, apart from agent-provocateurs and well-known secret policing, moreover, various openly fascist organisations, or so-called revolutionary organisations are mobilised and are in the service of the secret police. Of course, these organisations are not only employed for creating incidents, but also for carrying out raids on the organisations offices, forming of vigilante committees against comrades, frustrating the distribution of leaflets, etc.

The Greek secret police have time and again employed the Archeio-Marxists and Trotskyites for carrying out raids on the offices of the Communist Party of Greece, the offices of "Rizospastis" ("Radical", organ of the CP of Greece. Translator's note), as well as for dispersing rallies through the creation of incidents. The Archeio-Marxists had even gone to the point of assassinating cadres of the Communist Party of Greece. This kind of activity by the Archeio-Marxists was even revealed by the very same secret police in which they write that: "Mr. Lambrinopoulos... facilitated the Archeio-Marxists members in their activity against the Communist Party of Greece, and in particular, against the rallies of the Communist Party of Greece, whereby the police intervened and dispersed, after the clashes fomented by the Archeio-Marxists, who used physical violence against the leaders and supporters of the KKE (CPG)." "History of the [Greek - Trans. note] City Police", 1971, page 250.

9. DIVERSION FOR PURPOSES OF PROVOCATION.

Diversion for purposes of provocation is a widely used method, which is closely watched by the secret police, as well as by other reactionary agencies, and, as a method, it consists of forming

police-agent organizations having "revolutionary propaganda", "revolutionary" publications, etc., or in forming "leading bodies" which undertake the movement's "leadership", when this has received a serious blow and is undergoing a difficult period.

This method of provocation is an extremely complicated one which aims at creating confusion, entrapping in its ranks honest militants for a period of time, etc. This sort of diversion is not limited just at creating a second or third "Party", or a second or even third "leadership", etc., but also at creating opposing organizations in all places where the proletariat is organized, as well as in all levels, such as in associations, unions, cultural clubs, etc.

Another form of diversion for purposes of provocation is that of promoting people from the secret police into the "leading bodies", in order to obstruct them. In this case, the secret police is interested in controlling the organization as a whole, in order to promote its own line which is alien to the interests of the proletariat. When this is not possible, or during the period that this is impossible to do, the agent-provocateurs work as informers, act as factionalists, sabotage the

work, distort the organization's political line, etc.

It must be made clear that the method usually used, that is, the common form of diversion, is that of the first case, in other words, the establishment of a second "revolutionary" organization which is of a long duration, and opposed to the organized movement of the working class, while that of obstructing the "leading bodies" or organizations is based on chance, and arises during periods of crises and during the re-organization of Party organizations.

Many examples of both forms of provocation exist within the movements of other countries as well as within the Greek movement. A classical example of provocation of the first form is the formation of a second "Communist Party" in Japan during the period between the two World Wars, whereby it distributed publications and "Party calls" as "part of the Communist International". In our country, as is well-known, there appeared, during the period 1922-1923, the "Archeio-Marxists.", headed by Tzoulatis and Yiotopoulos. Archeio-Marxism was created, financed and directed by the General Military Staff and it served the purpose of carrying out terrorist attacks against the Communist Party of

Greece, as well as of assassinating its cadres.

It was the Archeio-Marxists who attacked the first Congress of the United General Workers' Federation. The Archeio-Marxists amalgamated with the Trotskyites in 1928-1929. Well-known is Trotsky's statement that the Archeio-Marxists in Greece constitute the best section of Trotskyism. Another well-known instance of diversion for purposes of provocation is the creation of the "Provisional Administrative Body of the Communist Party of Greece" made up of a number of Maniatakis' police agents. This diversionary activity failed miserably because it was immediately denounced by the leadership of the C.P.G.

5

With time, the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police agents are developed into a highly complicated profession by the reactionaries. The agent-provocateurs and police agents undertake more and more highly complex missions; while the degeneration of the repressive police methods, particularly in the semi-colonial and dependent countries, further "enhances" the methods of recruitment by the police agents. The amount of repression is such that even honest people, who hate the secret police, find it hard to avoid not giving "innocent" and "simple" information which the secret police asks for, directly or indirectly.

However, we are able to distinguish three kinds or types of agent-provocateurs and police agents in the police espionage apparatus: 1. The agent-provocateur of circumstance; 2. the regular informer; and 3. the expert.

The first type is recruited on a chance basis from amongst those who fall into the clutches of the secret police and who have talked, have been bought off, or who have broken down under pressure or torture which they have received. The secret police has ways of obtaining secrets from its victims, using the most diversified methods. Whosoever falls into its clutches might face an extremely "friendly" prosecutor, who engages in political discussion, or, he may face offers of money, or an offer for immediate release, etc; or he may be placed into solitary confinement and undergo torture. All three methods are commonly used by the secret police, on the one hand as a method of dealing with its prisoners, and on the other, as a method for recruiting personnel. A number of secret policemen are widely known to the public at large for their "specialities" which are characterized by the methods they employ. Thus, some are known as "nice chaps", "understanding", "good talkers", who sometimes "jeopardize" their position and who "sneak" into some prisoners' cells in order to give them cigarettes, sweets, etc; or to "convey" to them a message from the "outside", or from some "prisoner". As an example, we

cite the case of secret policeman Nikas, of whom some young people talk of in the best of words....

The second type of police agent is the informer, the paid agent-provocateur, who works in a more permanent manner, and who, in time, becomes a factor in the Intelligence Service. This type of police agent is recruited from all professions and from all organizations. This kind of police agent systematically informs the secret police on individuals and on the situation of the area where they are doing political work. They sometimes stay out of sight, shadowing, and are even at times, the most "active" cadres or members, and are noted for their "capabilities" and for certain "achievements". They are the most dangerous type of agent-provocateur. The secret police, for its part, takes great care in obtaining them through various means; that is, by giving them an ordinary job, etc. In order for them not to be discovered in their milieu, they lead a more or less ordinary life, pay attention to their behaviour, are very active as members, and "faithful", primarily during "risky" missions, and at times, they undergo privation and hardship in the same manner as the real comrades do.

The third type of police agent is the "special theoretician", the expert, who is usually not a member of the organization, but who hangs around it. His job is to draw up political reports on the situation and orientation of the movement, to develop the policy of the secret police towards the movement, as well as for different organizations. When one of them is active in an organization, then he works as a political provocateur with a mission to distort and sabotage the organization's political line, to promote the incorrect line in the organization, etc. This type of police agent is, naturally, of limited number, however the damage they can cause is very extensive.

Of course, apart from these three basic types of police agents and agent-provocateurs, there are others, who are sent to special areas, such as in factories, unions, youth organizations, etc. Some of them, in fact, specialize in dynamite work, sabotage, etc.; even experts on matters of organizing and waging guerilla warfare. In Laos, for example, as well as in some countries of Latin America, the C.I.A. has even organized guerilla groups.

In finishing off this chapter, we are presenting an extensive quote from the "Fighter's Guardian", publication of the Communist Party of Greece, 1952, concerning the police agent Damianos Mathesis.

"PORTRAIT OF AGENT-PROVOCA TEUR MATHESIS"

One of the greatest agent-provocateurs that the Communist Party of Greece and the revolutionary movement has known is Damianos Mathesis. Mathesis did his military service in the navy. From there, he was sent along with others, such as the police agent of the special Melmaris service, to the Middle East where he graduated at the special espionage school of the Intelligence Service. He returned to Greece in 1924, and received orders to penetrate and work within the C.P.G. The mission that he undertook was of great importance and of a "long duration": To start working from the bottom up, from the rank and file, in the mass Party organizations, as a sympathizer; and by displaying eagerness, devotion, loyalty, bravery, etc., climb to the highest possible leading organs of the Party, even to the Central Committee; to get himself into the Party's

underground central apparatus, in order to know every detail on individuals and things. Mathesis had received special orders to elucidate and obtain all the details on the contacts and connections of the C.P.G. with the Communist International and even to penetrate the apparatus of the Communist International. (...)

How did he start his work? He was placed as a cashier in a large restaurant in Athens, which was frequented for eating by the then Party "tycoons", later to become the Trotskyites. (...) Mathesis as a cashier used to help them. He also helped them in Party work. In this fashion, he entered the Party having the confidence of these tycoons. In this way, he was quickly promoted (...) With his cunning, Mathesis persuaded his constant guardians that he had abilities and was capable of undertaking confidential work, as well as missions. And he succeeded in penetrating and knowing the in's and out's of the Political Bureau's central apparatus. Mathesis knew of all the decisions that the then Party leadership was taking, of the Political Bureau's structure, its ties, etc. (...)

How did Mathesis work? He was informing his masters of whatever was going on in the Political Bureau, of individuals, and facts on the Party

apparatus, and his masters (the secret police, the General Military Staff, and the Intelligence Service) were giving him his assignments. Only two or three of his masters knew about the existence of Mathesis. Contacts with him were carried out very carefully. They took great care so as not to cause any damage to the circles where Mathesis was working and in order not to expose him. And when such damage did occur, they always had all the evidence to overwhelmingly incriminate somebody else, as was for example, the case of Damaskopoulos. His masters, furthermore, took an interest in seeing that Mathesis was making important successes in his Party work - such as, for example, the successful escape of the eight from Syngros (Prison on Syngros Street - Translator's note) in 1931, and their flight out of Greece; both of which were organized by Mathesis, in order to boost his prestige and the Party's confidence in him. In 1929, Mathesis surrendered to the police in Athens, the delegation of the Communist International, without having himself exposed. The explanation that was given was that the blow was an accident. During the period of factionalism of 1929-1931, Mathesis was literally indulging in everything and ran around with a new

even greater freedom, since he was hidden by the factionalist in-fighting. (...) It was about this time that he put the arch-police agent, Lambrinopoulos into the leadership of the CFG. When he was about to deliver a blow, Mathesis acted in such a manner, and this was his technique, that is, his basic method was that he knew in detail who was doing what in the central Party apparatus. So then, he would say to his masters: Do you want to know about such and such a thing, arrest such and such a person. He's the key to it. Thus, another person was presented as a traitor, who in most cases, was actually betrayed. (...) Another example: When Mathesis wanted to betray a cadre, he acted as follows: Because of the irresponsibility which prevailed, he knew of all the secret places, connections, habits, etc. of underground leaders and cadres, without their being aware of who knows all of this or who doesn't. Then, Mathesis would inform that "Such and such a cadre frequents such and such a place, or uses such and such a route. (...) Another of Mathesis' techniques was that "he knew the problems and needs of the central Party apparatus and those of the Political Bureau, as well as the weaknesses of the cadres in the Political Bureau, including the members of the central Party apparatus. Were

there any financial problems? He would dig up some money. (...) Did the Political Bureau need a house for a congress, an address for correspondence, a hiding place to instal equipment? He would volunteer and go and find them. Was there a confidential mission to be carried out? He would carefully propose himself, or one of his own men. Mathesis would also use the following method of slanders, hints, trickeries, gossips, and whenever he possessed real evidence, against the individuals he wanted to strike. (...)

In 1931, Mathesis, along with the leadership which had been expelled, went to the Soviet Union, under the hoax that he was risking arrest. There, he witnessed closely the purging of the factionalist muck, and because of the relations he had with Siantos, Haintas, and the rest, he tried as much as he could to avoid exposing the role of the secret police in the factionalist in-fighting. He remained in the Soviet Union for over four years. He returned to Greece in 1935 whereby he undertook, according to his "specialty", military work. He also meddled with the Party apparatus. However, there was a certain amount of decentralization, and he wasn't able to stick his nose everywhere. (...) After he was exposed, he tried to take advantage of the fact that the Party and the masses were not fully informed about his case, and he

tried to fish in shallow waters. He took along with him some other suspicious, and some naive people and formed his own group. He was, however, exposed, far from the Party, and his internal Party activity had finished. (...)

What sort of abilities did Mathesis possess? He was intelligent, cunning, crafty, and capable, and he had taken special espionage training in a school of the Intelligence Service which offers such training. However, Mathesis also had his weak points. He exhibited great loopholes in his police agent profession. First of all, Mathesis had never been arrested, and this despite the fact that, in his work and circles, nothing was ever left standing. He was acting like a cuckatoo. (...) As an "expert" in the Party for military affairs, he wrote, during the time of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, special military articles in "Rizospastis" (Party organ - Trans. note), although many facts indicated that somebody else was writing them for him. (...) A serious blow was delivered in one level of work, where only a few people were involved. One of these few was also Mathesis. He believed that he could hide and cover-up even his most open activities. Thus, he organized the escape from the courthouse of the nine (...) in the most awkward manner. Another of Mathesis'

weak points was that he was not able to renew or to refresh his methods and ways. As he had become tired and ossified, and so the repetition of his same techniques became evident that it concerned the same spy, and all evidence led to him. (...) The work activities, life and methods of police agents and agent-provocateurs must be studied on a systematic basis, in great detail. (...) However, the case of Mathesis, despite the negative effects that it has concerning our secrecy and vigilance, teaches us that, no matter how great and skilled the police agent is, we shall definitely uncover him and even, if we do our work with such carelessness, delay and imperfection.

6

Developing the fight against the agent-provocateurs and police spies is a principal task of the communists, a task of the revolutionary vanguard organization of the working class. In order that the problem be entirely understood, every militant and every communist revolutionary must become conscious that the final victory over the agent-provocateurs and police agent activities will be simultaneous with the decisive victory of the proletariat over the capitalist system, and that the inevitable defeat of bourgeois rule will also herald the final obliteration of agent-provocateur activity. It must be understood that, as long as there are reactionaries, the more they will make attempts to push police agents and agent-provocateurs inside the movement, so much the greater will be the potentialities for provocation to constitute an existing danger. It must, at the same time, be made clear that the potentialities do not

necessarily constitute a reality. This means that the struggle against agent-provocateur and police agent activity aims at frustrating these potentialities, so that the revolutionary movement eliminates every possibility of converting the potentiality into reality.

For some communists, the struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies, consists entirely or almost entirely in taking reprisals against the agent-provocateurs and police agents, as individuals. This view is entirely incorrect since it is put forth as the only method of struggle against the agent-provocateur activities. Of course, though, it does constitute one side of the matter, and indeed, an important one. The uncovering of an agent-provocateur or police agent within the revolutionary organization justly arouses the hatred and indignation of all the comrades against him. However, it would be an unforgivable mistake, if the fight against the specific agent-provocateur action was exclusively restricted only to the physical annihilation of the particular agent-provocateur.

The struggle against agent-provocateurs and police spies includes a number of protective measures, which are basically aimed in three directions:

1. Organizing the entire work on the basis of strict division of legal and underground work;

2. Strict observance of rules of secrecy, including those of vigilance, and the forming of decentralized organs;

3. The setting-up of concrete rules for the behaviour of comrades arrested towards the secret police and courts.

The best and the most effective means of fighting the agent-provocateurs and police spies is for the organization to take on a mass character. All the members and cadres should participate in a lively manner in the political life of the organization, in determining its political line as well as in its application. This puts as a pre-requisite, the correct organizational work of the organization, and, furthermore, that the members are in a position to contribute in forming the political line, and supervising its strict observance, without any deviation. This means that the organization must pay particular attention to the ideological and political development of its members. The mistakes which arise from time to time must be dealt with by criticism and self-criticism, to rectify them quickly, and to draw from them the necessary lessons. In particular, regarding the mistakes, a collective opinion must be drawn up regarding the abilities and weak points of the organization.

This type of picture must also be drawn up separately for each member of the organization. For its part, the leadership must combat the mechanical application of its decisions by the rank and file, and it must contribute to the understanding of its decisions and of their conscious application.

In the period of underground work and during the re-establishment and re-organization, the responsible bodies must more than double their vigilance. During the period of underground work, the over-centralization of work must be avoided, so that many levels of work are not concentrated in the hands of only one comrade; but a strict division of labour must be followed and an effort must be made so that the Central Leadership is not near any danger, and away from all sorts of danger. During this period, special importance is attached to the supervision of work, which starts from the selection of giving a responsibility and finishes with the completion of the work. Moral, and revolutionary sincerity, ability and experience, resoluteness and courage, the strength of one's character and faith in the cause, are aspects that must be examined before entrusting someone with a confidential mission; they are aspects which must be examined in great detail and in a permanent and firm manner, as

far as cadres and members of the leadership are concerned. In periods of re-organization and re-establishment, we must, to the enemy's attempts at interfering and infiltrating its agents, counteract with inviolably observing rules of secrecy in the work of reorganizing, studying in the slightest detail, individuals and circumstances. It is during this period that the principle of organizational decentralization is applied, keeping one organization separate from the other, keeping one apparatus from the other. As much as the conditions make it difficult, and it might even be under underground conditions, the investigation of individuals must be carried out in great detail, without any haste, so that nothing is left unclear.

A number of effective measures must be taken in order to systematically fight against the activities of the agent-provocateurs and police spies. These measures consist of the following:

1. ANALYSIS OF ARRESTS. Whenever arrests take place, this event must be analysed from all sides, as well as examining all the possibilities and reasons for the arrests. In relation to this, we must combat the tendency, which some people maintain, and, that is, to attribute arrests to accidental causes or to the external surveillance of the secret police. With regards to this question, the dominant line must be that no arrest is

ever accidental. While investigating cases of arrests, we must also investigate all the facts surrounding the arrests. It is obvious that after every arrest, the appropriate measures are to be taken in informing the members of the organization, and for protecting the work by limiting the blow to the smallest possible degree. The analysis of an arrest must always lead us to drawing lessons, which are then popularized throughout the organization.

2. THE SUPERVISION OF WORK. The supervision of work is continuously exercised in a constant and permanent manner when it is in its process of development, and not after it has been finished. Thus, in this way, supervision is exercised over the responsible comrades for correctness in political and organizational line, which they follow, and all attempts at distorting or misinterpreting are frustrated. Each time that a distortion is evidenced, our vigilance must be intensified and its causes must be immediately looked into. Supervision, of course, is extended to all levels of work, and is exercised more so in matters of secrecy.

3. ANALYSIS OF PROPOSALS. The responsible Party organs always analyse, with exactitude, all the proposals and suggestions made, in order to

check that all of these proposals and suggestions are in accordance with the Party's political line and organizational principles, and to examine if the application of some of these would lead the organization astray.

4. CURIOSITY AND IDLE TALK. Special attention is required in opposing extreme curiosity about the underground organization, its work and operation. The same thing also applies to comrades who are yakking about matters concerning underground organizing and work, as well as on confidential missions which they have undertaken. The task of the leadership, in this case, is to, on the one hand, educate all the comrades in combatting these two pernicious weaknesses, and on the other hand, to carefully examine those incidents concerning curiosity and idle talk which might become the "doorway" for the class enemy to enter the organization.

5. THE SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE LIFE. In general, we can say that, for comrades, there is no such thing as a private life, in the sense of the "inviolable" and "confidential", etc. The organization must examine the private life of each comrade, his relationships, his family milieu, his means of livelihood; in general, his way of life, and to strictly supervise whatever is incompatible with his capacity as a member of a revolutionary

organization. It is precisely in private life that also certain weaknesses are revealed, which do not show up in Party work. And it must be mentioned that "personal weaknesses" are a sure way for the secret police to penetrate the organization.

6. THE STUDY OF THE METHODS OF THE AGENT-PROVOCATEURS. For the struggle against the agent-provocateurs and police agents to become effective, apart from the fact that members must be educated in the elementary methods of underground work, the leadership for its part, must also popularize the methods used by the enemy in carrying out provocation. For this popularization, it is necessary to have not only a knowledge of the movement's history in general, but also specifically the study of certain incidents of provocation. For the Greek movement, for example, the study of the life and activities of certain agent-provocateurs must be made, as well as the study of the methods used by the Archeio-Marxists and Trotskyites.

7. THE PUBLIC DENUNCIATION OF AGENT-PROVOCATEURS AND POLICE SPIES. The fight against the agent-provocateurs, as individuals, must be done openly, with denunciations by name and published widely. The revolutionary movement till now has steadfastly followed this line. During a period just before the victory of the re-

volution in Russia, the Bolsheviks not only denounced the police agents by name, along with photographs of them, but also called on the people to annihilate them. The public denunciation of agent-provocateurs and police spies aims at purging them from the organization, of rendering them useless, at isolating them, and to turn the people's hatred against them. As far as physical annihilation is concerned, it's obvious, that it is a basic task of every honest person.

The means of provocation used by the class enemy against the communists who have been arrested, as well as against the revolutionary movement as regards those arrested, are manifold. When the communist faces the secret police, the magistrate, is in detention pending trial, or is in front of the court; police provocation aims at obtaining confessions, secrets about the organization, to break down his morale, and to have him switch sides. To do this, the secret police use all the means at their disposal. After arrest, an extremely difficult and dangerous struggle begins. In order for the communist to deal with all of these provocations, and come out of this fight as a victor, he must maintain a definite stand and abide by a number of rules.

When communists are arrested, they are calm, collected, serious, and steadfast, are not provo-

cative, and they maintain a militant and irreconcilable position to whatever concerns their principles and ideals. The general and fundamental rule is: No confession about the work, about other comrades on other questions concerning the organization, such as homes, addresses, printing presses, etc., even if confronted with conflicting evidence, and even though others have confessed. They give only conventional answers, in very few words, without any discussion, even if it is on general questions.

Inviolable rule is the following: No signed statement, independent of what its contents are. In front of the security police we do not display our revolutionary actions. Boldness, courage, contempt for the enemy are virtues which the communists do not display in front of the secret police, but allow them to be expressed and shown in the form of endurance. Let us not forget that the secret police is a rival, an opponent who uses all the means at his disposal.

When we are in front of the courts, the matter changes altogether. We must realize that the civilian courts have the following purpose in mind: that is, on the one hand, they seek to stop our future revolutionary work by sentencing us; and on the other, they want to terrorize the masses. The correct stand in courts is precisely that which frustrates the schemes of the reactionaries.

It must be clearly understood that in the civil courts, sentencing is planned ahead of time, and it does not change with this or that confession.

For this reason, the communists in the courts become accusers, defending with boldness and irreconcilability their cause, declaring their faith in the victory of the people's cause, condemning the motives of the trial, and the illegality of the bourgeois system. The communists base their defense mostly on their accusations and less on the judicial form. The defence lawyer must be rendered useless. The same thing also applies when defence witnesses are called to the stand, and who testify "about honourable life", "about the good family background", and so on. Such testimonies constitute provocation; they aim at degrading, and for this reason, they must be denounced. In general, the defense is not going on the defensive, but on the offensive, and on the accusations.

The revolutionary organization, in order for it to be worthy of its name, must combat the agent-provocateurs and police spies. Every militant, every revolutionary, particularly those underground, must, in turn, prove themselves worthy fighters of the missions they undertake, continuously forging their faith in the people's cause and

of its final victory. At every second and every hour, let them arm their thoughts and will with:

"Never must I ever forget or violate the rules of secrecy and vigilance. I must become a worthy Bolshevik, a worthy organizer, and underground activist, as is required of me by the struggle and of the seriousness of my mission, as a fighter for the victory of the people's cause. For this reason, I must be more intelligent, more skillful, and more cunning than the enemy, in order to defeat him, in order to uprightly carry through my mission, as a people's fighter and soldier of the revolutionary movement. The sacred memory of the victims of the struggle burdens my shoulders. The expectations of our people fill my mission with responsibility. I must become the powerful shield and the pointed spear of the people's cause."