Michel Pablo

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Basic biographical data	
Name:	**Michel Pablo**
Other names (by-names, pseud. etc.):	**Abdelkrim ; Alain ; Archer ; Gabe ; Gabriel ; Henry ; Jérôme ; J.P. Martin ; Jean-Paul Martin ; Mike; Molitor ; M.P. ; Murat ; Pilar ; Michalēs N. Raptēs ; Michel Raptis ; Mihalis Raptis ; Mikhalis N. Raptis ; Robert ; Smith ; Spero ; Speros ; Vallin**
Date and place of birth:	**August 24, 1911, Alexandria (Egypt)**
Date and place of death:	**February 17, 1996, Athens (Greece)**
Nationality:	**Greek**
Occupations, careers, etc.:	**Civil engineer, professional revolutionary**
Time of activity in Trotskyist movement:	**1928 - 1964 (1995)**

Biographical sketch

A lifelong revolutionary, Michel Pablo for some one and a half decades was the chief leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International *– or at least of its majority faction. He was perhaps one of the most renowned and at the same time one of the most controversial figures of the international Trotskyist movement; for all those claiming for themselves the label of "orthodox" Trotskyism, Pablo since 1953 was a whipping boy, and 'Pabloism' became the very synonym for centrism, revisionism, opportunism, heresy, and even for liquidationism.*

'Michel Pablo' is one (and undoubtedly the best known) of more than about a dozen pseudonyms used by a man who was born Michael Raptis [Mikhalēs Raptēs / Μισέλ Πάμπλο][1] as son of Nikolaos Raptis [Raptēs], a Greek civil engineer, in Alexandria (Egypt) on August 24, 1911. He grew up and attended Greek schools in Egypt and from 1918 in Crete before, at the age of 17, he moved to Athens enrolling at the Polytechnic where he studied engineering. He was married with Elli Diovouniotis.
In Athens, young Pablo in 1928 joined the ranks of a the so-called *Archeio-Marxists (αρχειομαρξισμός)*[2], an organization of dissident left communists which had split from the Greek *CP* as early as in 1922. Within this organization, Pablo joined a Trotskyist faction which in 1929 eventually split from the *Archeios* and in 1934 joined forces with another Trotskyist group under the leadership of Pantelis

1) Other transcriptions or spelling variants see above under "*Basic biographical data*". They include the various pseudonyms and party names which Raptis used, e.g. *Speros* during the 1930s in Greece, *Gabriel, Martin* and others when writing in the European and American Trotskyist press from the 1940s to the 1960s.

2) Named after their organ *"Αρχείον Μαρξισμού (Archives of Marxism)"*.

Pouliopoulos[3] forming the *Organosi Kommouniston Diethniston Elladas (OKDE) [Organisation of Communist Internationalists of Greece]*. During the 1930s Pablo was deeply involved in the factional struggles, splits and re-groupments of the Greek followers of Leon Trotsky. When a reactionary military dictatorship under General Ioannis Metaxas (1871-1941) was established in Greece, Pablo, together with his wife and many other Greek Trotskyists, was arrested and sent to a prison island. At the end of 1937, Pablo was released but expatriated and forced to leave the country[4]. He first went to Switzerland in 1937 and then to Paris in 1938 where he continued both his studies and his political activities in the ranks of the Trotskyist movement. In September 1938 – under the party name *Speros* and not formally mandated by the Greek Trotskyists – Pablo, together with another delegate of the numerically strong Greek section, Giorgis Vitsoris (1898-1954), took part in the founding conference of the *Fourth International (FI)* which took place clandestinely in Périgny near Paris.

Pablo remained in France when World War II began; for a longer time he was hospitalized in a sanatorium before he could return to Paris, where he organized Trotskyist illegal propaganda and was involved in the regroupment and re-unification of the French Trotskyist movement which under the German occupation had lost many of their militants and cadres. Together with a tiny group of other surviving Trotskyists, Pablo was able to consolidate the (underground) *Provisional European Secretariat of the Fourth International* in 1943/44 after the violent death of its main leader and inspirer, Marcel Hic (1915-1944). In 1944, Pablo was successfully involved in the fusion of three French Trotskyist underground parties into one single party some months before the War in France came to an end.

As 'European secretary', he immediately after the War could enjoy the endorsement by the American *SWP (Socialist Workers Party)*, at that time the wealthiest and most influential section of the *FI*, and by some other sections. Thus, Pablo began to play an eminent role in the *FI*, the headquarters of which was shifted back from New York to Paris and later to Amsterdam. Pablo participated in the first postwar international conference of the *FI* in 1946 and in its second world congress in 1948, and from 1948 to 1960 he officially functioned as Secretary of the *Fourth International,* which he energetically helped to re-create, to give it a structure and a solid leadership during the very difficult years following the Second World War and in view of the unfolding 'Cold War'. Pablo very early stressed the importance of the rupture between Tito and Stalin (1948), the meaning of the Korean War (1950/53), the possible implications of Stalin's death (1953) with regard to Eastern Europe (the so-called 'buffer zone') and the international communist movement, and last not least the new rise of the anti-colonial revolutions since 1954 (e.g. in Indochina, Algeria). However, the rigid 'democratic-centralist' regime and the highly factional organizational methods (including, e.g., the expellation of the majority faction of the then French section and other direct interventions into the internal, organizational and ideological matters of various single sections of the *FI*) practised by the *International Secretariat of the Fourth International (ISFI)* under Pablo's leadership and responsibility also provoked some irritation and the loss of some qualified cadres.

This, combined with the growing opposition towards some of the key theoretical and programmatic theses developed by Pablo in the late 1940s and early 1950s, should make him a key figure in the 1953 split (or, break-up) of the *Fourth International (ISFI)*[5], of course the most far-reaching and tragic split

3) An outstanding Greek Marxist and Trotskyist (1900-1943) who was shot by the Italian fascists during World War II.

4) He spent several decades abroad - in France, the Netherlands, Algeria, Chile and elsewhere. In 1946, he secretly visited Greece participating in the re-unification of the Greek section of the *FI*. His next stay in Greece was only in 1967, just a few days before the coup d'Etat of military officers grouped around G. Papadopoulos which established military dictatorship which lasted till 1974.

5) This cannot the place to deal with the whole body of ideas developed by Pablo between 1948 and 1953, but to sum up only some of the issues at stake in the so-called 'Pabloite split' of 1953:

- Pablo's theory of "deformed workers' states" with regard to the Eastern European countries under the Soviet Union's influence,
- his pessimistic outlook, assuming that bureaucratically deformed workers' states would be a very long-lasting phenomenon,
- his contention that the Stalinist bureaucracies have a 'dual nature', i.e. in part reactionary and in part progressive,
- his assumption that Stalinist communist parties could be pressurised by an unfolding mass movement into revolutionary action

of the international Trotskyist movement. Under the banner of the struggle for 'Trotskyist orthodoxy' and against 'Pabloite revisionism', the influential American Trotskyist party, the *SWP (Socialist Workers Party)* under its leader James P. Cannon, the majorities of the British section under Gerry Healy and of the French section under Pierre Lambert and Marcel Bleibtreu as well as a number of Latin American sections and some tiny groups in Europe factually left the *International Secretariat of the Fourth International (ISFI),* eventually setting up a **rival** *Fourth International* called *International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI)* of which Healy became secretary and from which the Americans should soon partially retreat, looking for possibilities of reconciliation with the *ISFI*. A partial re-unification in which, however, the followers of Healy and Lambert did *not* participate, could be achieved only in 1963[6].

In the wake of the 1953 split, Pablo became 'demonized', a red rag and a sort of scapegoat for almost all negative developments and defeats of world Trotskyism[7]. Pablo was considered by many Trotskyists *outside* the *ISFI* as a gravedigger of the *FI,* yet even aiming at its liquidation. "Pabloism" became an invective absolute among Trotskyists; further, "Pabloism" and "Anti-Pabloism", respectively, since then have been constantly[8] used catchphrases in most of the multiple controversies and splits occurring anywhere in the world of Trotskyism. As a matter of fact, neither the adherents and supporters of Pablo – who, by the way, never used the labels "Pabloism" or "Pabloist" (or, "Pabloite") – nor his adversaries could - with a few exceptions only - gain considerable numbers of new recruits or win substantial political influence during the 'dog days' of the Cold War, regardless whether they practised entryist politics à la Pablo or whether they tried to build up influential independent parties. On the contrary, a considerable number of Trotskyist groups and parties – both in the "Pabloite" and in the "Anti-Pabloite" camp – became more and more marginalized, some of them degenerating to tiny sects with a strong proneness to split again and again. As a matter of tact, it was only in the second half of the 1960s - particularly since 1968 - that in various countries they could gain (or, re-gain) some influence on the left (or, at least on the radical left).

After the 1953 split, Pablo remained a central leader and chief theoretician of the *ISFI*, sided among others by Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank, and Livio Maitan. He continued his organizational work from the Paris (or, Amsterdam) headquarters and contributed innumerable articles, amongst them about the history of the *FI* to internal bulletins as well as to Trotskyist journals which, despite "deep entryism"[9] not at all "vanished".

In the second half of the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s, Pablo was convinced that the revolutionary movement could make gains rather in what later used to be called the 'Third World' than in the economically advanced countries, i.e. his thought and activities primarily focused on the anti-colonial revolutions and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles unfolding in various parts of Africa and Asia (e.g. Algeria and Vietnam) as well as in Cuba. Pablo's involvement was not only a theoretical one, but he was enthusiastically engaged in solidarity work and eventually got deeply involved particularly in the support of the Algerian liberation struggle against France, for example by smuggling counterfeit money and weapons and preparing false papers. In 1960, he eventually was arrested in the

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and/or detach themselves from the Kremlin yoke,

- his new tactic of 'deep entryism', or 'entryism sui generis' (long-term entryism),
- his assumption of an imminent Third World War being a war between two camps,
- his factually new evaluation of the role of the proletariat in the industrialised Western countries.

6) See below.

7) Just as Stalin's "cult of personality", as created by N.S. Krushchev in 1956, was used by the Moscow oriented communists of the 1950s to 'explain' almost all problems and shortcomings of "real existing socialism".

8) For several decades there has been a remarkable number of pamphlets and articles about "Pabloism" issued by various Trotskyist groups and sects; to list all those "anti-Pabloite" tracts, bulletins and articles published since 1953, would make necessary a considerable bibliography of its own.

9) This is the term most closely associated with Pablo's name.

Netherlands and given a 15 months sentence there together with a prominent Dutch member of the *ISFI*, Sal Santen. Released from prison in 1961, Pablo soon went to Morocco continuing his support for the Algerian revolution, e.g. by organizing illegal print houses and gun factories near the borderline. After the victory of the Algerian *FNL (Front National de Libération, National Liberation Front)* under its leader Ahmed Ben-Bella in 1962, Pablo from til 1965 served in Ben-Bella's government as an adviser in the economic reconstruction of the new independent state and became a personal friend of him[10].

Within the *ISFI*, however, Pablo's power and influence had diminished since the late 1950s and particularly during the time of his arrest in the Netherlands. Thus, he was factually substituted as an ideological leader more and more by Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank, and Livio Maitan. The majority of the *ISFI* did no longer share some of Pablo's views, e.g. his considerations about the Sino-Soviet schism of 1960/62. Pablo on the other hand did not endorse the politics aiming at a re-unification of the world Trotskyist movement as strongly advocated by Ernest Mandel and other leaders of the *ISFI* on the one hand and by Joseph Hansen and other leading figures of the American *SWP* on the other hand. Pablo was regarded by them more and more as a barrier for re-unification. When during the 7th world congress of the *FI* (Rome, June 1963) it eventually came to re-unification, Pablo already was almost marginalized and did no longer play any decisive role within the newly formed *United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec,* or, *USFI* for short).

In 1964, it came to the final break between Pablo and the *USFI* majority after he had begun publishing his dissident (or, factional) views in his own paper *Sous le drapeau du socialisme (Under the Banner of Socialism)*, issued in the name of a fictitious *Commission Africaine de la IVe Internationale (African Commission of the F.I.)* but factually without approval by the *USec.* Eventually being excluded from the *USFI*, Pablo together with some French and international supporters, launched a small international organization called the *Tendance Marxiste-Révolutionnaire de la IVe Internationale (TMR) [Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International, RMT]* which several times was renamed: *Tendance Marxiste-Révolutionnaire Internationale (TMRI) [International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, IRMT], Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire Internationale (AMR,* or, *AMRI* for short*) [International Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, IRMA],* and *Association Marxiste Révolutionnaire Internationale (AMRI),* chiefly based in France and existing to the 1990s. After his exclusion from the ranks of the *USFI*[11], articles from Pablo's pen were only sporadically published in some Trotskyist papers.

Pablo never again gained considerable organizational influence but rather continued to publish pamphlets and launched papers chiefly focusing on the cause of "autogestion" [meaning (workers') self-management] as for example *Autogestion* (Paris) and *Autogestion et socialisme* (Paris) which he founded together with Lucien Goldmann and Daniel Guérin. Furthermore, in the 1960s and 1970s, Pablo travelled several countries in Europe and in the Third World, sporadically giving advice to various political leaders, as for example to Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Otelo de Carvalho; he held personal relationships with Salvador Allende, Josip Broz Tito, Moamer al-Khaddhafi, Ayatollah Khomenei (when living in French exile), with some *PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization)* leaders, and it is said that sometimes Pablo was successful in organizing the escape of political prisoners.

10) In 1965, however, Ben-Bella's post-colonial regime was overthrown by Houari Boumédiènne's military coup.

11) Although no longer associated with the *USFI*, Pablo always retained some contacts with leading Trotskyists in various parts of the world. It seems, that in the first half of the 1990s, short before both men's death (in 1995 and 1996, respectively), there was a re-approachment between Pablo and the long-time leader of the *USFI*, Ernest Mandel. "A few years ago, he wanted to rejoin the International, the historical importance of which he never disputed [...]. We came to an agreement but, for various reasons, including the situation of the revolutionary movement in Greece, and important differences of opinion on the approach one should take to the war in former Yugoslavia, the agreement was not applied in his personal case." [Maitan, Livio: Mihalis Raptis (Pablo), 1911-1996, in: *International Viewpoint*, 1996 (275), p. 28.] This statement, however, is in contrast to others, according to which Pablo and his followers were re-admitted by the *USFI* despite protests from the Greek section, see for example: N. Loukidis in: *Workers Press*, 1996 (493), p. 7. See also Anon. [Pierre Broué?] in: *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*, 1996 (57), p. 121 and Richardson, Al in: *Revolutionary History*, 6.1996 (2/3), p. 256.

After his return to Greece, Pablo played a certain role in the founding of PASOK (*Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party*) being close to its charismatic leader, the later Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou[12]. In 1977, Pablo founded a political association called *Protagoras*, and despite his age he continued to participate in many solidarity movements and committees, published comments on world politics in Greek papers and enjoyed a certain popularity and impact on the Greek left.
In the 1990s, Pablo endorsed the strong nationalist course of the *PASOK* and backed the Serb nationalists as 'friends of Greece'; it was said that he even undertook to bring together Pan-Serb nationalist leader Radovan Karadzic with *PASOK*-leader Andreas Papandreou.

Some five years before his death, Pablo became target of a slander campaign conducted by a former *PASOK* deputy who had meanwhile become a rightist and who published a book in which Pablo was presented as the conductor of a "secret orchestra of *November 17*", a Greek terrorist organization responsible for the assassination of politicians, judges and military personnel[13].

A few months before his death, in Autumn 1995, Pablo delivered a speech at the funeral of Ernest Mandel, once his colleague in the leadership of the *Fourth International*. Aged 84, Pablo died of cerebral apoplexy in Athens on February 17, 1996. Remarkable, although having been a lifelong revolutionary, he was given a state funeral, perhaps because of his personal alliance and friendship with Andreas Papandreou, as already mentioned above, and his flirtation with 'Pan-Hellenic' thought during the last years of his life. Greek socialists and nationalists, spokesmen of Serb nationalism, but also Trotskyist veterans and ex-comrades from Greece and from the *Fourth International* were present at his funeral.

We would like to conclude this biographical sketch by some quotations which may give an idea of what controversial a figure Pablo was:

> "Estimating Pablo's real political significance has always been difficult in English-speaking countries, where a whole mythology was erected around his name by those who had been happy to share his politics until they were directed against themselves. Although he was supposed to be the arch-theorist of 'deep entry', some of his critics, such as Healy, were a good deal more liquidationist in that direction as he was, and he constantly tried, without much success, to get Mandel and the others to publish a theoretical journal openly defending Trotskyism whilst undertaking such activity. Some of his positions, for example over Algeria, the Sino-Soviet split, or Angola, were certainly no worse than those of his opponents, and he pointed to the importance of women's oppression under capitalism long before it became fashionable to do so. There was always a warmth of spirit about him, and he certainly had a more attractive personality and wider horizons than either Healy or Frank."[14]

> "[...] the myth of "Pabloite liquidationism" was born. The demonisation of Pablo was largely the work of the American SWP after its leaders decided to split the International in 1953. Subsequently taken up by the French (Lambertist) and British (Healyite) sections of the "International Committee", "anti-Pabloism" came to be the hall-mark of a particularly sectarian and one-sided reading of history. Its purpose was to cover up the centrism that had effected the whole of the International and, in particular, the support that Pablo had received for many years from all the leaders of the "anti-Pabloite" groups. [...] Despite over four decades as a key figure in centrism, Pablo should also be remembered for the sterling and courageous work he carried out between 1943 and 1948. Without his determination, the Fourth International would not have been reconstructed and important lessons would have been lost. We salute this invaluable

12) A. Papandreou (1919-1996) as a very young man was - like Pablo - an activist of the Greek far left.

13) See for instance: Sinister campaign against Pablo, in: *International Viewpoint*, 1991 (198), p. 21.

14) Richardson, Al: Michel Pablo (1911-1996), in: *Revolutionary History*, 6.1996 (2/3), pp. 255-256.

work, despite the major and decisive errors which he made in subsequent years."[15]

"You ask: Did Raptis [Pablo] advocate the liquidating [of] the ISFI in favor of entry into Stalinist, social democratic, and anti-colonial national movements? Answer: No, absolutely not, not at any time. It was absolutely clear from the beginning, in continental Europe at least, that so-called "entryism" was a specific tactic, that the FI would retain its identity all the time, and that it would retain a public face through its own press. In real history, which is diametrically opposed to the lies of the sects, (1) it wasn't however actually possible to operationalise the entryist tactic anyway to any great extent in various countries, for a sustained time, and the tactic was sooner or later abandoned, (2) the Trotskyists who argued for building independent Trotskyist parties did not gain any more influence or members than the people who argued that an entryist tactic was preferable, (3) none of the various Trotskyist groups and tendencies in the 1950s was very sure about the way the world political situation and world capitalism would develop, and none of them could solve the problem of party organisation in a way that resulted in viable political parties with mass support. This was admitted by Ernest Mandel, Duncan Hallas, Ted Grant and all the other Trotskyist leaders at that time. (4) The imminent threat of nuclear war referred to by Michel Raptis [Pablo] in the 1950s was not a Trotskyist fantasy, but something which was for some years a real possibility, that was recognised by a lot of people, many of them started "ban the bomb" movements. [...] (5) Perspectives and theses mooted in internal bulletins of the Fourth International for the purpose of discussion were elevated by the sects to final positions of world-historical importance which the sectarians gave to them."[16]

"His intellectual and militant stature and his strong character made him an imposing man. A man who never ceased struggling for the emancipation of all of the oppressed, and against all forms of injustice. He was a major figure in our international movement; he made a decisive contribution above all in the dark years of the Nazi occupation of Europe and in the immediate post-war period."[17]

"In the hands of sectarians like Britain's Gerry Healy and France's Pierre Lambert, the term "Pabloism" became a little more than buzz-word to justify the permanent split in the FI, while they in turn implemented policies towards social democracy and bourgeois nationalism which were equally - if not more - crass and opportunistic than Pablo himself. In practice Pablo gave political expression to the opportunist pressures which constantly bear down on the Trotskyist movement - pressures to downplay the programme and politics of the FI in the hopes of making a quick breakthrough into growing mass movements. He may have gone but the hostile pressures have not."[18]

"In his everyday life he was polite and generous - as his ex-followers have told me - and he always defended those who were persecuted by the state. Throughout his long years of adventurism and opportunism he was never concerned with a search for privilege or wealth, but was motivated by the sincere belief that with these methods he was struggling against capitalist barbarism."[19]

"Zusammenfassend lässt sich sein politischer Werdegang in drei Abschnitte gliedern: 1.) 1928-1950: die Zeit des Revolutionärs und Kämpfers, 2.) 1950-1974: die Jahre neuer Einschätzungen und Entwicklung opportunistischer Thesen, 3.) nach 1974: eine vom Standpunkt des Marxismus und der Klassenkriterien aus gesehen inakzeptable Haltung, die in eine reaktionäre politische Praxis mündete."[20]

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15) Gallet, Emile: Obituary : Michel Pablo (1911-1996), in: *Workers Power*, 1996 (198), p. 7.

16) Jurriaan Bendien: Reply to Ilyenkova on Michel Pablo [contribution to *Marxism mailing list*].

17) Anastassiadis, Tassos: Memories of Mihalis, in: *International Viewpoint*, 1986 (275), p. 28.

18) Lister, John: Michel Pablo : key figure in Trotskyist split, in: *Socialist Outlook*, 1996 (99), p. 10.

19) Loukidis, Nikos: Michael Raptis ('Pablo'), 1911-96, in: *Workers Press*, 1996 (493), p. 7.

20) Sakkatos, Vangelis: Zum Tode von Michel Raptis (Pablo), 1911-1996, in: *Avanti*, 1996 (15), pp. 19-20.

"Comprenant que la IVe Internationale ne deviendra pas le "nouveau parti mondial de la révolution" tant espéré par Trotski, il réoriente, non sans mal, l'activité des ses camarades en direction du "mouvement réel". Pour lui, en ce début des années 50, il s'agit de la "révolution coloniale", au service de laquelle il faut se mettre, et des "masses communistes", vers lesquelles il faut se tourner. Ce sera l'"entrisme", et le soutien à la révolution algérienne, la grande affaire de sa vie. Ses amis porteront beaucoup de valises, mais aussi construiront au Maroc une usine d'armement, et lui-même fera dix-huit mois de prison aux Pays-Bas, accusé d'avoir fait imprimer de la fausse monnaie."[21]

Selective bibliography

Some introductory remarks

We should like to emphasize that we do not at all claim 'completeness' with regard to our following *Selective Bibliography*; thus for example there is no complete listing of Pablo's publications in Greek and other non-Western European languages, and it goes without saying that he contributed articles to a considerably greater number of bulletins, magazines and pamphlets than those listed in the respective paragraph below. Furthermore we like to say that the paragraph *Selective bibliography: Books and articles about Pablo* doesn't list the innumerable polemical and controversial writings about 'Pabloism' as contributed by various tendencies and leading figures of the international Trotskyist movement(s) during the last 50 years [see also our biographical sketch above].

Here some short notes for a better understanding of certain paragraphs of our *Selective Bibliography*:

1. In the paragraph *Books/pamphlets (co-)authored by Pablo* we have – as a rule – omitted author's name from the author statement area of the title records whenever Pablo is the single author of a book, regardless whether his name is spelled "Michel Pablo", "M. Pablo", or "Pablo" on the title page or cover. In cases, however, where Pablo is one of two or three authors of a work or where his name on title page or cover is given as "Raptis", "Michel Raptis" etc., this is mentioned in the author statement area.
2. *TSB* item numbers, e.g. "<TSB 0716>", mentioned in the paragraphs *Books/pamphlets and journals (co-) edited by Pablo* and *Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Pablo contributed*, refer to our *Trotskyist Serials Bibliography* (München [etc.] : Saur, 1993), which is out of print but which is available as PDF file within the framework of our *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet* website. In *TSB* you can find detailed descriptions of Trotskyist journals, newsletters, bulletins and the like.
3. In the paragraph *Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Pablo contributed*, there is no listing of distinctive titles proper of single contributions, but by source title only (i.e. by title proper of the journal, collection or the like in which the contributions appeared). In the paragraph *Selective bibliography: Writings by Pablo on Trotsky and Trotskyism*, however, titles of single contributions are mentioned.

• *Selective bibliography: Books/pamphlets (co-)authored by Pablo*

The Arab revolution. - [Amsterdam] : Publications of Fourth International, 1959. - XIX, 50 pp.

Capitalism or socialism? : the coming world showdown. - London : New Park Publications, 1952. - 49 pp.

Dictature du prolétariat, démocratie, socialisme : à la lumière des expériences depuis octobre 1917. - Paris, 1958. - 135 pp. - (Quatrième Internationale ; 1958,1,suppl.)

Le dossier de l'autogestion en Algérie / Michel Raptis. - Paris : Ed. Anthropos, 1967. - 168 pp. - (Autogestion : études, débats, documents ; 3)

Ektos synorōn : keimena politika, ideologika, politistika / Mikhalēs Raptēs-Pablo. - Athēna : Apopsē, 1991.

Etude pour une politique agraire en Algérie / Michel Raptis. - Rabat, 1962. - 73 pp. [Typescript]

La guerre qui vient : capitalisme ou socialisme. - [Paris] : Publications de "Quatrième Internationale", [1952]. - 110 pp. - (Publications de "Quatrième Internationale" ; [1])

Le matérialisme de Lucrèce à Marx. - [S.l.] : PCI, 1955. - 26 pp.

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21) Najman, Maurice: Michel Raptis : un dirigeant trotskiste hérétique, in: *Le Monde*, 1996 (Febr.20), p. 18.

Mia politike allelographia, 1967-1984 / Nikolas Kalas ; Mikhalēs Raptēs. Eisagoge, epimeleia Lena Hoff. - Athēna : Agra, 2002. - 171 pp.
Hē politikē mu autobiographia / Mikhalēs N. Raptēs. - [Athēna] : Ikaros, 1996. - 371 pp. - (Prosōpographies ; 2) [& later ed.]
Le programme de Tripoli : impressions et problèmes de la révolution algérienne. - Paris : Parti Communiste Internationaliste, Section Française de la IVe Internationale, 1962. - 56 pp. - (L'Internationale ; no. 129, suppl.) (Quatrième Internationale ; 1962,suppl.)
Quel socialisme au Chili? : étatisme ou autogestion ; dossier de la participation des travailleurs au processus révolutionnaire du pays / Michel Raptis. - Paris : Ed. Anthropos, 1973. - 232 pp.
Report on the Palestinian revolution. - Balmain, N.S.W. : International Publications, 1969. - 16 pp.
Revolution and counter-revolution in Chile : a dossier on workers' participation in the revolutionary process / Michel Raptis. Transl. by John Simmonds. - London : Allison & Busby, 1974. - 173 pp. - (Motive) [American ed. publ. by St. Martin's Pr., New York, NY, 1974 and 1980]
Self management in the struggle for socialism : [paper given to the Tenth Latin American Congress of Sociology, Santiago de Chile, Aug. 1972] / Michel Raptis. - Nottingham : Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1973. - 19 pp. - (Spokesman pamphlet ; 37)
Socialism, democracy and self-management : political essays / Michel Raptis. Transl. by Marie-Jo Serrié and Richard Sissons. - London : Allison & Busby, 1980. - 208 pp. [American ed. publ. by St. Martin's Pr., New York, NY, 1980]
World in revolution. - Balmain, N.S.W. : Australian Section, Fourth International, 1968. - 9 pp.

- ***Selective bibliography: Books/pamphlets and journals (co-)edited by Pablo***

Autogestion : études, débats, documents (Paris)
Fourth International / International Executive Committee of the Fourth International (Paris) <TSB 0535>
Selbstverwaltung (Paris; later: Frankfurt a.M.) <TSB 1465>
Sous le drapeau du socialisme (Clamart, later: Paris) <TSB 1581>
Under the Banner of Socialism (Clamart) <TSB 1752>
Utopie critique (Paris)

- ***Selective bibliography: Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Pablo contributed***

IV [Cuarta] Internacional / Comité Ejecutivo de la IV Internacional (Santiago, Chile; later: México, D.F.) <TSB 0413>
Arbeiterkontrolle, Arbeiterräte, Arbeiterselbstverwaltung : eine Anthologie / zusammengestellt und eingel. von Ernest Mandel. - Frankfurt a.M. : Europäische Verlagsanst., 1971. - 466 pp. - (Theorie und Praxis der Gewerkschaften)
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Some further information about Pablo is also to be found in some other sketches featured within the framework of our *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet* website, e.g. the bio-bibliographical sketch about *Sal Santen*.
A compilation of books, pamphlets and articles by Pablo together with a small photo gallery has been published in the WWW as a section of the *Marxist Writers' Internet Archive*.

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Note:
- *The photograph on p. 1 was taken from The Michel Pablo Internet Archive.*

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