

Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia – Greece

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The Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia has its roots in the revolutionary traditions of our people and of the Communist Movement in Greece. The Greek communists have a long history of struggles for the national and social liberation of our people. And they have an equally long history of accomplishment of their internationalist duty towards the International Communist Movement. Since the formation of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), in 1918, they suffered the most barbaric and murderous attacks on behalf of all the imperialist forces and of the local reactionaries. Tens of thousands of the best daughters and sons of our people gave their life in the struggle against the reaction, the Nazis, the British and US imperialism and their local lackeys.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In Greece, during the fifth decade of the 20th century, we had two great revolutionary wars. The national liberation war against the German, Italian and Bulgarian fascists (1941-1944), and the anti-imperialist civil war against the monarchist-fascist forces, the British imperialism and later the US imperialism that replaced the British (1946-1949). Those two glorious revolutionary wars came very near to the victory – without tasting it...

The national liberation war

The national liberation war against the hitlerite-fascist occupation belonged to the strategies of the united national front and, therefore, in the unity of all the forces in order to throw off the yoke and to create the conditions that would allow the Greek people to freely decide about his conditions of life. With the Communist Party of Greece as vanguard, there was developed an unprecedented movement, so much in the cities as well as in the countryside: the National Liberation Front (EAM) regrouped almost two millions active members! The guerrilla brought a series of heavy blows to the occupation forces, created a legend among the people's masses and more globally it gave an exceptional impulse to the struggle. Towards the end of 1944, in reality there existed a number of large liberated areas, and the majority of the people belonged to and supported the progressive forces. Still, this victorious revolution was wasted! The reason was that the struggle's leadership had not a clear and correct understanding of the role played by the British imperialism, had not a correct appreciation of the anti-hitlerite alliance and of the role played by the Greek movement. In that way, we were brought to a line of compromises and concessions towards the British imperialism, that bound hand and foot the popular movement. So, in spite of all the favourable conditions for a victorious outcome of the revolution in Greece, the lack of a decisive and well-prepared leadership provoked the defeat and involved enormous losses for the Greek people.

The imperialist intervention

In December 1944, while the Second World War was not over yet and the anti-hitlerite alliance still existed (and, since October 1944, Athens had been liberated), an armed intervention is carried out in both Athens and Piraeus by the British imperialists. The declared aim of the British imperialists was to prevent the revolutionary movement, who had the support of the big majority of the population, from seizing the power. For a whole month the people of Athens fought a brave battle against the mighty armed “allies”, who did not hesitate to bomb relentlessly Athens, a thing that not even Hitler's army had dared. The leadership of the movement, though, kept the essential forces of ELAS

(Greek People's Liberation Army) far from Athens... and the resistance was militarily defeated. With the Varkiza agreement (beginning of 1945), the revolutionary armed forces hand down their arms. This was one of the biggest treasons inflicted on our people's movement – immediately afterwards, one of the biggest terrorist pogroms against the Greek democratic citizens was launched by the reaction. That's the reason why, every time we hear that a revolutionary movement hands down the arms (and it still happens nowadays), our heart gives a start.

The anti-imperialist “civil” war

Anyway, the people's movement received a blow but it had not been defeated. The reaction tried to get reorganized, to set up an embryonic, rudimentary state and repressive mechanism; it also tried to create armed forces, so as to be able to venture out of Athens. With the direct interference of the imperialist forces, paramilitary gangs and death squads were organized all over the country and there started the hunting down and the summary executions of the progressive militants. During the same time, the persecuted militants who had gone underground reached the number of a hundred thousand people. Relatively soon, within a year after the Varkiza agreement, the people's movement regrouped its forces and had all the means to crash the reaction – but the leadership remained attached to the line of "pressure of the reaction in order to oblige it to accept the national reconciliation". The first guerrilla actions, undertaken by groups of persecuted militants, did not fall within a line of a quick and surprise launching of the second guerrilla, but were incorporated in the line of the "pressure for reconciliation". Another year will go by, during which the reaction will take the opportunity to cut down all the roads leading from the cities to the countryside. In the cities massive arrests will take place, and hundreds of thousands of democratic citizens will be sent to exile and concentration camps; the military courts, at the same time, were overcrowded and executions were carried out after summary procedures. Nonetheless, the Democratic Army of Greece fought a heroic battle against the monarchism-fascism, occasioning heavy losses to the reactionaries – even more, towards the end of 1948, monarchism-fascism was terrorized and ready to collapse, seeing that it cannot cope with the revolutionary movement.

At this moment, the new and freshly arrived US imperialism got into action, and played a leading role in all the mopping-up operations. It was in Greece that the anti-guerrilla methods were tested for the first time (emptying of villages and the countryside in general, concentration/"reformation" camps, massive use of napalm bombs, building of roads for immediate access to all regions where there might be guerrilla activities, etc.). Those methods will be used later in many other countries. In August 1949, the Democratic Army of Greece was military defeated and obliged to retreat the main body of its forces into the socialist countries.

Some conclusions

The causes of the defeat of the 1946-1949 struggle cannot simply be taxed on the mistakes of the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece. The attitude of the International Communist Movement towards the second revolution in Greece must also be taken into consideration. First of all, there was no aid to that struggle, not even political support. Especially during the period that the specific weight of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was very important in the Balkans, the people's movement in Greece suffered under the grand-serbian nationalism, which had made already its appearance. After the rupture between the International Communist Movement and Tito, and when he co-operated with the Greek monarchists-fascists, allowing them to flankattack the Greek guerrillas, the conditions for a defeat strengthened more and more. The international centre of the revolution at the period did not estimate that a victory was possible in Greece. Instead, it assumed that whatever had been won the previous years had to be stabilized and time had to be gained in order to confront imperialism's new attack. At the same time, the international centre was using the existence of the second guerrilla in Greece as a harassment to the imperialists, as a kind of

diversion, which though should not, though, get over certain limits. This is the only way to explain the instability and the confused line of the leadership of the Greek Communist Movement at the time. Our conclusions are that one cannot play with the revolution and the fate of a whole people, when all aspects lead to a decisive conflict. Our conclusions are that the conditions to win and stabilize positions in Greece existed if, since 1946 and 1947, elementary steps and measures had been taken and the International Communist Movement had shown political support. An example of total lack of even political support is that no country belonging to the –still under shape– socialist camp recognized the Provisional Government formed by the Democratic Army of Greece in the liberated areas.

All the same, the revolutionary movement of Greece assumed fully its internationalist duty. It did not haul down the flag of the struggle. For three years, it fought courageously against imperialism, it gave its utmost and engaged in the battle considerable forces of the imperialism. In this way and by the blood of its best sons and daughters, it gave its humble contribution to the victory of the Chinese Revolution, regardless of the great distance separating the two countries!

The anti-revisionist struggle inside the Soviet Union

The Greek communists were the first, on international level, to be outrightly attacked by the Soviet and other revisionists. Already in 1955, the leadership and the big majority of members of the Communist Party of Greece were persecuted because of their unwillingness to accept the "new thought" of Kroushchev and the alike. In this time, thousands of Greek communists were living as political refugees in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, after the defeat of the revolutionary struggle of 1946-1949. They courageously opposed the revisionist machinations and they resolutely defended the achievements of the world communist movement, supporting Stalin and the very principles of marxism-leninism.

After the infamous 20th Congress of the CPSU, the secretary general of the Party, Comrade Nikos Zachariadis, and many other honest communist cadres and militants were exiled in Siberia by the revisionists, accused of being "unrepenting stalinists". About 80% of the Party's rank-and-file have being expelled from the Party under direct orders of the revisionists, because they were supporting the legitimate leadership of the Communist Party of Greece and they were opposing the unprincipled revisionist attacks against Stalin and the revolutionary line. In Tashkent, where the main body of Greek communists/political refugees had been installed since 1949 (about 10.000 of them), grotesque cases of mass expulsion from the Party took place. In one characteristic case, three members of a local branch, supported by a "supervising committee" of Soviet revisionists and with the help of the Soviet police, "voted" the expulsion from the Party of all the other members of this local branch: more than three hundred of them! These were the "new leninist" methods used by the revisionists for the "reestablishment of the democracy in the Party and the fight against the culte of personality"... That's how many of the honest Greek communists have been persecuted, even physically, for decades. But they never subjugated themselves to the revisionists, Kroushchev, Brezhnev and company. The secretary general of the Party died in Siberia in 1973, during his third hunger-strike, protesting against the revisionist calumniations and interventions. The Greek and Russian revisionists "informed" the people at that time that he was victim of a heart-attack...

The anti-revisionist struggle in Greece

In the interior of Greece also, the communists fought against revisionism and its destructive policy. The communist political prisoners have been in the fore-front of the struggle in defense of marxism-leninism. But at this time, there was no organized resistance against revisionism on international level, and precious time was lost. In 1958, the revisionists officially liquidated the Party's underground organizations in Greece and integrated a broad left coalition, which served as support

of the "democratic" fraction of the bourgeoisie. It was only in the sixties that veteran communists and young militants had been able to form the Organization of Marxist Leninists of Greece, and to start the regroupment of the genuine left forces in our country.

The fascist dictatorship of 1967-1974

The US-led military coup of 1967 and the 7 years-long fascist dictatorship that followed gave a hard blow against the developing communist movement and the Organization of Marxist Leninists of Greece. The leadership of the Organization was arrested in 1969, and the replacement leadership never measured up to the post. Nevertheless, during those difficult years the marxist-leninists played an important role in the development of a consequent anti-fascist/anti-imperialist movement. The heroic revolt of the youth and the working people of Athens in November 1973 against the dictatorship and its imperialist patrons was a result of the consequent and militant attitude of the revolutionary left forces. This revolt destroyed the plans of the bourgeoisie and of the imperialists for a "controlled transition to democracy" and showed clearly the traitorous policy of the revisionists, which tried to prevent it as they supported this idea of "democratic transition". That's why the revisionist "communist" party (and of course the "eurocommunists" as well) publicly condemned at that time the "ultra-left instigators of the revolt" as "provocators and agents of the secret services"... Anyway, the revolt of November 1973 accelerated the crisis of the military regime and, combined with its criminal stand on the Cyprus question, led to its fall in July 1974.

The post-dictatorship years

Thanks to the self-abnegation of thousands of Greek marxist-leninists and their devotion to the cause of the people, the Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist) was constructed in 1975. In the first post-dictatorship years the marxist-leninists played an important role in the development of consequent anti-imperialist, labor and youth movements, despite the problematic leadership of the Party. They faced the barbarous repression of the new "democratic" regime – and unspoken calumniations, provocations and attacks of the revisionist "communist" party, which tried to "calm down" the militant spirit of the masses in order to be accepted by the bourgeoisie as a "responsible political force". But in the early eighties the Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist) had been liquidated, mainly because of the opportunist stand of its leadership at that time.

The formation of the Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia

During those difficult years, a handful of cadres and militants restarted the effort of reconstruction of our movement. After a period of general preparation, the Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia was formed and strengthened, while other left groups were fading and flirting with revisionism, trotskyism and other "radical" currents. This process was decisively facilitated by the participation in the direction of our organization, since the late eighties, of Comrade Yannis Hotzeas, the most outstanding Greek marxist-leninist, whose theoretical and practical contribution exceeds the limits of Greece. Together with Comrade Polydoros Danielidis, a veteran communist leader and member of the Party leadership up to 1956, he contributed greatly to the construction of the marxist-leninist movement in our country.

Comrade Yannis Hotzeas

Comrade Yannis Hotzeas fought already as an adolescent during the Nazi occupation. He became member of the Communist Party of Greece in the age of 14, with an exceptional decision of the Central Committee, because of his exemplary revolutionary activity. He was arrested in 1946, and passed many years in prisons, concentration camps and in exile. As communist political prisoner, he played a leading role in the repulse of the revisionist policy. After his liberation in 1958 he

continued the struggle against revisionism and all deviations. He was very much loved by all the communist militants. He assumed the leadership of the Organization of Marxist Leninists of Greece, but unfortunately was arrested in 1969. He was liberated in early 1973 with the “liberalization” of the dictatorship, and then arrested again after the revolt of November 1973, to be liberated only after the fall of the military regime. He contributed to the foundation of the Communist Party of Greece (marxist-leninist), and he helped the Party with all his forces. After the liquidation, he kept the struggle and, once more, played a decisive role in the development and ideological-political-organizational orientation of the Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia. He was member of the leadership of the Organization. He passed away in 1994.

Since the eighties, the Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia covered a long and difficult, but fruitful course. Today it is active in tens of Greek cities, and in the labor and youth movement through its front organizations, respectively the Union of the Working People and the Left Mass Formations of the Youth. It publishes the journal "Aristera!" ("Left!") and a theoretical-political organ, as well as many marxist works. It has an active internationalist attitude, organizing every year several nation-wide campaigns with the participation of delegations from the revolutionary movements of Philippines, Mexico, Peru, Turkey, Congo, and Europe.

In May 1998 the Organization successfully held its First National Conference, an important step towards the reconstruction of the communist movement in our country, which was saluted by 30 Communist Parties and Revolutionary Movements from the entire world. In the last municipal and prefectoral elections, the electoral lists of the Organization in 4 cities gathered the support of 2-4% of the population – this was a significant result of the everyday work of our members and sympathizers.

The Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia is determined to manage no efforts for the reconstruction of the Communist Movement in Greece! Based on the principles of the revolutionary marxism, on the assimilation of the positive and negative historic experience of our movement, and on the concrete analysis of the contemporary national and international conditions, we are convinced that we will contribute our part to the accomplishment of the duty that we all have towards the past and the future generations:

**Repulse the imperialist New Order,
Reconstruct the International Communist Movement,
Build the International Union of the Peoples!**