

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST ORGANIZATION A/SYNECHIA
(GREECE)

CONTRIBUTION TO THE 4th INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

July 2000 - Quito, Ecuador



CONTRIBUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST ORGANIZATION A/SYNECHIA (GREECE)

Dear Comrades,

We feel particularly honoured and happy having been invited to the 4th International Seminar of Quito. We would like to convey to you all, the warmest revolutionary greetings of the Leading Committee and all the members of the Revolutionary Marxist Organization A/synechia. Although Greece is quite far away, the Greek people follow with great interest the struggles of the Latin American peoples. They realize, they feel, that each step forward taken by the movements worldwide is a step forward for all the peoples; just as each temporary defeat or retrogression, no matter which part of the world it happens, distresses and upsets the progressives all over the world - without stopping, of course, the class struggle and the course of history.

I.

There is another special reason that compelled us to accept your invitation with great interest and pleasure. Let us try to explain you why:

According to our estimate, the last quarter of the 20th century was marked by a **significant retrogression of the revolutionary movement** internationally, by a **modification of the correlation of power between the bourgeoisie and the working class** on a worldwide scale, by the **launching and forwarding of a counter-revolutionary process** enfolding all the sectors of social life.

The substantial **restructuring of the process of production** (in the imperialist metropolises) had the double object of both reducing the cost per product unit and emptying the workshops from a homogeneous working class, concentrated in big chains of production, with traditions in trade union and political organization. The bourgeois forces, making the most of the ideological and political crisis and disintegration of the revisionist regimes and of the coordinated venture for the "collapse" of the so-called socialism, forwarded a **worldwide restoration** which attempted to rip anything even reminding of socialism, social conquests and social relations different than the bourgeois. Flags, symbols, multi-national countries formed after World War II, were characterized as anachronisms, which the so-called "international community" ought to fight off.

The entry to the "era of the **New World Order**", announced by George Bush after the Gulf War (borrowing - not accidentally- a Hitler's slogan), tried to restore a new international superstructure that would consolidate the relations and objectives of the imperialists. Nowadays the countries-rioters and the "international terrorism" (any ac-

tion of popular resistance is baptized as such) are aimed at. The "international community" intervenes wherever "human rights are violated, minorities are oppressed, drug-smuggling flourishes and democracy is violated".

Who is this "international community"? **The greatest criminal and counter-revolutionary force ever seen by humanity!** The murderous, genocidal aggression against the Iraqi people still continues. The months-long barbarous bombing of Yugoslavia initiates a new type of air-warfare, which disrupts the production and defense capacity of a country and drives it decades backwards. Then come the terrestrial "peacemaking" forces, while the embargos and blockading of countries show how phony are the words for a "peaceful world of the market, democracy and human rights". At the same time, we experienced and still experience the arbitrary modification of the whole international law (or anything that might be signified by this term from World War II on).

All these dramatic changes for the peoples became possible only when **revisionism** dominated the communist movement, only when the revisionists closely collaborated with the international counter-revolution and became its organic part, restoring capitalism in the former socialist countries, and liquidating the international communist movement. The warnings of the international Marxist-Leninist movement in the early '60s, as to where things would be led to if revisionism prevailed, were not enough to reverse this course (although they played an important part in the reorganization and building of the contemporary communist movement). From one point of view, the defeat of the Left within China and the prevalence of the revisionist wing of Deng Xiao Ping were of decisive importance in this worldwide process.

The result of all these changes has been the significant retreat of the revolutionary movement, the confusion and disappointment. Generally speaking, the world progressive, anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement, without a clear international vanguard, found itself in a state of **passive defense**.

Most outbreaks, mass protests, resistances, struggles, uprisings had and still have a basically spontaneous character. In a few words, due to the international correlation between revolution and counter-revolution and to the lack of a composed revolutionary pole, both the movement of the '80s against all the restructuring processes in the West and in the East, and the increasing and intensifying resistance against the New World Order since the early '90s, remain on the level of passive defense. The main characteristics of the passive defense are the low degree of composition, the

spontaneity and the uncoordinated character of the struggles.

Therefore, there is an urgent necessity for passing from the stage of passive defense to a new one, that of the **active resistance**. The stage of active resistance will be marked by a higher level of the peoples' movements, where the elements of composition and organization will provide a new character and new potentials, ensuring the continuous and permanent character of the peoples' resistance. The passing to this higher stage will give the possibility to strike blows, to create cracks in the imperialist New Order.

As far as we can judge and know, we estimate that **the revolutionary movement in Latin America is, on the whole, one of the most advanced in the world today**. We believe that the elements of consciousness and organization are more advanced here than in other parts of the world. We think, and wish to confirm this opinion of ours here, by exchanging views and information, that the movement in this part of the world is closer to the qualitatively higher level of active resistance (that we define as the **strategic objective** of the world communist movement at the present phase of the historical process). In this sense, and as far as our estimate is valid, the study of the experience and the active solidarity to this more advanced detachment of the Revolution today is a constant duty in the struggle against our common enemy.

That's why, dear Comrades, we accepted with particular interest and pleasure your invitation!

II.

To seriously talk about revolution today one has to start with some acknowledgements and estimations:

1. We still live in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Capitalism has not discovered any new stage with different characteristics from those ascribed to imperialism by Lenin, while at the same time the contemporary imperialism of the end of the 20th century has extracted many "lessons" by the class struggle of our century and has been necessarily modified.

All discussions about the new characteristics of the modern world, all the theories about post-capitalism, global capitalism, information society, post-industrial society, globalized capitalism, etc., are incapable of underlining the basic and essential characteristic of the contemporary world:

Just as the century started with a great split of the world market and the detachment of a huge area from the capitalist sphere of influence, we experience nowadays the reunification of the world capitalist space under the seal of monopoly capitalism. The century closes with the domination of monopoly capitalism, which was globalized after a period of split of the system.

Monopoly capitalism, the monopoly on the whole, of the end of the century is different from that of the '20s - without, however, a change of its essence. The forms of globalization have been modified as well. Both the monopoly and the globalization bear the seal of the constant trans-

formations and restructurings of the capital, which, in turn, has been determined by the intrinsic contradictions of the capitalist system itself and, in particular, by the course of the class struggle and the "cohabitation" of two different social systems.

The Leninist conception of capitalism is up-to-date. None of the "new" theories, which are in reality just new forms of the Kaoutskyist view of super-imperialism, are valid. There is no an international trust that absorbs all the others, nor is the world uniform and globalized as bourgeois analysts present it. The "globalization" and the New World Order are the contemporary forms of imperialism.

2. However and in spite of the declared "end of history", in this "post-communist" world there are three **manifest confirmations of Marxism**, enabling anyone standing on its grounds to be in an advantageous position in comparison to all the priesthoods and hierophants of the capital as far as the view of contemporary world is concerned:

- The whole Marxist analysis of capitalism, especially of the unavoidable crises of this system, is fully verified. And indeed, an unprecedented, in terms of intensity and duration, crisis has embraced the whole planet.

- The whole Marxist analysis of the law of capitalist accumulation and the necessary absolute and relative degradation of the proletariat on a global scale is fully verified. The dualization marking all societies all over the world is an expression of this law.

- The whole Leninist analysis of imperialism, of the trends running through it, of its main characteristics, is fully verified. Nowadays, with the global (either violent or peaceful) return to pre-October landscapes, a bunch of countries have wrapped in their nets the economy, politics and culture of the whole planet, flattening any particularity that prevents their domination.

As we are living in the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, the historical evolution has legated us two tasks: The first one is to "settle our accounts" with the past, to critically evaluate the activity and contribution of the communist movement. The second one is the interpretation of the contemporary situation, of the great subversions that have taken place, the evaluation of the new facts and the study of the consequences (both on theoretical and practical levels) of all this for anyone who wants or is "obliged" to fight for a better future.

3. The century ends in conditions in which humanity experiences the **imposition of a multi-level, multi-faced counter-revolution**, which strives to obliterate all the achievements of the struggle of the working class, of the peoples and nations in our century. This counter-revolution leads to the retrogression of all social relations to conditions of past centuries. The alternation of phases of rise of revolution and counter-revolution is a characteristic of our century. On the whole, revolution and counter-revolution, in an unremitting "war of position", have spread to all the sectors of social life. There has always been a ratio, a relation between revolution and counter-revolution, determined by the overall correlation of power

between the two basic classes of capitalist society, the bourgeoisie and the working classes. Consequently, neither of these two terms has ever existed independent from each other. Revolution has never existed without the counterbalancing force of counter-revolution, and vice-versa.

What is historically necessary, is **the repulse of the counter-revolutionary wave** that is deluging the world at the end of the 20th century. This repulse cannot be achieved without the careful study of counter-revolution, without pinpointing its distinguishing features, without pointing out its weakest links, without having drawn conclusions from the historical experience (how and why we have been led to the domination of counter-revolution). This repulse cannot be achieved without having been ideologically prepared for the launching of a new wave of Revolution, without having constructed those organizations capable of fulfilling such a task.

4. We live in a world where a bunch of imperialist countries are striving to subjugate the working class, the peoples and nations of the whole world and to turn vast areas into vital spaces for each of the fiercely rivaling imperialist powers. **We live in a multi-polar world**, in which the dominant role is played by the three centres of the capitalist world (USA, Europe, Japan), and Russia and China as well. These are the powers whose significance and whose potential role in the international scene will determine a lot.

In this multi-polar world the three capitalist centres have undoubtedly been, during the past 10 years, the ones in the front, the ones which are determining the developments in the world. These three centres impose, through inter-imperialist rivalries and frictions, international economic regulations. They have the most important strategic sectors of economy and technique under their control, and are trying to impose themselves globally in the name of freedom and capitalism. It is not accidental at all that these centres are housing the headquarters of the vast majority of multinational corporations. Having the economic, military and informational networks in their hands, they intervene in every part of the world in order to promote their own interests. Despite their antagonism, they unite to inflict regulations such as: Destruction and denationalization of economies so as to facilitate their penetration and dominance. Dissolving by fire and sword, even with nuclear weapons, of any economic entity not compatible with their specifications. This was the case with Iraq and Yugoslavia. Destruction and depopulation of whole regions, creation of big migratory currents, which constitute the necessary cheap labour force.

Undoubtedly, within the western imperialist pole, the US imperialism has the premiership and tries with its military supremacy to blackmail, to prevent the fast rise of other imperialist powers such as Germany and Japan. Nevertheless, if one compares the immediate post-war situation or even the position held by the USA in the world economy in the early '60s, they would notice a great retrogression of the USA, and that their competitors have won positions. However, there is no power which can displace them from their dominant position.

5. We live in the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, but **in a special phase of the historical evolution**, in which the ratio of revolution/counter-revolution has changed in favour of the latter and has led the revolutionary movement generally in the state of passive defence. This has brought about the objective demand to pass internationally to the phase of active resistance, to the strategic objective of the International Union of the Peoples, as soon as possible. By International Union of the Peoples we mean a large and militant front of movements, peoples, nations fighting in a better and better coordinated way against the imperialist New Order.

The objective trend and demand is to form the unified front of the working class, the peoples and the nations of all the world against the imperialist New World Order. The role and significance of the international coordinated struggle of the peoples increase, and we have such clear evidence (e.g. the recent uprising in Seattle, USA). Nevertheless, it is reasonable to believe that the main role will be played by the **development of movements in national level** and the **co-ordination mainly (or initially) on regional level**. Also reasonably, there will be asymmetries in many expressions and aspects of the movement from continent to continent, from region to region, from country to country. All this is within the estimation that we live in the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.

Let's examine the great movements in Latin America, such as that of the recent uprising in Ecuador, the rise of the people's movement in Venezuela, the significant development of the peasant movement in Paraguay, the guerilla movement and complexity in Colombia, the intensification of class struggle in Argentina, the people's war in Peru (which they have not managed to crash for so many years) and the farce-elections of Fujimori, to mention only those more known to us. Let's not forget, as well, the situation in Mexico, and also the existence of Cuba, despite the retrogressions of the revolution in this country. Those movements show a great variety of forms of struggle and mass movements. The class and the national element are interlacing in the struggle against imperialism, especially the Yankee imperialism. And all this shows that the claims of the "mass media", that the globalization is a one-way road, are far from being true.

6. In the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, **it is possible for revolutionary situations to emerge, and such situations are emerging nowadays**. Some of them might even create breaches to imperialism. In our opinion, the communists have to tirelessly work for such a process, without hesitating to play an important role in all uprisings, mass movements, in all developments. To be in a position to do this, they need ideological and political weapons, capable organization and, basically, strong links with the masses. However, only through the active participation in such movements it will be possible to acquire new, advanced positions. The slogan "Dare to Fight, Dare to Win!" is up-to-date in all the present phase of the passage from the passive defence to the active resistance, to the International Union of the Peoples.

7. In our opinion, the **enrichment of the revolutionary program** is necessary, based on what has hap-

pened in our century as well as on what is being forwarded nowadays by imperialism. During the 20th century, the communist movement tried to open the way to a society free of exploitation of man by man, and took important steps to that direction. And these steps are a great heritage for the 21st century's Revolutions! The road followed by the communist movement was either the socialist revolution or forms of people's-democratic anti-imperialist revolution. The second course, which was correctly regarded as part of the world proletarian revolution, was based to a great extent on the schism created in the capitalist world by the victorious October Revolution and, later, by the building of the socialist camp. But even since the beginning of the century, when there was no example of any victorious revolution (apart from the Paris Commune), Lenin, in his work "*The two tactics of social-democracy*" defined the attitude of the fighting proletariat even towards the bourgeois-democratic revolutions. Consequently, from country to country, from region to region, the specific character of the proletarian revolution (of the revolutionary process) will depend on the basic contradiction that breaks through each society or region, on the specific correlation of power and on the international juncture.

8. The workers-peasants alliance, the soviets, the party of new type, the analysis of imperialism, the socialist revolution, the proletarian dictatorship: those were the specific answer of the Bolsheviks to the issue of the **discovery of the objective law of the class-struggle's development** in the second decade of our century (the defeat of the proletarian revolution in many European countries by the armed counter-revolution and the betrayal of social-democracy do not invalidate this contribution). The shift of the centre of revolution to the East (precisely due to its defeat in Europe, as well) and the answer of the new-democratic revolution and the protracted people's war has discovered the objective law of the class-struggle's development in dependent by imperialism, semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries - a course followed later victoriously by a number of anti-imperialist people's-democratic revolutions. Then, it is natural to wonder about the objective law of the class-struggle's development in the phase of the New Order and of the dual society. Whereas the concepts of the party, class, political power do not change and are of decisive importance, the particular forms, the ways, the supporting forces and the forms of organization and struggle of the masses, do differ.

9. An essential argument of the bourgeoisie is that a state and economical entity outside the "one-way road" of globalization cannot exist and survive. This is not the truth: what the bourgeoisie actually declares, is that it will fight with all its forces to prevent the realization of such a possibility. Ideologically, however, it uses this argument. It also has the material strength, through its mechanisms, to present this argument with a great dose of plausibility. Behind all this ideological and real assault, there is a very important field, in which the contemporary communist movement has to oppose its positions. The tasks of the revolution, of a victorious revolution, or even of a rupture in the imperialist chain, always under the push of the people's movement, have to be directed to the definition of what the detachment of one country from the imperialist chain means. We name these tasks "**anti-restructuring**

tasks", meaning that all the consequences of the modern yokes of imperialism have to be dealt with internationally. At this point, we have to consider both the changes on the level of production and technique, and the experiences from the attempts of socialist construction in the transitional societies. The fact that throughout the past century, from 1917 up to now, there have been countries, which are not integrated in the imperialist uniformity, proves that **ruptures are possible**, as well as it is possible the detachment of countries from the imperialist chain. At the same time, the attack of imperialism and the imposed, compulsory denationalization and aponeurosis of all the crucial sectors of the economy of several countries leads to the conclusion that the material preconditions for the setting up of a self-sufficient economic structure become more difficult. Therefore, from today, from now, the struggle against imperialism has to intensify. The preconditions become more difficult, but they are not impossible or unrealistic.

Dear Comrades,

We come from a country with a rich revolutionary past and experience, but with a very low, in terms of revolutionary movements, present. We are part of a people that in the whole period of 1940-1950 gave life to **two armed revolutions**, and which then received severe blows, first by the British and then by the US imperialism. We come from a country which experienced rather recently and for a long period the **post-civil war state** and the **fascist dictatorship**.

Our origins are in the communist movement of Greece, which was the first to experience the **brutal intervention of Khrushchev's revisionism**. Thousands of Greek communists were expelled from the Party and physically persecuted by the revisionists.

We come from a country which is basically dependent (economically, politically and militarily) by the US-European imperialism. A **dependent country with a medium level of capitalist development** and, to a great extent, incorporated in the western-european structures. A country of services and tourism, a bridge, a transit centre to the Balkans, the Middle East, the North Africa. A country that recently became the base of operations of the 19 countries that attacked Yugoslavia.

Contrary to the views of the bourgeoisie regarding the dependence and integration of the country as an "one-way course", contrary to Trotskyite and revisionist views facing the European Union as a positive and privileged field of intervention for the change of the correlation of power and the forwarding of an international revolution (if it ever becomes such a field...), we insist on the **withdrawal of Greece from all imperialist organizations**, especially the European Union and the NATO. We are fighting for the **economic and political independence of Greece**. We stress that the precondition for an economically independent Greece is a new political power.

Thus, we define the character of the revolution in our country as **anti-imperialist, people's-democratic and**

anti-restructuring. This character responds to the interests and the needs of the vast majority of the population, takes in consideration the international and regional surroundings, and opens the way to the rapid transformation of the revolution into a socialist revolution. After all, the anti-imperialist, people's-democratic and anti-restructuring revolution is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution; it is not separate from it, nor it is anything particular.

Of course, we are still far from this point. In our country there is not even a vanguard Communist Party. Our Organization is fighting to deal with all these tasks, and we estimate that the international experience of the communist movement can help us in their forwarding.

Finally, let us end with an important subject, in our opinion: we have to conduct a serious and in-depth discussion on the subject of **the General Line of the Communist Movement** in the contemporary conditions. We believe that on the basis of the elaboration and acceptance of a general line, the international solidarity and the international front against imperialism will proceed at a quicker pace.

- ✓ **Long live the international solidarity!**
- ✓ **Long live the peoples' struggle against the New World Order!**
- ✓ **Down with capitalism and revisionism! Long live Socialism!**
- ✓ **Long live Communism, the Youth of the World!**