



**ORGANISATION OF GREEK  
MARXIST-LENINISTS**

**DOCUMENTS**



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## INTRODUCTION

All over the world including Europe "revolution is the main trend". It is for this reason that imperialism and its lackeys menace the working people with the resurgence of fascism. Recent events in Chile and Greece have pointed this out both forcibly and tragically.

In Greece our people have experience of fascism, of civil war, and of so-called "democratic rule". Since the coup of April 1967 we have, once more been faced with open fascism. The colonels are not the cruelly eccentric militarists that the western "liberal" press would have us believe, but the stooges of imperialism, and particularly U.S. imperialism.

This rule is based upon terror, torture, oppression, exploitation and concentration camps along with all the usual apparatus of fascist rule, which is deployed to increase the exploitation of the people in the interests of their U.S. imperialist masters.

All this is in vain! Wherever there is oppression there is resistance. This law is as true of Greece as everywhere else and so the people's resistance grows daily, passing to higher levels of struggle.

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This struggle will only succeed when it is led by the organised vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party of Greece (M-L). It is the duty of all Greek Marxist-Leninists to create and consolidate this party. Our organisation, the Organisation of Greek Marxist-Leninists is in the forefront of the struggle to build the Party. It is our duty.

This duty is all the more urgent at this time. The contradictions between the two superpowers for control of the Eastern Mediterranean are sharpening. The E.E.C. imperialists also contend with the superpowers and are striving for a re-division of the world. Greece has become a country where all these contradictions are concentrated most acutely.

The western imperialists contending with U.S. imperialism for control of Greece, now portray themselves as the champions of democracy in Greece, crusaders against the colonels. They have found willing tools in the revisionists of all shades. The revisionists' call for "unity for all" is nothing but a cloak to disguise their subserviance to social-imperialism and western imperialism. We must tear away this cloak and expose these machinations in order to build a genuine united front against all imperialism and for the liberation of Greece, and for People's Democracy which opens the road to socialism.

In Greece the various revisionist factions were spreading defeatism, were exaggerating the power of the secret police, and trying to create the impression that "the secret police know everything". Also they were trying to create the false impression that the coup was staged by a "handful of madmen" instead of by the lackeys of American imperialism.

It was in order to expose the real nature of

the fascist regime that our organisation published the following articles:- "The secret police does NOT know everything", and the "General characteristics of fascism" in our central organ 'The Red Flag' which is published underground in Greece.

The very existence of our journal proves our thesis and refutes the defeatism of liberals and revisionists. Unlike them we examine these lessons in the light of Marxism, we sum-up experience, draw conclusions and forge ahead more boldly.

This means that in all humility, the Organisation of Greek Marxist-Leninists has an internationalist duty to share and exchange our experiences and our lessons: lessons so painfully learnt in the struggle against fascism in Greece.

If the lessons learnt in the struggle of the Greek people and the struggle of the international working class movement had been truly learnt and applied by Marxist-Leninists, the tragedy of Chile, for example could have been avoided.

In our struggle we are not alone. We march forward shoulder to shoulder with the glorious national liberation movements and oppressed peoples of the world, with the awakening working class of the imperialist countries, and with the great peoples of Socialist China and Albania.

These, briefly are the reasons why we are publishing these documents in the hope that the rich and bitter experience of the fighting Greek people may be shared by our comrades in other countries.

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# THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCISM

1

Fascism, as far as its development, method of establishing itself, the methods which it uses before and after its rise to power, and its method of exercising its power, are concerned, it takes on different forms in accordance with the concrete particular forms of each country, as well, as, the concrete situation, both internal and external.

Fascism is not a special system of government, something that is separate from the capitalist system, as various liberal bourgeois and opportunists maintain that it is. Fascism is a form of government by capital, the most fierce and vulgar form of government, whereby the bourgeoisie or a section of it resorts to, when, as a result of the contradictions inside its own ranks, and because of the development of the organised progressive movement, it is no longer possible for them to exercise their power through means of parliament.

According to the characterisation by the Executive Committee of the Communist International at its 13th Plenary in 1935 (7th Congress), fascism in power is "the open terrorist dictatorship of

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Article from RED FLAG, Central Theoretical Organ of the Organisation of Greek Marxist-Leninists, No. 3, November 1971, Athens.

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the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist section of finance capital". It is not something that "drop from the sky", or the work of a madman, or of a "handful of adventurers". It is the last hope of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie to save and preserve the capitalist system which is endangered.

The rise to power of fascism presupposes a series of measures which the bourgeois parliamentary governments take against the organized progressive movement, against the syndicalist demands of the workers, which are expressed in powerful strikes and mass mobilizations, and against the political freedoms of the people. Thus, with these measures, the reactionary bourgeois governments lay the road to fascism. It's sufficient to recall the stand of the Italian bourgeoisie during the years that Mussolini was getting powerful, the support rendered to Hitler by the big industrialists, the big landowners and the bankers, the policy of the big parties of ERE-EK in our country before the imposition of the fascist dictatorship on April 21st, 1967, as well as, the afterward stand of the bourgeoisie and its political spokesmen towards the fascist regime. But this does not mean that the establishment into power of fascism is a single change within the parliamentary framework. In most cases a hard struggle precedes amongst the different sections of the bourgeoisie, which at times results in armed clashes.

In this way, fascism establishes itself, through, gradually by stages, since at first it has managed to lead astray a small or large section of the people, and, in this way, to create for a period of time, a relatively broad base, as happened in Italy and Germany, or with a "sudden" military

coup d' etat as was the case with Greece in 1967.

## 2

Fascism appeared for the first time in Italy just after the 1st World War, as a consequence of the miserable economic situation which Italy found herself in at that time, and because of the difficult internal situation within the country's progressive movement; and it found its most savage and vulgar expression in the national socialism of Hitler.

The brutal feature of fascism was and will always be the same. However, the masks it wears each time, change in accordance with the conditions of the given country and period of time. But, in general terms, the methodology of fascism as used by Mussolini, Hitler, Metaxas, or Papadopoulos is the same and it has the same internal goal: to support the capitalist system and to crush the people's movement.

Fascism plays upon the contradictions which tear apart the various sections of the bourgeoisie, of the discontent of the middle bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, on the despair of the workers and peasants after unsuccessful revolutionary attempts or on the disorientation which demoralizes their ranks because of the incapability of their leadership. Confronted with this situation, that is, the miserable economic conditions, the bankruptcy of the bourgeois political parties, the objective weakness or incapability of the party of the working class to lead the broad masses to victory, the fascists present themselves as "revolutionaries" who want to put an end to the immunity of the bourgeoisie, to place one class in the economic and political life, to erase the difference of the old party politics and to over-

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come unemployment and anarchy, and all these within the physical framework of the capitalist system.

In this manner, the fascists many times succeed in obtaining for a period of time, a popular base, as occurred in the case of fascist Italy and Hitlerite Germany, although on the contrary in the case of Greece and Spain, though they serve in the most loyal way the reactionary interests of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the popular masses. However, in front of the unbridled terrorism, the savage oppression and exploitation and the police informers, it doesn't take long for the popular masses to become aware of the real character of fascism.

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Fascism of the classical type as appeared in Italy and Germany was, from the start, closely tied to an unbridled chauvinism and bellicose policy at the expense of the other peoples. Today, in the backward and dependent countries (South Vietnam, South Korea, Greece, etc.) it presents itself as an exogenous phenomenon, which establishes itself with the direct help and support of the ruling imperialist country by means of its lackeys in the given country.

Through this prism, we should also examine the dictatorship in Greece. The present military regime, cannot and must not be seen as an exogenous phenomenon. It also has very deep roots in Greek society, mainly in the more powerful circles of the Greek big bourgeoisie. While we cannot talk in this case about fascism of the classical type, the present regime tends to have all of the characteristics, the qualities and features of a clear-cut fascist regime, not merely in its methodology, but

also in its base, structure, and superstructure, and naturally all of this in the framework of the relationship of dependence by international imperialism.

#### A. THE ECONOMIC BASE OF FASCISM

Fascism is the dictatorship of finance capital. It establishes itself in places where the capitalist system is endangered, that is the relationship of employer-worker within the state of the employers surplus-value. These relationships are endangered from the anarchy that prevails in the capitalist production as much as from the struggles of the popular masses for political and syndicalist rights.

In this way, the present Greek regime is the dictatorship of big capital, which is attempting to secure the basic foundation of capitalism, that is, the exploitative relationship between employer and worker. This relationship is also steadily maintained in the case whereby the employer is foreign imperialist capital, while the worker is the entire nation and, also in the case, whereby the employers are capitalist units or entire capitalist groups, while the worker is a section of the working class or entire sections of the working people.

This relationship was being endangered, and in the case of Greece, it came from two sides: the one based on the anarchy of the capitalist production which, in the case of Greece, was mainly expressed in the anarchy of the influx and activity of foreign capital. The other had its base on the side of the upcoming people's movement. Both sides were neutralized by the regime in a clearly fascist manner. The first one was confronted with the "order" which the predominance of the U.S. im-

perialists imposed upon the other imperialists, as far as their activity in Greece was concerned. The second one was confronted by violence and deceit. By violence, it essentially abolished all of the rights of the working people. The worker was made to be a willing or unwilling slave.

At the same time, the regime went into an orgy of deceit, pretending that it was about to create a "pro-worker, pro-peasant, and pro-people state". In order to become credible, the regime hastened to seemingly satisfy certain demands in order to lull to sleep and benumb the working people with the satisfaction of a minimum amount of their claims, while on the other hand, it took away from them all forms of syndicalist struggle. All this was done, not with the abolition of trade-unionism, but by its conversion into a state union.

#### B. THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF FASCISM

On the organisational level, the fascism of the Greek regime manifested itself with the conversion of the state into military camp, whereby all the freedoms, individual and political rights have been abolished, not only those rights which the bourgeoisie proclaimed during the period of its rise to power, but also those rights that the people obtained through a series of their own struggles. All that used to be legal, was being violated openly or in secret by the fascist state and its security services.

The fascist state creates the most naked police apparatus for exercising its tyrannical oppression. Espionage, police agents, torture chambers, banishments, concentration camps, dishonourment, degradation and physical annihilation are but some of the means of exercising its tyrannical oppression. Parliamentary government is declared bankrupt

and the political parties are dissolved, while the fascist state pretends that it is above classes and groups, that it is combatting the partitioning of the society into classes, and proclaims itself in favour of the abolition of classes. This, of course, expresses the desire of the ruling class or groups to politically annihilate all the other classes and groups. To the Athens regime, this desire was expressed by Papadopoulos' ridiculous slogan "Greece of Christian Greeks".

To the organisational structure of fascism also belongs the "fourth front", all those paramilitary groups ("friends of the gendarme", "reservists' associations", "national organisations for women, youth", etc.) which supplement the complicated police system of secret services and which are usually used as striking forces.

Each fascist regime is determined by the personal dictatorship of leader. The exercise of this dictatorship is also facilitated by the new legal framework, which is decreed by the regime. The legal framework of fascism is a mixture of laws and extraordinary measures. People from the regime are immediately appointed to the union organisations and the entire trade union movement is strangled.

In Greece, we saw Papadopoulos create the so-called "Consultative Committee" which it is maintained that it consists of the representatives of all the classes and sections of the Greek society. The aim of the "Consultative Committee" is supposed to be "to help advise the Ministry of Council in its legislative duty" in other words, in the enactment of fascist laws and legislative decrees, "to play the role of the binding chain between the revolutionary government and the people", "to constitute the seedlings of the new political

cadres, the greenhouse from whence will come the new political cadres and new political men.

### C. THE THEORETICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE OF FASCISM

Fascism has no essential relationship whatsoever with true values. In its hands, values receive the worst mal-treatment, while it proposes certain conceptions about "values" such as race etc.

Fascism plays upon the national sentiment, which developed during the period of the bourgeois revolution and which still exists amongst the peoples subjugated and oppressed by imperialism and thereby stretches nationalism to the extreme end. To do this, it propagates the concepts of fatherland, racism, the worship of ancestry, just as it plays up on all the struggles of the national and popular uprisings.

It develops on the lowest instincts and creates hatred and disdainment against the other peoples. "I responsibly assure you," proclaimed Papadopoulos "that we Greeks are biologically superior!" All of the heritage is appropriated by the regime. Again it is Papadopoulos who declared that "we fought at Thermopylae, we fought in 1821, we fought in 1940, and we will also fight again if need be" or "knowledge was given to mankind by Greece and she is still giving it today." (!)

With the use of frantic nationalism, fascism supposedly wants to defend the fatherland while by racism it supposedly wants to defend unity. For fascism, the fatherland is something sacred which is in constant danger by the plots of the other peoples, who are, to the fascists, all barbarians. To them, the nation always found itself in struggles for its survival while every member of the nation succeeded in surviving "amongst the barba-

rians" because of his inheritance and biological superiority.

Fascism, as a movement, wants to present itself as a social revolution. This is why it borrows certain features from the big social movements, both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary. It presents its establishment into power as a "revolution", while in reality it is nothing but the worst counter-revolution.

It talks about "national renaissance", about the "young renewed democracy" while in fact, in all sectors of life, it turns the people and the country into pitch darkness.

It talks about "national independence" though subjugates the country in the most shameful way to foreign imperialism. In general, fascism exploits for its own purposes, the most pure and lofty sentiments of the people, that is, their thirst for freedom, national independence, and for the revolutionary change.

For fascism, the first slogan that dominates is that of "unity". It maintains that it denies class struggle, that it wants to erase it and to create a "state above classes". The Greek fascists maintain that: "The revolution does not identify with any group, party or class. It is a pan-national revolution, it wants all Greeks to be able to partake in her task of renaissance". The Greek fascists constantly declare that: "The government wants to be in constant and uninterrupted contact with the people. It wants to hear their voice. It wants to know their problems. It wants to feel unceasingly the pulse of public opinion. It does not want to be isolated from life".

The ideology of fascism penetrates deep into all sectors of life; in economics, politics, science, art, etc. All activities have to serve life and

man, that's the way fascism wants it to be. It wants science under submission and avowed to its aims. It wants art to be reactionary, it demagogues that art is separate from anything else, meaning however, that art has to serve and depict fascist ideology. It suppresses freedom of expression and turns the people back into darkness.

#### D. FASCISM AND THE CHURCH

When it came into being, the bourgeoisie was the enemy of the church, because the church, as an organisation, was the most reactionary, the most conservative factor in history. During the whole period of the bourgeois democratic revolutions, the church stood as the loyal ally of feudalism and an avowed enemy of progress. This changed with the complete victory of the bourgeoisie and the smashing of feudalism, particularly in Europe. When the bourgeoisie secured its rule, it tolerated and to a degree supported the church. But this tolerance changes into absolute support, when the rule of the bourgeoisie begins to be endangered. Thus, in all the countries where the bourgeoisie or a section of it abolishes the parliamentary form of government, it was united with the church in doing so.

Fascism, as an absolutist despotism, restored all the church interests and rendered it powerful economic and political factors. The church again finding in fascism its best supporter of its interests, becomes the right hand man in exercising the fascist power. Characteristic of this are, for example, the relationships of national socialism and Mussolini fascism with the Catholic Church, the relationships of the military regimes in Latin America and the Catholic Church, the Francoists and the Catholic Church, the English bourgeois

sie with the Protestant Church in Ireland, etc.

Everywhere, the bourgeoisie leaves the church alone and supports it in lulling the popular masses to sleep, to curse their rebellions, to declare patience and the cancellation of the mundane, to declare complete submission and to divert the hopes of the masses for a more better and just society into one of "life after death". In this way, the Church, even today, still undertakes itself as the most loyal supporter of reactionary interests.

Fascism is the most reactionary form of bourgeois ideology, the most inhumane form of government. Yet, in spite of all the prohibitive measures, the terrorism, the police informers, in spite of the confusion which is spread amongst the masses, it does not take long before they understand its true nature.

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# «THE SECRET POLICE DOES NOT KNOW EVERYTHING!»

The present situation is characterised by the enormous disproportion which exists between the reactionary forces of imperialism on one side and us on the other.

In this present period the enemy is winning sensational victories against us, whilst our organised activities are "small" in comparison with our aims. When we speak of the enemy's victories we mean only the daily blows which the secret police gives against the organisations fighting the regime.

In this article we are not going to explain the political aims of the different organisations which fight the regime. What we are interested in is whether or to what extent we can attribute the setbacks only to the ability of the forces of reaction.

Indeed in the period from the imposition of the fascists dictatorship up to the present time, most if not all the organisations which were set-up to fight against the regime received blows some of them shattering from the secret police and were completely disintegrated while to others the

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Article from RED FLAG, Central Theoretical Organ  
of the Organisation of Greek Marxist-Leninists,  
No. 2, September 1971.

blows were so severe that up to the present time they are unable to re-organise themselves, and others they had to throw into the battle their last reserves. These blows were published in the press with an exceptionally sensational way which the regime's intricate propaganda machine had pre arranged.

- Arrests of a number of cadres with great experience in the illegal organisation and illegal work, cadres who went underground after the fascists dictatorship.
- Arrests of a number of cadres with great experience in the illegal organisation and work, who were arrested a short while after their entry into Greece and before they were able to make contact with their organisations.
- Arrests of a number of members of organisations and groups almost the total membership in some cases.
- Arrests of members during their preparation for action or more sensationally a few moments before their action began.
- Arrest of members of the same organisation or groups simultaneously, but in different cities or in different parts of the same city.
- Discovery of printing offices, discovery of documents, ways of contact, connections with abroad, etc.

All these in such continuous succession that in the whole period from the imposition of the fascist dictatorship up to now they have been continuously announcing arrests, discoveries, etc.

As was natural, these successes not only awed the broad masses but created the wrong impression that the secret police has enormous abilities, is an omnipotent service which controls and super-

vises everything which takes place and not only when "something" has developed and takes place, but also when it is still in its infancy. Thus the secret police in the eyes of the people appears to be omnipotent and omniscient!

The result of this impression is not only that the masses express scepticism towards the aims of every organisation but that are hesitant to participate in any organisation because of their well-founded fear of the successes of the secret police.

This impression that the "secret police knows everything", "the secret police is omnipotent", was contributed decisively and extensively by the organisations. None of them up to now has made any attempts to evaluate the blows which they received, they did not try to find out and did not analyse the causes which resulted these defeats.

If this was a result of the ability of the police, this must be said, this must be evaluated, so that we can show openly the degree of the secret police's ability which in any case is relative and not absolute. It is precisely this silence on the subject which created the impression of the "absolute" ability of the police.

If the blow was a result of mistakes or omissions or lack of vigilance of the organisation, then this must be said because nothing strengthens and protects an illegal organisation more than the courageous self-critical evaluation of its mistakes, so that the members can be taught, the prestige of the organisation can remain intact, while on the other hand the masses will learn the real causes.

By this tactic of silence, the secret police, was left free to present the blows, as it wished

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and to boast for its "successes" so that it can keep the masses in continuous fear and all that by creating the impression that is "omnipotent" and "omniscient". The responsibility of these organisations on this subject is enormous and we do not mean those organisations which in any case they are not interested in the masses.

To what can we attribute these "sensational successes" of the secret police?

Experience has shown that the secret police has only limited abilities in spite of the fact that it has acquired great experience and has got experience cadres with a wide net of informers yet in comparison with a revolutionary movement, which knows how to apply correctly and meticulously all the principles of organisation in conditions of illegality, the secret police was, is and always will be in a hopelessly disadvantageous position. Even in the periods when the secret police has shown certain activity the successes which can be attributed to its abilities are few, very few.

Generally, we can say, that the blows which the movement received, were due to basic mistakes and omissions, which had been presented afterwards as the "abilities" of the police. The period in which the police scored great victories and "successes" were basically periods in which the movement has made mistakes and omissions. The blows which the movement has received as a result of police surveillance of from ill chance were very few. Generally speaking most of the blows come "from within" from enemy agents and provocateurs, whose entry inside the movement was made easy from mistakes and lack of vigilance.

The secret police works basically in one direction: the introduction of agents behind the lines of the movement, they are working in this direc-

Its correct and beyond any doubt that the conditions of illegality created many serious difficulties, which become exceptionally difficult because the change of the situation from legal to illegal conditions, took place when the movement for subjective reasons was completely unprepared for any thing like this and from the fact that the conditions which existing in it were critical, so that all cadres, members and all the fighters and generally all the illegal work and activity, were exposed to the class enemy. This made its work easier.

The basic reason, which exposed the illegal work to such an extend to the class enemy must be found in the general orientation of the movement before the dictatorship. This orientation was such with the change of the conditions after the dictatorship, NONE of the organisations went underground as such.

A number of individuals, cadres or members of the organisations for different reasons were not arrested during the wide, mass arrests in the first days of the coup of 21.4.1967, these people were hidden in one way or another.

Their passing to illegality was done on their own initiative using their own ability and means and not by the methods which were defined and organised before the coup.

The organisations which appeared afterwards were formed under the conditions of illegality and although some of them used names of organisations and parties of the pre-dictatorial era, in reality they were not their continuation, they were not formed because they foresaw the coming coup of April 21st and made the organisational and technical preparations. This is true for all the organisations without exception.

tion on long-term basis and with a system, which the great experience they had, helped them to perfect.

In certain periods the class enemy used complex methods, such as the creation of "fraudulent" "revolutionary centres of leadership", the formation of groups of provocateurs, the publication and distribution of forged propaganda, development of propaganda for the distortion of the political line, "bombing" activities, political assassinations and a series of others.

According to the development of the conditions, which exist in the movement the police uses this or that method, but always and in a steady way attempts to introduce agents inside the movement. The movement must evaluate correctly everything, to foresee the methods of the class enemy, to continuously be vigilant, so that it can isolate and destroy all the agents, which the secret police has managed to introduce into the ranks of the movement or those which it has corrupted buying them over or by using other methods on the faint-hearted elements, who are inside the movement.

The movement should not only be vigilant, the movement every time it receives a blow, small or big, simple or complex, must with a series of measures to localize it and isolate it, to analyze and draw the correct conclusions from it, it must find the causes, acquiring in this way experience which can be passed to its members so that they can be taught and pass them to the masses, so that they will have a clear picture, so that they will not be impressed, will not be stricken by panic and defeatism but that their confidence to the revolutionary vanguard will be unshaken.

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The "excessive parliamentarism" which had prevailed before the dictatorship had made many persons and organisations vulnerable and this had consequences for the formation of new organisations under the new conditions (after the coup). On the other hand this "parliamentarism" had as a result weakened their vigilance, so that the cadres were evaluated according to their "parliamentary" work which had resulted in the appointments of such people to key positions in the organisations so that the class enemy was introducing agents with ease or it had the opportunity to locate faint-hearted elements which they could "approach" some further date.

All this is the heavy negative inheritance, which is not enough to excuse everything else such as the monstrous mistakes, the unbelievable omissions, which the organisations showed in conditions of illegality. Although this "tradition", the mistakes and omissions which followed are written in the "liabilities" of these organisations and not in the "assets" of the secret police. Nonetheless all these were in the end to their advantage.

So the "sensational victories" of the secret police were nothing else but "sensational heavy sins" of the movement.

In any case these "heavy sins" ought to be analysed and the negative experience will be a great lesson. Not only this, but this "big sin" of silence and the covering-up all the errors had as a result that on one hand the masses turned their backs to organisations, overestimating the abilities of the police and on the other hand allowed the secret police to boast that they "know everything" and they "exercise complete control". We

cannot fail to mention the degradation of some organisations which campaign to save informers, because they wanted to hide that these informers were members and cadres of their own organisations, who were originally, or because later informers.

We must emphasise that such a stand leads these organisations to play in the final analysis the game of the secret police, who in relation to the masses, its main purpose is to create the impression:

- that the secret police knows everything,
- that the fascist regime is here to stay,
- that there is no room for any action against the fascist regime, and
- to shake the faith of the masses in their own strength, in their organisations and generally their own movement,
- to discourage any thought of a popular uprising to overthrow the regime.

The secret police works in this direction and will indeed have many successes, so long as so many "opportunities" are presented to them by certain organisations, which are however usually boastful of their "successes".

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Faced with this situation the Marxist-Leninists, all have the duty to dispel this illusion of the omnipotence and omniscience. This is a task which they will successfully accomplish by on one hand building their own organisations on solid foundations in accordance with the principles dictated by security and vigilance, avoiding mistakes and omissions which will unavoidably be utilised by the class enemy.

On the other hand the development of the activities among the masses, in advocating them, showing them the causes of the failures, dispelling the wrong impressions and revealing the ways and the methods which are used by the enemy, and the means of protection from the enemy; inspiring their self-confidence and faith in the movement, in short mobilising them against the class enemy, breaching the dykes of defeatism.

The masses must be seen as the source of, and the target for our work and not, as some have seen them, the passive audience for duels between the secret police and the organisations, duels from which the secret police inevitably emerges as the victors.

They put their struggle in a framework of: "us versus the secret police". In such a framework they "struggle" those who do not see the victory as a result of the broad, mass struggle.

The real revolutionaries, the bolsheviks, have only one base, one source of strength, the masses, the people.

It is certain that the real revolutionaries will dispel the miasma of fear, transforming this defeatism to revolutionary upsurge, continuously broadening and deepening the ties with the masses, with the people. Then only they be able to emulate that which was taught by the great bolshevik JOSEPH STALIN, that the bolsheviks:

"are strong because they maintain connection with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain connection with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible".

LET THE RED BANNER OF STRUGGLE

WAVE ON PROUDLY

**DECLARATION**  
**OF THE ORGANISATION OF GREEK**  
**MARXIST-LENINISTS IN CYPRUS**

Based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the National Question, as formulated by Lenin and Stalin and put into a decision for action by the Third Communist International, the First Conference of the Organisation of Greek Marxist-Leninists studied the Cypriot question and terminated with a series of conclusions and resolutions.

The present reality in Cyprus, as shaped through a historical process of thousands of years bears within it all the elements which unshakenly testify to the fact that the people of Cyprus are an inseparable part of the Greek nation.\*

Because of this historical fact, all of the attempts by various conquerors to alter the course of its historical civilization were crushed. Even today, no external or internal force is able to overthrow this historical fact.

Basing themselves upon this fact, the Greek Marxist-Leninists see, both the present and the future of the Greek people, both Greek and

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From PEOPLE'S VOICE, August 1972, Organ of GREEK  
MARXIST-LENINISTS ABROAD.

Cypriot, as one and inseparable, and that the Union of Cyprus with Greece is the natural course for solving the Cypriot question.

The Conference paid special attention in appraising the factors which work to shape the Cypriot question and concluded as follows:

### Dependency upon British imperialism

The basic contradiction to the final conclusion of the Cypriot question is that which has given birth to dependency upon British imperialism. For almost a century, British imperialism maintains Cyprus subjugated and used to maintain under its economic, political, and military influence, the Greek state from its birth to the middle of the twentieth century.

The Cypriot people becoming aware of this contradiction, struggled against British imperialism up to the level of armed conflict in order to win their freedom.

Just after the Second World War, while militarily intervening in Greece in order to save the foreign dominated bourgeoisie from collapsing under the blows of the people's movement; in Cyprus, British imperialism was, on the one hand, attacking the leadership of the working class movement (the jailing of the Pan-Cyprian Trades-Union Committee), and on the other hand, it was putting in to effect fascist decrees and shamelessly replying "never" to the demands for Union.

In this way, the Cypriot people were convinced that only through struggle could they win their freedom.

During this period, U.S. imperialism, which came out of the Second World War, not only with the least amount of damage, but also with an industry

intact and strengthened through a "programme of loans and leasing" to the countries which bore the brunt of the war, was taking advantage of the weaknesses of the imperialist countries of Western Europe, mainly the weaknesses of British imperialism, and it flunged itself into a pursuit for new spheres of influence, driving away with its very means, the opposing competitors.

In this pursuit, the countries of the Middle East and those of Northern Africa, with the oil resources as a principle power of energy, could not but be the first to attract the attention of U.S. imperialism. British imperialism, till then the ruler in the Middle East, was forced to progressively abandon its positions in the Middle East under the weight of the weaknesses left upon it by the war, and under the blows of the national liberation movements. This weakness of British imperialism was exploited by U.S. imperialism which participated with every means in repulsing the former, thus taking over the former's old position. This changing of the guard of imperialist interests at the expense of the people of this region was carried out within a short period of time.

Greece was one of the first countries to witness this changing of the guard. British imperialism and its local lackeys were crumbling under the blows of the Greek people's movement, led by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). It was during this time that U.S. imperialism entered Greece, took under its control the economic and political life, and struck against the struggling people with all the imperialist barbarity. While U.S. imperialism was advancing in our area, British imperialism was constructing huge military bases in Cyprus, transforming the island into a main base

of attack for the protection of its interests in the Eastern Mediterranean region. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism's "interest" there, gave birth to and sharpened the inter-imperialist contradictions in general, and particularly in Greece and Cyprus; contradictions which brought about new grief to our people.

At home, the working class, after 1931, by developing a strong trade-union movement based on class struggle with significant economic and political conquests, stood from the first moment at the leadership of the national liberation struggle, leading a mass movement for the Union of Cyprus with Greece.

After 1948, AKEL, as the Party of the working class, and after coordinating its political line with the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), cast the slogan: "Union with Greece NOW and NOT tomorrow", thus leading the struggle to a new revolutionary level.

The Cypriot bourgeoisie which, until then was content with the British conquerors and cornered by the working class movement began, hidden under the institution of the Ethnarchy, to propound and organise the tearing away of the leadership of the struggle from the working class.

U.S. imperialism which established itself in Greece, by developing its contradictions with British imperialism, spread its machinations into Cyprus, in helping fascist Grivas to organise an armed struggle with a two-fold aim on the one hand, and on the other, through guerrilla warfare he was struggling against the British in order to open the way for the establishment of the Americans in Cyprus.

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### AKEL betrays the struggle

The AKEL leadership which, with its first encounter with the organised bourgeoisie and with known internal weaknesses, was taken over by reformist elements. Although it correctly appraised the attempts and goal of Grivas, instead of it it self raising the struggle to the level of armed conflict, a fact which was dictated by the Party's revolutionary slogan, it completely went over to treachery, casting the slogan that: "Only through peaceful means shall we obtain our freedom", and that: "Armed struggle is suicidal in front of a superior foe" or that: "Every armed act is a provocation".

With these stands, the AKEL leadership completely abandoned the struggle, and left Grivas free to peddle the people's sentiment and struggle on behalf of the Americans; while it abandoned the working class movement, undefended from the gangs of the British and American lackeys.

This reformist line of the AKEL leadership, vigorously disapproved by the broad masses of people, found support from amongst the leadership of the Soviet Union which had gone over to revisionism, abandoning the revolutionary Marxist line, adopting the peaceful transition and peaceful co-existence of classes, had abandoned the target of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in this manner gave the AKEL leadership the possibility of saving to a large degree its prestige in the organised left-wing movement which believed in the Soviet Union as the natural leader of the world revolutionary movement. The abandoning of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the CPSU leadership sanctify the reformist, treacherous line of the AKEL leadership.

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## The bourgeoisie - Instrument of imperialism

The bourgeoisie, comprador in nature, and tied to and dependent upon British imperialism could not objectively have any relationship with the people's struggle for freedom. Despite all this, its apparent participation in the liberation struggle gave it the opportunity to come out of its isolation, to strike against the working movement, and at the appropriate moment to take into its hands the political leadership, a factor that gave it the possibility to put forth its own solutions.

Thus, during the five year struggle, though Grivas was harrassing the British with guerrilla warfare, the British with the bourgeoisie as their instrument grabbed the political leadership of the struggle, and making Makarios into a hero, imposed the slogan: "Makarios, one and only", a slogan which was finally countersigned by the AKEL leadership, thus surrendering the leadership of the struggle.

British imperialism, which possesses par excellence, the art of putting into motion all the factors which contribute to the success of its goal, and by exploiting the contradiction between the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie, it influenced one section of the people into chauvinism to the point of preventing this contradiction, at home and abroad, as the principle contradiction, that is: Turks against Greeks, Greeks against Turks.

By provoking clashes amongst the people through their paid agents and by motivating the foreign dominated ruling class of Turkey, British imperialism levelled the bogey of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus as a threat against the people into

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forcing them to capitulate, and as a threat of a NATO dismemberment within this region with the aim of blackmailing the Americans to a compromise.

Thus, with their faithful collaborator the bourgeoisie headed by Makarios, with the treachery of AKEL which completely abandoned the struggle tying itself to the tail-end of the bourgeoisie and countersigning to the slogan of "Makarios, one and only", and with a threat of a NATO dismemberment and of a Turkish invasion, British imperialism succeeded in compelling U.S. imperialism to withdraw so that the latter would bring together all the representatives of imperialism, that is, Karamanlis, Menderes, Makarios, and Kutchuk to the Zurich negotiations which gave birth to the Cypriot state as a kind of temporary compromise of Anglo-american contradictions in the region. That is how the British imperialists succeeded in converting the sacrifices of our people into private military bases and facilities throughout Cyprus.

In this fashion, the bourgeoisie, both Greek and Turkish succeeded in investing the blood and bones of combatants at the fountainhead of profits from the military bases. In this manner, the treacherous, revisionist leadership cashes in on the sacrifices of the working class, of half a century with peaceful co-existence with the bourgeoisie, the co-existence from which emanates its prosperity, its good life and bourgeois existence.

### The Cypriot state

From its inception the Cypriot state was undeserving of such characterisation and such a name. Its inspirer, Makarios, presented it simul-

taneously as the "state of victory" and as the state of "imposed expediency" which is a contradiction in terms, and the people were expected to accept it as the bulwark for further struggle.

The twelve years of life of the Cypriot state were enough to show that not only was it not used as a "bulwark for struggle" but, on the contrary, it was used as a means for the further dependence upon and subjugation by imperialism, for the further sharpening of the contradictions between imperialism and our people, for the further sharpening of the chauvinistic contradictions between the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie and for falsifying the real contradiction, that which is between imperialism, on the one hand, and our people on the other.

An unshakable fact which confirms this position and which is admitted by even the most ardent followers, friends, and supporters of the Cypriot state is the existence of military bases on one's own soil. These bases constitute a great and immediate deadly danger to our people and to the peoples of the Middle East in general, and are a strong means for exerting economic and political dependency.

During the twelve years of the Cypriot state's existence, the danger from the military bases not only did it not decrease, but it was still further increased because to these military bases there have been installed additional air bomber squadrons armed with nuclear bombs, missiles with nuclear warheads, radar for servicing NATO, and centres for espionage and surveillance of the whole surrounding region, equipped with the latest electronic devising.

All of this was carried out with the full knowledge of the AKEL leadership without it ever

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mobilising the people into protest, and for precisely this they bear full responsibility. Further more, these were all carried out with tolerance and support of the bourgeoisie and of its representative, Makarios, precisely because with these bases, it also sees an increase in its profits.

During these twelve years, not only was the dependency upon British capital not eliminated, but, on the contrary, it has completely taken over to such a degree, that today the economy is an economy completely subjugated to foreign capital, mainly British. Even the old independent industries within the framework of colonialism, today have become dependent upon foreign capital.

With such economic ties, the bourgeoisie transformed itself into simply an agent of the foreign capital and as such, it henceforth ceased to constitute a national force, definitely and irrevocably going over to the side of the enemy.

### AKEL and Social-imperialism

During this period, the AKEL leadership went through the stage of being influenced by revisionism to being subjugated and depended upon social-imperialism. The development of economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union comes out of the apparatus of the AKEL leadership. This converted it into an agent of social-imperialist economic interests in Cyprus, which, by the way means also the concrete financial profits which are made by one means or another by this leadership.

In the political sphere, the collaboration and support of the Makarios government by AKEL illustrates the collaboration of British imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in this region.

These three factors: the tolerance and encoura-

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gement of the development of the military bases; the subjugation of the economy to British imperialism; and the conversion of the AKEL leadership into an agent of social-imperialism are unshakeable facts of the further dependency of the Cypriot state. As for those forces at home which support this dependency, not only are they incapable of any struggle for liberation, they, on the contrary, are binding themselves all the more so tightly and along with them "their state" to the imperialist chariot.

The sharpening of the imperialist contradictions in Cyprus, and their extension into Greece and Turkey are a source of internal conflicts, having as its instrument, the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie. These conflicts, apart from those sufferings shouldered by the people, daily fraught with dangers of open intervention and of turning backwards the movement for freedom.

In the Cypriot state's twelve years of existence, not only has an attempt not been made to get out of the sphere of imperialist contradictions by fighting for the expulsion of imperialism, but on the contrary, the people have been harassed with negotiations, plans, and formulas, under the shadow of imperialism, which in essence amount to the degree of dependency upon the various imperialisms.

The chauvinistic contradictions incited by imperialism and to which the Greek bourgeoisie and that of Turkey "fell victim to" falsely overswelled and paraded as the so-called main contradiction in Cyprus, is at present a significant obstacle to freedom.

During the twelve years of the Cypriot state's existence, this false contradiction not only was it not eliminated, but even to this date it is

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being continuously incited to the point that it is numbing the relations between our people, and obstructs the class encounter of all the national, political, and economic problems of Cyprus.

The end-result of this situation is that a number of problems which are on the minds of our people are left unsolved, such as democratic liberties (the election of municipal, and community authorities), economic problems, the peasant question, such that the whole economy of the island is dependent upon an uncertain livelihood and on the existence of the military bases, as well as on the question of education, the absorption of scientists, of industrial development and others.

During the Cypriot state's twelve years of existence all the attempts of the masses to struggle for the solution of their problems, were smashed on the breakwaters of the alliance of the AKEL revisionists with the bourgeoisie, headed by Makarios. This alliance always worked against the people's interests, pinning down the workers' wages for a whole set of years, and opposing the improvement of the position of the poor peasants.

### The task of the Marxist-Leninists

True freedom for our people is not in rejecting one imperialism only to be thrown into the laps-slavery of another. Freedom for our people lies in the overthrow of imperialism and its expulsion from the island and from the whole region. This means that the local lackeys of imperialism must be overthrown and smashed.

Dependency upon imperialism, chauvinistic conflicts, all of the imperialist by-products must be swept aside. The road to freedom today does not

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enter by way of bourgeois democracy, and this is so, because in the region of hellenism, there exists no national bourgeoisie. Only the power of the people, headed by the working-class, can lead to true freedom.

The forces which will carry out the revolutionary change are the forces of the people; the working-class, the poor, and middle-poor peasantry, the middle sections of the towns, and the revolutionary intelligentsia.

With its political Party as the vanguard leadership, the working-class has the historical task of leading, freed from all the revisionist elements to organise its forces on the basis of revolutionary line armed with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The Marxist-Leninists fully understand that this task lies first and foremost on their shoulders and this is why they resolutely and whole-heartedly throw themselves into struggle, so as to give the working-class and people the power of a victorious struggle against imperialism.

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# the year that has just finished -a brief political review

THE AGGRESSIONS AND CONSPIRACIES OF THE  
TWO SUPERPOWERS AGAINST THE PEOPLES' OF  
THE WORLD WERE INTENSIFIED

It is not difficult for any honest person to see that during the past year, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism intensified and improved their policy of intervention and hegemony, and that they have raised to a higher level the coordination of their counter-revolutionary activity against the freedom and independence of the peoples. The two superpowers make use of all the means and methods in order to oppose the attempts of the people and of all the peace-loving countries in consolidating and strengthening their independence and national sovereignty.

1972 has also seen at last the open aggressiveness and cynicism, not only of U.S. imperialism, which besides has been known to the people for years now, but also that of Soviet social-imperialism. Everywhere can be seen their thirst for absolute power over the whole world.

No pompous advertisement, no peace effort, not even the shameless demagoguery of the so-called "great acts" in the name of the "preservation of peace and progress of mankind" can now deceive the

From PEOPLE'S VOICE, January 1973, Organ of GREEK  
MARXIST-LENINISTS ABROAD.

peoples of the world, and allow them to be able to cover up their imperialist policy and true aims which they follow, alone or in common.

The great Marxist-Leninist Enver Hoxha has said that "it would have been non-sensical and unrealistic if we saw in the Soviet-American alliance only the cooperation of the two superpowers, their common interest and activities. Like imperialist powers which they are, the U.S.A. and the revisionist Soviet Union also have quarrels, antagonisms and deep contradictions between them, which prevents them from acting everywhere and always in complete harmony and unity.

The existence and sharpening of these contradictions are part, are the very basis of this alliance, that is, the capitalist social system of the two countries and on their imperialist designs. The both of them, ready for war, are planning the destruction of the other."

The two superpowers are attempting, through the use of "aid" and "protection" as bait, to bring into their sphere of influence, the small and medium-sized countries in order to oppress and exploit them.

During the Moscow talks, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism took a number of decisions at the expense of the vital interests of the world's people; spheres of influence were ratified and divided, great bargainings took place at the expense of Vietnam, the Arab countries, the countries of Europe, etc.

After their dirty agreements in Moscow, "they want to impose upon the peoples of the world the idea that the two superpowers are the indisputable guarantors of the world and irreproachable arbitrators in international relations; that the people must sacrifice their national interests in

order to preserve the balance of power between the two giants, through which the so-called balance of our planet is preserved; that the fates of the world, of peace, and of international security is dependent upon the so-called fate of these two powers and of the development of the relations between them; that the climate of the whole terrestrial globe is depended upon the heating or cooling of the Soviet-American atmosphere." (from the speech of Albanian Comrade Nesti Mase at the 27th Session of the U.N. General Assembly).

The two superpowers do all the manipulations behind the backs of small and medium-sized countries, and they do not even inform their own close allies. This is what the S.A.L.T. talks and discussions on other questions show. Already this year, after the first level of talks, an agreement was concluded, and now they are continuing the second. By these agreements, they are attempting to hold a monopoly on armaments, in order to threaten and bully the peoples of the world who want freedom and independence.

At these talks, a common political line and stand against the others was also decided upon, not only on the question of armaments, but also on other questions and fields.

With the Bonn-Moscow, Bonn-Warsaw agreements, the agreements regarding Berlin, and the agreement between Bonn and East Berlin, the two superpowers and a few others, are trying to present the situation in Europe as being a very positive development, and that favourable conditions were created for the attainment of a complete and all-sided security in Europe.

But in reality, nothing has changed in Europe and the old contradictions, in the East as well as

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in the West, new others were added. The above agreements between the two superpowers, which has also deepened the thirst of the Bonn revanchists, services, in general, the policy of "Peace in Europe, war in Asia".

In Europe, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism pursue a policy of hegemony; and they continue to maintain the aggressive military alliances of N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact; they have created there a thick network of military bases; they maintain many military forces, and they openly interfere in a number of countries.

Within this type of situation, peace and security in Europe are impossible, when, in fact, nearby, in the Middle East, open aggression and naked imperialist intervention are committed; when as a result of the presence of the aggressive war fleets of the U.S. and Soviet Union and of their military bases, tension is increased in the Mediterranean basin. The two superpowers shamelessly implement "gunboat diplomacy" in the Mediterranean.

Comrade Nesti Nase in his speech at the 27th Session of the U.N. General Assembly pointed out that: "the 'peace and security' which the U.S. and the Soviet Union want for Europe, is a 'peace and security' which is needed by them in order to secure their spheres of influence, so as to maintain their agreements and military bases, and be able to secure the presence of their forces of the territories of European countries. The 'peacefulness' which they promise to bring about in Europe means 'quiet in the rear', in order to direct the edge of their policy of aggression on the East and above all against the People's Republic of China." He further pointed out that: "Before we talk of European security, we must clarify the question:

From whom should the peoples of Europe be safeguarded? Which powers present to them immediate or likely danger? A real and actual danger to Europe, now and in the future is presented by the two superpowers and by German revanchism; and if the peoples of Europe must be safeguarded, they must be safeguarded from precisely them. A detached and intellectual security never existed in the past, nor does it exist today, as is suggested and formulated by Moscow and Washington; it means only to ratify the safeguarding of the imperialists interests of the U.S. and Soviet Union in Europe, and to free their hands so as to be able to also act militarily against the peace-loving peoples and countries in other parts of the world."

#### THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY ON THE ROAD TO BECOMING A SUPERPOWER

1972 was a year of the further strengthening of West European imperialism, at the expense of the two superpowers.

With the entry of England, Denmark and Ireland into the E.E.C., their economic and political power increased. This fact, naturally, was not omitted in being pointed out by all the representatives of West European imperialism and simultaneously comparing the E.E.C. economically with the U.S. and the Soviet Union. With the enlargement of the E.E.C., the contradictions between her and the U.S. on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other were sharpened.

The West European imperialists are competing with U.S. imperialism and are trying to promote their economic and political interests in a number of countries.

Particularly during 1972, when U.S. imperialism was considerably weakened under the blows of the

national liberation movements and because of its internal crisis, the West-European imperialists accelerated their drive to promote their interests at the expense mainly of U.S. imperialism. Ofcourse in the E.E.C., there have existed two tendencies: The tendency of integration of monopoly capital against the hegemony of the two superpowers and the tendency for disintegration as a result of the contradictions between the West-European monopoly capitalists.

These tendencies clearly showed up at the Conference of the Council of Ministers of the E.E.C. in Brussels, concerning the development of a common policy for the Mediterranean countries. In spite of all this, it was further clearly seen that the primary aim of the E.E.C. is the promotion of its interests in the Mediterranean countries; a thing that aroused the reaction of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists who consider this region as their own.

Thus, with the announcement of the E.E.C.'s new strategy for the Mediterranean countries, a wild protest burst out on the part of the representatives of the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The E.E.C. is determined to break into this region in order to secure cheap sources of raw materials and above all of petroleum.

This means that the contradictions between the countries of the E.E.C., and the U.S. and Soviet Union will be further sharpened.

Within this framework of sharpening of contradictions are also found the "protests" of certain European imperialists against a number of fascist regimes in the Mediterranean area, which were established and are being maintained by U.S. imperialism. In reality, these "protests" are only crocodile tears and simply mean that "you get out,

so that I can take over, in order to oppress and exploit the peoples of these countries."

It is within this context, that their recent protests against the U.S. imperialists' bombings of Vietnam are based upon. But the peoples are not about to be fooled by the demagogy of the West-European imperialists who are old colonialists.

A United Europe will be the Europe of bankers and industrialists, the Europe of capital against the proletariat, against the peoples of Europe and the other peoples of the world.

The great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his speech to the 6th Plenary of the Party of Labour of Albania, pointed out that: "The United Europe, which is being 'kneeked together' by West European capital, aims at becoming a new imperialist superpower with pretensions to hegemony and dominance which will be exactly the same as that of the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The struggle against U.S. imperialism would be unsuccessful if we did not at the same time wage a struggle against the friends and allies of U.S. imperialism - against the imperialist powers as a whole.

#### CRISIS IN THE CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST COUNTRIES

During 1972, the crisis plaguing capitalism took on a greater dimension. There are two basic reasons for this crisis; one, the mounting struggles of the people for freedom and independence, and secondly, the unequal development of capitalism.

The national liberation movements, and above all the struggle of the peoples of Indochina, have dealt heavy blows to imperialism, and particularly to U.S. imperialism.

In order to suppress the national liberation

movements and to continue the exploitation and oppression of the people, U.S. imperialism is forced to increase its military expenditures which in 1972 reached astronomical costs. The result of these colossal expenditures was the further exploitation and oppression of the American people and of the increase in the deficit of the U.S. federal budget. As a consequence of the unequal development of capitalism at the stage of imperialism, the economies of the West European countries and of Japan were strengthened in relation to the American economy. Particularly, with the entry of Great Britain into E.E.C., the antagonism of the latter with the U.S. was still further increased. In this way, American goods face more and more competition on the international markets, a thing that led to the further increase in the deficit of the U.S. balance of trade. The result of all this was the sharpening of the crisis with U.S. imperialism and of the further decrease in the American dollar. The measures which the Nixon administration took such as the non-exchange of the dollar for gold, restrictions on imports, etc., were not able to bring about any change; on the contrary, they sharpened the contradictions between the U.S. and Japan, on the one hand, and with the countries of the E.E.C., on the other. The restrictions on imports hit in the main, Japan, which then turned to the markets of Europe, flooding them with consumer goods, and thus sharpening her contradictions with the E.E.C.

In the large capitalist countries of Western Europe; West Germany, England and France, in spite of the phenomenal rise of the E.E.C. in relations to the U.S., the situation is not at all good. In England, the situation of her foreign trade in 1972 amounted to 1 billion pounds sterling, while

this year it will go up much higher. Prices are continuously rising. In 1972, the increase of food prices reached an average of 10%. The pound sterling fell still further down, while employment which reached around 800,000 still plagues the working people.

The cost of living in France rose 6.6% during the first 10 months of 1972, while prices for mass consumer goods rose to 8.5% during the same period.

In Germany, prices rose 7.9% while 3,416 business operations went bankrupt not being able to make ends meet through the competition with the large consortiums.

In Italy, the cost of living went up 12%, the number of unemployed reached 714,000, and that of seasonal workers to 220,000. To these must also be added the over 1 million workers in the South who find work for only three months of the year.

The consequences of the unsurpassed economic crisis which is plaguing U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist powers is the sharpening of the class contradictions, the intensification of the exploitation and oppression of the working masses, the increase of the unemployment in all of the capitalist countries without any exception, on the one hand; and the development of the mass movement on the other.

Imperialism, and particularly U.S. imperialism, in order to confront the mounting mass movement at home, and to suppress the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, who arms in hand, are resolutely struggling against the imperialists and for freedom and national independence, becomes more aggressive and more savage.

Khrushchev and later on, his disciples, Brezhnev and Kosygin have completely dismantled the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. The working class has been converted from a ruling class to an oppressed and exploited one. The doors of the Soviet Union has been opened wide for the penetration of foreign capital, mainly U.S., West German, Italian and now Japanese.

In the economy, the principle for profit in production has been introduced and not the principle of satisfying the needs of the people.

"The only difference between the new blood-thirsty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of the classical type in the other capitalist countries is that the Soviet bourgeoisie are not typical owners of private capitalist businesses, but through occupying governing positions in the party and state apparatus, they exercise direct power, and seize, in a collective manner, the lion's share of the national income, which is created by the sweat of the working class and peasantry. They participate in collectively dividing the surplus value which is appropriated in a general way into a national echelon by the bourgeois state." (From RED FLAG, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland). Along with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the economic crisis also started, which in 1972 took on large dimensions.

Not even the ruling Brezhnev-Kosygin clique was able to conceal this crisis. They were forced to admit that the production in industry did not reach the results foreseen, while in some sectors there actually was a decrease in relation to the previous year. In agriculture, the situation was catastrophic. The Soviet ruling clique was forced to buy enormous quantities of grain from the U.S. and Canada at a cost of billions of dollars.

Profiteering increased tremendously. The sit-

uation was also similar in the other revisionist countries.

The economic crisis in the revisionist countries has deepened the thirst of the Western imperialists, who invade into these countries and above all in the Soviet Union. In the framework of so-called cooperation, foreign monopolies participate in the exploitation of the rich reserves of raw materials and they assume their participation in the profits of Soviet industrial production.

Common business operations have been founded with the participation of foreign capital. Japanese firms have won the right to exploit Siberia's reserves, while after Nixon's trip to Moscow, U.S. monopolies are now even showing an interest in this area. The penetration of the reserves of Soviet raw materials, the great dream of the capitalist world is being realized.

#### COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE

More and more small and medium-sized countries are fighting against the attacks, conspiracies and domination of the two superpowers.

The grandiose attempts of the superpowers to put under their domination the Asian, African, and Latin American countries, saw new defeats in 1972. The struggle of the Arab countries developed further against the two superpowers both of whom support the Israeli invaders; one through war material and the other through human cannon fodder, so as to maintain the "no war, no peace" situation.

The Egyptian government threw out of her country the Soviet social-imperialists, who in their attempts to take advantage of the weaknesses of the Arab states, openly interfered in trying to put them under their hegemony.

Certain countries of the Indian Ocean and of the Mediterranean Sea have sharply expressed themselves against the hegemonistic designs of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in their regions. The people and government of Panama carried out a large campaign against U.S. imperialism which controls the Canal Zone and asked for the dissolution of the 1930 contract between the U.S. and Panama.

In Africa, on April 1972, Tanzania resisted the aggressive schemes of the Portuguese colonialists against the country. In 1972, more and more small and medium-sized countries took measures in nationalising business operations owned by foreign monopolies. Chile took over the property of the American trust I.T.T., and carried out the nationalisation of American banks, as well as, many other American companies. A number of American companies were also nationalised or placed under government control in Mexico, Peru, Panama and Venezuela.

The government of Ghana decided upon the re-organisation of all the country's mines and raised the state's participation of these to 55%, thus allowing the foreign monopolies control to only 45% of the amount of shares. On December 8th, the government of Nigeria decided on the acquisition of 40% of all the shares of the three most important foreign banks. The government of Uganda decided on the take-over of 7 English business operations, one American, and of all the tea-growing areas belonging to foreign businesses.

The struggle of the small and medium-sized coastal countries for the safeguarding of their fishing resources and other sea riches developed further. Today, nine Latin American countries have extended their coastal zones to a radius of 200

miles. Something of the same was also done by Sierra Leone in Africa. Also many Asian and African countries extended their coastal zones to miles ranging from 18 to 130. At the U.N. in July, 1972, the Soviet and American representatives shamelessly stated that they are against the just demands of the coastal countries, and they maintained that the coastal zones cannot exceed over 12 miles. They further demanded, without any arguments the right for their warships to pass freely within the 12 mile zone. The Soviet representative, in fact, even went further, openly declaring that the Soviet Union will agree only on the condition that the countries accept the demands of the U.S. and Soviet Union and the free movement of their warships, and in the sharing of the profits (that come from the exploitation) of the sea resources of these coastal countries.

At the U.N. debate on trade in April, a number of small countries opposed the imperialist rape of their raw materials and resolutely stood for the abolition of unequal treatment in the trade system, the end of the monopolisation of the international markets by the imperialist countries, for the reform of the financial system, and in support of international trade relations and political principles. Three resolutions, which expressed the desire of the small and medium-sized countries in support of the defence of their state sovereignty and national interests were voted in by the General Assembly. The American representative abstained on one, and on the other two resolutions, failed to participate in the voting. This once again, exposed the role of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism who were attempting to rob the small and medium-sized countries and place them under their hegemony. The struggle

of the countries producing raw materials, such as oil, coffee, cacao, and copper against imperialist robbery, attained great successes during 1972. Countries of the Middle East and of Latin America achieved great victories in this field. At many international conferences, a number of small countries supported each other in the struggle against imperialist aggression and oppression. The united front of the small and medium-sized countries against imperialism and social-imperialism was still further strengthened during 1972, and with the help of the People's Republic of Albania, Vietnam, China, and Korea, they achieved great victories in their struggles for the defense of territorial integrity, independence, and freedom.

NATIONS WANT FREEDOM,  
PEOPLE WANT INDEPENDENCE

During the year which has just passed, the struggle of the people's of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and in support of freedom, national independence and social progress was strengthened still further.

On the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle were still the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina dealing heavy blows to U.S. imperialism and its local lackeys. During 1972, the N.L.F. fighters and people of Vietnam knocked out or destroyed 2,500 airplanes, put out of action 500,000 enemy soldiers, seized or destroyed 11,000 military vehicles and tanks, 1,500 cannons, and sunk 400 enemy ships. The National Liberation Army and people of North Vietnam knocked down thousands of American airplanes, amongst them, many B-52 bombers.

The national liberation forces and people of

Laos and Cambodia have liberated the greater part of their countries and caused serious losses onto the enemy.

The unity of the Indochinese people against the U.S. aggressors and their local lackeys was strengthened and steeled in the fire of people's war.

The peoples of the world openly condemned the inhuman barbarities of U.S. imperialism and persistently demanded an end to the U.S. armed intervention, the unconditional withdrawal of American soldiers from the territory of Vietnam, and of Indochina, in general, solve their problems without foreign interventions.

But the U.S. imperialists use double tactics. Defeated and confused on the battlefield and to appease international public opinion and the American people, they shouted for peace. When public opinion was somewhat appeased, they again resumed the aggression, this time in a much more barbarous manner.

Savage aggression and diplomatic manoeuvres, this is the policy of the American imperialists.

When they found themselves in an impasse, bewildered by defeats, they began the bombing of the North, the mining of harbours, etc; they then were forced to agree to a ceasefire with the D.R. Vietnam. Besides, this agreement was indispensable to Nixon's pre-election campaign.

After the elections they again resumed the bombings with an even more savage way. They leveled to the ground whole cities and villages, in the North and the South. U.S. imperialism dropped three times more bombs in Indochina, than were dropped in the whole of the Second World War.

In order to realize its imperialist aims, the U.S. continued to have aid of Soviet social-imperialism. The Soviet clique intends and wants to

carry away its debts from this problem which the whole world is concerned about. Though they consider themselves as the greatest supporters of Vietnam, in reality the Soviet leaders have never abandoned their pressures on the Vietnamese people. They are trying to stop and undermine the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, so as to save the U.S. from shameless defeat. They also act in the same way with the liberation struggle of the Cambodian people, by maintaining ties with the Lon Nol clique and by not recognizing the revolutionary government of the National United Front of Kampuchea, which is the only true and legal representative of the Cambodian people.

The Albanian representative in the U.N. pointed out that "Recent events have brought to light the complete agreement on Vietnam which was achieved between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The stand of the Soviet leadership cannot be understood otherwise. Not only did they not move a finger when U.S. president Nixon declared the mining and blockade of the harbours of the D.R.V.N. and unleashed aerial attacks, on an unprecedented scale, but even took advantage of these acts of the Americans, in order not to send even the little military aid which they could have sent. The Vietnam War did not at all ruin the American-Soviet love-affair and the relations between them."

Soviet social-imperialism was still further exposed by the recent barbarous bombings of the U.S. aggressors.

Even those social-democrats of Western Europe, because of contradiction with U.S. imperialism, protested over the bombings, while Brezhnev, on Pompidou's visit to Moscow, stated cynically that "both sides in Vietnam desire peace." (underlined -editor).

The White House, in replying then, to the social-democrats, and in particular to the West Germans, stated that they had better show comprehension, and take as an example the stand Brezhnev and Pompidou, before they protest over the bombings.

But nothing could break the determination and fighting spirit of the Indochinese people who dealt great blows to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The People's Republic of China and the great Chinese people are a strong rear bastion for the Indochinese people. The People's Republic of Albania and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the other peoples of the world strongly support the just struggle of the peoples of Indochina. The victory of the Indochinese peoples is very near.

The people of Palestine, inspite of the blows received from U.S. lackey Hussein have won new victories in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism. The National Liberation Fronts of Dhofar and Oman dealt heavy blows to the British colonialists and their local lackeys.

Africa is seething under the armed national liberation struggle for freedom and national independence. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), and of the Cape Verde Islands won great victories in their struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, and they have liberated large areas of their motherlands. The armed national liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia spread to large areas of these countries.

In Asia, the armed struggle of the people of Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Burma, and Indochina was greatly intensified. The national liberation movements in these countries, led by

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Communist Parties which follow a correct Marxist-Leninist line, have liberated areas in Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, which in Indonesia, they are advancing on the re-establishment of their forces after the massacre by the coup d'etat of the Suharto clique.

In some countries of Latin America, guerilla groups have been formed. In this way also, the armed struggle in Colombia was developed, and is being led by the Communist Party of Colombia, who condemning revisionism follows the road of armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lac

The patriots of Northern Ireland are fighting, with weapon in hand, against the colonialist oppression and terrorism of British imperialism. Chairman Mao Tsetung has pointed out that "Revolution is the main trend in the world today". This is a fact. People are rising up everywhere in the world, and with weapon in hand, are fighting against imperialism and for freedom, national independence, and social progress.

#### GREECE

During the year which has just passed, the U.S. lackey junta has hitched the country still more tightly to the chariot of U.S. imperialism, and NATO.

The fascists of Athens have granted to the U.S. imperialists permanent bases for the 6th fleet. Our country has now been converted into a limitless base for the Americans and into a base against the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. Huge sums are spend on military armaments. In this respect, Greece takes first place in NATO.

The economic situation within the country has become worse. Foreign capital, and above all American, has penetrated still more deeply, taking over

all economic sectors in our country.

Of the foreign capital that flows in, American capital still continues to occupy first place, followed by those of West Germany, Britain, and Japan. This year, Soviet social-imperialism, to the degree that U.S. imperialism permits it, has invaded further into our country. This year also, the Soviet social-imperialists concluded an agreement for the construction and exploitation of a large plant for the extraction of bauxite and for the production of aluminium.

The foreign and local monopolies made enormous profits, while the destruction of the middle sections in the cities intensified. Wages and salaries were pinned down, while price increases reached new levels. With certain types of food, such as meat, prices essentially doubled, while with other consumer goods, prices rose by 20%. The drachma, despite the demagogy of the fascists, continued to fall in comparison with European currencies.

Inflation reached high levels. The U.S. lackey junta, despite its demagogy about a labour shortage, was finally forced to admit that there are 100,000 underemployed people in the country. In actual fact, the number is much higher. Immigration still continued to plague our country. The depopulation of the provinces, and particularly of the mountain regions, continued.

The production in the peasant economy decreased in many items. Even the junta itself had to admit that some items decreased, while in others the increase was lower than that foreseen.

Repression and terrorism increased, despite the rhetoric of the "liberalisation" of the regime.

Military courts continued in their terrorist function, sentencing many people's fighters and

political opponents of the junta.

The contradictions between the imperialists, which had become sharpened on an international scale, was reflected within our motherland.

The West European imperialists intensified their attempts to enter and strengthen their money-grabbing interests in our country, a thing which aroused the reaction of U.S. imperialism.

Particularly after the development of the EEC's new strategy for the Mediterranean countries, this sharpening of the contradictions provoked the open reaction of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. These contradictions were reflected even within the U.S. lackey junta, and expressed themselves on a number of occasions.

In carrying out its plans in Cyprus, U.S. imperialism intensified its activity through its puppets, that is, the junta, and the fascist Grivas. This action further sharpened the contradictions between the imperialists. This manifested itself, in the contradiction of Makarios and his government, who in turn, support the interests of British imperialism, the local foreign lackey bourgeoisie and the feudalist church.

#### THE MASS MOVEMENT IN OUR COUNTRY

1973 was a year of the intensification of the mass movement in our country. The junta was not able to win the slightest support amongst our working people, inspite of all its demagogy.

The anti-american sentiments of the people increased considerably, particularly after the permanent installation of the 6th fleet in our country's ports.

Despite the increase of repression and terrorism, the working people demonstrated in many

different ways their opposition to fascism; and they struggled for better wages and salaries, for increases in pensions, and for the safeguarding of their acquired security funds from being robbed by the fascists. In fact, workers in certain branches took decisions to go on strike, but which were at the last minute sabotaged by the appointed union hack leaders in their organisations.

The struggle of the youth against fascism and for syndicalist freedoms reached a new qualitative stage.

In April, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the fascist dictatorship, student demonstrated in the streets of Athens and Thessalonika, and the students at the faculty of assistant engineering went on strike for many days in order to obtain the restoration of their occupational rights.

On the day of the farcial elections for the nomination of the Executive Councils of the student associations, the overwhelming majority of the students actively abstained from the elections and thousands of students demonstrated in the streets of Athens against the fascist regime. To the struggles of the workers and students, the U.S. lackey junta replied by intensifying repression and terrorism, arresting and torturing many vanguard workers and students. This caused the great indignation of the people and increased their hatred for the regime. Nothing can now stop the mass movement which has started to grow. 1972 was a decisive year for the Organisation of Greek Marxist-Leninists.

The First Conference of the Organisation of Greek Marxist-Leninists held in April, raised our organisation to a new qualitative stage. Our organisation's work, within Greece and abroad was very

such intensified. We actively participated in the student demonstrations and strikes, and we resolutely supported the struggles of the workers. We disseminated our underground press still more broadly, with the publishing of PEOPLE'S POWER, and we increased our propaganda amongst the working people in the large centres of Greece. We distributed thousands of leaflets in the working class sections of Athens and Piræus and increased the number of underground cells in these districts. We further developed and decentralised our underground apparatus. Naturally, we did exhibit weaknesses and short-comings in this or that level of work, but with the correct implementation of democratic centralism, and with criticism and self-criticism, we surpassed them to a certain degree.

Abroad, our organisation developed, particularly in West Germany, where thousands of Greek workers live and work. The organisation's ranks were increased by a number of honest militants who had found themselves trapped in revisionist organisations, as well as by new militants.

Our organisation, along with many other anti-imperialist and anti-fascist immigrants, everywhere courageously confronted the goons of the junta and routed them, despite the sabotage by the revisionists. Because of this, the agents of the junta were disorganised, wherever they were strongly confronted; and the Greek immigrants were, thus, safeguarded from the repression and terrorism which the U.S. lackey junta is attempting to bring to the Greeks abroad.

At the mass level, we achieved considerable successes but fell very much behind in the work amongst the students abroad.

In Cyprus, the first cell of the Organisation

of Greek Marxist-Leninists was formed, and it commenced with the struggle against imperialism and the local reaction, and the exposure of the A.K.E.L. revisionists who have become servants of Makarios.

In the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, the Greek Marxist-Leninists have to a large degree thrown out of their ranks the careerist and neo-revisionist elements, and, to a certain extent, have joint or are joining our organisation.

PEOPLE'S VOICE, despite the difficulties put in its way by the revisionists of these countries, succeeded in reaching nearly everywhere and has become a weapon in the struggle of the political refugees against revisionism and the careerist elements.

Revisionism has become still more exposed and bankrupt. The Partsalidi fraction is already counting its days, while the Koliyiannis fraction, in order to smooth over the contradictions in its ranks and to keep its members trapped, threw Koliyiannis into the dustbin and put Florakis into the leadership. Both fractions sank still further into the mud of opportunism. They still continued in their traitorous policy which aims at unity with the bourgeois politicians of the Right and Centre, for the perpetuation of U.S. domination and the subjugation of our country. They split the students' struggle against fascism and for syndicalist freedoms by giving the call for participation in the farcical elections - despite the fact that for weeks in advance, everything clearly showed that there was not even a trace of freedom of speech. In this way, they sabotaged the only correct form of struggle, which was the active abstention from the junta elections of the

### Student Associations.

More and more Greeks, at home and abroad, are becoming aware of the capitulationist politics of the revisionists and are filling the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists. The year 1972 has also seen the bankruptcy of a number of "New Left" groups, which in "opposition" to revisionism, were putting forth crypto-trotskyist and anarchist positions, and were denying the experience of the Greek and world revolutionary movement.

The Greek Marxist-Leninists see 1973 with optimism and they will make greater efforts for the further development and re-organisation of the revolutionary movement, and for the formation of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist).

The Greek Marxist-Leninists have a clear-cut goal; they have repeatedly proclaimed that only with revolution, only by armed struggle will imperialism and its local lackeys be overthrown, and freedom, independence and People's Democracy be achieved.

Chairman Mao has formulated in his famous thesis that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

### THE TASKS OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

In response to their historical mission, the Greek Marxist-Leninists have to carry out basic and multiple tasks.

The primary task of the Marxist-Leninists is the re-establishment of the revolutionary movement in our country; a necessary pre-requisite for the leadership and victory of the broad masses against imperialism and fascism. This re-establishment is being realised by the grouping of all the revolutionary forces, under difficult underground conditions within Greece primarily, as well as

abroad, where Greek immigrants live and work.

The further elaboration of our political line, the complete enlightening of the problems of strategy and tactics, the confinement of errors, and of their rectification is of a thing of paramount importance, precisely during this phase of the re-establishment of the revolutionary movement. Primary importance, during this phase, is also the enlightening of the struggle against revisionism of all shades, which still constitutes a serious danger and is the main obstacle in the re-establishment of the revolutionary movement. Of also equal danger, particularly to the youth, are the "left" ideas and theories, which have as their source, different movements of discontent and of hidden trotskyism.

The Marxist-Leninists must refute in theory and in practice, revisionism of all hues and colors, "rightist" and "leftist", and release the forces chained therein.

But, in order to open the road for the rebuilding of the revolutionary forces and for the formation of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist), the Marxist-Leninists must further expose and denounce all those who, under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, are sabotaging this goal, who have obstructed this rebuilding and who want to lead the movement onto neo-revisionism. This denunciation and exposure will contribute in helping all those honest militants who are still entrapped, or are wavering, and it will create the necessary pre-requisite for the unity and grouping of all Marxist-Leninists.

For the development of the struggle against imperialism and fascism, and in opposing revisionism, the development of the underground work today is placed in primary position.

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For this aim, is imposed the all-sided building of the underground apparatus, and the bring up to date of the technical apparatus, the resolute turn to the Bolshevik style of the division of work throughout the organisation in its entirety, and of each member in particular, a turn to the Bolshevik style of control in the implementation of decisions.

A necessary pre-requisite of all this is the up bringing of new cadres, capable of implementing the Marxist-Leninist method to the concrete situation and conditions of our country, to be able to find their bearings, to organise and lead, to be capable of implementing in practice and under all kinds of conditions, the organisation's concrete line.

It must be realized that the basis of all the work in Greece is the underground organisation and the underground development of activity which constitutes the basic component factor of class struggle, and is the basis for the strengthening and further development of the organisation and of the mass struggle. This does not mean that we underestimate the possibilities of legal work; on the contrary, we must, to the extent we can, take all-sided advantage of legal possibilities of work, but strict determining of the methods and content of work on the basis of strict implementation of the programme and on the division of illegal work must be imposed.

#### THE ORGANISATIONS ABROAD

A number of serious tasks are placed upon the organisations abroad, tasks which stem from their orientation to resolutely contribute the the development of the work within Greece. The most important of these tasks, which are related to

the capabilities which the organisations abroad offer, are the projection and propagandisation of the Organisation in the Greek milieu and amongst world opinion.

The other tasks are: taking care of basic publishing essentials, the recruiting of new members, the development of mass work and activity, the development of relations with fraternal parties and organisations, the up-bringing of cadres, and of the development of all of their abilities, so that they would be in a position to undertake work under different conditions.

Apart from these, the organisations abroad must take care of, in a special way, the concrete needs of the underground work.

Particular attention must be given to the development of work amongst the immigrants in West Germany, who make up a considerable portion of the working people, and who are in continuous contact with Greece; as well as amongst the political refugees in the Eastern European countries, for their direct participation in the reestablishment of the revolutionary movement.

It's precisely there, that a large enough party strength is gathered, which has still to combat revisionism, tested also in precious experience, and capable of participating and leading the struggle.

The task of the Marxist-Leninists abroad is still the rallying of all the immigrant, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist forces, in common struggle with the proletariat of the countries in which they live and work, against oppression and exploitation, against the fascist measures which a number of West European countries have taken mainly against foreign workers and students.

The Marxist-Leninists abroad must rally all the

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anti-imperialist, anti-fascist immigrants, in order to smash the agents of the junta, who aim at also bringing repression and terrorism against the Greeks living abroad.

- Forward! Let us raise the Red Flag of the struggle for the overthrow of the U.S. lackey fascist regime, and for the victory of People's Democracy and Socialism!

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EDITIONS OF THE ORGANISATION OF GREEKMARXIST-LENINISTS

- "RED FLAG"                      Central theoretical organ.
- "PROTOFORIA"                    Theoretical organ that circulates abroad.
- "PEOPLE'S VOICE"                Monthly newspaper, edition of Marxist-Leninists for abroad.
- "PEOPLE'S POWER"                Periodical edition of Marxist-Leninists.
- "RED STAR"                        Internal buletin, organ of the Central Bureau of the Organisation of Greek M-L.
- "DOCUMENTS"                      Periodical edition in English.