

MAO AND PEOPLE'S WAR

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ON THE PEOPLE'S WAR AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF MAO ZEDONG

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The next 50, 100 years will be an epic period of radical changes in the world social system; they will be an era of quakes and overthrowings, an era that will not be comparable with any other era in history. In order to live this era, we must be prepared to face big struggles which, from many aspects, will be different from the big struggles of the previous eras.

1. During the 10th Plenum of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which took place in 1962, Chairman Mao Zedong spoke about the necessity to discover the objective law of the class struggle's development in our era, speaking of course for the conditions of the socialist construction. Through this suggestion, Chairman Mao was putting the communists the world over in front of new and complex duties. The detection of the objective law of the class struggle's development in China – and all over the world – in the mid-60's was a necessity, since all the terms and conditions of the international situation had been modified. The revolution should deepen her objectives in the countries where the political power had been conquered; the fight against modern revisionism (which had gained considerable ground) should be reinforced; and, of course, the anti-imperialist struggle should be reinforced as well, especially since imperialism and revisionism had formed a common front on international level in order to suppress the revolutionary storm.

The launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by Mao Zedong and the Chinese communists was, practically, a titanic

effort to answer the necessity of the detection of the objective law of the class struggle's development. The exhortation of Mao about the necessity to discover this law and his practical activity in order to resolve this problem are extremely instructive and timely for the communists all over the world, which are struggling in new conditions and in the context of a new, modified situation. The actual conditions impose on us not only the strengthening of the coordination of the struggles against the "New World Order", but also the task to exert all efforts for the revival of the Communist Movement. The actual conditions are pressing for a substantial assessment of the experience of the international Communist Movement, as well as for the analysis of the strategies and the tactics of the Marxist-Leninist movement all over the world.

Today we are not struggling under conditions similar to those that faced the labor and socialist movement during the second part of the last century. We are not struggling, moreover, under the conditions prevailing in the first half of our century, a period marked by the existence of a socialist motherland, the USSR, which inspired and gave hopes to all revolutionary working peoples. We are not even struggling in a period of a serious confrontation in the bosom of the Communist Movement, as it happened in the mid-60's, when the existence and positions upheld by the CCP and Mao Zedong composed a considerable factor for the international correlation of power.

Nevertheless, from this situation that we are actually living, and through an asymmetric way (as it always happened in the past), there will be reinforced the prerequisites for the detection of the objective law of the class struggle's development in conditions of retreat of the Communist Movement, of temporary domination of the counter-revolution, of compulsory reorganization of the international Communist Movement.

2. Lenin made a breakthrough both in the way of explaining the then new era in which entered capitalism (the era of imperialism), and in the conclusions extracted from the two momentous events: the French bourgeois revolution and mainly the Paris Commune. Being able to summarize those conclusions in an ensemble of duties for the Communist Movement, he laid the foundations for the detection of the objective law of the class struggle's development

in this era, in a way that permitted to the Communist Movement not to march blindly. Leninism armed the proletariat's movement with a revolutionary theory and shaped the organization and the alliances that made possible the opening of new roads in the history of humanity.

The theory on imperialism, the national question, the agrarian question and the workers'-peasants' alliance, the hegemony of the working class even in the frame of the bourgeois democratic revolution, the preparation of the masses for the revolution, the attitude towards the 1st World War: all those positions, together with the moving of the revolution's center of gravity towards Russia (the weakest link of the imperialist chain), led to the victory of the revolution. The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers'-peasants' alliance, the deepening of the revolution and the formation of an international proletarian army (the Third International) opened new ways for the class struggle on international level, and led to the awakening of the East and of the anti-imperialist movement. The course of the world, the destiny of the revolution, would not be decided in the West, where the revolutionary wave of 1917-23 had retreated, but in the awakened East.

3. History is not advancing according to typical schemes, academic ideas and formal plans. Moreover, it does not consist of the repetition of certain examples, no matter how important they can be. In China of the 20's and 30's took place stirring and decisive events, and in this period the foundations were laid for what followed later. In short, there took place developments that concerned the international correlation of power on all the levels.

How can we describe the situation then? Several imperialist powers were in acute antagonism. Another main element was that "In China the armed revolution is fighting against armed counter-revolution. This is one of the characteristics and one of the advantages of the Chinese Revolution." (Stalin, *The perspectives of the Revolution in China*). There were taking place civil wars, annihilation campaigns, national fronts, etc. It was under such torrid conditions that Mao Zedong (based on the experience of the Chinese Revolution, deeply studying the concrete conditions of China and applying Marxism-Leninism in them) conceived the peculiarities

of the Chinese Revolution. The revolution in China will not march through the road of the October Revolution. The working class will always be the leading force, the peasantry will be the chief support of the revolution, its centre of gravity will be the countryside which will encircle the cities, and the revolution will pass through the Protracted Peoples' War, this kind of "unusual war", "a special form of war of liberation waged by a semi-colonial country in the 1930's and the 1940's", "a war, which has no precedent in the history of the East, and which will go down as a great war in world history too" (On Protracted War, 1938, points 56, 1, 56).

From this procedure will come out the discovery of the objective law of class struggle in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The path of People's War and its combination with the anti-imperialist new democratic revolution will prove its correctness in a series of the storm zone's regions. The guerrilla warfare and the Maoist teachings for its conduct will be followed by several guerrilla movements, national liberation fronts and revolutions.

4. Mao, in all his work, is insisting again and again:

a) We are waging war in order to end the wars for ever: "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun." (Problems of War and Strategy, 1938). "War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-insurgency war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war." (Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, 1936). "The revolutionary wars that have already begun are part of the war for perpetual peace." (On Protracted War, 1938, point 57).

b) But we are waging war in a completely different way than the bourgeoisie. The People's Army is completely different from the classic bourgeois army. Born and bred of the oppressed classes, the People's Army is deeply interconnected with them, swims among them like the fish in the water, serves the people, participates in

production. "We will not take from the people one single seed of wheat without paying for it; we must make political work with the prisoners", etc. The dominating factor is the masses and the links with them. The People's War cannot be waged without such links, without serving those links, without paying attention to the general situation and the specific duties.

"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." (Be concerned with the well-being of the masses, pay attention to methods of work, 1934). "The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting, but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence." (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, 1929). "Our three major principles for the army's political work are: first, unity between officers and men; second, unity between the army and the people; and third, the disintegration of the enemy forces. To apply these principles effectively, we must start with this basic attitude of respect for the soldiers and the people, and of respect for the human dignity of prisoners of war once they have laid down their arms. Those who take all this as a technical matter and not as one of basic attitude are indeed wrong, and they should correct their view." (On Protracted War, 1938, point 115).

5. In the Conference of Tsou-ni (1935) the line of Mao dominates in the CPC, and since then starts a new great era for the Chinese Revolution. But the conception of Mao has already been formed from 1926, and it has already tested practically during the civil wars in China. Mao Zedong not only dredged up the objective law of the class struggle's development in China; he also defined with exceptional clarity the specific laws and characteristics of the Revolutionary People's War. We find those specific laws and characteristics in every genuine effort to develop the People's War in several regions of the world.

The definition of the three stages of People's War (strategic defense, strategic equilibrium, strategic counter-attack) and the specific characteristics of each one are demonstrating the course

of change in the correlation of power between the two opposed camps, and they are determining the strategies and tactics in each phase: the combination and the relation of the war of jig-saw pattern with the guerrilla warfare (as the two arms of one person), the relation of the war of jig-saw pattern and guerrilla warfare with the war of position; the relation between the defense and the attack and the primary role of the attack during the whole People's War, but also the preconditions that assure the attack in each one of the three stages; the importance of the base areas and the relations with the guerrilla zones, the way of confronting the campaigns of encirclement and annihilation, as well as the holding of anti-encirclement moves.

Mao characterized the People's War as a war of inter-penetration in the economic, military, political and cultural fields. He reminded that a series of just wars in the past had this characteristic, but he insisted on the detection of the modern characteristics of the inter-penetration: 1. The existence of exterior and interior lines: "But as far as the relation between the main forces and the guerrilla units is concerned, the former are on the interior lines while the latter are on the exterior lines, presenting a remarkable spectacle of pincers around the enemy." (On Protracted War, 1938). 2. Possession and non-possession of a rear area. 3. Encirclement and counter-encirclement. 4. Big areas and little areas.

The People's War presupposes a great degree of agility in a very wide theatre of operations. The forces of the People's Army must have the capability to advance rapidly, and the same rapidly to retreat; they must be able to concentrate rapidly, and disperse in an equally rapid way.

Since the People's War is the war of the masses, it is impossible to conduct it without a great mobilization of the masses. "This move is crucial; it is indeed primary importance, while our inferiority in weapons and other things is only secondary. The mobilization of the common people throughout the country will create a vast sea in which to drown the enemy, create the conditions that will make up for our inferiority in arms and other things, and create the prerequisites for over-coming every difficulty in the war." The political mobilization "means telling the army and the people about

the political aim of the war"; and, because this is not enough, "the steps and policies for its attainment must also be given, that is, there must be a political program". "Without a clear-cut, concrete political program it is impossible to mobilize all the armed forces and the whole people to carry the war". The political mobilization "is a matter of immense importance, on which our victory in the war primarily depends".

6. The People's War does not stand by itself. It owes to be a part of a general line and to serve a strategic orientation. Mao always expressed himself on this issue with the greatest clarity. He gave all his battles (both in the frame of the Party against the right and "left" deviations, and against the dogmatic adherence to the Soviet model, which imposed the primary role of the cities) in the name of a general line, based on a concrete analysis of the classes and of the change or the correlation of power between them through the passage from one stage to the next one. The Protracted People's War was the summary of the experience of the Chinese Revolution and the condensation of the conclusions extracted from the study of the correlation of power, of the necessary alliances in Chinese society, etc. It was the specific road that the communists should follow in order to realize the new democratic revolution in China.

The Protracted People's War in China resulted from the examination of the fundamental and mutually contradictory particular characteristics of the warring camps. The particular characteristics of the two sides must always be studied and deeply examined. "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat." (Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, 1936). "The above are the basic, mutually contradictory characteristics... They have determined and are determining all the political policies and military strategies and tactics of the two sides. The antagonism among the particular characteristics determines the character of the war." (On Protracted War, 1938, point 12).

The mechanical transfer of the Protracted People's War in other countries, without conception with a general line and strategy, without concrete analysis of the concrete situation, as well as the elevation of the Protracted People's War itself as the general line

for one country and for the international Communist Movement, would not be at all a contribution neither to the development of the movement in one country nor to the reinforcement of Maoism on international level.

As far as we know, in the text of the "25 points" the CPC formulates a general line that is not the People's War. Of course, the extensive references in this important text to the "zones of the revolutionary storms" reveal that People's China had a positive attitude towards the waging of a series of People's Wars in this region, which would bring imperialism to its knees.

Later there was a generalization on behalf of Lin Piao, who promoted as a general line the encirclement of the imperialist metropolis from the world countryside. This was an oversimplification of the modern contradictions and a transformation of one complex situation in a caricature. The observation of Armando Liwanag, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, is correct: "As Lin Piao had erroneously extrapolated that the fate of the world was one-sidedly to be decided by the countryside of the world, there were those who extrapolated that the fate of the world was to be one-sidedly decided by the metropolis of the world." (Red Salute to the New People's Army, Persevere in Protracted People's War, Rebolusyon nr 2 - April/June 1994).

During a recent period a series of problems appeared in one of the most important and glorious examples of revolutionary movement, the one of the Philippines. Their roots were located in the cutting-off from the strategies of the Protracted People's War and from the perspective of the national democratic revolution. The experience proved that we were in front of the unification of right and "left" deviationist elements against the general line of the Communist Party of the Philippines. This contest of the general line, in the beginning, didn't start with an open rejection of the People's War, but with the dispute of the principle of the cities' encirclement by the countryside; this contest was accompanied by theories about the radical change of the social stratification in the Philippines' society. From the one side, the supporters of the "left" deviation were praising the revolt in the cities and, following certain international examples (like Nicaragua), they transferred the gravity

centre of the activity in the urban areas, formed large military units, neglected mass work and were speaking for an almost imminent victory during the next few years. From the other side, the right deviationists had a positive attitude towards those changes and favored the transfer of the activity in the urban areas, underlying at the same time the "possibilities for a protracted legal activity" and trying to modify the program of the National Democratic Front. Both the right and the "left" had abandoned the general line of the Communist Party of the Philippines and they were sailing in other seas. They estimated erroneously both the internal and the international conditions, and this mistaken position was expressed through a certain conciliatory attitude towards the revisionist camp.

Only after the launching of the Second Great Rectification Movement it became possible to win again the lost space, which (as the Philippine comrades are declaring) was not insignificant.

7. People's War is the specific form that the revolutionary struggle can take in a series of semi-feudal, semi-colonial, and dependent countries, after the third decade of the 20th century. The Protracted People's War made his historic appearance after a certain degree of composition and historical experience on international level had been achieved by the forces of the working class. We are referring to the existence of the Communist Party in each such country, as well as to the existence of revolutionary traditions and experiences, which can lead the masses and be a school for them. Without the existence of the Communist Party, and without the examination of the international conditions and duties which come out in each turn of history, it is impossible to lead victoriously a revolutionary war in the contemporary period. This truth has been confirmed both in a positive and in a negative way. We have no few examples of development of national liberation movement which were not led by a Communist Party and, despite the fact that they adopted in this or the other extent the principles of People's War, they didn't succeed to obtain and consolidate the victory of the people's forces.

The relation between the Communist Party and the duties emanating by the conduct of the People's War, the relation between the Party and the gun, is something that could not escape the attention of Chairman Mao Zedong. He said: "Political power grows out

of the barrel of a gun" (Problems of War and Strategy, 1938), and "Without a people's army the people have nothing" (On Coalition Government, 1945) – but no matter how correct are those phrases-teachings of Mao, it is also a fact that the relation between the Party (the highest form of proletariat's organization), and the People's Army (which, may become problematic. That's why President Mao Zedong underlined: "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party" (Problems of War and Strategy, 1938).

Many times, within the frame of revolutionary movements, break out a series of deviations from this principle. The "coup d'etat" mentality, the roving rebel band mentality, the militarist spirit, the overvaluation of the military aspect in relation with the political aspect, all these are expressions of a situation where the gun predominates over the Party. Mao, in one article written back in 1929, strongly criticizes those attitudes, It is important to pay all the attention both to the reasons of the appearance of such tendencies, and the way proposed by Mao in order to overcome them:

"The sources of the purely military viewpoint are:

1. A low political level. From this flows the failure to recognize the role of political leadership in the army and to recognize that the Red Army and the White army are fundamentally different.
2. The mentality of mercenaries. Many prisoners captured in past battles have joined the Red Army, and such elements bring with them a marredly mercenary outlook, thereby providing a basis in the lower ranks for the purely military viewpoint.
3. From the two preceding causes there arises a third, over-confidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people.
4. The Party's failure actively to attend to and discuss military work is also a reason for the emergence of the purely military viewpoint among a number of comrades.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Raise the political level in the Party by means of education, destroy the theoretical roots of the purely military viewpoint, and be clear on the fundamental difference between the Red Army and the White army. At the same time, eliminate the remnants of opportunism and putschism and break down the selfish depart-

mentalism of the Fourth Army. 2. Intensify the political training of officers and men and especially the education of ex-prisoners. At the same time, as far as possible let the local governments select workers and peasants experienced in struggle to join the Red Army, thus organizationally weakening or even eradicating the purely military viewpoint. 3. Arouse the local Party organizations to criticize the Party organizations in the Red Army and the organs of mass political power to criticize the Red Army itself, in order to influence the Party organizations and the officers and men of the Red Army. 4. The Party must actively attend to and discuss military work. All the work must be discussed and decided upon by the Party before being carried out by the rank and file. 5. Draw up Red Army rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the relationship between its military and its political apparatus, the relationship between the Red Army and the masses of the people, and the powers and functions of the soldiers' committees and their relationship with the military and political organizations." (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas Inside the Party, 1929).

In the present conditions, we do not think it is correct to downgrade Maoism to People's War alone. An eventual equation in the style of "Maoism = People's War" is not valid. Such a conception is erroneous, it is an oversimplification and "pauperization" of Maoism; and of course, it will lead in a deviation where, while the People's War will be acclaimed as the general line, the duties of general mobilization of the people will be underestimated, the basic and mutually contradictory characteristics of the two sides will not be examined, we will not know well enough either ourselves or the enemy.

8. Historical experience has shown another aspect that requires our attention. Mao was not claiming by chance that we should rely only on our own forces. Especially in the case of conducting People's War, this principle is of greatest importance. And, basically, that is so because it ensures the independence of the revolutionary movement and prevents its dependence by various powers.

The Chinese Revolution can, from this aspect, be the guiding light and an inspirational spring for all revolutionaries all over the world. Without ever forgetting any of its internationalist duties,

it had the transparency, the wisdom and the calm to go forward and adopt strategies different from the one suggested by the then international centre of the Communist Movement. It succeeded, indeed, to overcome in practice the mistrust demonstrated towards it by the Soviet leaders for a number of years, without ever making public any disagreements and always putting the accent on the elements of unity in the common cause, and without ever ignoring the important help that the USSR objectively offered to the cause of the Chinese Revolution. It showed an exemplary application of the united national front (a line in agreement with the line of the Communist International after 1935) during the Anti-Japanese War, and this passed mainly through the formula "not everything will be decided and done through the common front" – that is, the Communist Party would keep its independence and would defend all the conquests of the people. After the end of the war, Mao made clear that the Chinese communists will not abandon the principle "rely only on our own forces" and will keep serving the revolution in China, without committing themselves to any eventual decisions taken in the summit. His position is characteristic: "Such compromise between the United States, Britain and France and the Soviet Union can be the outcome only of resolute, effective struggles by all the democratic forces of the world against the reactionary forces of the United States, Britain and France. Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions. The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now. Face to face with this situation, the democratic forces of the people should likewise apply the same principle to the reactionary forces." (Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation, 1946).

Unfortunately, especially in the western European countries and in Greece, this line was not followed by the Communist Movement – and the causes cannot be sought only on the factor of opportunism (which of course clearly did exist in the communist

parties of those countries), but also on the appreciation of the CPSU at that time.

And here we come to the core of a very important problem, that of "etatism", that is the attitude of giving priority to the interests of a state and its particular planifications in relation to the real possibilities of the movement in several parts of the world, the subordination of the movements to the needs and demands of the country-centre, the abnormal situation in the relations among the communist parties through the privileged treatment of some at the expense of others, etc., etc., and the stress on administrative methods instead of persuasion and extensive discussion. This situation appeared already when the Soviet Union had not yet "changed colour", and this did have strong consequences on the International Communist Movement—and it made it easier for the revisionist powers to conquer power from within the Communist Movement, making "etatism" the supreme guide of all their actions.

During the following decades (60's, 70's and 80's), we became witness of subordination of a number of national liberation movements to reactionary forces, to revisionism or imperialism. That was made possible because, instead of applying the principle "rely on our own forces", there was adopted a pragmatism by a series of movements; in reality, those movements became dependent on this or that power, they became their pawns.

Soviet cosial-imperialism, after having cooperated with the American imperialists in an effort to suppress a series of revolutionary movements all over the world, then it went on and tried to win over and make dependant, both financially and militarily, a certain number of national liberation movements and place in the orbit of its policy a number of socialist countries.

Chinese revisionism, with the "three worlds theory", in reality followed a policy of cooperation with American imperialism against the other superpower, thus leaving exposed a number of national liberation movements and revolutionary powers.

The conclusion is that the revolutionary forces should, more than ever before, rely on their own forces. "Etatism", by what has been stated above, played a very negative role to the course of the Communist Movement and the cause of the people's liberation.

People's War cannot, under today's conditions, look forward to the help of a state entity. The relations of revolutionary movements with various states based on the doubtful principle "my enemy's enemy is my friend" in the long run can only bring catastrophic results. The experience of the movements in the Arabic world demonstrates it very clearly, the experience of the Kurdish people shows it equally, the situation in Congo proves it as well, just to mention only the most recent examples.

9. In Greece, during the fifth decade of the 20th century, we had two big revolutionary wars. The national liberation war against the German, Italian and Bulgarian invaders (1941-44), and the anti-imperialist civil war against the monarchist-fascist forces, British imperialism and later US imperialism that replaced the British (1946-49).

Those two glorious revolutionary wars, although they do not exactly belong to the strategies of the People's War as described by Mao Zedong, nevertheless they include many of its elements and they came very near to victory – without tasting it.

The national liberation war against the Hitlerite-Fascist occupiers belongs to the strategies of the national united front and therefore, therefore, in the unity of all the forces in order to throw off the yoke, and the creation of the conditions that will allow the Greek people to freely decide about his conditions of life. With the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) as pioneer, there developed an unprecedented movement, in the cities as well as in the countryside. The guerrilla brought a series of heavy blows to the occupiers, created a legend among the masses and more globally it gave an exceptional impulse to the struggle. Towards the end of 1944, in reality there existed a number of liberated regions and the majority of the people belonged to and supported the progressive forces. Still, this victorious revolution was wasted! The reason was that the struggle's leadership had not a clear and correct understanding of the role played by British imperialism, had not the correct appreciation of the anti-Hitlerite alliance and of the role played by the Greek movement. In that way, we were brought to a line of compromises and concessions towards British imperialism, that bound hand and foot

the popular movement. So, in spite of all the favorable conditions for a victorious outcome of the revolution in Greece, the lack of a decisive and well prepared leadership provoked the defeat and involved enormous losses for the Greek people.

In December 1944, while the Second World War was not over yet and the anti-Hitlerite alliance still existed (and, since October 1944, Athens had been liberated), an armed intervention is carried out in both Athens and Piraeus by the British imperialists. For a whole month, the people of Athens fight a brave battle against the mighty armed allies, who do not hesitate to bomb Athens relentlessly, a thing that not even Hitler's army had dared. The leadership of the movement keeps the essential forces of ELAS (Greek People's Liberation Army) far from Athens.

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

Anyway, the people's movement received a blow but it had not been defeated. The Reaction tried to get reorganized, to set up an embryonic, rudimentary state and repressive mechanism; it also tried to create armed forces, so as to be able to venture out of Athens. With the direct interference of the imperialist forces, paramilitary gangs and death squads are organized all over the country and there starts the hunting down and the executions of the progressive militants. During this time, the persecuted militants who have gone underground reach a hundred thousand people. Relatively soon, within a year after the Varkiza agreement, the people's movement regroups its forces and has all the means to crush the reaction – but the leadership remains attached to the line of "putting pressure on the reaction to oblige it to accept national reconciliation". The first guerrilla actions, undertaken by persecuted militants, do not fall within the line of a quick and surprise launching of the second guerrilla, but are incorporated in the line of the "pressure for recon-

iliation". Another year will go by, during which the reaction will take the opportunity to cut all the roads leading from the cities to the countryside. In the cities, massive arrests will take place, and hundreds of thousands of democratic citizens will be sent to exile and concentration camps; the military courts, at the same time, are overcrowded and executions are carried out after summary procedures. Nonetheless, the Democratic Army of Greece fights a heroic battle against the monarchism-fascism, occasioning heavy losses to the reactionaries—even more, towards the end of 1948, monarchism-fascism is terrorized and ready to collapse, seeing that it cannot cope with the revolutionary movement. At this moment, the new and freshly arrived US imperialism gets into action, and plays a leading role in all the mopping-up operations. It was in Greece that the anti-guerrilla methods were tested for the first time (emptying of villages and countryside in general, concentration/ " " eformation " " camps, napalm bombs, building of roads for immediate access to all regions where there might be guerrilla activities, etc.). Those methods will be used later in many other cases.

In August 1949, the Democratic Army of Greece is militarily defeated and obliged to retreat the main body of its forces into the socialist countries.

The cause of the defeat cannot simply be taxed on the mistakes of the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece; the attitude of the International Communist Movement towards the second revolution in Greece must also be taken into consideration. First of all, there was no aid to that struggle, not even political support. Especially during the period that the specific weight of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was very important in the Balkans, the people's movement in Greece suffered under great-Serbian nationalism, which had already made its appearance. After the rupture between the International Communist Movement and Tito, and when he cooperated with the Greek monarchists-fascists, allowing them to flank-attack the Greek guerrillas, the conditions for a defeat grow stronger and stronger. The international centre of the revolution at the period did not estimate that a victory was possible in Greece, starting from the assumption that whatever had been won the previous years had to be stabilized and time had to be gained in order to confront

imperialism's new attack; in parallel, the international centre was using the existence of the second guerrilla in Greece as a form of harassment to the imperialists, as a kind of diversion, which however should not go over certain limits (which, if exceeded, could lead to a new confrontation in the region). This is the only way to explain the instability and the confused line of the leadership of the Greek Communist Movement at the time. Our conclusions are that one cannot play with the revolution and the fate of a whole people, when all aspects lead to a decisive conflict. Our conclusions are that the conditions to win and stabilize positions in Greece existed if, since 1946 and 1947, elementary steps and measures had been taken and the International Communist Movement had shown political support (an example of total lack of even political support is that no country belonging to the –still under shape- socialist camp recognized the Provisional Government formed by the Democratic Army of Greece in the liberated areas).

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

10. The timeliness of the People's War can be proved through a number of facts and arguments:

- The protracted People's War was the way followed in many historic examples (i.e. Vietnam, Cambodia, etc.). Although many changes have taken place in international relations and inspite of the realignments in the imperialist bloc, the flames of People's War are burning in many regions of the world, and this fact shows how important was the path traced by the Chinese communists, and Mao Zedong himself.

- In a number of regions today (Philippines, Peru, India, Turkey, etc.), under the leadership of the communists, enormous progress has been made in the domain of promoting People's War. In those regions, the flag of revolution was raised high during the

difficult years of the eighties and till today, that there are many signs showing that the movement is going uphill.

- Like in the past, today also in the same way a number of revolutionary movements bear the influence of People's War. In some cases more openly while in others more under cover, those general guiding lines are followed. With exceptional pleasure we see that, under the nose of US imperialism, in Mexico, the resistance of the Mexican people is being developed methodically on the basis of Protracted People's War. Mexico's example is of great importance, for the very reason that it is not a case of semifeudal, semicolonial country dependent on imperialism, which at the same time has made its bourgeois revolution. A country with rich revolutionary traditions, with an unequal development, both economic and political, as well as with areas completely underdeveloped and downgraded. Mexico is a big country with alternation of the geophysical characteristics (deserts, mountains, jungles, coastlines, etc), with long borderlines with US imperialism, but equally with a big number of Mexican natives and immigrant workers in US territory. No matter that the most well known, to the West in particular and all over the world in general, is the Zapatist army, we very well know the existence of revolutionary forces and the Revolutionary People's Army (EPR), which is guided by the Revolutionary People's Democratic Party (PDPR) and it clearly refers to the strategies of the protracted People's War in Mexico.

- In a number of regions where open imperialist interventions have taken place or reactionary wars have been launched, by means of adoption of local nationalist cliques by the imperialists, the conditions for the mobilization of the masses are increasing, as well as the conditions for the confrontation of the reactionary war by promoting the just war. Such examples exist so much both in the large zone of the storms, and (and this is new) in countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The violent re-colonization of these regions advances through national parcelling, partition of countries, the launching of local and regional wars and the direct intervention of the imperialist multinational forces, that drive the peoples of those countries, through an extremely difficult and winding path, in the perspective of protracted People's War. A

precondition for the achievement of such a goal is the construction and strengthening of genuine communist forces in this area.

11. Greece is a country dependent on imperialism, and especially US and European imperialism. Its dependence is economic, political and military, and the country is situated in a neuralgic point. It is not a semicolonial, semifeudal country but a country with a minimum level of capitalist development. During the 60's the industrial production exceeded the agricultural one. Today, as a result of many changes during the post-war years and a series of restructuring, under the auspices of foreign monopolistic capital, several important changes have taken place. More than 65% of the population is concentrated in the cities, while agriculture occupies only 18% of the economically active population and the tendency is to shrink further (following EU policies) to 8% in a few years. At the same time, the middle strata (old and new petit bourgeois strata, middle bourgeoisie) have increased considerably. All these factors should be taken into consideration when coming to strategic planification in Greece and, at a glance, it seems that the conditions prevailing in Greece do not allow the strategies of protracted People's War. In spite of the above, the conditions prevailing in Greece are not exactly the same as Mao described them concerning the developed capitalist countries.

"Internally, the capitalist countries practise bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist or not in a war; in their external relations, they are not oppressed by, but themselves oppress, other nations. Because of these characteristics, it is the task of the Party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggle, and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism. In these countries, the question is one of a long legal struggle, of utilizing parliament as a platform, of economic and political strikes, of organizing trade unions and educating the workers. There the form of organization is legal and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military). On the issue of war, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their countries; if such wars occur, the policy of these Parties is to bring about the defeat of the reactionary governments of their

own countries. The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing. But this insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless, until the majority of the proletariat are determined to rise in arms and fight, and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat. And when the time comes to launch such an insurrection and war, the first step will be to seize the cities, and then advance into the countryside, and not the other way about. All this has been done by Communist Parties in capitalist countries, and has been proven correct by the October Revolution in Russia." (Problems of war and strategy, 1938).

The conclusions are not such as described, since the element of imperialist dependence creates a series of circumstances that escape the model described by President Mao. From a strategic point of view, the question of war in a country like Greece is not put in the same way as for an imperialist country. As a dependent country, it is subject to lots of blackmails and is obliged to take directions that are against its own interests, and its rivalry with Turkey is a case in point, always under the tutelage of the USA. At the same time, the flames of the Balkan war, for the precise reason the imperialists in their antagonistic games provoke the explosion of whole regions, are very near and it's very easy to embark Greece in various adventurisms, with unexpected consequences for the peoples of the region. In other words, what we have been trying to do here is to demonstrate the complexity of the problems and the duties that result.

Therefore, the imperialist interventions and the several frictions is one permanent and lasting decisive point for the evolution of all kinds of relations (economic, political, military and between states) in the region. And the anti-imperialist struggle is not possible to be carried out with self-delusions. In case a war is launched, a possibility not very unlikely to happen in an agitated region that presents big historic and other various forms of interventions and frictions, the position to adopt is one and only one—and again it is based on the teachings of Mao: "The way to oppose a war of this kind is to do everything possible to prevent it before it breaks out and once it breaks out, to oppose war with war, to oppose unjust

war with just war, whenever possible. (On Protracted War, 1938, point 58).

12. Today, we are facing the imperialist "New World Order" and the biggest attack ever launched against the working class, the peoples and the oppressed nations all over the world. It is imperative that we formulate a new general line of the Communist Movement, that will take into consideration all the transformations and will identify all the changes that have taken place. Equally necessary is the construction of a united front against the New Order's attack.

In 1964, in the "25 Points", the Chinese communists were describing the general line of the Communist Movement as follows:

The paragraphs that form points 2 and 3 and part of point 4 of the "25 Points" are of great importance, not only as a formulation but equally as a context. At the same time, they urge us to wonder what would be or how would a general line for the Communist Movement be formulated today.

The formulation of the general line (point 2) is brief and precise. It concerns the general line at its "present stage". That is, all the relations and contradictions of the present world are taken into consideration, there is an inclusion of the wider correlation of power, the subjective factor is present everywhere (having as a core the socialist camp and the international proletariat). The isolation of the main power of the counterrevolution, US imperialism, is one basic objective and such a line has to allow the massive and daring mobilization of the masses, to develop the revolutionary forces, to conquer the intermediary forces and isolate the reactionary ones. The general line leads the proletarian revolution to the achievement of the final goal, but at the same time it fights effectively against imperialism and, thus, it defends peace. Although the revolutionary movement in each country may present its own particularities, it cannot nevertheless "transgress" the bounds set by the "present stage" of the revolution on the international level. It is necessary to ponder those duties, since they cannot be ignored and "easy" solutions cannot be sought. For example, during the 60's the following double duty was set: deepening the revolution in the

countries which were on the way of constructing socialism, on the one hand, and wage a decisive confrontation with imperialism, and especially US imperialism, on the other. No movement in any country could ignore those two duties of historic importance and get involved in something else. It is evident why and how the smashing of US imperialism preoccupied the whole world. Even in countries where US imperialism had no direct interference, the duty of taking immediate action against it was raised, as well as the duty of solidarity to the people fighting it. The duty of deepening socialism was related to coping with the modern revisionist current, so much in the countries constructing socialism, as well as in the countries dominated by capitalism—against its liquidationist influence and its open cooperation with imperialism.

It is possible that we will be asked: why such a long parenthesis? Simply because we want to consolidate even more the link between the determination of the specific goals and the political line in a given country and region, with the problem of the general line, of the law of evolution of world history.

At the “present stage” the duties are: the confrontation of the “New World Order”; the promotion of the International Community of the Peoples; the revival of the Communist Movement. It is not possible to make any steps without constructing a “new consciousness” which will be able to explain why we are at the “present stage”, which will have the capacity to understand the changes that have taken place in the post-industrial imperialism, which will place in the focal point of every small or big effort made the answer of contemporary challenges, which will unify and aggregate the struggle.

Thus, the general line of the contemporary Communist Movement could be formulated somehow like this: “Let’s resist the New World Order, humanity’s biggest enemy, let’s crush the holocaust being prepared by the imperialist directorate and its lackeys; let’s modify on a world scale, through struggles and movements, the correlation of power in favour of the forces of progress, by promoting the International Community of the Peoples, that is the large front of the fighting classes and strata against the “New World Order” and the dual society; and step by step, let’s reconstruct the

Communist Movement, i.e. the necessary and decisive force that can unite and give perspective to the struggles; let's construct the communist program, throwing to the trash anything rusty, old-fashioned and anachronistic that was created by the domination of revisionism for more than thirty years; let's propagate the position of the timeliness of socialism and communism as the only positive way out from the capitalist barbarity."

It is a general line that takes into serious consideration "the present stage" and gives a clear perspective.

13. In other words, we have to give all our forces and coordinate our steps so as the phase of passive defence, in which we actually are on an international level (and which is expressed by the spontaneous, non-coordinated, without common objectives and common resistance of the masses), will give way to active resistance. Active resistance will be characterized by the existence and action of important people's movements, capable of provoking ruptures and damage to imperialism and all reactionaries, and indeed from another level of conscience, action and cooperation between people's movements on a local, regional and international level.

This passage from passive defence to active resistance must be, in our opinion, the strategic aim of the International Communist Movement at the present stage. We call this objective the International Community of the Peoples, which will line up against the "international community" of the imperialists.

We fully understand that the advances and progress from region to region or from country to country will be in an asymmetric and not uniform way. All the same, the existence of advanced positions or situations in a region or a country cannot imply by itself that the present actual stage has been surmounted. Today, for example, there exists a number of people's movements fighting gun in hand, but this fact by itself alone does not overrule the general picture of the passive resistance on international level, as defined above.

Let us contemplate for a while the following words of Mao, when he makes an appreciation about the military experience of the communist movement in 1938: "There are only three armies in the whole world which belong to the proletariat and the labour-

ing people, the armies led by the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, of China and of Spain, and as yet Communist Parties in other countries have had no military experience; hence our army and our military experience are all the more precious." (Problems of War and Strategy, 1938).

In a few years since then, many Parties acquired a very important experience and led people's armies. This is the one side that we should never forget. The other side, that we should equally not forget, is the regression that happened the last thirty years; this is the result of the liquidation brought about by modern revisionism. The international proletariat is far off from the situation in 1938 and has to cover this distance.

On the way towards active resistance lots of new phenomena will come to existence and new, unforeseen situations; the communists must have the perspicacity to grasp them, estimate their importance and evaluate them. The future will in no way be a repetition of the past. It never was; it won't b' now either. Here fit in perfectly well Mao's words: "expensive things are not won at a cheap price" (On Protracted War, 1938, point 49).

In this battle it is clear that the most advanced detachments of the international proletariat, the ones that open the way, the ones that have liberated regions, those who act in guerrilla zones, that bring significant blows to the enemy, those who in deeds follow the line of People's War and associate it to the general line that corresponds to the present stage, play and will continue to play the role of pioneers. The wide mobilization of the masses in order to bring support and reinforcement to those movements is very important for their victory and for the attainment of the strategic objective, as defined.

Through those trials, on an international level, under different circumstances and by facing unprecedented situations, the new world vanguard, the International Communist Movement, will be steeled, and from its lines the objective law of the class struggle's development in the contemporary period will be discovered.

The flames of the international resistance, of the international Protracted People's War against the New World Order, are already more and more visible in the horizon. The International Community of the Peoples will become a reality, no matter the difficulties and

the obstacles, and in this will happen in a not so distant future. The New World Order, being an "unjust cause", "finds meagre support" (On Protracted War, 1938, point 10). The peoples all over the world will be paying tribute to all the communists who during this century fought to open the ways for the happiness of the masses. They will restore, to the place they rightly merit, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, them being the embodiment of a titanic international struggle, on different levels and with great successes.

The peoples all over the world will always remember the following words of Mao:

"Marxists are not fortune-tellers. They can, and indeed this is what they do, only indicate the general direction of the future developments and changes; they should not and cannot fix the day and the hour in a mechanistic way. But when I say that there will soon come a high tide of revolution in China, I am emphatically not speaking for something which in the words of some people, is possibly something illusory, unattainable and devoid of significance. It is like a ship far out at sea whose mast-head can already be seen from the shore; it is like the morning sun in the east whose rays are visible from a high mountain top; it is like a child that will be born soon and it is moving restlessly in its mother's womb."