

A/synechia

Yannis Hotzeas and the Programme

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Two years since he passed away: Yannis Hotzeas and the Programme

Yannis Hotzeas, whose life is connected with the course of the communist movement of Greece and who was, without doubt, the most important figure of the antirevisionist struggle in our country, was insisting, during the last years of his life, on the necessity of establishing the foundations of a real agreement on the most critical points concerning the contemporary developments and the course of the communist movement.

A substantial agreement always concerned (and it still does) the main developments of the social process. So, it was not accidental that Yannis Hotzeas, from 1980 up to 1994, worked over the following subjects: the capitalist crisis; the unified system of social relations in the West and the East; the restructuring process of this system, being in a deep crisis; the relation and the importance that had, within this process, the degeneration and the incorporation of the revisionist world.

So, if we are speaking about a substantial agreement on the actual problems, this cannot be achieved by "eliminating" the history, and especially by wiping out the whole experience of the transitional societies and, more generally, of the communist movement. Comrade Yannis Hotzeas left to us a multitude of positions, texts and studies concerning those subjects, and his work contributed, in a decisive way, to the ideological and political orientation of A/synechia. Those subjects nevertheless constitute only one aspect of a substantial agreement, which justifies the existence of an organization.

In order to be able to consider such an agreement that defines a nation-wide

organization, it is necessary to have a global overview of the position of Greece -in our case- in the modern world, as well as an estimation about the previous efforts of our people: the revolutions, the revolts, the defeats. The works of Yannis Hotzeas covered those issues also, and his positions have been proved extremely enduring, always valid and long lasting.

He has worked on these issues under very unfavourable conditions. The liquidationist process of the m-l movement was rapidly advancing in Greece, and almost everybody hold the importance of theory and of a substantial agreement up to ridicule. The pragmatism and the empiricism prevented even the discussion of those issues. In order to be sincere, it has to be admitted that even the militants who initiated the effort of A/synechia were not able - influenced by the prevailing situation- to proceed in a fruitful and constructive discussion on those issues; but, on the other hand, the militants regrouped in A/synechia, despite their lacks, were the only ones to recognize the importance and the urgency of a programmatic agreement. Comrade Yannis Hotzeas spared no efforts in order to arm our organization with such a programmatic agreement.

He was not considering the problem of the reorganization of the revolutionary movement, on national and international level, as one that can be resolved by a certain "rehabilitation" of the past. He was not limiting this duty to the forces which, in the past decades, continuously failed to respond to the movement's needs. His criteria, in order to evaluate every organization, were: Is it a force strongly rooted in the respective country? Is it independent from the several reactionary, reformist or revisionist centres? Is it detecting the important issues and is it showing off the serious problems? Is it consequent and firm in its principles, is it educating its members and the masses correctly? Those criteria were the corner-stone on which A/synechia founded its orientation concerning its international relations, which didn't remained hemmed in stereotypes of the past; on the contrary, our organization searches, in the compulsory diversity of the actual level of the communist movement's regroupment, those elements of contact, co-ordination and agreement that can multiply the results of the efforts which must be undertaken by our movement.

One of the last texts of Yannis Hotzeas was written in the summer of 1993; it was addressed to the membership of the organization under the title "On the programmatic orientations of A/synechia". In this text all the basic positions that have been adopted and promoted during the next period are formulated (strategic target; organization-concentration of forces; international community of the peoples; prevention of the crisis' transfer, etc.). There are also mentions concerning the important question of the communist program. This term has not, in the work of Yannis Hotzeas, a relation with the usual references to the program of a political organization of the working class. He wrote:

«What does it mean, or what must we mean when speaking of the "communist program" and why has there been formulated the position about a course for its

construction? The construction of such a program comprises, basically, three things:

1. The research of the meaning of the transition to a different social form, and whether this form is the communism.
2. The elements-teachings of the course of the socialist construction and of the struggle of the world communist movement concerning the construction of a communist program.
3. And last, but not least, the continuous enrichment with every experience offered by the struggle of the working people, of the popular masses of the world, in the course of transition from the actual situation to another one, qualitative different; those experiences will decisively define the content and the form of the struggle, i.e. the content and form under the new conditions of what has been tried to be realized during October and during the post-October period.»

A position formulated by Yannis Hotzeas about the material conditions rendered by the "world market economy" for the transition to a different society, is of extreme importance:

«The experience and the theory of the revolutionary movement concerning the political level (the state mechanism) showed that a revolution must not use this mechanism, but it must destroy it (it's a different question if the destruction after October was definitive). If this was then correct, it is valid today for the economic (material-technical) level as well.

And this happens because this level is not "neutral". The revolutionary movement must destroy it and construct a different one. This basic position-teaching of the communist movement's history means: for the very reason the attempt of socialist construction took place, for the very reason capitalism was obliged to mobilize all its forces and to answer by all means, the inter-penetration of the "material" and of the "immaterial" and vice versa, the inter-penetration of economy and politics and vice-versa have been realized to such a degree that every single pore of that "machine" (of the system of production) bears the stamp of the dominating social relations.»

Comrade Yannis Hotzeas difficultly fits in predefined moulds. Even the totality of his work cannot be incorporated within a set "system".

Although many, too many even, tried to break into pieces this work and pick whatever they could, such attempts offered them little, since the essence of his work is not possible to be divided. His whole work is a huge contribution in the effort to achieve a substantial, programmatic agreement between those forces that would dare defy the challenges of the new, difficult period. And Yannis Hotzeas knew that this will be achieved by ordinary people, who, nevertheless, will break away from the "beaten-track" that obliges people to crawl on the ground.

The course for the revival of the communist movement of Greece passes through the assimilation and exploitation of the theoretical and political work of Comrade Yannis Hotzeas.

The future generations of the communist movement will refer to his work, and will appreciate his important contribution. Two years since he passed away, staying firmly on the road that leads to the transformation of A/synechia into a communist organization, staying firmly on the road that leads to the strategic target of the international community of the peoples, we will fight for the assimilation and exploitation of the work of Comrade Yannis Hotzeas!