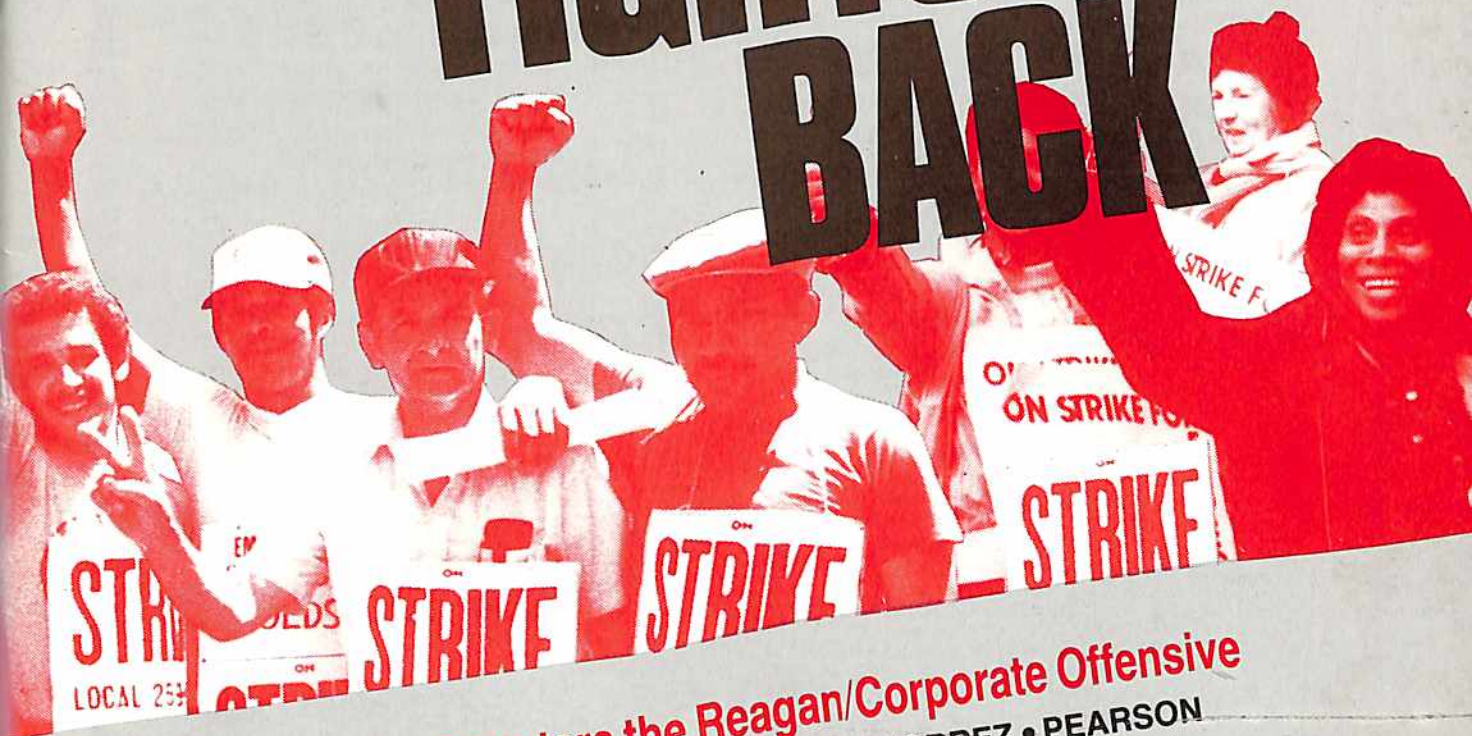


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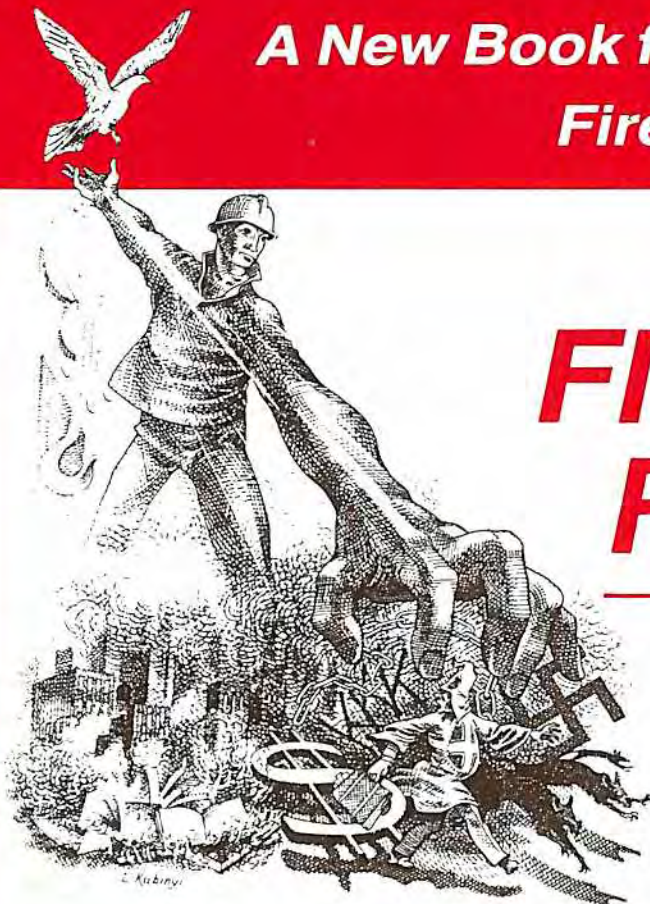
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# A New Strike Wave Counters the Reagan/Corporate Offensive

GEORGE MEYERS

While there is no national strike in any one industry at this moment, there is a nationwide pattern of strikes affecting all sections of the country. These strikes are graphic proof of the renewed upsurge in the working class and the trade union movement. They came at a time when the ruling class thought it had the workers handcuffed by one of the most racist and reactionary administrations in the nation's history, one which has wiped out almost every item of prolabor legislation. And this upsurge comes at a time when the structural crisis is not letting up, but intensifying.

These strikes bear out our Party's earlier estimate of the new and positive trends developing in the trade union movement. This estimate is reflected in our Draft Trade Union Program. This emphasis was placed by the Introduction to the Program (for some it became a critical aspect of the document.) It reads:

Fresh winds are sweeping through the ranks of labor. Ferment and revitalization are beginning to replace the stagnation and decline that set in with the Cold War days of the 1950s. Powerful grassroots pressures are fueling a rising spirit of militancy.

The Program went on to specify how the development of mass picketing and mass lobbying once again has become a part of labor's arsenal; how mass parades are restoring Labor Day to its rightful place as a labor holiday; and how strike solidarity actions are on the increase, workers forced out on long hard strikes are no longer left to fight on their own. Written months ago, it pointed out that AFL support for the Greyhound strike marked a new beginning, along with the belated backing given to the Arizona and Texas copper miners and smelter

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George Meyers is chair of the Labor Commission of the CPUSA. This and following articles are based on a report and discussion at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPUSA.

workers and the mass strike support organized by local central labor councils.

Recent developments bear out the correctness of this emphasis. While these strikes differ in various ways, they have a number of things in common:

- They are militant. That certainly is the keyword for the Phelps-Dodge workers after two years fighting the company lockout and union busting; the Wheeling-Pitt steelworkers; the Massey mine workers facing gun-thugs and armored cars.

- There are strong rank-and-file movements involved in these strikes. This is true everywhere. There are mass picket lines which judges have been reluctant to limit. At Wheeling-Pitt no car gets into the plant without a clearance sticker issued by the union.

- The role of the union leadership has stiffened. There has been a big change from a few years ago. At Wheeling-Pitt, when the strike was called at midnight, there was union president Lynn Williams, right out on the picket line to start the strike off. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland now gets right up there on the picket line.

- Mass support action cuts across all sections of the trade union movement and this is true in one case after another. Auto workers supported the strike of the teamsters who haul the automobiles. Other unions support the Massey strike. Big rallies have been called by all sections of the trade union movement in support of the Bath shipyard strikers and of course Wheeling-Pittsburgh and Phelps Dodge.

- In some strikes not only the industrial corporations are the target but the banks and other financial institutions behind them. This is a very important development. More and more the capitalist class is being seen as the enemy and not just the individual company. This is certainly true in the Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike,

but it's also true in some of the other strikes as well.

- In almost all cases the strikes result from the rejection of corporate attempts to wring further concessions from the workers. This is true in almost every case. Prominent among these concession demands are outright wage cuts, imposition of a two-tier wage system and the destruction of seniority. The last named is very high on the agenda of the corporations. In some cases it's blatant unionbusting. This is true in the case of the Massey mine strike. In others they're trying to run scabs. In Phelps Dodge they used scabs to break the strike and to bust the union.

- In some strikes the unions are demanding higher wages and better working conditions. This is particularly true in the teachers' strikes, although there is some effort to take away things they have won in the past. Every year about this time there is a wave of teachers' strikes and in most cases they are illegal. This year, so far, the teachers have been out in Chicago, Philadelphia, Flint, Pawtucket and Newport, Rhode Island, six districts in Pennsylvania and in the parochial schools of Pittsburgh. What is interesting about the teachers, unquestionably the most underpaid professionals in the country, is their continued militancy and greater identification with the working class and the trade union movement.

There has been an exciting response in our Party to these strike struggles. Clubs are discussing them, sections are discussing them, districts are putting strike struggles on the agenda. For example, I was in California recently and went to a section meeting one night. The main point on the agenda was how the Party was going to mobilize in support of a local strike. One of our comrades was the business agent. It was a very difficult struggle—a threatened run-away shop with all the concession demands that go along with that. The workers had turned it down and struck. Here was a Party section deciding what they were going to do to help the workers win.

Party strike involvement has been in three areas—comrades who are directly participating

as union members, mobilizing support from other unions and the labor movement as a whole and generating community support. In all these our press has played an outstanding role. Particularly in the Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike, the *Daily World* has played a heroic role. The mass use of our press, taking it to the workers on the picket lines and the working-class communities has led to mass acceptance of our press.

Getting the paper directly to strikers and to strike communities and using it as a national mobilizer has been a tremendous contribution and it must be a centerpiece of our strike support activity.

Let's briefly examine some of the strikes the Party has been involved in.

Start with the Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike, in which our Party and the *Daily World* are doing outstanding work. There is a background to it. By the time Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel was ready to make its move on concessions there was already a real fightback developing. It started in a West Coast shipyard in Los Angeles where, under Left leadership, the workers rejected the demand for concessions. In spite of the top union leadership recommending acceptance, the membership voted them down. They took their fight on up the coast to the shipyards in Washington State, where again the membership rejected demands for concessions.

Next came the strike of the Bath Iron Works in Maine—one of a whole collection of two-tier contracts. At the same time Armco demanded concessions and the union leadership was prepared to give the company a five dollar an hour wage cut in exchange for stock in the company. When they called a meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, the local union presidents just told the company, "You go to hell. We're not going to give you a anything because any money we give, you'll probably use to buy something else or invest in non-union mills that you have." And it was the local union presidents who flatly rejected Armco's demand that they reopen the contract and accept concessions.

So Wheeling-Pittsburgh used a different tactic. They resorted to Chapter 11 of the ban-

ruptcy law. That's when the workers really exploded. In the first days of the strike, the Party's Labor Department met and worked out a program and began to mobilize our support.

Some things are of special significance in this strike. One is the use of Chapter 11. The Supreme Court originally opened the gates to this unionbusting tactic of the companies. Congress tried to modify that decision by legislation, but the judge leap-frogged over Congress, went back to the Supreme Court decision and threw this thing wide open again. It's now going to be a real fight to eliminate this use of Chapter 11 to abrogate contracts.

In the Wheeling Pittsburg situation what's come through is the role of the banks and the attempt to smash the union. It is seen as the opening gun of the 1986 negotiations in basic steel. It's an attempt to drive the union into the ground in these coming negotiations. It's part of a gigantic drive to cut wages massively everywhere.

There is something new that we have to contend with in the trade union movement. It is part of the "Japanization" of union-company relations in the United States. The pattern is for Japanese and U.S. car manufacturers and U.S. steelmakers to cut a deal with union leaders on a Saturn-type contract for planned new mills, with wages drastically below scale, the shop steward system eliminated, etc.

In Japan the union in auto is nothing but an outright company union. A multimillionaire heads it and he has no relations with the workers, just with the companies. This is the style of labor relations being imported by the companies. One application of it is the demand that unions sign a contract before a company will even agree to build. This happened on the West Coast with GM-Toyota. The company demanded an agreement from the top leadership of the UAW to modify all kinds of things in the contract. And they got it.

In California I asked one of the workers, "How do you take up grievances in this new plant?" He said, "Well, you write your grievance on a piece of paper which you give to the foreman."

That's the grievance procedure. There is seniority system and they've practically eliminated wage steps.

This is also what happened in the Saturn agreement. GM said publicly they weren't going to talk about where they were going to build the plant until the UAW sat down and signed. And they did. Chrysler did the same thing around a new mill in Detroit. They told the union, "if you don't agree to these conditions, we will not build in Detroit, we will build somewhere else in the United States. And if we can't get agreement in the U.S. we'll go abroad and build."

So far as A.T. Massey is concerned, it's another attempt to break the union and is preliminary to the 1986 coal negotiations. On top of the Massey strike the workers now in six Peabody coal mines are on strike on the issue of forced overtime. The companies shut down the mines to compel the workers to come in an extra day a week against their will.

The Massey strike is against two transnational corporations, Shell Oil and Fluor. We've helped to publicize this struggle. Comrades helped to initiate the UAW caravan of 217 cars and trucks with food and money into southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. The Massey strikers played a frontline role in the big Labor Day march in Detroit.

In the Massey strike one of the natural tactics would be a boycott of Shell Oil.

The copper workers's struggle with Phelps Dodge is going into its third year and the militancy remains. It continues as a very significant struggle despite the fact that the union has been driven out of the Phelps Dodge mines and mills, which are being run nonunion. The union was ready to grant all kinds of concessions to Kennecott. But Kennecott told them, "We're not interested. We'll meet you at the negotiating table next year." What they're saying is, "We're going to bust the union just like we did in Phelps Dodge."

One of the proposals we have to consider is a regional conference dealing specifically with the problems of the copper miners and smelter workers in preparation for these negotiations.

We have the Hormel strike—another example of moving on out from the picket lines and going out not only into the communities but in the country as a whole. The Morell strikes followed Hormel and they mark a new stage among meatpacking workers, who have been taking a beating over a number of years as far as concessions and closings are concerned.

We have the Chicago *Tribune* strike and the strike of the Philadelphia newspaper.

Early in this year we had the Yale strike, in which the Party and the *Daily World* were very actively involved. There was the car-haulers' strike of the teamsters, where the rank and file rejected a contract which would have been agreed to by Presser and the top union leadership and the companies. New York had the militant strike of hotel and restaurant workers and the District of Columbia utility workers struck for the first time in fifty three years.

The possibility of a national strike on the railroads looms at the end of the two month cooling off period which Reagan has just imposed. While we are weak here in terms of members, we are proving that the Party can influence strikes and strike struggles even when we don't have members in them.

Finally, there are the solidarity actions of the trade unions in support of the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa. This is a part of the national scene. A main focus has been support of the South African gold and coal miners. It has come from labor generally and particularly the United Mine Workers. They have

started a strike fund to aid the miners who've been fired for striking in South Africa. They were probing a campaign, including at least a one-day strike demonstration against the principle U.S. banks associated with Anglo-American, the chief South African mine monopoly. That fell through when Anglo-American settled with the South African trade union.

What's important about the anti-apartheid solidarity movement is the focus it places on the U.S.-owned transnational corporations—not only their role in South Africa, but generally. For labor that means their role in the export of jobs. This becomes a factor in developing a real class position that it fits very well with how we deal with this situation. It's no longer the foreign workers who are the enemies.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize the need to expand the Party's participation in strikes and all other working-class and trade union struggles. A lot of excitement been created in the Party around the Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike. Everybody that went into the Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike came out of it changed to some extent. Everybody is elated about the experiences, even though there were a couple that weren't quite positive.

We've learned some new techniques and revived some old ones. We've helped to take this strike to the country and we have taken our Party and the paper to the strike and the strike communities. The job now is to to increase and deepen our participation in this and other strikes. □

At 12:01 a.m., July 21, 6200 active and 2000 laidoff steelworkers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation, the seventh largest steel company, called the question on the corporate-Reagan offensive of smashing contracts, dictating wages and working conditions and breaking unions. The 4 to 12 shift left the mills that night carrying their clothes-bags, hard hats and safety shoes, and joined their brothers and sisters on picket lines which covered every mill gate. From that night on, the spirit, as characterized by one steelworker, has been, "Somebody had to take a stand; enough is enough. Concessions stop here."

It is ironic that concessions in the steel industry started at Wheeling-Pitt in 1979. That year, Wheeling-Pitt negotiated a separate agreement with the USWA which granted the company the first takebacks. The company told the union it needed the money to modernize. Modernize it did, making their mills the most up-to-date integrated facilities in the country.

Since 1979, the nineteen locals spread over USWA districts 15 (Western Pennsylvania) and 23 (West Virginia and a small section of Ohio) at Wheeling-Pitt have not bargained with the rest of the USWA Basic Steel Industry Bargaining Conference.

Following the lead of concessions at Wheeling-Pitt, in 1980 the rest of the steel companies took back two COLA raises due the steelworkers. They claimed they needed the concessions for the pension fund.

Again in 1982, Wheeling-Pitt whined poverty, and the union granted more concessions. Wheeling-Pitt made stock available to steelworkers and many bought. There were two issues of stock, the first selling for \$25 and the last for \$100 a share. The company promised to pay a 10 per cent dividend on the investment.

According to the American Iron and Steel Institute, by June 1985 labor costs at Wheeling-Pitt were \$1.21 an hour below the prevailing USWA-

negotiated industry-wide wage and benefit scale.

Steelworkers estimate that the company owes them anywhere from \$15,000 to \$20,000 in deferred wages, vacation pay and stock dividends.

When the company filed Chapter 11 bankruptcy proceedings on April 16 in the court of Judge Warren R. Bentz, a Reagan appointee, they got more than they bargained for.

Despite attempts by the USWA to forestall deeper concessions, and a union announcement that if Bentz broke the contract members would strike, Bentz trashed the agreement.

Once Bentz tore up the contract, Wheeling-Pitt imposed a \$6.20 an hour cut in wages and benefits. In fact, the company-dictated package, the Modified Wage and Benefit Programs booklet, appeared in the mills the same day Bentz ruled—July 17. Five days before the ruling, Wheeling-Pitt ordered blast furnaces banked, causing layoffs around the Ohio Valley.

Wheeling-Pitt wanted a showdown and they got it.

Since July 21, unity among Wheeling-Pitt steelworkers in the two valleys has strengthened. When Wheeling-Pitt attempted to move steel coil out of its Beech Bottom, West Virginia, plant, two busloads of workers from Monessen joined 1,000 pickets to stop the trucks.

Six busloads of Steubenville steelworkers traveled to Monessen to march in a rally there.

The USWA, with a helping hand from the *Daily World*, has rallied support in union districts from Baltimore to Gary, Indiana. The International union sent out a packet chock full of information needed to mobilize members. So far, delegations of steelworkers from Massillon, Hannibal, Cleveland, Lorain, Canton and Youngstown, Ohio, have joined the Wheeling-Pitt workers on the picket lines. Buses have brought union members from Chicago, Gary and Detroit to support rallies.

Steelworkers never show up empty-handed. Every USWA delegation brings money raised the old fashioned way—in plantgate collections. Over \$100,000 has been collected in coffee cans for the strike fund. The gate collections indicate the sup-

## Wheeling-Pittsburgh The Bankruptcy Bludgeon In Steel

by DENISE WINEBRENNER

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Denise Winebrenner is a *Daily World* staff writer.



port this battle has among the rank and file of the union.

One turning point in the strike came when Wheeling-Pitt, while arguing to block union efforts enabling workers to collect unemployment compensation, tried to break the picket lines.

In Martin's Ferry, Ohio, Beech Bottom and Follansbee, West Virginia, Wheeling-Pitt either tried to move steel by rail and truck or to bring scabs into the plant on a semi. On each occasion, the local unions sent out the call by radio, phone tree and word of mouth for members to gather at the gates. Not only steelworkers showed up, but coal miners, construction workers, health care workers, teamsters. Men and women streamed down from the hills to stop the trucks and trains. Wheeling-Pitt screeched to a halt.

Far away, in the State House in Columbus, Ohio, Governor Celeste could not ignore this outpouring of popular support for the strike, and Ohio became the first state to grant unemployment compensation for the strikers.

Rank-and-file Wheeling-Pitt workers initiated a petition outlining four demands. They are: a wage and benefit package of \$21.40 an hour (the existing package under the old contract); restoration of full powers to the grievance committees; no labor-management participation teams; and the right to strike. The petition garnered over 4500 names, including the local leaderships of striking steelworkers in both valleys.

The International union, besides providing legal assistance, no small task, has provided health care for the strikers and their families.

In the windows of small stores, diners and bars in every town and village along the Ohio river, "Go Steelworkers" signs are proudly displayed.

From the first week of the strike, the Party and the *Daily World* have been in the fight. The *Daily* has been distributed twice a week in the Ohio Val-

ley and Mon Valley. It appears from the massive steel mill in Weirton, West Virginia, the ESOP (employee stock ownership plan) mill, to the picket lines on both sides of the Ohio, to the hillsides and hollows of the towns which line the river.

*Daily World* reporters have flown and driven hundreds of miles to cover the fast-breaking story. The midnight oil burns at the paper office to produce the Tuesday and Thursday specials.

The *Daily* has brought the story to plant gates throughout the country, helping to build support for the strike outside the Ohio and Mon valleys and augmenting the International union appeal. Only the *Daily World* informed steelworkers on the picket lines about strikes at Bath in Maine and Hormel in Minnesota.

Weirton Steel Company hates the paper because it ripped the "emperor's new clothes" off the phony ESOP at that mill. "ESOP is just another way to spell concessions," the *Daily* said. It has answered questions in communities concerning the strike, proving steelworkers' argument that "if we lose, you lose—this entire valley will become a ghost town."

Finally, the *Daily* has taken on 35 years of red-baiting. At the base of the Ohio Valley lies Wheeling, West Virginia. It was here that Joe McCarthy launched the witch-hunts that hounded the labor and progressive movements for a generation. The McCarthyite legacy includes a States Rights Party and a Ku Klux Klan, scarring the beautiful hills more than any strip mining operation.

The strike continues and grows stronger. Its outcome will determine not only the future of the Ohio and Mon valleys, but the contracts and the future for thousands of steelworkers and their communities next year. For as David Roderick, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel, has announced to the world, whatever Wheeling-Pitt gets, that is what is in store for other steelworkers when their contract expires in 1986. □

It is not often that a strike in Maine has national implications. The strike at Congoleum Corporation's Bath Iron Works certainly does. And this is realized by the workers on the picketline. The strike is being waged by Locals 6 and 7 of the International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America.

Local 7 represents approximately 400 clerical workers at the yard. They have been out on strike since April 21 of this year.

Local 6 represents the 4,500 production workers at the yard. On June 30 of this year, Local 6 voted almost unanimously (only 25 opposed) voted to strike rather than accept a contract filled with concessions.

Domestic shipbuilding for commercial uses in the United States has virtually come to a standstill. In line with President Reagan's huge military buildup, Bath Iron Works has bid exclusively on Navy contracts in recent years. Its current contracts cover the construction of guided missile ships. The Navy's system of competitive bidding has helped foster an atmosphere in which shipyards across the country used the phony need for concessions as an excuse to win new Navy contracts.

The main concessions Bath Iron Works wants from the union are:

1. the two tier wage system—a permanent \$3.00 an hour reduction in starting wages for new hires.
2. a significant increase in insurance costs to be borne by employees.
3. the right for the company to require cross-trading, which could arbitrarily shift a worker from one job classification to another.
4. a wage freeze.
5. a reduction in the number of paid holidays.
6. a cut in shift premiums from 7 per cent of what those on the day shift make to a flat 35¢ an hour more. This would be a pay cut of about 44¢

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John Rummel is district organizer of the Communist Party of Maine.

an hour for those working the second and third shifts.

7. Bath Iron Works wants the union to agree not to strike for any reason during the life of the contract. This is unacceptable to the shipbuilders because it would make it impossible for them to support other, smaller unions at the yard.

The union does not see wages as the main issue in this strike. The two-tier wage system, increased insurance costs, cross-trading and shift differentials are the key issues in the strike. The union sees the two-tier wage system as an attempt to "sell out our own sons and daughters," as was aptly put by Local 6 strike coordinator Milton Dudley. Bath Iron Works has the lowest annual turn-

over in the industry—one-sixth of one per cent. Whole families and generations of families work at the yard. Once they have those jobs they do not leave them. The union clearly sees that the two-tier wage system would divide the union and deny their children the fruits of their par-

ents' struggles. The two-tier wage system is another corporate attack on the working class and it is increasingly coming up in contract negotiations across the country. However, this strike may be the beginning of the end for the two-tier system.

This strike came as no surprise to the union. As far back as two years ago, the company sent a letter to all of its employees that wage concessions at the Ingalls shipbuilding yard in Mississippi would put BIW at a disadvantage in bidding on Navy contracts. That was followed by increased company pressure for renegotiating the contract before it was due to expire. The union did agree to open talks last fall but the militant membership rejected the concessions the company was demanding. Congoleum—Bath Iron Works' parent company—was calling for concessions and at the same time refusing to disclose any financial records. In 1980 Congoleum corporation and the First Boston corporation (an investment firm) got together and bought out all of Congoleum's shareholders.

Congoleum became a totally private operation that releases little information for public scrutiny.

## *Bath Iron Works* **Two-Tier Crunch In the Shipyards** by JOHN RUMMEL

These calls for concessions were not coming from a company on the brink of bankruptcy. From what little information Congoleum does part with, industry experts say it has a profit rate of 21 per cent, compared to a 10 per cent average in the industry nationally. Unlike workers and their families, Congoleum has also fared well under Reagan's tax plans. They have paid no income taxes since 1980.

The union sees Congoleum as an investment firm that is not interested in the long term construction of ships, but rather as a corporation that wants to make its money and run. Congoleum is trying to gain concessions to make the shipyard attractive to new buyers. Thus, the handwriting was on the wall.

The union used this time to prepare. In the winter months, the union started work on a job bank. All members were asked to fill out cards, listing their skills, and potential jobs were lined up. A food drive in coordination with the Maine AFL-CIO was planned, with dropsites throughout the state. The union also started working with the media to try to insure that its positions became known to the public. This paid off. Media coverage of the strike for the first three weeks was slanted towards the company. Since then there has been more balanced reporting of the strike.

Striking picketers can be seen carrying signs that say, "Congoleum—home of corporate greed." That perception is shared by many people in the state. Congoleum is seen as a greedy corporation ruining a shipyard that was once the pride of the state. It is another example of corporate destruction of industry that is taking place throughout our country. Congoleum recently received a \$72 million rebate from the Navy for work on ships finished ahead of schedule. Although the workers' high productivity enabled the work to be completed early, not one cent was passed on to them. It is projected that Congoleum will make \$80 million on its three newest contracts.

Congoleum has thumbed its nose at public opinion by suing the union for obtaining documents concerning contracts that BIW bids on. Congoleum has said the contracts were obtained illegally. The union maintains that the suit is an attempt to shift emphasis from the strike issues and drain its treasury. The union legally acquired these documents from Senator George Mitchell's office. The Navy testified that the documents con-

tain no sensitive material. But Congoleum tried to have the Navy person who testified fired from his job. Such arrogant moves are not sitting well with Maine people.

Another example of Congoleum corporation scoring zero for public relations and ten for corporate greed occurred three years ago, when it received \$30 million in interest-free loans from Portland and from the state to build a repair drydock in Portland. It threatened to build out of state if the money was not given. It also promised 1000 new jobs, with many going to unemployed and low-income youth. Congoleum got its money, but no jobs materialized.

The Maine AFL-CIO is vigorously working to build support for the strike. Two weeks after the strike began, it sent a letter to its affiliates asking support for the strike by picketing, contributing food and money. The letter said, "the time has come for us to put our backs to the walls and stand up against both management and government."

The labor federation urged community and low income organizations to support the strike. Unemployed organizations, seniors and others have responded. The state labor organization had laid a basis by leading grassroots campaigns, including the successful drives to raise the state minimum wage and to save Maine's workers' compensation laws. The state federation placed those issues on a level usually reserved for campaigns against unionbusting legislation. It is mobilizing support for the strike in a similar manner.

The strike of production workers in Local 6 is very solid. The rank and file are determined to grant no concessions. As long as a year ago the union urged its members to set money aside. Many did. A large number have gotten temporary jobs through the union's job bank. This has toughened their resolve to stay out as long as necessary.

At the end of August the draftsmen at the shipyard (who are organized into their own marine draftsmen union) voted to accept a concession package. They rejected appeals of shipbuilders to join them on the picketlines. Congoleum promised that any gains won by the shipbuilders would automatically be passed on to the draftsmen. This scabbing by the draftsmen clearly angered the shipbuilders, but they saw it as a company provocation to incite violence on the picketline. Through it all, they kept their eyes focused on the main

enemy—Congoleum.

As this is written, the clerical workers of Local 7 are voting on a recent offer from the company. Local 7's negotiating committee is recommending acceptance. The offer includes concessions, although there is some improvement in insurance coverage. Like the contract signed by the draftsmen, any increases won by the production workers of Local 6 would automatically include the clerical workers. Members of Local 7 realize that this is another divide-and-conquer tactic, although they understand it is far different than the actions of the draftsmen. Noting that the clerical workers had been on strike for 10 weeks before the start of the production workers' strike, Local 6 was supporting them regardless of the outcome of the vote.

Bath Iron Works has a drydock in Portland that is used for repair work. The main part of the workforce is in the coastal town of Bath, a 45 minute drive from Portland. The Party has had teams going to Bath regularly to distribute copies of the *Daily World*. Overall, the reception has been positive. Most of the workers come from small, rural towns and see their future tied to building ships

for the Navy. Many are Viet Nam veterans. It is natural that we would run into some anti-Communism, but it is minimal. A fair number take the paper and give it a look. They appreciate reading articles about themselves as well as keeping informed about the strikes at Wheeling-Pitt and Hormel. This reflects their heightened sense of class solidarity. The reception we now receive would not have been possible a few years ago.

We have to thoughtfully raise our concerns about the type of work being done at the shipyard. There can't be any appearance of sniping at the workers because they are working on Pentagon contracts. Their battle is critical for the trade union movement. Although many of them see no problem with the Navy contracts Congoleum signs, a growing number would rather see more stable employment associated with the rebuilding of our merchant marine.

The strike at BIW is a heroic attempt to put the nail in the coffin of corporate givebacks and the two-tier system. It's not a strike being waged for narrow self-interest, but rather one for all working people. It deserves the total support of all of Labor and its allies. □

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After two years of all-out war against them by the combined forces of Phelps Dodge, Arizona's Governor Babbit and the news media, the Phelps Dodge strikers are alive and well. The unionbusting assault has included physical attacks by state police and national guard as well as intensive psychological warfare. But the workers have succeeded in giving their struggle a national focus and have won support which helps sustain their fight. They thus remain more determined than ever!

In turn, the Phelps Dodge strikers have given the U.S. labor movement some greatly needed experience and a lesson on how to conduct struggles in "lockout" situations.

Phelps Dodge has not been able to break the unions or to isolate them from their community base. Thus, united labor-community struggle is becoming an accepted tool for the whole labor movement.

Most recently, Ray Isner and Angel Rodriguez, the two top local labor leaders of the Morenci miners, traveled to Detroit to carry their mes-

sage and seek funds to continue the fight. A total of \$15,000 was raised in two days.

The Metro Detroit AFL-CIO Council brought its unions to hear the strike leaders, to offer their own views and to pledge their support.

Isner addressed the Detroit City Council, winning a pledge of aid in a moving speech in which he said, "Phelps Dodge has been vicious, vindictive and racist. They've shot into our homes, vigilante style, beat up strikers, but if it takes another 26 months, we're going to win."

Morenci, Arizona, is only a hundred miles west of another historic copper strike, the *Salt of the Earth* miners' strike of 1950-52 in the Silver City, New Mexico, area. And like *Salt of the Earth*, the Morenci lockout is attracting wide national and international support. As Isner told the Detroit gathering, "We're getting support from all over, as far away as Guam and British Colombia, Canada."

Speaking for the Detroit City Council, Erma Henderson said, "All efforts to downgrade workers lives must be stopped, whether in Detroit, Ari-

zona or South Africa."

Olga Madar from the Coalition of Labor Union Women, said, "CLUW is foursquare behind any union or union member in trouble." Curtis Macguire added, "from Reagan on down to the courts and the NLRB, they're out to defeat labor. I say we will not be defeated."

Manuel Alvarez of the United Farm Workers Union delivered a check in the amount of \$11,000 as the audience chanted, "Boycott grapes, boycott grapes." Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers, was one of the first national leaders who, early in the strike, had traveled to Arizona, pledged his union's support and promised to work to enlist the aid of other national unions.

The Detroit meetings are typical examples of the growing community-labor backing of the trade union movement and how it enhances labor's ability to respond to the Reagan/corporate offensive. The Phelps Dodge strikers are receiving similar mass backing everywhere they've been—in Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona, in San Francisco, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. Their fight symbolizes the united national power which the Reagan Administration hopes to dismantle, but has not been able to. It is a growing element in "declining Reaganism."

Thus Jim Spauling, a former member of PATCO, echoed Cesar Chavez' and the Phelps Dodge miners' sentiments when he said, "we must all hang together or we will hang separately." Certainly that message is coming through loud and clear. It reaches into every local union hall in the country. It can be seen in Wheeling-Pittsburgh; we saw it in the United Air Lines strike; in the Greyhound Bus strike; at Yale, etc.

The battle of the Southwest is far from over. The 40 per cent of the copper miners who still have jobs are facing the 1986 negotiations. The corporations have already made clear what they expect from the miners. In an exploratory meeting in Jan-

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Lorenzo Torrez is district organizer of the Arizona/New Mexico district of the CPUSA.

uary '85, Kennecott told the unions, "if you are not ready to discuss a 50-plus per cent wage cut, we are not interested in meeting." That dismantled the bargaining session and the union reps went home.

In the minds of the miners, the message is clear. They're facing a corporate-instigated and corporate-managed lockout in '86. What must be the response to this?

The problem is not one for the unions alone. The stakes are too high, a great part of the labor force is unorganized and the Right works hard to generate a non-union atmosphere.

Thus we Communists must be concerned with this problem. Our newly issued Draft Labor

Program, now open to all trade-unionists for discussion, carries our analysis and strategic approach, but the specific answer for each industry and each region must be sought at that level. Certainly this must be the case for the copper miners in the Rocky Mountain area. We must not

only be supportive of all their concrete fightback actions but must also help probe for possible new and more effective tactics. We should make our suggestions known so they can be discussed and weighed by the miners.

Throughout the past decade and beyond we have been saying, "state monopoly capitalism is attempting to shift the burden of its economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class." It has been the basic theme of all our public and internal discussions. We have been agitating the labor movement to shore up its defenses, to build and strengthen rank-and-file organization and to mount an organized fightback.

For many years some unionists have sponsored that our pleas were not convincing. But that is not the case now. Under the Reagan Administration all the stops are off. Labor scrimmages and pitched battles are daily events. Not one moment or corporate dollar is spared. The corporations and their bank executives are full-blown "activists." They utilize the anti-union, anti-people think tanks, legal and paralegal firms to rob the

*Phelps Dodge*

## **Embattled Copper Workers Defy Unionbusting**

by LORENZO TORREZ

working class. The tactics may vary, but they are systematized and they are employed nationwide from the small shop to the monopoly corporation. They all go in the same direction—to destroy organized labor!

So we in the copper Rocky Mountain region appeal to all friends of labor throughout the country for solidarity and assistance. Speak up, stand up, now is the time to join the fight! □

On July 18, 1985, 1,000 union typographers, pressmen and mailers struck the *Chicago Tribune* for a new contract. They had been working without contracts since January 1983 in the case of the typographers, July 1984 for the mailers and April of '85 for the pressmen. The strike was precipitated by the stubborn refusal of the *Tribune* to negotiate in good faith with the unions. Four days later, the *Trib* brought in a new law firm with a reputation of being a unionbuster specializing in newspapers: King, Ballow and Little, of Nashville, Tennessee. The firm represents 225 newspapers across the nation, according to the estimate of Holly Garland and Paul R. McGinn of *Chicago Lawyer* magazine.

One other union at the *Trib* has also been without contract, the Chicago Paper Handlers Local 2. Members of this union have honored the picket lines of the typographers, pressmen and mailers and refused to work. One union out of five at the *Trib*, the Teamsters, which represents the drivers of the trucks that deliver the paper to all points around the city, settled with the company last December. The Teamsters' contract includes a clause that specifically prohibits them from striking in sympathy with other unions. It is generally recognized that as long as the paper can be delivered, it can be printed by non-union labor, due to the sweeping automation that has wreaked havoc among the printing trades.

The Tribune Company has not yet missed a day's publication. In violation of state and city

laws, the company has brought in scabs from out of state at high wages to print the paper. Instead of prosecuting the *Tribune*, however, the Cook County State's Attorney and the City Corporation Council have said that there are questions regarding the law's constitutionality.

The issues in the strike are similar to those in so many other strikes unfolding across the country: resistance of the workers to a multi-tier wage structure for new hires, work rule changes aimed at destroying seniority, and abrogation of a ten-year-old "lifetime" job guarantee signed by the *Trib* with its printers in 1975.

If spirit alone could win a strike, this one would have been won long ago. On Labor Day some 4000 workers, their families and their supporters marched down Michigan Ave. with thousands of other workers in the Labor Day Parade. Their loud and militant chants made clear their determination to win a new contract from the *Trib*, and a good contract. Labor Day has only

been marked by parades in Chicago since 1980, after a 40 year absence of such activities. Previous marches' main significance has been that they took place. Officially, they have been nonpartisan politically, and noncontroversial. This year's parade, in addition to the militancy of the *Tribune* strikers, also featured rank-and-file banners and placards in solidarity with the Black workers of South Africa.

The perception of the strikers is that the Tribune Company is out to eliminate unions among its workers. The accuracy of this perception is born out by the observation of former *Trib* Vice President for Employee Relations, Joseph F. Barletta, who told *Chicago Lawyer* that people think "the

## *Chicago Tribune* **Printers Repel Concession Assault**

by TED PEARSON

Ted Pearson is district organizer of the Communist Party of Illinois.

goal of King Ballow is . . . to destroy the union or get rid of it . . . They start with the optimal goal of getting rid of the union." Or, as Jerry Maywald, a striking *Trib* worker, put it in a letter to the *Chicago Reader*, referring to the scabs who are running the presses of the struck paper, "[they] are a low form of life brought in from another state to destroy unions, not only in Chicago but across the nation so that big money can return working white-and blue-collar people to the sweatshop days of the 1920s and 1930s."

The striking unions have established a strike headquarters at the Plumbers Hall, 1340 W. Washington Blvd. Their Council is nominally headed by Edward Brabec, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, which has pledged full support to the strikers. As the strike wears on, however, the sight of "business as usual" at the printing plant of the *Tribune* is bitter. There is talk of an all out information campaign by the labor movement targeting the major advertisers in the *Trib*: the Loop and Michigan Ave. stores like Marshall Field's, Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., and Sears, which every day take pages and pages of ads. There is also talk of labor massing hundreds of pickets supporting the strikers outside the so-called "Freedom Center" printing plant near the Loop. Although the Teamsters are prohibited from striking in sympathy, they can not be forced to drive over a massive picket line of unionists supporting the strike. Neither can the printing unions be held responsible for the actions of others.

One of the most significant side events in the strike, small but nonetheless significant, is the unity that has developed in a small way between the *Tribune* strikers and the demonstrators against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Every Thursday at noon between 50 and 250 pickets gather for a protest outside the South African consulate across the street from the Tribune Tower on Michigan Ave. These demonstrations have been a regular Thursday event every week since November 1984. The demonstrators are Black and white, and come from a broad array of labor, religious and community organizations. The Communist Party and the Young Communist League are both regular participants every week.

Although it had been spoken of on these

picket lines often, it was the YCL that took the initiative and early in September, as the noontime demonstration was ending, led 20 pickets from the consulate across the street to join the *Tribune* strikers. The printers, pressmen and mailers are almost all white. Such is the legacy of racism in the printing trades. The initial reaction of the strikers was cautious, but it was not long before Marcia Davis, the young leader of the YCL in Illinois, had the entire line chanting, "Boycott the *Tribune*—Free South Africa." Since then, every week some of the Free South Africa pickets have crossed the street and joined the *Tribune* strikers. The feeling between the two groups is slowly growing warmer.

Members and friends of the Communist Party have also distributed copies of the *Daily World* to the strikers at both the Tower and the printing plant. These papers have been warmly received, especially when they carry news about the strike.

Another side issue on which the strike had an impact was the attempt by the Teamsters Union to absorb the Typographers in a nationwide merger. The vote among the Typographers took place two months into the strike, and the fact that the Teamsters leadership had allowed their hands to be tied so as to be unable to aid the striking printers and mailers did not go over well among those whom they wanted to absorb. The typographers rejected merger with the Teamsters by a two-to-one margin.

Although the *Tribune* is crying poverty in their assault on the union, published reports expose this as a lie. Under the old contracts that the printers and mailers are seeking to preserve, the *Tribune* earned \$51.1 million in the first half of 1985, up 31 per cent from last year.

The working class has been dealt a potentially winning hand in the struggle to block the union-busting of the *Chicago Tribune* and their hired legal guns, King, Ballow and Little. The rising militancy of the working class across the country as it grows in awareness of the all-out Reaganite attack on the labor movement is our strongest card. It is up to the industrial unions in auto, steel and other industries feeling the brunt of this attack to help the Chicago Federation of Labor play the cards in a way that can call the bluff of the corporations. □

Seventeen hundred packinghouse workers of George A. Hormel & Company in Austin, Minnesota, members of the United Food & Commercial Workers Union Local P-9, went on strike on August 17. On September 1, 2,500 workers at John Morrell meatpacking plant at Sioux Falls and St. Louis walked out.

Although there are small differences between these disputes, the basic issues in both are restoration of the wage cuts the companies have forced on the workers during the past few years, and the erosion of work rules and benefits the union has won over 40 years of negotiations, and stopping the corporate drive to introduce a two-tier wage system into the packing industry.

The Hormel plant in Austin is one of the most productive and profitable plants in pork processing. It is the prime employer in a small town, and has for years used the threat of moving out of Austin to force concessions from the workers. The anger of the workers has long been brewing. Local P-9 claims that in 16 of the past 22 years members of the local have been forced to make concessions to the company. In 1978 the workers reluctantly agreed to the elimination of an incentive bonus system and to increased production quotas so the company would build a new plant in Austin. The workers also felt compelled to accept a payroll deduction plan amounting to an average of \$12,000 a year per worker—put into escrow for the company to use to build the plant. When the new plant, with the most modern equipment, started production, management increased speedup 20 per cent.

Speedup and poor training of new employees have made the plant one with the worst injury rate—200 per cent a year. At times 36 per cent of the workers are on the injury list. "The plant is a walking infirmary," says Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9.

Although the company's profits were among

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the highest in the industry, Hormel cut the workers' wages by 23 per cent at the Austin plant last October, greatly reduced health care benefits and began taking payroll deductions of as much as \$100 per week for medical coverage employees had used in the past. The local leadership, probably under illusions about the National Labor Relations Act, agreed to give their dispute with the company to arbitration. The rulings were disastrous to the Austin workers.

The first ruling gave the company permission to reduce wages and benefits of the workers. The arbitrator based his decision on the contract language negotiated in 1978 by the local union. This essentially called for wages and benefits at Austin to track with prevailing wages and benefits in the meatpacking industry.

In the second arbitration ruling, the wages and benefits at Austin were set, as of September 1, 1985, at 75¢ an hour below 1 Chain settlement.

The third arbitration decision fixed August 9, 1985, as the expiration date for the Local 9 contract. The union had hoped that the date would be the same as that of the Hormel chain—September.

The United Food and Commercial Workers International Union position paper on the Local 9 Hormel situation states that in the fall of 1984 the leadership of Local 9 rejected the International's proposal that all Hormel workers strike the Geo. A. Hormel Company. It reported that "they [the local leadership] could not support such a strike because Local 9 had a contract with Hormel" and they decided to give their grievance to arbitration. Since Hormel's Austin plant produces more than 40 per cent of Hormel's overall production, the other eight local unions decided that a strike without the support of the Austin workers would not be effective, and negotiated an agreement which reduced the \$3.69 cut proposed by the company to 69¢, or a base rate of \$10 per hour as of September 1, 1985.

After the contract expiration date Hormel Company at Austin presented Local 9 with a "take it or leave it" proposal for a three-year contract that

## *Hormel* **Meatpackers Resist Divide-and-Conquer** by HELEN KRUTH



offered to raise the wages to \$10 per hour, as the other Hormel Chain has, with no further wage increases for the duration of the contract. The proposal about working rules in the plant would have wiped out all the gains made by the union in the past 40 years. It would have destroyed seniority on job assignments and done away with the 52-week notice of permanent layoffs. Furthermore it permitted the days of the work week to be determined by the company, thus eliminating overtime pay for Saturday and Sunday work, with all the overtime work assigned at the discretion of the foremen. It would have given the company the right to fire instantly any worker who left the production line without permission—no matter what the reason—cut the paid holidays from ten to eight, and reduced health benefits.

The company also wants to introduce a two-tier wage system, with the right to hire temporary workers at \$7.50 per hour with a 50¢ raise at six months intervals, up to \$9 per hour, but never higher. These workers would never get seniority, could be hired and fired at will and have no fringe benefits.

Local 9 members voted by 93 per cent against accepting the contract offer and to sanction a strike. The workers say they are not striking for the 69¢ (the difference between the company offer and the \$10.69 wage they originally had before the wage cuts) but to retain some human dignity in the working conditions that the union has won, to retain their benefits, to stop the speedup in the plant and kill the two-tier wage system.

Before the strike began, the UFCW Local P9 contracted a public relations firm, Corporate Campaign, Inc., to organize a campaign against Hormel corporation and First Banks of the Twin Cities. The First Bank system is Hormel's banker and owner of 15 per cent of its stock, has interlocking directors with the corporation, as the Hormel Foundation, owns 40 per cent of the stock which is controlled by the directors. The bank has huge influence on Hormel's labor policies. The Corporate

Campaign is out to inform the labor movement and the public how the bank and the corporation hold the small town of Austin hostage, threatening to leave unless the workers give in to their demands. Already before the strike, the wage and benefit cuts took almost \$1 million a month from the local economy.

Local 9 has carried on a very vigorous campaign with large mass demonstrations in the Twin Cities' First Bank office complexes, leafleted the Twin Cities and suburbs with their message, sent caravans of strikers to other Hormel plants in Iowa and Nebraska and to the Morrell plant in Sioux Falls to make their issues known to other packing-house workers. Strikers have picketed the First Bank facilities in Duluth and Mesaba Range cities, held press meetings and gotten support of farmers and local unions.

Before the strike began there was reluctance on the part of some unions to embrace the strike because there were rumors of disagreement between the international and Local P9. The International and District UFCW have endorsed the strike and are giving \$65 a week strike benefits to the strikers. Many union locals have sent resolutions of support and funds to help the strike. Local P9 has had numerous requests for speakers at local meetings, and a strike relief committee, functioning from St. Paul UAW Hall, has already sent a truckload of food to Austin and is planning to send another one before the end of September. Many local unionists have joined the mass picketing of the First Bank facilities and farm groups like Groundswell and COACT have given support.

Maybe because much of the Union outreach publicity is done by the commercial public relations people, one has a feeling that it lacks the class content and the need for trade union unity. A slogan like "Dignity, Safety and Fairness" blurs the real issue of the strike—to save the union and the gains the union movement has won over the past 40 years. □

# Festival of Youth and Peace

JAMES STEELE

The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, held in Moscow from July 27 to August 3, under the slogan "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship," established itself as one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the youth movement. The scale and scope of international participation reflects its historic dimensions. Delegations came from 157 countries and 76 international and regional organizations. More than 20,000 delegates belonged to tens of thousands of mass organizations, including trade unions, student governments, women's organizations, children's movements, environmental groups, the main religious denominations and cultural organizations. Among the delegates were members of parliaments and other legislative bodies, as well as leaders of youth organizations of national liberation movements.

The participants spanned the political spectrum, ranging from Young Communists to youth groups in the political center and even right of center. For example, the International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth, the Committee of European National Youth Councils, and the International Union of Socialist Youth sent delegations. The European Christian Democratic Youth came as observers. In addition, a number of specialized bodies of the United Nations as well as the Youth and Student Movement of the UN participated.

Of course, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the initiating organization, as well as virtually all of its affiliates, were in attendance. The same for the International Union of Students. The participation of key regional organizations like the All-African Student Union, the Pan-African Youth Movement, which is attached to the Organization of African Unity, the Arab Student Union and the Continental Organization of Latin American Students added to

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James Steele was cochairperson of the U.S. delegation to the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students and is a former national chairperson of the Young Communist League of the United States.

the representative character of the Festival.

On such a basis, it is correct to say the 12th Festival represented hundreds of millions of young people throughout the world. It was likely the broadest and most representative gathering of youth in history. However, its historic character derives from still more important considerations.

## THE PEACE CONSENSUS

The Festival was an unprecedented forum of dialogue among youth of virtually all political, ideological and religious views on the most urgent problems of the 1980s. This was determined in the course of the preparatory movement, during which an extensive consultative process built up a broad-based worldwide youth consensus. Nothing was included in the Festival program that had not been agreed to by the meetings of the International Preparatory Committee, which was composed of national preparatory committees and participating international and regional organizations.

In other words, the movement for the 12th Festival gave expression and impetus to the political consensus shared by the overwhelming majority of the world's young people. And what is this consensus? That nothing divides the youth more than preventing nuclear war unites youth. The 12th Festival constituted a powerful mobilization of hundreds of millions of youth and students against the outbreak of nuclear war, against the arms race on earth and its extension into outer space.

Ocurring during the year of great anniversaries, above all the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism, the 12th World Festival also gave its participants a profound sense of history, of the enormous sacrifices of older generations, and deepened their resolve to do everything possible to prevent another world war.

The Festival's commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the Hitlerites significantly developed the democratic, antifascist

content of the international slogan. Perhaps more than ever before, the 12th Festival was able to integrate anti-imperialist solidarity and the struggle for youth rights into the struggle against the nuclear war threat. The focus on averting war and halting the arms race added to the pervasive expressions of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa, Central America and the Middle East against apartheid, undeclared war, intervention and to the demand for putting the huge sums now spent on arms into human needs programs.

Without question, the 12th Festival greatly enhanced the self-confidence of the world's young people, their sense that in unity the youth and student movement can accomplish great deeds. The youth and student movements in the participating countries will be injected with increased confidence that they can make an indispensable difference in any struggle of their people, but especially on the issue of war and peace. Delegates felt that the Soviet Union's unilateral five-month moratorium on nuclear testing, announced during the Festival by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was a tribute to the power of the youth festival and its contribution to the struggle for world peace. The moratorium, which went into effect on August 6—the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima—also brought home who, between the U.S. and Soviet governments, actually stands for peace. That is why many U.S. delegates pledged to help build a movement within the United States to pressure the Reagan Administration to agree to the moratorium.

This was not the only practical initiative to be undertaken by the Festival's participants. While the formal program of the Festival neither obligated nor proposed specific actions or policies, the respective delegations were free to conclude whatever agreements or launch whatever actions they saw fit. Out of a multitude of bilateral meetings came many fine and interesting initiatives. For instance, a number of anti-apartheid activists within the U.S. delegation organized an anti-apartheid forum involving not only U.S. delegates but also youth from other countries. The presence of representatives

of the African National Congress and the South West African Peoples Organization strengthened the bonds of solidarity.

Another example is the mini-conference on improving U.S.-USSR relations and building American-Soviet youth friendship organized by the leadership of the respective delegations.

If one were to take into account the thousands of such initiatives conceived during the Festival—let alone the extensive sharing of information, experiences and ideas—one begins to get a notion of how profoundly potent was the 12th Festival.

### SUPPORTERS, DETRACTORS, OBJECTIVES

Perhaps this also explains why, at one and the same time, the 12th Festival was one of the most applauded and maligned events in recent memory. The broad democratic and progressive community in the United States and throughout the world upheld the Festival as the "great peace action of 1985." But Right-wing circles, starting with the Reagan Administration, did everything within their power to undermine this unprecedented gathering.

The underlying reasons for these diametrically opposed policies speak volumes about the attitude of the respective class and social forces on the question of world peace. Who can deny the oneness today of the struggle of the young generation for a better future and the struggle for world peace? For the peace movement, as for the forces of militarism and aggression, youth are a key link in the chain of success. With people under 24 years of age making up more than half of the world's population, it is not difficult to see why such huge stakes in the titanic struggle between the antiwar and prowar forces rests on how the youth responds.

The youth, in turn, make up a large proportion of the working class—in some countries its majority. Thus, the peace education and internationalist upbringing of the youth has profound implications for the participation of the labor movement of all countries, especially the United States, not only in the struggle for peace but against the domination of the multinational corporations as well. This is why a profound concept is expressed in the slogan of the U.S.

preparatory movement—"The Friendship of Young Generations Can Bring Peace Among Nations!" For if the friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity of the youth of different countries can be welded into an unbreakable unity against war, as the years pass and the young generation takes its place in society's decision-making processes, this peace policy will more and more become the policy of states.

It is not hard to see why the forces of militarism, reaction and aggression harbor such intense hatred for the Festival movement. It housed a nascent but rapidly developing broad, worldwide youth and student front for peace and disarmament.

Reagan Administration officials and sections of the main mass media have had a lot to say about the Festival—all negative. They contend that the Festival was a "Soviet propaganda show" and a gathering "of Communist youth," and maintained that it organized specifically to "put America and Israel on trial."

But most of our delegates were capable of thinking for themselves. What they saw and experienced not only at the Festival but also in Moscow sharply contrasted with what many had been told to expect. The Soviet Preparatory Committee was an exceptional host. It created every possibility for the U.S. delegation to have its questions and requests answered about Soviet society. Our delegates held talks with representatives of the Communist Party, the Soviet government, peace movement, media, educators, religious institutions, etc. They saw a highly developed country with a remarkable level of public involvement, and most of all, a country whose entire people are firmly committed to peace and friendship.

In particularly venomous articles, the *Washington Times* and the *New Republic* implied or explicitly stated that the United States National Preparatory Committee is "Communist-dominated," under the leadership of the Young Communist League, and deliberately "misled" some of the Festival's supporters.

Why the YCL or the United States NPC would mislead some supporters but not others is not explained. Why, in the first place, would it ever be necessary to mislead or dominate any-

one who supported or wanted to participate in an event that would contribute to the strengthening of world peace? It goes without saying that the "free press" freely printed such ridiculous concoctions without the slightest attempt to check the facts. Not even the publication that claims to print "all the news that's fit to print" bothered to report on a press conference held by the U.S. delegation leadership. Yet the *New York Times* and other newspapers printed a story that presented a version of the Festival containing not an ounce of truth, quoting a person who was not a delegate. Domination is the objective only of those engaging in slanders and distortions of the true aims and character of the Festival.

The fact that Charles Wick, Reagan's hand-picked director of the U.S. Information Agency, held a "briefing" on how to cover the Festival for media outlets with bureaus in Moscow creates a basis for judging how free our press really is. It is said that Wick literally ordered the press to ignore the official events of the Festival and concentrate on disgruntled individuals.

Administration senior officials and some media pundits seem to have answers to any questions about the Festival, save for one: Why would anyone oppose nearly three hundred young Americans going to the Festival in Moscow to promote peace and better relations?

The question is the answer. The Reagan Administration opposes the Festival movement for the same reason that it opposes the moratorium on nuclear testing. Not because it is a "Soviet ploy," but because it contributes to imposing peace on an Administration hellbent on an illusory but nevertheless dangerous quest for military superiority.

The Administration and the ultra-Right elements grouped in and around it opposed the Festival, and especially U.S. participation, for the same reason they oppose and sought to pervert the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and militarism. Not because the Festival and the anniversary would be "a Soviet propaganda show," but because both were occasions on which our youth, perhaps for the first time, could compare the foreign and military policy of Reaganism with that of Nazi Germany. And be-

cause in the course of discussions with various delegations our youth might draw the conclusion that the Reagan Administration and the military industrial complex is the support base of present day reaction and fascism.

Representatives of the military industrial complex feared that the experience of the 12th Festival would arouse indignation against Reagan's war policies, just as the President's visit to Bitburg cemetery aroused the anti-fascist sentiments of the U.S. public. They want to prevent the aspirations of the Festival from inspiring American youth to struggle against Reaganism.

The campaign against U.S. participation in the Festival was geared to maintaining an embargo on public information about and contact with international movements for peace, national independence and social progress. What was particularly infuriating to the Administration and the ultra-Right is that their expenditure of effort and funds did not work. Not just internationally. Precisely here in the USA, the Festival movement developed unprecedented potential for contributing to the building of a united youth and student front against Reaganism. The fact of the matter is, in spite of the millions of dollars spent to create an alternative to the Festival, the "international" youth conference held in Jamaica last April was a fiasco. Several conservative European youth organizations that refused to attend the Jamaica event went to the Moscow Festival. In the face of a massive campaign of Big Lie anti-Communism and anti-Soviet hysteria, the movement for the 12th World Festival enjoyed broad public support in the U.S. While a handful of endorsers caved in to Right-wing intimidation and withdrew, the overwhelming majority stood firm. Once they saw what the Festival movement was up against, many supporters took their own initiatives to build the preparatory movement.

#### **THOSE WHO BUILT, THOSE WHO WENT**

In total, nearly 500 prominent organizations and individuals, from the grassroots to the national level, endorsed the Call to Action issued by the U.S. National Preparatory Committee. The endorsers included nine members of the United States Congress. On the initiative of

Representative George W. Crockett, eighteen congresspeople signed a greeting to the Festival and commended the American delegates. This became one of the most talked about items at the Festival, for it was added proof to young people the world over of the powerful sentiment for peace and friendship held by tens of millions of Americans.

More than sixty organizations were members of the National Preparatory Committee.

The Festival movement received proclamations of support from the mayors and/or city councils of New York, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Toledo, New Haven and Madison, Wisconsin. Delegates were acknowledged by the governors of New York, Massachusetts and Minnesota.

The support and participation of the labor movement was exceptional. Trade unionists accounted for better than one-fourth of the endorsers. Scores of local unions took an active part in the preparatory movement. Beyond this, a number of trade union leaders were a solid source of advice and resources for the NPC and area committees.

The extent of trade union support also was reflected in the delegation. Members of trade unions constituted almost one-fourth of the 278 U.S. delegates. They included members of the United Steelworkers of America, United Automobile Workers, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, United Food and Commercial Workers Union, Service Employees International Union, National Union of Hospital and Health Employees, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Electrical Workers.

The trade unionists were joined by a large number of other youth from industrial centers. Midwestern delegates made up the largest regional bloc. Working-class youth comprised the bulk of the delegation. At the same time, nearly a third of the delegates were university students. Almost a quarter were teenagers, many of them high school students.

The delegation was further broadened by the presence of religious youth, including Baptist, Catholic, Jewish, Methodist and Lutheran.

The delegation was broadly representative

of youth life in the USA. Included were the main mass movements, civil rights organizations, and social service institutions like the YWCA, YMCA and Aspira. Three-quarters of the U.S. delegation were activists, in most cases leaders, in the disarmament or Central America solidarity movements. Approximately one-third had been arrested in anti-apartheid demonstrations.

Representatives George Crockett, John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, Parren Mitchell, Charles Hayes and Senator Paul Simon had official representatives in the delegation.

The 278 delegates came from more than seventy different cities, forty campuses and 42 states. Together, they belonged to over one thousand organizations. A sampling shows that the delegation was made up of leaders of city and state chapters of the Nuclear Freeze, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Safe Alternatives to Nuclear Energy, National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, Witnesses for Peace, the United States Peace Council, the Free South Africa Movement, United States Student Association, Lutheran Student Movement, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH, Young Democrats, and, of course, the Young Communist League.

One should bear in mind that not only the composition of the delegates stirred the ire of the Reagan Administration, but who and what the delegates represented. Taking into account the representatives of elected officials, the U.S. delegation to the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students represented approximately twenty million people!

The character, composition and *unity* of the delegation and preparatory movement is testament to the massive and growing sentiment that exists within our nation for peace and good relations with the Soviet Union. It is likewise a tribute to the anti-Reagan movement in our country. The Festival movement gave voice to the rising chorus of struggle of the U.S. young generation. I emphasize the word *chorus* because it connotes unity and common action.

The U.S. preparatory movement and delegation overcame practically all of the obstacles thrown in their path. It was one of the most

united in the history of U.S. participation, proving that the main core of today's youth and student movement have come a long way in regard to an appreciation of unity. Anti-Communism, pettiness and dissension failed to become significant factors in the National Preparatory Committee, the local committees, among endorsers, supporters or delegates.

On the contrary, the contribution of the Young Communist League was not only accepted, but greatly appreciated, by most. Many delegates and supporters made valuable and inspiring contributions to the rejection of anti-Communism. They believe, quite simply, that the choice in life is not Communism or anti-Communism. It is life or death, peace or nuclear destruction. All who stand for life, who are willing to struggle for peace—including Communists—must work together for that great aim. How the broad range of youth and student leaders and activists handled the matter of the participation of the Young Communist League in the Festival movement leadership also augers well for the further political and ideological maturing the youth and student movement.

#### THE TIP OF AN ICEBERG

The Festival movement provided an avenue for a qualitatively new development: On the one hand, a burgeoning, progressive, united, youth and student movement, and, on the other, broad support for it from the older generations, labor and people's movements.

Two weeks after the Festival, the Eighth Meeting of the U.S. National Preparatory Committee drew the correct conclusion: What was achieved in the course of the preparatory movement is only the tip of the iceberg of what is now possible. The Festival movement demonstrates that historic potential exists for the development of an all-inclusive, united youth and student front of the struggle for peace.

The Festival movement was a budding of seeds that militarists in the United States had hoped to keep dormant forever. What blossomed at the Festival was the unity of the youth and the truth. One newspaper claimed that at least two hundred of the U.S. delegates were Communists. While the Young Communist

League would be more than happy if "at least two hundred" of these outstanding representatives of our country's youth joined its ranks, any sober-minded person knows that that was not the case.

Although some did join the YCL and hopefully more will, that was not really the main concern of the Reaganites and the various intelligence agencies that were so active against the Festival. They feared that at such a world gathering, held in the most developed socialist country, which maintains the military balance offsetting the Reagan Administration drive for first-strike nuclear capability, a broad and representative delegation of our country's youth would unite with the truth. To use the delegates own words:

"The Soviets want peace and that's what I'm going to tell people back home."

"Nothing I was told about how it would be here is true. The place is clean, including the subways . . . no homeless or hungry wandering the streets."

"Hey, I've been able to ask whatever I wanted to ask about life in the Soviet Union. And I got answers."

"We have been able to meet with youth from practically every country that's in the news in the United States. What they say is vastly different from what the media and the Administration say."

"I've even more basic questions about what our government is doing around the world."

"I don't want to be sent to fight against the friends I've made. And I won't."

"The Nicaraguans say the only thing that keeps Reagan from invading their country is U.S. public opinion. We have to let the people in the States know the power of their solidarity."

"The youth from the African National Congress say the Free South Africa Movement in the United States inspires them to raise the level of their struggle. Can you imagine that? They say the support of the American people inspires them. Wait 'til I tell the students on my campus!

"Peace is everything!"

These statements reflect the sentiments of

the overwhelming majority of the delegation. One could say they express the basic consensus which was subscribed to by Communists and non-Communists alike. In fact, this outlook was developed by the united front character of the preparatory movement and delegation. Careful steps were taken by the leadership of the National Preparatory Committee, but particularly by the Young Communist League, to ensure the involvement of the broadest forces in the decision-making during the preparatory movement and Festival. The Delegation Council reflected the composition of the Festival movement in our country.

What is more important, these and other steps were not mere formalities. This united leadership is what guaranteed the unity of the delegation. Virtually all worked diligently for successful participation. This extended from the thematic centers to the rallies, activities at the delegation's club, to bilateral meetings, etc. Without exaggeration, it can be said that over and above what our delegation learned in the formal program of the Festival and through special activities organized at our request by the Soviet Preparatory Committee, most of our delegates had a great time. This was a youth festival and young people like to sing, dance and "hang out." No one can say that the U.S. delegation was lacking in that department either.

One should bear in mind that the scale of success is all the greater against the backdrop of Reagan Administration destabilization attempts. Not all delegates or special participants adopted a standpoint of working to make a positive contribution. A handful cooperated with the FBI or became a part of provocations organized by the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, which was extraordinarily active. One delegate who came as the representative of an elected official voiced not a single word in common with the policies advocated by that official.

There were also efforts to split the delegation by resort to nationalism and anti-Communism. By and large, none of these maneuvers worked. If anything, the delegation became more united and more committed to the purpose for which it came to Moscow.

## AN END AND A NEW BEGINNING

During the last few days of the Festival one repeatedly heard the words, "Long Live the 12th Festival!" These were not mere ceremonial remarks. A world youth festival is much, much more than eight days of hundreds of fantastic events and once-in-a-lifetime experiences. The Festival lives—in the first place—in the heart and convictions of each participant. The Festival lives in the contribution each participant makes for the rest of his or her life. A Festival is the culmination of long, hard, tedious work. But a Festival is also the beginning of a very specific mobilization of the friendship, solidarity and willingness to fight for peace of the youth and students of a particular historic period, of a specific international situation.

So too with the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students. The closing ceremony was not just an end; it symbolized the beginning of a new phase, a new level of self-assertion on the part of hundreds of millions of young people whose representatives were there in Moscow. The generation of the 1980s will continue to draw inspiration from the *Message to the Youth and Students of the World*:

... we call on young people in all countries, regardless of their political, philosophical and religious beliefs, to do all they can to halt the forces of militarism and aggression and to pool their efforts to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, to put an end to the nuclear and conventional arms race on Earth and prevent it from being taken into outer space, to achieve a general ban on nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction and their elimination.

The Festival is also a challenge to the leaders and activists of the U.S. preparatory movement, particularly the Young Communist League, which, as the initiating organization of the Festival movement in this country and member of the National Preparatory Committee, made a unique and indispensable contribution. The challenge is to continue the momentum of the 12th Festival, to take initiatives to broaden, widen and deepen the unity process the preparatory movement gave rise to.

The Eighth Meeting of the U.S. National Preparatory Committee had this in mind when

it decided to establish a Continuations Committee to facilitate follow-up activities. Broadly considered, the structure of the preparatory movement provides a framework for mobilizing united action of the youth. Likewise, it is an avenue for enhancing unity between the youth and students and people's movements, especially the trade unions.

Taking into account delegates and special participants, member organizations of the NPC, activists in the area preparatory committees, those who applied but were not selected, endorsers and financial contributors, the Festival movement brought into being a veritable network of unity, initiative, cooperation, exchange of experience, progressive political education and internationalism. Properly developed, such an ongoing structure can make a weighty contribution in the days ahead to the struggle to stay the hand of the Reagan Administration and the militarists, whether in Nicaragua, South Africa or on the nuclear arms issue. Such a united front movement of the young generation—enjoying the support and cooperation of the labor movement, elected officials, peace, civil rights, women's, senior citizens', religious and political organizations and cultural and sports personalities—has unlimited potential. The exact forms and precise structure such a movement might take will have to be determined by the young people active in the continuation process.

In conclusion, a number of important lessons should be drawn from the experience of the 12th Festival:

► Broad sections of our country's young people are with the youth of the world on the basic questions of averting nuclear war, halting the arms race, and solidarity with the struggle against apartheid, colonialism, neocolonialism, intervention and aggression.

► There is growing political and ideological independence of larger and larger segments of the youth and student movement from the foreign policy of the military-industrial complex.

► The Festival constituted a profound political education for the overwhelming majority of the delegates. □



# The British Communist Party and Euro-Communism

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN and ROBIN PAGE ARNOT

*We have received an increasing number of inquiries over the last year, requesting an answer to the question, What is happening in the Communist Party of Great Britain? In particular, what is the meaning of the expulsion of numerous long-time, loyal Communists from the CPGB, and of the campaign waged by the Party leadership against the Morning Star?*

*The following analysis gives clear answers to these questions. Andrew Rothstein and R. Page Arnot are internationally known British Communists, the two surviving members of the Unity Convention of July 1920 which brought the CPGB into existence. This article originally appeared in the Morning Star in December 1984.*

—Editors

Political tension in Britain is at its highest point since 1945. The Tory government's savage attacks on the living standards of the working class and ever wider sections of the rest of the people springs directly from its promoting at all costs the interests of the biggest financial and industrial monopolies. It is on a scale never seen for fifty years, and a result of its close alliance with the USA.

Its brutal attack on the miners and their families is a sample of its future intentions.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party has chosen this time for an extraordinary drive against the organization, and ultimately the basic principles, of the Party. It is in a form and on the scale without precedent, either in our party history or in that of any other Communist Party which has existed in legal conditions since the foundation of the Communist International in March 1919.

The sudden intervention of the Executive Committee on November 24 in the work of the duly elected London District Congress has shocked and disgusted both the majority of delegates and most active members of the Party.

First it tried to impose a decision that the

Congress must not elect a new District Committee, then it tried to split the Congress when the General Secretary walked out, calling on the delegates to follow—all without the slightest shadow of a political justification.

## **Suspensions**

The subsequent suspension from Party membership of 22 members and the dismissal at a moment's notice of three of the District Committee's full-time staff only underline the wrecking purpose of the Executive's action.

The alleged reason for all this, and accepted by a preliminary meeting of the Executive Committee, was that irregularities had occurred in the election of delegates from six branches (later reduced to two!) in one London borough out of 18. These irregularities were magnified by the smear "malpractice"—traditionally insinuating bribery, corruption, impersonation, fraudulent counting, and so on.

The allegations could have been dealt with, as always in the life of our Party (and in British labor organizations generally), by the Congress credentials committee.

To make such an allegation the basis for attempting to disallow the Congress was a gross insult to the 250 delegates and to the membership which had elected them, a defiance of the spirit of Party democracy to which the Executive's statements, attempting to justify its actions, refer more than once.

To any experienced Communist such defiance means only one thing—that behind the administrative measures, adopted on such a trumpety pretext, lie some unspoken political purposes.

It was obviously with this in mind that the Executive, in the statement published on December 3, made the ludicrous insinuations that the 22 suspended Communists were in some way involved in the spate of factional ultra-Left

propaganda circulated at the time of the Party Congress in November 1983, and that by continuing the Congress after the General Secretary walked out the District Congress became a faction.

It was an insinuation which the 22 immediately repudiated.

The Executive Committee's action also throws an unpleasant light on its equally sudden action following the tragic and untimely death of the late District Secretary, Bill Dunn.

Regardless of the wishes of the District Secretariat, it [the Executive Committee] announced that it was appointing one of its members, Ian McKay, as acting District Secretary, in order to "help" the District Committee because of the "many problems" now arising.

No request for such help had been made by the District Secretariat. No explanation of the "problems" was ever given. And the decision itself had to be imposed on a subsequent meeting of the District Committee by a small majority, with several EC members attending and voting.

At the District Congress, moreover, it was asserted—and not denied—that Ian McKay had prepared a "hit list" of people to be excluded from the District Committee in any election.

Measures like these were applied against Communists in the Labor Party after the notorious "Queen's Hall" decisions in 1924.

They were applied against Left-wing Constituency Parties by the Labor Party Executive in the later '20s.

And they were applied by the Right-wing majority in certain trade unions and in the General Council of the '30s, using the notorious "Black Circular."

But even then the reactionaries advanced some sort of political pretext for their actions—which nevertheless we always exposed as *gerymandering*.

### **Administrative intervention**

Since November 24, moreover, it has been revealed that similar intervention took place after the North-West District Congress (Manchester), again using a lie about "malpractices" to justify suspension of the duly-elected District

Committee. It is possible that similar action has been taken elsewhere.

It would be comic, were it not tragic, to reveal that the Executive has more than once taken to task the leadership of the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak Parties for their alleged use of *administrative* measures, although in every case these Parties, responsible for the safety and stability of their socialist countries in a way totally remote from any possibilities of our Party, have always given urgent *political* reasons for their actions, based on the necessities of the class struggle, national and international.

Equally serious, at this point, must be considered the outstanding feature of the campaign waged by the Executive during the last two years against the management committee and editors of the *Morning Star*. This campaign, from the outset, has been based exclusively on *administrative, not political, grounds*.

The numerous documents on this subject issued by the Executive, and the arguments put forward by its representatives, in the press and the Annual General Meeting of PPS [People's Press Printing Society] shareholders, sedulously avoided any suggestion that there was any *political* reason for the campaign.

Instead, throughout they have dealt on secondary and purely formal charges, amounting to no more than accusations of uncomradely behavior—charges which, as the majority of critics of the Executive have pointed out, could have been met and resolved on a fraternal basis of give-and-take at any normal meeting convened for the purpose, *if there had not been the precondition that the editor and assistant editor must resign*.

It is without precedent in the international Communist movement, let alone our Party, that such a step of major political importance as the removal of an editor of the daily voice of Communism—and in a time of acute class conflict, national and international—should have been discussed in any legal Communist Party on essentially formal grounds, without any suggestion of major political differences: in short, *on grounds of administrative demand and not political principle*.

In fact, during the discussion in the *Morn-*

*ing Star*, several contributors raised this very question. They expressed their disbelief that such issues could be decided on (whether directly by the Executive or in its interpretation of Congress decisions) on the basis of charges made by the Executive—and pointedly asked, was there not something bigger behind it all? To this question there was no answer from the Executive.

What there was, however, was a declaration of support for the Executive. This declaration proceeded from the statement that “democratic centralism is a fundamental feature of Communist theory and practice.”

In the upshot, this declaration, signed by 77 Party members, was duly published in the *Morning Star*.

And it is “democratic centralism” which has been repeatedly invoked, both in the campaign against the paper and in the attempt to justify the use of administrative methods by the Executive against District Committees.

### **Democratic centralism**

It is not by accident, however, that this *organizational* emphasis has been used to the exclusion of the real and fundamental *political* principles of the Communist Party.

Indeed, no one can deny that the *organizational* basis of the Communist Party, following from the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, which its Rules accept, is democratic centralism. But working class internationalism is at least fundamentally its *political* basis, distinguishing it particularly from other organizations which, mostly in words, sometimes in deeds, declare themselves to be socialist.

That has been true ever since Marx set it forth in the Inaugural Address of the First International, 120 years ago.

Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastized by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.

This principle, proclaimed at a moment when the distinction between workmen’s mass

organizations and the socialist political parties had not yet been clearly drawn, was deepened by the experience of the Second International.

And the new stage of class struggle brought by the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism in the First World War, and raised to unprecedented heights by the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, made working-class *internationalism* an inseparable part of revolutionary Marxism.

A Communist Party without democratic centralism is indeed not a Party. But a Communist Party without working-class internationalism is not Communist—and no administrative methods, no invoking of democratic centralism, will make it so.

It is precisely in the departure from working-class internationalism in recent years that the real reply is to be found to the questions raised in the discussion over the relationship between the EC and the *Morning Star*. The division over this issue—however carefully unmentioned—is gross and palpable. And compared with this difference, the alleged breaches of democratic centralism (advanced over the question of who is to be editor of the paper) are secondary and pettifogging.

This has been convincingly revealed by the glaring contrast in attitudes to the countries where capitalism has been overthrown and the working class raised to the position of ruling class, namely the socialist countries, which have thereby fulfilled the life aims of Marx and Engels—albeit often by methods greatly disliked by the British capitalist class and their sanctimonious propagandists or illiterate dupes.

The socialist countries, by their very existence, have mortally breached the economic and political strength of world imperialism—not only by removing themselves from imperialist control, but also by making possible after 1945 the successful struggle of former colonies and semicolonies for at least partial independence.

### **Decisive world force**

And the socialist countries, notwithstanding their difficulties, about which they are unceasingly lectured by both foes and presumable friends, have all the same come forward as the

decisive new force in world history—even to the point of becoming humanity's main defence today against the nuclear holocaust constantly threatened by the U.S. and its NATO allies, particularly Britain.

For two years now the *Morning Star*, that is its editor and assistant editor, supported by the PPPS management committee, has been doing essential Communist work promoting working-class internationalism.

Since the last months of 1982 it has provided a large and increasingly frequent service of factual, principled and sympathetic accounts of the politics, problems and achievements of the brother Communist Parties in the socialist countries.

In doing so, it has been able, unlike the Communist Party Executive Committee, to take up convincingly the presentation and justification of the tremendous fight of the Soviet Union and its allies against the nuclear peril to the world—even to the point of helping (for the first time for years) to inflict in December 1984 a notable defeat on the enemies of peace masquerading as "critics of the Soviet Union" in the CND [Committee for Nuclear Disarmament] and elsewhere.

In this respect, no less than in its publicity for the miners and its campaign against their enemies, the paper stands alone.

The paper has, of course, championed the countries of the "Third World"—present or former colonies and semicolonies—in their manifold struggles, in this acting in full union with the Party.

But, contrary to what has often been asserted, this is not, and can not be, the main content of working-class internationalism. For these countries have only been able to win certain success since 1945 because of the gigantic victories of the Soviet Union and its allies, the peoples of the other socialist countries, over Hitler's Germany.

This provoked in the process a tremendous response in the nations of the imperialist countries themselves (as was particularly clear in Britain over India and in France and Algeria).

Without that initial defeat of one imperialist coalition centered on Nazi Germany, there

could be no doubt that the *other* imperialist group (Anglo-French-American) would have crushed colonial revolt in blood, as it did many times between 1919 and 1939.

In total contrast to the work of the *Morning Star* has been that of *Marxism Today*—officially the "theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party," with Political Committee members of the Party on its editorial board.

In the 59 issues between January 1980 and November 1984, there was *not one major article* analyzing positively and sympathetically the achievements in any of the socialist countries, and *one major article* explained their scores of peace proposals.

A number of socialist countries were not mentioned at all. What other major articles on socialist countries were printed were all critical of Communist Party policy there.

In the case of Poland (apart from one interview with a [government] minister), a sustained campaign of direct attack on the Polish United Workers' Party, and of praise for the reactionary propagandists who took advantage of mass discontent to launch the "Solidarity" swindle, was maintained from 1980 onwards.

Every opportunity was also taken to snipe at the Soviet Union or its allies when dealing with more general subjects—whether they concerned the countermeasures against cruise missiles taken by the Warsaw Pact, a review of U.S. foreign policy, "Marx after 100 Years," even articles on the state.

Supposedly objective views of the economies of socialist countries were couched in terms (rarely distinguishable from those used by the *Times* and the *Economist*) which left the impression of a fastidious research assistant watching the gyrations of some rather unpleasant bacteria—rather than a follower of Marx talking of the efforts of fellow Communists to build socialist societies amid difficulties only partly due to their own mistakes.

To read through *Marxism Today* over a number of years, in fact, makes the stated aim of the Executive, in reference to the *Morning Star*, published on March 14, 1984—that it wants a paper "which not only explains and publicizes the positive achievements of the so-

cialist countries, but does not hesitate to criticize where criticism is justified"—sound like an unprincipled travesty of the truth (to put it as mildly as possible).

And this travesty represents a fundamental departure from the attitude to the socialist countries handed down to the international Communist movement and to our own Party by leaders like Clara Zetkin and Ernst Thaelmann, Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos, Togliatti and Jose Diaz, Georgi Dimitrov and William Z. Foster—not to speak of William Gallacher, Harry Pollitt and R.P. Dutt.

That attitude was well attuned to the present moment, not only by the frequent declarations of all of them that "the test of Communists today bear such a striking Union," but most sharply by Gallacher following the shock of events in Hungary ([London] *Daily Worker*, December 5, 1956):

Do the imperialists and their press, radio and other agents believe in freedom and democracy? . . . Don't be misled by the noise and clamor of our enemies in the press or on the radio.

In fact *Marxism Today* has for years past not been misled by that clamor but has been one of its channels. In other words it has been the center for spreading "Euro-Communism."

### ***The essence of Euro-Communism***

Euro-Communism has turned out to be *not* the presentation of the universally applicable basic principles in "Western" or "contemporary" conditions, as its preachers have said again and again, but, on the contrary, the departure from these principles in the course of adapting them to the needs of opportunism—currying favor with the more "advanced" spokesmen of capitalist society.

The aim of the Euro-Communists has been to distance themselves, first and foremost, from the socialist countries, seen as being too "crude" in their methods for refined middle-class thinking, and then to follow this up by distancing themselves from the great rediscovery of revolutionary Marxism in all countries following the victory of the October Revolution in Russia (1917-1922) and of socialism in many other

countries (from 1944 onwards).

In *Marxism Today* the latter has shown itself with particular force in "modernizing" Marxist views on the state, on the role of the working class and of classes generally, on issues in the semicolonial countries, and so on, and in ridiculing basic Marxist views as "dogma" or "the true Faith."

When capitalism was completing its mighty development into imperialism, 85 years ago, a prominent German socialist, Bernstein, published his book criticizing Marx's ideas as "out of date" and "dogmatic."

Socialism might come, but not by a "general crash," economic and political. And the working class undoubtedly would play a "large" part, but the movement would not advance owing to the efforts of any one class.

For this reason socialists should be "tactful" with the Liberals, and not constantly drag in questions of "class struggle."

Today, he wrote, there could be "a realization of much socialism" if one did not insist on "the establishment of a strictly regulated communist state of society." And so forth.

Bernstein had learned all this from the Fabian Society while in exile in England, at the time when their ideas were permeating the British Labor Party. His ideas—despite condemnation by those true to Marxism—gradually gained the upper hand in the German Social-Democratic Party.

Consequently both the British Labor Party and the German Social-Democratic Party helped to lead the workers of their respective countries into the imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918.

It was after the Second World War, when the mightiest force in the world seemed to many to be United States imperialism and its main client, British imperialism, that Euro-Communism arose. True, the Soviet Union had existed since 1917, and had played the major and decisive part in smashing Nazi Germany.

But it had been severely ravaged by the war, and moreover the application of Marxist principles had been shown to have suffered for a time through major errors. This was fully exploited by its open and hidden enemies.

That is why "theories" of the Euro-Communist

nists today bear such a striking similarity to those of Bernstein and the revisionists three generations ago. Nor is it accidental that one of the successes of the Euro-Communists has been the attempted introduction of anti-Sovietism into the peace movement—even when a glimmering of hope has appeared that humanity will avoid a third and final world war, thanks above all to the efforts of the socialist countries.

*Euro-Communism today is the revisionism of yesterday—at a higher stage of the international struggle.*

No one surveying the struggle now launched by the Executive should therefore be in doubt as to its meaning, even if individual members of the Executive or their followers will not admit it. To poison with Euro-Communism the minds at any rate of some Communists—and particularly, to judge from *Marxism Today* over the years, some of those with university training—was the first stage.

To attack, and if possible break down, the present organization of the Party, in order to put it together again on the political foundation of Euro-Communism is the second.

### **Resistance is required**

*Resistance to this strategy is essential. In the long run the class struggle, national and international, will ensure the defeat of Euro-Communism, whatever partial and temporary success it may have had.*

In this connection it is appropriate to recall that a similar attack on both principles and organization took place 40 years ago in the Communist Party of the United States.

At the beginning of 1944, Earl Browder, then general secretary, persuaded its executive committee to issue a call to dissolve the Communist Party and to reconstitute it as a "Communist Political Association"—a call endorsed in May that year by the Party Congress.

Browder argued that talk of the class struggle was now out of date: "Marxism was never a series of dogmas and formulas."

The victory of the antifascist alliance had changed the world. American monopoly capitalism, at any rate its "decisive sector," had

learned its lesson, and there were "new realities" in the USA, for which there no "formulas in the classics."

Class divisions or political groupings "have no significance now," he said.

It was now for American Marxists "to collaborate actively with the most democratic progressive majority in the country." (Browder said he was prepared as a Communist to "clasp hands with J. Pierpont Morgan on that," if the multimillionaire supported such a coalition.)

He was rejecting, he said, "the political slogan of 'class against class' as our guide to alignments in the next period."

The new name, he explained, was to indicate that the CPA would not "intervene" in the traditional United States system of Republicans versus Democrats. And so forth—again and again finding an echo in *Marxism Today* of 1980-1984.

As Gus Hall, the present General Secretary of the CPUSA, has written:

What benefit and use Wall Street could have made, in its war drive, of a Communist Party based on and led along anti-Marxist revisionist lines! It would have been worth many divisions and numerous atom bombs in the plans of Wall Street.

It took a tremendous fight by William Z. Foster, then Party chairman and at first in a small minority of the executive, to get the decision reversed by an Emergency Convention in July 1945, and the Communist Party re-established—of course without Browder.

There are today tremendous opportunities for advance. The intensity of the class struggle is higher than at any time since the war.

This applies domestically, as we see with the miners' strike. It applies internationally, as we see in the fight for peace and disarmament.

The situation is crying out for the determined leadership which only a Communist Party united on the principles of Marxism-Leninism can give.

Can it really be such an accident that at this time the British Communist Party finds itself divided by a leadership wedded to opportunism and revisionism? □

# German Big Business and the Rise of Hitlerism (II)

HERBERT APTHEKER

David Abraham's book (*The Collapse of the Weimar Republic: Political Economy and Crisis*, Princeton University Press, 1981, 366 pp., \$36) challenges dominant Western and especially U.S. scholarship insofar as it insists upon fascism as a device of the bourgeoisie to further that class' interests. It presents a detailed economic study of the various propertied components of Weimar Germany—industrialists, merchants, Junkers, landed farmers, including 02801splits within such groupings—e.g., importing and exporting producers, as this relates to the imposition of Nazism.

The work shows the severe impact of the capitalist-wide depression upon these groupings and their efforts to achieve a political configuration that would both favor their interests and still achieve sufficient support in elections to represent a viable power. They saw their interests as requiring, for example, eliminating Marxism, curbing unions, cutting wages, reducing unemployment benefits.

In detailing this history, from the close of World War I to the accession of Hitler as dictator in March 1933, Abraham shows that the leading bourgeois parties were directly subsidized by capitalist giants; for example, the German Democratic Party (DDP) was largely financed by the Siemens electrical monopoly and the German People's Party (DVP) by other powerful industrial and financial giants. Such interests also bought out "a great many newspapers, and financed right-wing paramilitary groups." (p. 128).

The latter were forerunners of the Nazis' SA. Big Business leaders in Weimar Germany

(as, let it be added, in Great Britain, France and the United States—not to speak of Italy) experimented also with extreme Right-wing political groups. An example was the League for Renewal of the Reich, headed in the 1920s by Hans Luther, a former chancellor and president of the Reichsbank, but this did not gain significant political clout. Another instance, of greater influence than Luther's group, was the Junker-led Agrarian League, which propagandized for imperialist expansion, antilabor and anti-Marxist measures and denounced "the Jews" as a prime source of Germany's woes; but it also never became a national force seriously contesting for political power.

In the same period, and financed by elements of the bourgeoisie and the army elite, came the Hitler effort, from the aborted Munich coup to the bestselling *Mein Kampf* (1925), with essentially the same message as these Leagues of the industrial financiers and of the Junkers. It should be noted also that it was not uncommon for leading industrialists to have large landed interests and/or to be related to Junker families. A striking example is Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Holbach, whose son-in-law was Theo von Wilmowsky, "a prominent leader of estate-owning interests." (p. 60).

While, for specific historic reasons—notably the absence of a successful bourgeois revolution and the significance of aristocratic and feudal elements—the bourgeoisie had never directly ruled in Germany (p. 22), nevertheless, as Abraham observes, "capitalist class fractions [agricultural, industrial, financial, commercial] were the power bloc in Weimar Germany as they had been in the later years of the Empire." (P. 26.) In fact, early in the life of Weimar, when the power of the Left was quite considerable, the very rich did personally participate in political life. Thus, the first republican legislature after the war included Hugo Stinnes, the steel ty-

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The September 1985 *Political Affairs* contained a critique by Herbert Aptheker of *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler*, by Henry Ashby Turner, Jr. (Department of History, Yale University). There follows a companion review of a work by David Abraham (*The Collapse of the Weimar Republic*).

coon; Albert Vogler, Stinnes' general director; Kurt Sorge, an officer in Krupp; Alfred Hugenberg, a former Krupp officer and then a communications mogul; and Carl Friedrich von Siemens of the electrical trust. Later, too, this sometimes occurred, as when William Cuno of the Hamburg-American Shipping Line served as Chancellor. Generally speaking, however, it is true that the very rich preferred to own others who served as political spokesmen.

While the industrial revolution came somewhat late to Germany, when it did come, concentration soon occurred. Between the 1870s and the 1890s, for example, the number of coal-mining enterprises fell through merger from 268 in 1873 to 164 in 1894. During the same period production leaped from 11.8 million tons to 35.4 million and the number of workers rose from 51,000 to 128,000. Cartelization quickly appeared, so that by 1926 cartels controlled 98 per cent of all mining, 96 per cent of dyes, 87 per cent of the electro-chemical industry, 81 per cent of shipping and 74 per cent of banking. Huge combines like United Steel and I.G. Farben were created—in 1926 and 1927 respectively.

In addition to intense monopolization, a very high percentage of the gross national product went to public or state expenditures in Germany. Thus, the comparative figures for the United States and Germany in 1900 were 4 per cent and 16 per cent; in 1929, 10 per cent and 30.6 per cent respectively.

Monopoly capitalism and a high degree of the merger of that monopoly with the state characterized the Germany of Weimar. The worldwide capitalist collapse of the late 1920s and the 1930s especially rocked Germany—still not fully recovered from the loss of the First World War and the ensuing inflationary era.

Fascism, functioning in Italy with high rates of profits for *its* monopolies, became more and more attractive to the German ruling class. Led by the effective controllers of that class—those who dominated the great cartels and financial institutions—it turned to the Nazis as saviors; their saviors and, therefore, saviors of the "national interest"! The turn to the Nazis

was more or less avid—it varied from time to time and instance to instance—but the turn was made and became final by the end of 1932.

THE ABOVE, IN VERY SUMMARY FORM, is the essential theme of Abraham's book.

It has several weaknesses. Thus, the central significance of the German Army is neglected. The international climate within which the German rulers functioned and which was very consequential in all the developments of Weimar, up to and including its murder by fascism, is missing.

Abraham fragments the ruling class, tending towards presenting the parts as autonomous; in this way the central responsibility of the finance-monopoly masters of its economy for Germany's torture by Nazism is minimized.

Abraham can not decide quite what the Nazi regime was. He writes: "The Nazi regime that ultimately emerged from the crisis was certainly more than a dictatorship of monopoly capital, a Bonapartist regime based on an equilibrium of forces and standing above all classes, or a dictatorship of the petite bourgeoisie" (p. 11). This explains what Abraham thinks it was not; but nowhere do we learn what he thinks it was.

Certainly his data, and all other serious work on this question, do not ascribe decisive political and/or economic power in Weimar or in Hitler Germany to the petite bourgeoisie. As for a Bonapartist regime manipulating an equilibrium of forces and standing above all classes: what forces were held in equilibrium—workers and peasants in equilibrium with Junkers and tycoons? Certainly no data sustain such nonsense. And "standing above all classes" falls to the wayside in the face of the mountain of evidence that it was the well-to-do who financed Hitlerism; it was they, out of all proportion to others, who voted for him and it was they who benefitted from Nazism—not the peasants and certainly not the workers.

Abraham fragments the ruling class into autonomous parts (à la C. Wright Mills' *Power Elite*); he also leans toward the idea of the autonomy of the state relative to class interests.



This was suggested very early after World War I by the Social Democratic theoretician Rudolf Hilferding, with his concept of "organized capitalism" (a term used by Abraham) and "super capitalism," which was supposed to "grow into socialism." This is an idea which was not only refuted contemporaneously by Lenin but which one would think history has demonstrated as egregiously false.

Abraham reflects not only the influence of Hilferding and Mills, but also of Nicos Poulantzas, who has advanced the idea of the autonomy of the state vis-a-vis classes. Abraham, for example, writes of "the fascist state's relative autonomy from the dominant social classes" (p. 11). This notion of the fascist state as autonomous of classes was a favorite idea of Mussolini and of the British fascist Oswald Mosely; like everything else spilling out of such sources, this was the sheerest demagoguery.

Even with so exceptional and maniacal a policy as extermination, pursued by Hitler despite labor shortage, monopolists managed to garner their profits, as from clothes "sold" to concentration camp inmates, and from the gas that murdered them—provided at so much per can by I.G. Farben.

It is on this autonomy stance and this fragmentation of the ruling class that Abraham's book has met criticism in the German Democratic Republic. It is held, rightly I think, that a resulting tendency is to exonerate (*zur Reinwaschung*) the monopoly bourgeoisie of its basic responsibility for Nazism's barbarism and war (Wolfgang Ruge, "der Schuld an Barbarei und Krieg," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, March 1982, p. 280).

This is what Abraham has in mind when, in replying to libelous attacks on his book by Turner, he remarks that both empirically and conceptually his book "openly employs Marxist analysis" and he adds—in quite bad taste—that this presumably was why his book was attacked "by the official East German historical journal" (*American Historical Review*, October 1983, 88:1149).

The main reason for the criticism of the book in the GDR review was summarized

above. That fault lies with Abraham's Marxism, which, insofar as it falls into the autonomy trap and into fragmenting the ruling class, dilutes itself into a "sophisticated" form that finds relatively easy acceptance in most of academia today—except for fanatics like Turner of Yale.

BUT IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED that there is good reason for the rabid assault upon Abraham's book by the likes of Turner and the *Wall Street Journal*. For despite Abraham's theoretical failing, the content of the book challenges Turner's view that capitalism, and especially monopoly capitalism, was *not* responsible for Hitlerism. Abraham shows that the major sections of the German bourgeoisie favored reaction and aggression in general and that "support of fascism was thus not simply an attempt to survive the depression; it was a way of using the crisis" (p. 11).

While he writes on one page that "political relations can develop independently of economic relations, and the state in capitalist society may both appear and actually be relatively autonomous," (note the ambiguous adjective "relatively") he writes on a following page: "At a *minimum*, the state in a capitalist society must guarantee that capitalist production can take place and that the social relations of that production are reproduced" (pp. 12, 13; italics added).

As his story unfolds, the data force illustration not of the first, but rather of the second of these two propositions. For example: "As Müller, Brüning, Papen and Schleicher [successive chancellors] all discovered, the state can only make offers or set parameters in a process in which owners of the means of production dispose of what is theirs as they see fit." (p. 17); or, "the more the state needs to intervene in the economy, the more dependent it becomes on the owners of the means of production" (p. 18); or, "capitalist class fractions were the power bloc in Weimar Germany as they had been in the later years of the Empire" (p. 26).

In his account of "political economy and crisis," Abraham's point is that the decisive components of the ruling class moved—with some

hesitation—to the conclusion that only the destruction of Weimar, only a program of destroying Marxist organizations, castrating the trade unions, eliminating “entitlements,” cutting wages and achieving *lebensraum* could resolve the “crisis” favorably to the ruling class.

That was the program of the Nazis, and the Nazi Party, subsidized by the rich, favored by the Army, supported by the police, were maneuvered into power. That required a presidential emergency decree, the elimination of free speech, press and assembly, a three million mark emergency effusion of funds, and a Reichstag fire. Then came “victory” at the polls—and even then with less than a majority of votes!

What infuriates Turner and the *Wall Street Journal* is that Abraham’s narrative makes sense of this sequence of events. Thus, “It was only reluctantly that the leading industrial circles became receptive to the idea that the entire NSDAP [Nazi Party] had to be called upon to take charge of the state” (p. 51); and, as the crisis deepened, those “circles” “concluded . . . that a National Socialist regime would be that viable alternative which would restore both profitability and political stability” (p. 119).

Indeed, the major associations of the bourgeoisie “paralyzed the Weimar political system while lending support to those who attacked it from the right” (p. 238); the years after 1930 up to Hitler’s seizure of power saw “the formation of an alliance between the dominant social classes and the Nazi party” (p. 313); “by mid-1932 the vast majority of industrialists wanted to see Nazi participation in government” (p. 315). Finally, in the crucial period at the end of 1932: “General industrial support for the Nazis grew throughout the summer and reached a crescendo in the autumn . . . The *Langnamverein* convention of November 1932, for example, though initially planned to demonstrate support for Papen and his program, instead

produced overwhelming support for the appointment of Hitler” (as Chancellor—p. 321).

To help complete ruling-class support of Hitler, the chairman of the Catholic Center, Prelate Ludwig Kaas, told President Hindenberg that same November 1932 that there were twelve million Germans voting for the Right, with half of them supporting the Nazis, and that there were over thirteen million supporting the Left (six million for Communists and over seven million for the Social Democrats). Furthermore, he warned, “the Communists are growing daily.” Especially ominous, he added, was the possibility that “the left could unify at any time”; in any case, “it is going to be a long, cold winter.” Conclusion? “The NSDAP must be brought into government now” (p. 323).

MARCH 1933 BEGAN THE PERIOD of Nazism in power—that is, the incarnation of barbarism and war. Nine hundred and eighty-eight years short of the “thousand year reign” that Hitler promised for the Third Reich, that Reich lay in ruins, and some fifty-five million people had been killed.

Fascism’s defeat ushered in the epoch of general national liberation from classical imperialism and of a global socialism. It made possible the present struggle on a new level for complete national liberation, the elimination of racism and socio-economic emancipation. This epoch is, therefore, the period in which forces for peace are sufficiently powerful, if unified and determined—to overcome those seeking war. Thus can be ushered in a new phenomenon in history—that epoch in which wars among nations are matters only of historical interest. □

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<sup>1</sup>Literally, the “association with the long name,” referring to the Association for Furthering the Joint Economic Interests of the Rhineland and Westphalia—a powerful organization of leading industrialists.

# On the Theory of World Politics

VADIM ZAGLADIN

The development of the modern world is an exceedingly complex, multilateral and dynamic process. The greatest social revolution in history—the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism—is interwoven with profound shifts in production, and with the revolution in science and technology. This leads to numerous and controversial consequences in every sphere, including international relations. At any given moment a host of disparate, contradictory and swiftly changing currents, trends, phenomena and factors are at work, and it is not easy to find one's bearings among them.

Socialist society, however, has a reliable compass that enables it to steer the stormy sea of world events and confidently avoid reefs and shoals. This compass is the Marxist-Leninist science of international relations, in particular its key provision about the need to constantly take into account the character, alignment and balance of forces acting in the world.

THE DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION to the theory of international relations was made by Lenin. Continuing the study of international relations as a specific sphere of social relations of production begun by Marx and Engels, he demonstrated that modern international relations have to be approached as a system, and all the elements and components of this system must be considered not statically but dynamically.

This enabled Lenin to penetrate their essence at the stage of world development opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution and to work out an effective foreign policy for the young Soviet Republic. Soviet foreign policy is guided by this methodology today.

The key element in Lenin's analysis of international relations and trends is *all around analysis of the dynamics of the balance of forces* in the world. The balance of forces is one

of the basic categories in the Marxist-Leninist science of international relations. It is also the decisive factor in making political decisions.

Lenin approached the assessment of the balance of world forces in the context of a concrete historical period. Before the October Revolution, the main protagonists in the international arena were the great imperialist powers, then came weaker and dependent states and colonial countries. International relations were a particular form of production relations and political superstructure of capitalism; their "regulator" was the correlation of economic and military forces among imperialist powers. The law of uneven capitalist development was behind constant instability in the balance of forces, its quick changes, which in turn made international relations unstable, tended to upset the equilibrium temporarily restored by crises and wars. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 252-3.)

The situation changed dramatically in the wake of the Great October Socialist Revolution. According to Lenin, the main change was that the revolution put an end to the unchallenged sway of imperialism and capitalist relations in general. "Two camps are now quite consciously facing each other all over the world" he noted. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 450.)

After the October Revolution the world ceased to be socially homogeneous and international relations acquired a new content, becoming an arena for the coexistence and struggle of two antagonistic class forms of production relations, capitalist and socialist. World politics was no longer confined to division or redivision of the world by monopoly capital. It became first and foremost a sphere of the international class struggle between the working class, organized into a state, and monopoly capital, organized into states.

Naturally, this put a different complexion on the problem of the balance of forces, lending it new quantitative and qualitative parameters. Since then the determining factor in world

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events has been the balance of forces between two systems.

It should be noted that this decisive circumstance is ignored by Western political science. It often plucks international relations and foreign policy out of the context of class relations and class struggle. Regardless of the intentions of this or that author, such an approach is very harmful because it masks the essence of world events, obscuring and blurring the fundamental difference in socialist and imperialist foreign policy. In the final analysis it provides the basis of slogans about the "hegemonism of the two superpowers," "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the USA for growing tensions in the 1970s and 1980s, for the arms race, etc.

Failure to see things in a class perspective, always harmful, is particularly so in the present situation, which is marked by acute confrontation between the two social systems. There is more need today than ever to heed Lenin's warning, "each man must choose between joining our side or the other side. Any attempt to avoid taking sides in this issue must end in fiasco." (Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 366.)

LENIN DEMANDED "a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation." (Ibid., Vol. 24, p. 43.) Lenin's method consists in determining: a) the character of forces acting in the world at a given moment; b) the alignment of these forces; and c) their correlation. (Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 273.)

*The character of the forces acting in the world in any historical epoch is determined by the essence of that epoch and its actual social and historical content.*

Under the definition worked out by the international Communist movement, the focus of the modern epoch is the working class and the world socialist system which it has created. There, socialist production relations have been established that rule out exploitation and oppression of any kind, and consequently offer no motive for an international policy of aggression, annexation and seizure of others' territories, oppression and exploitation of other peoples. The essence of the foreign policy of the socialist state

is the struggle for lasting peace, mutually beneficial cooperation, and rendering support to countries and peoples seeking self-determination and greater independence.

Capitalism represents the other pole in modern international relations. It is highly heterogeneous. But its common essence is determined by capitalist (or various forms of precapitalist), i.e., basically exploitative, production relations. Hence the objective penchant for a bourgeois class foreign policy, which is pursued in different ways in accordance with the nature of a particular state.

The main forces acting in the world arena today are antagonistic. Relations between them are essentially those of acute and all-embracing struggle. For the first time in history we deal not with competition of blocs of states with basically identical, exploitative, social systems, but with a confrontation of antagonistic classes. The inevitable outcome of this confrontation is not a replacement of one form of exploitation by another or the subjugation of one state by another, but the elimination of exploitation and oppression, dominance and subjugation, establishment of equality and mutual respect among peoples worldwide.

When Marxist-Leninists point to this they are often accused of a limited view of the world as a bipolar entity while in fact it is multipolar. That is an unjustified accusation.

Marxist-Leninists see the world as it is, in all its infinite diversity. When they say that the main forces in the world today are the two world systems they merely state what exists: the division of mankind into two big parts on a social basis. Yes, the world is bipolar in the social sense. That is a fact.

At the same time, Marxist-Leninists are well aware that each of the two main social forces is represented in world politics by states that are unlike one another in many respects.

Let us now turn to the next "tier," the alignment of forces. It addresses the contradictions of social development at a given stage in the historical process. Here it is necessary to take into account not only the essence of contradictions but the specific ways in which they manifest themselves, interact and are interwoven. That is

the great challenge.

The pivotal provision in Leninist methodology is the leading role of the contradiction between the two social systems, socialism and capitalism. *Today the main element in the alignment of forces in the world arena is the presence of two opposite class entities—the socialist system, on the one hand, and the capitalist system of states, on the other.*

To have a complete and correct idea of the alignment of forces it is of course necessary to take into account the differences among countries within both systems.

The socialist system is the main bastion of peace and social progress. However, as the CPSU Central noted (June 1983), "between individual socialist countries there are big differences as regards their economies, culture and ways and methods of carrying out the tasks of socialist development." Not all of them play identical roles in world politics.

Within the world socialist system there has emerged the socialist community, a close voluntary association of states which have come together on the basis of common views and convictions, which forge economic cooperation and coordinate their actions in key areas of international politics. The socialist community is a powerful and healthy organism that plays a tremendous role in the modern world.

Differences are far more profound and evident when one looks at the states belonging to the capitalist system. The capitalist world today is complex and exceedingly heterogeneous, in spite of the fact that it has a single social and economic basis.

The dominant force in the capitalist world is the group of imperialist states led by the United States, brought together in NATO and other military-political blocs. It is the main force of modern capitalism and antagonist of socialism in the world arena. The main threat to peace and security comes from it, and it is the main source of the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe. The essence of the policy of that bloc of imperialist states can be summed up as "crusade" against socialism.

At the same time, one can not fail to see certain differences even within that largely homo-

geneous entity. In the USA the trend in recent years has been set by forces committed to armed confrontation with socialism, and this gives rise to profound contradictions.

Furthermore, there exist imperialist states that are not members of blocs. Among them are neutral states that are interested in the development of international relations along the lines of peaceful coexistence. The capitalist world includes some countries that are not imperialist. Some states of Latin America have attained an intermediate level of development. Many of them pursue an anti-imperialist policy, even though they may entertain some expansionist ambitions. Many countries of Asia and Africa have, in the post-independence period, embarked on capitalist development but often, if not consistently, take an anti-imperialist stand.

It should be stressed that the basic interests of Asian, African and Latin American states—consolidating political and gaining economic independence and overcoming backwardness—make deeper confrontation with imperialism inevitable. All these contradictions have largely engendered the emergence of a vigorous non-aligned movement. The appearance in these parts of the world of socialist-oriented countries in recent decades has been of particular significance. These countries pursue an independent foreign policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and comradely cooperation with the socialist states. Socialist-oriented countries are at the initial stage of a gradual process of transition from capitalism to a new society. Their contradictions with imperialism are irreconcilable. Events since the October Revolution have fully borne out Lenin's frequently made forecast that the peoples of colonies and dependencies will play a great independent role in world politics.

In considering the alignment of forces in the world, it is necessary to look not only at states but also at social forces and movements that have become active agents in international relations. And this phenomenon too is traceable to the Great October Revolution. Since immediately after the revolution and even more so today, international political forces, notably Communists, as well as Social Democrats, anti-war and other public movements, have become ac-

tive positive factors in world events. This is something that even our adversaries can not deny: It is not by chance that they do everything they can to undermine movements for peace and social progress, setting up and encouraging the activity of various reactionary public associations.

The struggle of the two world foreign policies, then, covers not only interstate relations but also the sphere of world relations between socio-political forces, i.e., organizations and movements representing the interests of particular social classes or their groupings.

The present alignment of forces in international politics bears convincing proof that the processes of social renewal on our planet are irreversible and goes a long way to explain why, for all the complexity and contradictory character of today's international relations, the progressive policy of peace enjoys such broad and constantly growing support.

What is the connection between the balance of forces in the world and their alignment? A look at the epoch since the October Revolution shows that the alignment of forces has changed with the balance between them. On the other hand, changes in the alignment of forces pre-empt and determine the possibility of further change in the balance between them.

Western political scientists as a rule confine themselves to comparing the economic and military potentials of different states and their associations. There is a clear intention to discount the decisive significance of the opposite social nature of the two systems and new sources of socialism's strength inherent in its social character.

To be sure, the balance of economic and military capabilities of states and their associations is an important factor. However, it would be an error fraught with serious miscalculations in practical politics to confine oneself to that statement.

The world balance of forces should be analyzed from a number of angles, taking into account not only the actual alignment of forces but also the main issues of contention.

First comes *the balance of forces between socialism as a world system and capitalism as a*

*whole*. The future of mankind and the long-term global course of international events is ultimately determined by the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism on a world scale. In assessing this balance one should be mindful of the fact that most developing countries are now part of the world system of capitalism and the character of their future social development is bound to affect the overall balance of forces.

Yet today and for the foreseeable future the decisive factor in the competition and struggle between the two systems is *the balance of forces between the socialist community and the major imperialist states*. This is the second parameter to be taken into account in considering the problem of balance of forces. It is in this area that the basic question is being decided, namely, whether the world will develop along the road of peaceful competition between the two systems or whether it will evolve towards military confrontation.

The third parameter that has to be taken into account is *the balance of forces between imperialism and all its present opponents* (for all their disparate character)—all the anti-imperialist forces, in the first place world socialism, then the developing and nonaligned states, and the democratic, notably, antiwar movement. The anti-imperialist front is extremely wide and its activity has assumed unprecedented scope. To correctly assess the state and perspectives of world politics it is imperative to take into account the balance of forces between imperialism and all its opponents.

Finally, the fourth parameter, which in our view has acquired particular significance in the 1970s and 1980s, when the antiwar movement has reached such an unprecedented scope, is *the balance of forces between the opponents of war and the narrow but highly influential circles of capitalist society who favor a military way of resolving world contradictions "through strength."* The front of those who favor peace and peaceful development for mankind is even broader than that of the opponents of imperialism and its policies. An absolute majority of the opponents of imperialism certainly stand for peace, but by no means all the supporters of peace take an anti-imperialist stand. Many of

them belong to the imperialist camp, representing its more realistically-minded circles.

This brings us to a very important question. As we have seen, the balance of forces in the world arena is a complex and "multitiered" phenomenon. Viewed in class terms, it is also dissimilar. Antagonistic class contradictions in their "pure" form arise in the world arena within the framework of relations between the socialist community and imperialism and also between the two systems taken as a whole. The contradiction between imperialism and the anti-imperialist front is not "pure" in class terms, for the anti-imperialist camp includes representatives of virtually all the classes in modern society. This is particularly true of the struggle against the threat of nuclear war. In other words, in the two last-named cases we speak both of contradictions between classes and of contradictions within classes.

This complex picture makes analysis more difficult. But an awareness of this complexity equips one with greater insight into the real state of affairs. It offers insight into the new processes of social development brought about by division of the world into two systems, which lead, in the final analysis, and in spite of all their complexities, to the same result—a basic renewal of the life of the whole of mankind.

SO FAR WE HAVE BEEN SPEAKING of the main "tiers" in the balance of forces in the world. But one must also consider the complexity and the various meanings that can be read into the notion of force, for, contrary to bourgeois scholars, it can not be reduced to two or three quantifiable components.

The assessment of the balance of forces must today include such factors as the level and character of political and economic development of the two social systems, the military potential of various countries, the impact of certain ideas and views on the public, the role and influence of various public movements, the authority and attractiveness of this or that policy, how it meets the wishes of the people, the politization and consciousness of the masses, their participation in political life and many other factors.

Quantitative comparisons are not sufficient. It is necessary to take into account qualitative features of these factors, and these depend on the nature of the two social systems. For example, the economic and military potential of the socialist countries and the imperialist bloc countries, while comparable in mathematical terms, have opposite signs, as it were, when viewed in political terms. "Strength in the hands of imperialism," writes Boris Ponomarev, "is a source of military danger. Strength in the hands of socialism is the source of ensuring peace and weakening the war danger."

Another example is the role of the popular masses. The masses under socialism and the masses under capitalism are qualitatively different values: The conscious activity of working people inspired by the creative ideas of Marxism-Leninism is a tremendous force, incomparable with the blind activity of people who have been cheated into serving goals and ideals that are remote, if not actually alien, to them.

The balance of forces between imperialism and the developing countries naturally calls for a different set of parameters than the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism. Here we are talking about the mass movement against colonialism and neocolonialism and the coincidence of interests between different social strata during the course of that struggle, the appeal of the policy of nonalignment, etc.

The strength of the peace movement lies in the active foreign policy of consistently peaceful, notably socialist, states, the depth of awareness among millions upon millions of people of the war danger posed by the actions of imperialism, the popularity and effectiveness of the idea of peace. In considering the balance of forces between the supporters and enemies of peace one must bear in mind that the military might of the socialist states is a check on the designs of aggressive imperialist circles.

The underlying basis of the change in the balance of forces (which bourgeois scholars refuse to recognize) is the development of the two opposing social systems. This is marked by constant growth of world socialism, the main trend of social development in our epoch.

Another process underlying the balance of

world forces is the continuing growth of the liberation movement of developing countries and mounting class struggles of the international proletariat. Perhaps at no other time has the end result of class struggle in an individual country depended to such an extent on the international balance of forces and conditions of international class struggle. But that has nothing whatever to do with the alleged "export of revolution" on which opponents of socialism keep harping.

It is well known that the class struggle of the proletariat began and assumed acute forms, including civil war (the Paris Commune), long before world socialism emerged. Similarly, the national liberation movement appeared prior to the October Socialist Revolution. Further development and deepening of class struggle is an objective law and at the same time an important basis of the continuing change in the balance of world forces in favor of peace, national liberation and social progress.

Finally, the third objective basis is the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, which takes the form not only of more and more countries dropping out of the capitalist system but of constant inner weakening and shaking of its social, economic and moral foundations. This, too, is an important feature of present-day development that influences the dynamics of the balance of forces.

The subjective factor, the conscious behavior of people, is of course very important in assessing the balance of forces. Of particular significance is political, ideological and every other kind of initiative. To maintain the initiative, to engage the enemy in battle on a field that is favorable for the cause of peace—these are the principles espoused by the diplomacy of socialism from Lenin's day to our own. Preservation of peace and prevention of nuclear war constitute the main foreign policy goals of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. To this end they bend their main efforts.

One key to this is the effort to develop the links between existing socialism and current and potential allies, to unite all those prepared to work for peace. Ensuring the unity of these forces is an important prerequisite for further change of the balance of forces in favor of peace,

democracy and social progress.

And the last point: Along with real shifts in the balance of forces there are mythical shifts, shifts that are talked about but do not really happen. They are, in fact, ploys of imperialist politics and propaganda. This was the case when the West tried to create the impression that the balance of forces was changing in favor of the United States, speculating on alleged "failures" and "setbacks" of the Soviet economy. A similar tactic was employed when it trumpeted an alleged United States and NATO "lag," manipulating garbled statistics about a Soviet military buildup and "Soviet military threat." The aim of imperialist circles was to influence public sentiment and prepare the people for aggressive actions on their part.

This circumstance can not be discounted in real politics, which means that effective measures should be taken to expose the lies of the ruling circles of the West and NATO and to oppose their far-flung and powerful propaganda machine.

*Thus the balance of forces in the world is not something given once and for all, but a constantly changing value.* Its dynamics are determined both by long-term factors linked to basic trends of socio-economic and political development and by medium and even short-term factors largely linked with internal political changes in various countries, many of which are caused by imperialist interference from without.

BOTH LONG-TERM AND SHORT-TERM CHANGES in the balance of forces influence the general course of world affairs. This influence, however, manifests itself in complex and often indirect ways. It would be an error to try to explain specific events in the world only by long-term trends in the change of the balance of forces, even though in the final analysis these trends determine the course of events. It would be equally wrong to judge general trends of international development only by citing short-term shifts in this or that region.

As to the long-term changes in the balance of world forces, one can single out three main stages since the October Revolution.

As a result of *the first stage*—directly linked



with the October Revolution—imperialism ceased to be an all-embracing world system, although it still preserved unquestioned superiority of force. Socialism was represented by just one country, the Soviet Union. It was, to use the term then current, a powerful fortress beleaguered by class enemies.

*The second stage* was linked with the victory of socialist, antifascist and democratic forces in the Second World War. The chief result was that imperialism ceased to be the only world system. The world socialist system arose. Although imperialism retained military and economic superiority, world socialism has been gaining strength ever since. The results of that stage of historical development were summed up by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (1956): "there now exist powerful social and political forces possessing serious means to prevent imperialists from unleashing war and, should they attempt to start it, to administer a crushing rebuff to aggressors and disrupt their adventurist plans."

Finally, today we are witnessing *the third stage* in the change of the balance of forces in the world, which became manifest in the 1970s. Imperialism has lost its superiority over socialism and there is rough military-strategic parity between socialism and imperialism, the USSR and the USA, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. Noted the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU:

The military and strategic equilibrium . . . objectively serves to safeguard world peace. We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us. Attempts of that kind and talking to us from a position of strength are absolutely futile.

Socialism's successes in economic competition with capitalism played a significant role during that period. The socialist countries now produce two-fifths of world industrial output. On the international political scene the initiative is undoubtedly in the hands of socialism and opponents of imperialism in the broad sense of the word. The potential of the forces of peace, taken together, undoubtedly exceeds the potential of the forces of war.

For all that, it would be true to say that the potential of the opponents of imperialism and war has not been fully tapped. What stands in the way is a certain amount of disunity caused by objective reasons (the disparate composition of anti-imperialist forces) and external factors, in the first place imperialism's attempts to undermine the unity of its opponents. There is considerable untapped potential in the most influential political force of our time, the Communist movement. There is no doubt that if all the possibilities were used a hundred per cent the successes of the peace and anti-imperialist forces would have been even greater.

All things considered, however, it can be said that there is today, for the first time in history, a rough balance between imperialism and its opponents. That means that the world has reached a kind of watershed in its transition from capitalism to socialism. The period that preceded it was marked by the superiority of the forces of the old social system over those of its opponents. Now they have drawn even. And in some ways the proponents of social progress have gained an edge on the forces of the old system. This understandably creates a totally new situation.

Summing up the changes that have taken place, Andrei Gromyko noted, "As a result of the change of the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, favorable opportunities have emerged for restructuring on a peaceful and democratic basis the entire system of international relations that took shape in the postwar period." However, the more restricted imperialism is in dominating other peoples, the more fiercely imperialist reaction resists.

And here we must state with the utmost clarity: The approximate equilibrium of forces in the world does not change the class nature of the two opposing systems and, consequently, the character of relations between them.

All this was vividly manifested in the development of international relations in the 1970s and 1980s. The first result in the change of the balance of forces in the preceding decade was detente. However, the period of detente turned out to be short-lived and, beginning from the second half of the 1970s, was replaced by grow-

ing confrontation. We were confronted with an original phenomenon. Far from changing in favor of imperialism, the overall balance of forces in the world during the last decade continued to change against it. Nevertheless, international tensions greatly increased. That bears out the regularity discovered by Lenin—successes of the progressive forces always bring forth a reaction on the part of imperialism.

But a return to confrontation has failed to yield the results hoped for by those who inspired it. First of all, socialism disrupted the attempts to tip the balance of military forces and prevented the military-strategic equilibrium from being upset. Furthermore, the counteroffensive launched by imperialism provoked a broad mobilization for peace. The struggle against the nuclear missile threat created by the actions of the USA and NATO was joined by forces that previously stayed out of and even disapproved of it. Certain changes took place in the attitude of the ruling circles of the United States' allies. They gradually became convinced that their goals could not be reached through confrontation, which merely increased the threat of war and posed a greater danger to the existence of entire nations.

In this context the latent potential of the opponents of imperialism came increasingly into play. This made the U.S. Administration first change its political vocabulary and then accept the Soviet proposal to begin contacts that would pave the way to negotiations.

It is, of course, impossible to predict how these contacts, let alone the negotiations, will proceed. The aggressive forces have not disappeared and they will certainly seek to increase their activity. In these conditions much depends on the initiative and activity of the peace and anti-imperialist forces. As for the Soviet Union and its allies, they will not be found wanting.

THE HISTORIC TREND in the balance of forces is such that it will inevitably change in favor of those who favor peace, national liberation and social emancipation of peoples.

When Marxists-Leninists make this statement, their opponents often counter with an accusation that they are preaching power politics. That is a groundless accusation. The trend in the balance of forces in favor of peace and social progress reflects the objective trend of historical development, which did not begin today or even yesterday. Today's changes are a continuation of the centuries-old history of mankind, during which it has graduated from one stage of social development to another.

When we speak about conscious actions of the forces of progress aimed at further changing the balance of forces in the world, we mean, first and foremost, peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism.

Those in the West who oppose peaceful co-existence, who bank on strength and military superiority, clearly demonstrate their uncertainty of being able to win a peaceful competition with the new social system. Socialism, on the other hand, is prepared to prove its superiority precisely in peaceful conditions.

Socialism has never sought military superiority. It is working to bring down the level of military confrontation, provided equal security of the sides is preserved. In the political field, it is intent on keeping the initiative in the struggle for peace and the security of nations in its hands. In the ideological field, socialism is convinced of the superiority of Marxist-Leninist theory and is sure that all peoples will ultimately embrace it as the basis of their further development. In the economic field, it certainly seeks to prove its superiority over capitalism.

In this the decisive factor is the further improvement of developed socialism in the Soviet Union, further progress on the domestic front and strengthening of international cooperation among fraternal socialist states.

The labor of the Soviet people, their successes in communist creative endeavor, is the most important and reliable factor in further changing the balance of forces in the world in favor of the security and freedom of peoples and the cause of social progress as a whole. — □

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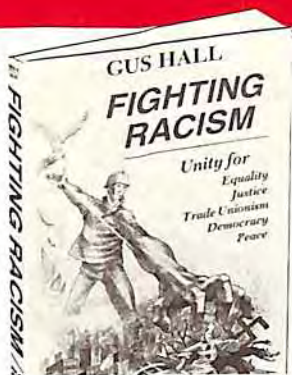
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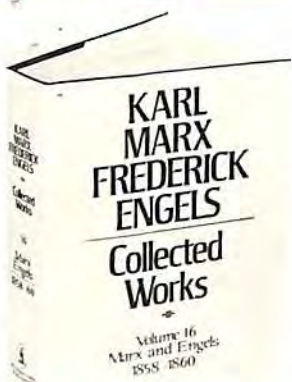
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