

## EDITORIAL

### The Struggle for Europe's Soul

It is sometimes said that Americans see their European allies as less than devoted to the East-West struggle<sup>1</sup>, and in turn West Europeans reportedly complain of incoherent United States leadership and lack of proper consultation.<sup>2</sup> Yet, whatever the strains within the Alliance, prudence dictates patience and understanding. Without a US commitment to its defence Western Europe would be vulnerable to intimidation and "finlandization", and if that continent fell within the Soviet ambit, the balance of world power would shift, possibly decisively, in favour of the USSR. Many strategic analysts believe that a high Soviet priority is to "uncouple" the US from Europe's defence<sup>3</sup>, and that the Russian leaders have striven hard to achieve an absolute superiority in conventional and tactical nuclear forces over the Europeans, to extract obedience by intimidation once the uncoupling is complete.<sup>4</sup>

If such assumptions are true, they explain the frantic but unsuccessful Soviet efforts in the autumn of 1979 to deter by threats, diplomacy and propaganda the NATO decision to modernize its weaponry.<sup>5</sup> They may also have inspired the current Soviet "peace offensive" intended to overturn the NATO decision by generating grass roots anti-nuclear sentiment in Western Europe through propaganda identifying the United States rather than the USSR as the source of danger.<sup>6</sup> Soviet success in this psychological battle could mark a turning point in Europe's future.

But just when the West seemed dangerously divided and at risk, events in Poland showed that the Warsaw Pact too has its problems. Karl Marx must surely have turned in his Highgate grave when the strike weapon — that instrument for the undoing of capitalism<sup>7</sup> — was successfully used to disrupt the totalitarian apparatus of the Polish communist party. We can share the excitement of the striker's initial victory but, remembering that wars are won by the side which wins the last great battle, we cannot afford complacency. The restoration of party discipline over Poland's labour force might still involve Soviet tanks and attack helicopters, in the manner of Budapest, Prague and Kabul. More likely, it will be a low intensity conflict between Communists of different persuasions, using techniques of infiltration, denigration, terrorism, propaganda and disinformation. The party's aim would be to depict the free trade union leaders as "counter-revolutionaries", that is to say, enemies. The Soviet and Polish Communists could probably conduct this campaign in Poland without inflicting serious damage on the concurrent peace offensive against Western Europe, while a crude military action might set the latter back indefinitely.

Some credit for deterring the USSR from using the iron fist thus far in Poland may conceivably be due to those athletes who boycotted the Moscow Olympics. The Centre for Conflict Studies supported the boycott, believing that, for all that it could not bring Afghanistan back to life as an independent nation, decent people should not, as it were, celebrate with the assassin in the presence of the corpse. The boycott and other international demonstrations of

disgust may have shown the Soviet leaders that Russia as well as America must pay a political price for wielding military power. If this thinking helps to keep Soviet divisions away from the Polish factories, then the decisions of the Canadian and other governments to stay away from the Games, and the sacrifice of individual athletes involved, were justified.

#### Footnotes

1. John Palmer, "Europe reluctant to antagonise the Soviet Bear", *Guardian Weekly*, 27 Jan. 1980; Scott Sullivan, "The Shaky Alliance", *Newsweek*, 12 May 1980; John Pinkerman, Washington syndication, "Bring So-Called U.S. Friends Back into Line", *Gleaner* (Fredericton), 27 May 1980.
2. Joseph C. Harsch, "Carter has Alliance Repair Job on His Hands", *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 1980; John Vinocur, "West German Faith in US Fades", *New York Times*, 5 June 1980.
3. Manfred Worner, "SALT II: A European Perspective", *Strategic Review*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1979), pp. 9-15; Brian Crozier, *Strategy of Survival* (New York, 1978); Joseph D. Douglass Jr., *Soviet Strategy for Nuclear War* (Stanford, Calif., 1979); "Dump US or Detente, Soviets Tell Europe", *Gazette* (Montreal), 7 Feb. 1980.
4. See "The Strategic Intentions of the Soviet Union", *ISC Special Report* (March, 1978); Laurence W. Martin, "Strategic Shocks and Illusions", *Annual of Power and Conflict 1979-80* (London, 1980), pp. 1-8; Jeffrey Record, "France 1940 and the NATO Center 1980: A Disquieting Comparison", *Strategic Review*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1980), pp. 67-74.
5. The campaign was based upon official Soviet statements, supported by Soviet press assets in the West, local communist parties and the "Front" organizations. In early October 1979 statements on European disarmament accounted for 20% of all Soviet propaganda output. Boris Ponomarev, Leonid Zamyatin, Valentin Falin and Vadim Zagladin were among senior Soviet Party officials who toured Western Europe, wrote articles or orchestrated the campaign.
6. "The Cruise Blues in Tiny Thetford", *Newsweek*, 16 June 1980; Andre Fontaine, "No Deals on Theatre Weapons", *Le Monde*, 20 June 1980; Geoffrey T. Godsell, "Controversy Over Euromissiles Growing", *Christian Science Monitor*, July 1980.
7. See Richard Lowenthal, *World Communism* (London, 1964), p. 28: "In the Bolshevik view only these organs could paralyse the bourgeois state machine and destroy it at its roots. . .".

## The Man on the Toronto Subway

by *Dominick Graham*

"War is a continuation of the politics of particular classes in their pursuit of class goals." The class system is the cause of wars. Classes that are antagonistic and exploit one another are innate to the capitalist system. Therefore wars will continue as long as capitalism exists. Wars "will cease to exist only with the destruction of capitalism and the victory of the socialist order in the world."<sup>1</sup>

These terse sentences describe Marxist-Leninist dogma on the cause of wars. They point to the form that wars will take and they warn the reader of the