



IDEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE OF THE CC OF KNE

TRUTHS & LIES **ABOUT CAPITALISM**

1. On imperialist war

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IDEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE OF THE CC
OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH OF GREECE (KNE)

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Introduction

It's estimated that from the beginning of the 20th century to the present, not a single year has passed without a war waging somewhere on the planet. Someone will jump to the conclusion that war is just part of human nature. However, if we think about it more carefully, we can easily understand that no human is born with the purpose of waging wars. Moreover, none of us is born predestined to die in war.

If we take a look at all these conflicts, we can find dozens of them readied and waged by the most – apparently – “different” governments and states, at different places on the planet and – at first glance – for the most different pretexts. Each of these wars had a reason behind it, a pretext, winners and losers, consequences. Or at least... this is what they taught us at school.

However, what do all these wars have in common? All these wars have been fought using various pretexts, involving so many different states, and they continue to rage on in various parts of the world. What is their true nature? Are they just the result of the decisions of some ‘crazy’ leaders? What is the role of NATO and the European Union (EU)? Can we live in peace? What is needed to eradicate the threat of war forever? What can the workers and youth do against the outbreak of war?

This publication by the Ideological Committee of the Central Council (CC) of the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) responds to these and other questions that have been troubling many young people, particularly in recent months, following the outbreak of the war in Ukraine and the risk of its generalisation throughout Europe and beyond.

This publication serves as an introduction to the revolutionary perspective and delves into the root causes behind the events leading up to the war. This is especially for young people who are concerned about the root causes of modern-day wars, and who refuse to accept the unfair world we live in and are eager to change it.

David Alfaro

Siqueiros, *Portrait of
the Bourgeoisie*, mural
painting, 1939, (part)



Chapter 1: Imperialism, a world of wars

Lie: *This is a moment of truth for Europe. This is a clash between the rule of law and the rule of the gun; between democracies and autocracies; between a rules-based order and a world of naked aggression.*

President of European Commission Ursula von der Leyen's statement, in Brussels, at the extraordinary session of the European Parliament on the war in Ukraine.

Since the war in Ukraine broke out, there has been a surge of information about military operations and developments. We've learned about the types of nuclear weapons and the potential consequences of their use. We've been learning about the trading, requests, and manufacturing agreements for new weapon systems. We've heard about diplomatic visits and deals between countries that some people cannot even locate on the map. There are discussions in bourgeois organisations about whether there will be a World War III or whether one is already underway. Perhaps by the time the reader reads these lines, we'll have witnessed or experienced even more things.

At the same time, we've been listening to analyses that present the 'West-East' conflict or the 'democracy-autocracy' confrontation as the cause of the war. 'A clash between the rule of law and the rule of the gun', as the president of the Commission stated. Elsewhere, we've heard that wars are caused by the policy of 'revising' the borders or 'protecting' human rights and minorities. 'There are wars because of interests,' this is the first conclusion that somebody draws from a multitude of information, propaganda and news.

But the real question is: For whose interests are wars being waged? The answer to this question can reveal the root causes of wars, by looking beyond the initial pretexts and the propaganda we've heard.

‘There are wars because of interests’. But for whose interests?

There are many discussions about the future of the economy, potential investment ‘opportunities’, and the ‘actions’ of major corporations within the economy. Meanwhile, we learn about the escalation of war and the emergence of conflicts surrounding energy, trade, and monetary matters. We learn about deals being reached or broken, storage tanks and gas pipelines opening and closing against a backdrop of conflicts in distant places, all of which have a profound impact on our lives. Major energy companies’ decisions, policy changes by big banks, recriminations, and penalties for large corporations, ‘oligarchs’, and ‘investors’ are popular topics dominating the media.

The mentioned topics are prominent, along with news about war. This reveals that understanding the reasons behind a war can be as straightforward as identifying who benefits from controlling valuable resources like natural reserves, markets, minerals, transportation routes, energy sources, etc.

It’s about the big companies and groups that have investments in different sectors of economy within a specific country or on a global scale. Companies that own industries, infrastructure, energy transport networks, means of transport, ports, and all the necessary means for production by capitalising on the labour of millions of workers. That is why everything the workers produce today is owned by companies. The capital owned by these companies often equals or surpasses the wealth of several countries on the planet.



Apple

\$2810 bil.



Microsoft

\$2170 bil.



Meta

\$449 bil.



France

\$2600 bil.



Italy

\$1886 bil.






Greece

\$189 bil.

The stock market value of many well-known monopoly groups exceeds the Gross National Product (GNP) of hundreds of countries around the world.

SAMSUNG

Asia		Workers	227,700		Production & Research Centres	51		Capital	\$373 bil.
USA			25,695			16			
Europe			12,704			7			
Africa			574			1			

Sectors of Activity

Microchips, Shipbuilding, Tourism, Electronic Devices, Construction, Mechanical Equipment, Biotechnology, Hardware, Telecommunication Networks, Medical Equipment, Insurance, Advertising

Monopolies are large companies with significant capital, employing thousands of workers, and investing in various industries and countries worldwide. Some are larger or smaller than others; however, they play a crucial role on a national, regional, and global scale.



Workers
3390

Capital
€6.69 bil.

Sectors of Activity

Trade and production of fuels, Oil refining, Electricity, Natural Gas, Trade and production of lubricating oils, Renewable Energy Sources, Finance, Shipping, Mechanical Engineering

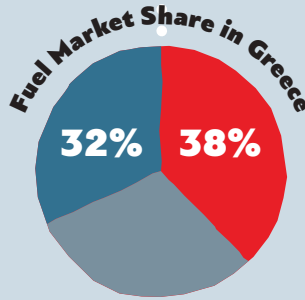


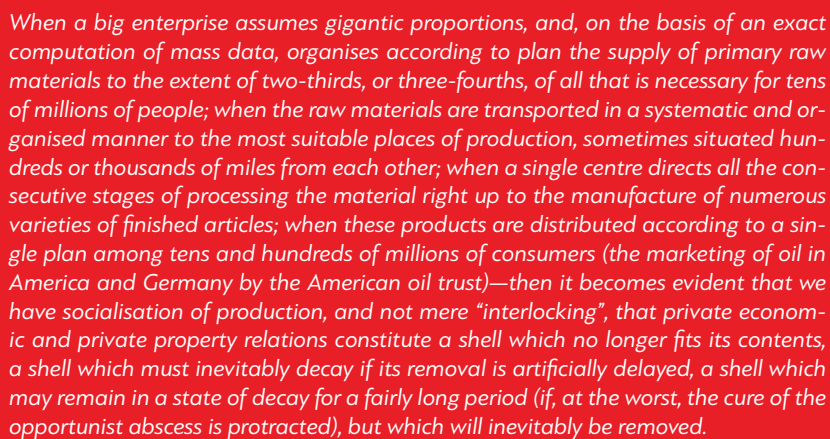
Workers
2792

Capital
€3.3 bil.

Sectors of Activity

Real Estate, Trade and production of fuels, Oil refining, Electricity, Natural Gas, Trade and production of lubricating oils, Renewable Energy Sources, Finance, Media





When a big enterprise assumes gigantic proportions, and, on the basis of an exact computation of mass data, organises according to plan the supply of primary raw materials to the extent of two-thirds, or three-fourths, of all that is necessary for tens of millions of people; when the raw materials are transported in a systematic and organised manner to the most suitable places of production, sometimes situated hundreds or thousands of miles from each other; when a single centre directs all the consecutive stages of processing the material right up to the manufacture of numerous varieties of finished articles; when these products are distributed according to a single plan among tens and hundreds of millions of consumers (the marketing of oil in America and Germany by the American oil trust)—then it becomes evident that we have socialisation of production, and not mere “interlocking”, that private economic and private property relations constitute a shell which no longer fits its contents, a shell which must inevitably decay if its removal is artificially delayed, a shell which may remain in a state of decay for a fairly long period (if, at the worst, the cure of the opportunist abscess is protracted), but which will inevitably be removed.

V. I. Lenin 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism'

So, monopoly groups, by collecting such wealth in their hands, can define ‘how’, ‘where’ and ‘if’ anything will be produced today. They define production, distribution, the consumption terms of everything we need today. After all, they have the power in their hands.

The owners of these monopolies decide whether to produce based on their own interests. Capitalists themselves boast that no company invests, starts, or continues any production activity unless it expects the investment to be profitable. In short, the monopolies make the call on whether or not to produce a specific commodity based on their profitability, but they don't stop there.

Capitalists compare the efficiency of their profitability with the efficiency of the other capitalists, because they have to objectively compete with each other. Every capitalist wants to have the advantage against other capitalists. As they say themselves, the big fish eats the small one and the fast one eats the slow one. Thus, they find themselves in a constant struggle for their companies to survive, where each step back equals failure. Making profit is not enough. They aim for the highest and quickest profit compared to their competitors, as well as the greatest profit compared to investing their capital in oth-

er productive activities. Ultimately, they hunt the maximum rate of profit of the capital they own.

Hence, they define which sectors will be developed, which workers' and youth's needs will be met and which will not. Many times they even dictate us 'what we should' need and we haven't even thought about it. Thus, they create today a world 'tailor-made for them'.

The power of monopolies to decide what will be produced and what will not is something that we encounter very often in our daily lives. The Greek bourgeois state granted concessions for the domestic Prinos oil fields in Kavala to the monopoly Energean. At the time of the drilling, Energean sold the entire national production from the Prinos oil fields to BP for export. In August 2021, the company announced layoffs and wage cuts, after deciding not to fully exploit the oil, sparking a mass struggle. At a time when the fuel, natural gas, oil and electricity prices are soaring, it seems contradictory to halt oil extractions. However, based on the company's goal of maximising profit, the Energean group decided to focus on drilling in the Karis and Tanin fields in the Sea of Israel for the upcoming period. In Greece, the focus is not on drilling, but on securing the carbon dioxide storage facility and seeking Community funding for a large hydrogen plant in line with the EU's 'green transition' guidelines.



They determine the working conditions, the number of workers they will employ or lay off based on maximising profitability. They define the working hours and the working relationship, the levels of wages and how much time they will work.

Respectively, it's up to them to decide about the technology used, whether they'll fund research, or if they'll block it because it's unprofitable for their interests. At the same time, we know from our daily experiences that many products designed for workers and their families, who are working hard to make a decent living, have poor quality and a short lifespan, etc.

In 2010, the European aircraft manufacturer Airbus presented the A320neo model, which has engines with better fuel economy. The American rival Boeing is losing many customers, and to regain lost ground quickly, the company is working on upgrading its current Boeing 737 aircraft. To ensure that this model can support the new engines, the company's engineers are proceeding to design and introduce some new systems to the aircraft. However, the company conceals the presence of these systems from pilots to prevent the costly retraining of pilots by the airlines that are its customers. In 2018 and 2019, two Boeing 737 aircraft crashed, costing the lives of hundreds of people in Jakarta and Ethiopia. After looking into the matter, it was found that the main reason was the malfunction of the new systems that had been introduced, coupled with the pilots' lack of awareness about their existence to effectively address any malfunctions.

Considering the 'where' of fund allocation is just as vital as the 'if' and 'how' for business groups. In recent years, we often hear every government talking about 'investment attraction'.

However, based on which criteria will a monopoly decide? A company can move to another country, because of lower wages or fewer labour rights for workers. Also because, for example, of more efficient infrastructures and more productive resources and generally, because there is some 'strategic advantage'. But the 'where' plays a crucial role in the dynamics of a capitalist country. As a country amasses more capital, ei-

ther through the accumulation by domestic monopolies or foreign investments, it becomes a more significant player in the international arena of competing with other capitalist countries.

The Schneider Electric monopoly operates in over 115 countries. It focuses on electricity, manufacturing household products, energy distribution and storage, and even on industrial automation. In 2019, the group had a huge turnover, almost as much as the GDP of a small country. However, it chose to concentrate on 'green energy' and automation sectors, leveraging its technological edge to gain a strategic advantage in global competition. These specific production activities were carried out outside Greece, resulting in the closure of the Oinofyta factory in 2020, leaving 100 workers unemployed.



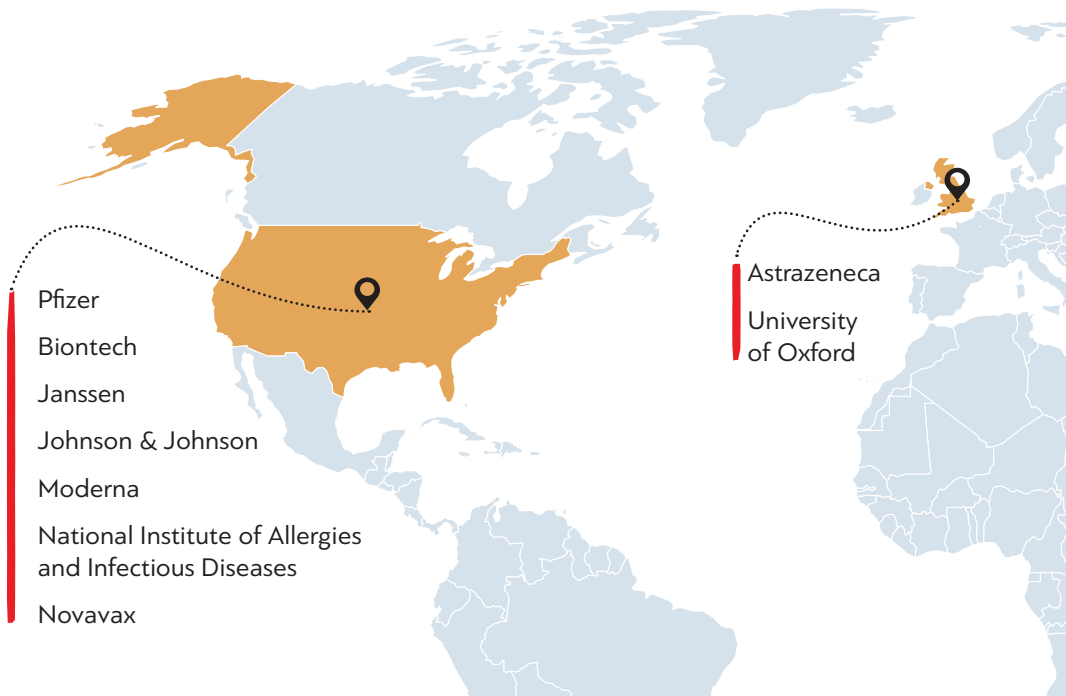
Thus, there are interests hidden behind economic and political deals, disputes over the division of spheres of influence, of land and maritime transport routes for commodities, of ports, etc. These interests have a specific name: the dictatorship of monopolies.

Can the interests of the monopolies be reconciled?

In 1996, Bill Gates, the capitalist founder of Microsoft and pioneer of the 'Green New Deal' for years, reportedly said: "Think of business as a good game. Lots of competition and a minimum of rules. You keep score with

money.’ However, if we take a look at our lives, we can easily reach the conclusion that capitalists don’t play just for fun, but to win. The main relationship capitalists know is the competition they have with each other. Someone would disagree and say sometimes monopoly groups cooperate with each other. However, capitalists are like hyenas, they cooperate until they strike the enemy or beat the rival pack. From then on, each one has its own special interests and priorities.

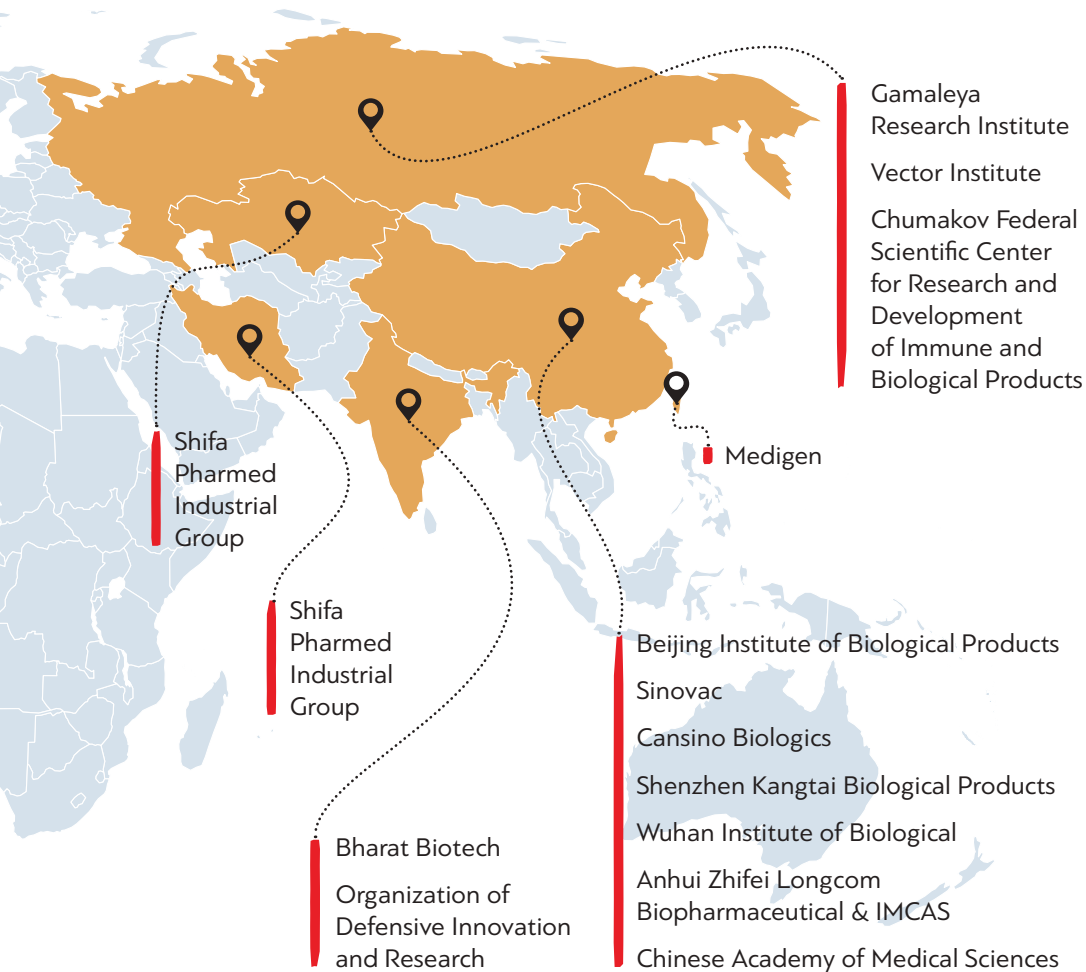
Laboratories for the production of the



The experience of developing a vaccine during the COVID-19 pandemic is a clear example of how their competition can potentially endanger human life. For example, when the World Health Organisation (WHO) invited the monopoly holders to share their patents and vaccine development with a collaborative WHO scientific pool, Albert Bourla, the CEO of Pfizer – who had been much promoted in our country as a ‘distinguished Greek abroad’ – said about this initiative by stating: ‘At this point in time, I think it’s nonsense, and... it’s also dangerous’.

Competition prevails in every sector of production. Monopoly groups in the same market, producing similar commodities, are constantly in relentless competition with each other. The retreat of a company from a commodity market or country means that the rival company has found the ideal environment to grow. A profitable investment of a monopoly means that the rival monopoly is being deprived of this profitability, etc.

COVID-19 in capitalist countries



We can find many competition systems like these in every sector of production in our country. There is the competition of Cosmote-Vodafone-Wind in the telecommunication sector, of MEVGAL-DELTA-OLYMPUS-FAGE-DODONI-FRIESLAND in the dairy products sector, of HelleniQ Energy-Revoil-MotorOil in the production of mineral oils, etc.

Such companies often cooperate, making deals with each other against whoever is the 'common enemy'. They seek to eradicate the competition of other companies, so they obtain as much profit and as many shares of the market as they can. Also, they may even agree to freeze prices and raw materials.

This increases their profits. They share the market with each other. The so-called cartels are a relatively simple form of these deals. For example, dairy production companies are a typical example of a cartel. They define not only the sales prices of milk, but also the prices they will pay to buy milk from the small and medium livestock farmers. Respectively, telecommunications companies agree on similar prices to provide communication so they keep prices as high as possible, etc. These deals entail competition, like every deal between capitalists does. Thus, they are temporary, for a specific period of time, they fall apart when they no longer serve the interests of some monopoly group, and new ones are created.

But the score continues in each sector. The first one is trying to hold the lead, the second one to beat the first one, etc. Hence, the title of the famous Greek folk song 'Your death is my life' completely describes the competition among monopolies and their unions, when they see that some temporary alliance contributes to their competitors' defeat.

There is capitalist competition between different production sectors too. Various monopolies that place most of their funds to the production of a sector compete with the monopolies of another sector when their interests are in conflict. The 'SOS message that manufacturing industries are sending for the high energy costs', as bourgeois newspapers inform us, are a common example. These high costs, though, guarantee huge amounts of profit to the electricity production monopolies. The bourgeois state, as the 'collective capitalist', implemented lower electricity taxes and prices for industries to prevent any complaints. At the same time, the bourgeois state directly

funded electricity production monopolies through the so-called Energy Transition Fund. Another more illustrative example was the battle over the tens of billions from the so-called Recovery Fund; where the funds would ultimately go and which sector would benefit. The 'green' and digital investments emerged victorious in the battle, reigniting the false 'environmentally friendly' reflexes of monopolies.

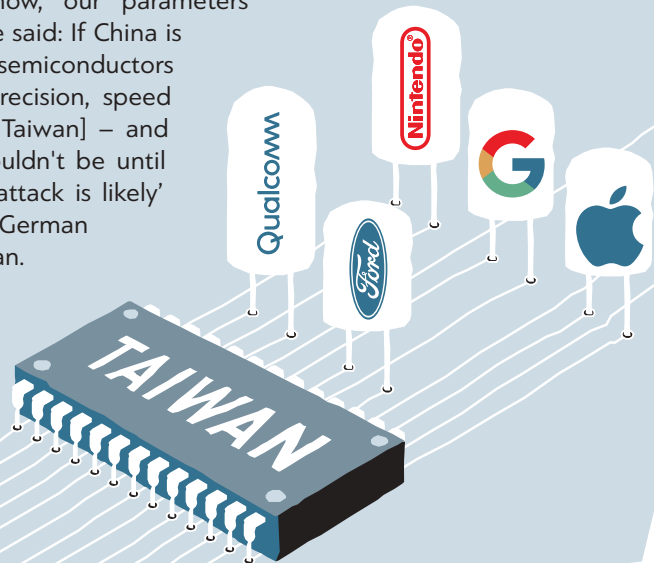
Competition takes place even within the monopoly itself, among the major shareholders. If we ask ourselves who owns Amazon, what comes to mind is the name 'Jeff Bezos,' or if you consider Tesla, it is Elon Musk's. But why should we think of those capitalists' names when we hear of the above-mentioned monopoly giants? One might think that they are the sole owners of the above-mentioned monopoly groups, but that would not be completely true. Capitalists compete against their peers on all levels, after all. Thus, their opinion carries more weight compared to the other shareholders of the companies, because their portfolio is larger. Jeff Bezos owns around 10% of Amazon, Elon Musk slightly over 16% of Tesla's shares, and so on. At first glance, those figures look small. And yet, they amount to billions of dollars, and are always compared to the portions of shares owned by the other major shareholders-capitalists, which are even smaller. Capitalist competition is, therefore, also reflected on this level, among the various capitalists-shareholders, over who will call the shots in the company, who will best serve the investments they may have in another sector or business, etc.

This is the competition that also extends on an international level over the control of natural resources, markets, and energy and commodity transport routes. Let's take energy as an example. Big joint-stock companies accumulating huge capitals organise the production, distribution, and transport of fuel and energy to a number of countries. That is why it matters to them which routes they can use to transport their commodities, where their pipelines or the ships will pass from, as well as where they can store and how they can sell the commodities. Similarly, technology giants produce and sell billions of devices used both in the production process and in our everyday lives. That's why it's important to them who owns the valuable natural resources needed for their production, like the rare-earth elements used in electronic devices, the controllers of the networks that support their devices, and so on – the list goes on and on.

The capitalist competition score is, therefore, measured within the monopoly itself, among monopolies of the same sector, among monopolies of different capitalist production sectors, as well as on an international level. There can be no capitalism without competition, and these interests cannot be reconciled.

The question often arises whether the competition between monopolies could be reduced by further internationalising

TSMC (Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company) is a giant monopoly is located in Taiwan and specialises in producing the latest and smallest semiconductors. Dozens of technology groups from all around the world are sourcing microchips from TSMC. TSMC holds a 55% market share for traditional microchips, which is three times greater than Samsung, the second-largest competitor. These semiconductors are used to produce thousands of commodities that we use in our everyday lives. Computers, cars, smartphones and electronic devices in general require a microchip to operate. Just like China, the USA also depends on the production of Taiwan and, in 2020, imported 72% of the microchips used in the USA. The same is also true for the EU, where at least 50% of its semiconductor supply needs are covered by Taiwan. This specific company had a market capitalisation of 410 billion dollars in 2020. Consequently, this productive activity is at the centre of inter-imperialist rivalries: 'Until now, our parameters were such that we said: If China is able to produce semiconductors with the same precision, speed and quantity [as Taiwan] – and that probably wouldn't be until 2027 – then an attack is likely' said a prominent German bourgeois politician.



production. This would allow each monopoly to freely export capital wherever it desires within the global landscape of capitalism.

Of course, each commodity, whether small or big, may well pass through dozens of countries and through the hands of millions of workers before it reaches our hands. Consuming commodities manufactured all over the world is something unprecedented in human history. Nevertheless, this doesn't only mean that the capitalists of each country cooperate among themselves, but also that **they all lock horns amongst themselves in a larger arena**, much more complex and convoluted than before.

Despite each monopoly's multinational composition or activity, each monopoly has some state it refers back to, its own government that serves and safeguards its interests both in the international arena of inter-imperialist competition on the basis of its strength, and against the 'internal enemy', the working class of its country. This would explain why multinational monopolies, like the French energy company Total, are accompanied by French troops when investing in Africa or in the energy plots of the Eastern Mediterranean. This is the answer to why the drilling rigs of each and every energy group in the Mediterranean are protected by the warships of a certain country or imperialist alliance.

Eventually, not only does the so-called internationalisation of capitalist economy fail to mitigate capitalist competition, but it also intensifies it and carries it to an international level.

This competition, which is waged among monopolies and capitalist states on all levels and in all sectors across the globe, forms the basis on which imperialist wars break out. It's precisely this competition that is also waged through diplomatic means, through the energy, the monetary and the trade wars. Its increasing intensification leads to the outbreak of countless armed conflicts, bringing the risk of a generalised imperialist war ever closer.

Lie: *‘Imperialism is the practice, theory or attitude of maintaining or extending power over foreign nations, particularly through expansionism [...] Imperialism focuses on establishing or maintaining hegemony and a more or less formal empire’*

From the Wikipedia entry on ‘Imperialism’

When we hear the terms ‘imperialism’ or ‘imperialist war’, the first thing that springs to mind is usually that somebody expands at somebody else’s expense. Looking up the etymology of the word ‘imperial’, we come across the names of past empires. However, the era we live in presents some distinct features in comparison to previous eras – traits introducing new elements both to the term ‘imperialism’ and to the content of ‘imperialist wars’. To find out the content of those wars, we need to go over the fundamental traits of our era.

The main trait of the era we live in is the predominance of monopoly groups. Looking back on human history, we’ll notice that this kind of giant stock companies, bringing together the labour of millions of people, often from many different countries across the globe, even for the production of the simplest commodities, did not always exist. More than that, they did not always use to play such a decisive role in production, in the economy, and in political life.

Their predominance can be roughly traced back to the beginning of the 20th century, when, in his emblematic work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, V.I. Lenin examined imperialism: the development of monopoly groups, and the passage of capitalism to the historical stage in which it rots, as it has nothing more to offer humanity, and in which the conditions for its overthrow have matured.

« The usual division into historical epochs, so often cited in Marxist literature and so many times repeated by Kautsky and adopted in Potresov's article, is the following: (1) 1789-1871; (2) 1871-1914; (3) 1914 - ? Here, of course, as everywhere in Nature and society, the lines of division are conventional and variable, relative, not absolute. We take the most outstanding and striking historical events only approximately, as milestones in important historical movements. The first epoch from the Great French Revolution to the Franco-Prussian war is one of the rise of the bourgeoisie, of its triumph, of the bourgeoisie on the upgrade, an epoch of bourgeois-democratic movements in general and of bourgeois-national movements in particular, an epoch of the rapid breakdown of the obsolete feudal-absolutist institutions. The second epoch is that of the full domination and decline of the bourgeoisie, one of transition from its progressive character towards reactionary and even ultra-reactionary finance capital. This is an epoch in which a new class—present-day democracy—is preparing and slowly mustering its forces. The third epoch, which has just set in, places the bourgeoisie in the same "position" as that in which the feudal lords found themselves during the first epoch. This is the epoch of imperialism and imperialist upheavals, as well as of upheavals stemming from the nature of imperialism. »

V. I. Lenin 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism'



1789

The Great French Revolution broke out overthrowing feudalism and establishing the power of the bourgeoisie.



1871

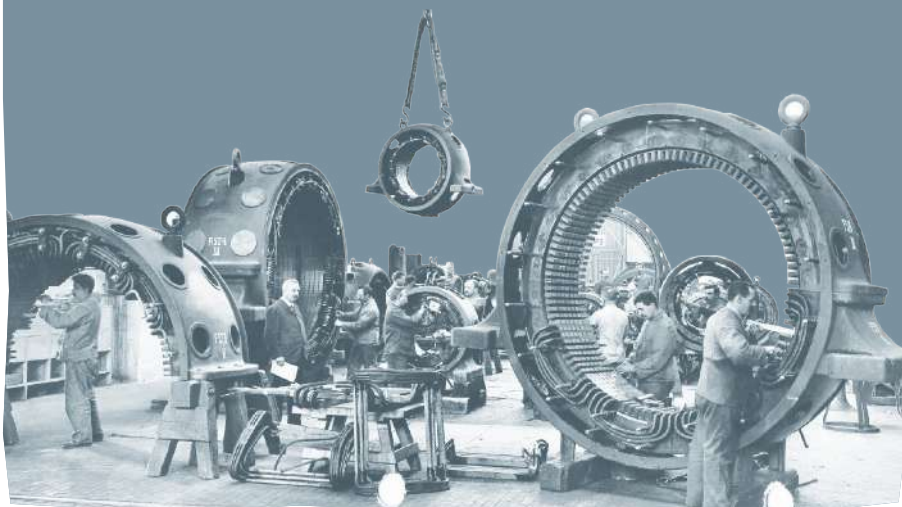
During the end of the Franco-Prussian War, a class civil war breaks out. The Parisian proletariat in revolt declares the Paris Commune.



1914

World War I starts and continues until 1918.

Monopolies are huge stock companies. Many companies we know were owned by individual capitalists, but became stock companies by combining the capital of big shareholders-capitalists. Werner von Siemens founded Siemens AG in 1847, when he and engineer Johann Georg Halske designed a new kind of telegraph. The new company, named Siemens & Halske, employed 10 people in a building in Berlin. Even though the founder wanted the company to remain under family management, in 1897, five years after his death, the company was transformed into a stock company. The main reason was the huge competition and the need to increase the company's capital base. The company's history reveals a track record of numerous mergers and acquisitions, global stock exchange listings, and structural modifications throughout the years. Today, the company, according to its published data, has issued 850 million registered shares. The Siemens family now owns 6% of these shares.



In this era, it's the first time in human history that the dictatorship of the monopolies has accumulated so much and to such an extent. In this pitch of stock companies, all capitalists can play – each one with their own set of stocks, investments, and capitals, their own particular portfolio. In contrast to real football, though, capitalists don't play in one position.

The time when there was a capitalist-banker or a capitalist-in-

dustrialist is long gone. Nowadays, there is the capitalist-rentier, who makes profit from investments in banks, industries, etc., all at the same time. The very same capitalists may own capitals in different production sectors, in different companies, in different countries.

The Latsis Group controls HelleniQ Energy (former Hellenic Petroleum), shipping and shipbuilding companies, Lamda Development, a major investor in Elliniko, and holds a significant amount of stocks in the large banking institution EFG, headquartered in Zurich.

Thus, all monopoly groups are intertwined in a strange and tangled skein that is constantly changing. They are completely free to buy and sell stocks – parts of the total capital of a company – which are worth millions in whichever sector they please. In this pitch, everyone can play in all positions, with the teams and alliances constantly changing depending on the interests of each bourgeoisie.

Consequently, in imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, the fundamental contradiction of our era, the one between the greater socialisation of production, of labour, and the private appropriation of its results keeps deepening. But what does this mean?

We have but to think that, for the production of even the simplest commodity, the labour of millions upon millions of workers, contributing to the production of even the smallest items, is brought together. There is no single worker who can claim that everything being produced is their own, that is, made exclusively through their own personal labour, for the reason that the entire working society contributes to the production of each and every commodity. And yet, each commodity bears the brand of the monopoly to which it belongs. Monopolies and big shareholders respectively, can say ‘this is mine’, even though they haven’t even lifted a finger to make it, because they own all the means of production used for its fabrication.

Every day we use a variety of products without questioning their history – how, where, when or by whom they were produced. However, the journey that each product takes before arriving in our hands can reveal a lot about today's society and its future. Let's look at a straightforward and well-known item, such as a pencil, and identify the necessary components for it to end up in our hands. At first glance, as we study the pencil, we recognize the materials it is composed of: wood and graphite, very different materials that have been collected and processed by people who are unknown to each other. Also, to cut wood or extract graphite they use tools that were made by other people. In order to work, all these people need food, a house and many other things that they don't produce by themselves. From the driver who takes them to work in the morning to the person who designed the saw, everyone plays a part in the production of the pencil. Thousand other people work together to transport the raw materials to the pencil factory, to design and run the assembly, deliver them to the point of sale and finally into our hands. We can see that for something as simple as a pencil, the whole of working society has contributed to its production. So, for everything that is produced today, no one can say 'I made that myself!' However, every pencil has the stamp of a company on it; it belongs to the shareholders-capitalists of the monopoly groups, who reap the profits from its production because they own the means of production.

All the glaring contradictions that we, the young people from popular families, notice between our lives and the opulent, comfortable lives of the scions of well-known bourgeois families – lives which we would not even dream of living – come from this contradiction between us, all the working people in the world and the capitalists who own the means of production. Only this contradiction between capital and labour can reasonably explain a recent study, carried out by a Swiss bank, which showed something 'absurd': that the richer 1% of the global population owns as much wealth as the remaining 99%, that is to say, half the global wealth. Through capitalist exploitation, the gap between the wealth concentrated in the hands of big business groups and the wealth that the working people who produce it can enjoy is increasingly widening. Relative poverty is increasing; in other words, the wealth that the working class possesses is decreasing in comparison to that owned by the rival class, the bourgeoisie, if

we take into account the possibilities of our times. At the same time, during the periods of capitalist crises, wars, as well as in other cases, absolute poverty also grows. That is, the amount of wealth that the working people enjoy decreases not only as compared with that of capitalists, but also in comparison to previous generations of working people and previous periods. Eventually, what widens is the gap between how we live and how we could live without the exploitation of man by man, in the new communist society.

And so, without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its full development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

- The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.
- The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this “finance capital,” of a financial oligarchy.
- The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance.
- The formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves.
- The territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed

V. I. Lenin 'Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism'

In order to serve their interests, after dominating the entire capitalist world, monopoly groups seek to redistribute the world, each time according to the balance of power among them. So let's have a closer look at what comes along with the imperialists' bombers, what the winner's trophy is after the dust settles.

Dozens of military interventions, coups and imperialist wars have been waged in areas rich in natural resources, like mineral and energy resources and precious raw materials. Entire peoples have been wiped out just because maritime or land commodity transport routes, and gas or oil pipelines pass through their countries. The wars in Iraq, Syria, Algeria, Libya, Afghanistan and many more countries are

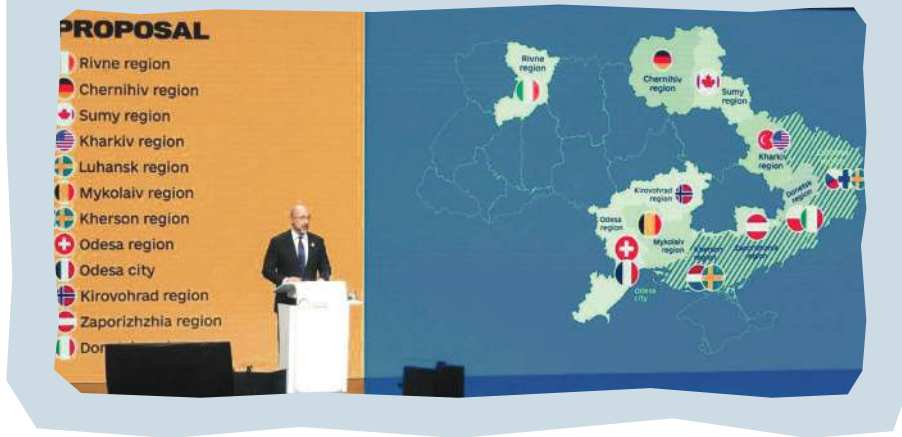
but a few bloody examples demonstrating where imperialist competition leads.

At the same time, military conflicts are accompanied, or even preceded by trade, energy or other kinds of imperialist wars. Old agreements among bourgeois states are broken, new ones are reached, while economic and political alliances are readjusted. The imperialist winner's spoils have exactly the same significance: an advantageous position for the winner's monopolies for profitable investments, the exploitation of an area's natural resources, and the reconstruction of a country's ruined productive forces. From our own life experience, we know that we, the peoples, the workers of each country don't own any energy pipelines, mineral resources, industries and oil wells, ports and commodity transport routes. Whose interests are served by the above-mentioned objectives of negotiations, wars, and agreements, then, if not the profitability of monopoly groups?

The US intervention in Afghanistan took place in 2001, after the attack on the Twin Towers in New York. The importance of Afghanistan lies in its location, a strategic geographical position, the soft underbelly for Russia and China. At the same time, it has abundant untapped raw mineral resources, estimated to be worth between 1 and 3 trillion dollars, in 30% of its explored areas. In particular, it has huge reserves of metals, such as copper, iron, gold, lead and lithium, commonly used in battery production. At the same time, between 2015 and 2020, it's estimated that Afghanistan accounted for approximately 83% of the world's opium output, bringing in \$6.6 billion in revenue.



A typical example is when the reactionary government of Ukraine, despite the ongoing slaughter of its people, sought to strengthen itself by promising investments of \$600 billion in post-war Ukraine to the vultures of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Central Bank (ECB), the EU and the USA. Following the appeal, the EU created a ‘Marshall Plan for Ukraine’ for the ‘reconstruction’ of Ukraine, aiming to generate significant profits from reopening production operations, reconstructing destroyed infrastructures and rebuilding entire cities.



In imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, the contradictions inherent in this system do not abate; on the contrary, they become even more acute. It's the first time in society that the capitalist competition previously described has sharpened so intensely and on so many levels: among the various big shareholders, among different monopolies of the same sector, among various production sectors, among the various bourgeois states serving their national monopolies, and, eventually, among imperialist unions on the international imperialist arena.

Imperialism, therefore, does not only involve ‘territorial expansion’; it's, rather, an entire era in human history. It's the era in which the predominance of monopoly groups crushes the peoples all around the world in ‘peacetime’, and doesn't hesitate to drag them into new imperialist wars. It's the world that we live in and

that we want to change, for it is festering and screaming for its overthrow at every single opportunity, every time a war is waged.

And yet, as in all fields of competition between imperialists, there are stronger and weaker players on the international level too. So why should we lump them all together?

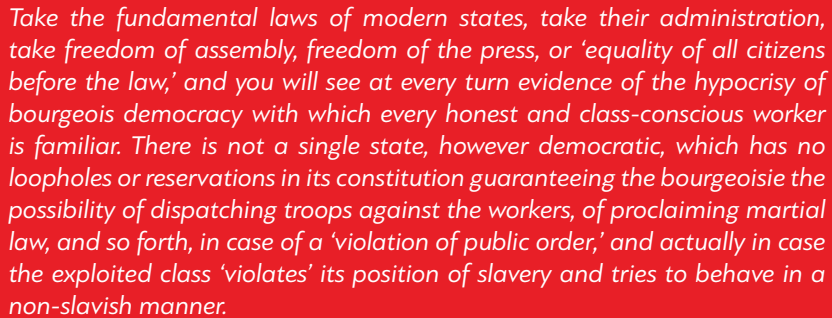
Can a bourgeois state follow a non-imperialist policy nowadays?

Every time an issue arises on an international level and gains more or less publicity, we see the various governments adopting different stances. Especially when it comes to the military interventions that have taken place during our lifetime, we can observe different groups of states adopting different stances and supporting different things. The question arises, then, whether all contemporary bourgeois states follow an imperialistic policy or whether some of them take a stance in favour of peace and of their peoples.

The truth is that, in the stage of imperialism, all bourgeois states are inevitably involved in imperialist competition to safeguard the interests of their monopolies. One could say: 'all countries are imperialist countries, but do they all have the same power? Can we compare the big capitalist countries with small states?' Of course, they are not the same when it comes to their power. All imperialist countries are intertwined within the global imperialist system through uneven relations, forming a pyramid. Each country occupies a certain place in this pyramid on the basis of its financial, political, and military power. So, the dynamic and position of each country are not the same. However, regardless of their dynamic, the content of all bourgeois states' domestic and foreign policy is the same: to serve their own bourgeoisie, their own monopoly groups and their profitability.

After all, that's the role and the nature of each bourgeois state. In bourgeois states, there are several functions whose sole purpose is to safeguard the bourgeoisie's power and ability to make enormous profits by exploiting the workers. At the same time, in the

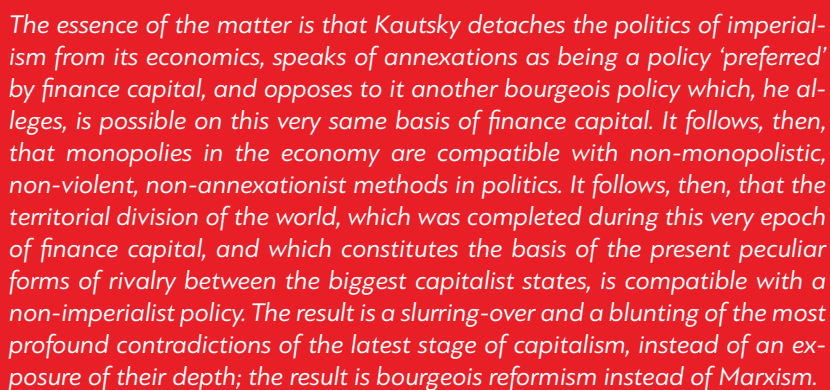
framework of capitalism, the bourgeois state and, respectively, the governments are the representatives of each country's monopoly groups in the international arena of inter-imperialist competition both in times of peace and in times of imperialist war.



Take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their administration, take freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, or 'equality of all citizens before the law,' and you will see at every turn evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and class-conscious worker is familiar. There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a 'violation of public order,' and actually in case the exploited class 'violates' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner.

Vi. Lenin, 'The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky'

In this context, the attitudes adopted by the bourgeoisie and the state are significant for the conflicts amongst imperialist giants. They play an important role in the balance of power and the outcome of a possible confrontation between different imperialist camps. A quick look at the history of our own country and of the wider region of the Balkans can illustrate the conflict over which bourgeoisie will ally with which other, which state will have closer ties to the USA, Russia, or China, and on which country's territory will military bases be situated and military alliances formed. So, each country's bourgeoisie throws its own trump cards on the negotiation and competition table. It always chooses its allies and enemies on the basis of the same criterion: increasing their profitability and competitiveness.



The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance capital, and opposes to it another bourgeois policy which, he alleges, is possible on this very same basis of finance capital. It follows, then, that monopolies in the economy are compatible with non-monopolistic, non-violent, non-annexationist methods in politics. It follows, then, that the territorial division of the world, which was completed during this very epoch of finance capital, and which constitutes the basis of the present peculiar forms of rivalry between the biggest capitalist states, is compatible with a non-imperialist policy. The result is a slurring-over and a blunting of the most profound contradictions of the latest stage of capitalism, instead of an exposure of their depth; the result is bourgeois reformism instead of Marxism.

V. I. Lenin 'Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism'

In this tangled skein of inter-imperialist contradictions, the hard fact is that, whichever ally each bourgeoisie may choose, it draws the people into dangerous competition. New, traditional, bigger or smaller allies are chosen with a view to serving the monopolies' interests, deepening, in this way, the involvement in a competition that leads to imperialist wars.

This is why the dilemma 'which of all the imperialists to choose' is false; they all compete according to the same criteria. It is against our interests to choose the smaller imperialist against the bigger one, to choose, that is, which of the two will be robbing us and will continue to exploit each country's workers. Especially in times of imperialist war, not only does this particular kind of thinking not contribute to end the war to the peoples' advantage, but it also increases the workers' alignment with the military plans of this or that bourgeois government, since it presents one of the imperialist camps involved as the lesser evil.

On the contrary, it's the overthrow of the root cause of the imperialist war that is to the peoples' advantage. This struggle involves denouncing and taking action against all imperialist centres, all bourgeois states and their alliances.

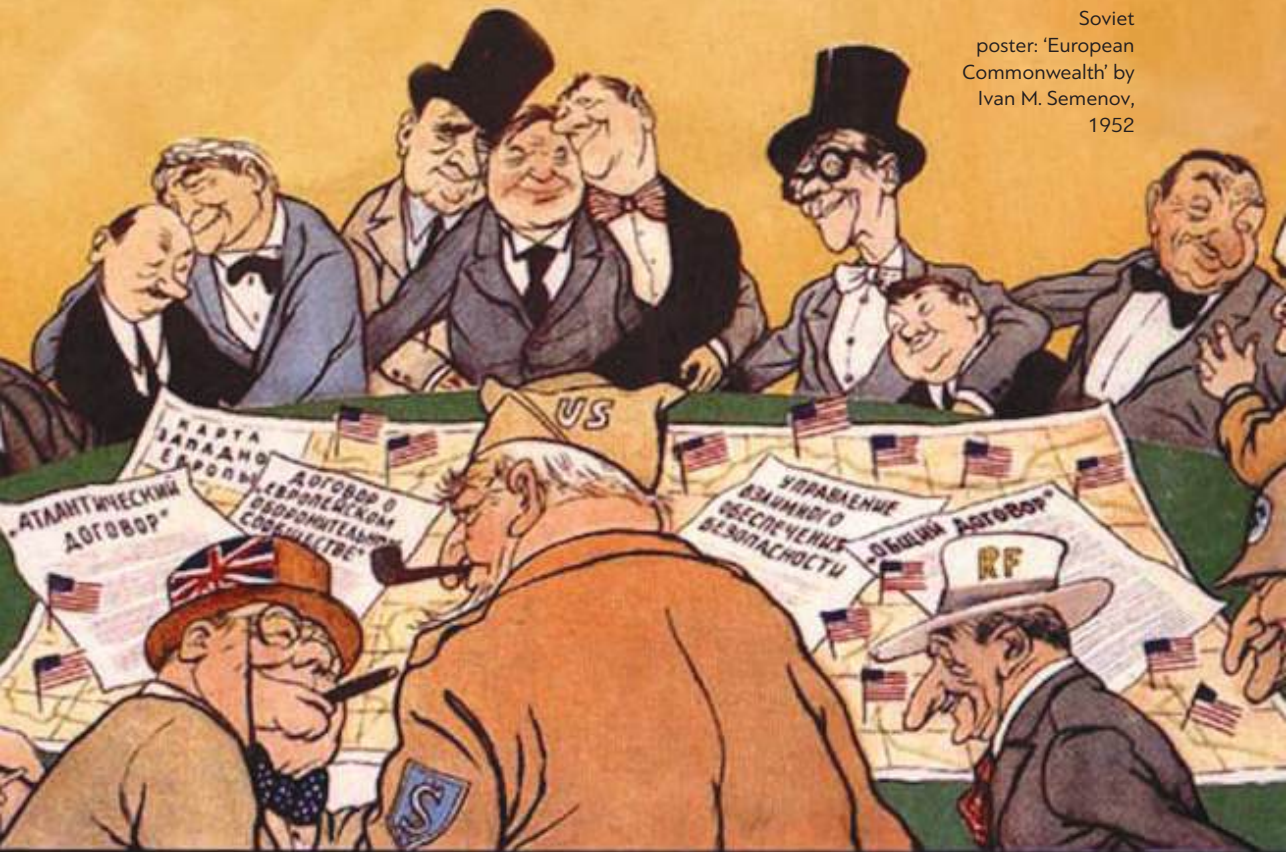
But what about the capitalist states' unions, like the EU and NATO

among others? Are they not proving that capitalists can work it out? We consciously devote a special chapter to those flagships of imperialist war, both due to their great significance in our time and, especially, due to the participation of Greece in the most important of these alliances.



- ▶ V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ V. I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ *The Programme of the KKE*
 - ▶ The Contemporary World and the Position of Greece in the Imperialist System
 - ▶ The Material Basis of the Necessity of Socialism in Greece
- ▶ *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi [Communist Review]*, issue 2/2022. The issue includes an article of the GS of the CC of the KKE Dimitris Koutsoumpas, the Resolution of the CC of the KKE about the war in Ukraine, as well as other relevant articles
- ▶ *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi [Communist Review]*, issue 4/2016, 'The Relevance of the Leninist Theory of Imperialism', by Makis Papadopoulos, member of the PB of the CC of the KKE
- ▶ *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi [Communist Review]*, issue 2/2017, 'Lenin's Theory on Imperialism and its Distortions', by Vasilis Opsimos, member of the Ideological Committee of the CC of the KKE
- ▶ *Essay on the History of the KKE*, vol. A1, 1918-1939, 'The Predominance of the Monopoly. The Imperialist Nature of War', Publications: Synchroni Epochi, pp. 76-85

Soviet
poster: 'European
Commonwealth' by
Ivan M. Semenov,
1952



Chapter 2: Imperialist alliances, the exploiters' gangs

Lie: *'A stronger and more capable EU in terms of security and defence will positively contribute to global and transatlantic security and will be complementary to NATO, which remains the foundation of collective defence for its members'*

EU Summit, March 2022

Recently, especially since the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in 2022, the scenes of war events and the developments in the economy and energy fields that we witness on the TV screens, computers and mobile phones have been accompanied by another set of images: meetings, summit conferences, conflicts, and agreements with different alliances and organisations of capitalist states. NATO, the EU, the CSTO, the UN, AUKUS, other acronyms and abbreviations frequently appear in daily news whenever an agreement, negotiation, or political and economic decision is announced.

Many may wonder what exactly these unions are and what their role is in all this. The answer that is often given is the above little lie that we could hear from the mouths of many well-known bourgeois politicians, leaders of bourgeois parties, journalists etc.: that all these alliances are formed to ensure peace and the well-being of the peoples. But can we really place our hopes on these alliances? Is it indeed their role to guarantee our security and peace?

To answer these questions we first need to understand why capitalists create such alliances and what their purpose is.

Why are the imperialist alliances formed?

In reality, bourgeois states form alliances to deal more effectively with their international competitors for the benefit of their own monopolies. They form smaller or larger alliances of bourgeois states, even with common political or economic bodies, auxiliary staffs and more. **In the era of imperialism, we call such alliances ‘imperialist alliances’, precisely because they are made between bourgeois states in the interests of monopoly groups.**

In today’s arena of international competition, every bourgeoisie tries to get hold of new markets, raw materials, profitable investments, not only within the borders of its own country, but worldwide, in broader geographical areas. But the pursuit of this goal doesn’t take place in isolation; all the bourgeoisies who have their eyes on the same area, on the same spoils have a similar plan. Thus, it is logical that their interests overlap and, through their alliances, they can negotiate with the collective power of the union against the common enemy, to the extent that they can cut a deal. This solidarity among the bourgeoisie is not a display of civility, but rather a form of mutual support concerning areas of influence and territories of economic and military interest.

For example, the trilateral ‘security’ partnership, AUKUS, established in 2021 between the governments of the US, UK and Australia, was hastily set up at the initiative of the US. The purpose of this alliance is to counter China’s influence in the Indo-Pacific, a crucial region responsible for generating 60% of the world’s GDP. The first measures taken included providing Australia with nuclear submarines and long-range cruise missiles from the US, as well as increasing the number of US troops stationed in the country.

Through imperialist alliances, the bourgeoisie upgrade their state and all its reactionary functions as a whole. **They leverage new tools to increase the workers’ exploitation.** The valuable experience

gathered in each state is exchanged and general guidelines are created for all member states.

For example, the labour law proposed by the then Minister of Labour, Kostas Chatzidakis (New Democracy), in 2021, is a specialisation of the EU guidelines for Greece, which apply to all its member states. This law introduces flexible working hours and eliminates Sunday closing in dozens of sectors employing thousands of workers. It basically abolished the right to strike for large sectors under the pretext of 'minimum service provision'. At the same time, it persecutes trade union activity and its members.

They have new programmes and tools to finance the development of monopoly groups, which go head-to-head over which one will get a smaller or larger part. They facilitate the lending of monopoly groups, and the guarantees of their profitability through more favourable terms and mechanisms. For example, our well-known ESPA (the Partnership Agreement for the Development Framework), which appears on many construction or business signs etc. is such a mechanism. It actually funds business investments with money from the heavy taxation the peoples of the EU pay.

However, they strengthen not only their state's economic capabilities but also its repressive ones. Thus, for example, a joint arsenal is formed for the suppression of popular struggles, with international services for the exchange and storage of information and the enactment of laws that give greater possibilities of surveillance to the bourgeois state. States are coordinating their efforts to upgrade surveillance software and repression technologies. New repression units are established by bourgeois states, which exchange experience and tools. Every repressive unit, every army belonging to a bourgeois government is there to contribute in case the power of capital is threatened in any country.

The accession of a bourgeoisie to an imperialist alliance isn't due to chance or geographical location. It's decided based on the criterion of securing a better position in the international imperialist

competition. In short, the benefits of each bourgeoisie are weighed up to determine if they're better served inside or outside a specific imperialist alliance. This may initially mean giving up some privileges that the bourgeoisie of each state has, like a percentage of the taxation on imports or a portion of the sovereign rights of bourgeois states. However, in return, each country's monopolies are better positioned in international competition and have more tools against their country's labour movement.

What are NATO and the European Union after all?

In our country, we often hear in the political discourse that NATO and the EU – alliances in which Greece participates – work for our interest, security, peace and much more. But if we want to explain the role of these imperialist unions, we need to look at the purpose of their formation. So, why were the EU and NATO created? Let us take a brief look at their history.

NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was founded on 4th April 1949 in Washington, USA. The original members of the alliance were the USA, Canada, the UK, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Portugal. But what kind of union was NATO agreed to be? Let's find out the answer to this question through the words of one of the key players of the treaty, Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time: *'If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States with all that such co-operation implies in the air, on the sea [...] there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure'*. So, in 1949 the above states formed NATO as a military alliance. But for what reason and against what threat?

Churchill himself said on the day the treaty was signed: 'Under the impact of Communism all the free nations are being welded together as they never have been before [...] Let us then move forward together in discharge of our mission and our duty, fearing God and nothing else'.

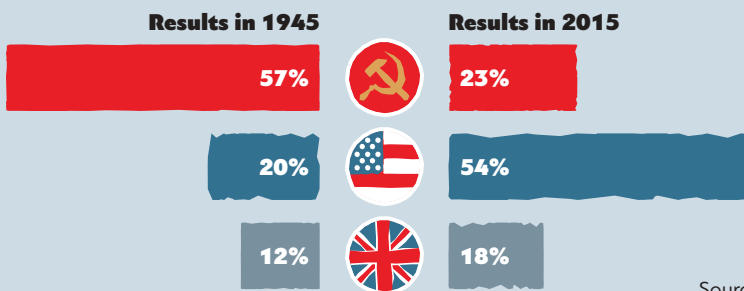
From a NATO propaganda leaflet in 1955, attempting to portray the USSR as the 'greatest threat to the capitalist world'.



So, NATO's primary goal to begin with was to suppress the communist movement, to be used against the Soviet Union (USSR). It was that period when, after the victory of the October Revolution in 1917, the creation of the USSR was a beacon of hope for the struggle of the peoples all around the world. Especially at the end of World War II, the prestige of the Soviet Union all around the world was enormous. The great sacrifices of the Soviet people, who bore the brunt of the war with over 20 million dead, determined the victory over Nazism.

The rising influence of the USSR and Communists among the working class in capitalist countries didn't go unnoticed by the propaganda efforts of the bourgeois states. In the following decades, there was a systematic effort to erase the heroic contribution of the USSR to the defeat of fascism from the peoples' memory.

Poll in France: 'In your opinion, which country contributed most to the defeat of Germany in 1945?'



Source: IFOP

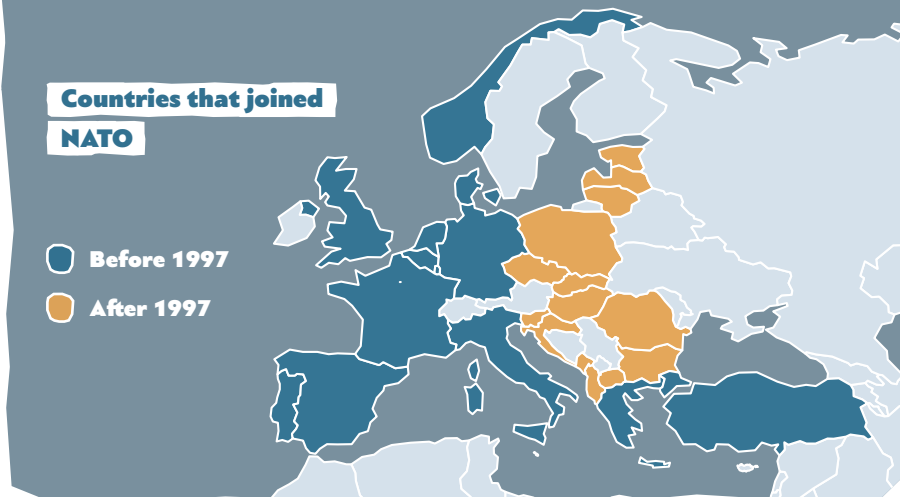
At the same time, there was significant activity within the imperialist system, promoting various forms of cooperation among capitalist states, with the USA taking a prominent role. As the seasoned bourgeois politician H. Kissinger put it, henceforth *'the conflict could only be settled by a change in Soviet purposes, by the collapse of the Soviet system, or both.'* So, NATO unleashed a real pogrom against peoples who were fighting all around the world, and drenched entire countries in blood, with the US war machine as the main actor.

Some of the military interventions in the 20th century

- 1949 • Greece**
The US tests the Napalm bombs against the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) on Grammos Mountain.
- 1950 • Korea**
Landing of one million US and allied troops, including Greek troops.
- 1954 • Guatemala**
The US military intervenes to establish a fascist dictatorship.
- 1960 • Congo**
The US decides to overthrow and assassinate Congo's national popular leader Patrice Lumumba. The order was given by President Eisenhower himself.
- 1961 • Cuba**
Thousands of American mercenaries backed by air power invade Cuba. Within 72 hours, the Cubans threw them into the waters of the Bay of Pigs.
- 1964 • Vietnam**
During the nine-year US intervention, the war spread to all the countries of Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia). Over 3 million dead.
- 1966 • Panama**
US soldiers open fire on a peaceful popular demonstration in Panama. The protesters were demanding the return of the canal to its people.
- 1983 • Grenada**
The US invades independent Grenada drowning people's resistance in blood.

However, with the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 and the overthrow of socialism, NATO continued its activity even more aggressively. The restoration of capitalism in the 1/3 of the planet covered by the socialist camp created new vital space for monopolies to invest in, and new opportunities for profit at the expense of the people. NATO has continued to expand, unleash wars everywhere, dismember countries and kill people wherever the interests of its member countries dictate. In this period, it's China and Russia that are seen as strategic opponents of NATO.

NATO's membership has grown from 12 to 30 countries. In addition, it collaborates directly or indirectly with dozens of other countries through agreements and military partnerships. Greece joined NATO in 1952. The Greek bourgeoisie, which faced challenges during the glorious class struggle of the Democratic Army of Greece (1946–1949), utilised all available resources, including bourgeois parties and parliament, to maintain its power. Overall, they launched a full-scale attack on the KKE, resulting in horrific crimes against it. The country's accession to NATO was a class-oriented decision made by the bourgeoisie and its parties. It served as an aggressive tool against the socialist system, as well as against the working class and the popular strata in Greece. The accession agreement was first ratified by the Palace, in accordance with the then Constitution, and then by the Parliament on 18th February 1952, under the government of Nikolaos Plastiras and Sofoklis Venizelos.



NATO, therefore, fulfils the dangerous and dirty role of the butcher of the people. Since its establishment, it's been a war machine of the bourgeois against the popular movements, the working class and the popular strata.

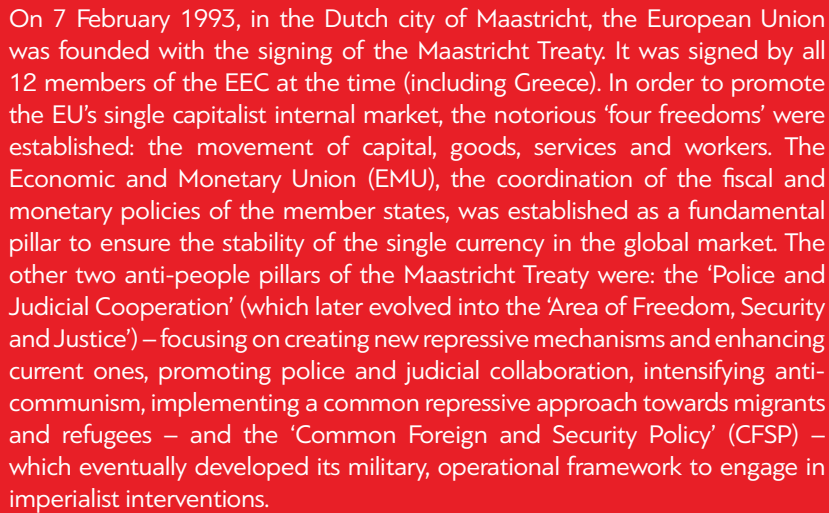
But what about the European Union? This was not created as a military alliance. So, does it have a different nature, and was not created to act against the people?

The EU was created in 1992 in the city of Maastricht, with the Treaty of the same name between bourgeois states. This is the form we know today, but it was the result of a long process.

On 9th May 1950, the then French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, read the Declaration on Franco-German reconciliation and the construction of the European Union in the French National Assembly. The declaration of R. Schuman, the anniversary of which the European Union celebrates as 'Europe Day', states: 'The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe [...] It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organisation open to the participation of the other countries of Europe'.

Thus, on 18th April 1951, the founding Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was signed in Paris by its six founding members (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg). This was followed by the Treaty of Rome (5th March 1957), establishing the European Economic Community (EEC), which evolved into the European Union with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

So, our well-known European Union began as a collaboration of monopoly groups producing steel and coal in central Europe. Its character, as an imperialist union, lies in safeguarding the interests of monopoly groups to this day. Therefore, by its very nature, it's directed against the people; it aims to intensify exploitation and increase the profitability of monopoly groups. But how are these goals served through the EU?



On 7 February 1993, in the Dutch city of Maastricht, the European Union was founded with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty. It was signed by all 12 members of the EEC at the time (including Greece). In order to promote the EU's single capitalist internal market, the notorious 'four freedoms' were established: the movement of capital, goods, services and workers. The Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the coordination of the fiscal and monetary policies of the member states, was established as a fundamental pillar to ensure the stability of the single currency in the global market. The other two anti-people pillars of the Maastricht Treaty were: the 'Police and Judicial Cooperation' (which later evolved into the 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice') – focusing on creating new repressive mechanisms and enhancing current ones, promoting police and judicial collaboration, intensifying anti-communism, implementing a common repressive approach towards migrants and refugees – and the 'Common Foreign and Security Policy' (CFSP) – which eventually developed its military, operational framework to engage in imperialist interventions.

From the announcement of the Political Bureau of the CC of the KKE on the 30th anniversary of the Maastricht Treaty, 12 February 2022

The EU single market has created new areas of profitability for many European monopolies. It has made markets of millions of people and businesses more accessible to monopoly groups, by removing various obstacles that had previously stood in the way of these monopoly groups. Free trade between bourgeois states often helps monopolies to export their commodities more quickly and at less cost. Time-consuming procedures, legal and customs checks that delay the profitable sale of commodities are eliminated. At the same time, taxes and duties normally levied on the import of commodities are abolished as they increased the imported commodity's price in the country of destination and, thus, make it more difficult to sell.

Furthermore, while each monopoly's commodities used to be aimed at an internal market of a few million people, they're now aimed at a Eurozone market of 350 million people.

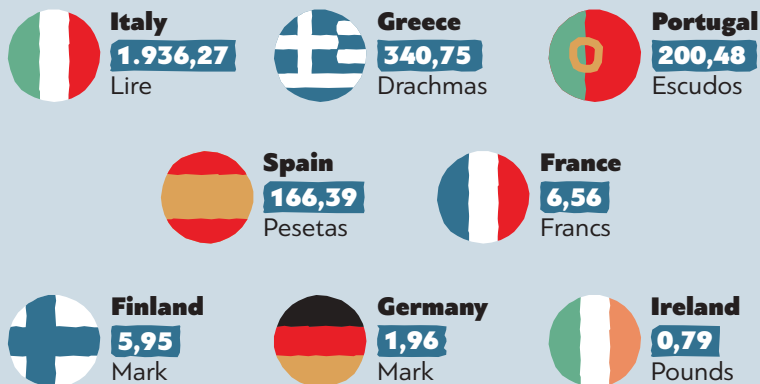
But the enlarged single market also brings a new, increased and fiercer level of competition between monopoly groups. The head-on competition of monopoly groups in the same sector, for example, favours the most powerful giant groups. For instance, the Greek capitalists of the supermarket chains didn't have to directly compete on-

ly with each other in the domestic market of Greece, but also with the respective European monopolies that have more capitals and are more competitive, such as Lidl and others. The single market has, therefore, further intensified the competition between monopoly groups on unequal terms, since each monopoly doesn't have the same size, power and market share. However, like in all other areas, in the single market too there are winners and losers among the monopolies and bourgeois states.

Of course, we know from our personal experience that all these concessions to monopoly groups did not benefit the peoples. The commodities that we use to fulfil our every needs, like energy, food and many more, have become even more inaccessible to the people.

With the adoption of the Euro in European capitalist economies, it was decided to coordinate the fiscal and monetary policies of the member states. The national currencies of each country, however, had a completely different value from each other. For example, 1 euro was equal to 1,936 Italian lire and about 2 German francs! Thus, the introduction of a common currency has benefited some capitalist states in international transactions, in imports or exports, and loan repayments etc., compared to before. Meanwhile, other states have been negatively affected in terms of monetary policy. In both cases, those that lost were the people, the workers and the youth, who bore the brunt with high prices and loss of income.

€1 was equal to:



However, the EU went one step further from the single market, proceeding to the artificial monetary unification of economies of an uneven level and with completely different dynamics. With the euro as the common currency, the market for capitalists' commodities becomes even more unified, with some bourgeois classes profiting more and others less.

Similarly, common laws and common mechanisms such as the European Central Bank (ECB) were established, which enhanced the environment for profitable investments and agreements among one bourgeoisie and the other ones, and improved credit conditions for certain governments. Thus, it became easier for capitalists to export capital from one country to another at a pan-European level on different terms. This has allowed, for example, the Greek bourgeoisie to lay hands on significant financing from European funds and to borrow on more favourable terms than it would outside the EU. However, it's the same mechanisms that, in order to enable the above, have burdened the people of Greece and the peoples of Europe with permanent memoranda, laws and control mechanisms that suppress the rights to education, health, and insurance among others. In the end, in all cases the people are the losers, regardless of the outcome of the negotiations between them.



A United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary [...] Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists...

VI. Lenin, 'On the Slogan of a United States of Europe'

Of course, this is why none of the above has benefited the people of Europe. As these lines are being written, publications and statements by European officials are already referring to the coming winter as the most difficult one in decades for the people of Europe. Energy poverty, food shortages, and a dramatic upsurge in prices are just a few of the nightmare scenarios in store for the peoples in the near future.

The EU is, therefore, an imperialist alliance. It has the same character as the rest, i.e. it serves the interests of its monopoly groups and it couldn't be otherwise in imperialism. But what role does it play in the matter of imperialist war? Couldn't it act as a force capable to safeguard peace?

Lie: *'The aim of the European Union is to promote peace and security'*

From the official EU website, 'Aims and values'

Every day we are bombarded with textbooks, teachers, articles in the media and the social media that try to convince us that the EU, despite all its flaws, is an innocent union established to ensure peace and security for the peoples of Europe. **However, the EU, as an imperialist alliance of bourgeois states, not only can it not safeguard peace, but rather is one of its biggest underminers.**

The EU promotes and accelerates military preparation programmes for its member states. With plans for an independent foreign policy and the formation of an EU army, the aim is to enhance the ability to intervene independently with military force in other countries. It submits proposals to the member states and initiates the creation of a security pillar by strengthening its military infrastructure. These are not plans for peace but to prepare yet another army for imperialist war.

EU policy itself includes a number of evolving military and political axes, such as the European Intervention Initiative (E2I), France's 2017 proposal to 'build a common strategic culture' and facilitate the cooperation of those willing to take military action on various fronts, overcoming the barrier of unanimity between member states. At the same time, important financial packages, such as the European Defence Fund (EDF) or the European Defence Industrial Development Programme (EDIDP), strengthen the EU's available

arsenal for interventions wherever it's necessary for the interests of the EU monopolies. At the same time, the EU has military bodies such as the so-called Eurocorps, Frontex and others, which operate in various parts of the world.

The EU member states have participated in dozens of NATO war missions. The EU played a key role in the bombing and dismemberment of Yugoslavia in 1999, and has since taken part in the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Libya. At the same time, it's strengthening its cooperation with NATO. Resolutions are being drafted in the European Parliament to find more effective ways of acting together and sharing responsibilities. An example of this is the special agreements that the EU is concluding with countries that have become NATO allies, such as Albania, North Macedonia and Montenegro, which are in the process of joining the EU.

25 of the 27 EU member states form the 'Permanent Structured Cooperation' (PESCO), with the goal of enhancing their military mobility. As they typically say, they aim 'to intervene in crises abroad with the ability to move troops, civilian crisis management personnel, materials and equipment freely and quickly, through the territory of the member states but also outside the EU'. Under the EU's 'Common Security and Defence Policy', 5,000 military and civilian personnel participate in 6 military and 11 non-military missions and operations, all interconnected, across three continents. Currently, these operations are already being carried out directly, in Burkina Faso, and more broadly in the Sahel region and Africa to exploit resources, where French and other European military forces are already operating.



The EU exploits the refugee issue that arises from the military interventions it participates in. It takes advantage of the refugees as cheap labour and, at the same time, uses them as another bargaining chip in the competition with other imperialist centres. With the unacceptable EU-Turkey agreement, the refugees are kept in detention centres in Greece and Turkey in miserable conditions with the complicity of all governments over time. At the same time, member states are committing crimes against migrants and refugees, who come to them desperate to escape war and poverty.

Spain's social-democratic government carried out a gruesome massacre of migrants in Melilla on 24 June 2022. Dozens of dead and hundreds of injured migrants ended up piled together after being brutally repressed by police forces in Spain and Morocco.



Can a different “pro-people” and “prudent” policy within the EU and NATO prevent the intensification of competition and war?

One could argue that the situation in the EU and NATO is indeed against the people, but that this could be changed without overthrowing this system. After all, we hear many voices, both in Greece and abroad, calling us to rally behind the attempt to ‘change the architecture’ of the EU, to ‘improve’ its policies, to wait for NATO to ‘change’, etc. But can this be done in any imperialist alliance?

Calls for a ‘pro-people’ and ‘moderate’ approach within the EU and NATO and increased action from the EU to promote peace mask the fact that imperialist wars are not solely the result of political decisions taken by capitalist states and imperialist alliances.

Imperialist conflicts are based on the relentless laws of competition between capitalists and their international imperialist alliances. No change in the composition of the central staffs of the EU and NATO can transform the reactionary union of the European monopolies into a ‘union of the peoples’. No government change in any bourgeois state, be it ‘neoliberal’, ‘social democratic’, or ‘green’, can turn NATO’s war hawk into a dove of peace.

That is why no government or bourgeois party can claim to be innocent of bloodshed. For instance, the interventions of NATO and the EU in the Balkans in the 1990s enjoyed the support of both social democratic and neoliberal governments, (e.g. in Greece by PASOK and Simitis, in Germany by Schröder and the ‘green’ Fischer, in Italy by M. D’Alema, in France by L. Jospin). Similarly, after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, all governments, both liberal, like the Greek one, and social-democratic, like those of Spain and Portugal, took the lead in sending military equipment to support the reactionary government in Ukraine. The Spanish government even tried to market sending troops to Eastern Europe, tanks to Latvia, soldiers, frigates, and tanks to the Black Sea as... humanitarian aid.

Since then, many figures and many governments have taken the helm. However, the nature and role of the EU and NATO remain the same. Their establishment and existence continue to

serve their monopolies in competition with other bourgeois states and imperialist alliances, including China, Russia and others. The competition between them is still intensifying, and wars are still going on.

Any changes in the structure and function of their institutions, any 'new architectures', take place only to better serve their main goal. These are efforts to modernise the strategy and the institutions of the EU and NATO on the basis of the competition that has been expressed. The main victims of their plans are, once again, the peoples. It's a proven fact that the more effective and efficient implementation of EU and NATO policies leads to increased participation in plans to dismember states and change borders. It means increased surveillance and control, surplus by the sweat of the people's brow, along with more memoranda and further suppression of the needs and rights of the people.

The bourgeois parties, which claim that there can be a policy to make NATO 'pro-peace' and steer the EU towards a 'pro-people's' direction, hide the true role and nature of these unions. Through false dilemmas, they want to rally young people behind competing imperialist plans, to foster illusions that these mechanisms, these unions can turn from tigers into kittens. However, the experience of their reactionary actions strips off the masks, erases the pretences and clearly shows what the EU and NATO really are: reactionary imperialist alliances among wolves, fighting each other and all together against the peoples

Does Greece's participation in NATO and the EU force governments to do things they don't want to do?

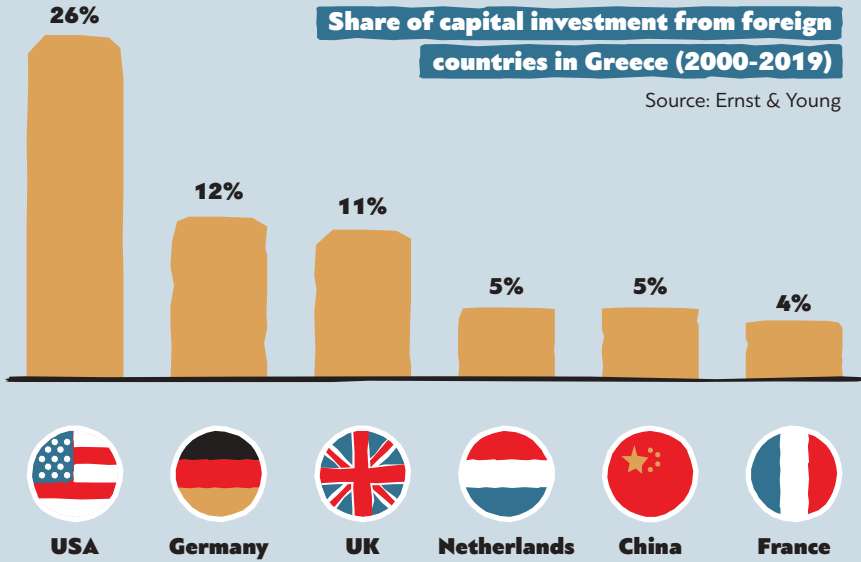
The involvement of the Greek bourgeoisie in the EU and NATO is a deliberate decision; it wasn't imposed on the country from outside. The Greek capitalists are no exception, as they, like everyone else, decide to join an alliance if and only if it serves their interests. These political decisions align with the economic interests of Greek

capital. At the same time, the country's membership in these alliances in turn influences its choice of partners, economic and investment alliances with other states.

The accession of a bourgeois state to an imperialist alliance certainly involves commitments and rules to be followed. However, these rules bind the people of each country, since their application is at the expense of their rights and their lives. Capitalists, the big monopolies, always manage to profit, whether the alliances' directions directly benefit them or not; they aren't affected in the same way as we are. The people of Greece have rich experience of how the Greek governments' commitments to EU and IMF loans became tools in the hands of Greek capitalists to drain the workers even more. As a result, the laws outlined in the Memoranda, which date back several years, continue to be implemented by all governments since 2010.



One of the indicators of the Greek bourgeoisie's relationships is the foreign direct investments made in Greece. U.S.-based companies have taken the lead in capital investment, accounting for over 26% of the total investments made in the past two decades. Funds from EU countries and Great Britain exceed 55%, while those from China are less than 5%. So, the alliances of the Greek bourgeoisie, its active participation in NATO and the EU are not incidental but have a material background and intertwine with these choices.



With its involvement in the EU and NATO, the Greek bourgeoisie aims to enhance its competitiveness within the wider region. The bourgeois governments don't seem to act heavy-heartedly on the plans of these alliances. On the contrary, in most cases, they take the lead in implementing them, and we see new areas being offered for NATO military bases in every part of the country.

Over time, bourgeois governments have carried out NATO and EU missions in the Balkans, promoting the accession of other bourgeois states to these alliances. A significant agreement of this nature is the Prespa Agreement, signed by the SYRIZA government in 2018,

which paved the way for the accession of the neighbouring country of North Macedonia to NATO. By utilising its position within these alliances, the Greek capital seeks to improve its position in relation to other competing capitals in the wider Eastern Mediterranean and Balkan region, where it has significant investments and positions of strength. As a result, they are vying for a greater share of the overall international competition and realignments.

However, this effort of the Greek bourgeoisie has not only advantages but also temporary losses for some sectors or monopolies. For instance, the EU sanctions against Russia have affected exports to Russia from Greece of significant companies in the industries of food, clothing, etc. Nonetheless, decisions made by any bourgeoisie are not taken in favour of a particular sector, let alone a particular monopoly. The decisions are made based on the collective interest of the bourgeoisie, taking into account the power of each sector and each capitalist. For instance, in a recent package of EU sanctions against Russia, Greek shipowners managed to get the Commission's proposal for an embargo on the transport of Russian oil to third countries outside the EU dropped. This would have deprived them of profitable contracts with Russian companies. This success confirms their considerable power in the bargaining of inter-imperialist competition.

'Why did we send weapons [to Ukraine]? At some point this war will end, and there will be a settlement at the negotiating table. And then a crucial issue will arise. On which side of the table will Greece sit? Will it sit on the side of those who will win and impose their own views? Because here we're talking about a redistribution of interests and strategic power in the region. Are we going to fully support the winners, as we did in World War I and acquired the islands? As we did in World War II and gained the Dodecanese? As we did in the Cold War and joined Europe? [...]

G. Koumoutsakos, MP of New Democracy, statement in a television show, 10 July 2022

The ability of the Greek bourgeois state to promote the interests of the bourgeoisie is strengthened by its participation in the EU and NATO. It enriches their legislative arsenal against

our lives. Many of the challenges we face in our daily lives stem from EU policies. For instance, reactionary changes in higher education and schools have already been introduced and implemented in various EU countries with favourable outcomes for the capital. The Greek bourgeoisie is similarly employing these practices, benefitting from the 'positive' experience of the European capitalists. It's no coincidence that the anti-people legislative work of all governments and bourgeois parties in Greece has been presented as 'harmonisation' with what is in force 'throughout Europe'.

Within the EU, weapons are being sharpened and bourgeois arsenals are being built in the ideological battle against the labour and communist movement. A number of reactionary concepts are presented to the youth by the imperialist alliances as accepted truths. For instance, the official doctrine of the EU is to lump the workers' mobilisations, the struggles of the youth and terrorism together under the name of 'radicalism' or 'extremism'. Its official ideology is the horseshoe theory, i.e. the equation of fascism and communism, which is grist to the mill of fascist organisations. These tools have allowed the banning of Communist Parties (CP) and symbols in many EU countries.

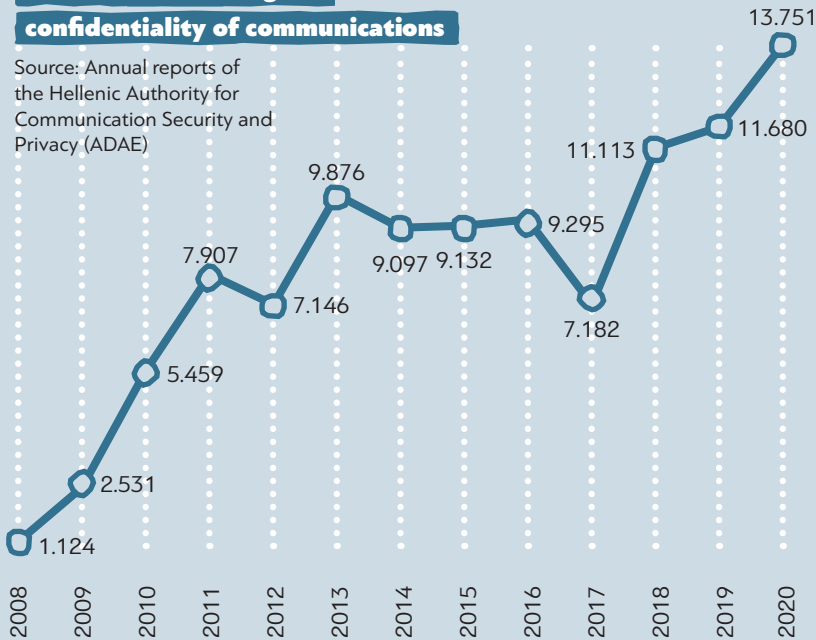
Since 2013, the 'European Remembrance Strand' program has been implemented with funding from the EU. This programme is also implemented by the Ministry of Interior of Greece and provides funding of up to 100,000 Euros for any initiative that shows 'the causes of the emergence of totalitarian regimes in modern European history (Nazism, fascism, Stalinism and totalitarian communist regimes)'.

NATO and the EU play a crucial role in strengthening the repressive force of the governments against the struggles of the people and the youth, who demand that their needs be met. This support can be seen at every instance of demand and struggle. The Greek repressive mechanisms share expertise, resources and technology with NATO and European countries. At the same time, under the direction of these imperialist alliances, a number of institutions are becoming more effective against the enemy, i.e. the

The recent revelations about the surveillance conducted by the National Intelligence Service (EYP) highlight the role of the bourgeois state against the labour movement. This influence has been reinforced by EU directives and has been consistently carried out by all governments (SYRIZA - ND - PASOK) in Greece.

Provisions for lifting the confidentiality of communications

Source: Annual reports of the Hellenic Authority for Communication Security and Privacy (ADAE)



people. Notably, the General Secretariat for Civil Protection, which supposedly protects us from natural disasters, is essentially integrated in a separate division of NATO, and is in direct collaboration with the European police (Europol).

All the above explain why, at least while these pages are being written, no bourgeois party is questioning EU and NATO membership. Since an imperialist alliance can so greatly benefit a bourgeois state and increase capital's power in a country, one would expect a congenial relationship between the governments of the bourgeois states in each union. But the reality is quite different.

Isn't the creation of imperialist unions a sign that the bourgeoisie can cooperate despite their rivalry?

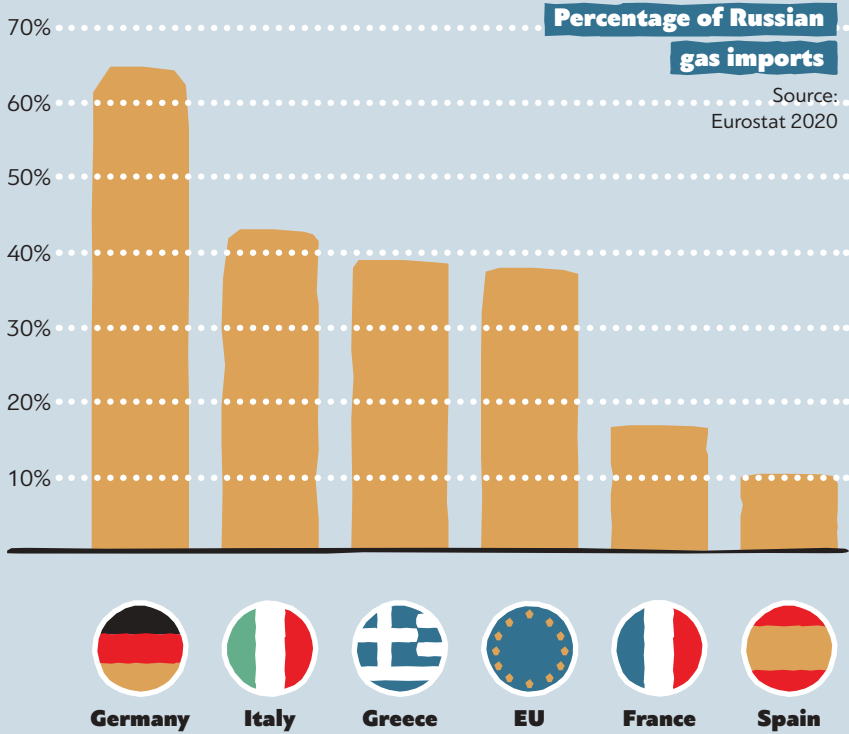
The bourgeois classes of the various countries, having allied with each other, cooperate in various fields. They often set up bodies that debate and vote, such as the European Parliament, where the bourgeois governments sit around the same table. One would expect that cooperation would prevail over competition; that political and economic confrontation would cease. But we see that they often disagree; they don't take a united stand.

In imperialism, alliances are formed based on power. So, when a bourgeoisie joins an imperialist alliance, it does so, armed with the power it has at that particular phase. The correlation of forces between bourgeois states is assessed not only in economic, but also in political and military terms. Each bourgeoisie has different amounts of capital; wealth and profitability vary from country to country. The significance of the sectors in which it has invested its capital varies greatly; the political influence of the Greek tourism monopolies, for example, cannot be equated with that of the German monopolies of modern industrial machinery.

Each bourgeoisie forms political alliances with other bourgeoisies and has historical, economic and political ties with other states with which, over time, it has concluded agreements of political, economic and military cooperation, such as the agreement between Greece and the USA. It therefore forms alliances with friends and enemies of dissimilar political power, in order to defend its interests. At the same time, each bourgeois state has different military capabilities to defend the interests of its monopolies in international or regional competition. For instance, France, despite not being the leading economic power in the EU, has, so far, the most advanced war industry within it.

The balance of power between the bourgeoisies in an alliance is constantly changing, though, due to uneven capitalist development. Any agreements or alliances formed reflect the balance of power between the imperialists for that short period of time. The different bourgeoisies not only enter into alliances at different levels but also develop at different rates.

A typical example is the varying attitudes of the bourgeoisies of the EU member states towards sanctions against Russia. Hungary and Austria, for example, oppose an EU proposal for an embargo on Russian gas. The Austrian Chancellor said: 'Not only because we, as Austria, are dependent on Russian gas. German industry is also dependent on Russian gas. And if German industry collapses, Austrian industry collapses'.



Capitalists evaluate their choices at every stage. They assess where to invest their capital, considering the country, sector, and monopoly. The constant pursuit of the maximum rate of profit for their capital, their investment or withdrawal from businesses, sectors, and countries constantly changes the framework of correlation. Thus, each capitalist economy develops at a different pace. The correlation of forces that forms the basis of the alliance is reversed, so that the terms restrict some of the bourgeoisies, which attempt to renegotiate. For instance, in 1992, when the Maastricht

Treaty, the founding act of the EU, was signed, Italy and France produced nearly equal wealth (in terms of GDP). However, by 2022, France produced one and a half times as much wealth as Italy. This trend continues uninterrupted, with new winners and losers at every stage.

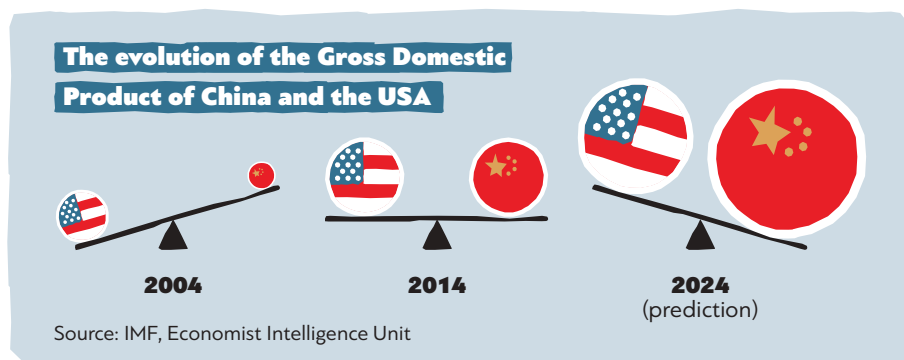
Great Britain left the European Union in 2020. Brexit was a well-balanced decision made by the British bourgeoisie. It was estimated that it would be in a better position to defend the interests of its monopolies outside the EU. This example proves that each bourgeoisie regularly reassesses its membership in any alliance, based on the changes in the correlation of forces of the EU bourgeoisies.



What is the significance of today's struggle for supremacy?

In May 2022, Anthony Blinken, US Secretary of State, said: 'China is the only country with both the intent to reshape the international order and, increasingly, the economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power to do it'. The American politician's statement acknowledges that the USA, so far the leading global power, sees itself as falling behind in its competition with China, the second imperialist power, which is steadily gaining ground.

The fact that we are living in a historical period when the supremacy of the international imperialist system is being tested is perhaps the most striking example of the effect of uneven development in our times. At the beginning of the 20th century, China was a semi-colony of Western European imperialist states, while the 21st century began with China challenging for the title of the most powerful capitalist country.

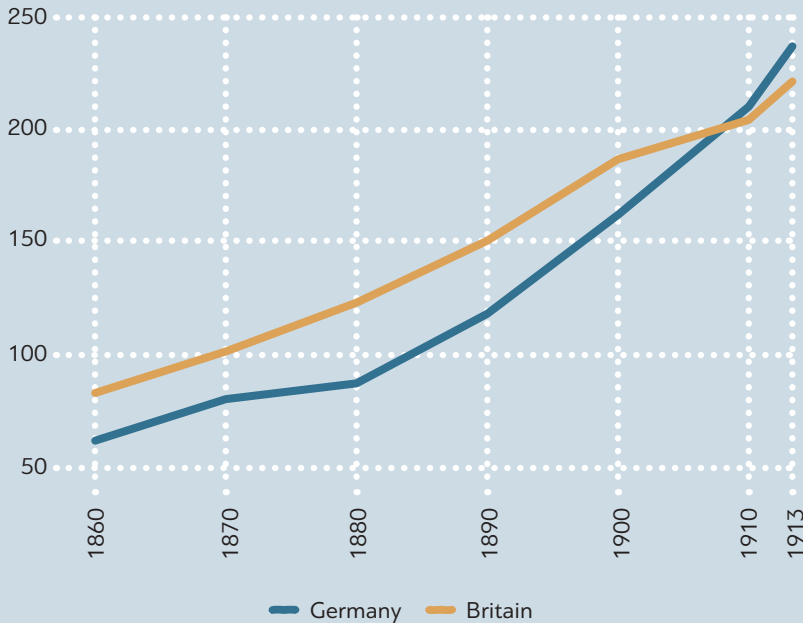


However, the title of supremacy in the imperialist pyramid is a complex matter that impacts the entire pyramid, including the relations and contradictions between the other imperialist powers. It disturbs the balance of power in the international imperialist organisations and has a significant influence on the economic and political life. Let us consider how the intervention and momentum of the USA in recent decades has been linked in our thinking to the action of organisations such as the IMF, NATO and many others.

Therefore, the confrontation for supremacy in the global imperialist system is objectively intensifying the competition and increasing the risk of a generalised military conflict, as it results in a complete restructuring of the imperialist pyramid. It's no coincidence that the struggle for supremacy has been historically linked to the outbreak of generalised, world wars.

The challenge of Great Britain's supremacy by Germany at the beginning of the 20th century was a key factor in the outbreak of World War I, in 1914.

German and British GDP (1860-1913)
in billions of dollars

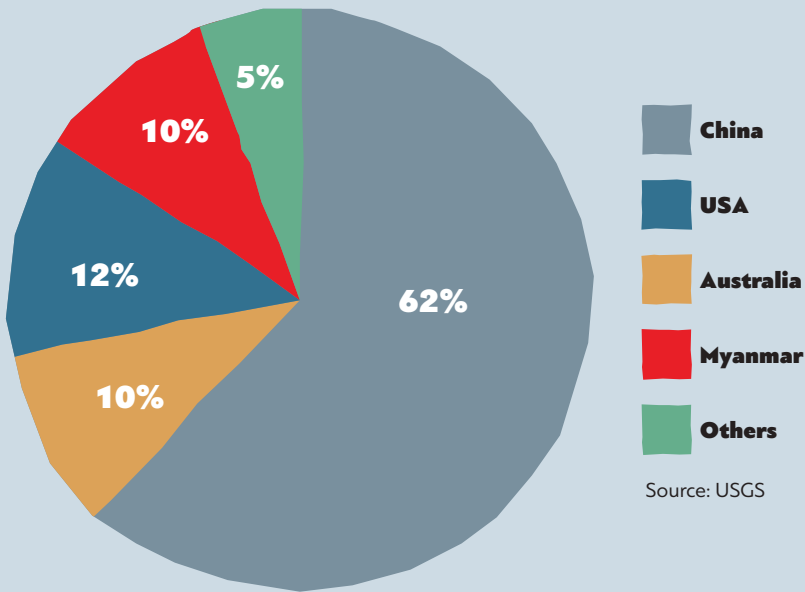


Under these conditions, all bourgeoisies negotiate to improve their position, and all issues are on the table. This is what the Greek bourgeoisie is currently doing, attempting to enhance its position within the NATO alliance and the wider region.

The battle for supremacy also involves the competition for the raw materials essential for developing new technologies. In recent decades, metals like lithium, cobalt, graphite and rare earths have become increasingly important in the manufacturing of high-tech products (smartphones, computers, televisions, etc.), in Renewable Energy Sources (wind turbines, photovoltaic panels), electric vehicle batteries and war industry.

Today, China completely dominates the rare earth mining industry, controlling about 83% of world production, exporting at least 156,000 tons per year. Many US bourgeois staff often mention China's dominance in this field, worrying about potential disruptions in the export of rare earths that the US industry relies on, especially if imperialist rivalries escalate. Therefore, the confrontation between Chinese and US monopolies is intensifying to secure access to rare earth mines worldwide, e.g. Africa, Asia, Latin America, etc.

Rare earth producing countries (2019)



The confrontation between the USA and China is expressed economically, politically, and militarily in the relations between the two capitalist states and is expanding globally, leading to flashpoints in many parts of the world. There are two main camps in the world today: the Euro-Atlantic camp, led by the USA and the EU, and the emerging Euro-Asian camp, led by China and Russia. The two camps are competing in various areas, including energy, technology, economics, and monetary policies, through political and diplomatic means.

Since November 2019, many NATO member states (USA, Australia, Japan, etc.) have barred the Chinese monopoly Huawei from participating in the development of fifth-generation telecommunications networks (5G) within their borders.

The US, on the one hand, is trying to strengthen its own telecommunications groups by securing a larger market share. On the other hand, the aim is to limit China's political influence, by preventing Chinese monopolies from installing these networks, especially in NATO member states.

That is why they are going to great lengths to exclude China from the deployment of 5G networks in Europe as well. The development of these high-speed networks has a catalytic effect on many areas of productive activity. At the same time, it also impacts the security of information distribution systems and even the operation of military systems, as network manufacturers have a say in the collection, distribution and exchange of information transmitted through them.

The various events of the confrontation for supremacy unfold in the same context. The need to export the over-accumulated capital leads to conflicting plans of the bourgeoisies of the USA and China. Business plans are sometimes accompanied by military operations, wherever it is necessary to claim or secure territories of economic importance. As a result, tensions can rise in many regions of the world as temporary axes and counter-axes are formed, and unstable alliances are formed and rearranged.



- ▶ V. I. Lenin, *On the Slogan for a United States of Europe*, *Complete Works*, vol. 26, pp. 359-369, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ One-day Conference of the CC of the KKE, *70 years since Greece joined NATO. The struggle of the KKE for the disentanglement, the disengagement of the country from imperialist plans*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ One-day Conference of the CC of the KKE, *30 years of the European Union of the monopolies: a continuous attack on workers' and people's rights. The response of the KKE*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi* [Communist Review], issue 1/2022, *Imperialist alliances in the service of the monopolies – The enemy of the peoples*, by Giorgos Marinos, member of the PB of the CC of the KKE
- ▶ *International Communist Review*, issue 6/2015, *The imperialist unions, the inter-imperialist contradictions and the stance of the communists*, by Makis Papadopoulos, member of the PB of the CC of the KKE

From a Soviet
poster by Bondar
Anatoly, 'The
Olive Branch of
Washington', 1984



Chapter 3: **‘War grows from their peace, like son from his mother’** Bertolt Brecht

Lie: *‘Peace is far more preferable to war. [...] I believe that peace is the only path to true security [...] And there is no question that the only path to peace is through negotiations’*

Barack Obama, former US president

The preceding lines were delivered by the then US President Barack Obama to the Israeli state officials in Jerusalem in 2013, a bourgeois state that, ten years later, continues to murder the Palestinian people with the support of the USA.

As with any war, images of bombed cities, destroyed houses, factories, and hospitals come to mind, along with thoughts of the thousands of dead and wounded; civilians seeking shelter and eventually being compelled to leave their homes and homeland in search of a better life in foreign lands; the soldiers, all those on the front line, but also those in the rear, plagued by worries about their loved ones, enduring shortages, poverty, profiteering, restrictions on trade union and political freedoms, and repression.

This barbarity is often rationalised by means of some pretext that justifies waging a war. Each time, they say, ‘something’ happens that is supposedly unrelated to imperialist peace, and is considered a deviation from capitalist reality.

In 1990, during the so-called Gulf War between the US, Great Britain, Kuwait and Iraq, the US Congressional 'Human Rights' Caucus called for the testimony of 15-year-old Nayirah from Kuwait, supposedly a volunteer nurse. With tears in her eyes she claimed in her testimony that 'While I was there, I saw the Iraqi soldiers entering the hospital with guns. They took the babies out of the incubators, took the incubators, and left the babies to die on the cold floor'. The testimony of 15-year-old Nayirah from Kuwait quickly went around the world. But it eventually turned out that everything was a lie: 15-year-old Nayirah was actually the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to Washington... a student in the US. The incubator and neonates story was a script written by Mike Deaver, former communications advisor to US President Ronald Reagan and US public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, which was paid for the 'report' by the Kuwaiti government!



During the 2003 war the US launched against Iraq, it was the weapons of mass destruction that Saddam Hussein's regime supposedly had and were never found. During the 2011 war in Syria, it was the chemical and biological weapons that Assad's regime had but were also never confirmed. During the 2011 NATO intervention in Libya, it was the 'restoration of democracy', while in 2022 in Ukraine, the pretext of protecting the Russian-speaking population

was used by Russia. The list of – highly unoriginal – excuses used by the imperialists when waging a war is endless.

Thus, it would seem that the former US President is not wrong at all, that their war is a deviation from their peace, that it's something different. But is that the way things really are? To answer that question, we need to think about what kind of peace we are talking about in today's world.

The period of imperialist peace itself stores up a powder keg that kindles imperialist war. The thread that connects these two periods is the constant competition between business groups to redistribute raw materials, transport routes, pipeline networks, market shares etc., with the cruel exploitation of the working class being the common denominator.

This competition is reflected in the confrontations between bourgeois states negotiating for the interests of their bourgeoisies. The power of each state is reflected in its political, diplomatic, economic and military power, power that is constantly changing due to the uneven capitalist development, changing the correlation of forces between the bourgeois classes. Their confrontation is, therefore, expressed at all levels and served through various means: diplomacy and international agreements, bilateral and international meetings, extortion, bargaining and negotiations, overt and covert manipulation in the decisions of international tribunals, trade wars, embargoes, corporate and state espionage, etc.

All these means at the bourgeoisies' disposal during peaceful periods as well as the fierce competition taking place through them are a prelude to imperialist war. The rivalries, which, during imperialist peace, are expressed through discussions at negotiating tables, are replaced by the discussions of arms.

As the Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz said, 'war is the continuation of politics by other means'. The outbreak of war is an objective development of the escalation in the system's competition and contradictions, as they become more and more sharpened and have their own dynamics. Thus, war is not a deviation from the regular, 'innocent' functioning of the system; it's inherent in the DNA of the capitalist system in its monopoly stage of development.

Could an agreement between capitalist states permanently guarantee peace?

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, a British official described the negotiations between the winners of the First World War as follows: 'They all sit round the map. The appearance of a pie about to be distributed is thus enhanced'. The same description could fit the aftermath of any imperialist war.

The borders of each state are set through agreements and compromises of bourgeoisies that have emerged after conflicts and bloody wars. The bourgeoisies then agree on how to divide the spoils, the natural resources; if necessary, they even agree on how to divide the peoples, since they're the labour force they exploit.

The bourgeoisies make decisions on how to improve their position against their competitors. These agreements are sealed with the blood and sacrifices of millions, of entire peoples. However, every imperialist peace agreement reflects the balance of power between the imperialists at that specific time. The strongest thieves, the bourgeoisies that have emerged victorious from the preceding military conflict, gain the lion's share and try to maintain the upper hand in order to claim even more in the future. Similarly, the defeated bourgeoisies make the necessary concessions and compromises, hoping that these will be temporary. They always keep in mind that, if they can maximise their profits and become stronger, they'll be able to challenge the previous agreements.

Thus, any imperialist peace agreement is temporary. Based on the right of the strongest, it reflects the result of the sharpening competition between a number of capitalist states, which took the form of war and resulted in a new balance of power. Thus, all those agreements are doomed to contain the seeds of a future conflict. Because of the uneven development of the bourgeois states, these agreements end up, after a certain point, hindering some of the bourgeoisies; this is why they treat their own agreements as a worthless scrap of paper.

Therefore, as long as the peoples don't overthrow the power of capital, they'll be confronted with the vicious circle of imperialist peace and imperialist war. Every agreement and compromise will be

followed by a new round of sharpening of competition and lead to a new war. Each period of peace will simply appear as an interlude between two wars. This circle will be repeated incessantly because the root cause lies in the capitalist mode of production, because the competition between bourgeoisies is in the DNA of this system. This can be proved by the entire course of modern History, the war conflicts that have erupted since capitalism entered its imperialist stage of development.

The Treaty of Versailles ended World War I in 1919. Commenting on it, Lenin said that 'as a result of this war, all capitalist contradictions have become immeasurably more acute [...] The Treaty of Versailles has placed Germany and the other defeated countries in a position that makes their economic existence physically impossible, deprives them of all rights, and humiliates them'. The Treaty of Versailles mainly favoured England and France, as they were consolidating their positions in Western Europe, the Middle East and Africa. The German bourgeoisie started developing a plan to withdraw from the Treaty from the day after it was signed. After World War I, the German economy rebounded, leading to an increase in power for the German bourgeoisie who then pushed for a renegotiation of agreements based on a shift in the balance of power. On this basis, fascist theories about living space (Lebensraum) were formed. The fascist form of government was exploited and supported by the bourgeoisie to promote the interests of the German monopolies, which were seeking new profitable fields for capital export and cheap labour. The competition between the bourgeoisies intensified, leading to World War II.



Could international law ensure a peaceful resolution of conflicts if it's respected by all?

We've often heard school teachers and university professors, journalists and news analysts claim that, in the 21st century, disputes between states can be resolved in a more civilised way compared to the 20th century and that diplomacy and international law could end a war. Bourgeois parties in Greece often claim that respecting international law and appealing to international organisations and institutions, such as the UN and the International Court of Justice in The Hague, could work as a bulwark against the appetites of the powerful imperialist powers.

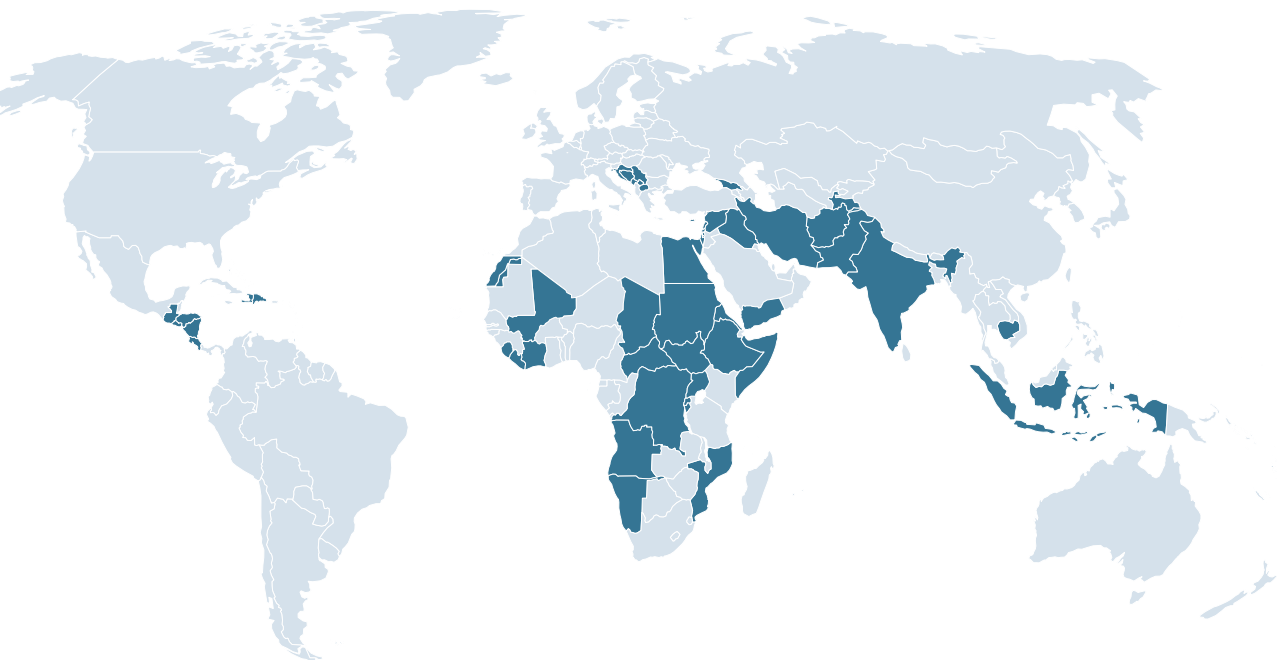
However, international law is formed, interpreted and applied on the basis of the right of the strongest, on the basis of the balance of power between the imperialist powers. The international law of the sea is interpreted and applied using a double standard when defining the maritime zones between bourgeois states. The same articles are interpreted differently in different adjudication of cases, depending on the interests of the powerful imperialist powers.

A typical example of the right of the strongest is the Argentine-British conflict over the Falkland Islands. This dispute escalated into an armed conflict in 1982, causing approximately a thousand casualties and ending with Argentina's defeat. After the war, the UN urged the two countries to 'work it out' peacefully, which ultimately resulted in the de facto recognition of British sovereignty over the Islands. These islands became British territory, even though they're located off the coast of Argentina and quite literally on the 'opposite side of the Earth' from Great Britain.



After World War I, in 1920, the League of Nations was founded. It was established at the request of the Entente member states and, in theory, its purpose was to create the conditions for a peaceful settlement of the differences between imperialist states. In practice, it expressed the correlation of forces in the international imperialist system at that time, as it was formed after the end of World War I. It was openly against the October Revolution and the communist movement in general. After World War II, the United Nations (UN) was created. The UN has never been a guarantor of peace but an international organisation in where the rivalries of the imperialist states and the aggression of the bourgeoisies are reflected. It's illustrative that the UN has signed an agreement with NATO under which it can delegate the authority to launch imperialist attacks, as happened in Libya in 2011. The UN Charter is interpreted according to the interests of the imperialist powers. Article 51 refers to the right of a country to self-defence against armed aggression and it was this article invoked by Turkey to invade Syria in 2019!

Regions where the UN military, known as the blue helmets, has intervened over time.



International organisations are not ‘independent authorities’ or bodies that settle any disputes between bourgeois states in a spirit of justice and friendship. On the contrary, they too are one of the means used by the bourgeoisies to impose their interests on rival monopolies and bourgeois states. This is the case both during military conflicts and wars and during imperialist peace.

Even during times of imperialist peace, international courts are used as an instrument to shield multinational corporations, as tools to subtly advance their interests over those of other competitors. A typical example is that in previous years, when European monopolies felt threatened by US tech giants, European courts took action against their competitors. Thus, in 2021, the General Court of the EU imposed a fine of €2.42 billion on Google and €250 million on Amazon.

All these organisations that supposedly serve international law are, in fact, instruments for imposing the dictatorship of capital on the peoples of the world. Bringing various bourgeois governments together around a negotiating table, often creates the illusion that they can work it out. However, competition remains the principal relationship there, since they are organisations of the exploiters themselves, of monopoly groups and their governments. Each bourgeoisie and its government, implementing their reactionary and anti-people policy against the people of each country, continue on the same path in foreign affairs, guided by the common criteria of profitability. Just as courts in our country apply the right of the strongest, of the bourgeoisie against the working class, so do international courts, applying the right of imperialists against the peoples. That is why people’s hopes that transnational matters can be settled in a supposedly fair and equitable way have been dashed, both in the 20th and the 21st centuries.

At the end of the day, international organisations not only fail to play a neutral role but are utilised to enforce the rights of the strongest in every conceivable manner. International courts are used by the imperialists to justify their interventions and to set the seal of ‘justice’ on the unjust wars they wage. Their life and

times in the Balkan region alone are a typical example. In June 1999, for example, the International Court of Justice in The Hague rejected NATO's conviction for launching genocide against the Yugoslav people while refusing to call for an immediate halt to NATO bombing. In 2008, it also recognised the independence of the protectorate of Kosovo, sealing a process of border change in the Balkans.

Peace and security cannot, therefore, be guaranteed either by international law or by the various international organisations acting as the long arm of the most powerful bourgeoisies.

Could an agreement between Greece and Turkey on the co-exploitation of the Aegean ensure peace in the region?

If we look at the relations between Greece and Turkey over the last decades, we'll see a sharpening of the confrontation between the Turkish and Greek bourgeoisies. We constantly hear about violations of the Greek airspace by the Turkish military forces, we notice the increasing aggressiveness of the Turkish government. At the same time, we hear that the Greek people have to choose between two paths: either a possible military conflict with Turkey or a painful compromise on the sovereign rights of the country. Are either of these options in the interests of the workers, the peoples of the region and of our country? More than that, are they the only options we have? To answer these questions, we need to look into the causes of these provocations and of the confrontation.

These claims, the clear intention to revise old treaties are not in the agenda of some 'crazy, nationalist politicians', nor are they 'mere words' and 'rhetoric of tension for domestic consumption'. On the contrary, they're another piece of the puzzle of the rivalries in the Eastern Mediterranean region and, more broadly, between powerful imperialist powers and alliances.

One of the main factors behind the sharpening of the confrontation between the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie is the participation

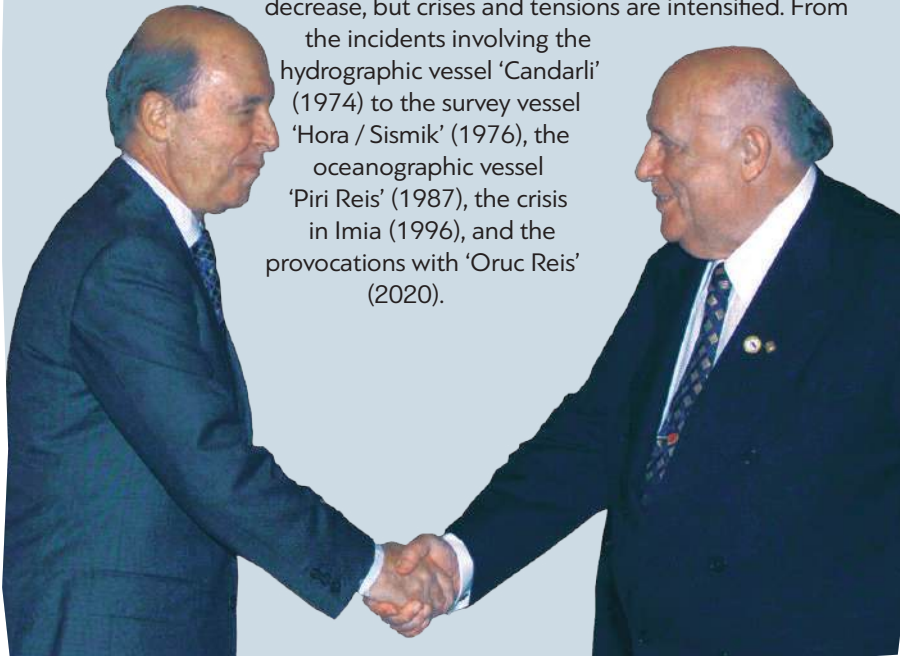
of both countries in NATO. At first glance, this seems to be a contradiction. How can two countries clash when they are allies in an imperialist union? If we look at the very goals of NATO, though, we'll see that NATO does not guarantee security, but actually sharpens contradictions.

NATO's policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, by its very nature as an imperialist alliance, aims at maintaining its cohesion in order to keep an undivided, solid front against the emerging Eurasian camp of Russia-China and other countries. This goal leads to NATO's decisions not recognising borders between its member states. This is the reason why the term 'NATO territory' is being used by NATO and US officials more and more often. On this basis, they refer to the Aegean as an 'undivided operational area' of NATO. Greek-Turkish relations in particular are strongly affected by NATO's goal of distancing Turkey from the influence of Russia, with which Turkey maintains strong economic, military and political ties. Thus, we often see both EU and NATO officials calling the Turkish government a 'strategic ally and partner' and eventually saying that the two countries should work it out on their own.

Both the provocations of the Turkish bourgeoisie, escalating the policy of grey zones and questioning sovereign rights, and the aggressive claims of the Greek bourgeoisie, which aspires to improve its role in the region, are fostered on this basis. Therefore, the competitive relations between the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisies cannot be understood outside the general framework of competition in the region, without taking into account the role of the imperialist NATO alliance.

In Greece, bourgeois governments from all political parties consistently promote a sense of complacency among the Greek people by presenting NATO and EU membership as crucial for security. In 1997, during a NATO summit, the Madrid agreement was signed between the then Prime Minister K. Simitis (PASOK) and the Turkish government, which recognized the Turkish 'vital interests' in the Aegean Sea. Similarly, in 1999, during an EU summit, the Helsinki Agreement was signed, which mentioned 'border disputes' between Greece and Turkey.

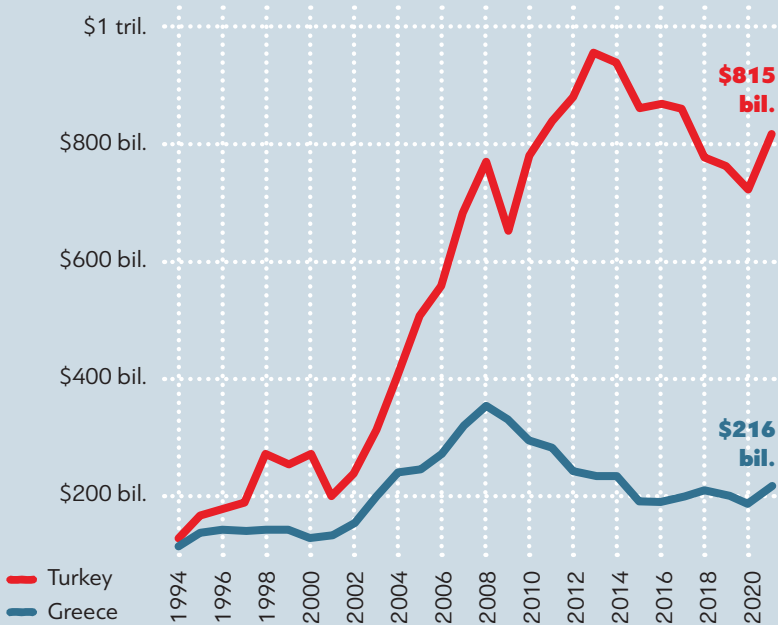
However, life itself proves that over time not only do these disputes not decrease, but crises and tensions are intensified. From the incidents involving the hydrographic vessel 'Candarli' (1974) to the survey vessel 'Hora / Sismik' (1976), the oceanographic vessel 'Piri Reis' (1987), the crisis in Imia (1996), and the provocations with 'Oruc Reis' (2020).



On the same basis, the competition between the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisies also intensifies. The base of this sharpening of Greek-Turkish relations lies in the change in the correlation of forces between the two countries due to the uneven development of capitalism. All these decades after the signing of the agreements, the balance of power between the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisies hasn't remained unchanged.

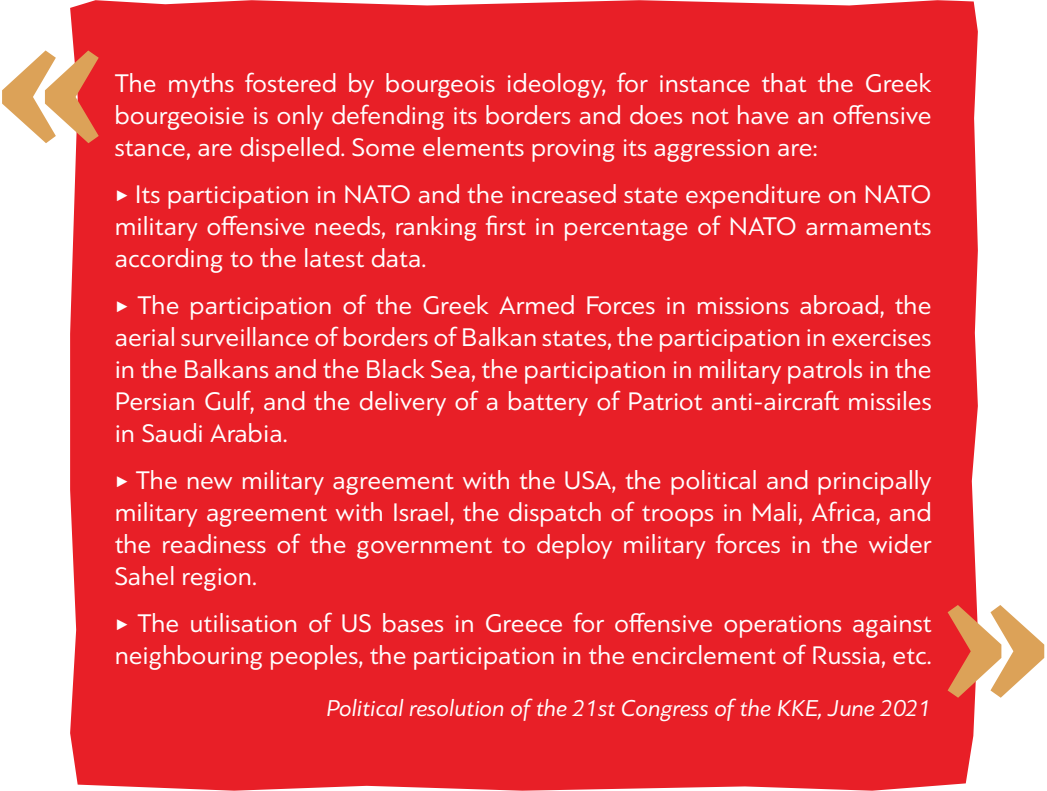
In recent decades, the power gap between the bourgeoisies of Turkey and Greece has widened, favouring the former. Typically in 1994, the wealth produced in Turkey (in terms of GDP) was \$14 billion higher. In 2020, that difference was \$540 billion. Turkey holds a higher position in the imperialist pyramid, as it's a member of the G20 (the 20 strongest capitalist economies globally). In addition, at the time of writing this, Turkey has an occupying army in three foreign countries, military bases abroad, and has at times sent military forces to other states, all while possessing the second largest army in NATO.

GDP growth in Greece and Turkey



The power of the Turkish bourgeoisie has grown to such an extent that it doesn't fit into the previous agreements. It aims to improve its position in the region even more, attract numerous foreign investments, and turn Turkey into the 'regulator' of the wider area, into the strongest regional power. They aim to turn Turkey into an energy hub, a hub for the transport of commodities.

On the basis of this objective, Turkey competes with the strategy of the Greek bourgeoisie which, though less powerful, also aims to achieve similar strategic goals. Its goal is to turn the country into an energy and transportation hub, a country that exports capital to Balkan countries in confrontation with other bourgeoisies. Therefore, it seeks to intervene more and more actively in the US and NATO imperialist plans in the region in order to support those plans.



The myths fostered by bourgeois ideology, for instance that the Greek bourgeoisie is only defending its borders and does not have an offensive stance, are dispelled. Some elements proving its aggression are:

- ▶ Its participation in NATO and the increased state expenditure on NATO military offensive needs, ranking first in percentage of NATO armaments according to the latest data.
- ▶ The participation of the Greek Armed Forces in missions abroad, the aerial surveillance of borders of Balkan states, the participation in exercises in the Balkans and the Black Sea, the participation in military patrols in the Persian Gulf, and the delivery of a battery of Patriot anti-aircraft missiles in Saudi Arabia.
- ▶ The new military agreement with the USA, the political and principally military agreement with Israel, the dispatch of troops in Mali, Africa, and the readiness of the government to deploy military forces in the wider Sahel region.
- ▶ The utilisation of US bases in Greece for offensive operations against neighbouring peoples, the participation in the encirclement of Russia, etc.

Political resolution of the 21st Congress of the KKE, June 2021

The actions of both bourgeoisies are essentially aggressive. They intensify exploitation not only against their own people but also against the other peoples of the region. Each bourgeoisie wishes to secure the best deals with the rest of the vultures in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean in order to rob its mineral wealth. Regardless of the balance of power, the strength of each bourgeoisie, the terms by which each bourgeoisie sits on the negotiating table,

the criterion for its strategy is how to strengthen its monopolies and get a bigger piece of the profit pie.

A co-exploitation agreement between the bourgeoisies of Greece and Turkey will whet the appetite of the domestic, Greek, Turkish and foreign monopolies. It will sharpen the competition for the sharing of the spoils. It will lead to even greater conflicts in our region as it will objectively open a can of worms for a new round of bloody warfare.

People have nothing to expect from the safeguarding of NATO's cohesion, from the exploitation of energy wealth and the use of pipelines for the profitability of powerful monopolies. The tangle of inter-imperialist rivalries in the wider region cannot be undone; it can only be cut if the peoples of the region take the path of the overthrow. This is the only option in favour of the peoples of both Greece and Turkey. The current relations of friendship and cooperation developed by the KKE and the Communist Party of Turkey are images of a bright future for humanity, a 'kingdom of universal friendship' where war will be eradicated as a social phenomenon.

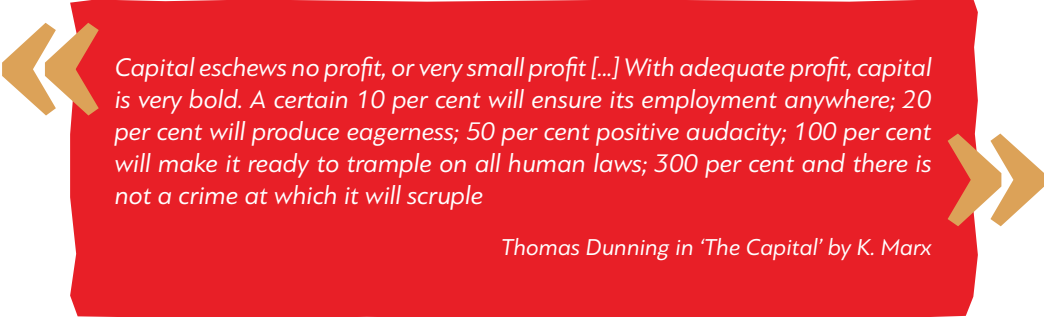
Is it worth making sacrifices for imperialist peace?

Many young people, when confronted with images of the horrors of war, human misery and suffering, believe that pursuing peace at all costs can prevent us from experiencing similar situations. However, we cannot overlook, in the name of the horrors of imperialist war, the very factors that reproduce war and are developed during imperialist peace.

During their 'peace', we live with a gun to our heads. A peace that creates war for the peoples to suffer and the bourgeois classes keep on making profit. Permanent clouds of threats and war are gathering around our efforts to make our dreams a reality. Our people is constantly and rightly worried about whether their military exercises, the war rehearsals, will stop being just rehearsals. We often come across statements that we hope were just

threats, never to become a reality. We often wonder at which point their recriminations, their economic and political negotiations and competition shift from being resolved through agreements and declarations to being made based on advanced military weaponry, which all bourgeois states are buying. We are constantly watching the peoples bleed, refugees trying to survive and many are just trying to reassure themselves that 'luckily, all these happen far away from us'. However, we are also constantly seeing that the political choices of the Greek bourgeois governments bring all these threats closer. The bourgeoisies are moving using the same compass, not only during times of imperialist 'peace', but also during times of war; and this compass is nothing other but their profits.

For that reason, the working class, the people and the youth need to hold steady their own compass. Worrying and wishing that 'nothing happens' is not enough; we must fight against the bourgeois policy and power that escalate the risks. The interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie cannot be bridged, neither in times of peace nor in times of war, especially when the bourgeoisies are willing to commit any crime.



Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit [...] With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent will ensure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent will produce eagerness; 50 per cent positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent and there is not a crime at which it will scruple

Thomas Dunning in 'The Capital' by K. Marx

At the same time, the peoples not only live with the consequences of the war between the bourgeois classes but also, with the consequences of their 'peace'. The times of imperialist peace are never without bloodshed for the peoples. During this time, an ongoing war takes place, with thousands of victims: the class war between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

In Greece, there has been an increase in the number of accidents at work in recent years. According to the Labour Inspectorate (SEPE), every three days, one worker dies from an occupational accident. Around the world, every year, according to the International Labour Organisation, over 2.3 million workers die due to the lack of adequate protection measures. That is, more workers are killed each year than the estimated number killed in the wars in Iraq, Syria and Libya combined.



The bourgeoisies are constantly taking measures to increase their profit by deepening the exploitation of the working class: they implement anti-people measures, crush labour rights, downgrade the health and welfare systems, intensify class barriers in education. They doom the working class to unemployment or poorly paid work, to a life that cannot meet their contemporary needs, despite being the ones producing all of society's wealth.

We have all witnessed examples of the normality of capitalist barbarity. Among such examples is the high death toll during the period of the Covid-19 pandemic, caused by the weakened public healthcare systems, and the frequent incidents of refugees being killed or drowning in European countries. The thousands of crippled and dead workers, murdered in the so-called 'work-related accidents' due to the cost needed to implement protection measures, along with

the harsh repression of the workers' and people's struggles, are also examples in times of their 'peace'.

Is it possible though to live in a society, where there will be no wars? Is it possible to live in a society, where peace will benefit the workers, the peoples and the youth? We will examine this in the following chapter.



- ▶ V. I. Lenin, *On war and socialist revolution*, collection of essays, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ History Section of the CC of the KKE, 1922. *Imperialist Campaign and the Asia Minor Catastrophe*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ I.M. Maisky, *Who helped Hitler?* Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ E. Gondos, *World War I and its prehistory (1870-1914)*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ K. Liebknecht, R. Luxemburg, F.Mehring, C. Zetkin, *The main enemy is at home, essays by the German communists in World War I*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi

Collage from
the illustration
of Dmitry Bisti
for the poem of
Vi. Mayakovsky
'Vladimir Ilyich
Lenin', 1966-67



Chapter 4: Socialism-Communism, the only way out from imperialist competition

Lie: *'For the next 70 years, [after the October Revolution,] Russia's traditional imperial mission became entangled with the expansionist aims of communism'*

Washington Post, March 2022

After the outbreak of war in Ukraine, we've heard many analyses stating that the construction of socialism in these countries bears a significant share of responsibility for the current situation. They state that, in the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries, the people were oppressed and exploited, and the different ethnicities were clashing with each other, in order to convince us that there is no alternative to the capitalist society we currently live in.

However, the reality is much different.

The peoples in the USSR, as well as the ones in Ukraine and Russia, had been living in peace for 70 years! This road was paved by the victorious October Revolution of 1917 under the guidance of the Bolshevik Communist Party and its leader, V.I. Lenin and was followed by tens of peoples, hand in hand, until the overthrow of Socialism in 1991. They faced the hatred and the war of the old exploiters that were sabotaging the first steps of the Soviet power. They advanced together under socialism, they fought together against Nazism - fascism, German imperialism.

There was a time when dozens of people lived in peace in about one third of the earth. Instead of hatred, racism and enmity, they

The victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 led to the creation of the first workers' state in human history. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established in 1922 as a voluntary, equal and comradely union of various nations and nationalities, as the workers' republics that had emerged through revolutionary processes in the territories of the former tsarist empire, forming a unified workers' state. For the first time in history, a multinational workers' state was born with over 100 nations and ethnicities, each having different languages, cultural characteristics, customs and traditions. The peoples of the USSR, as well as those in other socialist countries, had been fighting for a better future for 70 years, aiming to live in harmony without unequal or oppressive relationships.

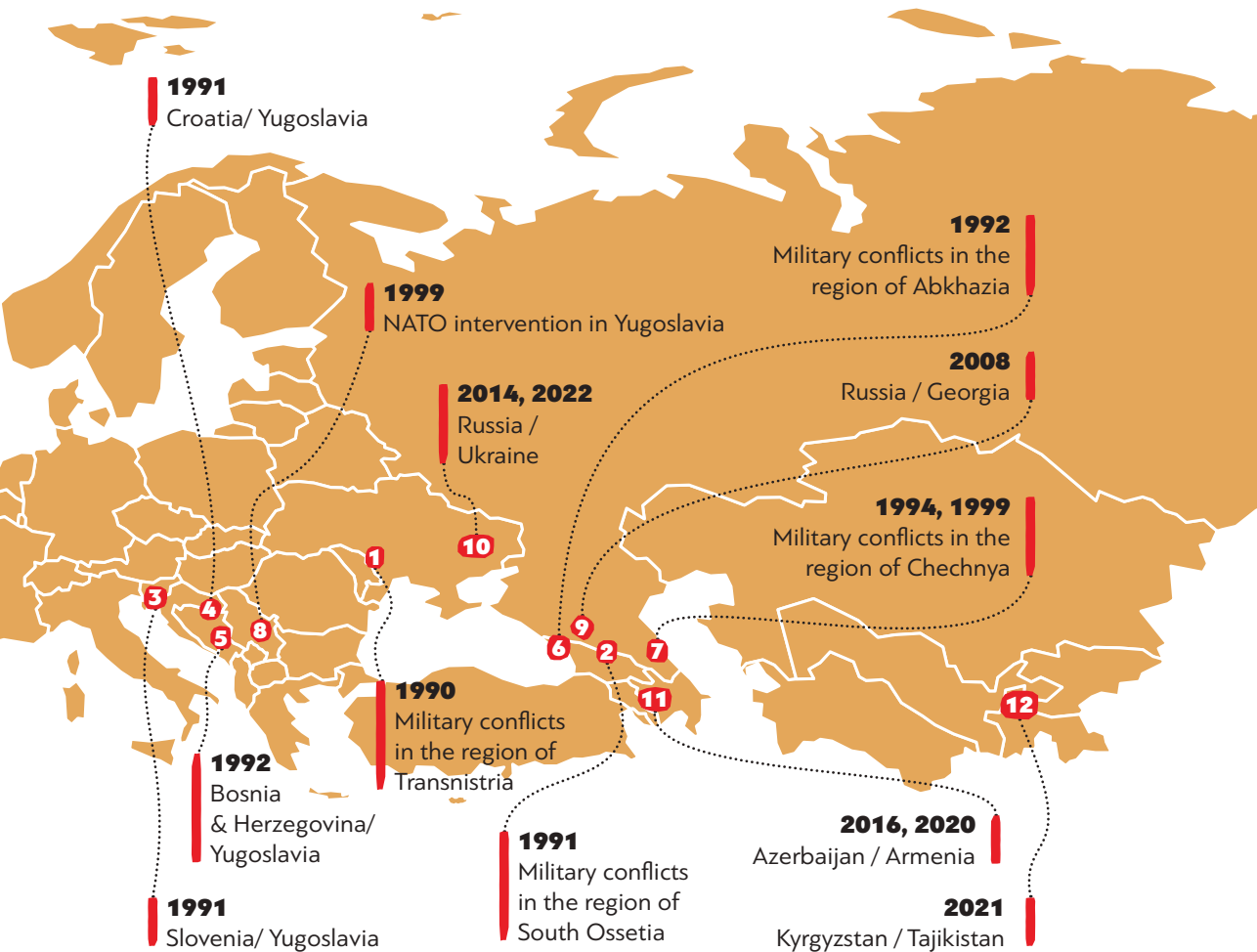
In 1999, for 78 days, the Yugoslav people were targeted, with continuous NATO bombings that began on March 24, 1999. The then PASOK government stated, 'I will send the Greek soldiers wherever I want, without any restrictions!' During that dirty war, 1,150 NATO state-of-the-art military aircraft, 21,000 tons of bombs, thousands of radioactive depleted uranium bombs and prohibited (by international treaties) cluster munitions bombs were used. Thus, apartment buildings, bridges, schools, hospitals, maternity hospitals, refugee convoys and even cemeteries were bombed! In these 11 weeks, about 3,000 civilians (30% children) were killed, over 6,000 civilians were injured, hundreds of thousands became refugees, and around 2,500,000 others were financially impoverished. Just like today, back



then, the entire 'political world' — PASOK, ND, Synaspismos — fully agreed with the 'NATO commitments'. The KKE, from the beginning, condemned the war and strongly opposes the country's involvement.

all lived together in solidarity and friendship. Instead of questioning borders, waging wars and spreading nationalism, they built their cooperation and defended their own borders against the imperialist world. They forged their own alliance of the peoples liberated from imperialist exploitation, against the predatory imperialist alliances

Wars fought after the overthrow of socialism in 1991 in the territories of the former socialist countries



that don't hesitate to resort to war crimes to defend the monopoly interests.

Nevertheless, in these last thirty years after the dissolution of the USSR until today, we observe that the overthrow of socialism was followed by a war massacre. Dozens of imperialist wars and conflicts are taking place in the territories of the former Soviet Union, between peoples who lived together in peace a few decades ago.

Initially, it seems illogical that many peoples who lived peacefully, until the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 – with many of them residing in the same nation and working together to build a new society – have faced extensive ethnic cleansing, conflicts and massacres within just thirty years.

Therefore, the question can be no other than the following: What factors allowed numerous nations, peoples, ethnic groups, and minorities to live harmoniously within the USSR for seventy years?

How is it possible for the peoples to live in peace?

As we have seen in previous chapters, the reason behind imperialist wars is none other but capitalist competition, the clash of interests between monopoly groups, bourgeois classes, states and imperialist unions.

However, under socialism, the root cause of imperialist war is no longer present, thus eliminating the threat of war. The peoples in the USSR had the opportunity to live as this, in peace: the construction of the socialist - communist society!

Why is this becoming a reality in socialism? What's the difference between the society we live in and this new society where the root causes of imperialist wars are abolished?

The source of competition in capitalism is that the monopolies and the large business groups own all the necessary means for production and the development of society, such as factories, units of production, transport and energy distribution, land, mineral resources, etc.

On the contrary, under socialism, the means of production are no longer privately owned by the big shareholders of the various monopolies, but belong to the working class; the one that creates them, works in them, sets them in motion. In this way, the means of production are owned by society as a whole, instead of being owned by various monopoly groups. For that reason, we say that they are socialised.

The socialisation of the means of production in the socialist - communist society, takes away from capitalists, not only the source of their power, but also the spoils of their competition. We need to have in mind that today, a number of valuable raw materials, sources of energy, sovereign rights in land and water, are the spoils of fierce confrontations, even war conflicts, between monopoly groups and bourgeois classes that wish to get hold of them, to exploit them. The socialisation of all this wealth abolishes the basis of these confrontations. In communist society, no one can own the industries, the energy deposits, or the ports.

This basic precondition for the construction of this new society resolves the great contradiction of our times. In other words, the contradiction of millions of workers working to produce the simplest product, only for it to be owned by the monopolies. Under socialism, the wealth belongs, in fact, to its producers - the workers.

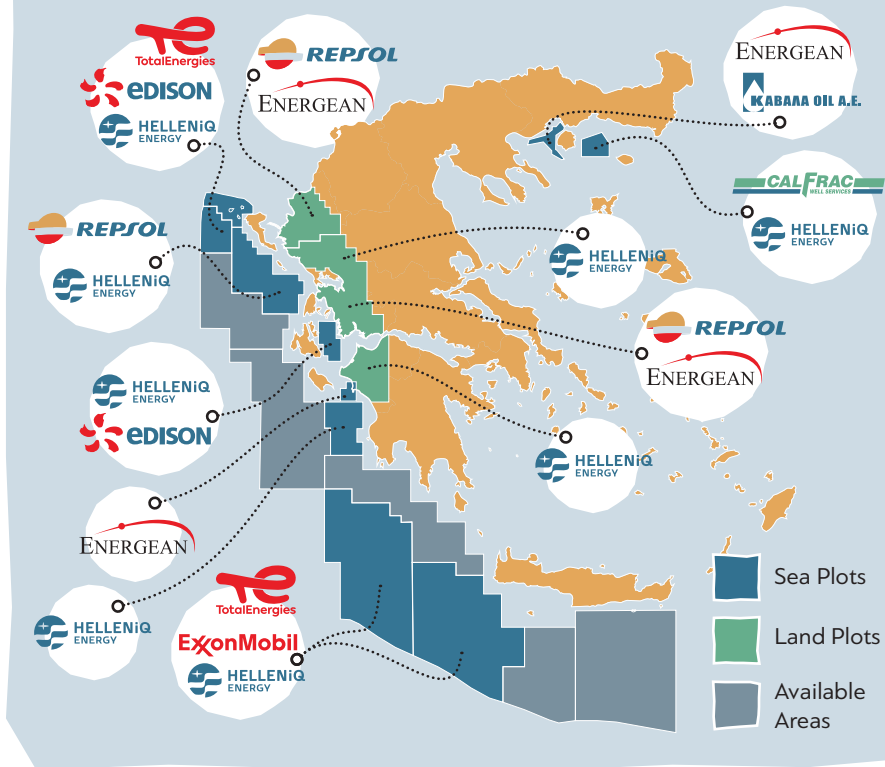
Capitalists, however, lose not only their property but also their ability to exploit workers. Capitalist profit doesn't fall out of the sky; it comes from workers' exploitation, the ability of the capitalists to rent workers to work for them. However, under socialism, the exploitation of man by man is abolished. No one has the right to rent workers and make a profit from their work.

Therefore, under socialism - communism, the development of production is no longer based on the hunt by the monopolies for the maximum rate of profit. And this is because the bourgeoisie has lost its greatest power, which is ownership of the means of production, and, at the same time, capitalist exploitation, i.e. profit, has been abolished.

Satisfying social needs can now be the cornerstone of the new society, guiding the development of production. The level of development achieved by workers, technology, and science

Only workers' power in Greece can transform its energy wealth from the spoils of imperialist rivalries and a factor of destabilisation to a factor of prosperity for the people. Based on the socialised means of production, workers' power would free the country's wealth from the clutches of the energy monopoly groups. A workers' state in Greece could utilise the hydrocarbon deposits in the Aegean, Ionian, and Libyan seas through necessary and mutually beneficial international agreements with neighbouring states. Based on Central Planning, Greece's abundant wind and solar resources could be utilised to tackle energy poverty. Clear and strategic location planning for wind turbines and solar panels could help ensure energy sufficiency. At the same time, biodiversity, wetlands, the cultural heritage of our country, and the wealth of our people will be safeguarded. The country's water resources could be utilised by building hydroelectric projects that can also serve for irrigation purposes. Domestic geothermal energy with a high-efficiency factor could be utilised to heat cities and villages, and even help save energy by implementing modern equipment and methods in industry and households.

Exploration and exploitation rights for hydrocarbons



Let's think about what most of us do when we need to work, to survive. On a CV, we list all our skills and qualifications and send them to various companies hoping that they will hire us. But why are we doing this?

In order to work and produce wealth, people need to use tools, raw materials, software, computer systems, infrastructure, machinery, etc. In short, they need to utilise the means of production. But the means of production belong to the capitalists. New employees submit their resumes to tourism businesses because the hotels are owned by them, new engineers seek job opportunities in the industry because the machinery is owned by the industrialists, and so forth. But the workers breathe life into the machines and create all the wealth that the owners of the monopolies then claim. The profits of capitalist companies come from the exploitation of the working class.

How much revenue do the monopolies generate per year for each of their employees?



Shell
\$4,31 mil.



Apple
\$1,96 mil.



Suzuki
\$1,86 mil.



Microsoft
\$960 mil.



Twitter
\$841 mil.



Novartis
\$424 mil.

enables us to create a world where the aim is for everyone to have access to all produced goods at any given time. That is what will give an impetus to production and will shape the progress and development of the means owned by society. Based on this focus, the abilities and personality of each person will be fully developed.

As a result, under socialism, the capitalist labour market and its laws, unemployment, and insecurity are abolished, since workers no

longer need to rely on capitalists for employment, as they no longer own the tools, the machinery, the raw materials and anything else necessary to produce wealth. No one is left out in the effort to meet society's needs. And that's why the last unemployed person in the USSR was recorded in 1930!

There is no competition or conflicts for the market shares in socialism, since the capitalist market no longer exists. We should keep in mind that, today, all the necessary products for our lives to satisfy our needs are sold or bought from a monopoly group, or a company. Even capitalists need to buy whatever is needed for production in a factory (machinery, raw materials, etc.) from other capitalists. Everything goes through the market, through sales and purchases, through exchanges. However, as already mentioned, 'how', 'where' and 'if' something is produced are at the discretion of monopoly groups, depending on their interests. Within this framework, there are conflicts over which monopoly group or bourgeoisie will own a larger share of the capitalist market, to which markets they will have better access, and so on.

Under socialism, products will not be produced for the purpose of being sold to generate capitalist profit, but rather to meet social needs. Therefore, after the basic social needs (education, healthcare, etc.) – which will be expanded as socialism progresses – have been completely covered for free, the measure for obtaining any product from the social wealth is not our wallet, but rather each individual's contribution to production, the level of work. Thus, the criterion for reaching the social product is not 'who can pay more', as we see today in the capitalist market, for energy, electricity, natural gas. On the contrary, criterion will be society's needs for energy, the level of productivity, technology and science conquered by the collectively working socialist society.

For that reason, in socialism, it's necessary to take into consideration the existing needs, in a uniform way, in order to plan and develop production. It's important to note that, in order for production to grow and effectively meet the increasing social needs, machinery and the raw materials must be distributed in a specific way. The same applies to the energy sector, the means of transport, the construction of roads, ports and airports, the development of technology, etc.. What we call Central Planning in socialism is simply the necessary

Let's think about production in a factory, which includes machinery, buildings, trucks, raw materials, and workers. All these, called productive forces, if concentrated in one place are not sufficient to start production. It's necessary to organise and direct this production process. In capitalism, this is achieved by exploiting the workers. Production is determined by the profitability and investment strategies of each individual monopoly. This is the exploitative relationship known as capital. On the contrary, under socialism all these productive forces are set in motion on the basis of a single plan to meet the needs of society in the most effective way. In other words, this is the production relationship known as Central Planning.

objective proportions for the production to develop and satisfy social needs.

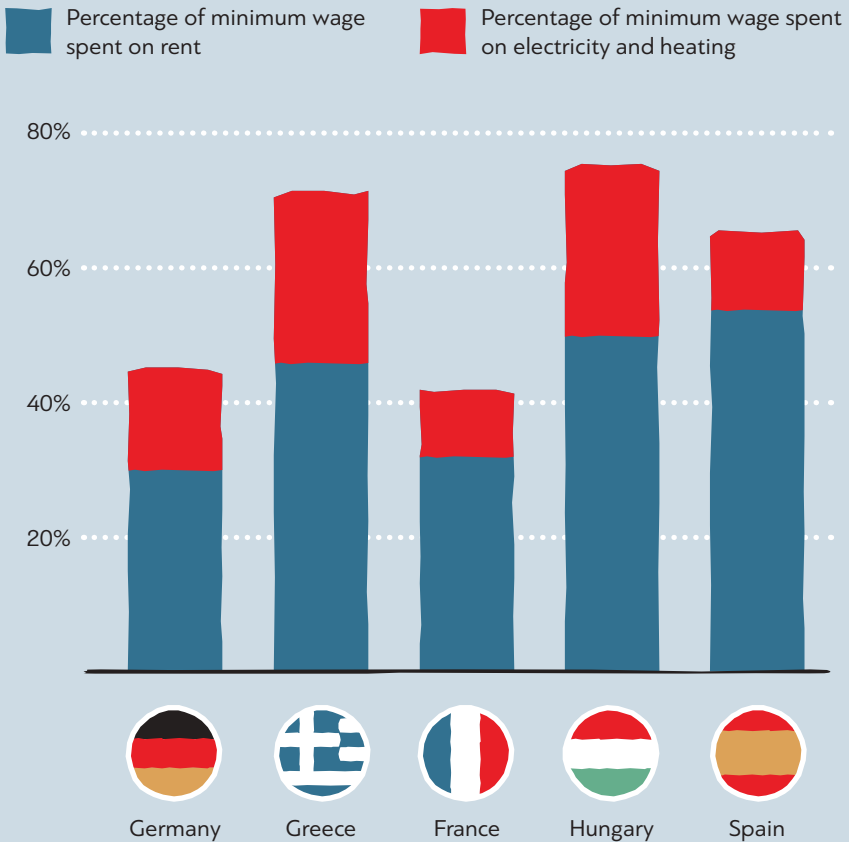
Also, the allocation of workers per sector, the development of the professions, the scientific research and the development of human knowledge are based on the same criterion. Under socialism, workers use the means of production through Central Planning, instead of the capitalist labour market and its laws. Due to this communist relation of production, workers interact with the means of production, and the work of millions of workers is combined for the production of products. The scientific and labour force is distributed, taking into consideration the overall needs of society, as well as any particular talents and individual wishes, when it comes to choosing a profession.

This is how Central Planning stops uneven development, which is a fundamental law of capitalist economy that spurs imperialists to compete for dominance. Capitalist competition causes blatant contradictions in social life. We often see entire sectors being favoured, simply because they generate profit, while others, equally important, are being devalued.

At the same time, entire sectors, disciplines, regions, countries, develop at a different level and rate, as we have seen. Capitalists invest in anything that serves them, for as long as it serves them. This behaviour often leads to breaking agreements between countries and monopolies, manifold conflicts and bloody wars.

By abolishing capitalist profit as the criterion in production, the Soviet economy prioritised social needs and the effort to meet them at the centre. An illustrative example for the issue of housing and energy, which today is draining our families income: 'Houses were state-run [...] at the edge of each town a thermal power plant was set up to meet the needs of the town's residents'. Basically, the expenses for rent, heating, electricity, etc. didn't exceed 5% of a family's budget. In that way, the liberating force of socialist relations of production was proven, especially when we consider the level of production and technology in the pre-revolutionary Russia that the Bolsheviks inherited.

What is true today?



Under socialism, when it comes to meeting social needs, any unevenness in production is out of the question. For example, it's necessary to develop agricultural production to satisfy the nutritional needs of our people, in a sufficient and qualitative way. To develop agricultural production, greater development in producing agricultural vehicles and machinery is needed. This, in turn, requires rapid development of the engineering and mining industries, and so on. Each sector is developed in a symmetrical way, as much as it's required to contribute to the common goal. With each new stage of development, different needs come to the forefront, and existing ones are met in a more qualitative way. This society, which is united under this incentive, utilises the productive potential to the fullest, and plans its course. The workers' state can set its own priorities, having this goal in mind.

With the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, everything deriving from it will be abolished too: racism, nationalism, hatred – which usually fuel the massacres of the peoples in imperialist wars. People from various ethnic backgrounds and origins, freed from wage slavery, are working together on building a new life, with equality for all. In fact, nothing divides them; on the contrary, they can develop together their living conditions, and production, to satisfy their own needs.

Notably, workers' power, within the context of promoting equal development among different ethnic groups, played a key role in creating a written language for approximately 50 languages, which, although spoken by various ethnic groups, previously lacked a written form. Up until the dissolution of the USSR, school books were published in over 52 languages and literary works in 62 languages.

For the first time after World War II and the integration of new states into the socialist camp, workers' states made a serious effort to develop cooperation and economic relations, based on the principle of proletarian internationalism. With the founding of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA / Comecon), efforts were made to create a new, previously unknown type of international relations, which was based on the principles of mutual benefit and assistance between states constructing socialism. Members of it became, in different years, the People's Republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Germany, Cuba, Mongolia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. Its aim was to strengthen cooperation among socialist states, accelerate economic and technical progress, and industrialise socialist countries that significantly lagged behind in this area. Efforts were made to equalise the levels of economic growth among its member states while also continuously enhancing the well-being of the people in these countries. It decisively contributed to fields such as the stable supply of countries with raw materials, technical resources, fuel, product distribution, and interdisciplinary cooperation. The operation of CMEA had significant results for its member states. Notably, in 1974 the countries of CMEA, with just 9,4% of the world's population, accounted for 1/3 of world industrial production. The countries of CMEA constituted the most dynamic region in the world and surpassed all other unions of states in terms of growth rates.



The peoples in the USSR and in other socialist countries achieved remarkable progress when they adhered to the previously mentioned laws of socialist society, while constructing socialism in the 20th century. And that was how they succeeded in building a society without hatred, wars and conflicts among them.

How can the workers' state succeed against the imperialist world?;

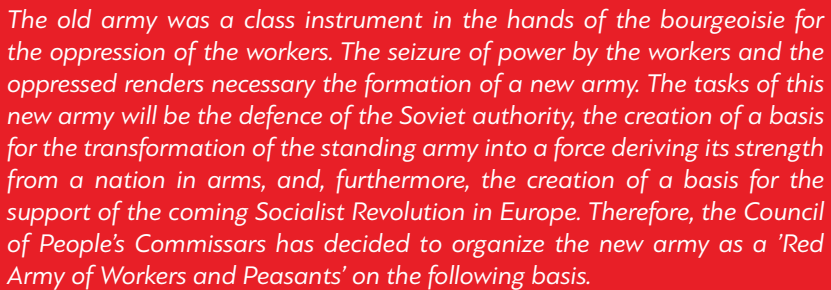
It's often argued that in an imperialist world with dozens of alliances, powerful armies and international imperialist organisations, a revolution in a single country may struggle to establish itself.

However, workers' power is made of different elements compared to the modern bourgeois states that often come to mind, when someone tries to imagine how people will succeed in standing up for themselves.

The workers, through the new structures of workers' power, the assemblies in the workplaces and their respective elected councils, have a say in all aspects of their lives. In contrast to today's bourgeois democracy, where powerful businessmen and groups have the upper hand, in socialism the workers themselves participate in the development and achievement of the growth goals of the socialist economy and society. These goals aim to enhance the quality of products and services, while also boosting scientific and technical advancements; in other words, the overall development of the working people. The producers of the wealth, freed from exploitation, can actively engage in controlling, improving and correcting their decisions.

The workers' state, which relies on and requires people's participation and the active engagement of the working class, cannot safeguard the socialist homeland with the current repressive mechanisms in place. In order to safeguard the socialism being constructed, the working class needs to develop new bodies of revolutionary defence, involving the active participation of workers and the people, as well as utilizing dedicated specialised personnel. The new

bodies correspond to the nature of the workers' state and are borne out of the revolutionary struggle itself. To suppress the resistance of exploiters and safeguard the revolution and socialist construction, new institutions founded on armed revolutionary struggle replace the dismantled bourgeois army and repressive forces. The army exists to defend the country and doesn't participate in imperialist wars.



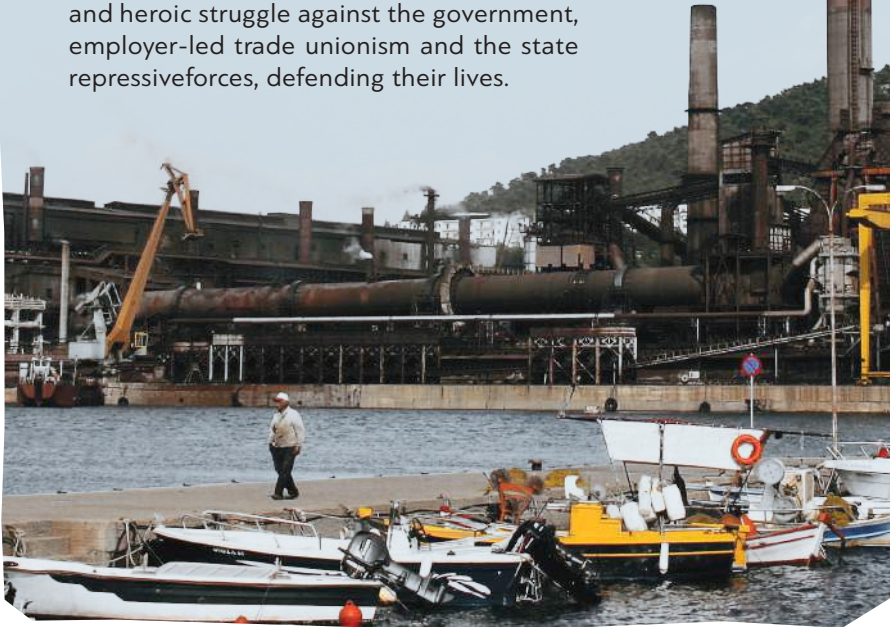
The old army was a class instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the workers. The seizure of power by the workers and the oppressed renders necessary the formation of a new army. The tasks of this new army will be the defence of the Soviet authority, the creation of a basis for the transformation of the standing army into a force deriving its strength from a nation in arms, and, furthermore, the creation of a basis for the support of the coming Socialist Revolution in Europe. Therefore, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to organize the new army as a 'Red Army of Workers and Peasants' on the following basis.

From the decree for the formation of the Red Army (28th January 1918)

Under workers' power, socialist production harnesses forces that were previously suppressed by the dictatorship of the monopoly groups. It can utilise domestic productive capabilities that are currently under the control of capital and remain untapped if they don't generate high profits. For example, such capabilities are, first of all, an experienced and plentiful work force, all the scientists who are currently compelled to migrate, face unemployment or take up jobs outside their scientific expertise, all in the struggle for survival.

The liberation of the productive forces from the shackles of the capitalist mode of production is the driving force, both for meeting social needs and for the defence of the socialist homeland.

A typical example of significant productive potential that could flourish under Central Planning in workers' power, but it's being crushed under the capitalist mode of production, is the industry of LARCO. LARCO is the only smelting plant in the EU that produces ferronickel through the processing of its own domestic ores. Our country holds 90% of the registered underground nickel deposits in the EU. These minerals contain cobalt, which makes them rare on a global scale. At the same time there are deposits of chromium which along with nickel are the materials that make up stainless steel. Stainless steel is used in the production of industrial machinery, the construction, automotive, military, and medical industries, as well as in the manufacture of household appliances, etc. Over the past years, all governments' policies have reduced the productive potential mentioned above. February 2022 saw the announcement of a daunting government initiative that involved laying off workers and displacing their families from the workers' residences to hand over the company to potential investors at no cost and without any workers or their gained rights. The company's workers engaged in a courageous and heroic struggle against the government, employer-led trade unionism and the state repressive forces, defending their lives.

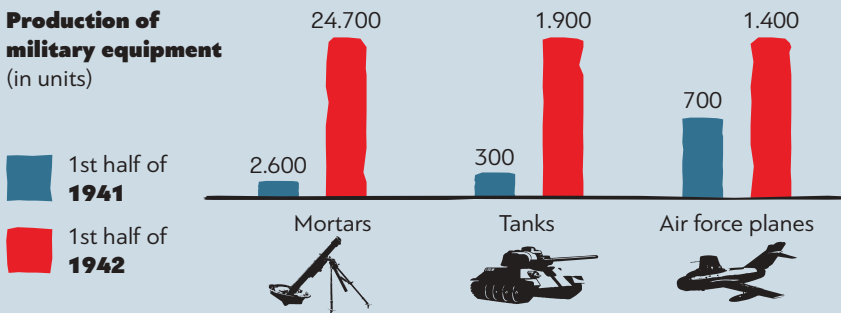


The superiority of the socialist organisation of production, central planning, played a decisive role in the defeat of the Nazis by the Red Army in the Second World War. Within a very short time, the machine factories started producing war materials, the light industry factories began producing ammunition, and so on. In the summer and autumn of 1941 alone, 1,523 industrial units were dismantled in the evacuation zones, transported and reassembled in safe areas, along with their workers and families. In order to fill the production gaps left by the conscripts, the training of new workers was organised. On the initiative of the communist youth, a number of groups were set up to improve the quality of production. Through workers' power, nearly 20,000 proposals by the workers themselves to improve production techniques and capacity were implemented. Socialist friendly competition involved millions of workers in almost every industrial unit in every industry, raising productivity. As a result, despite the constant bombing by the German air force, the flow of supplies to the war fronts was never interrupted.

Adjustment of Industry of the USSR in WWII for the need to defend the workers' state

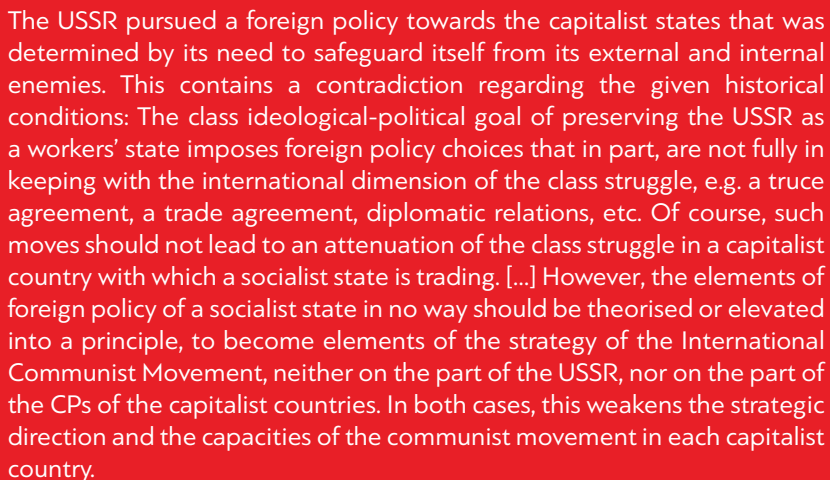


Production of military equipment (in units)



Worker's power can effectively leverage the contradictions among capitalists for the benefit of the people, as long as it's not associated with any imperialist union like the EU and NATO.

Liberated from the duties and characteristics of imperialist unions, the workers' state can now decide how to engage with other states, including capitalist ones, to advance socialism and the struggle of workers and people on an international scale. Every transnational relationship and necessary commercial, economic and political agreements, even with capitalist states, are established to enhance people's well-being rather than prioritise the profits of monopolies. Workers' power, by breaking the shackles of imperialist 'alliances' and agreements, is ultimately freer to enter into mutually beneficial agreements, taking advantage of imperialist contradictions among bourgeois states.

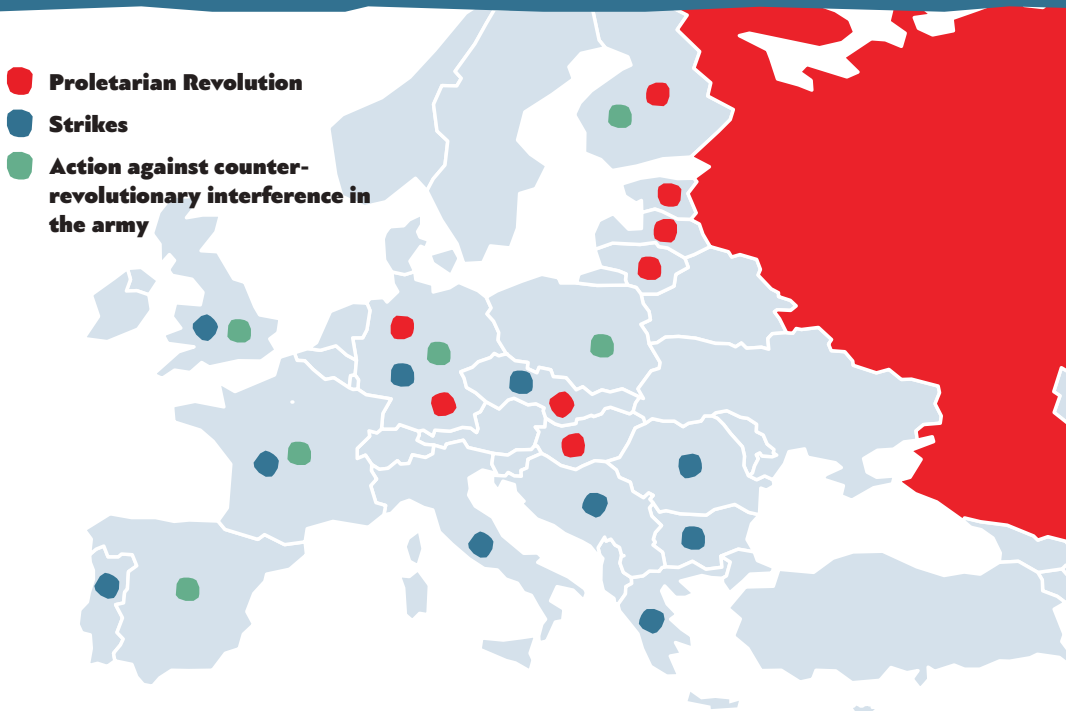


The USSR pursued a foreign policy towards the capitalist states that was determined by its need to safeguard itself from its external and internal enemies. This contains a contradiction regarding the given historical conditions: The class ideological-political goal of preserving the USSR as a workers' state imposes foreign policy choices that in part, are not fully in keeping with the international dimension of the class struggle, e.g. a truce agreement, a trade agreement, diplomatic relations, etc. Of course, such moves should not lead to an attenuation of the class struggle in a capitalist country with which a socialist state is trading. [...] However, the elements of foreign policy of a socialist state in no way should be theorised or elevated into a principle, to become elements of the strategy of the International Communist Movement, neither on the part of the USSR, nor on the part of the CPs of the capitalist countries. In both cases, this weakens the strategic direction and the capacities of the communist movement in each capitalist country.

*Article of the PB of the CC of the KKE
'Conclusions on the transition from capitalism to socialism'
Communist Review issue 3/2020*

At the same time, the new workers' power will receive strong support from the international labour and communist movement. While it may seem like nothing is changing in today's world, it's difficult to believe that everything will remain the same if a socialist revolution flips everything around in a country or a group of countries. Breaking the chain of inter-imperialist contradictions and the dictatorship of monopoly groups will definitely impact the entire chain – to a lesser or greater extent. This was confirmed by the experience of the October Revolution in 1917. During the same period, revolutions broke out in Hungary, Finland, Germany, Slovakia and elsewhere, even though they were defeated. The success of the October Revolution significantly affected capitalist countries. It led to solidarity demonstrations, worker sabotage in countries that sent bourgeois armies to suppress the Revolution, a notable increase in the communist movement, and a push for the formation and strengthening of Communist Parties (CP), etc.

The impact on Europe of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917



This confirms that the socialist revolution inspires the peoples of other countries, strengthens the workers' and people's struggle for a world where all can live in friendship and brotherhood. It spreads the ideals of labour solidarity and cooperation, proletarian internationalism, equality and friendship among nations, opposing the shackles of imperialist competition. The aftermath of the conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie, where one group seeks dominance amidst intensifying class struggle, impacts a whole region and reverberates extensively. It helps shift the balance of power in favour of the peoples and labour movements across several countries.

Of course, this path isn't easy and requires sacrifices, based on historical experience so far. However, no matter the sacrifices needed to overcome the obstacles set by the imperialist world, it will be for the people's own benefit and for their own power. Unlike the current period, where sacrifices of our rights and standard of living are being made, along with literal sacrifices in imperialist wars, all in favour of monopoly groups' interests. Therefore, workers' power will have to show determination and ensure the participation of the entire people in every battle in order to overcome obstacles.

In this great endeavour of the working class to eliminate exploitation and wars by constructing a socialist-communist society, the communists have been and will continue to be at the forefront. Communists lead in all aspects of economic and social life during socialist construction, regardless of the conditions of class struggle. The Communist Party (CP) is the "leavening agent" of the new society, enabling it to overcome any challenges that may arise during this difficult journey. To address any issues that arise during socialist construction revolutionary and promptly, anticipate the changing conditions of the class struggle and creatively develop the Marxist-Leninist worldview. To effectively prevent any attempts by the class enemy to undermine socialism and divide the international workers' revolutionary movement.

Today, there is an even greater chance to go all the way compared to the chances of the workers in Russia in 1917, who broke the ice and showed the way towards the new society. We have a valuable legacy: the experience of the 20th century. The conclusions drawn from the communist movement and the KKE's history are not limited

to the revolutionaries of the past, and their assimilation is not just about personal experiences but requires a collective effort from the vanguard.

The KKE, with a sense of responsibility, continues to study the experience of socialism in the 20th century and the revolutionary struggle of the previous century. The conclusions drawn from this study are integrated into the contemporary Programme and elaborations of the KKE, developing our theoretical and political tools for today's battles. By studying this important experience along with modern life and action, we aspire to create a world 'worthy of our dreams, worthy of the people' (Nikos Beloyannis). A world where people from all around the globe come together in friendship and collaboration, creating a fertile environment for the growth of the new members of our society. A world where imperialist conflicts and wars become mere subjects of folklore.

Once more they're saying a great age will dawn
(Anna, don't cry)
We've still something to pawn.

Glory's back in the air
(Anna, don't cry)
I've looked in the larder;
there's nothing there.

They say there'll be victories yet
(Anna, don't cry)
Here's one they're not
going to get.

We've launched the attack
(Anna, don't cry)
If I do come back
It's other colours
I'll be coming under.

Bertolt Brecht,
German Song





- ▶ V. I. Lenin. *For socialist construction*, collection of texts. Publications: Synchroni Epochi.
- ▶ *The Programme of the KKE*
 - ▶ Socialism as the first, lowest phase of communism
 - ▶ The satisfaction of social needs
 - ▶ The struggle of the new against the old. The necessity of the conscious and planned eradication of the elements of immaturity
 - ▶ Fundamental principles of the formation of socialist power
 - ▶ The organisation of the new power is a matter for the working class as a whole. The participation of other social forces
 - ▶ Certain guidelines for the formation of the organs of power
 - ▶ The relationship of the KKE with the working class power
- ▶ *18th Congress of the KKE, Resolution on Socialism. Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20th century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism*. Publications: Synchroni Epochi.
- ▶ *Ideological Committee of the CC of the KKE, Socialism, the answer for the 21st century*. Publications: Synchroni Epochi.
- ▶ Central Council of KNE, *Truths and Lies about Socialism*. Publications: Synchroni Epochi.
 - ▶ Issue 1. On the socialist economy
 - ▶ Issue 2. On socialist power
 - ▶ Issue 3. On the falsification of history

Based on the
cover of 'Odigitis',
October 2021,
issue 1091



ΟΧΙ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΜΠΕΡΙΑΛΙΣΤΩΝ
ΖΗΤΩ Η ΕΝΩΜΕΝΗ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΤΟ ΚΚΕ

Chapter 5:

Alongside the KKE, we are writing the end of the era of wars

Many times we wonder if anything can change today, if the attitude we maintain and the choices we make every day have an impact on making things better. We know that the interests of powerful imperialists determine a war, that war is a natural phenomenon for the capitalist system of exploitation. So, how can we act today against imperialist war? Much more, what is the significance of our action today, for a victorious way out of imperialist war?

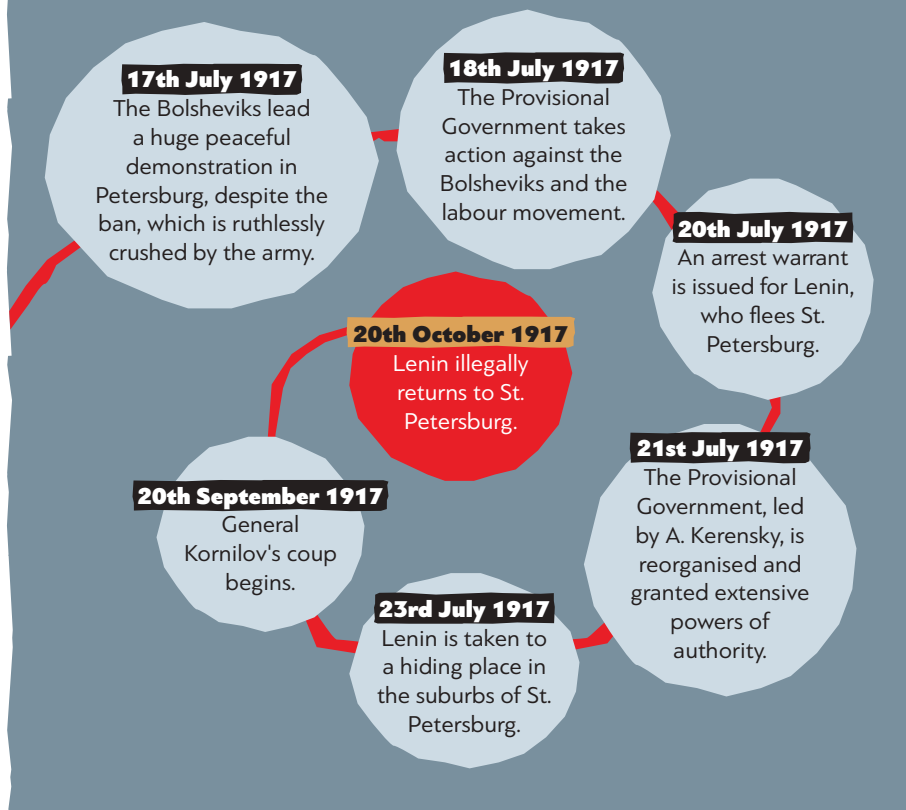
How can we free ourselves from the world of imperialist wars?

History has already given us the answer. The previous chapter highlighted how the working class and people of Russia, guided by the Bolsheviks, ended World War I in their favour by overthrowing bourgeois power, paving the way for the construction of the socialist society with the October Revolution of 1917.

But, what does this mean? What exactly does it mean that the working class, the people and the youth have the power to overthrow capitalism, in other words, to transform today's rotten exploitative society in a revolutionary manner?

One can easily imagine that the bourgeoisie, the owners of monopolies, will not willingly give up their power and the ownership over the means of production. The abolition of exploitation and the transition to a society – socialism and communism – where no one

The Bolsheviks were subjected to the fierce repression by both the tsarist government and later bourgeois governments in all the years before the October Revolution.



can profit off the labour of the workers won't be tolerated by today's exploiting class, which has amassed fortunes from the work of billions of workers.

The bourgeoisie, however shaken its power may be, will never voluntarily hand it over to the working class and the popular strata. It will use all available methods to hinder society's progress towards a socialist future. First and foremost, it will use the bourgeois state, which – as discussed in a previous chapter – will attempt through its various functions, including repression and co-optation, to uphold the ability to exploit the people, to secure the continuation of capitalism.

The chronicle of the uprising in October 1917

23rd October

The CC of the Bolsheviks meets. They decide on an armed military uprising.

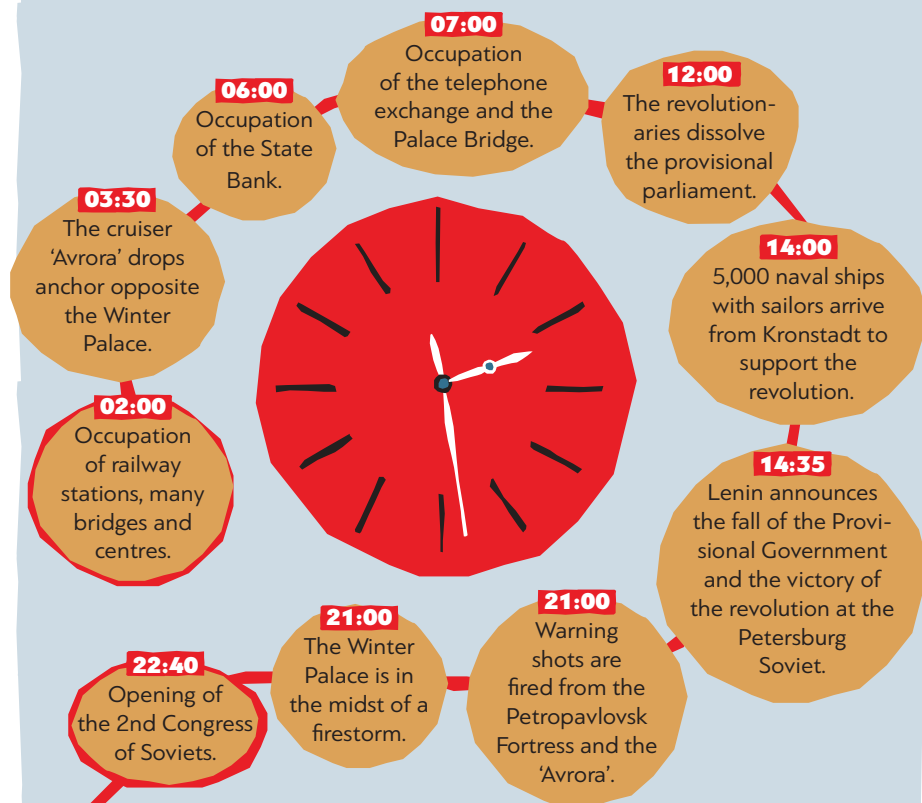
3rd November

The guard units of Petersburg decide to fully support the military revolution.

6th November

Lenin sends a letter to the CC of the Bolsheviks, raising the question of an immediate uprising, emphasizing the slogan 'Yesterday was too early, tomorrow will be too late'.

7th November



8th November

02:04

Occupation of the Winter Palace.

02:10

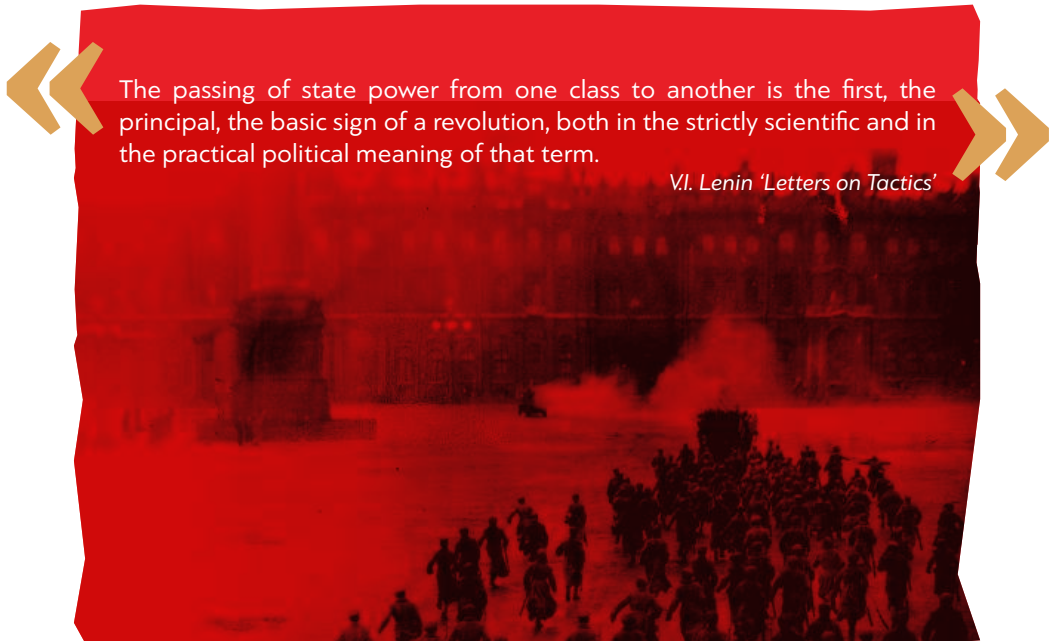
The members of the Provisional Government are arrested.

06:00

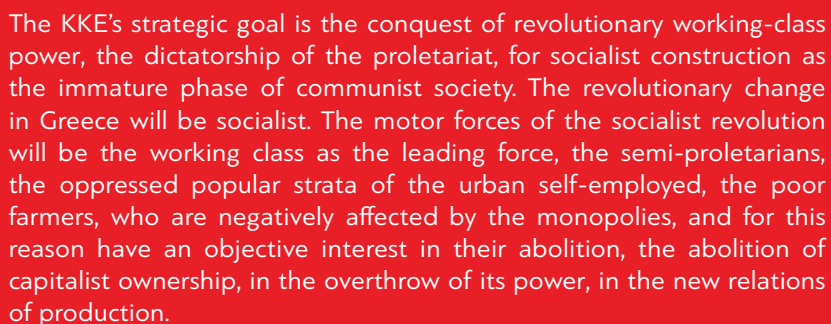
The 2nd All-Russian Congress of Soviets closes its work and seals the victory of the revolution.

Faced with such an enemy, the working class must wage a mass political struggle, and be prepared and equipped to neutralize the violence of the bourgeoisie, to impose its own power. It will be necessary to wage a multifaceted battle against all the mechanisms that the bourgeois power will use, to heighten the confrontation with bourgeois parties and politicians attempting to pacify the revolutionary fervour of the people, and to resist pressure from forces within the labour movement pushing for a retreat from the revolutionary momentum (such as, for example, the forces of opportunism).

All this effort will eventually lead to a full-scale conflict with the bourgeois state, a battle to overthrow the institutions of bourgeois power and transfer ownership of the means of production to the working class.



This is what we call a socialist revolution. In other words, it's about the planned and organised attack of the working class and its allies to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and construct the new socialist-communist society.



The KKE's strategic goal is the conquest of revolutionary working-class power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialist construction as the immature phase of communist society. The revolutionary change in Greece will be socialist. The motor forces of the socialist revolution will be the working class as the leading force, the semi-proletarians, the oppressed popular strata of the urban self-employed, the poor farmers, who are negatively affected by the monopolies, and for this reason have an objective interest in their abolition, the abolition of capitalist ownership, in the overthrow of its power, in the new relations of production.

Programme of the KKE

The revolution, as the only way to change society, is not something that first happens in the transition from capitalism to socialism. It exists throughout the evolution of human society, whenever it has made a great leap forward. This is how the bourgeoisie took power by overthrowing the feudalists, as seen in the French Revolution of 1789. However, the first revolutionary change that abolishes the exploitation of man by man is socialist revolution.



Socialist revolution is not restricted only to the conquest of power and the formation of the economic base for socialist development, but is extended over the entire course of socialism; it includes the development of socialism in order to approach the higher communist phase.

Subsequently, the new relations will be extended and deepened, communist relations and the new type of man will develop to a higher level that guarantees the irreversible prevalence of communism, provided that capitalist relations have been abolished on a global scale or at least in the developed and influential countries in the imperialist system. The socialist course contains the possibility of a reversal and a retreat backwards to capitalism, as the experience from the counterrevolutionary overthrow in the USSR and the other socialist countries showed. Retreat is in any case a temporary phenomenon in history. The transition from an inferior mode of production to a higher one is not a straightforward ascending process. This is also shown by the very history of the prevalence of capitalism.

Programme of the KKE

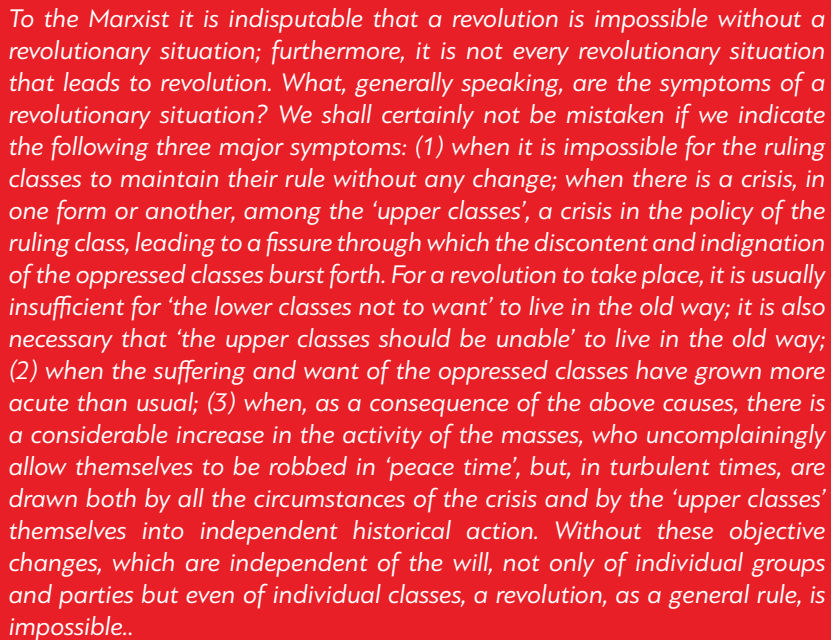
However, overthrowing bourgeois power, as the first act of the revolution, doesn't mark the end of the old society. The development and domination of the communist relations of production is a long-term process that spans the entire duration of socialist construction, which is, precisely for that, a period of social revolution.

The guiding force, in this effort of the working class to overthrow capitalism, will be the Communist Party (CP). This is actually the goal proclaimed by the KKE in its Programme, the goal for which KNE struggles: the struggle to overthrow the exploitative capitalist society, the struggle for the construction of socialism-communism.

When could people rebel?

The short answer to this question is when they decide to. However, in our everyday action, as young communists and militants, we constantly encounter obstacles from our opponents. We're encountering their organised activity, repression, the dominance of the bourgeois ideology, and exploitation. We're seeing the young people's consciousness restricted by the standards set by the dominant class, the influence of the bourgeois political parties. Therefore, many young militants see the bourgeois state, its mechanisms, the imperialist alliances of NATO and the EU as invincible. When is the time to overthrow the bourgeois power, to start this new society with the socialist revolution?

The contradictions of the society we live in can lead to its destabilisation for a certain period of time, to the so-called revolutionary situation. When imperialist wars break out, it means that the contradictions and the competition are intensified to such a degree that they cannot be resolved in a 'peaceful' manner. In this case, developments have their own dynamics; they don't follow the imperialists' plans to the letter, no matter how powerful the imperialists are. Historical evidence suggests that military engagement can lead to divisions within the camp of the bourgeoisie and contradictions in the opponent's camp may intensify. Of course, this doesn't happen automatically, nor is it

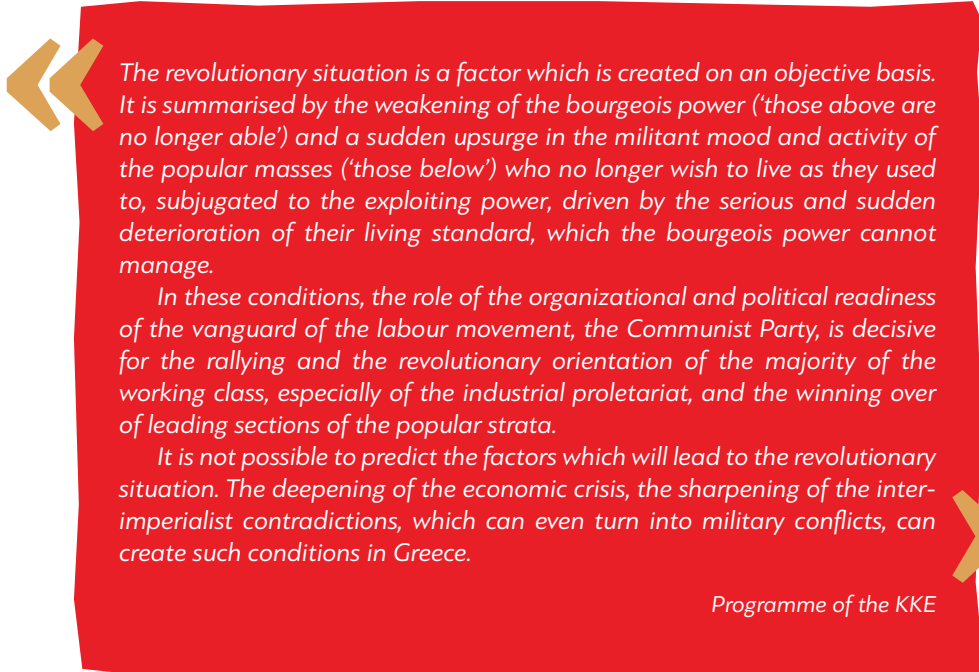


To the Marxist it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution. What, generally speaking, are the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly not be mistaken if we indicate the following three major symptoms: (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the 'upper classes', a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in 'peace time', but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the 'upper classes' themselves into independent historical action. Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible..

VI. Lenin 'The collapse of the Second International'

guaranteed. The revolutionary situation can arise during the course of a war, and not necessarily in all countries. For example, during World War I, a revolutionary situation emerged in Russia in 1917 and in Germany in 1918, but not at all in Great Britain. Generally speaking, imperialist wars can provoke shocks in the imperialist camp, and this makes the conditions for a revolutionary situation likely to appear.

When a revolutionary situation arises, it creates an opportunity for the working class, along with its alliances, under the leadership of the Communist Party (CP), to overthrow the power of the capital. The comprehensive political and ideological preparation of the revolutionary vanguard is a crucial factor in fulfilling this duty, fighting in this direction, keeping a steady course, no matter the developments.



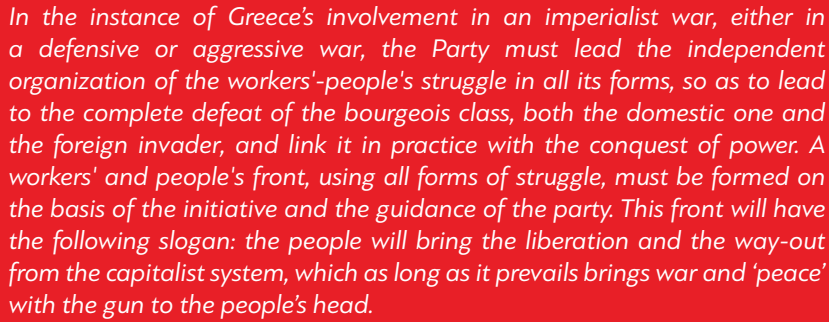
The revolutionary situation is a factor which is created on an objective basis. It is summarised by the weakening of the bourgeois power ('those above are no longer able') and a sudden upsurge in the militant mood and activity of the popular masses ('those below') who no longer wish to live as they used to, subjugated to the exploiting power, driven by the serious and sudden deterioration of their living standard, which the bourgeois power cannot manage.

In these conditions, the role of the organizational and political readiness of the vanguard of the labour movement, the Communist Party, is decisive for the rallying and the revolutionary orientation of the majority of the working class, especially of the industrial proletariat, and the winning over of leading sections of the popular strata.

It is not possible to predict the factors which will lead to the revolutionary situation. The deepening of the economic crisis, the sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradictions, which can even turn into military conflicts, can create such conditions in Greece.

Programme of the KKE

In case of a military engagement, the choices of the Greek bourgeoisie are guided by its profitability and safeguarding of its interests. Equally, the stance of the working class should be defined by its own interests and needs. Under such conditions, the working class faces a pressing dilemma: should they sacrifice themselves for the profits of the capitalists, or should they confront them until the very end, aiming to abolish a world marked by poverty, violence, and mass displacement? The working class can choose the second option and struggle for the construction of the socialist society, to hang its own banner high. The banner of socialism-communism, the society where the working class will take the leading role and eliminate the root causes of wars. The socialist revolution can be a way out in favour of the working class.



In the instance of Greece's involvement in an imperialist war, either in a defensive or aggressive war, the Party must lead the independent organization of the workers'-people's struggle in all its forms, so as to lead to the complete defeat of the bourgeois class, both the domestic one and the foreign invader, and link it in practice with the conquest of power. A workers' and people's front, using all forms of struggle, must be formed on the basis of the initiative and the guidance of the party. This front will have the following slogan: the people will bring the liberation and the way-out from the capitalist system, which as long as it prevails brings war and 'peace' with the gun to the people's head.

Programme of the KKE

It's difficult for us to picture the revolutionary situation, to imagine how this could happen. This is something natural, as we haven't had such an experience in Greece in recent decades. However, many of us tend to believe that everything we experience today will remain unchanged indefinitely; the governments, the bourgeois state, the repression mechanisms, the imperialist alliances will always be intact and unbeatable.

When young people discuss the potential of changing the current situation and challenging the power of the bourgeois power, they often believe that these changes are no longer possible. It's often said that revolutions cannot break out, or even if they do, they're destined to fail because of the influence of the opponent's intervention. For that reason, it's crucial for the youth to elaborate on the conditions of the revolution, in order to tackle the opponent's intervention and prevent the creation of false illusions.

Furthermore, it's a key element that guides the actions and thinking of many young vanguard militants in the ranks of KNE and beyond. The political, ideological and organisational preparation for the glorious days to come shows the necessary resilience that all young people who don't conform to bourgeois policies should have; it shows how they can excel in the struggle for the socialist revolution. The discussion about how the world can change addresses various concerns, such as the debate over the KKE's stance on participating in bourgeois governments labelled as 'left-wing' or 'progressive', etc.

The people can, therefore, rebel when favourable conditions for the overthrow of bourgeois power arise. During the revolutionary situation, they can leverage the destabilisation and contradictions within bourgeois power to take the first steps towards the new, socialist society. But what do we do until then? Should we just wait for things to change by themselves? Isn't there anything we can do against imperialist war in the current conditions, during which there is no revolutionary situation?

What can we do against imperialist war today?

Our struggle against imperialist war starts right where the roots of the conflicts that trigger it lie: during imperialist 'peace'. The continuous attacks we face in our daily lives are the breeding ground for their new conflicts.

Every day, we and our families struggle so that we can get an education, complete our studies, and work. Each time we come across an obstacle or crisis, every time we are faced with high prices, many of us think that 'this, too, will pass.' Every year, thousands of families in our country struggle to defend their lives and properties against poverty. Sometimes we have to fight —as only the people can fight— against wildfires, floods and snowstorms threatening even our very lives. And when this, too, passes, we are faced with the constant threat of unemployment, worrying whether our salaries will be enough to make ends meet. Meanwhile, our phones keep ringing about overdue bills, and banks hover over the house we grew up in like vultures. In the news, we keep hearing about the Turkish government's provocations, the possibility of a war breaking out, the violation of the Greek air and maritime space, and weapon systems. That's what their peace and normality are like, and this will never pass unless we leave it behind.

All the above-mentioned examples and many more which we have more or less experienced in our lives are like a gun held to our heads. We can't afford to wait and see what will happen. Now is the time

we have to strengthen the struggle against all those responsible for imperialist wars today, against all those who, even in peacetime, attack our rights and shatter our lives. **That's why today is the time to strengthen the militant struggle against the strategic choices of the capital and the bourgeois governments at the side of the KKE and KNE.**

Our actions today, our stand against bourgeois power, the discussion about the causes of, and solution to imperialist wars, and the fight against imperialist alliances are not negligible things at all. They play a crucial role in shaping the conditions of the struggle, they impact the broader conditions of the working class's struggle, the level of organisation and the degree of class awareness of the true enemy and how to overthrow them.

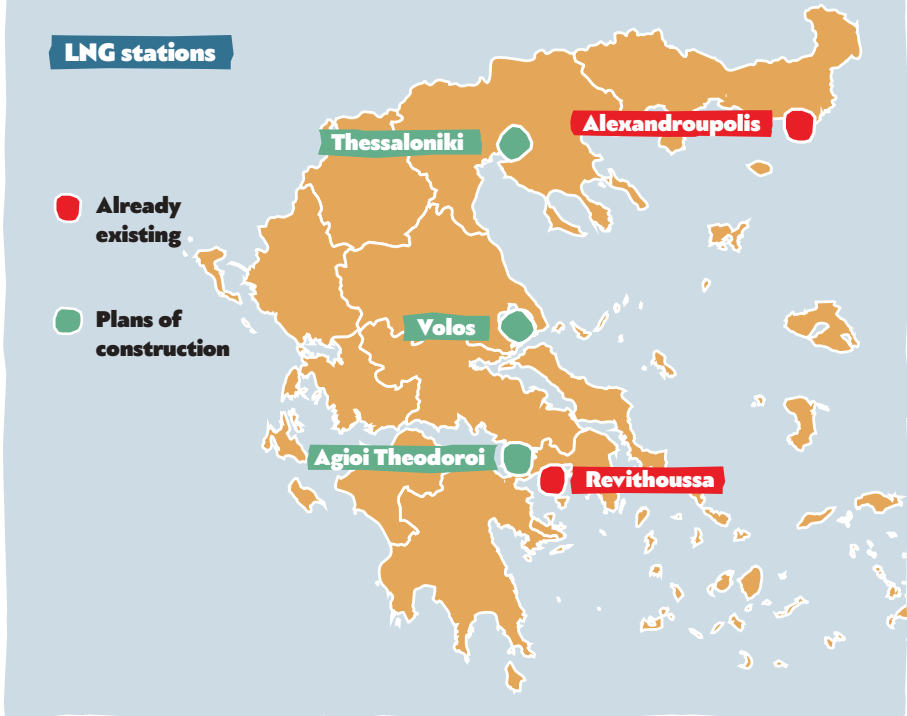
Every strategic choice of the bourgeoisie, every 'national goal' set by the bourgeois governments should be a red flag for the youth. This is because each major goal of bourgeois policies is just another step towards intensifying competition among monopoly groups and bourgeois states. It's just another tangle in the web of inter-imperialist competition. Eventually, it's just another step towards the threat of war. All governments implement the strategic choices of Greek capital in different ways. Each new government picks up the torch from the previous one and follows the same path.

For example, one such goal is a 'geostrategic upgrade', which also includes transforming our country into an energy hub. This goal is reflected in a number of investment projects by domestic and foreign monopolies for new energy production facilities. It requires investments in renewable energy sources, transportation and distribution networks, LNG and other fuel storage facilities, natural gas pipelines and energy transmission cables that will run through the country. However, to achieve all this, they go through fire and water of imperialist rivalries.

For this reason, the country's sovereign rights, even its own sovereignty, are negotiated based on the profitability of the Greek bourgeoisie. Capital exploits energy resources, mineral wealth and the bargaining of sovereign rights to maximise its profitability. It negotiates them to advance joint exploitation with other monopolies. In order to secure the position of Greek capital in

'The relationship between the US and Greece in the energy sector, and our collaboration to enhance energy security in the region, is more crucial today than ever. Greece is poised to emerge as a key energy hub in the region, diminishing Russia's influence in this critical sector.'

George Tsunis, United States Ambassador to Greece, June 2022



the imperialist alliances of NATO and the EU, the capitalists don't hesitate to negotiate even the borders of the country. Over time, capitalists have been known to either negotiate the sovereign rights of a country for their benefit or assert control over new territories and markets, or even seek to redefine state borders, all depending on their interests at the time.

In order to achieve their goals, they're actively involved in the plans that NATO and the EU have. They're against the safety of our lives, of our people. Every NATO military base in our country is also a potential target of competing imperialist alliances and states. Every NATO base increases the risk of our people falling victim to their

The Greek government, in its efforts to enhance the country's position as a geostrategic hub by sending military equipment to Ukraine, is not only making the country a target for retaliation, but is also weakening its defence capability. On this basis, the decision to send armoured vehicles to Ukraine, with Germany swapping them for other similarly aged vehicles from its reserves, as Turkey calls for the demilitarisation of the Greek islands and escalates its aggressiveness, has sparked major concerns. The specific armoured vehicles are primarily for the defence of the Greek islands and it has not been clarified what will happen during the idle time between their delivery and the arrival of the German ones. In addition, any system entering the arsenal requires time for the operators to learn how to use it, with all the consequences this may have for the country's ability to defend itself in time.



rivalries; victim of a war that has nothing to do with defending the country's sovereign rights. This is why we need to strengthen today the fight against NATO's decisions, the concentration of troops in our region, the country's participation in imperialist plans, and the presence and operation of NATO bases.

It's noteworthy that despite multiple warnings from Russian government officials in the spring of 2022 that Alexandroupolis was a target for their missiles, reports indicate that the Russians carried out simulated strikes on the city using strategic bombers launched from Syria, a matter that the government has neither commented on nor denied.

They make us complicit in the massacre of entire peoples. Every NATO military base in our country is a target of the rival camps precisely because it's already being used in imperialist interventions in the wider region. Until 2022, the NATO infrastructures in Greece were already used for the interventions in Yugoslavia, Syria, Libya, Ukraine, etc. In fact, in areas like Alexandroupolis, Volos, Chania, and other locations with NATO bases, bourgeois parties and their representatives are trying to convince the local people that these bases are essential for their prosperity. Self-employed and workers in restaurants and cafés, tourism, shipbuilding and research, often think that the presence of military bases at least provides them with some income.

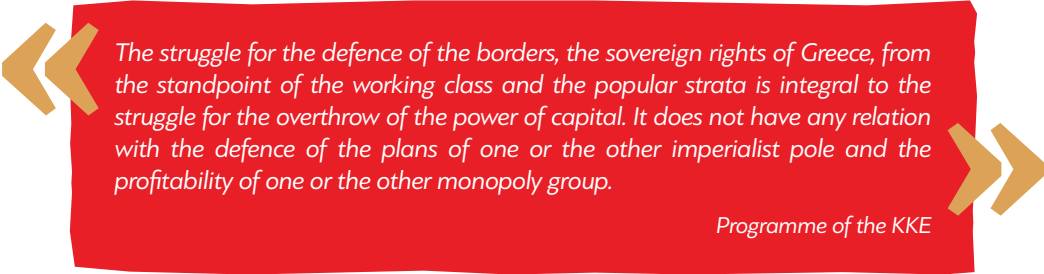
In the 21st century, it's a shame and a disgrace that the people are forced to choose between unemployment and poverty, or involvement in the atrocities of war. No amount of money can wash the blood-stained hands of the imperialists! Our people cannot become complicit in murderous military operations. Especially we, the young people, must stand firm against the idea of our cities being synonymous with bombings, warships, and death, rather than being recognized for their solidarity with other peoples and refugees. In the 21st century, while the working class produces endless wealth, we refuse to accept that our daily wages should depend on imperialist plans in our region. On the contrary, the

From the very beginning, the KKE condemned the Russian invasion of Ukraine and expressed its solidarity with the Ukrainian people. It has been at the forefront of the struggle for our country's disengagement from the NATO-US-EU planning in the broader region.



struggle against these plans is the precondition of becoming the masters of the wealth we produce.

The conflict with NATO, the EU and their multifaceted intervention (military bases, educational programmes, legislation, research programmes, productions in culture and sports, etc.) is inevitable to build the new society. Participating in NATO and the EU is a ball and chain for the working class to build its own society and seize power. Only the KKE promotes the disengagement from these unions, for the benefit of the people and not for the benefit of the capital or for a new commitment to another imperialist alliance. Therefore, only the actions of the people on the path to overthrow can truly break away from NATO and the EU and from the imperialist constraints of any alliance in general. This is the real meaning of our current struggle against NATO and the EU.



The struggle for the defence of the borders, the sovereign rights of Greece, from the standpoint of the working class and the popular strata is integral to the struggle for the overthrow of the power of capital. It does not have any relation with the defence of the plans of one or the other imperialist pole and the profitability of one or the other monopoly group.

Programme of the KKE

In our days, every fight we wage for our needs and rights is a blow to their plans. Our demands, which mirror the contemporary needs of the youth, the struggles of school and university students, and young workers are a blow to the narrative of the ‘shared interest’ between the bourgeoisie and the working class. They show that we not only lack common ground with our exploiters but also that our interests conflict with theirs. The steps we take now will determine the stance our people will adopt in a possible war, deciding if they will accept their bloodshed to back the interests of the Greek bourgeoisie.

Helping people and the youth to break free from their influence, helping to develop more consciousness to reject and stop supporting

the decisions of the bourgeoisie are a gain and, at the same time, a blow to the exploiters. That is why the ideological and political conflict with the blackmailing dilemmas of the bourgeoisie is a great asset in our struggle. Just think how much more powerful our counter-attack will be as more workers and youth stop seeing capitalism as a one-way street, and realise that they have the power to overthrow it and construct a new socialist society; as more are convinced that the ideas of racism, nationalism, cosmopolitanism have nothing to do with the youth and the workers and are only used against them. Confronting the opponent's organised efforts to influence young people to align with their goals, especially within the places they work and study, is a great asset. In other words, the rise in political confrontation with institutions, organisations, and political parties leads to more young people overcoming the challenges posed by the opponent and actively engaging in daily struggles.

Every step forward in organising the struggle shows us how to trust and use our own power against the state and bourgeois mechanisms. Every time we've organised our struggle, we've learnt a valuable lesson: the only way to fight for our demands and rights today is to rely on our own strength; to unite our voices and our struggle with every worker, every young man and woman who experiences the same problems as we do. We've learnt not to trust any bourgeois government. We cannot expect our problems to be solved by those who create them, nor can we expect them to save us from a war into which they have led us.

After all, our action today is what lays the foundation for the victorious outcome of the revolutionary struggle. It's what prepares the young communists, and forms the consciousness of thousands of young people in Greece who are fighting for their needs, learning and discussing with members and cadres of the KKE and KNE. It establishes a criterion of 'who can be trusted' in both peace and war. Today's actions will determine the revolutionary conditions, their extent, and impact, shaping the mood of the people and influencing the successful outcome of the socialist revolution.

The revolutionary work of the Bolsheviks both before and during World War I, led to the victorious October Revolution of 1917. They faced unprecedented persecution from the tsarist authorities. More than 30 arrests were made of Petersburg guiding committee cadres, while the Moscow organisation suffered constant blows. In the first week of World War I, however, more than 40 Bolshevik organisations issued a proclamation broadly opposed to the war. The Petersburg Committee alone printed 40 proclamations, which were distributed in more than 300,000 copies.

The Bolsheviks operated within illegal trade unions, in cultural and educational associations that had not yet been shut down by the police, using all possible methods to reach the masses of workers.

Within the army, special proclamations were made for the soldiers, while members of the Bolsheviks discussed the importance of opposing tsarism and called for unity at the front. Party organisations were formed in many units. In the Baltic Fleet, for example, every large ship had a party group linked to the 'General Committee of the Military Organisation of Kronstadt', which was affiliated with the Bolshevik Military Committee in Moscow. Revolutionary work in the army allowed the Bolsheviks to win over sections of the army to the cause of the revolution under conditions of continuing war and growing discontent among the soldiers.

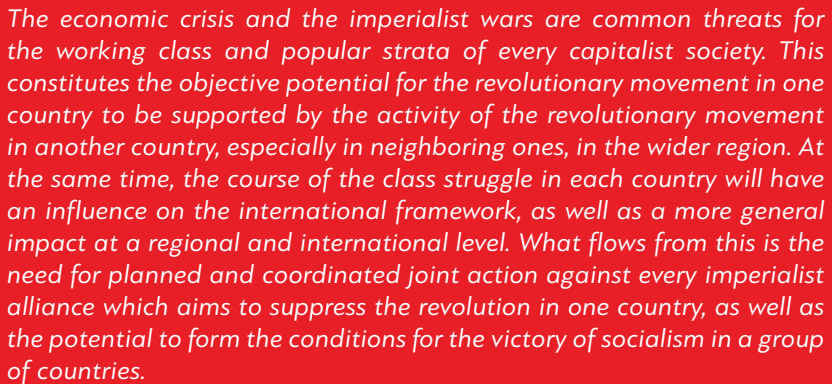
The ideological and political readiness of the Bolshevik Party, its bonds with the working class masses, the suitable combination of the forms of struggle according to the prevailing conditions, and its strong commitment to the goal of the revolutionary overthrow were developed through its revolutionary action in all the years leading up to 1917.



Speech of Felix Dzerzhinsky, cadre of the Bolsheviks' Party in a rally at the front.

Are we alone in this fight?

We, the members and friends of KNE, are not alone in our struggle today. There are thousands of young people all around the world with whom we fight for the same cause, with the same goals and the same vision. The peoples all over the world have the same interests as us. Armed with solidarity, we must coordinate our actions to become stronger and stronger against our common enemy. The Communist Parties (CPs) and the Communist Youth Organisations (CYOs), fighting for the working class to seize power, are the leading force in this struggle.



The economic crisis and the imperialist wars are common threats for the working class and popular strata of every capitalist society. This constitutes the objective potential for the revolutionary movement in one country to be supported by the activity of the revolutionary movement in another country, especially in neighboring ones, in the wider region. At the same time, the course of the class struggle in each country will have an influence on the international framework, as well as a more general impact at a regional and international level. What flows from this is the need for planned and coordinated joint action against every imperialist alliance which aims to suppress the revolution in one country, as well as the potential to form the conditions for the victory of socialism in a group of countries.

Programme of the KKE

The action of KNE today, alongside the KKE, in the International Communist Movement, stems from this need. The aim of our organisation is, therefore, to contribute to the strengthening of more CYOs all over the world, to contribute, alongside the Party, to the efforts for the regroupment of the communist movement, which suffered a huge setback after the overthrow of socialism in 1991. KNE struggles to strengthen and expand its bilateral relations with other CYOs in order to develop forms of coordination and international activity against imperialist wars, imperialist alliances and military bases.

In 2022, the 31st Anti-imperialist Camp of KNE in Nies Magnesia was an important step in this direction! More than 7 delegations of Communist Youth Organisations from Europe and Turkey participated and welcomed the event, sending a message of hope and optimism that the peoples can emerge victorious in their struggle for socialism. In the central speech, delegations from the CP of Turkey, the CP of Mexico and the CP of Workers of Spain gave a welcome speech alongside the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the KKE.



The relations and bonds that the KKE and KNE are developing today with other Communist Parties and their Youth Organisations worldwide are a shining example of how people can live together safely and peacefully, cooperating and building a beautiful and just world without wars, competition, insecurity and fear.

That is why the close comradely relationship that our Organisation has developed with the Youth Organisation of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) is particularly important in today's struggle. This relationship shows that there is nothing that divides the peoples of Turkey and Greece, unlike the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisies. It gives us an idea of what could happen if the two peoples were to construct socialism and transform the wealth of the region from the plunder of the monopolies and the basis for sharpening competition into the basis for developing the well-being of the many.

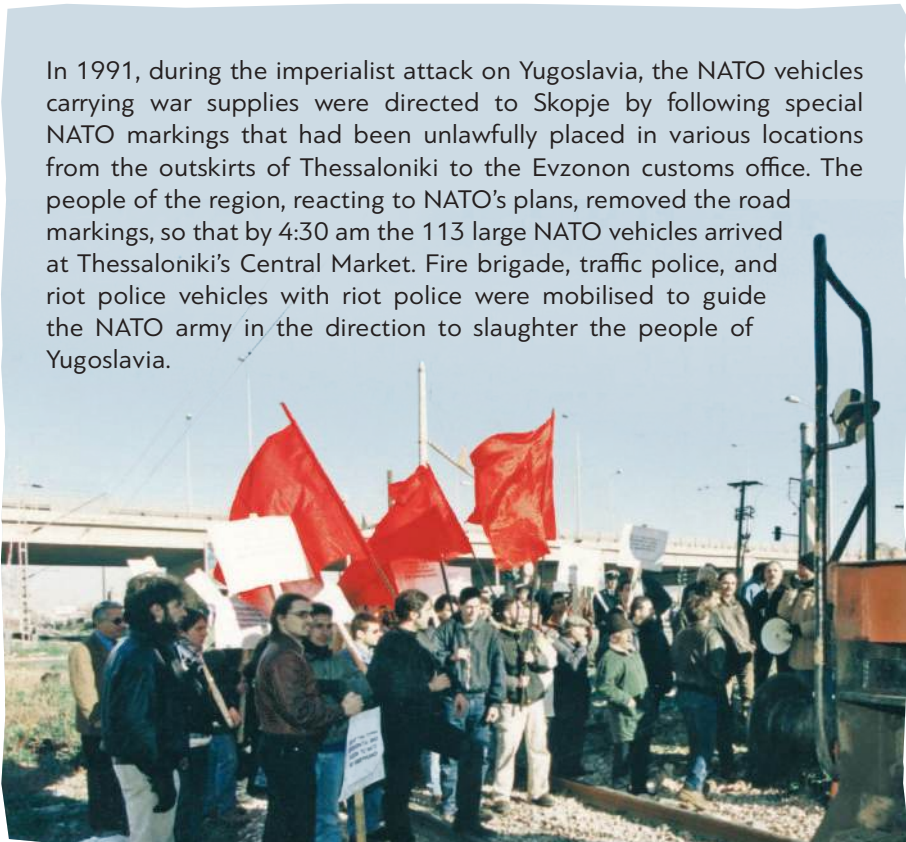
But in order to reach this goal, our struggle will go through hell and high water, through various conditions, which, as we already know from our experience, are constantly changing and creating unprecedented situations. We can only overcome them by joining the organisation and following the policy of the KKE, making use of its more than one hundred years old experience.

Victory in our century alongside the KKE

The power of one can become the power of the many fighting to overthrow this rotten, exploitative system. The rivulets of the fighting youth can become a torrent that will sweep away the old and outdated capitalist system. And this can be done together with the KKE and KNE.

KNE is the revolutionary organisation of like-minded young people, whose struggle today is a beacon for the future. They are the youth of the Party of the working class, the Communist Party of Greece. We are at the forefront of the struggle for any issue, big or small, for a life without wars and exploitation, equipped with the revolutionary strategy of the KKE

In 1991, during the imperialist attack on Yugoslavia, the NATO vehicles carrying war supplies were directed to Skopje by following special NATO markings that had been unlawfully placed in various locations from the outskirts of Thessaloniki to the Evzonon customs office. The people of the region, reacting to NATO's plans, removed the road markings, so that by 4:30 am the 113 large NATO vehicles arrived at Thessaloniki's Central Market. Fire brigade, traffic police, and riot police vehicles with riot police were mobilised to guide the NATO army in the direction to slaughter the people of Yugoslavia.



With a sense of responsibility and selflessness, we join forces with other young people in the struggle against the root causes of our problems, the system that is destroying our lives and dreams, aiming to construct a new society – socialism and communism.

Every young man and woman today who is indignant about what is happening, who wants to react against the imperialist war, who sees that their dreams don't fit into the narrow limits of this outdated system and who resents injustice and exploitation, has a place in the ranks of KNE. The decision of every young man and woman today to struggle within the ranks of KNE should be regarded as a victory over the system that tries to manipulate them. It's a failure of the system itself to win over their consciousness. It's a failure of the bourgeoisie to lead them down the path of compromise and individualism.

With every new member joining KNE, our power multiplies; our voice is heard louder and further. There are more and more of us who struggle every day against war, injustice and exploitation. In this way, the efforts of each one of us are united with the efforts of our comrades all over Greece and the world on the road of struggle.

Today, the more than one hundred years of experience of our Party fills us with optimism in our struggle, paves the way and heralds the prospect for change. Under any conditions, the KKE and KNE have been, are and always will be on the side of the working class and its children, at the forefront of the struggle.

The young KKE (then called SEKE) was the only party that opposed the imperialist Asia Minor campaign that led to the Asia Minor Catastrophe. Amidst the frenzy of the 'Megali Idea' (Great Idea), it led the struggle to expose the ambitions of the Greek bourgeoisie and the imperialist forces linked to the Asia Minor campaign.



From the first moments of its founding, with the outbreak of World War I, the KKE was at the forefront of exposing the imperialist character of the war and developed anti-war activity in Greece and Asia Minor. It fought against the discord and nationalism that the bourgeoisie tried to foster against the refugees, seeing them as class brothers and sisters of the Greek working class.

The KKE was there in the 1940s, organising the heroic resistance of the people against the triple occupation of the country by the Axis powers. After the occupation, it was there leading the three-year epic struggle (1946-1949) of the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE), against the Greek bourgeoisie and its allies. During the junta, the KKE and, by its side, KNE were again there, the soul of the anti-dictatorship struggle. Even in the period of counter-revolution, when the international revolutionary movement suffered a great, temporary defeat, it held high the banner of the struggle for social liberation. In 1999, the KKE came forward and revealed the imperialist nature of the criminal NATO-US-EU attack against Yugoslavia. It organised anti-imperialist rallies throughout Greece and exposed the stance of all bourgeois parties and the then PASOK government, which aimed to transform Greece into a transportation hub for NATO troops and military equipment to the Balkans.

The forces of the KKE and KNE had no fear then, and we have no fear now to clash with the bourgeoisie, its representatives and its bodies.

Today, under conditions of sharpening inter-imperialist rivalries, when the imperialist war is bearing its teeth, the KKE and KNE are the only forces that a young person can trust. We have experience in organising the struggle against imperialist war and we have proved it so many times. Even with the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in 2022, the KKE and KNE had the clearest stance, defending the interests of the people. We fought against the logic of having to choose between thieves. We have showed that every imperialist war is equally unjust for the peoples of all countries, regardless of which bourgeoisie launches it.

The KKE is a safe haven for all those looking for hope in the face of the frustration cultivated by the system. Because if we look at today, every time the people fought and won something, the KKE was there. Every time we were moved, we smiled and felt

uplifted, the KKE and KNE were there again, in the fight for ‘the great, the beautiful and utterly amazing’ of our time – socialism and communism!



- ▶ V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ V.I. Lenin, *From the Militant Experience of the Bolsheviks*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
 - ▶ The Programme of the KKE
 - ▶ The duties of the KKE for the socialist revolution
 - ▶ More specifically on the revolutionary situation
 - ▶ More specifically on the revolutionary workers' and people's front
 - ▶ The leading role of the Party in the revolution
- ▶ *Resolutions of the 21st Congress of the KKE*
- ▶ *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi* [Communist Review], issue 3/2022, The issue includes in-depth articles on imperialist war and its relation to the revolutionary situation through iconic historical examples.
- ▶ Materials of the two-day conference of the CC of the KKE, *The emergence of the working class, its role in the social and political struggles of the 20th century and the strategy of the KKE*, Publications: Synchroni Epochi
- ▶ *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi* [Communist Review], issue 4-5/2020, *On the link between the daily struggle and the struggle for workers' power*, by Aleka Pappariga, member of the CC of the KKE
- ▶ *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi* [Communist Review], issue 6/2006, *On the development of revolutionary consciousness under non-revolutionary conditions*, by Eleni Mpellou, member of the PB of the CC of the KKE

IDEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE OF THE CC
OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH OF GREECE (KNE)

TRUTHS & LIES
ABOUT CAPITALISM

1. On Imperialist War

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Typographical correction-Layout: 'Odigitis'
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In recent years, we have seen wars breaking out in various parts of the world. Each one under its own pretext, involving different governments. At the same time, we see various negotiations, rivalries, the establishment of new agreements and the abolition of old ones. What do all these things have in common? What can we do to make the threat of war disappear for ever?

Through these and many other reflections, the publication highlights key issues for analyzing the root cause of contemporary developments related to the manifestation of war through the revolutionary "gaze". Therefore, it is addressed to all those who today are concerned about whether there is a way out of the world of wars, who are alarmed by the dangerous international developments. It is addressed, in particular, to young people who cannot come to terms with the unjust world we live in and want to change it.