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**CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF  
THE WORLDWIDE MILITARY STRATEGY  
OF U.S. IMPERIALISM**

*by Ray O. Light*

**With an AFTERWORD**

**by Armando Liwanag**  
*Chairman, Central Committee*  
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## CONTENTS

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<b>CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE WORLDWIDE MILITARY STRATEGY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM .....</b>	<b>3</b>
by Ray O. Light	
<b>AFTERWORD .....</b>	<b>28</b>
by Armando Liwanag Chairman, Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines	

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wards Baghdad and areas teeming with the Iraqi people and the home guards.

Neither did the US and NATO dare move their troops into Kosovo before the Yugoslav state capitulated. They would rather manipulate political forces in Yugoslavia than move their troops into Serbia. However, now that they occupy Kosovo, they are vulnerable to partisan guerrilla warfare if this were to arise. It must be recalled that the US withdrew its troops from Somalia as soon as they incurred some casualties.

On a global strategic scale, the overwhelming majority of countries have been devastated by the chronic crisis of the world capitalist system. This has intensified the bitter strife among the local reactionaries and generated social and political turmoil. The objective conditions for oppressed peoples and nations to wage a protracted armed revolution are exceedingly favorable.

Some Marxist-Leninist parties are already persevering in protracted people's war and are showing the way to the oppressed peoples and nations. The wider the scale of people's wars under Marxist-Leninist leadership the more effective and lethal these are to imperialism.

The aggravation of the new world disorder in the last decade of the 20th century gives us the confidence that in the 21st century the world proletariat and oppressed nations and peoples will rise up in an unprecedented way to inflict deadly blows on US imperialism and other imperialist powers.

All basic contradictions, such as those between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples and nations, between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in imperialist countries and among the imperialists, are bound to intensify in the 21st century. These contradictions shall interact to generate favorable conditions for the rise of the subjective forces of the revolution and for the resurgence and advance of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist struggle. #

## CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE WORLDWIDE MILITARY STRATEGY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

by *RAY O. LIGHT*

Imperialism is a political-economic phenomenon in the first place, the highest and the last, dying stage of capitalism. Lenin taught that, "to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics...[we must understand]...the economic essence of imperialism."<sup>1</sup> Lenin explained further, "Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries. And this 'booty' is shared between two or three powerful marauders armed to the teeth (America, Great Britain and Japan) who involve the whole world in *their* war over the sharing of their booty."<sup>2</sup> (Lenin's emphasis) Hence, Lenin's conclusion: *Imperialism means war.*

This necessary connection between imperialist political economy and imperialist war was given vivid and dramatic testimony by the brilliant self-criticism of one of the most highly decorated soldiers in US military history, Major General Smedley Butler of the US Marine Corps. General Butler wrote in the 1930's:

*"I spent thirty-three years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force — the Marine Corps. I served in all the commissioned ranks from second lieutenant to major-general. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high class muscle-man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.*

*Thus, I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for the American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for the American fruit companies in 1903. In China*

*in 1927, I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmo-  
lested.”*

During the First World War, Lenin did not mince words in demanding that the proletarian revolutionary parties in the imperialist countries, in solidarity with the rest of the international working class, support the military defeat of “their own” imperialist countries in that war by fighting for power in their own countries. He ruthlessly exposed the open opportunists, the social-chauvinists and social pacifists, who betrayed proletarian internationalism by uniting the workers in each country with “their own” imperialist bourgeoisie in opposition to their working class brothers and sisters of other lands. Lenin focused his sharpest polemics against opportunists such as Kautsky and Plekhanov, who advocated conciliation with the open social chauvinists and social pacifists and who thus sabotaged the revolutionary cause at that very moment of world imperialist political crisis.

On the basis of Leninism, and specifically due to the Bolshevik revolutionary struggle for proletarian peace and for the defeat and overthrow of “their own” Tsarist Russia and then of “their own” bourgeois Kerensky regime during the imperialist war (World War I), the October Revolution was victorious. The new Soviet Union, through heroic efforts of its party, its proletariat, and people in the Civil War period, became a powerful revolutionary beacon almost overnight. Two Stalin-CPSU(B) led Five-Year Plans, in particular, enabled the Soviet Union to be prepared for the inevitable imperialist counter-revolutionary onslaught, after the revolutionary movements elsewhere in Europe failed to win state power in the aftermath of World War I.

The German Nazi invasion of the USSR in World War II was the most powerful military invasion in human history. Yet, the proletarian movement led by Stalin, the Communist International, the Soviet party, proletariat and peoples of the USSR, led the peoples of the world to a great victory over the fascist axis powers, the most aggressive, most chauvinistic section of international imperialism. A favorable balance of forces for the proletarian revolutionary cause

ments and, whenever direct US aggression is necessary, for the use of weapons from the sky, launched by ships and planes, in order to avoid the prior or simultaneous deployment of US ground troops in the targeted country. In launching aggression, which requires the deployment of US troops at some point, the US has always sought to reduce the risk of US casualties and predetermine the exit strategy.

The US is exceedingly afraid of occupying any foreign land long enough to incite a war of national liberation on the ground. It has also announced the limits of what it can do at every given period of time. According to its own strategy, it can wage wars of aggression against “rogue” states in only two global regions at the same time. Therefore, the effective counter to US aggressive power is to have many Vietnams.

What emerges clearly from the recognition of the characteristic features of US military strategy is that the strategic line of protracted people’s war is still the most effective way of fighting US imperialism and its puppets in most countries of the world. It is certainly counterproductive for the US aggressors to use the expensive hightech weapons to search and destroy the guerrilla and regular mobile units and makeshift shacks of the people’s army.

The US has clearly avoided the deployment of US troops or the threat thereof in an increasing number of civil wars in countries, whose raw-material exports are globally overproduced, where there is no Marxist-Leninist party leading a revolution and which are deemed as having no strategic importance. For instance, the US allows reactionary groups in Africa to engage in internecine warfare and massacres, following the economic devastation wrought by imperialism.

In dramatic cases, where US imperialism has chosen to launch aggression under various pretexts, such as “human rights”, “humanitarian mission” and “peacemaking”, the limits of US military power have also been exposed beneath the apparent success of high-tech weaponry. The US did not dare to move its troops to-

economic and financial control bilaterally and through the IMF, World Bank and WTO and by the threat to destroy or by actual destruction of fixed structures which are ever ready for targeting.

The US is more diplomatic and tactful when it deals with countries like Russia and China which possess nuclear weapons but which it can manipulate economically and financially. By way of military stalemate, a state asserting national independence and possessing nuclear weapons can hold US imperialism at bay because of the implication that nuclear weapons can inflict a far larger number of casualties in American cities than in non-nuclear battles in a ground war abroad.

But at present and for many years to come, the way to change the balance of forces between imperialism and proletarian revolution and to render least effective or ineffective superior US high-tech weaponry, is for proletarian revolutionary parties to lead the oppressed peoples and nations in carrying out protracted people's war on an ever widening and intensifying scale.

This point cannot be understood by those who limit their concept of armed revolution to a brief urban uprising or a quick military victory, after which the revolutionary victors become responsible for fixed structures in cities and become subject to imperialist economic blockade or cruise missile targeting.

It is possible that in so many backward countries Marxist-Leninist parties lead protracted people's wars, steadily building revolutionary political power in the countryside and inflicting severe damage on so many reactionary puppet states in several continents until the time comes to seize the cities in several countries under favorable domestic and international conditions. The point is to take advantage of the strategic overextension of the imperialist monster, frustrate the puppet regimes and reduce the imperialist domain.

Since after the Vietnam war, the US has increasingly opted for the use of puppet states to suppress armed revolutionary move-

emerged from this war. The liberation of Eastern Europe, and great China, half of Korea, (and ultimately all of Indochina, and of Cuba,) the political independence of most of the colonial world and the establishment of anti-imperialist bourgeois regimes in countries such as Indonesia, Ghana, and Algeria, followed.

Yet this favorable balance of forces for socialism has been reversed in the post World War II period with the treachery of *revisionism in state power*. As we have stated often in the past thirty years — “With Leninism, in spite of a generally unfavorable objective situation — victories. Without Leninism, in spite of a generally favorable objective situation — defeats!”<sup>3</sup>

In 1960, there were positive, materialist assertions made by the Eighty-one Communist Parties assembled in Moscow.\* These included: “International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that US imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.” And, “US imperialism is the main force of aggression and war.” Yet these clear and correct statements in words were largely negated by the Russian Revisionist-led class collaborationist, social pacifist, and social chauvinist words also contained in the joint statement and especially by the many revisionist deeds in relation to US imperialism at the time.

In 1963, as part of its principled exposure of this Russian Revisionist betrayal of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples, the Chinese Communist Party set forth its “A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement”, the last great effort by any significant section of the world proletarian movement to project a general line.

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\* This is in spite of the fact that the “unity” achieved in their joint statement represented compromise between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

With proletarian clarity, the Chinese comrades stated “Taking advantage of the situation after World War II, the US imperialists stepped into the shoes of the German, Italian, and Japanese fascists, and have been trying to erect a huge world empire such as has never been known before. The strategic objectives of US imperialism have been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to subject all the peoples and countries of the world, including its allies, to domination and enslavement by US monopoly capital.”

In “*A Proposal*”, the Chinese comrades drew the following conclusion: “The US imperialists have thus placed themselves in opposition to the people of the whole world and have become encircled by them. The international proletariat must and can unite all the forces that can be united, make use of the internal contradictions in the enemy camp and establish the broadest united front against the US imperialists and their lackeys.”

In 1968, we wrote: “Since the death of Stalin, the two main characteristics of the international situation have been (1) the intensification of the contradiction between the oppressed nations and US imperialism; and (2) the development of a policy in most socialist countries of betrayal of the oppressed nations based on the ascendancy of the national bourgeois class in the socialist countries.”<sup>4</sup> Tragically, this second characteristic has been allowed to run its course. This course has led to the overthrow of most regimes in the socialist camp by the national bourgeois class in collaboration with international imperialism. This is the main reason why the main enemy of the international proletariat (today just as 36 years ago) still remains - “*imperialism, headed by US imperialism.*”

As comrade Mao taught, “The problems of strategy include the following: Giving proper consideration to the relation between the enemy and ourselves...”<sup>5</sup> Mao writes further, “The method is to familiarize ourselves with all aspects of the enemy situation and

Proletarian internationalism demands recognition of where armed revolution is most feasible now and for some time to come before conditions ripen for armed revolution to arise in imperialist countries. To encourage protracted people’s wars among the oppressed nations and peoples is not to discourage preparations for armed revolution in imperialist countries.

What is excellent about Ray O. Light’s article in presenting the characteristic features of the worldwide military strategy of US imperialism is that it succeeds in exposing the basic weaknesses and vulnerabilities of such a strategy, exactly when US imperialism appears so mighty and daunting, especially to those who cannot recognize the global significance of protracted people’s war.

US imperialism is actually afflicted with fatal problems of strategic overextension in economic and military terms. It has also become exceedingly dependent on capital-intensive hightech weaponry, which increasingly binds it to a strategy of wars of quick decision and avoidance or minimization of US troop casualties.

However, it is not simply the available high-tech weaponry that dictates the strategy. US strategy planners themselves recognize from historical experience, especially from the Vietnam war, both the political and military consequences of losing so many American casualties in a protracted ground war.

The US strategists estimate that with the superior hightech weaponry of the US, it can keep its own imperialist allies in line and it can make the puppet states follow its dictates (or else be condemned as “rogue” states subject to economic blockade or bombardments) and require them to ante up the troops for suppressing local armed revolutions. Military and police officers of puppet states are trained by the US in so-called low intensity conflict strategy to maximize puppet initiative and minimize US troop deployment.

The bias of US military strategy is to use its hightech weaponry to control the puppet states. These states are kept subordinate by

China's own economic development (in fact capitalist restoration) as the justification for liquidating the armed revolution of the oppressed peoples and nations.

Now that there are no more formidable socialist states to confront and challenge imperialism, revisionists in imperialist countries dogmatize that the legal and parliamentary struggle of the proletariat in imperialist countries is the main factor in the world proletarian revolution and that the armed revolution of the oppressed peoples and nations is a secondary factor. There are also a few ultra-Left elements who believe that armed revolutions in imperialist countries can now or soon run ahead of those in the backward countries under current circumstances.

Lenin pointed out a long time ago that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution the oppressed peoples and nations, under the leadership of their own proletariat, can go ahead in making revolution while the imperialist powers can still make superprofits from abroad to bribe a labor aristocracy and even large sections of the proletariat in imperialist countries. The monopoly bourgeoisie is stronger in its own homeground than elsewhere in countering a revolutionary movement. Reformism, revisionism and fascism are among the weapons in the arsenal of the monopoly bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

So far in history, the proletariat in imperialist countries had the optimum conditions for waging armed revolution during and in the aftermath of an interimperialist war. In the absence of such war, it is more likely that the armed revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations can create the conditions for armed revolution in imperialist countries than that the proletariat in these imperialist countries can run ahead in waging armed revolution.

It was bad enough in the past that communist parties in the countries of the oppressed peoples and nations came under the debilitating influence of revisionist ruling parties. It is even worse if the communist parties in the semicolonies took their signals from revisionist parties in the imperialist countries.

our own, to discover the laws governing the actions of both sides and to make use of these laws in our own operations.”<sup>6</sup>

In light of its hegemonic position in the imperialist camp today and the expansion of the US empire to truly global dimensions, the question of US imperialist military strategy is of great importance for every revolutionary movement in the world, for all the oppressed peoples in their struggles for liberation from the imperialist yoke, and for the international proletariat in whatever national and class struggle circumstances they presently find themselves.

Clearly, for the same reason, the respective approach which each communist-led revolutionary movement takes today to US imperialist military strategy is a key ingredient in the reestablishment of a collective general line for the international communist movement.

\* \* \* \* \*

However, there are formidable obstacles to the development of a dialectical-materialist, a proletarian revolutionary approach to US imperialist military strategy.

Today, there still remain strong vestiges of the social chauvinism and social pacifism that had been so strongly manifested in the *modern revisionist* ideology of the Soviet revisionists in state power, the Krushchevites. As comrade Stalin had warned, “There can scarcely be any doubt that the pressure of the capitalist states on our state is enormous, that the people who are handling our foreign policy do not always succeed in resisting this pressure, that the danger of complications often gives rise to the temptation to take the path of least resistance, the path of nationalism.”<sup>7</sup>

These opportunists, representing the interests of the emerging national bourgeois class in the Soviet Union, placed the contradiction between the socialist countries and the capitalist (actually imperialist) countries as the focal contradiction of the post World War II period, a period when the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, struggling for national democratic

revolutions leading to socialism, have actually been the focal contradiction against international imperialism, headed by US imperialism. And this same revisionist ideological-political line made peaceful co-existence between nation-states and peaceful transition to socialism the focal point of their strategic plan.

At the same time, there remain today powerful remnants of the *Three Worlds Theory*, propagated by the Chinese revisionists to justify their class collaborationist “open door policy” to US imperialism even while the bestial US imperialist war against the heroic Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples raged on. While this theory appeared on the surface to make the national liberation struggles the focal point of the world revolution, the Three Worlds Theory took the bourgeois nationalist class stand in relation to imperialism, took the heat off of US imperialism and emphasized peaceful relations among the various nation-states of the world. In most ways, in practice, this theory and politics came to promote the same kind of modern revisionist line of national conservatism, of peaceful co-existence between nation-states and peaceful transition to socialism based on the same national bourgeois class standpoint within a socialist country as the line of the Russian revisionists.

Both these opportunist theories take the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist standpoint of countries, nations, states, etc. in opposition to the Leninist standpoint of the international proletarian *class*. Life has shown that such opportunist and petty bourgeois theories are incapable of leading the oppressed and exploited of the earth to victory over imperialism, headed by US imperialism. This is why imperialism, in general, and US imperialism, in particular, seem so powerful today. And this is why there is today such widespread pessimism among erstwhile revolutionaries and even some honest forces to the point of denying the tremendous revolutionary potential of protracted peoples wars and other forms of revolutionary armed struggle, especially in the many oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The US maintains its role as the No.1 imperialist power upon its own initiative as well as in collusion and competition with its imperialist allies. The imperialist alliance comes easiest against the proletariat and people of the world even as the imperialist powers compete in snatching the most that they can at every given time.

The worst and most numerous victims of US imperialism and the entire alliance of imperialist powers are the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the former Soviet-bloc countries. The ranks of the oppressed and impoverished have been expanded. Not only the raw-material exporting countries are squeezed by imperialism but also those few countries previously touting export-oriented manufacturing, like the low value-added ones of Southeast Asia and China or the higher-value added ones of South Korea and Taiwan.

The main contradiction in the world is between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations. It is more than ever necessary to grasp the crucial point that the main component of the general line of the international communist movement is the waging of armed revolution against imperialism and its puppet reactionary regimes in the countries of the oppressed peoples and nations.

In the backward countries, which are semicolonial and semifeudal, imperialist oppression and exploitation is ever worsening and the conditions are favorable for armed revolution. The weakest links in the global chain of imperialist domination are here. In upholding the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the proletarian revolutionaries the world over must encourage and support the people in their efforts to wage armed revolution and overthrow the imperialists and their local reactionary puppets.

The Soviet ruling revisionists were certainly wrong in proposing the peaceful coexistence of states and the peaceful transition to socialism as the overriding principles of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations. So were the Chinese ruling revisionists wrong in proposing the “three worlds” diplomacy and

**AFTERWORD**  
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Ray O. Light's "Characteristic Features of the Worldwide Military Strategy of US Imperialism" is an accurate, concise and incisive presentation of the subject matter.

Taking the Marxist-Leninist stand, Ray O. Light places the topic within the framework of understanding imperialism as a politico-economic phenomenon, as the last dying stage of capitalism, and pointing to the necessity of the people's armed revolution as the main component of the general line of the international communist movement.

In the wake of the end of the Cold War, US imperialism has come out clearly as the sole superpower, with an overweening arrogance as the strongest imperialist power in economic and military terms. It has retained and reinforced its position as No.1 imperialist power and, therefore, remains more than ever before the No.1 enemy of the people of the world.

By pushing neoliberalism and "free market" globalization, it has sharpened the contradiction between the rapidly rising social character of production through higher technology and the rapacious character of the monopoly capitalist method of appropriation. The concentration and inflation of assets in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie ceaselessly and rapidly aggravate the chronic crisis of overproduction relative to the shrinking world market.

Within the imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie destroys the hard-won social rights and massacres regular jobs, imposes chronic mass unemployment and in varying degrees camouflages these with part-time jobs, mainly in the service sector. Conditions for class struggle are thus generated, especially in the lesser imperialist countries.

Only the standpoint of the international proletariat, the science of Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, *in struggle against opportunism*, can lead the proletariat and oppressed peoples to victory in this era.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is the proletarian internationalist duty of representatives of the revolutionary proletariat in the chief oppressor nation in the world today to aid the rest of the international proletariat by helping to expose both the short term strengths and the long term weaknesses of the US imperialist military capacity. This also serves to advance the revolutionary interests of the US proletariat. For only in the process of development of significant revolutionary victories of proletarian-led forces of other countries over US imperialism will the US proletariat become politically, organizationally, and morally strong enough to win state power in the USA, '(in the belly of the beast'. As comrade Lenin taught: "A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its 'own' nation cannot be a socialist proletariat."<sup>8</sup>

It is on the basis of the proletarian internationalist class stand that the following thesis on US imperialist global military strategy was presented in broad outline to an international communist gathering last spring. Likewise, we present it here precisely to aid the collective ability of the international proletarian class to meet and defeat the international capitalist class, headed by US imperialism.

\* \* \* \* \*

What then are the characteristic features of US imperialism's military strategy today?

***1. United States imperialism is the only imperialist country today which is an economic power on a truly global scale. Hence, US imperialism requires a "worldwide military strategy".*** US imperialism stands today as the one imperialist superpower — the "sine qua non" for international capital. And US

imperialism is the only imperialist power which can unilaterally bomb and/or invade other countries without any other country's permission. This "worldwide" US military strategy is in conformity with US imperialism's role as the world's policeman.

A virtual monopoly control of the world's news media and other propaganda-culture media is key to US ability to "justify" any military target even on shod notice. Witness US media's ability to "demonize" anti-imperialist and pro socialist leaders such as Cuba's Fidel or Libya's Khadaffi and even (former) imperialist allies, lackeys and stooges such as Manuel Noriega in Panama, Saddam Hussein in Iraq, and Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia.

In their (Fall '93) *Foreign Policy* article, entitled, "American Hegemony-Without an Enemy", Rand's Benjamin Schwarz and Cato Institute's Christopher Layne argue that since the end of World War II, US imperialism has been committed to an "activist internationalist agenda" that it would have pursued even had the USSR not emerged as its geopolitical and ideological rival. They cite the National Security Council's "NSC #68" from 1950 which articulated US Cold War strategy "designed to foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish.... even if there were no Soviet threat."

In the *post* Cold War world, US imperialist strategists Schwarz and Layne are "extremely unsettled" by the fact that Republican President Bush and now Democratic President Clinton have remained consistent with NSC #68 and the proposition that "*American prosperity depends upon a world order imposed by the United States*". (Our emphasis—ROL) As they state, "Rather than being a stimulus to peace that it is touted to be, economic interdependence — and the need to protect America's stakes in it — is invoked to justify a post-Cold War US military presence in Europe and East Asia and military intervention in the Balkan conflict."(p13) As then US Secretary of Defense William Perry stated in late 1996, "The United States is the only nation on earth today whose security interests are truly global in scope."<sup>9</sup>

22. *Ibid.*, Nov./Dec. 1996. p. 69.

23. "The Testing of American Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 1998, p. 50.

24. *Ibid.*, p.51.

25. *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*, William James 1907, p. 80.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 200

27. "All reactionaries Are Paper Tigers", *Selected Works, Mao Tse-tung*, 1957, Vol. V, 1957, p. 517.

*use of weapons of mass destruction by the US imperialist war criminals is to smash the Serb-Yugoslav government resistance to the occupation of the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia by 28,000 NATO troops! The imperialist-imposed peace agreement would also dismantle the Kosovo Liberation Army. This agreement will leave Kosovo in the hands of neither the Albanian majority population nor the Serb dominated federal government but totally in the hands of the NATO powers led by US imperialism. An added bonus for the imperialists is that they have used this Kosovo crisis, largely manufactured by themselves, to get the current Albanian government to allow NATO the full use of its ports and airports. Here the imperialist powers are relying on Albanian nationalism (i.e. support for the Kosovars) to blind the Albanian people to the imperialist occupation of their country now tottering on the verge of anarchy, but with the potential of going “back to the future” of socialism. Divide and Conquer.*

*A few other noteworthy features of this US led imperialist war plan include: (a.) only 4,000 of the 28,000 NATO occupation troops will be US armed forces; (b.) 270 US aircraft are more than half the 480 NATO aircraft projected for use. Also, the USS Enterprise and other US naval vessels with capability of firing Tomahawk missiles form a preponderant component of such large scale military high tech equipment, material, and munitions in relation to their European imperialist partner-rivals; (c.) US-NATO success in Kosovo will represent greater destruction of both Serb and Albanian national sovereignty in the region. It will represent the strengthening of the US led imperialist powers in their positions in Southern Europe and in relation to the former USSR, Turkey and Greece. All these areas of strategic importance. Politically, they have pro-imperialist governments that are vulnerable to revolutionary overthrow in the near or midterm future. Economically, the oil of both the Middle East and the former USSR, especially the Caucasus, is an important question here as well.]*

19. "Selective Global Commitment", *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1991, p. 16.
20. "Preparing for the Unexpected: The Need for a New Military Strategy", *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1982, p. 124.
21. "Defense in an Age of Hope", *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 1996, p. 74.

What does this mean for the international proletariat and our revolutionary cause? *In the short run*, US imperialism's global economic stake provides tremendous strength to its military-diplomatic-cultural aggression anywhere in the world. However, *in the long run*, this same global economic stake leads inevitably to "strategic overextension"\*. Even bourgeois think tank experts such as Schwarz and Layne recognize the inevitable doom for the "American Empire" over time as it pursues its "new world order".

**2. US Imperialism has a huge, dangerous, and high-tech but also a bloated military-industrial complex.** In late 1995, Brookings Senior Fellow Lawrence Korb cited the International Institute for Strategic Studies figures showing that US imperialism was projected to spend more than three times what any other country on earth spends and "more than all its prospective enemies and neutral nations combined". Said Korb, "Its \$262 billion defense budget accounts for about 37% of global military expenditures; its NATO allies, along with Japan, Israel, and South Korea, account for 30%. The fifteen other NATO nations will spend some \$150 billion on defense in 1995. Russia, the second-biggest spender \$80 billion, Japan about \$42 billion and China about \$7 billion. The world's six rogue (*sic!*) states — Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, North Korea, and Cuba — have a combined annual military budget of \$15 billion."<sup>10</sup> And these so-called "rogue states" (with a total of 6% of the US

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\* This splendid term was applied by British military historian Correlli Barnett to the nineteenth century British ruling class view that Britain's economic health required possession of India and therefore necessitated "propping up the tottering Ottoman Empire, acquiring extensive territories in the Mediterranean and East and South Africa as well as a sphere of influence in the Persian Gulf, and assuming responsibility for the security and stability of Egypt." (p.14 *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1993) Indeed, in the post WWII period, US imperialism has held a hegemonic position vis-a-vis the other imperialist powers rivalled only by the hegemonic position of British imperialism in the late nineteenth century. And US imperialism's worldwide military strategy is just as surely leading to the same sort of "strategic overextension".

budget) are considered the likely source of the two major regional wars which the US military is prepared to fight simultaneously - one on the Korean Peninsula and the other in the Persian Gulf.

According to Korb, "... the United States will pay \$15 billion more for defense this year, in inflation-adjusted dollars, than it did in 1980 at the height of the Cold War". But this did not necessarily mean that US imperialism would have more firepower. Korb cites the example of the B-2 strategic bomber developed to penetrate the highly sophisticated air defenses of the Soviet Union and drop nuclear bombs. Rather than kill the program outright because the Soviet Union was defunct, a compromise (agreeable even to the Air Force) was reached to build 20 at a cost of \$44 billion. But an additional 20 were built at a cost of more than \$30 billion, thanks to the California congressional delegation led by senior senator Diane Feinstein (a Democrat). Feinstein inadvertently blurted out on the floor of the US Senate that the B-2 should be saved because it delivered a "heavy payroll", corrected the next day to "payload". This military-industrial complex exerts a powerful mass influence on the working class of the USA and US imperialist society in general, since for so many people here "war means work" and the family's livelihood. In addition, US imperialism is the biggest arms salesman (to other countries) in the world. (This recalls Lenin's remark that the imperialists will sell us the rope to hang them with!)

All in all, the colossal investment of materiel and manpower represented by 37% of the total military expenditures in the world constitutes a terrifying and massive array of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the bestial US imperialists.

**3. The allocations from this huge US military budget are largely determined by corporate contracts and service rivalries, i.e. by the military-industrial complex, rather than by strategic military needs.** So the military-industrial complex binders the ability of US policy-makers to utilize the massive dollar inputs to maximum effect on behalf of US imperialism. Indeed, the fat profits from

## ENDNOTES

1. *Lenin's April 1917 Introduction to Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*
2. *In his 1920 Introduction to the same pamphlet.*
3. *"Long Live Leninism — Toward a New Communist International", Stalinist Workers Group, January 1971.*
4. *The Role of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the International Marxist-Leninist Movement-The October Revolution vs. The "Cultural Revolution", Youth for Stalin, 1968.*
5. *"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", Strategic Military Writings, Mao Tse-tung, 1936, p. 81.*
6. *Ibid., p. 83*
7. *"Questions and Answers", Works, Stalin, 1925, Vol. VII, pp. 170-171.*
8. *"Socialism and War", Collected Works, Lenin, 1915, Vol. XXI, p. 317.*
9. *"Defense in an Age of Hope", Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec. 1996, p. 73.*
10. *"Our Overstuffed Armed Forces", Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec. 1995, p. 23.*
11. *"Transforming the Military", Foreign Affairs, Jul./Aug. 1997, p. 64.*
12. *"Defense in an Age of Hope", Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec. 1996, p. 78.*
13. *"Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", Collected Works, Lenin, 1916, Vol. XXIII, p. 114.*
14. *See Lawrence F. Korb, "Our Overstuffed Armed Forces", Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec. 1995, p. 23.*
15. *"Selective Global Commitment", Foreign Affairs, Fall 1991, p. 17.*
16. *Quoted in Layne & Scharwz, "American Hegemony — Without an enemy", Foreign Policy, Fall 1993, pp. 13-14.*
17. *Our emphasis — ROL, "Transforming the Military", Foreign Affairs, July./Aug. 1997, p. 58.*
18. **KOSOVO - A CURRENT EXAMPLE OF NAKED US IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION** [As this report is being written, (February 20th) US Imperialism and its NATO allies are threatening massive bombing and annihilation of the Serbian people throughout former Yugoslavia. The alleged "justification" for this unprovoked

## IN CONCLUSION

The US Empire represents a barbaric, powerful, and lethal enemy of the world proletariat and oppressed peoples *in the short run*. The worldwide military strategy of US imperialism is key to the perpetuation of this brutal empire. But as comrade Mao taught, “all allegedly powerful reactionaries are paper tigers ...[because]... they are divorced from the people.” He explained, “We have developed a concept over a long period for the struggle against the enemy, namely, strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. In other words, with regard to the whole we must despise the enemy, but with regard to each specific problem we must take him seriously.”<sup>27</sup>

*In the long run*, the very global reach of the Empire, its extreme arrogance, greed, and parasitism, will provide much of its vulnerability and help hasten its demise at the hands of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples.

It is the responsibility of the international communist movement to lead the international proletariat and oppressed peoples to develop such unity in struggle against the main enemy - against imperialism, headed by US imperialism, and to isolate this enemy to the maximum, so as to inflict on these reactionaries utter and decisive defeat from all sides.

***Since US imperialist military strategy is making preparations to wage two major regional wars simultaneously, our challenge (to revive the revolutionary internationalist sentiments of the late Che Guevara) should be to produce “THREE, FOUR, MANY VIETNAMs!!!”***

**RAY O. LIGHT  
JUNE 1999**

defense contracts and the cozy relations between the armed services’ top brass and the private contractors does much to determine US military strategy rather than being determined by it.

For example, in making overall assessments of US military strategy, such an authority as former Director of Central Intelligence Stansfield Turner, a retired Admiral, makes sure to “feather the nest” of the Navy at the expense of the Army and Air Force. In contrast, retired Lieutenant General William Odom, a former head of the National Security Agency, argues openly in favor of the Army (and Air Force) at the expense of the Navy (and Marines). Odom writes that, “The heavy emphasis on carriers and amphibious forces has been financed by reducing ground and air forces.”<sup>11</sup> General Odom wants funds to “maximize the advantages of a high-tech M-1 tank, a Bradley Fighting Vehicle, and jet engine capabilities” instead of “squandering” funds on “bureaucratically inspired programs like the Marine Corps’ proposed amphibious assault vehicle or its V-22 Osprey helicopter... [and the] Sea Wolf submarine program.”

While Secretary of Defense Perry admits that the US General Accounting Office and others question the effectiveness of high-tech weaponry, especially precision guided munitions, he approvingly asserts that, “Today Force Dominance is the goal of the US military.”<sup>12</sup> And Force Dominance is composed of: *air dominance* (using stealth technology), *precision strike forces* (precision guided weapons), *superior battlespace awareness*, i.e. complete real time knowledge of the disposition of all enemy and friendly forces (using the Global Positioning System, national sensors and tactical sensors), and *focused logistics* (advanced technology with capacity to track supplies around the globe — including contents of each shipment, time of arrival, etc.) Clearly, Force Dominance represents a bonanza for the military-industrial complex.

Thus, the US military-industrial complex, as an economic force in its own right, stands in the way of providing the most efficacious

protection for US imperialist exploitation and oppression of the peoples around the world.

**4. *Within the USA, there still exists overwhelming popular support for the US military, especially when it goes into combat.***

Even in the midst of the Clinton sex scandal, there was bilateral political support for the bombings of Sudan and Afghanistan and later Iraq during 1998. And the US pacifists, led by Jesse Jackson, were demonstrating *in support of Clinton* as he rained bombs on the people of Iraq!!

Contrary to the revisionist illusions promoted over the years, especially from Khrushchev onward,\* that the “great American people” are peace-loving and oppose the imperialist war mongers, the US people, by and large, including even most of the proletariat, has supported “their own” imperialists throughout the entire 50 year period of post World War II hegemony for US imperialism in the capitalist world. Along with the immense social role of the military-industrial complex, large scale imperialist bribery helps explain why US society is so militarized and violent.\*\*

In “Imperialism and the Split in Socialism”, Lenin discusses the connection between England’s colonial monopoly and the bribery of a large strata of the English working class that existed 100 years ago. With remarkable clarity, Lenin points out, “The capitalists can devote a part... of these superprofits to bribe their own workers, to create something like an alliance... between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists against the other countries.”<sup>13</sup> This

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\* (but stemming from Browderite revisionism in the CPUSA and then Titoite revisionism in Yugoslavia and even tracing its roots back to Trotsky.)

\*\* This violence is manifested in the huge number of police and intelligence forces, the huge number of US people in prison, especially people from the oppressed nationalities, the huge amount of violent crime, and white-supremacist hate crime, and in recent years, the increasing police presence in the schools and the epidemic of school children murdering their classmates.

Negroponte, the US ambassador stationed there. US imperialism used Honduras as a vast military base of operations against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador. To protect their massive military bases, the US military defoliated the land surrounding the bases — leaving the land and the population vulnerable to future natural disasters. The 1998 hurricane devastation of Honduras was made far worse because of that US military defoliation. Today in the hurricane’s aftermath, US imperialism provides military aid to Honduras using the pretext of “humanitarian aid”. In reality, it is being used as a smokescreen behind which US imperialism is moving their main base of Latin American military operations from Panama to Honduras. — Pragmatism!

*The pursuit of maximum profit by any and all means*, at any cost to the international proletariat and oppressed peoples as well as to their comprador, national bourgeois and petty bourgeois stooges and even to their imperialist partner-rivals is their only “principle”. Consequently, US imperialism has no permanent alliances and allegiances beyond the loyalty to maximum profit on an individual/corporate and/or banking basis. It is loyal even to the US imperialist state apparatus only to the extent this serves its interests. Remember the role of Ford and General Motors in Hitler’s military arsenal during WWII when their German-occupied European plants turned out tanks etc. for the Nazi War Machine and were **not** bombed by the Allies. Pragmatism governs US military strategic thinking as well as all other areas.

Such an unprincipled “principle” or *modus operandi* gives US imperialism a strong concerted “will to win” in the short run. However, over the long run, the naked and unbridled brutality, greed, and selfishness of pragmatism alienate foe and friend alike! The pragmatic conduct of US imperialism exposes the utter bankruptcy of bourgeois democratic and revisionist illusions regarding peaceful coexistence and peaceful change in the era of imperialism.

\* \* \* \* \*

Yet the superexploitation of the proletariat of the oppressed nations and dependent countries and the national oppression suffered by the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world continue to generate and regenerate the most dedicated grave diggers of the old and dying capitalist socio-economic system in its imperialist stage.

***11. Pragmatism is the philosophy of the worldwide military strategy of US imperialism.*** In a recent authoritative article, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright elaborated current US foreign policy.<sup>23</sup> She opened the article with a quote from the writing of one of her most famous post World War II predecessors, Dean Acheson. Following the Soviet-led worldwide defeat of fascism, Acheson had said, "...all our lives, the danger, the uncertainty, the need for alertness, for effort, for discipline will be upon us....we are in for it and the only real question is whether we shall know it soon enough." This quote reflects the reality that imperialism has no future and that the remainder of its life is being lived in desperation. And this "every man for himself outlook is the very essence of pragmatism.

Albright specifically uses the word "pragmatism" here as a chapter heading. She states: "The second foreign policy test is that of pragmatism. Are we getting results?" Armed with pragmatism, Albright states, "In our era, neither the adversaries, nor the rules, nor even the location of the playing field are fully fixed."<sup>24</sup>

Pragmatism is the philosophy of imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular. As William James, the pre-eminent philosopher of pragmatism put it, "Pragmatism is willing to take anything."<sup>25</sup> "Pragmatism asks its usual question....What, in short, is the truth's cash-value in experiential terms?"<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the guiding principle for Albright and US imperialism is what has "cash value".

*The absolute lack of shame of US imperialism, its pragmatic approach, can be seen in its relations with Honduras. In the 1980's, Honduras was openly run as a US dictatorship led by John*

is precisely what happened to the US working class (especially its white majority) over the past 50 years.

The fact that there is no significant political party, even a bourgeois labor party as exists in all other imperialist countries, that even gently challenges US imperialism and its drive to war; provides dramatic proof of this reality. This relatively stable rear area has given US imperialism *great flexibility* in carrying out its cunning and bellicose role as the hegemonic imperialist global power.

***5. The US military active force is smaller than at any time since the eve of the Korean War.<sup>14</sup> And US military strategy requires wars of quick decision as well as an exit strategy.*** As we write (February 1999), the US military is having a hard time getting the approximately 200,000 "volunteers" it needs this year to replenish these relatively smaller ranks. No wonder that President Clinton in his 1999 State of the Union address pledged an additional \$110 billion over the next six years to increase military pay, training, benefits, and pensions, etc.

Also, no wonder US imperialism now requires an "exit strategy" before it even engages in military action. Brzezinski pointed out that one consequence of the Cold War's end was the freedom of action the United States enjoyed in conducting the war against Iraq (in 1991).

But he continues with worry — "That military victory has plunged America into a deep, probably protracted, political and military absorption in the Middle East's various crises."<sup>15</sup>

The late nineteenth century English statesman Lord Rosebery pointed out: "Our commerce is so universal and so penetrating that scarcely any question can arise in any part of the world without involving British interests. This consideration, instead of widening, rather circumscribes the field of our actions. For did we not strictly limit the principle of intervention we should always be simultaneously engaged in some forty wars."<sup>16</sup>

General Odom noted that since the Persian Gulf War the major changes in force structure have been *reductions* in army and air force capabilities. He complains: “The navy’s carrier fleet stands at 12, with a single carrier battle group costing at least an estimated \$50 billion for a 10-year life cycle. *The army’s divisions*, at \$10 billion for a heavy division with a 10-year life cycle, *have been cut from 18 to 10*. Moreover, only about \$50 billion is allocated for procurement of army forces during the next ten years, compared to \$152 billion and \$56 billion for carrier and land-based air power. Meanwhile, the marines retain three active divisions and one reserve division.”<sup>17</sup> Thus, the US military *is somewhat vulnerable to a protracted ground war; and especially to more than one significant ground war at a time*.

Hence the need for coalition “peacekeeping operations”, NATO war, Partners for Peace, defense sharing and the like.

***6. US imperialism is capable of launching military aggression unilaterally but needs to operate through coalition or multilateral aggression where possible.*** Militarily, US imperialism sometimes conducts its international class warfare with and sometimes without its European and Japanese imperialist partner-rivals, and with or without its United Nations fig-leaf, through NATO or UNO military forces, etc. In 1998 alone, US imperialism, the hegemonic world capitalist power, unilaterally bombed Afghanistan, Sudan, and Iraq *with impunity*. Today, US imperialism, through NATO mechanisms, threatens Serbia with mass destruction.

In late 1996, then Secretary of Defense Perry described several important programs by which the US military has been able to mobilize the military forces of allies and even former enemies to bolster its own military force in regional military engagements. For example, NATO’s *Partnership For Peace* (PFP) was proposed by the US in 1993 and begun in 1994. It has been used to integrate Eastern and Central Europe and the former USSR countries into “a new overall European security architecture”. In addition, a special NATO-Russia relationship followed the use of Russian troops in

terror in the former Yugoslavia through the creation of a Bosnian state, the Dayton Accords, the connivance of Milosevic, etc.

The most consistent theme here is the *US imperialist use of their own stooges as military targets!!!* And since the key to the effectiveness of high-tech weaponry is accurate logistical and other information - who better to use your weaponry on than those whose military infrastructure you financed and built and/or otherwise have extensive knowledge about. By fighting these “patsies”, US Defense Secretary Perry could state (by late 1996): “...every military in the world looks to the US armed forces as the model to be emulated.”<sup>22</sup>

***10. US imperialism creates, props up, trains and arms reactionary military forces all over the world who help perpetuate the worldwide system of enslavement and oppression that is imperialism, the last dying stage of capitalism.*** 1998 witnessed the ouster of Mobutu in the Congo and Suharto in Indonesia, two of the world’s most corrupt, brutal, and long ruling puppets of US led international imperialism, whose countries had been systematically stripped of their tremendous natural resources while their people grew increasingly impoverished. 1998 also witnessed an extradition battle involving Chile’s former dictator, Pinochet. All three were military generals who placed themselves in the service of international capital and were responsible for death squads and mass torture, etc. as part of their routine military practice on behalf of US imperialism.

These three tyrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, respectively, are the caliber of military (and political-economic) leadership which US imperialism has imposed on the oppressed peoples in the period of US hegemony in the capitalist world. It is such tyrants who have provided the native military support for US led international capital. (This is why the notorious “School of the Americas” for example, continues to operate today despite widespread exposure and public outcry.)

In its stead, they counterpoised the need to develop “a Rapid Deployment Force for Persian Gulf contingencies”. They argued for a military strategy that strengthens US capability for intervention in the “Third World” against opponents other than the Soviet Union. And over time, despite the corruption and inertia of the military-industrial complex, there has been some recognition of US post World War II weaknesses in dealing with the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples. This has resulted in a substantial shift toward military preparedness for US military intervention against the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In late 1996, then US Secretary of Defense Perry explained: “Hot spots in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia can erupt with little warning, threatening vital American interests. Thus the size and composition of US military forces are based on the need to deter and, if necessary, fight and win, in concert with regional allies, two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously. The guiding principle is that the United States will fight to win, and win decisively, quickly, and with a minimum of casualties.”<sup>21</sup>

**9. *The illusion of an all powerful US military has been created in military theaters stacked in favor of US imperialism.*** Since the Turner-Thibault admission of US military failure in 1982, the US military has seen “combat” in *Grenada*, the smallest nation-state in the Western Hemisphere. Grenada is an island nation of 100,000 people where a few thousand Cuban construction workers valiantly outfought the US army of invasion quite effectively for a time. The US marines invaded *Panama*, its ally, arresting Noriega, its stooge, as the basis for maintaining its strong military presence and control. The US military has carried out a bestial, all-out war against the people of *Iraq*, allegedly aimed at Saddam Hussein, whose government had also stoged for US imperialism in the Iran-Iraq War. They have gone to *Somalia* where tribal forces proved too unwieldy for the US to control. And they have gone into *the Balkans*, along with their NATO allies, to take control, after providing a balance of

the Implementation Force (IFOR) **under US military command(!)** in Bosnia in 1996. That June, an agreement was reached in Brussels whereby Russian officers would be stationed at NATO headquarters and NATO officers would go to the Russian General Staff in Moscow — institutionalizing their military liaison program. Thus, NATO and PFP forces, under US leadership, have combined to invade, occupy and destroy the former Yugoslavia.\*<sup>18</sup>

Elsewhere, in Latin America, *Defense Ministerial of the Americas*, including all 34 Western Hemisphere countries other than Cuba are enmeshed in “defense sharing” and other joint military activities. In the Asia-Pacific Region, ASEAN Regional Forum and other multilateral military alliances with Japan, South Korea, and Australia are maintained. And “comprehensive engagement with China including the Chinese military” is being pursued. Secretary Perry points to “American leadership” as the key to the success of all these endeavors.

**7. *US imperialism must exercise military hegemony in all these coalitions and alliances.*** Lenin’s “*Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*”, written in the same year as “Imperialism - the Highest Stage of Capitalism” and without worry about the Tsarist censor, describes the colonial monopoly position enjoyed by England at the end of the nineteenth century and points out that, “...without forcible redivision of the colonies the *new* imperialist countries cannot obtain the privileges enjoyed by the older (*and weaker*) imperialist powers.

Schwarz-Layne raise the quandary faced by defenders of the US Empire (similar to England’s dilemma at the end of the 19th Century) who believe “Washington must retain its preeminent role in world politics.” As stated by the Pentagon’s draft of the *Defense Planning Guidance for the Fiscal Years 1994-1999*, “America must prevent other states ‘from challenging our leadership or seeking to

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\* See detailed explanation in footnote #18.

overturn the established political and economic order...*we must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role*.'” (Our emphasis—ROL) Schwarz-Layne point out these “potential competitors” are Germany and Japan.

An almost “unmentionable” motive for the current US led NATO war against Yugoslavia is that ***NATO represents US military presence in Europe***.<sup>\*</sup> This NATO war reaffirms and entrenches a strong NATO presence in Europe precisely at the very moment when the European Union has introduced the Euro and is becoming positioned to make an economic challenge to US hegemony in the imperialist camp. It is because of US hegemony that NATO membership (at a time when NATO had lost all apparent rationale for its existence) has grown faster than membership in the European Union. For the same reason, the European Union has agreed to have its military force develop under the NATO umbrella!!!

The same problem exists in relation to Japanese imperialism. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Adviser to US President Carter and chief architect along with David Rockefeller of the Trilateral Commission, let slip US imperialist concerns about the rearmament of Japan. Brzezinski said, “It is far from clear that it is truly in the American interest to press Japan to assume larger

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<sup>\*</sup> *Interconnected with this same brutal war on Yugoslavia is the growing military role of German imperialism. Economically, in the past year, Germany with about one-third of the economic assets of the European Union has swallowed up two-thirds of the economic assets that have sold in this union. So German imperialism is already growing stronger at its European partners' expense. Now, in Yugoslavia, for the first time in the 50 years since the defeat of German Fascism, the German military is in combat outside its borders. Hence, while US imperialism grows stronger in Europe through NATO aggression in Yugoslavia in the short run, this same war is fueling the growth of the inter-imperialist contradiction, especially with Germany.*

military responsibilities.”<sup>19</sup> In an October 1998 article, “Danger of Great Global Depression and Growing Crisis of War and Revolution in Asia”, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) points out, “Among these countries in the Asia-Pacific Region, it is only Japan and south Korea where US military bases are located ( 45,500 and 36,400 military personnel respectively).” In fact the USA has military bases all over Japan including right in Tokyo itself. So with Japan as the world's largest creditor nation and the USA the largest debtor nation, how is Japan going to collect?!

All the elite US military thinkers seem to insist, even now after the demise of the USSR, that Europe and Northeast Asia (Japan and Korea) along with the Persian Gulf and its oil, are the key areas in the world today. In late 1996, according to Defense Secretary Perry, of the 1.5 million active duty US troops and 900,000 reserves, there were 100,000 in Europe and 100,000 in the Pacific while there were only 12,000 to 20,000 in the Arabian Gulf (albeit with some prepositioned equipment, etc). All this serves to keep US imperialism's biggest imperialist allies, Japan and Germany, “in their place”.

***8. There has been a strategic shift, over time, away from emphasis on preparation for a US-Soviet war on the European theater and toward the enhancement of overt US military intervention capabilities in the oppressed nations.*** Already by the Fall of 1982 former Director of Central Intelligence Stansfield Turner and George Thibault, another Naval officer, had collaborated on an important proposal for a New Military Strategy in this direction. Turner-Thibault frankly admitted that, if we look back at the only uses of US military forces in combat since WWII, we can hardly be proud. Korea was perhaps a tie; Vietnam a loss; the Mayaguez and the Iranian hostage operations disasters.”<sup>20</sup> They ascribe much of this string of combat failures to the strategic military concentration on the European theater of operations