



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

No. 226 (Vol. 5, No. 24) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

October 14, 1983

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c

THE CASE OF THE VANISHING ARMS TALKS



Double-Talk, Double-Time, and D-ployment

Deployment of the Euromissiles, SCENARIO ONE:

Enormous demonstrations are mounted against the U.S. missile deployment, but they never reach the crescendo that some had predicted. Western newspapers speculate that a combination of the world reaction to the Soviet shooting down of KAL 007 and the new "flexible" U.S. proposals at the Geneva arms control talks have taken some of the wind out of the demonstrators' sails. The U.S. does go ahead and deploys the first of its Pershing missiles in West Germany, and the Soviets respond by walking out of the talks. A period of tension and even "brinkmanship" follows in parts of the world where the U.S. and Soviets are nose-to-nose, including in Europe itself, where the Soviets announce they will "modernize" their nuclear forces in East Europe. But later in 1984, with the events of "hot autumn" receding into the past, the Soviets begin to signal that a resumption of some forms of arms control talks might be "acceptable" and even resurrect the possibility of an East/West summit at some time in the future. The Western media guesses that the "hard-nosed realists in the Kremlin" have realized that the deployments will not be stopped, and are forced to make the best of a bad situation.

Hold on now... let's roll the camera back and roll this one again!

Deployment of the Euromissiles, SCENARIO TWO:

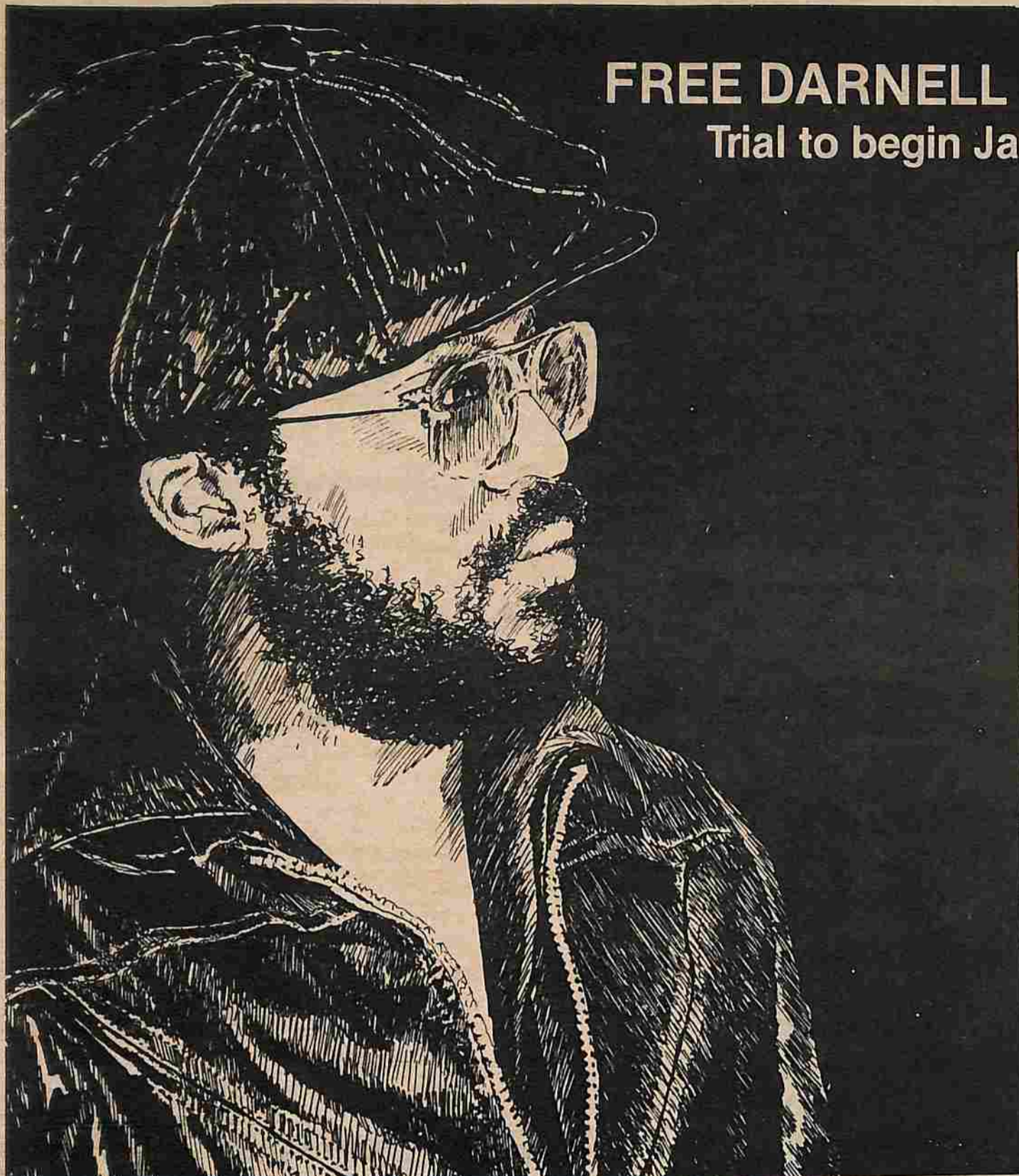
West German protests against the Euromissiles begin massively and gain a sharper edge as the weeks go by. Major demonstrations erupt in Sicily and the Netherlands, and, of a somewhat different character, in Great Britain as well. Late in November, the Soviets announce that they will break off arms control talks, since the U.S. appears determined to deploy the missiles in any case. Despite this and despite the mounting political uproar, the U.S. announces it has secretly deployed nine Pershing II missiles "somewhere in West Germany." By the end of the year the Soviets have announced countermeasures: installation of significant new batteries of short-range nuclear-tipped missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Two weeks later, in a surprise move, the Soviets announce additional deployments. The U.S. prepares its own response in an atmosphere of growing war fever and calls to patriotism...

The above are two possible "takes" on future events heard from U.S. sources lately. The first is, of course, for public consumption. It's a propaganda film, with a peace-through-strength moral that probably not a few patriotic Americans believe...but not too many others throughout the world. The second scenario can be found back in the editorial pages of certain prestigious newspapers and no doubt privately in government circles. As the U.S. well knows, it is much closer to the truth

Continued on page 4

What Are The Social-Democrats Searching For In The Rosenberg Files?

See Centerfold



FREE DARNELL SUMMERS!

Trial to begin January 23rd

Darnell Summers in the 1960s — In the midst of the high tide of the Black liberation struggle in 1968, Darnell, a Black GI, is brought back from Vietnam and framed for the killing of a Michigan State Police red squad cop who had been sent to Inkster, Michigan (a largely Black suburb of Detroit) to suppress the community's outrage over the attempted closing of the Malcolm X Cultural Center, of which Darnell was a leader and founder. The frame-up failed when the key prosecution witness, Milford Scott, declared his testimony was totally false and scripted by the police.

Darnell Summers in the 1980s — Well known in West Germany as a revolutionary musician, as a supporter of the revolutionary GI newspaper *Fight Back*, and for his other revolutionary political activity among the U.S. troops, immigrants from Turkey and the youth movement in Germany — Darnell comes to the attention of U.S. and German authorities. "Mysteriously," "new evidence" appears in the 13-year-old case. It is the same old discredited testimony, this time given by a second witness, Gale Simmons (who was arrested, herself charged with the killing, and then granted immunity in return for her testimony against Darnell). German authorities break speed records and rule books to extradite Darnell to Detroit in July 1982. No sooner is he back than the second witness also recants, saying her testimony is false and distorted by police. But no matter. The police produce that same first witness again (who is now serving a 60-to-90-year term on a separate unrelated charge, but has a parole hearing in 1983). He repeats the same lying testimony one more time and the railroad is on! Darnell Summers is now to stand trial for murder in the first degree, on the sole testimony of an admitted liar who 13 years earlier had renounced the same story! How much blood will the state try to extract from Darnell Summers?

Buttons now available!

Buttons available in bulk, \$18.00 a dozen, plus \$3.00 for postage. Pre-paid orders only please. Copies of the updated brochure available soon! Send checks and inquiries to:

Coalition to Free Darnell Summers!
2832 E. Grand Blvd. No. 324
Detroit, Michigan 48211
(313) 871-4616



Pick up the Gauntlet Stop the Raggedy Railroad

SUBSCRIBE!

One Year—\$20 (U.S., Canada, Mexico) Ten Weeks—\$4.00

- English Edition
- Chinese Edition (monthly) \$12
- Spanish Edition
- French Edition (monthly) \$12

write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

I want to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*, please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive _____ copies per week.

Order **Chinese** edition from: Everybody's Bookstore, 1541 Grant Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133.

Order **French** from: Revolution Books, 138 W. 10th St., NY, NY 10014

To comply with postal regulations it is necessary to send both the English and Spanish sections together, even though you may desire only one of the language sections. It has also been necessary to make changes on the outside of the envelope containing your newspaper to comply with postal regulations.

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- California:**
Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
Los Angeles Area, P.O. Box 26A34, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026 (213) 484-2907
San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
- District of Columbia:** Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
- Georgia:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 11049, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 627-8311
- Hawaii:** Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- Illinois:** c/o Revolution Books, 2525 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353
- Kentucky:** P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
- Maryland:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
- Massachusetts:** Revolution Books 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
- Michigan:** Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
- Missouri:** P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
- New York:**
Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205
NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books, 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
- North Carolina:** P.O. Box 11712, Durham, NC 27703 (919) 688-2879
- Ohio:**
Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 398-8865
Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 281-4275
- Oregon:**
Portland, P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 288-1374
Eugene: c/o RCB, P.O. Box 3723, Eugene, OR 97403
- Pennsylvania:** P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 625-8567
- Texas:** P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 926-2080
- Washington State:** Revolution Books, 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
- West Virginia:** P.O. Box 1974, Charleston, WV 25327

Joint Leaflet by TKPM-L; RCP, USA; CRC, CPI(M-L)

On France's Latest "African Adventure"

The following leaflet was prepared by a meeting of representatives of the following Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties in Rome, who are among the co-signers of the Joint Communiqué of 1980:

- Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKPM-L)
- Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
- Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

France's latest "African adventure" in Chad, its largest military operation since the end of the Algerian War, demonstrates the real nature of France and its role in the world, and is a striking illustration of the intensification of contradictions in today's international situation.

For many years now France has declared itself favorable to a "new world economic order" and opposed to "superpower hegemony" of the United States and the Soviet Union. With the coming to power of François Mitterand in 1981, the new "socialist" government has multiplied its pious proclamations all the while engaging itself ever more firmly in the Western bloc of imperialist predators politely referred to as the "Atlantic Alliance." Despite the large amounts of hypocrisy and hot air concerning safeguarding peace, insuring the integrity of an independent state, etc., that has surrounded the sending of the notorious "paras" and Foreign Legion to Chad, the blood-soaked fangs of French imperialism, familiar to millions in Africa and elsewhere, are unmistakable.

France has long considered Chad and the other former French colonies of Africa as its sacred territory in which it is free to topple governments at will, establish military bases and, of course, suck the blood of the inhabitants. In Chad itself, not to mention Zaire and the Central African Republic, France has twice directly dispatched troops. This time, however, it's no mere French police action — the dispatch of AWACs, the entry of Zairean troops, saber rattling in Washington and Moscow, testify to the "internationalization" of the conflict. The current war is not so much a question of a power struggle between rival ruling-class factions in Chad but part of a worldwide struggle between two rival imperialist blocs. No wonder, then, that France has reacted so aggressively to this threat coming from Colonel Khadafy whose own ambitions in Africa have been encouraged and financed by the social-imperialists of the USSR.

It is this conflict of rival imperialist empires (the Western bloc with its U.S. and French components and the Russian social-imperialist bloc), which has turned Chad into a battlefield and its people, who rank among the world's most impoverished, into cannon fodder. In turn, the conflict in Chad is an illustration of this same rivalry between the imperialist blocs of East and West which threatens to explode into a third world war.

Despite all the double talk from every side about defending the "legitimate government" of Chad, neither the regime of Hissène Habré presently in N'Djamena, nor the rival "government" of Goukouni Oueddei have any claim to legitimacy other than the imperialist arms and funds that each has received from first one and then another great power. François Mitterand admitted as much in his recent interview with *Le Monde* when he declared himself essentially indifferent to the outcome of the struggle between Habré and Oueddei as long as Chad is

free from foreign (in other words non-French) interference. For Mitterand and French imperialism the important thing is the preservation and the extension of the French Empire in Africa and in today's world situation this can only be done as part of the U.S.-led bloc.

In the days immediately following the sending of the French Army to Chad, Mitterand launched a demagogic public attack against the U.S., accusing them of pressuring France and letting it be known that he blamed the Americans for much of the "Chad problem" in the first place for having financed the overthrow of Oueddei, who had proven himself quite pliable to French interests in the region even to the point of obtaining the retreat of Libyan soldiers from Chad in 1981.

For the United States, with few direct investments in French Africa, the main consideration is the geopolitical confrontation with the USSR and its protégé, Khadafy. For the U.S., Chad represents a great opportunity to "teach Khadafy a lesson" and they have aided the French and pressured them to act like Britain did in the Falkland Islands. France, while totally in accord with the need to protect its own empire from Soviet-backed incursions, continues to hope that by using the carrot as well as the stick Khadafy can, perhaps, be won away from the Soviet orbit à la Sadat and become at least partially integrated into the French sphere of influence which surrounds Libya to the west and south. Whether to destroy Khadafy or to harness him, France and the U.S. are in total agreement he can not be allowed to meddle about in French Africa — at least not financed by and serving the interests of the Soviet Union!

In fact, despite real differences in the interests and role of France and the United States in Africa, they have acted hand in hand to protect what they both see as their greater, common interests — that is, the defense of the West and its Third World feasting grounds from their common rival, the USSR. France is also concerned not to lose further ground in their sphere of influence to the United States.

The Chad expedition has proved embarrassing for the Communist Party of France (PCF) and its ministers in the Mitterand government. Not that the PCF opposes French imperialism — it continues to be vocal supporters of France's nuclear program, defense spending, etc. — but simply that the PCF believes that the interests of French imperialism (and their own hopes of integrating themselves into the ruling class) are best served by an alliance with the Eastern bloc. Thus while the revisionist leaders of the PCF have confessed to be "troubled" by the events in Chad they have concentrated their attention on opposing U.S. "pressure" and "interference" on France, letting it be understood that they believe such pressure, and not the actual interests of French imperialism, is the reason for the Chad adventure.

In fact such a campaign against U.S. imperialism in Chad serves very well the interests of the French bourgeoisie and its socialist government in two important respects: first, it misdirects attention from French imperialism which is, after all on the frontline in Chad and is fundamentally acting out of its own interests; secondly, it feeds the argument, widespread in French bourgeois circles, that the only way to prevent U.S. incursions into French Africa is for France itself to show more muscle in the region. It is interesting to note that *Le Monde* carried out a vigorous editorial campaign in favor of French intervention on exactly

this basis — if we don't the Americans will, in so many words. What the PCF and the rest of the official left in France will never do is expose and fight French imperialism. Thus the whole "debate" becomes false — instead of opposing the real interests of French imperialism which lead it to Chad and propel it toward a participation in a global imperialist conflict, the question becomes how to best protect and preserve French imperialist interests.

Unfortunately the people in Chad are, for the moment, merely the manipulated victims of the high-stakes struggle going on around them at their expense. But the all-around intensification of contradictions which is putting the different imperialist powers more and more at each others' throats is also propelling people into struggle in various parts of the world and creating favorable conditions for such struggle to break out elsewhere. In Chad an interimperialist battlefield can be turned into an arena of struggle of the people against all the imperialist marauders, East and West, and for gen-

uine liberation.

In France also, the war in Chad creates some favorable conditions for struggle. Despite the double talk and hypocrisy of all the bourgeois political forces of the "left" as well as the right, conditions are ripe to lay bare the real nature of French imperialism and its "socialist" government, the reactionary role of the PCF and the true interests of the proletariat. The interests of the proletariat is not to avoid the "quagmire" or expense of a neocolonial adventure but to fight side by side with the victims of imperialism against their common oppressors. In other words, to make strides in preparing a movement that can strike real blows at French imperialism and form part of an international movement aimed at eliminating imperialism and reaction of all stripes from the globe and opening the way for a worldwide classless society, communism. Advancing along this path requires the revolutionaries in France and Chad (?) to rise to the challenges and opportunities that are presented to them. □

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have...

A WORLD TO WIN

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST JOURNAL

Editions in English, French and Spanish

No. 2, May 1982

Editorial Board

Coordinating Committee

On the Joint Communiqué Paris-Turkey-Britain 1981

Imperialist Economism RCP USA

Condemnation of Coup in Poland PCP of Chile

Stakes of the Polish Crisis France

Face of Universal Franchise Guyana CP

Press Communiqué and Resolutions CRC, CPI(M-L)

Comments on Basic Principles New Zealand

\$2.00 (plus 50¢ postage) available from RCP Publications, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654, USA

"This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organisationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."

No. 1, May 1st, 1981 (\$2.00)

Articles from Marxist-Leninists in Ceylon, Chile, China, France, India, Spain, U.S.A. Includes document from clandestine Marxist-Leninists in China and the Joint Communiqué of the Autumn 1980 International Conference, "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

No. 2, May 1st, 1982 (\$2.00)

Articles and correspondence from Marxist-Leninists in Britain, Ceylon, Chile, France, Haiti, India, New Zealand, Peru, Turkey, U.S.A.

Includes editorial calling for new International Conference and focusing points for debate.

"Without upholding and building on Mao's contributions it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general..."

Arms Talks

Continued from page 1

(though naturally not the only possible sequence of events), for it signifies the underlying reality of which the missile deployment is a crucial part — an imminent and extended period of real and deadly acceleration of moves toward war. Significantly, in any scenario, public or private, the current Geneva talks are quickly vanishing from the stage set, muscled out by the imperialists, who are double-timing it into their "measures" and "countermeasures."

The U.S. has been so serious about the talks that in recent months its spokesmen have sometimes simply forgotten to mention them in their eagerness to emphasize their determination to deploy the beloved missiles. Then this week, in a fascinating turnaround, the U.S. is jumping all over the Soviets with mock anger at apparent signs that the Soviets may break off the talks. On Tuesday, the day before the talks for the current week, the U.S. made front-page headlines with the guess that the Soviets intended to walk out, perhaps that very week. "If the Russians quit the talks, the blame has got to be pinned right on them," one official announced. The next day, the Soviets did no such thing, stating only, as they have done before, that if and when the U.S. goes ahead with deployment they would demand at least a mutual recess, that is, a cancellation.

The fact remains, however, that there is something to the U.S. charges, and it is quite possible that the Soviets will walk out of both sets of Geneva talks, something about which they have been hinting and threatening in a whole range of recent statements. And it is also certainly true that the Soviets have taken the talks with as little seriousness as has the U.S. — there has been too much to gain in the way of creating difficulties within the NATO alliance. But for the U.S. — who is, after all, the one that is deploying the damn missiles — to accuse the Soviets of sole responsibility for the escalating war drive, takes some nerve! One is willing to grant the Soviets 50% of the blame... but there are two blocs at this war party!

What's more, the U.S. has maintained a high-pressure, full-court press on the Soviets since the airliner incident. The U.S. has insisted on "linkage" of the talks with the airliner affair, something which in and of itself starkly shows the U.S. imperialists' cynical prewar manipulation. By now, the stench of U.S. imperialism from behind the whole affair is becoming overpowering. In the latest revelation, U.S. intelligence specialists concluded on October 7 that, according to the *NY Times*, there was "no indication that Soviet air defense personnel knew it was a commercial plane before the attack." Plainly, this contradicts the position, still held by the U.S., of a deliberate shooting. Perhaps, we might add, the Soviet error was due in part to the U.S. spy plane which was tailing the jetliner, or to the fact that such spy planes routinely project false radar images to the Soviets to "test their response," according to other recent reports. In any case, the U.S., which *did* know who was what in that part of the upper atmosphere, sat back and watched.

So today we have the U.S. — which played a large part in engineering the incident in the first place, and which has coupled it with the most hypocritical cries of "Soviet barbarism," — insisting on "linkage" of this stinky incident with the arms talks in such a way that, the U.S. hopes, it will come away with its utterly barbaric new atomic weapons deployed and smelling like a rose to boot. All these machinations are themselves signs of the intensity of the present war buildup.

"Linkage" has meant that the U.S. has publicly branded any Soviet concessions at the talks as practically an admission of guilt, or at least of weakness, on the airliner issue. Needless to say, such an admission by the Soviets is not the likeliest prospect in the world. Such a maneuver is rather calculated to force the Soviets into a hard-line position.

On the other hand, this maneuver has been coupled with a new-found U.S. "flexibility" in its arms control positions. The U.S. has come forward with a series of proposals at the talks, some of which, like the "build-down" idea on long-range nukes, are taken from the lexicon of the "nuclear freeze" advocates, but none of

which touch the issues which have been actual sticking points, such as the question of counting in Great Britain's and France's nukes. U.S. officials have openly admitted that the idea was "to appear flexible without upsetting the deployment schedule"! And these were presented in such a way — publicized first and formally proposed later — that the Soviets were put on the spot publicly, and were bound to reject them. (They did.) Much of this has been decidedly outside the rules of the arms talks game as it has been played thus far, with both imperialists heretofore, carefully allowing for at least the legitimacy of the talks — a mutually beneficial propaganda game. The U.S. has moved to fence out the Soviets, hoping to decisively tag them with the failure of the talks and to justify before the European masses its own deployments. It has been a vivid lesson in the uses of negotiations and peace-demogogy in the service of the massive bloodletting to come.

But events are, perhaps, not so neatly manipulated as the imperialists want to believe. Even now, there are some in the bourgeoisie who believe that the U.S. has already overplayed its hand on the airliner incident and at the talks. They point out that, in order to accomplish its propaganda objectives which has everything to do with tightening its war bloc and actually accomplishing such moves as the Euromissile deployment, the U.S. must still act as if it is striving for agreement and understanding with the Soviets. If a Soviet walkout at the Geneva talks meant a long deep-freeze in such contacts between the U.S. and Soviets, the walkout would not at all be favorable to the U.S. The U.S. wants to isolate and finger the Soviets, not force them off the playing field entirely. Besides, there is the fact that such East/West confrontation could escalate to the point where it would create unpredictable shock effects both in matters of public opinion, of the political stability of NATO countries and others, and in the military realm as well.

It was just such a U.S.-Soviet deep-freeze at which Andropov hinted strongly in his recent response to Reagan's arrogant UN speech. Andropov labelled Reagan's attack "inadmissible," calling out Reagan for breaking all the unwritten rules of U.S.-Soviet diplomacy, and warned, teeth-bared, that "it would not be advisable for anyone to stage a trial of strength." The Soviets have pointed especially to the fact that the U.S. arranged matters so that the Soviet senior UN ambassador Andrei Gromyko would not be able to attend the UN sessions, which this year had been arranged as a major world forum involving over twenty heads of state. Even at that time Andropov linked the Soviet "appropriate response" to the Euromissiles, as the answer to the U.S. political offensive. The growing evidence that the Soviets are seriously considering breaking off the talks is certainly a continuation of this and cannot be good news to the U.S., which would ideally hope for talks that are unproductive and a failure... but that still exist.

The deliberate Soviet strategy in this period has been to continue to draw a heavy line in the dirt. Without abandoning its "essentially defensive" pose, the Soviets have rather blatantly fallen back on the bedrock of their diplomacy, which, just as in the case of the U.S., is their firepower. The Soviets' logic is thoroughly imperialist: fear of their weaponry has prompted the European peace movements in the first place, so goes their line of thought, and therefore it is even more stepped-up nuclear pressure-tactics which are called for. The possibility of deploying cruise missiles on submarines off the U.S. coast, for example, according to U.S. analysts is a real possibility (among others). A recent *Christian Science Monitor* article held that the Soviets consider the Euromissile deployment an abrogation of a secret agreement made by Kennedy after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 which promised to permanently withdraw U.S. intermediate-range missiles from Europe.

And this is but one of several indications that much of the structure of "understandings" between the U.S. and the Soviets — the thieves agreements and gangster arrangements produced as the U.S. and Soviets have faced-off, jockeyed, and drawn the divisions of the world — will be up for question during a whole period in the immediate future,

A Week of Resistance To Euromissiles

In West Germany and around the world, October 15-22 is planned as the Week of Resistance to the Pershing and cruise missile deployments, kicking off the events of the "hot autumn." Saturday, October 15, is seen as a day of decentralized local actions, with each day focused on resistance among different sections of the people, such as religious groups, women, workers, farmers, schools and universities, state parliaments, and so on. These will culminate in mass demonstrations in Hamburg, Bonn, West Berlin, and Stuttgart, including a sixty-mile human chain stretching from Stuttgart to Neu Ulm.

Actions in the town of Muenster give a sense of the character of the upcoming protests. On Saturday, groups from twelve nearby towns will converge for activities ranging from discussions in churches to information booths in the town marketplace, to teach-in-like actions on the U.S. Army Group Headquarters at nearby Handorf, to a "bicycle demonstration." During the week, there will be a women's march to city hall, and then on the 17th, a blockade of the German First Corps Headquarters. For the

mass demonstrations on October 22, four trains have been chartered from Muenster to Bonn, with 5,000 people expected to travel on them.

Also on the 22nd, demonstrations are set for London, Paris, Madrid, and Stockholm.

In this country, demonstrations and civil disobedience are widely planned, with blockades targeting the Army Depot at Seneca, NY, site of the summer Women's Peace Encampment actions, at the Florida contractor for Pershing missiles, Martin Marietta Aerospace in Orlando, and dozens of other areas.

Meanwhile, the U.S. was also making its preparations in Europe. In Germany, electronic systems and testing equipment were already being delivered to U.S. bases to handle the new missile launchers. In Great Britain, authorities warned of "heavy air traffic" over Greenham Common, site of cruise missile deployment. In Comiso, Italy, however, where sharp streetfighting took place some weeks ago over the missiles, construction of the cruise missile site was delayed by the U.S. □

and not just in a brief, critical confrontation. Relations between the two Germanies, agreements in Central Europe more broadly, as well as in Cuba and the Caribbean, the Middle East and elsewhere, are all possible focal points of probes and challenges by both sides in a stepped-up way. As the world conjuncture draws tight and both blocs move decisively to position themselves for the showdown, this is inevitable, and despite their professions of peaceful intent, the heads of both blocs well know that this kind of period is in the offing, and strive to blame the other for it. That questions "already settled" may well be thrown in to question all over again is a certain sign of the seriousness of the train of events charging toward world war.

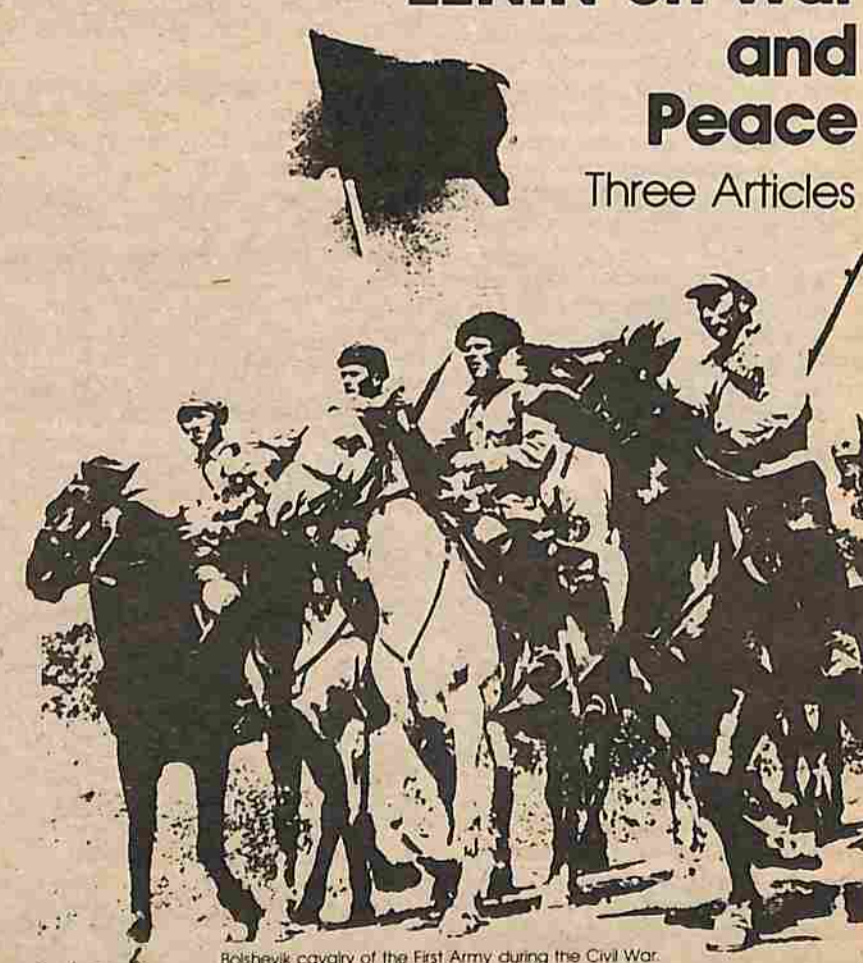
With events of this nature on the horizon, one can look again at the propaganda used by the U.S. to justify its deployments — our first scenario above. The scenario is worse than ridiculous! The U.S. begins deployment as an almost good-natured bluff; once the Soviets see

that the U.S. "is serious" about the deployments, the boys in the Kremlin will see the writing on the wall. Oh, there'll be a bit of anger and countermeasures all right, but when the peace movement fails to prevent deployment, they'll be right back at the bargaining table. The U.S. deployments are, in this fantasy, only bargaining measures, and the Soviet response, similar bluster; we are supposed to take neither seriously. But it's this vile propaganda that can't be taken seriously!

Overall, the fact that the current round of arms talks is being rapidly muscled out of the picture, and that this will certainly help expose the arms talks sham in the eyes of the world's people, all this greatly worries the imperialists. It is a particular problem for the U.S. since it is the proud father of the missiles, but it is also a necessary fact of imperialist life; and so with the old, cowboy yeeha!, spurs jangling, they saddle up for deployment, come what may. □

LENIN on War and Peace

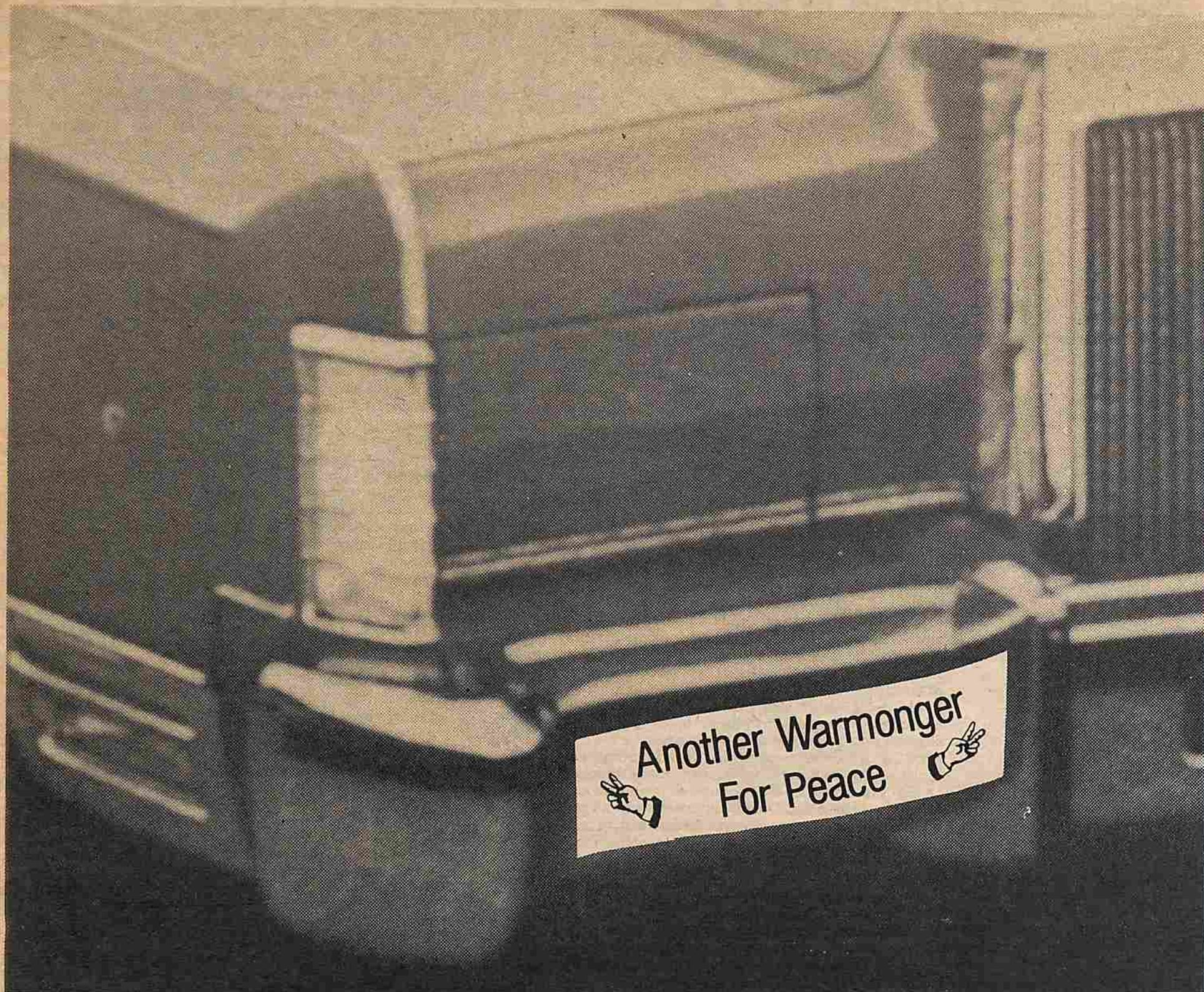
Three Articles



Bolshevik cavalry of the First Army during the Civil War.

Available from: Liberation Distributors
P.O. Box 5341
Chicago, IL 60680

\$1.25 plus 75¢ postage



With the deployment of U.S.-NATO Euromissiles imminently scheduled, a new movement has been launched. *RW* readers are of course familiar with the development of widespread and genuine opposition to these war preparations but it has come to our attention and the attention of many of our readers, that a new organization has shaped up in the recent period which claims to want peace more than anyone and has all the credentials to prove it. (Really this organization isn't all that new and is actually kind of an exclusive club with many secret members who do not appear publicly on its behalf but are nonetheless all part of the same outfit. Sometimes, for instance, the president lets it slip out that he's in the same club by using a few of their code words.) While their recent public presence has mainly been manifested in high-level speaking engagements, articles and statements in exclusive journals and so on, bumper-stickers and buttons may be appearing soon with their slogan: Another Warmonger For Peace.

Following is the first in a series of short biographies of some of the most vocal members of this group.

Robert S(trange) McNamara — As *Current Biography* noted in 1961: "Tall, lean, neatly groomed and conservatively dressed, Robert S. McNamara is six feet tall and weighs 165 pounds. He wears rimless glasses and has scrubbed features and a Tom Dewey haircut. His bookishness helps explain his reputation as an egghead. . . ." Always the model liberal, McNamara got straight-As in high school, graduated Phi Beta Kappa from UC-Berkeley, became an elder in the First Presbyterian Church and was known as a devoted family man. Though nominally a Republican in his early years, he was nevertheless noted for a brief stint as a sailor's union organizer and for being a regular contributor to the NAACP and

the ACLU. Lately he has been cutting quite a dashing figure in U.S. ruling peace circles as an avid Freeze advocate. In the Spring 1982 issue of *Foreign Affairs* he co-authored an article (along with George Kennan and McGeorge Bundy) which called for the U.S. and NATO to adopt a policy of "no-first-use" of nuclear weapons. More recently McNamara wrote his own article (*Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1983) on "The Military Role of Nuclear Weapons" in which he called for "major reductions" in nukes stationed in Europe and even went so far as to declare that ". . . nuclear weapons serve no military purpose whatsoever. They are totally useless — except only to deter one's opponent from using them." Why, on matters nuclear, the man is practically a saint!

McNamara's history of public service is quite a testament to his now-professed horror of bombs, nuclear and otherwise. During WW2 his "statistical genius" came to the attention of the Army Air Corps and he was promptly yanked from his teaching job at Harvard and flown to England where he helped develop the targeting and logistical system used for carrying out the allied mass bombing raids on Germany and Japan. After a postwar interlude as executive-on-the-rise at Ford Motor Co., McNamara accepted the post of Secretary of Defense in the Kennedy Administration in 1961 as flaming liberalism took the government by storm. One of his first progressive moves was to scrap the nasty Eisenhower doctrine of "massive retaliation" and to replace it with more progressive concepts like "mutual assured destruction," popularly known as MAD and referred to more soberly among the U.S. rulers as "Assured Destruction" — i.e., of the Soviets. (McNamara was fond of using phrases like "optimum mix" to describe the most devastating combinations of Soviet population centers and military facilities his "statistical genius" could come up with for U.S. nuclear target lists.) McNamara personally developed the strategy of "flexible response" in

which for the first time the U.S. explicitly declared it would use nuclear weapons to stop a conventional Soviet thrust in Europe. Along with JFK, he presided over a breakneck nuke buildup, by 1963 adding some 130 Atlas ICBMs, 108 Titan ICBMs and 150 Minuteman missiles to the U.S.'s nuclear arsenal, as well as upping the number of SAC B-52 bombers on 15-minute alert status by 50% and launching Project Skybold, a program to perfect air-launched nukes.

McNamara is perhaps better known, however, for another aspect of "flexible response" — beefed-up conventional forces to handle "brushfire wars" in the oppressed nations. He was, it will be remembered, the principal architect of the Vietnam War in the '60s who, along with fellow democratic liberals like LBJ, McGeorge Bundy, etc., devised the strategy of throwing over half-a-million U.S. troops into Southeast Asia and dropping more tons of bombs on the Vietnamese than the total tonnage dropped in all of WW2 in an effort to (as Gen. Curtis LeMay so succinctly put it) "bomb them back into the Stone Age," killing over a million people in the process. McNamara managed to shed any last vestiges of his egghead image, yelling at Harvard students who challenged him to debate the war, "I was a lot tougher than you and I am tougher today!" When critics dubbed the war in Vietnam "McNamara's War," he proudly replied "I think it's a very important war and I am pleased to be identified with it." (In 1967, he ordered the building of the "McNamara Line" — a massive complex of sensors, mines, barbed wire and bases along the DMZ in a futile attempt to prevent "infiltration" into South Vietnam.)

By 1968, however, McNamara was no longer so pleased to be identified with Vietnam as demonstrations confronted him wherever he went (even, for example, in Calcutta where thousands of students burned him in effigy, tried to bar him from entering the city and forced him to escape from the airport by helicopter). He was quietly relieved of duty as Defense Secretary and transferred to the presidency of the World Bank where his "progressive leanings" could be a bit more discreetly applied in the realm of imperialist economic arm-twisting.

Since leaving the World Bank in mid-1981, McNamara has brilliantly recast himself as an egg-headed liberal, warning of the dangers of the nukes he so fondly nurtured. He is now considered to be — voilá! — a "prominent representative" of the American peace movement who, in recognition of his "exceptional contributions to the solution of world problems," will soon be presented with the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal in West Berlin — not coincidentally right around the time that the Euro-nukes are being slapped into place. But what could be more appropriate for a "former" nukemongering U.S. defense secretary who has now seen the light and righteously declares such nukes to be "totally useless"? Well, perhaps not *totally* useless. . . . McNamara noted in his recent article, ". . . no more, and probably less, than 3000 weapons (in Europe) should be sufficient." After all, this great humanitarian has always been an advocate of "more bang for the buck." We breathlessly await future peace pronouncements from this renowned anti-nuke activist and indefatigable advocate of world peace. □

Reflections and Sketches by Bob Avakian

Creeping Three Worldsism

creeping three worldsism

In this issue of the RW we are reprinting the following article which was the first in a series of articles by Bob Avakian entitled Reflections and Sketches, published in the RW beginning September 3, 1982.

"We're not really imperialists here, we're just caught between the two superpowers and if we go to war it's because they made us do it." This (in only slightly cruder form than it's often presented) is an argument that you get to hear from various quarters around and about, especially when you're outside of the U.S. and when you have a chance to observe more closely other imperialist countries, particularly those that are not one of the superpowers. Especially on the basis of hearing this kind of argument, I have come to realize that the term *superpower* is one which, although we should not discard altogether, we should be very careful in our use of it and clear what we mean and don't mean when we use this term. This is because "superpower" is in fact a term that the imperialists of other countries, particularly the lesser imperialists of the U.S.-led bloc and their social base and apologists, hide behind. And the arguments which I ran down in the beginning are often put forward and, in fact, this is one of the main forms in which the people in these countries are being prepared for the showdown with the Soviet-led bloc and for world war.

The argument is made in one form or another, more developed or less developed, more or less in a Marxist wrapping, that either these lesser imperialist countries are not after all imperialist or if they are then they don't really have the same drive to go to war, don't really need to go to war. If they're building up their military arsenals, conventional and/or nuclear, it's because they're being forced to do it by the mad arms race of the two superpowers (sometimes it's put that way), or else because one superpower — you can take your pick, usually if it's in the West it's the Soviet Union — is forcing everybody else, including the U.S., to arm in order to have a deterrent and prevent war, and so on and so forth. Now, this kind of argument is a necessity of the imperialists in these countries because of their position in the world and also because of the experience of the masses who have been much more directly involved in an experience historically — the devastation of two previous world wars. But it's important to see what's lurking behind this and see its influence among people who claim to be, and some of whom even are, socialists, Marxists or whatever, but are still influenced to one degree or another, in one way or another by this kind of thinking. And in particular I'm talking about the kind of thinking that says that even if we admit that these other lesser imperialists are imperialists, even if we admit that they are in fact in alliance with the U.S. imperialists (in the case of the Western imperialist states), nevertheless perhaps it is true that it really is only the superpowers that are seeking world domination, that they are the only ones who really are in a position to, and/or have the drive to, redivide the world in order to dominate the greatest part of it; and that it may even be possible to neutralize some of, or some sections of, the ruling classes of the other imperialist states and perhaps this will even possibly prevent world war.

In other words, this kind of position goes along with a great deal of pacifism and social-pacifism, seeking some way, a reformist way of avoiding the very real — yes, very real — horror of a world war under the present conditions. But this amounts to seeking to avoid it on some basis other than what is in fact the only way to prevent world war, or to turn world war into something else, something beneficial for mankind, namely proletarian revolution.

This reformist, social-pacifist position, as I said, even has significant influence among people who not only profess to be Marxists, or Marxist-Leninists, but included among that, some who are or have been Marxist-Leninists. And it is in fact, and I think this is rather ob-

vious, but the depth of it needs to be exposed, it is in fact a theory that is shot through and through with chauvinism. And it calls to mind what Lenin said at the time of World War I about those people in the European countries who had the attitude that as long as there was no devastation, as long as there was no tumult, as long as there was no destruction in *Europe*, then there really wasn't anything to worry about, or there really wasn't any war going on. He said that we Europeans often forget that wars of colonial suppression, colonial wars are also wars, and that when masses are shot down in the colonies by the imperialist armies, that too is warfare, even if sometimes it's one-sided, that is it's the imperialists merely carrying out bloody suppression, that too is war, that is not peace.

This is very relevant today when we see on the one hand a positive expression of a massive outpouring of opposition to nuclear buildup and the threat of nuclear war, but on the other hand spontaneously among some, and consciously among others (and this is the more dangerous part), a chauvinist approach of trying to keep *Europe* from being involved in nuclear war, keep *Europe* nuclear free, keep *Europe* from being devastated by a nuclear war. And if that were possible, even if it meant that imperialism would go on as a system and continue plundering and looting and enslaving the majority of people who do *not* live in *Europe*, well so be it, as long as nuclear devastation in *Europe* could be prevented. This is a chauvinist line which not only has a spontaneous basis and influence, but which is, as I said, more dangerously promoted consciously even by forces who should know better.

Petty Strivings

It also calls to mind another thing Lenin said at the time of World War I, when he referred to the petty-bourgeois striving of petty states, even socialists in petty states, to try to avoid great world conflagrations, to stand aside from great world events, such as World War I and the revolutionary upsurges it did give rise to, and to try to, as he put it, exploit their *privileged* position. Lenin's referring to these states' position as "privileged" might sound odd or ironic because you don't usually think of small states as having privileged positions. Generally the more dominant states in the world tend to be larger (though it's not always one-to-one that way); but generally you think of larger states and dominant states as more privileged. But I think Lenin's point was very correct and very important that precisely because of not being major world powers, nor the front line forces in World War I (he was speaking of Scandinavian states, for example), or even being technically and officially neutral in World War I (for example Switzerland), there was a certain ability to try to remain outside of and aloof from, as Lenin put it, the tremendous destruction and upheaval that was part of the bringing together and explosion of world contradictions in and around World War I.

We see this same sort of phenomenon on the part of the "over-the-hill gang" imperialists, at least as they like to present themselves. And sometimes it's rather both nauseating and amusing, at one and the same time, to hear what can only be classified as petty jealousy on the part of the second-rate (if you want to call them that) imperialists and their spokesmen and apologists — the petty carping and jealousy that they incessantly direct toward even sometimes the U.S. imperialists, even sometimes dressed up in anti-imperialist garb, to express their frustration at the fact that they are no longer, as they once were, the dominant great powers in the world although they certainly are, much as they want to try to hide it, major imperialist powers, exploiters and plunderers in the world today.

We're treated to a din of this and one cannot avoid it if one watches television and reads the newspapers or even is conscious walking around. At the same time as there is this constant din of petty jealousy, there is a real attempt on the part of these imperialists and their supporters to exploit their second-rate position and the fact that they are not major powers, to exploit it in order to disguise the fact that they are imperialists. Despite all Kautskyite attempts to prettify imperialism and to pretend the lesser imperialists are not really imperialists and are not really driven by the same laws and don't really have the same necessity to redivide the world at this stage — despite all that, the fact remains that they *are* driven in this way. Yet they seek to take advantage of the fact that they are not at this time on top of the imperialist heap, that they are not as easily identified in some cases as major exploiters and oppressors, or it may seem that they have lost it, that they no longer occupy that role in the world, or at least not in any significant way. This is an image that these particular imperialists attempt to promote in order to in fact more effectively fight for the largest part of the spoils that they possibly can and the greatest possible gains through a redivision of the world via a new world war. So this is a form for deceiving the masses in terms of preparing them for war, even in the guise of opposition to war and opposition to the superpowers, even in some cases in the guise of opposition to the imperialist alliances and blocs and the desire to see them broken up — *some day* — etc., etc. And this is not only the way in which the masses then are prepared for war, but it is also the way in which both before and looking forward to that war these imperialists pursue their interests in the world.

The *Allemania Express*, a container ship with the Hapag-Lloyd line of West Germany, was making its usual stops up and down the west coast of the U.S. during the latter part of September. But something unusual came of this; despite growing constraints on the movement of the sailors with each stop, bits and pieces have been collected of their efforts to oppose the stationing of the cruise and Pershing II missiles in West Germany later this year. The following is a compilation of these bits and pieces, the product of, and something which is reacting back upon, a highly politicized situation in West Germany.

During the last cruise of the *Allemania Express*, members of the crew wrote and circulated a petition among the rest of the crew which called for a boycott of "the loading, unloading, and transport of the escalatory weapons, Pershing II and cruise missile." Nineteen of the 24 crew members signed it, including the captain of the ship. The petition was also apparently circulated among some 40 other ships on the Hapag-Lloyd line. After the *Allemania Express* docked in Bremerhaven, West Germany and before it left on its next run, the captain was called into the office of the line. His superiors asked that he remove his name from the petition. He refused. When the shipping

line threatened him and two other crew members, the crew staged a brief strike. The company relented and promised not to fire anyone for participating in the circulation of the petition. But several days out of Bremerhaven, the crew received a telex that indeed the two crew members and the captain had been fired.

The crew believes their vessel has delivered ammunition from the U.S. to El Salvador, and dockworkers in Oakland, California say that boxes were loaded onto the vessel from Livermore Laboratory where nuclear warheads are produced. The *Allemania Express* also makes stops in Long Beach, California, home of General Dynamics where cruise missiles are produced; Seattle, Washington, which produces many military and specifically nuclear products; and Vancouver, British Columbia.

Twice the *Allemania Express* stopped in Oakland, and at least on its second ar-

ival during its most recent trip to the U.S. west coast the usual pilots who steer ships into port in Oakland were dispensed with and the coast guard itself guarded the passage of the *Allemania Express* in an attempt to keep its arrival quiet. But on September 21, and again on September 28, anti-nuke demonstrators gathered to welcome the crew. And even when, on the second stop, the crew was kept aboard ship, they could see banners outside congratulating them for their anti-nuke stand. On September 21, the sailors were able to speak to the demonstrators through a chainlink fence although most were confined to the dock. When the ship pulled into Seattle's port on September 24th several people active in protesting against nuclear weapons were denied access to the ship; they asked the guard to deliver written messages to the crew. Although the guard accepted the messages, they never reached the crew

members.

Later that afternoon several members of the Organizing Committee for a World Without Imperialism Contingent from the U.S. to West Germany managed to board the ship and speak with the sailors. They got out a number of copies of the call for the contingent and spoke at length to one sailor who was glad to hear that they targeted imperialism both East and West, that is, the U.S. and the Soviet Union; but he was not willing to say that West Germany was imperialist although neither was he willing to defend it as not imperialist. On the one hand, he supported the Green Party and their bid for seats in parliament and he hailed the growth of the peace movement in West Germany. On the other hand, when asked if he really believed this would put a stop to these war preparations, again he would not say so, a worried look betraying some of his doubts.

He gladly accepted a banner which read, "A world without imperialism not an imperialist world war" signed by anti-nuclear activists and others and he promised to try to let people in West Germany know about the World Without Imperialism Contingent since this ship was not scheduled to arrive in West Germany until after the contingent left the U.S. □

Deutschemarks, Rain Forests and "Economic Miracles"



Left, clear-cutting in the Amazon Basin. Above, ad for a West German bank with extensive international operations.

Like all the imperialists in the world today, the West German ruling class acts on the profound compulsion to seek a new division of the world as the only resolution of the gnawing world systematic crisis, which has even gripped the so-called West German "Economic Miracle" at its very foundations. The consensus which has existed for years among all the three major established parties of the West German imperialists on the necessity for the stationing of Pershing and cruise missiles in West Germany is a case in point (see *RW* No. 210). It was the Socialist Party's (SPD) Chancellor Helmut Schmidt who first called for them in 1977 and concluded the agreement on deployment in 1979. It is the Christian Democrats (CDU), who came to power last March, who are committed to the most resolute continuation of that policy. And it is the leader of the Free Democrats (FDP), Genscher, who has served as West Germany's foreign minister through all of this. This stark unanimity contrasts with the hypocritical but necessary charade whereby the U.S. imperialists have assumed the role of cowboy tough-guy determined to ram the missiles into Europe, while the European imperialists present themselves as caught

between the U.S. and the Soviets and with little choice but to go along with Yankee arm-twisting. And, in the midst of the deep political crisis in West Germany today, even within the opposition to the missile deployments erupting, there is the widespread view (especially in W. Germany but also in the anti-nuke movement in this country) that West Germany is not really imperialist, but a country dominated by U.S. imperialism and at the mercy of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Let's take a closer look.

The population of W. Germany enjoys one of the highest standards of living in the world. Although the German imperialists were on the "losing side" of the second imperialist world war, from the late '50s until just a few years ago W. Germany experienced the greatest period of economic growth and achieved the highest level of prosperity in its entire history. W. Germany rose like a Phoenix, or should we say vampire, from the ashes of WW2 to become an "economic miracle." To what can this "miracle" be attributed?

"Turkey became the most important field of operations of German imperialism: The Deutsche Bank,

with its enormous Asiatic business interests, about which all German oriental policies center, became its peacemaker. In the 1850s and 1860s Asiatic Turkey worked chiefly with English capital which built the railroad from Smyrne, and leased the first stretch of the Anatolian railroad up to Ismit. In 1888 German capital appeared upon the scene and produced from Abdul Hamid the control of the railroad that English capital had "built and the franchise for the new stretch from Ismit to Angora and branch lines to Scutari, Bursa, Kenya and Karizirili. In 1899 the Deutsche Bank secured concessions for the building and operation of a harbor and improvements in Hadar Pasha, and the sole control over trade and tariff collections in the harbor. In 1901 the Turkish government turned over to the Deutsche Bank the concession for the Great Baghdad railroad to the Persian Gulf, and in 1907 a concession for the drainage of the Sea of Karaviran and the irrigation of the Koma plain.

"The reverse of this wonderful work of 'peaceful culture' is the

'peaceful' and wholesale ruin of the farming population of Asia Minor. The cost of this tremendous undertaking was advanced, of course, by the Deutsche Bank on the security of a wide diversified system of public indebtedness. Turkey will be, to all eternity, the debtor of Messrs. Siemens, Gwinner, Helfferich, etc. . . . As bond and surety that the subsidy will be paid, the Turkish Government has handed over to the representatives of European capital, the so-called Executive board in control of public debt, the main source of Turkish national income, which has given to the Deutsche Bank the right to collect the tithe from a number of provinces. . . .

"Thus a twofold purpose is accomplished. The farming population of Asia Minor becomes the object of a well organized process of exploitation in the interest of European, in this case German, financial and industrial capital. This again promotes the growth of the German sphere of interest in Turkey and lays the foundation for Turkey's 'political protection.' At the same

Continued on page 14

What Are The Social-Democrats Searching For In The Rosenberg Files?

Thirty years after their execution by the U.S. government, the controversy over Julius and Ethel Rosenberg has again flared to life. The occasion is the publication of a new book billed as the definitive work on the case—*The Rosenberg File: A Search For Truth*, by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton.

Radosh and Milton contend that Julius Rosenberg not only stole "the secret of the Atomic Bomb" for the Soviet Union but headed up an extensive Soviet espionage ring during and after World War 2. The book backs its claims with material from tens of thousands of FBI documents released under a Freedom of Information Act suit brought by the Rosenberg's surviving children, Michael and Robert Meeropol, with the new revelations of a long-silent witness, and with dozens of interviews with surviving participants in the case—including a first-ever interview with David and Ruth Greenglass, the brother and sister-in-law of Ethel Rosenberg, whose testimony sent the couple to the electric chair.

But what gives the Radosh/Milton treatment its particular edge is hardly its new evidence, nor the fact that it presents a much tighter case against the Rosenbergs than did the prosecution in court; after all, as recently as the mid-1970s the right-wing lawyer/author Louis Nizer had a best-seller along similar lines. Nizer's book was openly directed to the great American mainstream for whom the Rosenbergs et al., were always the bad guys anyway. Radosh and Milton on the other hand principally address themselves to those who over the years have been influenced by the stream of, if not pro-Rosenberg then at least anti-government, books, novels, TV documentaries and movies. The dragon that Radosh and Milton mean to slay is the consensus among leftists and left-liberals that the Rosenberg case was an atrocity perpetrated by the U.S. government, a frameup cooked up by the FBI and dictated entirely by the exigencies of U.S. cold-war politics, domestic and foreign.

Radosh, the principal author, tells us in his Foreword that he is "a man of the democratic Left," one whose very initiation into politics took place at the Union Square vigil on the night the Rosenbergs were killed. Today, Radosh is an activist in the social-democratic Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and was a member of the executive committee of the National Committee to Re-open the Rosenberg Case. (It was through his work in the Committee that he received his initial access to the FBI files and entrée to the principals in the case.)

Further, Radosh's mystery witness who comes forward in the book to give new "corroborating testimony" is none other than James Wienstein, also a DSA figure and editor of the social-democratic newspaper *In These Times*. Finally, a central target of the book is the CPUSA, which comes under fire for its undeniably reprehensible behavior vis-à-vis the Rosenbergs and its whole political line and orientation at the time.

These factors have combined to

generate highly enthusiastic reviews from the bourgeois press and a tremendous amount of controversy on the left. A "definitive account...*The Rosenberg Files* has succeeded in the 'search for the truth' announced in its subtitle" wrote the civil-liberties lawyer and writer Alan Dershowitz in a front page rave in the Sunday *New York Times Book Review* section. Other reviews echoed the themes of "meticulously researched" and "balanced and objective." The book received such extreme pre-publication publicity that it went through four printings prior to its public release on the strength of swelling bookstore orders. Meanwhile, both the *New York Review of Books* and the *New York Times Book Review* had carried long and bitter exchanges between the Radosh/Milton team and Walter and Miriam Schneir, authors of *Invitation to an Inquest*, the principal work supporting the thesis of government frameup. All this will reach something of a high point in a public debate featuring Radosh and Milton against the Schneirs in New York on October 20th.

Thus far, however, the central terms of the debate have revolved around the question of "did they or didn't they?" But it seems to us that there's something more fundamental and important underlying the whole controversy; after all, this case has not retained the power to animate fierce political passions simply because it was a gross miscarriage of justice, or alternately, justice well-served. There are some crucially important political questions knotted up here and some important assumptions on each side that have to be unraveled and analyzed in order to grasp what in fact is at stake, and why the Radosh/Milton book has become such a *cause célèbre*.

It is not as if Radosh and Milton, of course, have somehow steered clear of politics. As we shall see, their work is not quite the disinterested dissection for the sake of historical truth that it fashions itself; indeed, Radosh and Milton unfold a fairly wide-ranging political analysis, line and worldview in the course of their musings on the case and on its *dramatis personae*. As it did for the novelists E.L. Doctorow and Robert Coover, the case serves Radosh and Milton almost as a takeoff point for a meditation on these larger questions (though from a decidedly different bent). In our opinion, those questions, which ultimately lie at the root of the controversy's intensity, take in the following: Where should one's most basic political allegiance lie? What does it mean to practice internationalism? And what, finally, was the political dynamic operating in the world after World War 2 that conditioned the particularly perverse character of American politics, circa 1946-1955?

Cold-War Climate

Grant for a minute, merely as a "thought-experiment" if you like, Radosh's and Milton's central thesis—i.e., that Julius Rosenberg headed a clandestine group that turned over materials useful to the Soviet Union in (at

this point, anyway) corroborating information that had been passed to them from Los Alamos. No one, including Radosh and Milton will (at this point) deny that the Rosenbergs were nevertheless executed for essentially political reasons. Radosh and Milton themselves point out (or rather concede) that the Rosenbergs were tried under a law intentionally selected for both its lighter burdens of proof and the fact that it allowed for a death sentence. The authors also note that the judge, Irving Kaufman, was determined to see them die from before the beginning of the trial, and said so to his intimates.

They further go on to make clear that no evidence was ever adduced as to Ethel's participation in any spy-ring until well after she had been arrested and charged (and the evidence itself was so flimsy and obviously makeshift that even Radosh and Milton find it somewhat suspect); that the two key witnesses—confessed Soviet courier Harry Gold and David Greenglass—coordinated under FBI tutelage the part of their story that placed Julius Rosenberg in the middle of a conspiracy; and that Ethel Rosenberg was consciously sentenced to die as a pressure tactic to get Julius to confess. Clearly, then, any author must explain what political climate led to these rather unseemly departures from the canons of due process. Let us see what Radosh and Milton say.

"By 1949," they write near the very beginning of their book, "the Cold-War mentality had secured its grip on America. The United States emerged from World War 2 as the strongest power on earth; yet America seemed unable to translate that strength into the security it craved. Americans perceived that they were being threatened anew by the spread of communism in Eastern Europe and Asia, and, especially, by the Soviets' acquisition of the atomic bomb. Americans had power; yet, as the astute British observer Godfrey Hodgson put it, 'The world refused to be moulded by it.' It was this immensely frustrating discovery that gave McCarthyism its opportunity."

Poor America! Frustrated again in its quest for security, this time by those evil Reds. And now, its frustrated millions struggle in the grip of Cold-War mentality. No wonder they succumb to an anti-Red hysteria.

Well, not quite, dear authors. Your scenario paints a politically monolithic America reacting to Soviet gains in the world. But what was this "security"? How did the U.S. government intend to go about getting it? And where did this "Cold-War mentality" flow from?

As we've analyzed elsewhere, the U.S. fought World War 2 with the aim of not only defeating Germany, but of gaining the top-dog position among the other imperialist powers engaged. In this, they succeeded, and then some. The U.S. dollar became the currency in the world—the only one literally as good as gold—and that dollar was backed up by an unprecedented string of military bases. The U.S. moved in on the colonial preserves of its erstwhile allies and reorganized the

entire framework of the world economy under its own unprecedentedly centralized control. *Time* magazine—the nation's poet laureate, as Robert Coover called it in *The Public Burning*—announced the inauguration of the American Century.

The "quest for security" took some interesting forms. In Greece, where the anti-fascist resistance forces led by the Greek CP had militarily led in the defeat of Germany, the U.S., blocked with Britain, sponsored reactionary forces in a long and bloody civil war. In Malaya, British troops under U.S. aegis fought against national liberation forces; in Indochina, of course, the French prosecuted their war against the Viet Minh. Eisenhower referred to the "common bond" joining the "French soldier who dies in Indochina, the British soldier killed in Malaya, the American life given in Korea."

The fact was that while the U.S. had achieved an unprecedented hegemony within the imperialist world, that world order had been severely shaken and weakened through World War 2, and was itself coming under a very much unprecedented challenge, especially from the national liberation struggles. And the U.S.—correctly—located the source of that challenge in the Soviet-led socialist camp, which after 1949 included China as a highly significant factor.

While the existence of this camp was paradoxical—rife with severe internal problems, including heavy revisionist influences, and often not adopting a consistently revolutionary stance—still, this grouping of states was militarily and politically strong enough and cohesive enough to constitute a forceful pole of resistance to imperialism. It was a force of attraction for some bourgeois as well as many revolutionary-led liberation struggles in the Third World, and even commanded influence in the imperialist world as well, largely through the organizational strength of the West European CPs. The historian Franz Schurmann described the Soviet challenge like this: "It was the only power





capable of matching the United States militarily. The world's major trouble spots — Berlin, Greece, Iran, and Korea — were in areas where Russia collided with the newly emerging American empire. And the most threatening form of 'chaos' came from communist revolutionary movements in such countries as Greece, Azerbaijan, the Philippines, Malaya, Korea, Indochina, and, of course, China. Cultivated gentlemen like Acheson and Kennan, machine politicians like Truman, tough lawyers like Forrestal and Dulles all shared an overwhelming fear born of two world wars and a great depression. The only way to banish that fear was to have total security or, as James Forrestal said in December 1947: 'We are dealing with a deadly force and nothing less than 100% security will do.'

By 1949, the National Security Council commissioned the Joint Chiefs of Staff to work up a plan for world war with the Soviet Union. The result was "Plan Dropshot," which was leaked in 1977, and which soberly analyzed what would be needed to thoroughly defeat and dismember the Soviet Union in a world war. The text of this plan can be found in *Dropshot* published by Dial Press and edited by the espionage historian Anthony Cave Brown.

"Plan Dropshot" basically concluded that the Soviet military strength, coupled with its political influence in Europe and around the world, made it highly unlikely that the U.S. could decisively defeat the Soviets any time before 1955. Flowing from this the plan called for military, political, and economic preparations — internationally and domestically — for a war roughly calculated to occur by 1957.

The following parts of the report are extremely relevant to understanding the thinking behind the political offensive which was more or less capped by the Rosenberg executions. After assessing the rather unfavorable political situation for the U.S. around the world, the report turned to the U.S. itself. The Dropshot planners had requested the Joint Intelligence Group of the Joint Chiefs of

Staff to outline likely problems, and the Group wrote that:

"Negroes and elements of recent European origin are receptive targets of Communist subversion as are a number of intelligent people of sound background who are deceived by misinformation, or have a perennial weakness for 'causes' to support. And the professions and various youth and women's organizations, are a fertile field for this subversive effort." The group therefore expected that: "In 1955, through open party and cover groups, the Soviets will have a well-organized system of espionage, and adequate channels of communications with the USSR to ensure the collection of essential political, military and economic information."

More to the point, in a certain sense, the report stressed that:

"They will be capable, through direct and disguised propaganda, of arousing considerable animosity towards, and confusion in, the United States. The Soviets will have well-laid plans for the sabotage of industrial installations and communication facilities — plans which will go into full-scale operation in the event of war or imminent threat of war. By these means the Soviets will seriously interfere with the mobilization and utilization of the United States' war potential."

This was not mere government hyperbole, but addressed a very real problem for the U.S. bourgeoisie coming off of World War 2. During the war, then CP chief Earl Browder had (literally) shaken hands with FDR, enlisting the CP in the war effort for U.S. imperialism. On the other hand, FDR had shaken hands with Earl Browder and, exhibiting astute political acumen, had recruited the not unsubstantial energies of a legion of war organizers. The backdrop for this was the wartime alliance of the U.S. and the Soviet Union against the Axis powers, and the CP made use of resultant openings to secure positions in various social institutions and to gain significant political influence. (Highly

related here was the Comintern's handling of the contradiction involved between defending the Soviet Union and promoting revolution in other countries. This has been analyzed in depth in *Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must And Will*, by Bob Avakian, which readers are urged to study.)

Following the war, however, when the alignment of forces internationally dramatically shifted into one in which the U.S. and Soviets faced off in sharp antagonistic confrontation, the U.S. rulers could no longer tolerate this CP influence, and the need to eliminate it became a top priority, dominating American political life from at least 1947 to 1953. The CPUSA found their policy of combining reformism in the U.S. with reliance on Soviet international power exploding in their face. They could no longer be bourgeois democrats for the U.S. and the Soviet Union at the same time.

The Rosenberg case principally served the government as a means to slash at the CP's remaining influence; following on the heels of the inquisitions in Hollywood, the purge of the CIO and the Smith Act trials it had a devastating effect. (Incidentally, the tendency of Radosh and others to date the anti-communist hysteria from the first Soviet A-blast in 1949 covers over these significant earlier developments.) As for any secondary purpose in serving to root out spy networks and the like, we're tempted to quote the wag who — noting the fact that CP members and sympathizers were recruited by the U.S. government to work on the Manhattan Project — remarked: "Spies, Shmies. Whether or not anybody around the CPUSA gave scientific info on the A-bomb to the Soviet Union, they sure gave it to the USA." Besides, there is much dispute among scientists as to whether there ever was an A-bomb secret; i.e., there is a widespread view that once the basic principles were discovered — and they were known to Soviet scientists along with the rest of the world rather early — the actual building of nuclear weaponry was almost entirely a matter of a given nation's technological base and capabilities.

But more on the spy question later.

There was, in addition, an international dimension to the execution. While Radosh and Milton tried to situate the Rosenberg defense effort as flowing from the need of the international movement at the time to focus attention away from what the authors characterize as anti-Semitic treason trials then going in Czechoslovakia, they put hardly any emphasis at all on Eisenhower's expressed motivation in denying clemency to show some guts and determination to Europe. The U.S. was upset over the "light" 14-year sentence meted out by the British to confessed spy and ex-Los Alamos scientist Klaus Fuchs, and was determined to let the Allies know what Yankee backbone was all about.

Paul Berman, a social-democratic critic, ran a version of history similar to Radosh's in a recent issue of *Vanity Fair* magazine. We cite this because Berman's focus on nuclear weapons was quite relevant and quite revealing of the Radosh/Milton/social-democratic mindset. Berman states that "The real meaning of the Rosenberg espionage wasn't technical but political." Then he continues:

"Let us recall the political history of the Bomb. From 1945 to 1949 the United States enjoyed a monopoly of nuclear weapons, and the monopoly gave rise to the earliest and most primitive of nuclear doctrines. This was the idea that A-bombs were the key to world domination. Bombs conferred omnipotence. With plutonium weapons in our planes, and none in the Soviets', we could force the Soviet Union to curb its ambitions, refrain from invading neighbors, restrain its allies. Or we'd do to them what we did to Japan."

Berman goes on to call the theory dreadful, but what's missing here is any description of the *practice* that went with the theory. Specifically, the U.S. bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were mainly intended for the edification of the Soviets and the revolutionary movements around the world. The point was not the "curbing of Soviet ambitions," but the forcing of Soviet capitulation in the face of U.S. nuclear weapons and demonstrated readiness to use them. Further, once again, the U.S. was carrying out and/or supporting violent suppression of revolutionary movements all over the world during the period Berman speaks of.

But we'll come back to Berman later; for now, let us conclude this section by noting an article in the recent special issue of *In These Times* devoted to the whole affair. The article, by John Judis, is entitled "The Overkill of McCarthyism — One Step Too Far," and presents a key thesis in the current social-democratic resummation of the immediate postwar period. Judis argues that the roots of McCarthyism were located in (1) "a legitimate reaction to real Soviet spies and Soviet domination of Eastern Europe," (2) "a policy of the Truman administration to whip up fear of the Soviet Union to grease the entry of U.S. capital into Western Europe," and

Continued on page 10

The Rosenberg Files

Continued from page 9

(3) "petty domestic political conflicts which allowed the whole thing to be turned into a political football." A good idea, in other words, that got messed up by greedy businessmen and grubby politicians who did not correctly grasp the national interests with the same subtlety and selfless dedication as...social-democrats!

Judis gives it the social-democratic twist (found also in Radosh/Milton) by painting the whole thing as rising up from a grassroots groundswell: "The red scare would not have arisen had not the majority of Americans already found communism repellent," according to Judis. "If anything these fears were more pronounced among lower income groups." The problem, you see, was that McCarthy took these fears "a step too far."

Prettifying the Executioners

This social-democratic model, in sum, not only whitewashes the U.S. politico-military offensive and aim following World War 2, but goes on to mystify the real dynamics propelling the U.S. towards another world war and, as a by-product of that, its anti-communist pogroms.

The reason that this war did not in fact happen has nothing to do with the U.S. ruling class coming to its senses, or even being cowed by the might of the socialist camp and related forces; rather, it was the restoration of capitalism in the USSR in the mid-1950s, and the concomitant collapse of the socialist camp as an anti-imperialist force and center that provided the U.S. with a qualitatively wider scope to carry out economic expansion and to make the necessary political moves internationally. While China remained a bastion of revolution, the collapse of the socialist camp as such enabled the U.S. to partially reorient itself internationally and to breathe new life into the empire it had built off of World War 2, although the change also carried within it the seeds of the later antagonism which is today blossoming in earnest.

At the same time, there was, in Berman's words, another major protagonist in the drama — "the Old Left," i.e., the CPUSA. Here is Radosh, in his Foreword:

"One uncomfortable aspect of the historical truth that we had to deal with from the beginning was the realization that the Communist Party USA had indeed served as a recruiting ground for spies. After the Bolshevization of the party in the late 1920s (an apparent reference to the expulsion of Jay Lovestone, who originated the doctrine of "American Exceptionalism" and who after his expulsion went on to coordinate joint work between the CIA and the AFL-CIO — RW), the political strategy of the party was determined according to the dictates of the Soviet policy rather than by the special needs of the American working class."

The Rosenberg case says Berman,

"reminds us again that communism had a double identity. It was the principal American radicalism of its time, the heir to the radical tradition, the legitimate expression of at least a number of workers and middle-class idealists. But it was also, in backrooms of Party headquarters, and in its soul an agency of the Soviet Union, in this case the KGB. It was committed to the American working class, but also the Russian working class, and like all things with a secret identity, the movement was slightly repellent. You might say it was so subversive it subverted itself."

While it's true that a rather repellent odor of opportunism emanated from the CP in the early '50s (and well before, in fact), Berman hardly has its source right. But more on that shortly — first, it's important to grasp how this rather crude anti-communism is used to prettify the Rosenberg's executioners.

Radosh and Milton invariably issue warnings before quoting any remarks by people around the Rosenbergs or in the CP at the time (except when these remarks serve the authors' thesis). They speculate at length on possible hidden motives, and they indulge in cheap shots

galore (particularly against Morton Sobell, the Rosenberg's co-defendant who was sentenced to 30 years, and his wife Helen). At the same time, Radosh and Milton show a touching naivete where other sources are involved.

Radosh and Milton put great stock, for instance, in certain testimony of the admitted FBI informer Jerome Tartakow, who was put into close proximity with Julius in jail. (The passages they cite, of course, are the ones corroborating their scenario of the espionage ring; they dismiss Tartakow's more obviously outrageous inventions.) Where the Schneirs, among others, have questioned this method, and suggested that the FBI may have fed Tartakow information (through either subtle hints or more overt drilling), Radosh and Milton derisively label the suggestion "preposterous," writing that: "Having first said that Tartakow was unreliable even to the Bureau, they (Radosh's and Milton's critics — RW) then proposed that FBI agents spent hundreds of hours feeding him information which he then spilled right back to the FBI and which the Bureau stuffed into its own secret files. What would be the purpose of such an exercise?" One possible purpose can be seen from how such material was in fact used: first as "special stuff" to be leaked to certain sources in the press, etc., as the need arose, and years later as supposedly corroborating evidence when the FOIA suit "pried loose" the so-called "secret FBI files." Here the close reasoning and active imagination Radosh and Milton exercise in refuting defense witness alibis and plumbing for hidden motivations is missing. In fact, the whole treatment of the FBI is a scream; you begin to wonder if they're talking about the same guys who carry out all the COINTELPRO-type crimes, including, among other things, all sorts of forgeries, phony testimony, use of police informers to set up so-called conspiracies, attempts to break up families and outright murder. We even get treated to the human side of J. Edgar Hoover, who could only go along with Ethel's execution after he convinced himself that she wasn't a good mother! Not so strangely, our bloodhounds find no reason to speculate on the hidden motives for their super surprise mystery witness, James Wienstein. Wienstein, in addition to his role as mystery witness and editor of *In These Times* is also apparently a boon companion and something of a mentor to Radosh. Given the political line of *In These Times* (of which more anon), why shouldn't his motivation come under the same degree of scrutiny as all those who continue to differ with the Radosh/Milton thesis?

The central point of this, however, revolves around the portrayal of the bourgeoisie and its minions. The FBI, as noted, comes off as paragons of investigative ethics, aside from an almost comic-opera penchant for publicity and bureaucratic infighting. In trying to refute the idea that the FBI fabricated files in the early 1970s, the authors explicitly state their stand towards the FBI that runs throughout the book, "We find this...too mind-boggling to take seriously." Do you, now?

The treatment of the judge and the prosecution team is similar. Even where the book concedes shady tactics and serious lapses in "judicial ethics," it does so only to render all this a question of the idiosyncrasies of the individuals involved. And on and on. All this is key to a strong ideological and political motif of the book — as well as social democracy in general — which holds that whatever the flaws in the U.S. (and other imperialist bourgeois democracies) there is due process, which makes it a damn sight better than the Soviet Union. (The parallel argument from the revisionist pro-Soviet forces today, of course, is that whatever the problems in the Soviet Union there is full employment, guaranteed health care, etc. On these great issues are we told to choose between slavemasters...)

Walter Goodman, an unreconstructed Cold War liberal and writer for the *New York Times* editorial page is highly appreciative of this aspect of the Radosh/Milton work:

"For the anti-American left, the

Rosenberg cause became one of the most effective weapons of the Cold War, on a par with the Stockholm Peace Appeal, that Soviet-sponsored extravaganza of the early 1950s, and the charge that the United States was using germ warfare in Korea... the plain fact that it is the left that has kept up the drumbeat as a part of the continuing assault on America's institutions of justice. The tactics used against the Rosenbergs are, alas, only too deserving of assault, but they have often been presented not as abuses of the system but as symptoms. The target is the system."

Politics of the CP

Still in all the question remains — what about the CPUSA? In E.L. Doctorow's fictionalized treatment of the case, *The Book of Daniel*, his protagonist who, modeled on one of the Rosenberg kids, meditates on his father's politics:

"...look, the implication of all the things he used to flagellate himself was that American democracy wasn't democratic enough. He continued to be astonished, insulted, outraged, that it wasn't purer, freer, finer, more ideal. Finding proof of it over and over again — the struggle is still going on Pop! — like a guy looking for confirmation. How much confirmation did he need? Why did he expect so much of a system he knew by definition could never satisfy his standards of justice? A system he was committed to opposing because he had a better one in mind. It's screwy. Lots of them were like that... My country! Why aren't you what you claim to be? As they were put on trial they didn't say, of course, what else could we expect, they said, 'You are making a mockery of American justice!' and it was more than strategy, it was more than Lenin's advice to use the reactionary apparatus to defend yourself, it was passion."

Indeed it was, and one needn't go along with every point of Doctorow's analysis to appreciate his insight into the mentality of the old CP.

The problem with the old CP, Radosh et al., to the contrary, was not that they abandoned the "special interests of the American working class" (as Radosh put it), but that that's where they were rooted. The CP of the United States along with those of Europe, increasingly after 1935 saw the defense of the Soviet Union as a critically important political task not out of some sort of misguided attempt to apply internationalism, but because that defense allowed these parties to pursue their own increasing reformist and bourgeois-democratic goals. And, quite frankly, within the parameters of reformism, that strategy was often successful. It's ironic, for instance, that Berman bemoans the fact that the CP never quite made the leap to what seemed to him possible in New York City in the late '40s: "Developing the kind of political culture you see in Europe — a culture where working people vote differently than the other classes, where the political range isn't restricted to the center but runs onward to the left, where proletarian radicals form part of the governing structure and help shape society. At least such things seemed faintly imaginable 40 years ago."

In one sense you can answer Berman by pointing out that it was just the strategy that he feels blew it for the CPUSA — reformism based on a reliance of the Soviet Union's international power as a state — that led to their greatest influence and highest membership during World War 2 and that was successfully applied by the French and Italian CPs after the war. The reason it didn't work in the U.S. after 1945 was first, because the U.S. bourgeoisie had sufficient reserves not to need that sort of party and political spectrum to gain the consensus they needed among the masses in order to pursue their interests, and second, because the contradiction between the U.S. and the Soviet Union was becoming particularly acute, and in that situation the exigencies facing the U.S. as political leader of the "Free World" would not allow for the CP to flourish as the party of reform in any case.

But the more profound and germane answer is: Who wants that kind of shit anyway? The point of Marxism is supposed to be making revolution, and doing it as part of the international proletariat. The proletarians have no country, and what's called for is a radical rupture with

the old world and the revolutionary struggle for the new. Radosh, Berman and company demand that a party base itself on the "special interests" of the working class of the nation in which it happens to be located. These "special interests" are, in reality, the interests of that stratum of the workers in the imperialist countries bought off and bribed by the blood imperialism sucks internationally, those workers who actually do have some stake in the fortunes (and, conversely, misfortunes) of their own ruling classes, and who, consequently, are more readily mobilized to defend these privileges and spoils in both colonial and world wars.

But Radosh and Berman have not invented a new trend here; they've simply added their names to the list of illustrious social-democratic dignitaries gone before, notably those of different countries who led the workers of Europe into mutual slaughter during World War 1. Of the European parties, it was the *Bolsheviks* alone who took a revolutionary internationalist stand in this war, openly calling for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie so as to hasten the revolution worldwide. (And the "pivot of Marxist tactics," as Lenin put it, was basing oneself on that section of the workers who have "nothing to lose but their chains.") This kind of thing isn't easy; preparation for revolution is an incredibly complex task entailing difficult work. (But not nearly so incredible as some other goals, like for instance, reforming imperialism.) And this is especially so at the outset of war, or during a prewar period. The Bolsheviks not only lost their seats in parliament, but came in for more than a little hard opposition from the masses — as well as, of course, fierce repression from the state. Such, it would seem, is what one must prepare for in daring to lead the struggle for an entirely new social order.

But such work was alien to the CP. Hence their reaction to the Rosenbergs was *not* (and could not have been) to expose the politics underlying the case, to expose the frameup while focusing on the more fundamental question of the tasks of the proletariat in the U.S. in the context of the then-looming conflict. The CP refused to even mention the Rosenbergs for well over a year after their arrest and during their trial, and all party members were warned away from any work in the Rosenberg defense. The excuse was that open CP presence in the case would jeopardize the defense.

But it was almost worse when the CP finally did enter the defense campaign for the Rosenbergs. To begin with, the CP claimed that anti-Semitism was the principal issue involved. While the fact that all the defendants were Jewish did touch off a belch of anti-Semitic bile from the more backward, the bourgeoisie on the whole took care to select a Jewish judge and prosecutor. It was much more a carrot/stick approach to Jews, who at the time made up a significant part of the CP's social base. Here in America, unlike Nazi Germany, you see, there was an option — yes, you could get it in the neck but all it took was a change of heart to share an America's blessings. In fact, the head of the American Jewish Committee launched a propaganda campaign along those lines, complete with a book submitted to the State Department and the New York District Attorney's Office for pre-publication approval.

In addition, the CP played up the hapless victims image of the Rosenbergs. Here they were, said the CP, an ordinary, decent, hard-working young couple, and — whoosh! — they were suddenly snapped off the streets, the "first victims of American fascism," as the CP dubbed them. We can't resist contrasting this CP approach to the stand taken by George Jackson against similar CP efforts to package *him* that way. Jackson insisted that he spoke for a social base determined to make revolution and that there were *politics* to his case that were much more determinate of its outcome than who did what to which prison guard. Eventually this conflict with the CP line and its organizational machinations forced Jackson to dissolve his defense committee shortly before he was assassinated.

Further, while the CP did raise the question of war preparations in light of the Rosenberg case, and had even some years earlier predicted the imminence of U.S.-Soviet war, perhaps in the space of 6

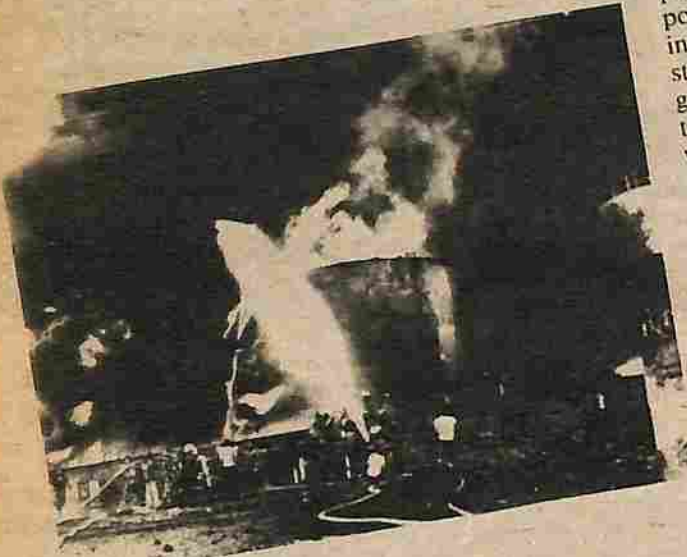
Continued on page 11

The Further Adventures of Democracy and the Barbarians in Nicaragua

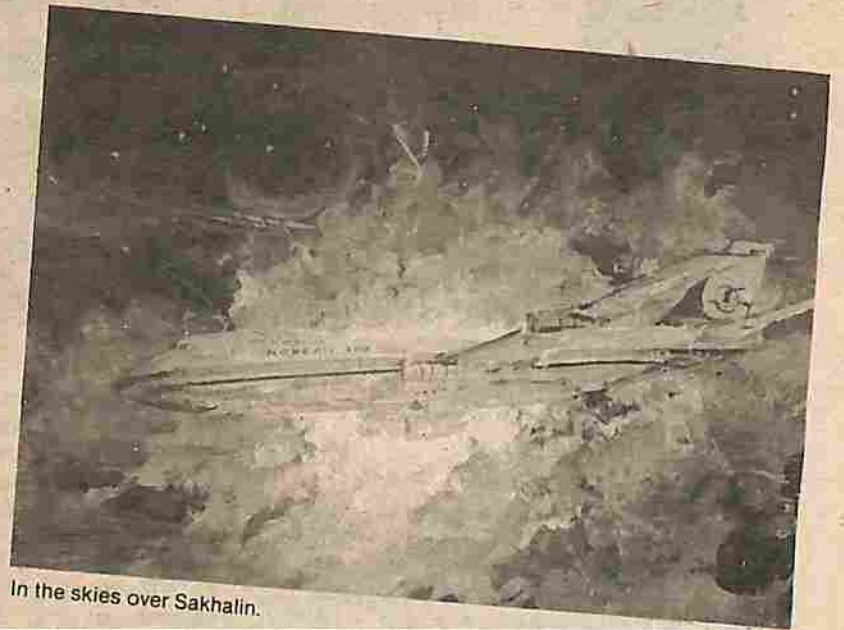
In the midst of a wave of TV news reports decrying restrictions placed on openly pro-U.S. capitalists by the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, another blow was struck for democracy, U.S.-style. On October 11, the former Somoza National Guardsmen, mercenaries, death-squaders and other assorted U.S. employees belonging to the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) launched a sneak attack on the dock installations at Corinto, Nicaragua's main port and the principal entry point for imported oil. Five fuel storage tanks were initially blown up and Sandinista officials stated that at least 3.2 million gallons of gasoline, diesel and other fuel from a total of eight storage tanks eventually went up in flames. The fires were so extensive that the 25,000 residents of Corinto had to be evacuated until firefighters brought the blazes under control. A South Korean oil tanker delivering cooking oil from Canada was hit in the attack, injuring three of the crew. However, in spite of the fact that this was a *civilian* South Korean ship, there was a noticeable lack of hysterical outcry from Washington, D.C. — and the words "barbaric" and "uncivilized" were nowhere to be heard.

Undoubtedly, it was purely a coincidence that at the very same moment that Corinto was burning, Henry Kiss-

inger and some of his Commission cohorts were meeting in Costa Rica with Alfonso Robelo, a leader of the other main *Contra* grouping, the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), which has also taken credit for bombings and air raids in Nicaragua. Further irony was provided by the fact that a storage tank of cooking oil belonging to a company that formerly belonged to Robelo (the company having been confiscated by the Sandinistas when Robelo ran off to make war against them) was one of the apparent targets of the attack; it burned up. Of course, Kissinger insisted to reporters he was totally unaware of the attack when he talked with Robelo. The discussion only dealt with "the possibility... of elections and democratic evolution in the area," Kissinger noted. Apparently, there was not a word about the flames of Corinto — a good demonstration of the actual relations of power on which these lofty "possibilities" firmly rest. □



Corinto, Nicaragua



In the skies over Sakhalin.

The Rosenberg Files

Continued from page 10

months, some things must be said about that: First, they all along portrayed such a war as the result of the *policies* of a specific section of the ruling class, rather than correctly analyzing how it grew out of the imperatives of the imperialist system at that particular juncture; second, the dialectic they posed in opposition to war was not the Leninist one of preparing for revolution, but the illusory and reformist goal of "peace." Underlying this was the CP reliance on the "general crisis" model — an objectively counter-Leninist schema that dominated Comintern thinking from the late 1920s onward, and was marked by a one-sided focus on the question of markets, the prediction of cyclical crashes, and a serious de-emphasis on the importance of the Third World and of the political framework in which imperialist accumulation takes place generally. (For more on the general crisis line see the forthcoming book *America in Decline*.)

Finally, and related to this, the CP went bonzo trying to drape the Rosenbergs in the stars and stripes. This reached its nadir when they reported that Julius Rosenberg had clipped a copy of the Declaration of Independence out of the July 4th newspaper edition, proudly adding his name to it and taped it to his cell wall. Now no one is saying that Julius should have said "So what if I did steal A-bomb secrets"; but *some* exposure of the real character of that very flag that flew over his death house, and the very documents that would sanctify the murders of his wife and himself — some pointing to the real forces and dynamics that were propelling them to the electric chair, and the links of those forces to the *real* tradition of America — this was crying out to be done. It wasn't.

The irony is that while one must admire the stand the Rosenbergs took in the face of relentless pressure and finally death, because of the *political line* of the CPUSA that stand went to serve decidedly un-revolutionary politics. There, in a certain sense, lies the real tragedy of the Rosenbergs, and if that's a bitter fact, it is one that must nevertheless be absorbed fully.

But for Radosh & Co., even the stand the Rosenbergs took in the face of the

electric chair is evidence of some sort of perversity. Ethel's letters from the death house, they say, have the "rhetoric of a practiced hater." It's true, perhaps, she didn't have the humanity of J. Edgar Hoover or Irving Kaufman (who found strength, he said, to mete out the death sentence by going to his synagogue — the God of Vengeance!), but maybe, Ronald and Joyce, some things need to be hated.

Similarly, Radosh and Milton implicitly criticize the Rosenbergs for bringing their children into the defense. They make no mention of the unending stream of propaganda against Ethel Rosenberg for supposedly grooming her children to be orphans by refusing to confess — as if she was intending to electrocute herself! The children had been "dragged into the case," in other words, by the bourgeoisie. Along with this, the bourgeoisie pounded on the chord that Ethel Rosenberg was "an unnatural woman" who had coldly goaded her husband into espionage, drawn her brother into the plot, and sacrificed her children; nor was the scheduling of the Rosenberg execution on the very night of their 14th wedding anniversary lost on anyone either.

Allegiances

After all this, of course, there's still the question of "But did they do it?" Leaving aside the fact that Radosh and Milton act like it was sinning against the Light, it's not only necessary but well worth it to address a few questions that have been raised along these lines.

First, as to the damning new evidence adduced by Radosh and Milton — well, as Robert Coover has his fictional Richard Nixon character say in *The Public Burning*, while the case seems straight forward, "Working backwards, like a lawyer, the narrative came unraveled." Radosh and Milton pretty much stick to the prosecution case, buttressing it with some new FBI files (as they interpret them) and their interviews with Tarkow (the FBI informer) and James Wienstein. Their case is not wholly implausible; nonetheless, there are still more than a few gaping holes in it, especially if you apply their methodology in reverse. Walking forward, they rhetorically ask why Harry Gold, the

chief prosecution witness, would lie when he knew he wouldn't get good behavior off from his sentence. Here they ignore Gold's history of an extremely active fantasy life, his own remarks (which they elsewhere cite in another context) on how much he "flourished" in prison, his stated need to be in the spotlight, etc. One could as easily walk backwards and ask why, if Julius Rosenberg headed an espionage ring, would he be caught short lacking passports (one piece of evidence were passport pictures the Rosenbergs had taken days before their arrests — in their own names), travel money, false documents, etc., when Julius (according to Radosh and Milton) knew the jig was up for some six months or more? The point in this really is not the question again of "determining" if they did it — we've already stated why that's not the issue at hand — but the fact that to make their readers go for their story, Radosh and Milton have to fit them with the lenses of a prosecuting attorney — and ultimately to raise the question of "what if they did it?"

The question of 1950 revolved around the sharpening antagonism between the U.S. and the socialist camp, and the interests of the proletariat lay in the defense of the socialist camp in the context of advancing the revolution everywhere possible. The CPUSA, while not revolutionary, was still pro-Soviet and therefore a threat to the U.S. rulers who otherwise might have welcomed their reformism.

And this question — the question of "national loyalties" — in a certain sense brings us full circle to the present. Why is this book such a big item? Why has *In These Times* launched a veritable campaign around it? History is always summed up with an eye fixed firmly on the present, and the present is nothing if not a prewar period.

This time, however, the character of the looming war is one between the U.S.-led bloc and the rival bloc led by the Soviet Union which is posing an *imperialist* challenge to "reorder" the world. And the CPUSA has long since made the leap into open and full counter-revolution. Today they pursue their fully bourgeois interests through a variant of the historic compromise strategy, seeking to ride Soviet power and the CP's own connections to sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie to some sort of power-sharing arrangement, most likely following a world war.

Certainly much of the velocity behind

the current social-democratic campaign makes sense in the light of their efforts to show the U.S. imperialists that they are an essential ingredient in blocking that CP strategy, and they're bolstering this job application with a little demonstration of their ability to stir things up among a social base where the CP has long had influence. The social democrats are trying to set the terms straight out: "There is a difference," says Radosh in a recent article in *The New Republic*, "between red-baiting, which much be rejected, and anti-Communism, which is a moral and political necessity." He's saying: you're *all* American (even if of the socialist variety), or you're pro-Soviet, and that means treason, in which case we wish you the fairest of trials. The CP had staked everything on portraying the Rosenberg case as a frameup; by challenging this view, Radosh is trying to get the CP to deal among their social base with the question: "Well, what if they were guilty?" In other words, this is an effort to smoke out the CP and get them to speak directly to what it will mean to be pro-Soviet in coming days.

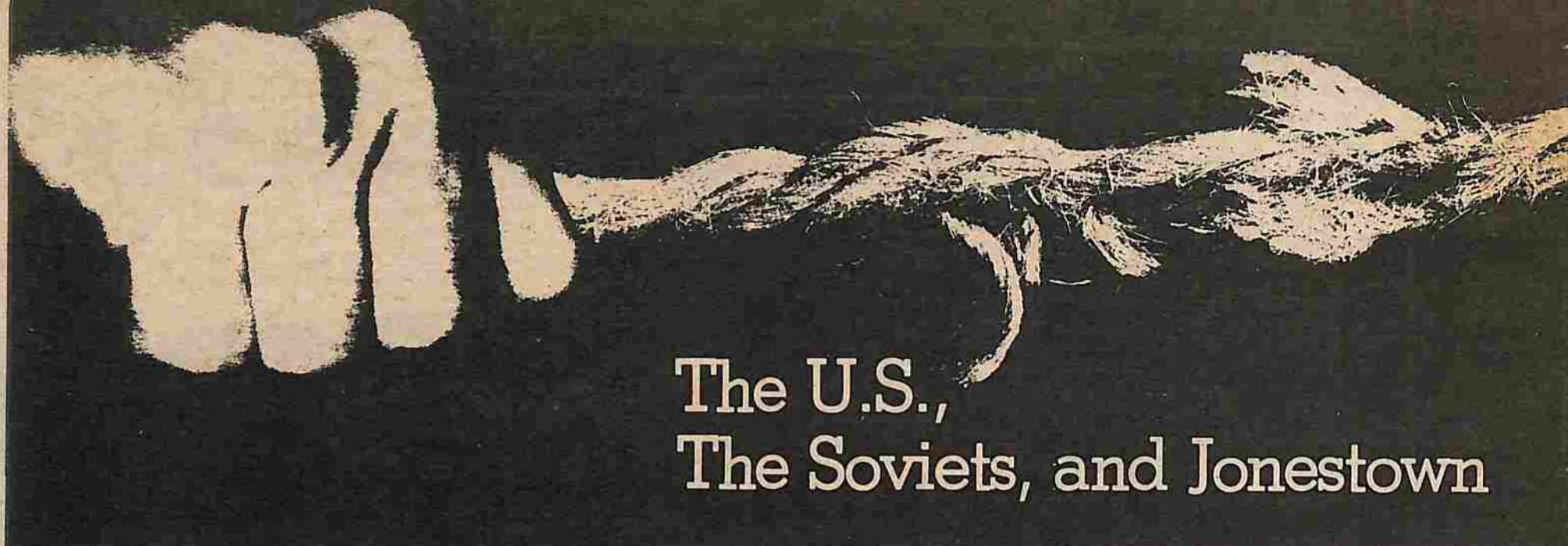
But this is not the entirety of the social-democratic thrust here, or even its principal significance. *The Rosenberg File* is mainly about rehabilitation — rehabilitation of the U.S. government and all its various tentacles in the eyes of those who've come to not only profoundly distrust it, but to oppose it as essentially oppressive. This rehabilitation is carried out in dialectical relation to the painting of the Soviet Union as not merely imperialist but as somehow especially evil and uniquely duplicitous. A sophisticated rerun, in a sense, of the old Sons of Light vs. Sons of Darkness passion play that ran in the early '50s. And the bottom line of it all is loyalty to your own bourgeoisie when the cannons start to boom.

For those who wish to oppose this, the terms that have in large part, been accepted even by revolutionary-minded people, were forged and influenced by at least the heritage of the CP, and often by the CP itself. These very terms must be broken with.

The terms, in sum, are not those of innocent vs. guilty, nor of justice miscarried vs. due process. The terms today are war and revolution. The same global forces that are setting off a dog-fight between the social democrats and the revisionists are also opening up revolutionary possibilities which are quite alien to the class interests of both sets of reactionaries. □

Part II

The Triangle That Ended In Mass Murder:



The U.S., The Soviets, and Jonestown

This is the conclusion to the article begun last week in RW No. 225.

Inside Jonestown itself, from the time Jones arrived at the compound in 1977, things got very intense. People were worked seven days a week, 10 hours a day, in the jungle heat and humidity. He began "crisis" sessions, pretending he'd been shot at and the community was under siege, as he increasingly emphasized the threat the CIA posed to their "movement." Thorazine and other drugs, as well as isolation boxes buried in the jungle ground, were used for the most obstinate and rebellious cases.

Jones further dropped the trappings of Christianity, and his thoughts and words seemed to alternate between mass suicide and defection of the whole Temple to the socialist bloc. There were required classes in Marx and Lenin, with the Soviet Union and Cuba upheld as heaven on earth. According to several books on Jonestown, during a crisis at the end of '77, long-distance radio hookups were made to San Francisco to Angela Davis and Huey Newton, and the call broadcast over the loudspeaker in the compound. Davis and Newton praised the Temple and Jonestown. (Davis, according to *People's World*, denied the call's intent was to beg "Jones not to kill the Jonestown residents." But there is no CP denial that the call took place.) One survivor interviewed by the *RW* told us that for a while, everyone in Jonestown had to take Russian classes and say a short phrase in Russian to get meals.

The exact role of the CPUSA in Jones's negotiations with the Soviet Union remains cloudy. A book by Mark Lane, who along with Charles Garry was the attorney for Jonestown at the time of the massacre, charges that Garry told Jones that he could not return to the U.S. because of legal charges that would be filed against him. Lane says that there was no legal basis for this — although it should be noted that one of Lanes' aims in his book was to shift blame for Jonestown from himself and onto Garry. The charge Lane makes raises a more important question than which attorney was guilty, however, and that is, did the CPUSA and revisionist forces in the U.S. do what they could to close off options and force Jones to go to the Soviet Union?

In this light we can appreciate certain documents that were found in Jonestown after the bodies were removed. Copies of these documents were given to the *RW*; one of them is a transcript of one of Jones' harangues on October 16, 1978, a little more than a month before the end. The documents seem to be genuine, and they do indicate some of the known themes Jones was hitting at the time:

"We understand you're getting tired

and weary of life but we are one of the very few communities, the very few communities in the world outside of the Soviet Union that can do something about it. That can help those that are struggling to be free. Like Ethiopia, Namibia, Zimbabwe. We have the opportunity to go to the greatest place on earth and get training that would equip us well and ably to defeat the common foe. I have no desire to lay my body down and let it rot when I could make an impact against the fascists in USA if nothing else. And that's our whole motivation, people want to have rest and not live on so badly so that's why I'm sure the religionists are right — not the way they think it but we do survive the grave. And then your principles. If I didn't know I wasn't going to live on, I would not give, I wouldn't give the enemy the satisfaction. I can't understand this at all. I would stay alive to be one body, one American they can use you on Radio Moscow, they can use you on our own radio broadcasts here and we do it every day; we talk to every visitor that comes in here about socialism and racism in America."

The transcript goes on for pages, posing as alternatives for the Temple either suicide, or exodus to the Soviet Union. Jones continually asks for those who want to commit suicide to send him a message, telling why — and then he offers mood-altering drugs as a way of halting such feelings.

The Ryan Visit

While Jones was trying to set things up in Guyana for a trip to the Soviet Union, forces aligned against the Temple in the U.S. were moving suddenly and dramatically. Tim Stoen and the Concerned Relatives had already filed several lawsuits against Jones, but this had been more in the realm of harassment. By the fall of 1978, Tim Stoen convinced Congressman Leo Ryan that he should journey to Guyana to check on relatives of people in his congressional district who were in Jonestown. Up to this point, there had been no official U.S. government investigations of Jonestown or the People's Temple, except the friendly visits from the U.S. embassy in Guyana. Ryan checked with the State Department, and they gave the go-ahead, telling Ryan very little about what the government had locked in its safes on Jonestown.

The Ryan trip represented a kind of ultimate threat to Jones' efforts to defect to the Soviet Union. Jonestown by that time was bursting with tension — many of Jones' leading circle had already left, clearly many of the masses were thinking about leaving but couldn't.

And clearly Ryan wasn't out for an embassy-type, kid-gloves investigation. If Ryan's visit resulted in publicity that made Jonestown look anything like it really was, Jones knew that the propaganda value of defection to the Soviet Union would be shot to hell, and the opportunity to move to the Soviet Union would undoubtedly close. There are also indications that the U.S. embassy in Guyana was also starting to lean on Jones. Two weeks before the end, two men from the embassy who had never before visited the compound came to speak with Jones. The usual spectacle was put on for these visitors (everybody smiling, no work that day, good food for everyone); but according to the survivor we interviewed, the new embassy personnel simply came in, spoke with Jones and went back to town, leaving Jones visibly upset.

To top all this off, Leo Ryan (upon the advice of Tim Stoen, according to some accounts) had told Jones that only a congressional delegation would go to Jonestown — no press, no Concerned Relatives. But in late November, when Ryan showed up at the gate of Jonestown, he had with him reporters from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Washington Post*, the *National Enquirer*, and a TV network, as well as some of Jones' long-time enemies from the Concerned Relatives. Jones had by most accounts been sick for months by that time — percolating in the jungle with a 103-degree fever, taking all kinds of drugs. But he was sane enough to know that this set-up was intended to blast Jonestown in the press as never before. After Ryan left Jonestown, Jones made up his mind — Ryan was ambushed and killed along with many members of his party at the nearby airstrip; soon afterward, the "suicide" process began. It seems clear, then, that the Ryan trip was the most dramatic of a series of actions designed to put intense pressure on Jones and the Temple. The U.S. government had clear knowledge of Jonestown's plan to defect to the Soviet Union. Tim Stoen and the Concerned Relatives knew about it, and they had their own ties with the government, and had even established an office in Washington, D.C. to facilitate their work with the government. The U.S. embassy in Guyana also knew, as did the CIA agents there; according to several books on Jonestown, the plan to defect was widely known in Guyana in certain circles.

The visit was made possible by the renewal of close neocolonial ties between the U.S. and Guyana, by the work of Stone and the Concerned Relatives, by the assistance of key figures in the U.S. embassy in Guyana, and by the approval of the State Department in Washington. Although all of this evidence is of course circumstantial, it would appear that more than a simple stroke of good fortune was at work to save the U.S. from a

devastating propaganda defeat. Clearly, high levels in the U.S. government aimed to blunt or destroy the propaganda value of a People's Temple defection to the Soviets.

But the matter doesn't end here, for Jones reacted swiftly and violently to the Ryan gambit. However one interprets the ensuing "suicide," surely all those familiar with the internal affairs of Jonestown (which would include the Concerned Relatives, U.S. embassy officials, and those in Washington to whom they were reporting) had to know that an abrupt smashing of the defection plan would push Jones sharply toward the "suicide" nightmare that had long been openly discussed within the Temple. There has to be a suspicion, in other words, that high circles in the U.S. government not only were not surprised, but outright hoped and worked for a conclusive and fatal end to this messy affair in which so many important bourgeois figures were directly or indirectly implicated.

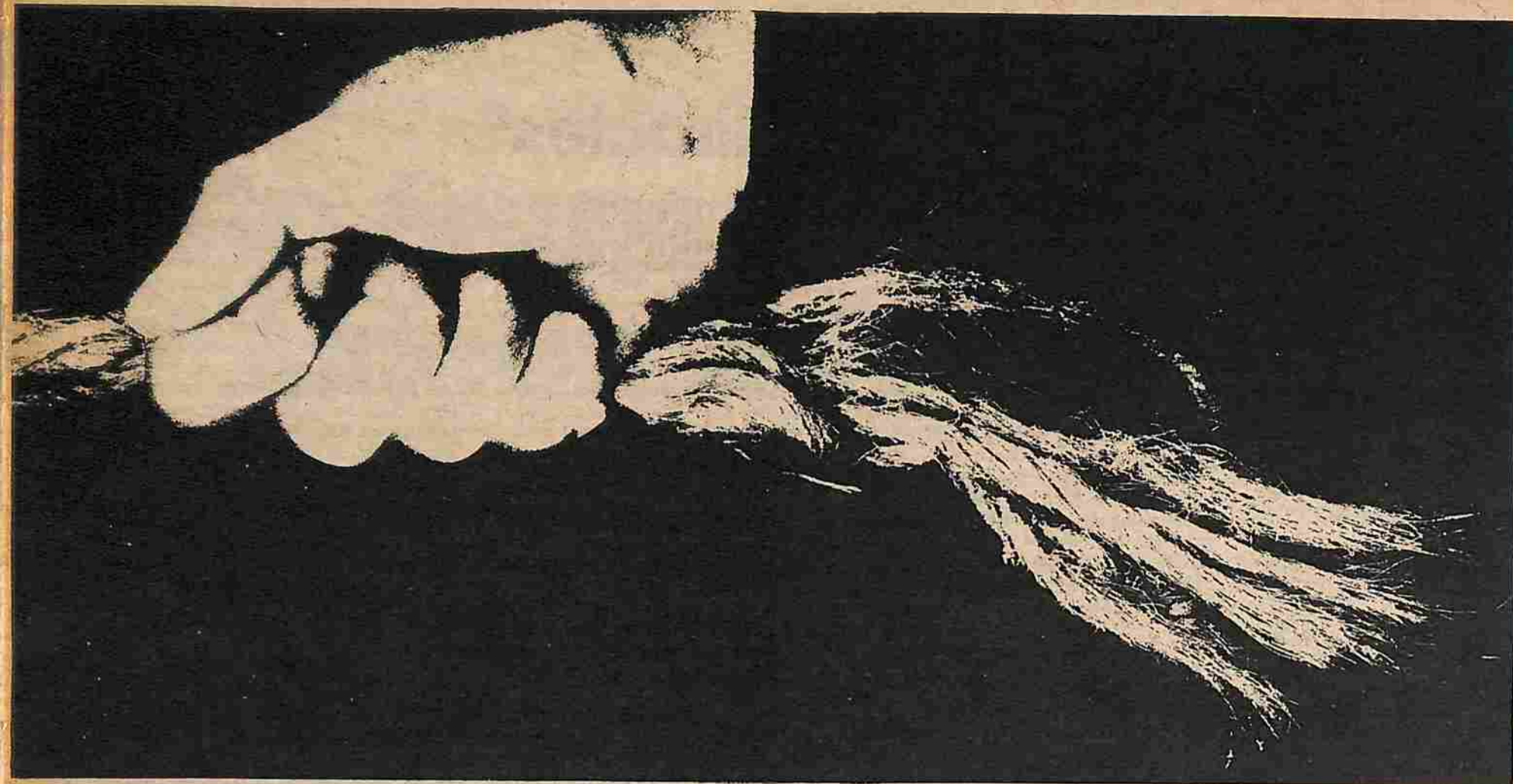
This suspicion is made formidable indeed by a fact which has stood out and gained even more credibility as the years have passed: a large number, and probably a large majority of the deaths were not by suicide, but by another's hand — murder.

Murder and More

On December 17, 1978, Dr. Leslie Mootoo, Chief Medical Examiner for Guyana, and an internationally known forensic pathologist, made a stunning announcement to the press: "I do not believe there were ever more than 200 persons who died voluntarily." Mootoo had taken it upon himself to perform autopsies after aid promised by the State Department was withdrawn. Of the 100 autopsies he performed before time and exhaustion cut him short, he found that 83 people had been forcibly injected with cyanide in an area they could not have reached themselves: the back of their upper arm. And since the bodies were all arranged in symmetrical "circles and rings" and all turned face down, he concluded that armed guards kept small, manageable groups together until they could be put to death.

Eyewitness Stanley Clayton, who managed to sneak away past armed guards and escape as the massacre began, told the *L.A. Times* "that the cult members were surrounded by armed guards and forced to take poison. While some took the poison voluntarily, Clayton said, hundreds had to be forced. Sometimes the poison was administered intravenously by the nurses and the commune's doctor."

A coverup of the cause of the Jonestown deaths began instantly. Before the victims' bodies were cold, the U.S. suggested to the Guyanese that they bury them in a mass grave. Guyana refused and demanded the U.S. remove its mess.



But it was days before a U.S. Military Graves Registration Team was airlifted into Jonestown; adequate time for the jungle heat to decompose the bodies.

The Guyanese Army, with selected Temple survivors, had placed I.D. tags on many of the bodies; the first thing the U.S. team did was to remove them, on the orders of Robert Pastor of Zbigniew Brzezinski's staff (President Carter's National Security Advisor), according to one source. Ignoring standard international procedure, all the bodies were bagged, flown to the U.S. and immediately embalmed, insuring that the actual cause of death would never be determined. Then, as the official story goes, this disciplined group of Americans, along with the Guyanese Defense Forces, confused any further investigation by looting the dead's personal effects and Jones' files.

Jones had told his inner circle back in 1973, during one of the first "revolutionary suicide" rehearsals, that he would have to "stay alive to explain to everybody why he did it." According to others in the inner circle, Jones had planned several escape routes from Jonestown. Jones apparently had to be "dispatched" by some hit-man, for though at first he was reported to have drunk pur-

ple poison, an autopsy performed one month after his death (and only then after public outcry) showed he was shot. The U.S. verdict was "a murder or suicide." His body was then quickly cremated (no messy exhumations) by a crematorium director who was later censured by the New Jersey Mortuary Sciences Board for cremating "without authorization of next of kin or lawful authority."

Who killed Jones, and the select few that were going to "tell the world" about the suicide? In December 1978, the *New York Times* reported that the Guyanese police found live ammo and expended shells in Jonestown that didn't match any of the weapons they had in custody. Also, the first reports of the "white night" included stories of the sighting of 30-40 armed men crossing the border into Venezuela. Jonestown survivors interviewed by the *RW* spoke of a road they found in July '78, hacked out of the jungle only a quarter-mile from Jonestown, heading toward Venezuela. It was wide enough for a military vehicle. Although it simply "began" in the jungle, miles from nowhere except Jonestown, fresh military bootprints were all over the place. (Jonestown residents wore sandals and tennis shoes.) Jones's repeated exhortations to his followers

that they would be all killed by the CIA if they didn't kill themselves may have turned out to be true in a way that Jones himself was powerless to prevent.

As for the Soviets, and the CPUSA, they seem to have little interest today in doing anything but distancing themselves from Jones. The *People's World* editorialized right after the massacre: "all those responsible for the Guyana murders must be brought to trial. But we must resist any attempt to turn this investigation by either the police or the media into a witch-hunt directed at those who through social concern and political commitment were linked peripherally with Jones and People's Temple." The CP's propaganda aims were quite a bit more modest than the U.S. government's, but in the main, they seem to have succeeded nearly as well, to date.

One Soviet poet wrote a poem comparing Jonestown with mass suicides of Russian religious sects in the period before 1917. The last verse went:

Brooding upon a child's grimace,
Life sits with its parental cup
of poison, not from Gethsemane...
But we're all too criminal to judge.

The *New York Times* saw fit to reprint the poem in December 1978. Certainly its

conclusion on the "all too criminal" nature of mankind went right along with the U.S.'s own propaganda efforts. The call to look inside oneself for the answer to Jonestown's end is typically imperialist — and stands in sharpest contrast to what is actually clearest about the end of Jonestown: that to the imperialists of both great powers, the several hundred mainly Black people in the Guyana jungle were nothing but meat on the rack, to be consumed in a propaganda meal by one, or dumped in the garbage heap by the other, in order to prevent this. The masses have often in history been hoodwinked and cheated of their shirts and their lives by shysters and charlatans of all sorts, and they will continue to be unless things are seen consciously and in their real class relations; but what Jones didn't realize is that the imperialists, with whom he felt so at home, had him outclassed and outfoxed and twisted around their little fingers, for they are the master charlatans of all and the imperialist relations which they impose on the world are the real jungle, a few yards away. □

On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

YOU CAN'T BEAT THE ENEMY WHILE RAISING HIS FLAG

Reprinted
From
Revolution
Magazine
Available in
pamphlet
form

Send to:
RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago IL 60654

50¢
(plus 50¢
postage)



Deutschemarks, Rain Forests and "Economic Miracles"

Continued from page 7

time the instrument that carries out the exploitation of the farming population, the Turkish Government, becomes the willing tool and vassal of Germany's foreign policies. For many years Turkish finance, tariff policies, taxation and state expenditures have been under European control. German influence has made itself particularly felt in the Turkish military organization.

"It is obvious from the foregoing, that the interests of German imperialism demand the protection of the Turkish State...."

(From the *Junius Pamphlet*, written by Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of the revolutionary left in Germany who was murdered by the political forefathers of the current Social-Democratic Party in Germany in 1919.)

It is true that since these words were written 67 years ago two world wars have passed: but has German capital evaporated from the face of the earth or transmuted into some benevolent friend of mankind? Or does it still continue to carry out its "wonderful work of 'peaceful culture,'" not only in Turkey but throughout the Middle East, North Africa, Central and South America, important places in Asia, and Central Europe? Is not the very existence of and German access to these most profitable fields of investment (as well as the world's export markets) a result of the imperialist world re-division at the end of WW2 and the fact that at the war's end German imperialism became the eager and willing partner in the newly constituted Western imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. — and a richly rewarded partner at that?

Writing in the Dec. '81 *NATO Review*, Brent Scowcroft (a well known strategic planner for U.S. imperialism) and his co-authors chide their European partners for not spending enough on the war buildup. But even they are forced to tip their hats to the W. European efforts to maintain the imperialist grip on a number of oppressed countries — and most especially W. Germany's good deeds (in keeping with its longstanding peaceful and democratic traditions) in Turkey: "They (the European imperialists) provide proportionately more than the United States in terms of aid to less favored nations, an expense in the shared interest of security in the Third World. The Federal Republic of Germany has been a leader in economic aid to Pakistan, Poland, and above all, Turkey!"

The post-war economic "success" of W. Germany, contrary to popular myth, has little or nothing to do with the genius or industriousness of the German people or the "generous and humanitarian" Marshall Plan. It does have everything to do with the needs and requirements faced by the Western imperialist bloc, led by the U.S. In particular they faced the necessity of building up W. Germany (and in a similar way Japan) as both a buffer zone and staging area (political and military) against the Soviet camp. With the rise to power of the Khrushchev revisionists and the subsequent emergence of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and serious challenger (along with its bloc) for dominance in the imperialist pecking order, this necessity was increased.

Thus in the restructuring of capital on a world scale following WW2 — a process in which the U.S. imperialists played a role something akin to Chairman of the Board — the German imperialists (who are now in control of W. Germany, while a new imperialist class runs the eastern part) were permitted to benefit to a great degree.

Feasting on Brazil

A good example of the rewards of German imperialism's post-war partnership with the U.S. and NATO bloc as a whole is the "success" of W. German capital in Brazil. Since WW2 Brazil has been considered a showpiece of capitalist "development." It is presently ruled by a fascist military junta. Typical of such

"models," in its major cities, while the central downtown areas are filled with gleaming skyscrapers and the streets jammed with cars, they are surrounded by miles and miles of slums and shantytowns where the impoverished working class population lives. And, as is also typical of many such countries, the growth and spread of the barrios is not only continuing but is accelerating as millions yearly are lured to the cities in hopes of escaping the grinding poverty of the semifeudal countryside. Their dream is to land a job slaving away for subsistence wages in one of the modern factories that has "miraculously" sprouted up since WW2. Perhaps they'll find a job at Volkswagen do Brazil, Mercedes-Benz, Paff, Bosch, Krupp, Siemens or one of the other 1000 German corporations that have set up shop in Brazil. In the industrial city of São Paulo alone, 250,000 Brazilian workers are directly employed by German capital (another estimated 500,000 jobs depend indirectly on the commerce generated by German investment). The direct investment in Brazil by German corporations now totals 8 billion Deutschemarks. The lucky ones who find jobs will see their meager wages made even smaller by Brazil's 100% inflation rate. Many will find only the nightmare of the urban slums as they become members of Brazil's swelling army of the permanently unemployed.

But still they will continue to come, and among the millions will be large numbers not chasing a dream but literally driven from the countryside by what can only be described as a genocidal policy toward Brazil's large Indian population. At the behest of foreign capital, the government has launched huge development projects in vast areas of the mineral-rich Amazon River basin (an area itself the size of W. Germany), much of which has been inhabited for centuries by the Indians indigenous to the continent. Clear-cutting of trees has deforested millions of acres; the Indians are pushed aside or just pushed under to make way for the roads, mines, dams, power stations and other projects designed to tap the wealth lying buried below the surface. All the best farmland is reserved for the huge plantations of the landed aristocracy.

Seventy-four billion U.S. dollars of foreign debt, all of it borrowed at premium rates of interest and a large part of it owed to German banks, has fueled this "economic miracle." This year alone Brazil must borrow 17.7 billion U.S. dollars just to make the interest payments on its already-existing foreign debt. To call this an example of imperialist rape would be putting it mildly, and to say that German imperialism is among the rapists would be only to repeat the obvious.

In talking about the competitive stage of capitalism Marx said that "the accumulation of wealth at one pole means the accumulation of poverty at the other." In the era of imperialism this can be applied on a world scale to the relationship between the oppressed and oppressor nations. Brazil today is a classic case in point. The economic situation of the masses has become so acute that in Rio de Janeiro it is not uncommon to see advertisements in the daily papers offering human organs for sale. "Cornea for sale.... Please call working days," reads one. The price was the equivalent of forty thousand U.S. dollars. According to the *Washington Post*, the man who placed the ad was not among the unemployed either. Rather he was making 300 U.S. dollars a month working at Rio's international airport and supporting a wife and child. "The economic situation is critical," he said, "three years ago I lived better than now on half my salary today." Explaining why he placed the ad he put it this way, "It's very simple — on one side you have the man who has money but not vision, and on the other side is me: vision, but no money."

To enforce the social conditions that create such a "favorable climate for foreign investment," the military rulers carry out the most ruthless suppression of political opposition. All trade unions,

other than those the government allows and controls, are illegal. Strikes are outlawed and violently attacked. The infamous police death squads of the junta haunt the barrios. With government sponsorship they carry out countless murders of known political activists, their supporters and suspected supporters, leaving behind their white hand-print symbol. Of course revolutionaries are singled out for special attention. In the countryside the ruling classes are faced with repeated armed rebellions and uprisings among the peasants and Indians. They are not hesitant to drown these threats to their rule in blood as well.

Of particular benefit to W. German imperialism as it tears away, along with its fellow vultures, at the flesh of Brazil is that not a single German soldier need be stationed in Brazil to ensure the continued profitable operation of "democratic" Germany's South American *Ruhrgebiet**. German battleships do not cruise offshore. No, all of that is taken care of by the U.S. Army's Southern Command, headquartered in the Panama Canal Zone. The "Amis" (German slang for Americans) stand ever-ready to stage a coup, reactionary counterrevolution or even a full-scale invasion in order to protect the gang-bang in Brazil. How comforting it must be for German finance to know that not a single Deutschemark need be spent on gunboat diplomacy, thus freeing up all available funds for profitable investment. Of course in the case of Turkey the civilized German imperialists have fully demonstrated both their enthusiasm for and their necessity to get their hands more directly covered with blood, arming the Turkish junta to the teeth, carrying out counterinsurgency with and instructing the Turkish political police, hounding and murdering those opposing the Turkish regime and so on (see *RW* No. 224, "Trouble in the Metropole: Western Civilization vs. the Proletarians from Turkey").

This relationship between Brazil and imperialist Germany perfectly describes what Lenin meant when he wrote that imperialism "increasingly transforms the 'civilized' world into a parasite on the body of hundreds of millions in the uncivilized nations." In the case of Brazil, imperialism's parasitical grasp on its victim has gone beyond the figurative sense. The impoverishment of the masses has gone so far that millions are literally forced to sell their blood to survive. According to Dr. Nelson Sênise, a Rio doctor quoted in the *Washington Post*, "Brazil is today the largest exporter of blood in

* The Ruhr region of West Germany, a center of mining and industry.

the world. Regular donors are often unemployed and undernourished, and receive three dollars and a bowl of soup for about a pint of their blood. Patients in hospitals pay about \$60 for the same amount of blood." In Rio alone it is estimated that 10,000 liters of blood are drained a day from the masses' veins for export to the industrialized countries of the North. The following paragraph taken from the *Washington Post* is a fitting summation of imperialism's "economic miracle" in Brazil:

"In the suburban slum of Madureira, the Natal blood bank faces the local railroad station, used daily by thousands of working class commuters. Another blood bank is across from the downtown terminal. People have admitted selling their blood to pay the train fare worth about ten cents."

Among the countries receiving exports of blood from Brazil is first and foremost W. Germany, which has the highest per capita consumption of blood in the world. Blood the people of Germany (living in very different circumstances) are themselves unwilling to donate or sell. Thus imperialist Germany is today feasting not only on the superprofits it wrings from the exploitation of millions in the oppressed countries, but has literally become bloated on the blood of these toiling masses.

This, then, is the postwar "domination" that W. Germany has suffered under U.S. hands. In reality a partnership of thieves and gangsters on a scale the Mafia could never even dream of. In addition, for W. Germany to play its role as the strategic and military bedrock of NATO, the country has been turned into an armed camp. In the early 1950s the German Army was reconstituted and built into the largest in Europe. Along with the new Wehrmacht, five other imperialist armies have permanently stationed troops in W. Germany. Somewhere between 900,000 and 1 million combat-ready troops make W. Germany probably the most militarized piece of real estate in the world — outside of where a war is actually going on. (The only likely comparison might be the area just across the border in E. Germany and Czechoslovakia where an almost equal number of troops stand ready.)

It is on the combined strength of these arms — their threatened use in Europe, and their repeated murderous use throughout the world since 1945 — that German "prosperity" ultimately stands. And it is with these arms that the German imperialists are planning, along with their present partners in plunder, to construct a road out of the current crisis, beat the competition and extend this "prosperity" into the next century. □

**New Programme and
New Constitution of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, USA** \$3.00 (include 50c postage)

Also published as a separate pamphlet
New Constitution
Contains a section on the General Line of
the RCP, USA and 11 Articles
75c (include 50c postage)

Order from: RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Creeping Three Worldsism

Continued from page 6

Historical Basis Among Marxist-Leninists

When we speak of the fact that this not only is put forward and promoted by the imperialists and their social base and apologists, etc., but has influence among those who should be, and in some cases are, opposing them — the socialists and Marxists and Marxist-Leninists, etc. — it's important to recognize that this kind of thinking has a certain historical, political basis which makes people ripe for this kind of influence. And in particular there is a basis for this wrong line even in the recent history of the Marxist-Leninist movement, among those who followed and supported the Chinese Communist Party and its struggle as represented specifically by the struggle around the general line of the international communist movement at the time of the open Soviet-Chinese break in the early '60s, and the struggle against revisionism in the Soviet Union headed at that time by Khrushchev. The line put forward in that struggle and the line adhered to by many, many of those forces that followed and supported the Chinese Communist Party was one which in fact promoted the view that while the other imperialist countries besides the U.S. (at that time, in the early '60s) were indeed imperialists and must be opposed, on the other hand, the key dividing line in those imperialist countries was whether or not one supported or betrayed the national interests, that is, whether one allied with or opposed U.S. imperialism and U.S. imperialist domination. And this was a part of the legacy of the Third International that was not broken with by the Chinese Communist Party, and a legacy which unfortunately it carried forward and which influenced a number of forces within the Marxist-Leninist movement. Specifically it influenced those who were quite correctly breaking with the open expression of revisionism and the consistently revisionist line which was consolidated with the coming to power of Khrushchev. So that this is in fact a heritage that must be renounced, and to the degree that it has not been, it has contributed greatly to what must be honestly described as the sorry state of Marxist-Leninist forces in many parts of the world and in particular Western Europe.

Now an irony here that should also be pointed out is that the tendency to view things in this way does not only arise from within these lesser imperialist countries. By this, again, I mean the tendency to see these lesser imperialist powers as not really being imperialist or not really being driven to war, certainly not in the same way as the two big, bad superpowers, the tendency to go along with the notion that they are caught in between the two superpowers, who are battling it out really over their heads and against their will. So if war starts it will be because the superpowers start it, and then of course all these hapless lesser imperialists, or imperialist non-imperialists (or however they are presented) will have to choose because it's the real world. And of course in that kind of choice, why all the good Western imperialists will have to support and go with the U.S., because that's democracy and democratic tradition against that great totalitarian state in the East (as one foreign minister recently referred to it, in proclaiming the firmness of the Western alliance despite its family quarrels). And, as I said, the tendency to go along with all this sort of argumentation, and the methodology underlying it, is not limited only to people who are in or come from these lesser imperialist countries (though of course it has an obvious basis there and merges with chauvinism there in any case), but it also unfortunately takes root among people from many different third world countries, particularly in the case of those where these other imperialists — that is, those in the Western bloc other than the U.S., to take one of the sharpest examples — are not a really major or perhaps not direct exploiters and oppressors in their region of the world or in their particular country, at least to any significant degree. And this leads people to not really see these other imperialists as enemies, at least not in the same way as U.S. imperialism is clearly identified as an enemy, and even leaves the door open to seeing them as possible allies in the struggle against the superpowers and so on.

Now a specific case in point, and a specific area where this is, in my opinion, acute, is in Latin America. There is an area where U.S. imperialism is still clearly dominant and neither the Soviet Union — though it is making gains there through the influence of Cuba and other ways — nor certainly the other imperialists of the Western bloc — though they are poking their noses in there, both for their own interests, and in fact, as part of the division of labor of the Western bloc — nevertheless they are not anything like on the level of the U.S. in terms of their domination, plunder, exploitation and in terms of being a direct and immediate target of the revolutionary struggle there. So a tendency can easily arise to not see the Soviet Union and its bloc as enemies, or sometimes on the other hand, to not recognize and deal with the other imperialists of the U.S. bloc as enemies, particularly if they come dressed up in a more social-democratic disguise and use different tactics, both in pursuit of their own interests and in pursuit of the overall interests of the U.S. bloc, in the way that they seek to increase their influence and the influence of Western imperialism with regard to these areas. There are some recent examples, which make this very clear, of the ways in which the Western imperialists have attempted to take a different tactic and a different line in order to infiltrate themselves

and increase their influence in Latin America, for example.

An Ironic Link

I refer to the above kind of tendencies among Marxist-Leninist forces as "creeping three worldsism" (as opposed to the more official and full-blown "three worldsism" of the current Chinese revisionist leadership represented by Deng Xiaoping). Now importantly — if ironically — there's a link between this "creeping three worldsism" and a phenomenon within the Marxist-Leninist movement of people who, yes, oppose the Chinese revisionists, Deng Xiaoping, et al., but have come to that conclusion and made the decisive question the "three worlds theory" in and of itself, and have not made the dividing line an overall assessment of what the different class forces were in China and how the struggle in China came down and how the international line fit in as a very important expression of that.

For example, to help clarify this, in the second issue of *A World To Win* there's a communication from a group in Peru, the Political Bureau of the Regional Committee Tupac Amaru of the Partido Comunista del Perú, which expresses general and strong agreement with the Joint Communiqué* on most of its basic points but expresses a very important disagreement, which it says shouldn't be considered an obstacle to unity but nevertheless is an extremely important point which can in fact pose itself, at some point, as an obstacle to unity. Specifically they say that, as opposed to the analysis made in the Communiqué: "revisionism took power in China in 1970 (it is after this point that the rehabilitation of revisionist elements takes place and three worldsism is spread on a world level) and it became consolidated in 1973 with the 10th Congress manipulated by Chou Enlai." (Page 34, *A World To Win*)

Well, obviously our party and a number of others sharply disagree with this analysis and feel that the decisive turning point in China was shortly after the death of Mao with the coup d'état and the seizure of power by the revisionist forces whose leader (at that time behind-the-scenes but clearly emerging to the forefront) was Deng Xiaoping. And a very important expression of that turning point was the consolidation of the counter-revolutionary three worlds theory of this revisionist group as the international line of the Communist Party of China, which they sought (and still seek) in various ways to foist on others — a line of capitulating and selling out to imperialism and collaborating with it to suppress revolution. In particular at this point at least, they mean to hook up in this way with the imperialism of the Western bloc headed by the U.S.

But at the same time the issue is complicated and that's why it's very important to draw the line correctly here. As we've also pointed out and gone into detail elsewhere which I won't repeat here, but just to recall — Mao himself and the revolutionary headquarters he led made a number of errors, in our assessment, on this question. Although in a qualitatively different way from Deng and the revisionists, and not as a counter-revolutionary line, but nevertheless they did put forward a line, an erroneous line, of seeking to build an international united front in the period from the early '70s on against the Soviet Union, which was identified as the main enemy, the main danger (not only to China, which it was at that time, but to the people of the world) and the main source of a new world war. This was, in our opinion, a conception of the united front which was not merely for a year or two or for a very brief period but for a whole period of struggle envisioning the development of a world war in which the alignment on a world scale would be China and the revolutionary forces of the world aligned with the Western bloc of imperialists headed by the U.S. and the countries and governments of the world that were under their domination or under the control of their bloc.

Now because of this, again the issue becomes very complicated because there are obviously similarities between this line and the fully-worked out three worlds theory as a counter-revolutionary line of betraying revolution and capitulating and selling out to imperialism of, Deng Xiaoping, et al. In our opinion, at the same time, it is completely wrong to characterize that — the betrayal of the revolution and selling out to imperialism and capitulating to and collaborating with imperialism — to characterize that as the internationalist stand and line of Mao and his revolutionary headquarters despite the errors, even serious errors, that we feel must be identified and criticized in their international line from the early '70s on.

Now, why do I say that there is ironically a link between what I call creeping three worldsism and people who make the three worlds theory line the decisive issue, and not an overall assessment of the class forces and the class struggle in China, looked at in its development from especially the time of the Cultural Revolution up to the coup in 1976? Why is it that people who make the three worlds theory line the decisive issue, as opposed to the correct analysis, correct methodology, why is it that they often fall into this creeping three worldsism? In other words, they make their main focus of attack and the dividing line issue the three worlds theory, but in one form or another they put forward the same theory or a theory very closely related to it.

This is obviously a real phenomenon in the world, perhaps the most outstanding and grotesque example of it being the Albanians who have been in some ways the most vociferous in their denunciations of the three

*Joint Communiqué of the Autumn 1980 International Conference — "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries".

worlds theory, and by the time they were through, denunciations of Mao, and not only that but the whole Chinese revolution to boot. Yet when it comes to Western Europe the Albanians promote exactly the same kind of line that they are attacking, calling for the struggle for the defense of the nation, for taking up the national banner against (in the case of the Albanian line) U.S. imperialism, while the Chinese revisionists with the three worlds theory call for taking it up against the Soviet social-imperialists. But it's just obviously opposite poles of the same stupidity, and what there is in common is not only a wrong methodology in general, but the three worlds theory on the one hand and the Albanian line on the other have in common something very particular and very important — and that's *nationalism*. In the case of Albania, their narrow nationalism, their bourgeois nationalist interests and line are served by opposing the three worlds theory and promoting the struggle in Western Europe against U.S. imperialism. (At least that's how they see their narrow nationalist and bourgeois-national interests and I won't enter into an argument with them on that level about how best to promote and defend those bourgeois-nationalist interests.) But on the other hand, in the case of the three worlds theory, the Chinese revisionists see that their bourgeois-nationalist interests are promoted best by, at this time at least, promoting a struggle in the West to be firmer in opposition to Soviet social-imperialism. But it's the same methodology and the same bourgeois, and in fact reactionary, nationalism at the base of it.

This, unfortunately, is not limited to such grotesque examples, or such clearly counter-revolutionary forces, as the Albanian Party or the Chinese Communist Party at this time. In fact a number of forces which are not only not *obviously* counter-revolutionary, which are generally in the revolutionary camp, have to one degree or another also been influenced by this same sort of nationalist outlook and nationalist deviation. To be blunt about it, to make the analysis that the dividing line in China was 1970, when the line basically of identifying the Soviet Union as the main enemy began to be formulated in the Chinese party and when, therefore, the promotion of a certain unity or alliance with the West including the U.S. against the Soviet Union began to be put forward or developed, to make *that* the dividing line, rather than the question of what class was in fact ruling China and what direction was China taking in an overall sense, is an expression of nationalism. It's saying, well, this kind of line in fact makes the struggle in our country or our region of the world more difficult where U.S. imperialism is the main enemy and therefore, because of that, we can then read backward from that onto China and see that revisionism has already triumphed in China. This is a line which in the name of singling out a question that has to do with the international arena and the international line, namely the three worlds theory, is really in fact based upon narrow nationalism and localism.

In many cases those who have been very strong in their denunciation of the three worlds theory and the letting of U.S. imperialism off the hook by singling out the Soviet Union as the main or only enemy have in fact let the other imperialists of the Western bloc, the U.S.-led bloc, off the hook by identifying the two superpowers, only, as the enemies and have sought to build an alliance or seek a possible basis of unity even with at least sections of the ruling classes in these lesser imperialist countries of the U.S. bloc. And it should be pointed out again very bluntly that the very logic of this same kind of reasoning will lead back to the line of then having to choose between one or the other superpowers. Because if you practice a sort of perverted dialectic of that kind where you say, "Well, we shouldn't put all the imperialists on a par, we should single out the main enemy," then why stop there? You'll have to go on between those two superpowers and single out again one of them or the other and whichever way you choose it, obviously it will be wrong. But it's just as wrong, it's the same wrong methodology to seek to in fact single out some imperialists because they're not the most powerful, they are not, to put it that way, the two superpowers and to therefore blur the fact that they are nonetheless imperialists and they are very definitely not oppressed nations under the domination of imperialism, and the contradictions between them and other perhaps more powerful imperialists are not of the same nature at all as the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the vast third world and imperialism.

So this is why I refer to it, however, as *creeping three worldsism*. All this — including in particular the example of people who made a very sharp dividing line over opposing the three worlds theory, but still fall in one form or another into a version of the same theory and the same approach — all this indicates that this tendency will continue to come up in new and varied ways with varying disguises and assuming various forms. When it is exposed and defeated on one level and in one form, especially with new conditions emerging, it will arise and have to be exposed and defeated in turn in different disguises and different forms. It's very important to hit at the particular form in which this is emerging right now, in particular the picturing of the lesser imperialist powers, particularly of the U.S. bloc, as caught between the two superpowers, not really imperialist or not really driven by their very own nature toward war, but forced into it by the superpowers or perhaps by one superpower. But while it's very important to hit at and expose this line from many different angles and through concrete living examples and analysis, it is also important to train people to be prepared to recognize and defeat this kind of line and wrong-headed analysis and program when it comes up in the future in still different forms. □

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

"We, in our turn, must also understand the specific features and tasks of the new era. Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: 'I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas.'" V.I. Lenin

An Essay Marking the 100th Anniversary of Marx's Death

On the "Crisis of Marxism" and the Power of Marxism —Now More than Ever

By Bob Avakian

1983 marks the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Over this past century and more, Marxism has animated and aroused millions. Few can deny that the political landscape of the world today has been profoundly shaped by the struggles and revolutions Marxism has inspired. On the occasion of this anniversary, Bob Avakian has written a landmark essay, *For A Harvest Of Dragons*. Avakian's previous books include a major study of the thought of Mao Tsetung and an analysis of the events leading up to and the significance of the 1976 coup in China. Here he guides the reader through a synoptic history of Marxism.

Avakian begins by summarizing the theoretical revolution ushered in by Marx's investigations — in the realms of philosophy, history, economic theory, and politics. He then proceeds to examine some of the controversies that have swirled around the course and development of Marx's thought, in particular the relation of Marx's early writings to his mature work and the possible divergences between Marx and Engels. Turning next to the work of Lenin and Mao, Avakian argues that their theoretical innovations represent the most important enrichment of Marxism of the twentieth century. Finally, in one of the most provocative sections of his survey, Avakian subjects Soviet Marxism to withering criticism. He analyzes several representative works by Soviet scholars and shows that their method, content, and outlook cut against and suffocate the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

This essay appears at a time of a widely proclaimed "crisis of Marxism" — when the validity of the labor theory of value is being questioned, when the applicability of Leninist forms of organization is being debated, when the whole revolutionary experience of the 1960s is being reassessed, and when the feasibility of socialism is being called into doubt. But Avakian's defense of Marxism is no mere liturgical reaffirmation. He stresses that Marxism is not a closed system, that it advances precisely in connection with the new problems posed by developments in the world, and that there is both an invigorating Marxist tradition to uphold as well as a deadening "conventional wisdom" to renounce. Avakian argues powerfully for the contemporary relevance of Marxism. Indeed, *For A Harvest Of Dragons* is itself striking testimony to Marxism's continuing vitality.

"In the final analysis, as Engels once expressed it, the proletariat must win its emancipation on the battlefield. But there is not only the question of winning in this sense but of how we win in the largest sense. One of the significant if perhaps subtle and often little-noticed ways in which the enemy, even in defeat, seeks to exact revenge on the revolution and sow the seed of its future undoing is in what he would force the revolutionaries to become in order to defeat him. It will come to this: we will have to face him in the trenches and defeat him amidst terrible destruction but we must not in the process annihilate the fundamental difference between the enemy and ourselves. Here the example of Marx is illuminating: he repeatedly fought at close quarters with the ideologists and apologists of the bourgeoisie but he never fought them on their terms or with their outlook; with Marx his method is as exhilarating as his goal is inspiring. We must be able to maintain our firmness of principles but at the same time our flexibility, our materialism and our dialectics, our realism and our romanticism, our solemn sense of purpose and our sense of humor."

ORDER NOW!

156 pgs.
\$6.95 Paperback
\$13.95 Cloth
Include 75¢ to cover postage
RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654

