

Theory/Practice

Two of a kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bi-polar world

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

No sooner did the issuance of the Tower Report finally compel Reagan to admit that all the secret goings-on in the Iran arms-for-hostages affair (not to mention the "disappearance" of millions from those sales) happened "on my watch," than out of the blue came Gorbachev to the rescue. He was waving the red flag of arms control as if it were stars and stripes forever.

While not exactly identical twins, these two-of-a-kind nuclear superpowers in their bi-polar world pair up at historic turning points, once it looks like someone other than they—like the people—are determined to take their fate in their own hands and decide when, indeed if, there is to be any armed confrontation between these two Behemoths. That was so when Brezhnev saved Nixon in 1972, when the U.S. was raining bombs on Hanoi and mining Haiphong Harbor, saving Nixon from the wrath of the U.S. masses as the terrific Vietnam anti-war movement was reaching its height.

What is now at stake is not the fate of a third country. What is now at stake is nothing short of the very survival of humanity in Ronald Reagan's helter-skelter nuclear race to Star Wars and the nuclear holocaust it would cause.

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

It isn't that Gorbachev, like Reagan, isn't also out to gain nuclear superiority. This becomes clearer when one sees that it was Sakharov who suggested "decoupling" the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) from arms control. This nuclear physicist, who helped create the H-bomb for Russia and later became a "human rights activist," has returned to Moscow from exile in Gorky to continue his scientific work, especially doing "further research" into Star Wars.

It is idiotic to act as the Reagan Administration is acting, which is that because they held out and were so tough, Russia has been "brought" to the negotiating table. Quite the contrary. The Russians are great believers in Plan. Every single move at the Iceland non-Summit was most meticulously planned for. First, whereas

Reagan came completely unprepared for that extra all-night session, Gorbachev read from a prepared collective statement of the Politburo, which made it clear that it was a package deal, no item of which could be separated from the epicenter, which is the non-deployment of Star Wars.

It is true that all things fell apart at that point. But it is not true that the Russians didn't get a good part of what they came for, specifically these two achievements: 1) holding out to the world the vision of a nuclear-free world in their lifetime; 2) cutting Reagan down to size in place of his "victory" at the Geneva Summit.

The new General Secretary at the helm in Russia knew how to turn even so great and global a disaster as Chernobyl into something we could "all" learn lessons from. After first trying to stonewall that disaster, though its radiation had already polluted Sweden and much of Europe, Russia appeared at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna and accepted an international mechanism on nuclear safety. Gorbachev at one and the same time declared that Russia, like all, had learned a great deal from Chernobyl, but stretched out a hand to Europe, trying to uncouple it from the U.S. He declared, "We must take steps away from the nuclear abyss...we were guided by the motive of freeing the European peoples from nuclear catastrophe..." Could anyone at that point repeat the unforgiving critique of Russia for stonewalling on Chernobyl, especially Reagan's trying to use that as "proof" that Russia is an "evil empire" that cares neither for its people nor those in the way of whatever Chernobyl's nuclear wind may blow?

WHERE IS WEST EUROPE?

What is necessary is to situate the significance of the two-of-a-kind designation of such national opposites as Reagan and Gorbachev in the concrete move (again for very different reasons) to decouple themselves from West Europe. That is exactly what is "new" about the proposal to remove Intermediate Ballistic Missiles from

Europe.

Kissinger, the erudite Nixonite and Pax Americana advocate, was so mad at Europe's distancing itself from the U.S. in both resisting its wish to install new nuclear missiles in Europe as well as not going in for as deep an increase in conventional military forces as the U.S. requested, that he suggested his own type of decoupling—removing many of the U.S. troops from Europe, giving Europe no U.S. "defense shield." His arrogant writing West Europe off the map was in the same package as proposing that a European become the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, if West Europe agrees to undergo more militarization.

Gorbachev is doing the absolute opposite. Ever since he became General Secretary on March 11, 1985, he has increased Russia's focus on Western Europe as well as the United States, trying to draw a division between Europe and the U.S. His reorganization of the Politburo was not just a replacement of the "aged" and drawing in new blood, but meant a total concentration on the U.S. That is to say, the "reforms" and a striving for technological efficiency were not posed outside the context of world policy. As he put it in his first report to the 27th Congress of the Party on Feb. 26, 1986, "Russia, and indeed the whole world, had reached the turning point: 'It is not only in internal affairs that the turning point has been reached. It characterizes external affairs as well.'"

THE EPICENTER IS THE U.S.

The concentration on the U.S. showed that it was more than a question of replacing the sour-faced Gromyko with the smiling Gorbachev and Foreign Secretary Shevardnadze. Gorbachev also changed the whole character of what the Russians now call the "International Department." Thus, in addition to Dobrynin (the former Russian ambassador to the U.S.) being put as head of the International Department, he brought with

continued

*Quoted in Dimitri K. Simas, "Gorbachev: A New Foreign Policy?" in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 65, No. 3, 1987, p. 477.

him two more specialists from the Russian embassy in the U.S. to Russia. The ambassador to Canada, Yakovlev, and other "America watchers" were also brought back to Moscow.

Gorbachev also has no intention of giving up a foothold in Latin America, in order to make the whole Third World see Russia as the alternative to U.S. imperialism.

Instead, Gorbachev is out to make arms control, no matter how limited, appear as the decisive issue of all world political problems. This will give him the chance to continue with his "economic reforms"—that is, make the masses bear the burden of an ever-continuing rise in "labor productivity" by working harder and harder with no change in the exploitative labor relationships or wages or conditions of living.

To attempt, at this time, to give credence to Gorbachev's claim of having a relationship to Lenin's historic legitimacy of 1917 and Lenin's demand that Stalin be removed as General Secretary, is every bit as onerous as the fantastic Reagan lies about the "evil empire." Don't forget that when all is said and done, there has been no change in either the class nature of Russia since Stalin transformed it from a worker's state into a state-capitalist society in the 1930s, or in Russia's imperialist total control over East Europe, which it gained with World War II.

What the incredible loss of 20 million human beings that the fascist onslaught and superior military might of Nazi Germany drove home to the Russian rulers was that they must never be a basket case in either the economy or in militarization. The continuity of the class nature that Stalin established did not fundamentally change once Khrushchev finally decided on de-Stalinization. The strive for first-edness can be seen in what was called the "hare-brained scheme" of putting nuclear installations into Cuba. It is a fact, however, that our present super-wise computer specialists must remember, that it was not the U.S. but Russia that sent the first satellite, Sputnik, into space. Gorbachev's present rescue of Reagan is an attempt to save degenerate capitalism's continued existence by diverting all questions to the one of narrow arms control.

REAGAN'S IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY— ITS PRIVATIZATION

Ronald Reagan is continuing on his retrogressive path, being a strike-breaker and racist as well as trying to roll back the whole range of women's liberation activities, whether on abortion or the equality of wages between men and women or making pauperization not just a race question but one also of the feminization of poverty.

The Iran-contra scandal reveals what privatization means to Reagan:

- 1) The disappearance of a good chunk of the national wealth (the state treasury)—the people's money—into Swiss bank accounts, and then sent to mercenaries in Nicaragua attempting to overthrow a legitimate government.

- 2) The "creation" of a "moderate" wing in Iran, when they were actually talking to Khomeini's representatives, signalled a change in the balance of power in the Middle East, perverting the stated policy on the Iran-Iraq War.

- 3) Another private person turned out to be the Secretary of State appealing to the richest man in the world, the Sultan of Brunei, for \$10 million for a private contribution for one of the factions of the contras.

- 4) The few American fat-cats who, when nudged by the President, contributed "privately" for this "anti-Communist" fascist purpose, are the very merchants of death who have helped to create the astronomical deficits that have transformed the U.S. from the greatest creditor nation to the largest debtor nation.

- 5) Homelessness and pauperization of the masses has not characterized the U.S. this badly since the Depression, when privatization had to be reigned in for capitalism to save its own skin.

As we see, the Iran-contra scandal is not an aberration. It is the whole six years of this imperial presidency. The counter-revolution Reagan initiated and continues, and which he intends to follow through on in his final two years, reveals that, on the same level as his obsession with Star Wars, is his obsession with Latin America attempting to go its own way. Which is why Reagan is driven to call Nicaragua a Russian "surrogate." To this we will return in the next issue.

—March 14, 1987

Theory/Practice

Two-of-a-kind: Reagan and Gorbachev
and their bi-polar world

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by Raya Dunayevskaya
Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

Part II

The Iran-contra scandal, far from stopping what has been going on from the beginning of Reagan's imperial presidency—the retrogression at home and the turning back of the clock in international relations, especially with Latin America—has now reached the stage where it is competing with the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) itself. What looked, just a week or so back, like the possibility of an arms control agreement with the other nuclear Behemoth, Russia, has now hit a snag.

THE CONTINUING ACTS AGAINST NICARAGUA

Instead, what is occupying the headlines are the preparations for military maneuvers, which the Reagan Administration is calling showing a "continuing presence" in Honduras and the Caribbean, but which Daniel Ortega considers an open threat of invasion of Nicaragua.

This May we will see the mightiest ever military practice against Nicaragua in maneuvers in Honduras and around the Caribbean, which the U.S. has been carrying on for four years now.

Operation "Solid Shield" will be conducted in Honduras, the Caribbean, the island of Vieques off the eastern point of Puerto Rico, as well as at the Marine base at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina. The only reason some maneuvers will be held as far away as North Carolina is that the whole of Honduras has limited airfields, ports and roads.

Here is Reagan's hare-brained illusion that with U.S. money, military training, oratory and some old Somoza fascist National Guards well-practiced in atrocities, he can actually overthrow the legitimate government that had arisen from a fight of so many years against both the Somoza dictatorship and U.S. imperialism's stranglehold.

The U.S. armed forces' maneuvers in May will total 50,000 soldiers, sailors and marines, the largest ever since such maneuvers began in 1983. At Camp Lejeune two battalions of 1,500 paratroopers will team up with

5,000 marines for a combined "mock assault," while at sea Navy warships centered around aircraft carriers will be joined by cutters from the Coast Guard that are "normally" used to search for drug runners (not that the contras aren't engaged in drug running too). The military air command of the Air Force will be responsible for transporting the soldiers and equipment.

I have not detailed all that the military officers have revealed, but it is certainly sufficient to establish that this is a great deal more than just a "mock maneuver." It is the practice for an invasion.

Don't forget that 1983 was the year of the invasion of Grenada. That kind of "practice" was at that time also aimed at Nicaragua, though tiny Grenada was a much easier target for achieving "victory."

Indeed, that artificer, Ronald Reagan, hasn't slept a night ever since the Nicaraguan Revolution in 1979 succeeded in overthrowing the favorite of American imperialism, Somoza's neo-fascist regime.

Reagan's excuse for his first acts against Nicaragua was the baseless charge that Nicaragua was spreading revolution to El Salvador, as if El Salvador didn't have its own very urgent reasons for fighting that still-continuing militaristic "los catorce" regime. Not only Central America, but all of Latin America has always known that it must conduct its revolutionary struggles under the whip of counter-revolution. This involved fighting its own ruling class as well as U.S. imperialism, whose puppets these rulers were.

It is true that Marxism in Latin America has long been, and will continue to be, a very pivotal element in its existence. But it wasn't ever as a surrogate of Russia.

Marxism in Latin America has always been indigenous, liberationist, original in the sense of always combining peasant and worker. Something totally new characterized the post-World War II world. Movements from practice burst forth as revolutions in technologically backward countries, East, South, Middle East, Latin America. Something new was born—a Third World as well as a new stage of production in the technologically developed West, automation. The first new revolution was the 1952 Bolivian Revolution, which preceded the

first-ever revolution against Communist totalitarianism in East Germany in 1953. But the next year, 1954, American imperialism showed its bloody hand in overthrowing the mild populist regime of Arbenz in Guatemala.

THE END OF THE 1950s AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

By 1959 we had the true dividing line for all of Latin America—the revolution in Cuba against both Batista and U.S. imperialism. Russia had still been flirting with Batista when Castro, with no help from Russia, came to power. And Castro, like the East Europeans, at first called his philosophy "humanism." Castro said in 1959, "Standing between the two political-economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it Humanism...this is a Humanist revolution because it does not deprive man of his essence, but holds him as its basic aim. Capitalism sacrifices man; the Communist state, by its totalitarian concept, sacrifices the rights of man...This revolution is not red, but olive-green."

The Idea of freedom nevertheless failed to develop theoretically. Instead, Che Guevara tried substitutionalism: "This is a unique Revolution, which some people maintain contradicts one of the most orthodox premises of the revolutionary movement expressed by Lenin: 'Without a revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement'....Even if the theory is not known, the revolution can succeed if historic reality is interpreted correctly." But what is "correct interpretation" if it isn't Marx's philosophy of revolution?

Without philosophy as action, dialectics of thought as well as of act, we have seen the transformation into opposite not only in Russia, but aborted, unfinished revolutions worldwide, be it Latin America or China, the Middle East or Africa. New revolutions are constantly emerging, nevertheless, as witness South Africa.

In the specificity of Central America, it was in the late 1970s that two absolute opposites emerged—on one side, the American Right never forgot the failure in Vietnam, not only because the Vietnamese won,

continued

but because it produced, on the other side, the greatest mass movements in the U.S. itself in the anti-Vietnam War Movement which gave birth to new forces of revolution—Youth, Black, Women. It is they—the whole American people—upon whom Reagan wants to move the clock backward to pre-New Deal days. For Reagan, the scoundrel-type of patriotism must become the imperial rule. As corporate takeovers and wild gyrations on the stock market show—where foreign capital, especially Japan's, dominates, in disregard of our stagnant economy, high unemployment and myriad political crises—we live not only on borrowed money, but on borrowed time.

Ronald Reagan's attitude to Central America and the Caribbean, as if it were his lake and talking as if democracy ruled those lands, is much like Gorbachev's shadow-boxing in Afghanistan when he talks of having the Russian troops withdraw and a "pluralistic" regime be installed in Afghanistan. These two-of-a-kind nuclear superpowers have actually only one thing in mind, and that is each other's race for world nuclear supremacy.

Is Central America so predominant in Reagan's vision, his ideology, that even the possibility of being saved by an arms control agreement with Russia becomes secondary? Is that the Damocles sword which is now hanging over us?

WILL THERE BE A PAUSE OR RUSH TO NUCLEAR FIRSTEDNESS?

We must turn back to the latest snag that has appeared at the Soviet-American arms negotiations in Geneva. What is the significance of the re-appearance of the two very different interpretations of what happened at Reykjavik? Why should the Reagan Administration suddenly need to present what made everything fall apart at Reykjavik—the fact that Gorbachev would not agree to anything that wasn't tied to the non-deployment of SDI? Reagan wouldn't consider non-deployment of SDI under any circumstances whatsoever.

Why is it that just a couple of weeks ago, the dramatic gesture of Gorbachev to decouple the question of SDI from arms control agreements was hailed as coming over to Reagan's position, but now Reagan is introducing a totally new point, demanding the transformation of those Intermediate Ballistic Missiles into "short range" missiles, instead of their destruction.

Is everything just a bluff so that the next step by Schultz, who is to visit with Shevardnadze next month, will be played up as a victory? Or is each cut for his own national interests? Finally, the West European governments, who were all for the "zero option" when they hadn't yet voted to install the new U.S. intermediate weapons in their countries, are questioning the whole idea of it now that they allowed the installation of those missiles.

We may get some illumination on this question from Thatcher's visit to Moscow, but one point is clear already: Gorbachev aims to draw a division between West Europe and the U.S. That is the dominant issue, and this will determine whether there is a breakthrough or just the playing of a game for high stakes and elchemy. At this point Russia is saying that the Americans are still "negotiating with themselves."

Has Reagan so beguiled himself with the artifices of Star Wars that he will let go of this one chance to cover up the illegitimacy of his Presidency that the Iran-contra scandal has exposed, to proceed with the helter-skelter rush for nuclear firstedness?

—March 28, 1987

9/11/87

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Barry 18 hrs. after town of G came
up with zero option

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3/8/87

#1/World

Reagan-Gorbachev and Their Bi-Polar World

Orig. with classes 1/8/87

3/11/87 NYT

Nuclear 1
Siedner

I have seen nowhere, not even in the serious so-called objective, scholarly studies, not at all limited to what's going on now, (in fact, predicting the wrong thing, that it wouldn't occur) whereas I said a month ago, it is Gorbachev preparing to save Reagan the way Brezhnev tried to save Nixon. But this one in Foreign Affairs, 'America and the World in 1986' in the essay by Dmitry K. Simes, "Gorbachev: A New Foreign Policy?" , has at least some facts I want to keep in my mind.

not just a lawless one
at that

3

not to mention such rebraperson
III economics
reductio ad absurdum
back to primitivity
conditions in fact

G. became General Secretary 3/11/85. At the 27th Party Congress, 2/86, he spoke of a turning point: "It is not only in internal affairs that the turning point has been reached. It characterizes external affairs as well." (Pravda, 2/26/86). The speech about China in Vladivostok in July (Pravda, July 29, 1986); the important thing however is because he was a favorite of Andropov, he became the de facto deputy after Brezhnev's death in ~~November~~ Nov. 1982.

Checked
4 long pieces
with CIA
Jan 87

What remains completely unchanged are: 1) total control over East Europe. 2) sponsoring Third World not as expensively as Cuba however. 3) developing the military. Whereas the West is constantly ~~blaming~~ blaming the materialists only on economics, and complaining as if Russia is a basket case, it is politics, not economics, that has priority and while they certainly want to take advantage of scientific technology from America, that is not the primary reason for "capitulating"

played
a 'Memento
Victory for Peace'
index for material
Jan 87

Don't forget (S. P. Charov) *

P-3

to the West.

What the West must have certainly noted, but which it has spoke not a word about, is that Sakharov came back from Moscow to do research on SDI, and it is he, and not either the economics or the politics that ~~was followed~~ followed by G.'s offer ~~on~~ on Intermediate Strategic Missiles, ~~the~~ decoupling it from SDI. *Ballistic* Indeed, *How should we pay?* certainly everyone couldn't fail to notice that the announcement of Sakharov's return to Moscow was the very day that Russia issued a statement declaring an end to its unilateral ban on testing nuclear weapons. Not only does the bi-polar world remain central to Russia, but the concentration on the West specifically, especially the U.S., has never been more intense. *whether it be in human space* At the same time the many times G. has scored a real coup in the public relations realm, in a combination of Madison Avenue and Hollywood, hasn't forgotten for a moment how to play the role of the only other ~~superpower's~~ superpower's benefactor for any nation that is disenchanted with Washington. (p. 486 of Foreign Affairs).

Moreover, he rivals Reagan in his regular consultation with the Warsaw Pact on international developments, like Geneva and Reykjavik and not just ~~the~~ East Europe.

"In Nicaragua, Angola and Afghanistan, the Soviet Union made considerable new investments to support its embattled allies. Sophisticated weapons worth hundreds of millions of dollars were delivered to the Sandinistas and to the government of Angola. In Afghanistan, where the Soviets are reported to spend about \$3 billion a year, there was an increase in the number of ground and air incursions into and artillery bombardments of Pakistan. A token withdrawal of Soviet troops

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from Afghanistan completed in November, by all indications, was no more than a public relations gesture." (p.489).

The possibility of a Summit this very year, which is certainly the only thing that would save Reagan, should not forget that Brehznev too had not cancelled Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union in May 1972, even though Americans were raining bombs and mining the Haiphong Harbor in Vietnam.

in a word, there is no doubt that whether it is physicists who really know the "technical" score, or politicians who really ~~know~~ know that there really is no priority beyond life itself, want to make arms control, no matter how minor, the number one national issue and they think that at this moment of weakness in the Reagan administration they have their best chance of trying to stop the helter-skelter *race towards SDI* *Adversus*

PLAN. The Russians are great believers in Plan and they certainly did a lot of planning before Reykjavik, as can be seen

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not only in the fact that it was all written out and presented in the name of the Politburo. Only 3 hours after Gorbachev gave Schultz, on Jan. 15, 1986, the statement was read over Soviet TV and Tass passed it out.

3/7/87

There are 2 clippings by Tom Wicker, one from 2/25/87 and one from 3/7/87 that, though they are on Iran, and they have some good points that I may use for this. Thus, the one from 2/25, 'Teflon and Power', is ~~is~~ by realizing that it's not only what Reagan is doing when he's in power, but what will continue because that is what he's worked for and therefore he is by no means as powerless as he is being pictured. The refrain he uses is: How is that for Being Finished? Whether it be the fantastic militarization or the ABM he shows that even if no arms control is negotiated the Cold War he has begun is there in more sides than arms control.

He shows that the Feb. 3 nuclear test in Nevada has opened the door for G. to end his 18 month unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. Most prescient of all is the fact that he is continuing throughout his regime against Nicaragua, including so-called privatization of money, assures the fact that the Democratic Party will not be able to stop the continuation of the money now, because the veto will carry and they do not have the two-thirds to over-ride it.

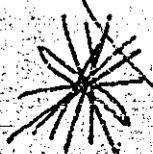
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The One on 3/7/87, whereas I disagree totally with the idea that it's only a "management style", even if Wicker extends that to being "ignorance and sloth" the fact is that that counter-revolution they all continue to call the revolution, so that his present supposed admission that mistakes were made is equivalent to not only that he made them, but, ~~was~~ it ~~could~~ couldn't possibly have been otherwise because that's his philosophy. The fact that Tower inserted the word, "knowingly", not knowingly, misled the public, shows that the Tower Commission couldn't possibly have proved what everyone knows.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly, 3/8/87 on "Gorbachev Plan Is Breakthrough" by Martin Walker with a P.S. by their correspondent also for Washington, Michael White. While I do not take G.'s latest public relations breakthrough to be the equivalent of "the heyday ~~of~~ of detente of the early 1970s", there is no doubt whatever that he and only he is saving the President. And he knows it. Which is why he's ~~doing~~ doing it, because the crises in Russia is likewise intense; though for different reasons superficially it is the same thing for the class reasons of degenerate state-capitalist continuants. That is to say, since ~~the~~ life itself is involved on this question of nuclear war, be it from the skies or from the seas or from the earth, the rulers seem to think that if you make any type of superficial arms control issue the number one ^{world problem} international

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for sure



problem, that the masses will ~~be~~ forget everything else.

What then has happened with the truly new feature between
Iceland and the present ~~proposal~~ not to make a linkage
between SDI.

It's quite wrong to think that that was just a public relations
stump, though it was totally utopian. The Russians are great
believers in Planning. Every word of this was planned and not a
matter of overnight brainstorm and it wasn't just planned by G.
but was the official statement of the whole Politburo. Whether
or not they thought that they could still come out with
something is also not the question. The real ~~point~~ point,
~~is~~ once they brought Reagan down to size, which was a very
important element to them, there was still the question that
neither was ready to ~~embark~~ embark upon a nuclear war.
The ~~key~~ question then became to get Reagan at his weakest
point where he would give something where he wasn't ready to
give at all once he realized that he ~~was~~ got the short end of the
stick, and not only from Russia, but from all the allies as well
as the United States itself.

QUESTIONS TO MYSELF:

- 1) How much on Russia and How much on U.S.?
- 2) Should the part on U.S. be on the Iran-contra, or very ~~EE~~
much more Nicaragua ash being against both Democrats and Republicans?

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collective
 a prepared statement, written collectively by the Politburo,
 which made it clear that it was a package, none of which
 could be dealt with separately. *from it expected FSD? (abolish)* And since it was all ~~in~~
~~inseparable~~ inseparable from the key of not ~~deploying~~ *deploying*
 SDI, that all-night session was needed in order to work out
 the details of making it real by dates and the specifics
 of when each would be initiated and completed. *(put here)*

Just as... 50
Sheet 1

Now it is true that G. may have thought: that although
 R. would not give up his obsession with SDI, he could
 nevertheless get "something." Whereas by then, R. just
 picked up his papers and left. It is not true that it
 was the strength of the West, the U.S. particularly, that
 brought the latest gesture. *Wrong!* No, it was the very fact
 that R. is so weak at home and abroad, ~~over the arms controversy?~~

*Transp
 to end
 08*

*It isn't only over the Iran-contra scandal. It is the
 whole 6 years of his imperial rule, which now clearly
 shows that ~~Reagan's~~ on the same level as his obsession
 with SDI, his obsession with Latin America going its way
 and ~~Reagan's~~ Reagan's calling Nicaragua
 Russia's surrogate. (To this we will return in the next
 issue.)*

It is necessary therefore
 But here we wish to ~~limit~~ limit ourselves to the
 two-of-a-kind *in the concrete R. will be* ~~decoupling~~ decoupling, for very
 different reasons themselves from West Europe. *Since that is what*
 all the "new" is about -- removing SDI from Europe.

*Situate the
 position of
 significance*

INSERT for p. 3, just before para. starting with 'it is true'... ^(not)

*Read - still
at 11:30
Kern plan*

The new General Secretary at the helm in Russia, ^{discovery} Gorbachev, knew how to turn even so great and global a disaster as Chernobyl into something we could "all" learn lessons from. After trying to stonewall it, ^{the greatest disaster} though the radiation from the reactor had already polluted the air of Sweden and much of Europe, ^{Russian approach} Gorbachev attended the International Atomic Agency ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ Vienna, and ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ accepting an international mechanism on nuclear safety, ^{of the} declared:

"We must take steps away from the nuclear abyss . . . We were guided by the motive of freeing the European peoples from nuclear catastrophe . . ." Could anyone then repeat the ~~unforgiving~~ unforgiving critique of first stonewalling, that proved Russia to be an evil empire that cared neither for its people nor for ~~wherever~~ ~~wherever~~ wherever the wind might scatter Chernobyl's nuclear radiation?

at one & the same time declared that Russia, as all, had learned a great deal from it, but stretched out a hand to Europe, ~~clearing~~ trying to remove it from us: Q

Footnote

* (It seems to me that both ~~Soviet~~ concentration and wishing arms control, though he's very, very anti-Russian, and the fact that he quotes F. Stephen Larrabee and Allen Lynch, "Gorbachev: The Road to Reykjavik" in Foreign Policy, Winter 1986-87, p. 3, who said "his foreign-policy perspectives differ significantly from those of his predecessors and could reshape the ways in which the Kremlin deals with the outside world",

*Tr. est
ent. i
civile
1987*

ent

WHERE IS WEST EUROPE?

Kissinger, ~~and other~~ the erudite Nixonite, ~~and super-patriotic American~~ *a Pat American advocate*, was so mad at Europe's resistance of ~~the U.S. wish to put missiles into Europe~~ *(both)* distancing itself from the *(new nuclear)* U.S. wish to put missiles into Europe, as well as ~~not going in for as deep a militarization of conventional forces as the U.S. asked for, suggested his own type of decoupling -- removing many of the U.S. troops from Europe, evidently thinking that that would so expose them to the Russian bear~~

Gorbachev is doing the ~~exact~~ *absolute* opposite. ~~He is increasing the concentration on Western Europe, trying to draw it away from the U.S.,~~ *giving them no US "defense shield"* ever since he became General Secretary 3/11/85. ~~His reorganization of the Politburo was not only a removal of the "aged" and drawing in new~~ *his focus*

~~low total concentration on the U.S. and drawing in new blood, but changing the line that Gromyko had been known for~~ *of* ~~He made clear from his very first speech at the 27th Party Congress on 2.86, that he~~

*His answer
is written
at the
top of the
map in
the same
color as
the other
countries
of NATO
The Grand Illusion
is evident
in the
map*

he make clear that Russia has reached

~~has been~~ considered a turning point, that "it is not only in internal affairs that the turning point has been reached. It characterises external affairs as well".*

He did this with ~~the~~ concentration on ~~America~~ ^{USA} that it was

he not only removed Gromyko, as the main Russian spets on America, but both quantitatively and qualitatively, changed what they call ~~the~~

the whole character of the International Department. Thus, in addition to Dobrynin, the Russian Ambassador to the U.S., being put as the head of the International Department,

he brought with him two more spets from ~~the~~ the Russian embassy in the U.S. to Russia. So did the ambassador to Canada, Yakovlev, and other "America watchers" go back to Russia. Indeed, even in his relationship to

Latin America, where he certainly doesn't intend to give up the foothold that he has there as the alternative to U.S. Imperialism, ~~he has no intention of repeating~~ ^{to} what used to

be called a ~~half~~ ^{half}-brained scheme of Khrushchev, putting nuclear installations into Cuba, when you do not have the hardware ^{to meet the decision of local challenge}

Quoted in Dmyitry K. Simes, ~~in~~ "Gorbachev: A New Foreign Policy?" in Foreign Affairs, vol. 65, no. 3, 1987.

more than the replacement of Sour faced Gromyko with himself, his friend Shevardnadze smiling he

Pravda, 2/86

to carry out that nuclear challenge to the U.S. Instead, make arms control, no matter how limited, appear as the he wants to ~~make arms control, no matter how limited, appear as the~~

~~the~~ decisive issue of all world political problems.

This will give him the chance to continue with his "economic reforms" -- that is, make the masses bear the burden of a ~~ever~~ ever-continuing rise in labor productivity, ^{itself} to work harder and harder with no change in the exploitative labor relationships ^{or conditions of living}

Ronald Reagan is not only continuing on his retrogressionist path, ^{being} ~~he is~~ a strike-breaker and racist as well as ~~being~~

~~being~~ trying to roll back the whole range of women's liberation activities, ^{whether it is the R.P.} ~~be it~~ the right to abortion or the equality of wages between men and women, and ~~is~~ making pauperization not just the racist question, but one also of feminization of poverty.

to attempt, at this time, to give credence to Gorbachev's claim of ~~being~~ a relationship to Lenin's historic legitimacy of 1917 and his demand that Stalin be removed from ~~from~~ the post of General Secretary, is every bit as onerous as the fantastic Reagan lies about "the evil empire." Just don't forget that when all is said and done there is no change either in the class nature of Russia ^{since} that Stalin transferred ^{the} from a worker's state into a state-capitalist society in the 1930s, or in the imperialist ~~and~~ of total control over East Europe ~~gained~~ gained with World War II, or . . . A-Bomb? H-bomb? Space? . . . Militarization till it reached Outer Space . . .

"Imperial! Precedence at home - its 'Privatization'

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*Martin
Dunbar
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That six-year counter-revolution that Reagan has ~~initiated~~ continues, and he wants to make sure it is in law, so that whether Democrats or Republicans follow him, that is what they ~~will~~ ^{he then} have to follow. It has its most startling and ~~absolutely~~ ^{rather} opposite essence than the rhetoric in which he presents the anti-big government pro-~~individual~~ private ~~show~~ ^{show} in ~~its~~ ^{its} execution of privatization. What the Iran-contra ~~controversy~~ ^{scandal reveals} shows, is what privatization is: 1) the disappearance of ~~the~~ ^{the} state treasury, the people's money, through secret Swiss bank accounts, to mercenaries in Nicaragua attempting to overthrow a legitimate government; 2) sales ^{of arms} ~~of arms~~, supposedly for hostages, to no greater friend ^{(and pervert the stated policy} than Khomeiny, which could shift the balance ^{of power in} the Middle East, specifically the Iran-Iraq War; 3) ~~privatization~~ ^{the} turns out to be ~~some~~ ^{the} ~~less~~ ^{Secretary of State, who} ~~than~~ the Secretary of State, who supposedly opposed the Iran-contra deal, ^{appealing to} begging the richest man in the world, the Sultan of Brunei, for \$10 million for a private contribution ^(one of the factions of) for the contras. ~~Privatization~~ ^{is} ~~continues~~ ^{to} the King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who ~~generously~~ ^{generously} contributed millions himself; 4) the ~~very~~ ^{few} American fat-cats who contributed privately for this ~~anti-Communist~~ ^{anti-Communist} fascist ^{purpose} are the very ~~merchants~~ ^{merchants} of death who ^{helped to} create the astronomical deficits that have transformed this nation from ^{the US} a credit nation ^{the greatest} to a debtor nation, ^{the largest}

means to R

Iranians gets a message from the execution

Here from p. 3 rewritten as final

Re Q by
Savakob

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difference
because

5) (15) The pauperization of the masses and its
homelessness appear ~~simultaneously~~ with the specific Wall
Street privatization of insider trading. How much of that
is a disregard of all so-called anti-trust laws, ~~including~~
continuing the ~~ongoing~~ corporate takeovers

it signifies

new process

i.e. This makes one
change of the most of all
the right to survive *

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Int. 1/2

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