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THE FASCIST DANGER AND  
DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLES IN THE U.S.

Hyman Lumer

SCIENTISTS DISCUSS DISARMAMENT

Erwin Marquit

THE DECEMBRISTS AND AMERICA

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U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS  
INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

Herbert Aptheker

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## The Fascist Danger and Democratic Struggles in the U.S.

The pronounced deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the emergence of a new stage in its development have accentuated the polarization of opposing forces. On the one hand the forces of Right-wing reaction and fascism have become increasingly active and aggressive, and the ruling-class drive to undermine and erode democratic processes and institutions has been stepped up. On the other hand the mass democratic struggles and movements among the people, which had already begun to attain unprecedented levels in the sixties, have received added impetus and the democratic, anti-monopoly forces have become stronger and more advanced in political consciousness than ever before, offering new opportunities for advancement of the people's welfare.

In his report to the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party USA, General Secretary Gus Hall states:

We must keep a sharp eye on how, in the U.S. in the 1970's monopoly capital is preparing the climate in which fascism can come to power.

We must keep an eye on how it is preparing a mass base which is one of the basic conditions for its victory. We must be alert to what issues are being used and what forces are moving into position. To fight fascism is to expose the meaning of these developments. Through the struggle we have the task of raising to higher levels the anti-fascist consciousness of the people.

To this he adds a warning against one-sidedness:

In times of great upsurge it is necessary to see the two sides of the dialectical process. The main tendency is that the forces of reaction and fascism are losing ground throughout the political globe. But there is no basis for complacency because as shadows follow substance, so danger stalks at the heels of new advances on the road of the new opportunities. (*The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight Back*, International Publishers, New York, 1975, pp. 44, 46.)

In this and a subsequent article we shall deal at some length with these contending forces and with certain key aspects of today's democratic struggles. The reader is referred also to the pertinent sections of Gus Hall's report.

The deepening crisis has led to a considerable sharpening of contradictions within the ranks of monopoly capital. The past several years have, to be sure, produced a distinct shift to the Right, manifested in increased pressures for repressive measures and racist incitement at home and a policy of aggression abroad. It is manifested also in the greatly increased financial support of big business to extreme Right-wing candidates in the 1970 Congressional elections, in the overwhelming backing given to Richard M. Nixon in 1972 and in the whole process which led to Watergate. But at the same time a growing sector of the monopolists, confronted with an increasingly adverse world balance of forces, with mounting setbacks abroad and a worsening economic situation in the United States, have begun to adopt a more sober approach and to look toward a policy of U.S.-Soviet detente and an end to the cold war, while others continue to cling to the old, bankrupt line. Moreover, the current cyclical crisis, the worst since the thirties, has tended to sharpen the differences between those who lean toward repression and violence as the way out and those who lean rather toward the path of concessions.

The divisions are by no means clear-cut. Thus, ironically, the same individual—President Nixon—came to symbolize both Watergate and detente. And Secretary of State Henry Kissinger simultaneously fights for the removal of restrictions on U.S.-Soviet trade and utters threats of military action against the Arab oil-producing countries.

What is decisive in the struggle against fascism, however, is not these contradictions. Monopoly capital remains basically reactionary and anti-democratic, and it becomes increasingly so with the continuing development of state monopoly capitalism. What is of decisive importance is the constantly growing, advancing people's democratic movement against the monopolies. The American people have gone through the experiences of the long struggle against McCarthyism, the militant civil rights movement of the sixties, the tremendous battles to end the war of aggression in Indochina, and more recently the drive to expose the crimes of Watergate and punish the criminals. And today great new economic struggles against unemployment and inflation, against the mounting assault on people's living standards, are in the making.

Important victories have been registered in these struggles and important lessons have been learned. The popular democratic forces, with the working class as their base, have grown greatly in strength and political maturity. They constitute a formidable roadblock to fascism and a powerful force for social progress.

There is no imminent threat of a fascist takeover in the United

States today. But efforts have been greatly intensified to lay the basis for a possible takeover at some future time and attacks on democratic rights have mounted. It is in this sense that we may speak of a heightened threat of fascism and of a sharpening of the struggle against it. In this light we turn now to a detailed examination of the fascist trends and groupings in the country and of the nature of the anti-fascist forces, including particularly the role of the Communist Party.

### *The Ultra-Right*

Under this heading are included the more or less open exponents of fascism and fascist ideology. They form a heterogeneous grouping, ranging from the extreme or fanatical ultra-Right to the "respectable" ultra-Right, which terms itself "conservative." And it includes such outspoken fascist demagogues as Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama, as well as a body of other political figures of the extreme Right. The variations among them are mainly of the nature of a division of labor; in their basic outlook they are essentially similar.

1. *The Fanatical Ultra-Right.* This is embodied in a collection of about 1,000 organizations, institutions and groupings. All of these are rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, labeling as "Communist" even such individuals as former President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. All are viciously racist and anti-Semitic, disseminating the vilest filth about Blacks and Jews. All are violently opposed to the United Nations. All are vehemently anti-labor and opposed to every form of social welfare, and all, in the name of "free enterprise," are noisy defenders of capitalism and the big monopolies.

Some are comparatively new, some hark back to the thirties and some, like the Ku Klux Klan, have an even longer history. Though their numbers are small and most are minute splinters, they are intensively active and in recent years their activity has markedly increased. Here we can deal only with a few of the leading groups.

The largest is the John Birch Society, founded in 1958 by Robert Welch, a small capitalist, who is its present head. In 1972 it claimed a membership of some 60,000, annual expenditures of nearly \$8 million and some 400 bookstores and reading rooms. It issues a publication called *Review of the News* (see Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *The New Anti-Semitism*, McGraw-Hill, New York, New York, 1974, pp. 286-287). Steven V. Roberts, writing in the magazine *Commonweal* ("Your Friendly John Birch Bookstore," March 16, 1973), credits them with 450 American Opinion outlets—

"the largest bookstore chain in the country."

Characteristic of its activities was the distribution in the 1972 Presidential election campaign of millions of copies of a book by one Gary Allen called *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, which paints a picture of a powerful secret group, the "Insiders," plotting the establishment of communism on a world scale. Under this guise the book repeats all the inventions of the notorious tsarist forgery, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, as well as the Hitlerian "international Jewish bankers' conspiracy" and the fascist "Jewish-Communist" falsehoods. More than 6 million copies have been distributed and it continues to circulate.

The Liberty Lobby, founded in 1955 by Willis A. Carto, a professed admirer of Hitler, and still ruled by him, has a so-called Board of Policy of 25,000 members. Its *Liberty Letter* and other publications reach some 250,000 readers monthly. It broadcasts regularly on 200 radio stations in 42 states, attacking all liberal or progressive policies and programs and spreading anti-Communist and racist propaganda. It warns of an impending collapse of society, presumably resulting from the machinations of the international bankers, and distributes an *Operation Survival* brochure giving instructions for building shelters, storing dehydrated food and other measures for surviving the collapse.

The Christian Nationalist Crusade, created in the thirties by Gerald L. K. Smith, a notorious Hitler supporter, is still very much alive and continues to be headed by him. It has an annual income of some \$300,000 and circulates about 26,000 copies of its monthly publication *The Cross and the Flag*.

The National States Rights Party, born in the fifties, publishes *The Thunderbolt*, viciously racist and anti-Semitic. Its chairman, Jesse Benjamin Stoner, received nearly 41,000 votes in the Democratic Senatorial primaries in Georgia in 1972.

The Ku Klux Klan, whose history goes back to the post-Civil War years, has recently revived following a period in which its fortunes were at a low ebb. There are several competing organizations of which the largest is the United Klans of America. Others include the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the National Knights of the KKK. Membership in these organizations, as in the past, is secret, but according to all estimates the number of members is small, probably no more than 5-10,000. An additional 25,000 individuals belong to related Klan-like organizations. The leading Klan figures, however, operate openly, appearing on radio and television, in public demonstrations and as candidates for public office. But whatever its vicissitudes, the basic line of the Klan remains the

same: all the troubles of the world are caused by Blacks and Jews. The only way to save "Western Christian civilization" is to ship all Blacks to Africa and to purge big business and the communications media of Jews. Its propaganda closely resembles the most blatant Hitlerite ranting.

The American Party, which originated as a vehicle for the Presidential candidacy of Alabama's Governor George C. Wallace in 1968, came under the control of the John Birch Society in 1972. (Of Wallace we shall have more to say below.) Its Presidential candidate, Congressman John Schmitz, and his running mate Thomas J. Anderson were both members of the Society's National Council. They used as their main piece of campaign literature the Allen opus *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, which bears an introduction by Schmitz, and on the basis of such a campaign garnered more than a million votes. This party has run candidates in a number of state and local elections since then. In Massachusetts, in 1974, its candidate for governor received some three per cent of the total vote, enough to put it automatically on the ballot in the next elections according to the state's electoral laws. In short, here is a fascist party able to run candidates widely and to build an appreciable electoral constituency.

Life Line, a daily radio program financed by the late oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, was in 1970 being broadcast over 532 stations. Its operations have been greatly reduced following the withdrawal of Hunt's financial backing, but it is still carried by about 100 stations. There are several other ultra-Right radio programs with extensive coverage, among them Reverend Carl McIntire's Twentieth Century Reformation Hour, the Manion Forum and Reverend Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade. Together with the previously mentioned Liberty Lobby these programs account for a very considerable amount of radio time and are appearing on a growing number of television stations as well. In addition, each of these groups issues a regular printed publication.

Most extreme in its fanaticism is the National-Socialist White People's Party, successor to the American Nazi Party, founded in 1959. This is a gang of uniformed, swastikaed hoodlums spouting the crudest Nazism. It is minute in numbers but frequently in evidence where struggles for democratic rights are taking place.

Also worthy of mention are the Minutemen, a paramilitary, terrorist group, and Young Americans for Freedom, an ultra-Right organization of college students. And not least, there is the so-called "Jewish Defense League," headed by Rabbi Meir Kahane, a gang of roughnecks engaging in violent attacks, including shootings and



bombings, against Soviet personnel and institutions in the United States, as well as against Arab spokesmen and headquarters, the Communist Party and Black militants.

Many of these ultra-Right groups have large incomes and spend considerable sums of money, sums considerably exceeding what their limited constituencies would be able to provide. They are financed largely by wealthy capitalists such as H. L. Hunt. Prominent among these financial backers have been also such individuals as Patrick J. Frawley, Jr., head of Eversharp, Inc. and Schick Safety Razor Company, Robert Milliken, head of Deering Milliken Textile Company, J. Howard Pew, former chairman of Sun Oil Company, Lemuel R. Boulware, retired president of General Electric and Alfred Sloan of General Motors. Many others contribute to these groups in less ostentatious ways. They are, in fact, supported by a considerable section of big capital, which finds in them a source of support for its anti-Communism and its drive for anti-working class and racist measures, as well as a potential instrument for a possible fascist takeover. And though their followings are numerically small, they pose an ever-present threat which should not be underestimated.

2. *The "Conservatives."* These are the more "refined" elements of the ultra-Right, those which find more open acceptance in bourgeois circles and which are able to attract significant followings. Their views are no less reactionary than those of the "disreputable" ultra-Right but are less crudely expressed. They wield considerable political influence and are not infrequently elected to public office. In the 1964 Presidential elections they were able to capture the Republican nomination for one of their leading spokesmen, Barry Goldwater. However, they are not sharply differentiated from the "disreputable" ultra-Right; on the contrary they share a common ideology and there is much overlapping between them.

The chief publication which speaks for this "respectable" ultra-Right is the *National Review*, a biweekly with a circulation of 50,000. Its editor is William L. Buckley, Jr., an adroit exponent of "intellectual" fascism who designates himself and the magazine as "conservative." It is a suave, sophisticated publication but nonetheless a consistent defender of extreme Right-wing positions.

Associated with the *National Review* and with other Right-wing publications and organizations is a body of writers, journalists, academic and cultural figures and other intellectuals who are an active part of the "respectable" ultra-Right. Among them are such individuals as A. T. Bouscaren, professor of political science; Taylor Caldwell, novelist; John Chamberlain, journalist; Henry Hazlitt,

writer; Max Rafferty, journalist and educator; John Wayne, actor; and others.

For the most part the "conservative" politicians are to be found within the fold of the two major political parties. In New York State an additional vehicle is the Conservative Party, which has been in existence for a number of years. Though distinctly a minority party, it is able to exert a sizable influence thanks to the New York election laws, which permit candidates to run on more than one party slate. Utilizing this possibility, it has at times supported Republican candidates (for example, Nixon and Agnew in 1972) and has on occasion won Republican support for one or another Conservative candidate. Its biggest achievement was the election to the Senate in 1970 of its candidate James L. Buckley, brother of William.

In the Senate, Buckley is joined by other Right-wingers, exemplified by Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Henry M. Jackson of Washington (whom the *National Review* regards as the most preferable Democratic Presidential candidate in 1976), and James O. Eastland of Mississippi and other Southern racists. These have their counterparts in the House of Representatives. Added to them are other office-holders such as Ronald Reagan, former governor of California and a potential candidate for President in 1976, Governor Wallace of Alabama and Governor Meldrim Thomson, Jr. of New Hampshire. This constellation of Right-wing office-holders has ties with and a base of electoral support in the fanatical ultra-Right on the one hand, and affinities with the more reactionary elements in the Democratic and Republican parties on the other.

There are growing tendencies toward organizational coalescence among this assortment of "conservatives." In February 1975 a national conference of "conservatives" took place, sponsored by the Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union. The conference expressed sharp opposition to President Ford and even greater hostility to Vice President Rockefeller. It raised the perspective of a third-party Presidential ticket in 1976 in opposition to a Ford-Rockefeller ticket if Reagan could be persuaded to run for President as its candidate. Proposals were made for the formation of a national conservative party modelled on the Conservative Party of New York. Such a ticket, should it materialize, is not to be taken lightly. A Gallup Poll taken shortly after the conference indicated that it could receive as much as 25 per cent of the popular vote.

This "respectable" ultra-Right is thus a factor of some significance on the political scene and over a period of years it has become increasingly the dominant factor within the ultra-Right itself. Robert

A. Schoenberger noted this development some years ago. He wrote that "the late 1950s and the 1960s have witnessed a great surge of the more 'respectable' Right-wing formations. Although the rhetoric of this new American Right is as fevered as that of the old, the targets have been changed or reordered. Communism is the great implacable enemy and all other phenomena, actual or imaginary, which stimulated Rightist wrath have either been identified somehow with the totalitarian enemy or downplayed or dropped from the Rightist lexicon." (Robert A. Schoenberger, ed., *The American Right Wing: Readings in Political Behavior*, Holt, Rinehart Winston, New York, 1969, p. 3.)

This is not, however, to say that the fanatical ultra-Right is declining. As has been indicated, it too has grown and with this have grown the crude racism, anti-Semitism and religious bigotry which are its particular province.

3. *George C. Wallace*. We have singled him out for special attention because he has emerged as clearly the leading fascist demagogue in the United States—as the individual to whom the promoters of a fascist takeover might well look as the proverbial "man on a white horse."

He came into prominence in the 1968 Presidential elections in which, running on an American Independent Party ticket (a party rigged up as a vehicle for his candidacy, which later became the American Party), he polled some 15 million votes. In the 1972 elections he ran in a number of state Democratic Party Presidential primary elections, again polling some impressive votes. In Michigan he captured 51 per cent of the vote, in Maryland 39 per cent. To be sure, much of his support came from Republicans who crossed over into the Democratic primaries to vote for him since there was no serious contest in the Republican Party to Nixon's nomination. But this did not render his showings any the less impressive.

Clearly, Wallace commands considerable strength at the polls and is therefore handled with care by both Democratic and Republican politicians. When he was shot and rendered a permanent invalid by a would-be assassin during the 1972 election campaign, there was a conspicuous parade of prominent visitors to his bedside, ranging from President Nixon to Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

Currently he is making an energetic bid for a place on the Democratic Presidential ticket in 1976, threatening to run as an independent again if he is turned down. By early 1975 he had already raised a fund of nearly \$3 million and had mailed out more than 7½ million pieces of literature. Though his nomination is hardly likely, a Right-wing Jackson-Wallace ticket is regarded by some

as not altogether out of the question. He is also under consideration for a place on a possible conservative ticket. Clearly, he poses a threat which cannot be lightly dismissed; he must be relentlessly exposed and fought.

#### *Fascist Demagogy: U.S. Brand*

What is the nature of the popular appeal of a Wallace? The answer is to be found in the report given forty years ago by Georgi Dimitrov to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. He said:

What is the source of the influence enjoyed by fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do the German fascists, those lackeys of the big bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as "socialists," and depict their accession to power as a "revolution"? Because they try to exploit the faith in revolution, the urge toward socialism which live in the hearts of the broad masses of the toilers of Germany. . . .

Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it appeals to them with the most artful anti-capitalist demagoguery, taking advantage of the profound hatred entertained by the toilers for the piratical bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and the financial magnates, and advancing slogans which at the given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses. . . .

Fascism delivers up the people to be devoured by the most corrupt, most venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for "an honest and incorruptible government." . . .

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, fascism *adapts* its demagoguery to the national *peculiarities* of each country, and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. (*United Front Against Fascism*, New Century Publishers, New York, 1950, pp. 10-11.)

All these features are characteristic of the U.S. purveyors of fascism and they are most strikingly exhibited by Wallace.

To begin with, he is a typical out-and-out Southern racist and segregationist. He was first elected governor of Alabama on a platform of all-out opposition to school desegregation. In his inaugural speech, he declared: "I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." In the 1968 Presidential campaign opposition

to desegregation was the central plank in his platform. His racism is no less pronounced today; however, it finds somewhat more sophisticated forms of expression.

Today he concentrates his attack on the busing of schoolchildren to schools outside of their own neighborhoods in order to achieve desegregated schools despite segregated housing. Nor is he alone in this. Busing has become a favorite target of all reactionary and ultra-Right elements, who attack it in the name of the right of parents and pupils to a free choice of schools.

This playing on racist prejudices among the working people, which is an essential part of the fascist arsenal generally, is especially pronounced in the United States, where racial and national oppression of minority peoples is a capitalist malignancy of exceptional proportions. We shall deal with it in more detail below.

In the United States, too, socialist ideas find comparatively little acceptance as yet within the working class. Hence fascist elements do not parade as supporters of socialism as is the case in European countries; on the contrary they violently attack it in the name of upholding "free enterprise." They attach themselves, rather, to certain democratic traditions which have popular appeal.

Wallace, for example, poses as a Populist<sup>\*</sup>—as "one of the anti-establishment kind," championing the interests of the common people against the big corporations. He vigorously attacks the bankers and the international capitalists and fulminates against the "filthy rich." He likewise directs his wrath against big government, and he skillfully weaves his anti-busing crusade into the fabric of this populist line. He declares: "The average citizen—the farmer, the

\* The Populist or People's Party was born in 1891, with its main base among the farmers but with substantial support within the ranks of organized labor and among the Socialists, Single Taxers and other such groups. Its platform was diverse, combining such agrarian demands of the day as free coinage of silver, abolition of national banks and government regulation of the railroads, with such demands as a graduated income tax, direct election of the President, Vice President and U.S. senators, universal suffrage and the eight-hour day.

In 1892 its Presidential candidate polled over a million popular votes and received 22 electoral votes. A split developed, however, between conservative and progressive elements. The former, mainly wealthy farmers and silver mining interests, wanted to confine the Party's platform to free silver coinage, while the bulk of the farmers, workers, Socialists and others fought for a broad anti-monopoly platform. In 1896 the conservatives succeeded in pushing through fusion with the Democratic Party in support of its Presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan, who ran on a "free silver" platform.

This was the end of the People's Party and of Populism as an organized movement. But the Populist tradition has since been appealed to by both liberal and reactionary spokesmen.

working man, the businessman—is taxed to death, his children are bused, and he has nothing to say about it." (*Business Week*, April 29, 1972.)

Wallace speaks in generalities about such things as tax reforms and improved social welfare measures but he offers no effective proposals. And this demagoguery is interlarded with a mishmash of Right-wing demands. Thus, a letter sent out in January 1975 contains the following five-point program: judicial reform to meet increasing crime; reduced federal expenditures to fight inflation; denial of amnesty to those who refused service in Vietnam; no welfare payments to those who are healthy and refuse work; an end to weakening the U.S. militarily in relation to the Communists.

His demagogic protestations, moreover, are clearly belied by his record as governor of Alabama, which is one of the most backward states in the country. It ranks 49th in per capita income, 50th in per pupil education expenditures, and 48th in poverty. It has one of the most regressive tax structures in the land and is generally a paradise for capitalist exploiters.

At the same time, Wallace makes no secret of his affinities with Hitlerism. In a recent interview he told journalists: "I think maybe we were fighting the wrong people in World War II." He said that "we should have been cultivating the friendship of the Japanese and the Germans instead of being antagonistic. . . ." (*New York Times*, May 11, 1975). His "Populist" demagoguery, it is clear, is but a cloak for his fascist views.

But such "Populist" demagoguery is not confined to Wallace; it is the stock-in-trade of "conservative" elements generally. Thus, the Conservative Party of New York similarly poses as a champion of the people against big government and it campaigns constantly against high taxes. Others, too, seek to cover their fascist nakedness with a "Populist" fig leaf.

Palmiro Togliatti, in his *Lectures on Fascism* (International Publishers, New York, 1975) points out that fascism can come to power only if it can succeed in establishing a mass base among the petty bourgeoisie. "We must use [the term fascism]," he says, "only when the fight against the working class develops on a new mass base with a petty-bourgeois character. . . ."

In this connection it is important to note that the ultra-Right elements in this country explicitly address themselves to the middle class, speaking as its champions. Thus, James Reston of the *New York Times* reports (January 26, 1975): "The 'message' Governor Wallace had for Washington . . . was that it had better pay more attention to the middle class people who were in trouble. They were

paying most of the freight for the very rich and the very poor and they were sick of it and needed somebody to look after their interests." This is echoed by William Loeb, publisher of the *Manchester Guardian* (New Hampshire) and advocate of a national conservative party, who states: "The basis for the new party is the middle-class people who are tired of the freeloaders at both ends [the corporate monopolies and the recipients of welfare payments]. . . . It will be a conservative party." (*New York Times*, March 13, 1975.)

This appeal to middle-class elements is based on the characteristically unstable and vacillating nature of these strata. Hard hit by the present economic crisis, many become bewildered and an easy prey to fascist demagogy.

The appeal of the ultra-Right is, of course, not confined to the middle-class sectors; Wallace's propaganda, for example, is also directed to sections of the working class. What characterizes the political line of such fascist groupings, as Togliatti notes, is that it is not based on any plan or set of principles, but is rather a hodge-podge of issues which are seized upon because they can be used demagogically to attract a following. And these include issues designed to win the support of workers.

A striking feature of the ultra-Right is its close association with religion, which is reflected in the many organizations that designate themselves as "Christian" or by other religious terms. These have their base in fundamentalist Protestant sects which preach the literal acceptance of the Bible, which equate "Christian" and "American," and which inveigh against "godless Communism." In the name of "religion" they are viciously racist, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic.

Religion is a key ingredient in Wallace's propaganda. He is, among other things, a great defender of prayer in the schools and ascribes rising crime in the United States to its absence. And his name has been linked with the backers of a rabidly racist campaign in the coal mining areas near Charleston, West Virginia, directed against what its instigators call "pornographic, un-Christian and un-American" textbooks in the schools. Led by self-ordained fundamentalist preachers and supported by the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan and other ultra-Right groups, it has resulted in acts of violence and in reduced attendance in the schools. The campaign is clearly racist: its main thrust is against books by Black writers, books showing Black and white children playing together and books upholding Black-white equality and democracy. And this unholy campaign is conducted, be it noted, in the name of "Christianity," morality and the sacred right of parents to control what their children read. Behind this campaign are the big coal mining corporations which find in the encourage-

ment of such extreme backwardness an instrument for weakening and undercutting the United Mine Workers. Education and schools are in fact a favorite target of the ultra-Right groups, as is evident also in their concentration on the anti-busing campaign.

Such are some of the main features of fascist demagogy as they are displayed in the United States.

#### *Racism and Anti-Semitism*

Intense chauvinism and racism is characteristic of all fascist trends and movements. This is a central, not a peripheral feature; indeed, it is a vital function of fascism to carry the chauvinism and racism fostered by monopoly capital as a source of its superprofits to their utmost extremes, the most horrendous example of this being Nazi Germany. In the United States, racism plays a uniquely prominent part as an instrument of monopolist oppression. Capitalism in this country developed on a background of some 300 years of chattel slavery in the South, to be followed in the late 19th century by the domination of the South by Northern monopoly capital based on a semifeudal system of sharecropping and the institution of a rigid pattern of brutally enforced segregation and discrimination against Blacks.

Today this pattern of oppression and superexploitation extends to some 40 million people in the United States—Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, American Indian, Asian—from whose underpaid labor the big corporations extract billions in superprofits. And this in turn rests on a foundation of racist ideology and practice which permeates every aspect of American life. Racism is the most potent weapon of the monopolies for dividing the working class, for pitting white against Black and other oppressed minorities. And it is the central feature in the fascist propaganda arsenal.

Characteristic of the rising fascist trends of the present period, therefore, is a marked growth of open racism and racist incitement, both under Nixon and under Ford.

Nixon pursued a blatantly racist line at all times. He sought to build his political base largely in the South, among the racist Dixiecrat elements. He labored to pack the Supreme Court with notorious Southern exponents of extreme racism and reaction. Some of his nominations were so flagrant in this respect and the nominees, moreover, so obviously incompetent that the conservative American Bar Association publicly opposed them, and even the usually complacent Senate turned them down. Of Nixon's efforts in this direction, Stephen Gilliers writes in *The Nation*: "The persons Mr. Nixon has nominated or considered nominating to the Court should terrify a civil liber-



tarian. . . . It may be a slight overstatement to say that if the eight people the President has most favored for the Court were there all at once, the Bill of Rights would be as meaningful to the rights of Americans who need it most as, say, the Mayflower Compact." ("Nixon and the Constitution: Putting the Law in its Place," September 18, 1972.)

As it is, the nine-member Supreme Court now contains a bloc of four Nixon nominees—Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Justices Louis F. Powell, Harry A. Blackmun and William H. Rehnquist, the last-mentioned being an outspoken ultra-Rightist of the Young Americans for Freedom stripe. This block has a consistent record of voting to weaken Constitutional guarantees in general, and in particular to undermine civil rights and desegregation legislation, as well as to increase the powers of the police to maintain "law and order."

Nixon, and Johnson before him, came forward as champions of "law and order," a euphemism for unrestrained military and police violence against Black and other ghetto inhabitants and for the brutal suppression of all militant groups and actions. Its meaning was spelled out by Rehnquist, who when he was employed in the Justice Department, said that "law and order will be preserved at whatever cost to individual liberties and rights." (Quoted in *I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly*, November 1, 1971.) And especially at whatever costs to the rights and lives of the Black and other oppressed minority peoples. Its meaning is also spelled out in the monstrous piece of police-state legislation now before the Senate, which we shall deal with below.

The "law and order" crusade found expression during the past decade in the shooting down of student protestors at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State University in Mississippi. It found expression in the wholesale arrests and trials of members of the Black Panthers and other Black militants, accompanied by wanton police killings of Black Panther leaders. So glaring was the frameup character of these trials that most ended in acquittals. It found expression in wholesale arrests of Blacks and in innumerable prison brutalities and killings of Black prisoners, capped by the infamous massacre at Attica Prison in New York State in 1971, carried out on orders from then-Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Especially notorious was the frameup attempt against the Black Communist leader Angela Davis, who won acquittal thanks in no small degree to the worldwide mass campaign in her defense. To all this must be added the ongoing violence and brutality practiced by police against Blacks, including unprovoked shootings by trigger-happy police officers. The demands for "law and order" have only one meaning—the stepping up of this whole campaign of violence and terror against

Black and other minority peoples, as well as against all militant democratic and Left forces.

As we have already noted, in recent years the ultra-Right and racist elements have seized on the issue of busing of schoolchildren to achieve desegregation and equal availability of quality education as a basis for racist incitement and instigation of violence. Opposition to busing was highlighted by Nixon in his 1972 election campaign and it is a strategic weapon in the arsenal of Wallace, who finds in it a potent means of playing on racist prejudices and fears among whites. And needless to say, the fanatical ultra-Right has seized upon it as an effective device for stirring up hysteria and violence.

Currently this unholy crusade has found a focus in the city of Boston, where a court ruling compelled the institution of busing, long delayed by racist school and city authorities. Included was the busing of Black students to Roslindale High School in the white community of South Boston. This became the scene of an unparalleled outbreak of racist hoodlumism. Jeering, stone-throwing mobs attacked the buses. An ultra-Right organization called ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) appeared, and is now seeking to establish itself as a national organization, along with one labelled "Moms Against Busing." A boycott of the school by white students was declared. Motorcades and public meetings were organized.

A lynch atmosphere was created. Daniel Dukes, head of the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan, appeared to address a rally and a bus-load of American Nazi Party stalwarts turned up. Blacks unfortunate enough to be caught on foot near the school were beaten up. Racist elements in the City Council and on the School Committee worked unceasingly to maintain an atmosphere of hysterical opposition.

This, it quickly became clear, was no spontaneous, momentary outburst of a local character but an organized campaign with national ramifications and with Boston as a testing ground. It was a conspiracy sanctioned by top figures in government. Thus, President Ford, while piously deploring the violence, declared: "I have consistently opposed forced busing to achieve racial balance as a solution to quality education." This only served as an encouragement to the racist elements.

The Boston developments must be seen as part of a national effort by the pro-fascist forces to create an atmosphere of lynch terror against Blacks and other minorities. It is part of a drive to divert the growing anger of white workers as the economic crisis deepens away from the monopolists toward the Black people, to incite whites against Blacks as the supposed source of their problems.

Hand in hand with the rise in racist repression and incitements to racist violence goes the intensified propagation of racist ideology. There is in particular a disturbing growth of racist pseudoscience purporting to prove the intellectual inferiority of Black people. Not only is the teaching of such Nazi-like poison condoned in the name of "academic freedom"; its leading exponents—such "scholars" as William B. Shockley, Arthur Jensen, Richard Herrnstein and H. J. Eysenck—are given the fullest access to prestigious academic positions, lecture halls and scholarly publications through which to spread their fascist ideas. A Christopher Jencks receives handsome grants for research to "prove" that ghetto children cannot be educated. (Christopher Jencks and others, *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*, Basic Books, New York, 1972.) An Edward C. Banfield reviles the poor and oppressed, placing on them the blame for the conditions of life into which they have been forced. (*The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1970.) And there appears such a work as *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, a two-volume monstrosity by Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman (Little, Brown, Boston, 1974) which purports (with the aid of computers, no less) to demonstrate that slavery was a benevolent institution under which the slaves fared very well indeed. There is much more. But the foregoing is enough to indicate how intensively such racist pseudoscience is fostered by the ruling class.

Such theories have their practical consequences. Among them is the sterilization, through compulsion or chicanery, of women in poor families, most of them Black. Among them is the extensive use of Blacks, and especially Black prisoners, as objects of dangerous medical experimentation. And among them is the barbaric practice of "behavior modification" which seeks through drugs, surgery, deprivation and other devices to reduce human beings to docile chunks of flesh, a form of "scientific" barbarism applied mainly to Black prisoners.

These practices are all too reminiscent of the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis on helpless victims of "medical experimentation." And they are ominous indications of what lies in store for Black and other oppressed minorities should the forces of fascism ever gain the upper hand. They are also demonstrative of the special racist trappings which fascism takes on in this, the most racist of all leading capitalist countries.

While the main targets of racism are the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, American Indian and Asian peoples, anti-Semitism is also a factor not to be underestimated. There are roughly some six million Jews in the United States, nearly half of the world's Jewish popula-

tion, and these are intimately linked with Blacks in the lexicon of racism.

Jews are, it is true, in the main no longer among the most impoverished sectors of the population. They have in growing measure entered into white-collar, professional and business occupations and have left the urban Jewish ghettos for suburban communities (sometimes referred to as "gilded ghettos"). There is a Jewish big bourgeoisie, reaching into the top circles of finance capital. But the great bulk of the Jewish people are wage and salaried workers who suffer the same exploitation and the same economic problems as other workers, and some 15 per cent of them are officially classified as "poor." Jews suffer discrimination in employment, housing, education and other respects.

However, anti-Semitic propaganda focuses mainly on the fictions that all Jews are affluent, that Jewish capital dominates U.S. industry and commerce, as well as the communications media and the cultural institutions. This is but a step removed from the thesis of the notorious tsarist forgers, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which alleges a plot of the Jewish bourgeoisie to achieve world domination. This fabrication forms the core not only of the rabid anti-Semitism of the ultra-Right, but also of the "respectable" anti-Semitism which is widely prevalent in the United States.

Thus, President Nixon, in one of his well-known tapes, advised his daughters to stay away from cultural circles in campaigning for his re-election. He said: "the arts, you know—they're Jews, they're Left wing—in other words stay away."

The matter was more plainly put by General George S. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He stated at a Duke University Law School forum on October 10, 1974, that Americans must "get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break the lobby." He added: "They own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. Just look where the Jewish money is." This idea of an alleged threat of Jewish world domination led in Nazi Germany to the "ultimate solution." Where it may lead in the United States remains to be seen, but clearly it cannot be idly dismissed. The fight against anti-Semitism in the United States is obviously not a matter of secondary importance. This is given further emphasis by the fact that the circulation of crude anti-Semitic filth by the fanatical ultra-Right is on the rise, as are acts of vandalism against synagogues and other Jewish institutions and economic and social discrimination against Jews.

(The concluding portion of this article will be published in a future issue.—Ed.)

## Scientists Discuss Disarmament

To discuss ways of ending the arms race that has already led to a world-wide nuclear stockpile of about one million Hiroshimas, several hundred scientists and scholars from 62 countries, about 20 from the United States, met in Moscow July 15-19 for a symposium on "The Role of Scientists and their Organizations in the Struggle for Disarmament" under the auspices of the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW).

In his opening address, Professor E. H. S. Burhop, the outstanding British physicist and President of the WFSW, stressed that the goal of the symposium was to demonstrate how scientists and technologists and their organizations can now make effective contributions toward detente, disarmament and peace.

Professor Burhop traced the history of the efforts to achieve disarmament and especially the reduction and eventual abolition of nuclear weapons since these efforts began in the United Nations in 1946. The debate has extended over many years. "Roughly," said Burhop, "the positions could be summarized by saying that the U.S. wanted much inspection and little nuclear disarmament, while the USSR wanted much less inspection and much more nuclear disarmament." Burhop noted that when, in an historic paper on May 10, 1955, the USSR put forward a draft resolution which Britain's Philip Noel-Baker, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, considered to be "a far-reaching acceptance of the major policies which the Western delegates had urged," the United States adjourned the UN subcommittee meeting and 3½ months later withdrew from its previous position. "In other words," said Burhop, "the Western powers reneged on their own proposals. Agreement on abolition of nuclear weapons has never subsequently been so close."

The first breakthrough came in 1959 with the treaty prohibiting deployment of nuclear weapons in Antarctica. This was followed in 1963 with an agreement to ban all nuclear test explosions except those carried out underground, a treaty which considerably reduced the growing threat to life from pollution of the atmosphere by radioactive strontium-90. France and China, however, still have not joined the treaty. By 1971, a number of other agreements were concluded, most important of which was the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, now ratified by 77 countries, but again without France and China.

A new stage began with the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, known as SALT, between the USSR and the U.S. While these talks and the Vladivostok agreement did not lead to any actual disarmament, they did, for the first time, set a limit on the levels of nuclear strategic arms and opened the prospect for future progress on disarmament. Finally, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction was concluded in 1972. This convention did require destruction of these weapons.

With this brief review, let us turn to some of the problems considered at the disarmament symposium. These included strategic weapons (nuclear weapons of mass destruction), tactical nuclear weapons (low-yield nuclear weapons designed for use on the battlefield as an artillery weapon), nuclear proliferation (spreading of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear powers), biological and chemical weapons, and environmental and geophysical weapons.

### *Strategic Weapons*

Most alarming is the U.S. Defense Department program to develop ultra-accurate strategic missiles armed with nuclear warheads able to strike within a few yards of a pre-selected target (the present accuracy of intercontinental ballistic missiles is several hundred yards) so that the land-based missiles of an opponent would be destroyed in their reinforced-concrete silos before any retaliatory blows could be launched—that is, a program to develop a first-strike capability. When Defense Secretary Schlesinger announced this program in 1974 he justified it by claiming that the USSR is likely to resort to limited strikes at U.S. military installations in the belief that the United States would not respond with massive attacks on Soviet population centers because this would evoke Soviet retaliation against U.S. cities. Therefore, argued Schlesinger, in order to maintain strategic parity, in face of what he claims to believe to be aggressive designs of the USSR, the U.S. must develop a system of superaccurate missiles as a deterrent to Soviet attack. This is what he dubbed the "counterforce" strategy. Such a strategy, at the worst, he claimed, would open up the possibility of a limited nuclear war involving the loss of only millions of lives instead of hundreds of millions.

According to this Schlesinger scenario, the war of the future would be a duel between superaccurate missiles of the opposing sides, provided, of course, that all parties conduct themselves chivalrously like the gentlemen-knights of old. (Need one remind Mr. Schlesinger and the Pentagon of their "gentlemanly" response to the defeat in

Indochina as expressed in their action in the Mayaguez incident?)

For the past 25 years the U.S. government has maintained that it might use tactical nuclear weapons in response to what it considered to be a conventional attack on its allies (known as the "first-use" strategy). But this past summer, Schlesinger stated that the U.S. could conceivably use strategic weapons in a situation that did not involve a direct attack on the United States, thus announcing a switchover from first-use of tactical nuclear weapons to strategic ones, and in this way obliterating the distinction between "first use" and "first strike." If there was any doubt before, there can be no doubt now that the aim of the counterforce strategy has been, all along, to "get the drop" on the Soviet Union in a first-strike gamble.

To better assess the danger from the "counterforce" weapons let us consider how they obtain their accuracy. Microminiaturization of computer memories achieved in the space programs makes possible amazing improvements in the accuracy of targeting. The characteristics of the terrain in the general vicinity of the target obtained from observations from satellites can be stored in the memory of the missile. As the missile nears its target, direct measurements of the terrain can be made from the missile, and its precise location determined by comparison with the stored data. Path corrections can then be made to lead the missile right to the target. An analysis of the counterforce technology by Professor Kosta Tsipis of MIT in the July 1975 *Scientific American* estimates that by 1980 it will be possible to construct a satellite network capable of guiding intercontinental missiles to within ten yards of any target.

The first step in the development of such a system is the strategic cruise missile, a small pilotless nuclear missile traveling at subsonic speeds with a range of 1500 miles. This missile, about the size of a torpedo, can be launched from the torpedo tube of an ordinary submarine or from a cargo plane and guide itself to a target with an accuracy of about three yards.

Discussion at the Moscow symposium on disarmament brought out the fact that apart from the dangers inherent in any destabilization of the present strategic arms standoff, low-flying self-guided missiles would enhance the danger of "accidental" nuclear war because the warning time for response would be reduced from roughly fifteen minutes to about five minutes, thus increasing the likelihood of premature nuclear retaliation based on misleading or erroneously interpreted signals.

Various proposals were made at the symposium for dealing with the danger arising from the development of new weapons systems,

or what was referred to as "qualitative perfection of strategic weapons." A Canadian participant, William Epstein, a veteran of 25 years service as the leading disarmament specialist for the Canadian government at the UN, proposed a complete ban on all nuclear weapons tests, including underground tests,\* a ban on flight tests of strategic missiles, and reduction of stockpiles to 10 per cent of the current level.

Epstein, supported in part by Professor George Kistiakowsky of Harvard (former science advisor to President Eisenhower), initially took a rather pessimistic view of the SALT talks, including the Vladivostok agreements. Epstein argued that the test-ban treaty turned out to be not as important as first envisaged, that the non-proliferation treaty is only theoretical, that arms expenditures have increased 50 per cent in constant prices since the various treaties were initiated. He added that while the Vladivostok agreements are important for detente and therefore have positive political and diplomatic significance, they are of no military significance, for they permit levels that have not yet been reached.

In reply to Epstein and Kistiakowsky, Dr. Lev Semejko of the Soviet Union argued that in only three years of detente one cannot expect to overcome 25 years of cold war. "We must be able to see the positive elements and not only the negative," he said. Semejko added that without the SALT agreements there would be an *unlimited* arms race. He placed emphasis on the significance of eliminating destabilizing factors. He pointed out that the agreement not to deploy antiballistic missiles (ABMs) did, in fact, hold down the level of arms and arms expenditure.\*\* Professor Michael Milstein of the USSR stressed the importance of a step-by-step approach. He said that the agreements have established the basis for equal security from which a downward movement (i.e., a reduction in armaments) can begin.

Kistiakowsky agreed that it is unrealistic to expect a complete cessation of testing warheads, but suggested that a steady reduction in testing is feasible. This would allow for essential tests of existing systems, but prevent exploration of every new idea. Milstein drew attention to the proposals put forward by Leonid Brezhnev on June

\* Such a complete ban was proposed in September by the USSR at the UN General Assembly meeting.

\*\* Indeed, at a forum on the ABM held by the American Physical Society in 1970, when the ABM program was first getting under way, it was estimated that the final cost of the ABM system would exceed \$50 billion. As a consequence of the agreement not to further deploy the ABM system, only about \$5 billion has been appropriated by Congress.

13, 1975, calling for agreement between the big powers not to develop new weapons of mass destruction still more terrifying than even the nuclear ones.

It is interesting that Tsipis, in the *Scientific American* article referred to earlier, also places strong stress on the need to avoid destabilizing factors. He argues as follows: In response to the counterforce strategy the USSR could either adopt a "launch on warning" policy for its land-based missiles, thereby increasing the strategic instability and the probability of accidental launch of these missiles, or resort to mobile land-based strategic missiles (submarine-based missiles do not have as long a range as land-based missiles—E.M.). "The latter option would of course render U.S. improvements in accuracy futile. . . . Improvements in missile accuracy is not the monopoly of this country. . . . The action taken will ultimately lessen the security of the [U.S.'s] own land-based missiles. What *would* protect the strategic forces of both countries would be a freeze of the *quality* of the deployed strategic arsenals. . . . To freeze qualitative improvements it suffices to gradually limit missile testing in both countries. The number of missile tests each country can perform every year is both verifiable by national means of inspection (that is, from within the other country—E.M.) and quantitatively negotiable."

A report summarizing the discussion on strategic weapons at the symposium concluded that there was general agreement on the positive contribution of SALT to the relaxation of international tension. According to the report: "The participants noted that SALT: (a) helps reduce the danger of a nuclear world war; (b) stabilizes the strategic parity and equal security; (c) constitutes a conceptual breakthrough toward practical arms limitations; (d) slows down the strategic build-up; (e) paves the way to drastic reductions of strategic weapons." While noting that some participants thought the ceilings of the Vladivostok agreements are unnecessarily high and that they will not for the near future be a constraint on strategic weapons development, the report stressed that there was a consensus that a substantial reduction should be the objective of further SALT negotiations at the earliest possible time.\*

While on the question of strategic weapons it is worthwhile noting that many U.S. scientists who are sincerely concerned about the

\* In his opening address to the symposium, Burhop urged support for the Soviet government's proposal for a 10 per cent cut in military budgets of all the permanent members of the UN Security Council, with part of the funds thus released to be used to help the developing countries.

arms race are deflected from the struggle for disarmament by the Maoist superpowers line. The superpowers theory leads them to believe that the struggle is hopeless because not only does one have to fight against the U.S. industrial-military complex, but one also runs up against an alleged industrial-military complex in the Soviet Union hellbent on maintaining a privileged position in the Soviet economy. The proof is sometimes cited that the Soviet Union maintains a missile force unnecessarily designed for overkill just as the U.S. does, while all it needs is a hundred or so mobile launching sites, such as nuclear-missile equipped submarines, to provide a militarily secure deterrent against foreign attack.

These and other pseudo-scientific variants ignore the basic fact that the very nature of the socialist system and socialist democracy in the Soviet Union make impossible the formation of a military power-block. It is becoming increasingly evident, even to bourgeois analysts in the West, that the socialist countries are confident that the superiority of the socialist system will be demonstrated on the economic plane. Throughout its history the Soviet Union has always spearheaded international efforts for disarmament. Nevertheless, let us attempt to deal with the question of relative levels of strategic weapons.

In the article by Tsipis in the July 1975 issue of the *Scientific American* referred to earlier, a graph is presented which compares year to year the counterforce lethality of the strategic arsenals of the U.S. and the USSR (based on data released by the U.S. government). It is quite clear from this graph that all escalations in the levels of strategic weapons are initiated by the United States with no sign of any intention by the Soviet Union to move ahead of the United States. The Soviet effort has been restricted to ensuring that it does not fall too far behind. Comments Tsipis, "Every U.S. improvement in this area has been followed a few years later by a matching Russian effort." Other evidence that the Soviet Union is indeed maintaining a minimum missile force is provided by Tsipis's estimate that the U.S. can now destroy 50 per cent of the Soviet silo-based missiles with a 97 per cent probability, while the USSR can destroy 5 per cent of the U.S. silo-based missiles. From this it should be clear that the USSR has absolutely no interest in developing a first-strike capability and that its level of missile deployment appears to be determined by what is necessary so as not to be defenseless against a U.S. first strike.

The argument that a submarine-based missile system is adequate is best answered by the current U.S. efforts to develop methods of



tracking every submarine in the world. It is not clear that such a method will be feasible, but a country's defense cannot be based on a single weapons system subject to sudden obsolescence. A reasonable defense policy would be to maintain a variety of defensive weapons systems. The fact that the Soviet defense budget is about 25 per cent of that of the U.S. would seem to indicate the USSR is doing so in a minimum way.

It is unfortunate that the fiercest attacks on the SALT talks (and detente too) come from the government of China, which refuses to join a single agreement on the limitation of nuclear arms and testing. Instead, it raises the call for a complete ban of such weapons on an "all or nothing" basis. Commenting on this position, a symposium participant from the German Democratic Republic, Professor H. Kruger, stated: "It is . . . not surprising that those who preach the inevitability of war in our time and who reject all participation in measures to limit armament, such as the present government of the People's Republic of China, should seek to camouflage their attitude by raising the demand of 'everything or nothing' in the field of disarmament."

#### *Tactical Nuclear Weapons*

The development of smaller tactical nuclear weapons, the "mini-nukes" with explosive power of 1 kiloton or less, was made possible by the miniaturization of control systems. Mini-nukes can now be made small enough to fit into a suitcase. It was recognized at the symposium that the main danger from such weapons is that they complete the availability of a continuous range of weapons, from the smallest to the largest, and blur the qualitative difference between conventional and nonconventional weapons (the so-called firebreak). Also, the mini-nukes have a built-in escalating factor, since nuclear explosions disrupt controlling systems and such disruption decreases the effectiveness of the weapons, and leads, in turn, to the use of larger and larger weapons to make up for the loss of effectiveness. This vulnerability at the tactical level increases the pressure for preventive or preemptive actions.

Although it was pointed out at the symposium that the mini-nukes are highly sophisticated weapons and therefore not readily manufactured by new members of the "nuclear club," their very existence entails a high risk of proliferation of nuclear weapons on the governmental and nongovernmental levels. Furthermore, their low yield encourages their manufacture for actual use on the battlefield. The latter two factors increase the chance that nuclear weapons will be

used in local conflicts. In the hands of criminal elements, mini-nukes could create disastrous problems of violence and blackmail.

Among the specific proposals made at the symposium were inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons in the negotiations at the Vienna conference on nuclear forces reduction in Europe, the creation of nuclear-free zones and strengthening of the nonproliferation treaty.

#### *Nuclear Proliferation*

An extreme sense of urgency surrounded the question of horizontal nuclear proliferation, that is, proliferation of nuclear weapons among increasing numbers of countries. According to the trade journal *Research/Development* (August 1975), Schlesinger's repetitive remarks about the new U.S. policy of conducting "limited nuclear war" and crisis relocation of city populations in mine-shaft nuclear shelters are causing other countries to feel the need of having their own nuclear weapons.

Epstein estimated that any country with nuclear power stations can develop its own nuclear weapons within about six years. The ordinary uranium-burning reactor produces fissionable plutonium-239 as a by-product along with other isotopes and very costly facilities are needed to separate the fissionable material. However, by operating even a small research reactor in what would ordinarily be an inefficient mode, one can, with a limited amount of additional equipment, produce weapons-grade plutonium (about 90 per cent fissionable plutonium-239). It is said that India obtained in this way fissionable plutonium from a Canadian-supplied research reactor for its recent nuclear explosion.

Epstein mentioned Israel, India, South Africa, Spain, Argentina, and Brazil as countries now capable of developing nuclear weapons. He could have also added Canada and Japan. Professor E. Primakov of the Soviet Union stated that according to forecasts for the 1980's over 40 countries will possess nuclear power stations. In 10-20 years these power stations will have produced thousands of tons of plutonium (about 11 pounds being sufficient for a plutonium-based nuclear device—E.M.). Dr. Slobodan Nakicenovic (Yugoslavia), Director of the Safeguard System of the International Atomic Energy Agency, warned that at the present time 40-50 per cent of the fissionable material in the non-nuclear states is not covered by the Safeguard System established under the nonproliferation treaty to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons by means of fissionable material intended for peaceful uses.

There was some discussion at the symposium on the relative prior-

ities of strategic arms control and strengthening of the nonproliferation treaty. It was felt generally that both types of arms-control measures are of the same urgency and that both problems must be tackled simultaneously. The recent adherence of several near-nuclear countries to the nonproliferation treaty was an encouraging development. By the beginning of 1974 it had been ratified by 77 countries.

### *Biological and Chemical Weapons*

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction has now been signed by more than 100 countries. This convention, initially proposed jointly by the U.S. and the USSR, has no provision for verification of the destruction of stockpiles. It is not at all clear that there is any feasible means of verifying the production of biological or toxin weapons. The convention shows that if governments really want to reach agreement on disarmament, the inspection problem is not the most crucial one. The existence of a national climate and sentiment in support of compliance can provide confidence that such an agreement is being honored. One can argue that the existence of such a climate in support of compliance is what led to the recent disclosure that the CIA was attempting to violate the convention. Here again, the need for detente as a companion to arms-limitations accords becomes evident.

In his report to the symposium, Theodor Nemeč of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute noted that the present forms of biological and toxin weapons are regarded by the military as of little value. But the convention will prevent the development of biological agents militarily more attractive. He pointed out, however, that neither France nor China have signed the convention, although France has enacted a domestic law making biological warfare preparations a crime.

Concern was expressed at the symposium at the wide implications of gene manipulation if it were oriented to the construction of biological warfare agents. On the other hand, these researches in genetic engineering can be of great benefit to mankind. It was agreed that scientists and their organizations have the moral and ethical responsibility to maintain continuous surveillance and pressure on governments to ensure compliance with the convention on biological warfare.

When the United States ratified the convention on biological weapons, it also ratified the Geneva Convention of 1925 which prohibits the use of chemical weapons in warfare. In ratifying the

Geneva Convention, however, the United States made a number of exceptions involving riot-control agents and certain uses of herbicides. Nevertheless, the ratification was an important step, since all militarily significant states have now ratified the Geneva Convention.

The Geneva Convention prohibits only the use of chemical weapons, but not their development, production and stockpiling. In March 1972 a draft convention was proposed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction, almost identical to the biological convention. No significant progress has been achieved thus far. Part of the problem lies in the fact that chemical weapons are standard inventory in many armed forces and remain a constant source of profits for the giant chemical monopolies of the capitalist countries.

The most lethal of the chemical weapons are the binary nerve gas weapons. These weapons involve two chemicals, which, taken separately, are not supertoxic, but which become so when mixed together as the weapon is in flight towards the target. In 1974, Japan proposed a step-by-step program for complete chemical disarmament. Under this program the development and production of supertoxic weapons (including possibly mustard gas) would be banned first. In July 1974 the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to a joint initiative "with respect to the conclusion, as a first step, of an international convention dealing with the most dangerous, lethal means of chemical warfare." This was reaffirmed at the Vladivostok meeting.

The scientists' symposium, while urging a complete ban on chemical weapons, accepted the step-by-step approach as a means for achieving it.

### *Environmental and Geophysical Weapons*

We are already witness to the harmful human impact on our environment that has taken place without premeditation. Environmental weapons have the potential of causing far greater destruction than the present nuclear weapons. The danger from environmental weapons springs from the extremely delicate balance of all the natural factors that are responsible for the earth's environment. Under these conditions, small changes in the environment can trigger processes capable of unleashing tremendous natural forces.

Let us consider some examples. In the late 1950's earthquakes started to occur in the Denver area of Colorado with the epicenter at Commerce City, a suburb of Denver. In 1965 it was discovered that the earthquakes were caused by the pumping of waste materials

from nerve-gas production at the U.S. Army Arsenal at Commerce City at a high pressure into a well at a depth of 10,000 feet. The army denied responsibility, and except for the Denver area, where it was headline news, the news media cooperated fully with the army and suppressed the story in the rest of the nation. Subsequent study confirmed that liquid waste was lubricating subterranean fissures in the underground rock and the earthquakes were produced by slippage in the fissure planes. A government study officially denied the connection between the earthquakes and the arsenal, but the army quietly halted that method of waste disposal and the earthquakes stopped. This is one example of a relatively small amount of energy producing tremors which were strong enough to have been felt by this writer some 20 miles from Commerce City.

Weather modification has been used for both military and peaceful purposes. Between 1967 and 1972 the United States attempted to modify practically all suitable cloud formations to intensify rainfall along the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail in Vietnam. On the other hand, Academician E. K. Fyodorov described how Soviet scientists are able to protect ten million acres of crops from damage from hailstorms. Antiaircraft shells containing explosives and special substances produce premature crystallization resulting in "hail" drops too small to do any damage. Academician Fyodorov also described experiments on cloud dispersion in which Soviet scientists succeeded in changing the temperature by several degrees over an area of one to four thousand square miles. To do this it took only 3 to 4 planes flying only a few hours. He described other possibilities for affecting the heat balance to change the climate. For example, snow reflects about 70 per cent of solar radiation, while soil not covered by snow reflects about 20 per cent. By cloud dispersion, one can keep the snow cover thin or, by covering snow with soot, one can increase the thermal energy reaching the earth's surface in the daytime. This will produce longer lasting effects than cloud dispersion without snow cover.

We now have mounting evidence that the use of fluorocarbons in aerosols and elsewhere may be responsible for the decrease in the amount of ozone in the upper layers of the atmosphere. Since ozone regulates the amount of ultraviolet radiation reaching the earth's surface from the sun, we may be triggering harmful changes in the environment which could be beyond our present power to reverse.

In 1959, the United States carried out a nuclear explosion in outer space over the Pacific Ocean which injected a large quantity of atomic particles into the upper atmosphere. The action of the earth's

magnetic field on these particles led to a localized concentration of radiation which came close enough to the surface of the earth near inhabited Pacific islands to have constituted a serious threat to life. It was almost as if the stream of particles was focused by a huge lens. So dangerous was the experiment that plans for further explosions of that nature were rapidly abandoned. Here scientists played an important, but non-publicized, role in revealing the dangerous nature of the experiment by performing calculations based on non-classified information. The U.S. government attempted to suppress these analyses by declaring the results obtained by U.S. scientists to be classified matter but was unable to stop British scientists from sounding the danger alarm.

We are not dealing here with tales from science fiction, but with actual human activities. With our still very limited knowledge of all factors, we can create in a short time weapons that could produce environmental and climatic changes that can unleash forces far greater than the present nuclear weapons. Yet our state of knowledge is still such that we would be unable to predict the nature of the irreversible changes the use of such weapons would produce.

A very positive step was taken on August 21, 1975, when the United States and the Soviet Union proposed an international treaty prohibiting the "hostile use of environmental modification techniques having widespread, long-lasting or severe effects on another country."

### Conclusion

During the symposium, the U.S. participants, most of whom had no previous contact with one another, became acutely aware of the lack of consistent organized involvement of U.S. scientists in the disarmament efforts. It was therefore decided to form a continuing group which would try to stimulate a wide campaign on disarmament on the basis of the appeal to scientists adopted at the plenary session of the disarmament symposium.

The absence of such an organized effort by scientists is not accidental, nor can it be attributed to lethargy on the part of scientists. There is still a strong residue of highly vicious anti-Sovietism among the leaders of many scientists' organizations. Thus the call for a boycott of the Moscow symposium by the Executive Director of the Federation of American Scientists, Jeremiah Stone, was a product of Stone's unrelenting anti-Sovietism (which exceeds that of his father, I. F. Stone), to the extent that he refused to see any threat to scientific freedom from massive CIA debriefing of U.S. scientists attending international conferences, but urged the boycott because of

the Soviet Union's alleged refusal to allow the wife of Soviet physicist Sakharov to go to Italy for medical treatment. (She left on July 19.)

On the other hand, the British journal *New Scientists* used an ultra-Leftist participant to write a deliberately slanderous and distorted report of the disarmament symposium. His report took the Maoist-Trotskyite position that detente and disarmament are a sell-out of the national liberation movements, that "the price of total disarmament for liberation struggles would be very high." The madness of this argument is not always apparent and some people are misled by it. If there were total disarmament, then the main obstacles to national liberation would disappear, since the imperialist oppressors or their local agents would have no means of maintaining their rule against popular opposition. Witness the complete collapse of the rule of U.S. puppets in Laos when the U.S. ceased supplying arms and halted its bombing raids. The transfer of local power to the people took place without the use of arms. Thus, the step-by-step approach to disarmament, which appears to be the only one feasible today, is first of all concerned with the major weapons systems, which no national liberation movement has available. These weapons systems are the mainstay of imperialist aggression. Many developing countries struggling to obtain or maintain their independence are forced to divert much-needed resources for strengthening their defense capabilities just because of the ease with which the imperialists can threaten them with combinations of armed mercenaries and sophisticated weapons systems deployed openly or surreptitiously. Remember the Bay of Pigs, for example.

If there was one point that was made over and over again at the disarmament symposium it was that detente and disarmament go hand in hand. Political detente leads to disarmament and disarmament leads to further detente. The process must be made irreversible. There is no greater responsibility for scientists today than to devote themselves to peace. As Philip Noel-Baker phrased it at the closing session of the symposium: "We must not allow humanity to perish. All wars and suffering must be banished for all times. There is no task for scientists more noble than this."

# BICENTENNIAL

N. N. BOLKHOVITINOV

## The Decembrists and America \*

*The Decembrists were the first secret political society in Russia to take revolutionary action against tsarism. They were formed into two principal organizations—the Northern Society, based in St. Petersburg and led by N. Murav'ev, and the Southern Society, based in the Ukraine and led by P. I. Pestel'. Both were founded in 1821.*

*The Decembrists derived mainly from the nobility. The majority were army officers inspired by the bourgeois democratic ideals of the abolition of serfdom and of the absolute monarchy. They believed that achievement of these goals was possible without the active intervention of the masses of the people.*

*Taking advantage of the situation following the death of Tsar Alexander I and the abdication of his brother Constantine, the Decembrists issued a call to insurrection. In response to this appeal, several thousand soldiers seized and held Senate Square in St. Petersburg for a number of hours on December 14, 1825, before being dispersed by artillery. On December 29, 1825, the Chernigov Regiment in the Ukraine revolted. These uprisings, though quickly suppressed, ushered in a new stage in the development of the Russian revolutionary movement.—Ed.*

The subject of the Decembrists and America is very diverse. It includes not only the attitude of the participants in the Decembrist movement to the U.S.A. and its War for Independence, their familiarity with the legislation of the transoceanic republic, and the works of American men of the enlightenment of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but also the reactions in the United States to the uprising of December 14 (26), 1825,\*\* the business activity

\* Reprinted from *The Soviet Review*, Fall 1975. Originally published in *Voprosy istorii*, No. 4, 1974.

\*\* Dates are given here in both the old-style (Julian) calendar and the new-style (Gregorian) calendar. General use of the Gregorian calendar was not introduced into Russia until after the October Revolution.—Ed.

of some of the Decembrists in the Russian American Company (K. F. Ryleev, D. I. Zavalishin, and others), their views on the future of Russian America,<sup>o</sup> the development of Russo-American relations, and so forth.

Of all these questions, the only thing that has had more or less thorough study is the influence of the 1787 Constitution and the constitutions of certain of the states on drafts of constitutions by Decembrists and, above all, on Murav'ev's proposed constitution. Murav'ev's constitution would have granted all law-making power to the People's Vech', consisting, like the Congress of the United States, of two houses: the Supreme Duma and the House of Representatives. Russia would have been organized into 13 districts and two regions, the Moscow and Don. Each district would have sent two citizens to the Supreme Duma, as would Moscow Region, while the Don Region would have sent one. "The People's Vech'," read Article 78 of Murav'ev's constitution, "shall assemble at least once a year. Its sessions shall open on the first Tuesday of December unless another date is set by law." Here, too, one sees similarity to the corresponding provisions of the American Constitution.

While under Murav'ev's constitution an emperor would have headed the executive authority, his prerogatives as "the highest official of the Russian government" in many respects recall the rights and duties of the president of the United States. It is suggestive that the proposed text of the oath of the Russian emperor "as he enters upon his administration" repeats virtually word for word the oath of the American president. Like the latter, the emperor "shall unite in his person the entire executive power," be the commander-in-chief "of the land and sea forces," shall nominate "ambassadors and ministers, and consuls, and shall represent Russia in all relations with foreign powers," shall have the right "to stop an act of the legislative authority and compel it to consider such a law a second time" (the emperor's veto would be overridden if the People's Vech' adopted the rejected law again, this time by a two-thirds majority). The "offices," of which under Murav'ev's constitution there would have been four (treasury, land and naval forces, foreign relations), corresponded to the initial departments of the U.S. government. There was also a "supreme order-keeper" (attorney general). Like the American president, the Russian emperor would be under obligation "to provide the People's Vech' with information

<sup>o</sup> Russian settlements in North America existed mainly in what are now Alaska and California.—*Ed.*

on the state of Russia and to submit for its judgment the adoption of measures which appear to him to be necessary or appropriate."

In a certain sense the power of the emperor under Murav'ev's constitution was even more limited than the rights of the president of the United States. There was the special qualification that the emperor "may not employ troops within Russia in case of disturbances without having first proposed this to the People's Vech', which shall be obliged immediately to determine by investigation the need for martial law" (Art. 101, Sec. 15). It is curious that under Murav'ev's constitution, the emperor "under no circumstances had the right to leave the country, even for its overseas possessions" (Russian America was the only place to which this could have referred at that time.) Important, and completely original, was the limitation on the rights of persons in the emperor's court. According to Murav'ev's constitution, "titles as courtiers do not give the individuals bearing them the right to regard themselves as being in public service . . . and therefore they shall receive neither salaries nor any other emoluments from the public treasury. . . . Further, they shall, for their period as courtiers, be deprived of the rights of citizenship, i.e., the right to elect and the privilege of being elected to public office, so long as they are in private service" (Art. 104). All these limitations reflected the concrete conditions of Russian reality: the frequent trips abroad of Alexander I, the extraordinary influence of the court, and so forth. They were carefully considered and substantiated in law. The emperor's courtiers were deprived of the right to vote because they were "in private service"! Here the logic of the proof is combined with the originality of Murav'ev's constitutional thinking. It is also instructive that Article 103 specified that members of the emperor's family "shall enjoy no special rights and privileges."

On the other hand, one is sharply struck, in Murav'ev's proposed constitution, by the presence of an enormously high property qualification. Thus in order to be elected a member of the Supreme Duma, one had to have attained the age of 30, have been a Russian citizen for nine years if a foreigner, and possess "real property to the value of 1,500 pounds of pure silver or movable property to the sum of 3,000 pounds of pure silver" (Art. 75). In the words of P. I. Pestel', Murav'ev's constitution was not favored by a majority of the Decembrists for two basic reasons: "It presumed the federal system of government, as in the United States of America. This looked like the old system of princely domains and therefore seemed pernicious. The second reason lay in the fact that rights to a position in the government and of participation in public and government



affairs were founded on wealth, so that riches were required for filling posts even in *uezd* governments, while for higher positions greater and greater sums were needed. This terrible aristocracy of wealth compelled many, including myself, to argue strongly against his constitution."

Even a brief examination of Murav'ev's proposed constitution shows that its author was familiar with the major European and American constitutions. "He spoke in the mature legal language of his day, and not the prattle of a naïve and uneducated political dreamer," writes Academician Nechkina. It is also obvious that if Murav'ev "regarded it as necessary to provide two rubles per diem for a Russian deputy, it was not because that was the number of dollars stipulated for this purpose by Rhode Island but because he had calculated how much a dignified maintenance of a deputy of the people, appropriate to his social position, would cost in Russian prices."

Academician Druzhinin, with a brilliant knowledge of the history of the writing of Murav'ev's proposed constitution, pointed out that the author was familiar with the constitutions of all the 23 states of the U.S.A. then existing and also possessed a good understanding of "the peculiarity of Anglo-Saxon law in its American interpretation." In writing his constitution he made wide use of the most varied sources (American included), "but the form of his borrowing was independent and rather unique: it was only comparatively rarely that he incorporated articles of foreign texts, confining himself to literal and exact translation. Much more often he restated the content of a legal norm, introducing some nuance of his own. Often he changed its content, providing a new interpretation of the borrowed principle. Very often he discarded unnecessary material and introduced additions of his own based on prevailing Russian law or independent theoretical considerations of his own. . . . In that sense," Druzhinin concluded, "it is no less an independent work than the French constitutional acts or the projects of Russian political reformers." One might also add that the very text of Murav'ev's constitution was written in accordance with Russian national tradition, with extensive use of such terms as "*duma*," "*vech*," "*prikaz*," "*derzhava*," "*tyatski*," "*stareishina*," etc.

Numerous collections of documents, materials of the investigation, letters, diaries, and reminiscences of participants in the Decembrist movement show that they had a lively interest in political events in the countries of Europe and America and tried hard to familiarize themselves with their life and government structure. For example, S. G. Volkonskii recalled, in his *Notes*, that in 1815 he "departed from

St. Petersburg with the firm intention of circling all of Europe, and even with the notion of visiting other parts of the world, particularly the American States, which at that time had seized the imagination of our Russian youth because of their independent way of life and democratic political makeup." Even earlier (in 1806) N. I. Turgenev had dreamed of traveling in America and other countries of the world (and most of all, of carefully studying Russian reality). Comparing Penn and Cortez, the future Decembrist immediately directed attention to the fundamental difference in their activities: "Cortez was a warrior and at the same time a tyrant—[Penn—ed.] the founder of a colony in North America and, at the same time, an honest man. *What a difference!* How I would like to travel the wide world, visit Asia, Africa, America, and with it, Europe, and most of all travel in the Russian state." Finding himself in Göttingen in 1810, Turgenev commented with enthusiasm that the Americans "had stopped at nothing to overthrow the English yoke" and for the benefit "of the new fatherland—the republic in birth."

For many Decembrists America was a kind of "motherland of freedom." Comparing various systems of government, they generally put the United States "far in front." In Volkonskii's words, "the members were always talking about how the American Constitution is the best model for Russia." Justifying at the investigation their attraction to libertarian ideas, many Decembrists named as one of the sources of such ideas articles and dispatches in the Russian periodical press. In his testimony on February 9 (21), 1826, V. I. Shteingel' particularly singled out the *Dukh zhurnalov* (*Spirit of Magazines*), which had existed for several years "as an opposition periodical carrying very strong refutations of the government's actions, which were defended in *Severnaia Pochta* (*Northern Post*), published by one of the ministries." The publication in the pages of that magazine of a large amount of material praising the system of government and prosperity of the United States did, of course, play its role in the shaping of advanced public opinion in Russia, although this is a matter deserving special study in the future.

The participants in the Decembrist movement, and above all the republican Decembrists, were constantly citing the experience of the revolutions in France and America. They referred to Washington and Franklin with ecstasy and regularly followed the course of events in Europe and the United States. "The latter half of the past century in Europe and the United States. "The latter half of the past century and the events of our own are so rich in overthrows of governments," P. G. Kakhovskii wrote to General Levashev on February 24 (March 8), 1824, "that there is no need for us to refer back to remote times. We are witnesses to great events. The emergence of

a New World and of the North American States with their form of organization moved Europe to emulate them. They will continue to be models for our remote descendants. The name Washington, friend and benefactor of the people, will go down from generation to generation; to think of him causes love for good and for one's country to boil up in the hearts of citizens. The revolution in France has greatly shaken the thrones of Europe and had an even greater influence on the manner in which it is ruled, and on its peoples, than the very establishment of the United States." V. D. Vol'khovskii, close friend of V. K. Kiukhel'beker and I. I. Pushchin and one-time lyceum student, wrote in March 1823: "My beloved hero Franklin, son of a printer, was himself a simple workingman. . . ." Comparison to Washington was regarded generally as the highest praise and a sign of special enthusiasm. "Simon Bolivar is one of the most remarkable men in recent American history. Many call him the South American Washington." In the words of V. F. RAEVSKII, "It was not Bonaparte who made the revolution: he only used it out of his love for power. . . . Washington and Franklin are the liberators from slavery."

In the thinking of the Decembrists enthusiasm for the activity of Washington and Franklin was channeled into justification of their own revolutionary activity. According to the testimony of M. Murav'ev-Apostol, P. I. Pestel' had demonstrated the necessity of establishing a provisional government, citing the example of the U.S.A., whose victory was determined by the existence during the war of a centralized administration concentrated "in the person of Washington, who was America's military and civil chief."

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Familiarity with the latest foreign learned literature had a considerable influence on the world-view of the Decembrists. Although among the books read by members of Decembrist societies, works about America and in particular, the writings of American authors occupied a more than modest place, one may still say that the more educated component of the Decembrists tried as far as possible to add to their knowledge even with respect to that part of the world, so remote from Russia. Many Decembrists were quite familiar with Abbé Raynal's multivolume work on the history of the two Indies published in Russian translation in 1805-1811, and they also showed a lively interest in books on "the history and contemporary way of life in America." Among the books used by members of the Southern Society, V. I. Semevskii names Robertson's *History of America* (published 1777-1780) and *The Life of Washington*. In the list of books

belonging to N. Murav'ev and cited in Druzhinin's monograph, one finds, along with those of the outstanding eighteenth century French men of the Enlightenment (Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau) and the English economists (Adam Smith and Ricardo), etc., those of the leading political figures of the United States: John Adams' three-volume work in defense of the American system of government and Jefferson's manual of parliamentary procedure. Among history books there is the well-known work by a Federalist supporter, Ramsay, on the American War of Independence, as well as a French translation of Brackenridge's book on the Anglo-American War of 1812-1815. A long extract from Ramsay's book copied out by Murav'ev at the beginning of the 1820s indicates the Decembrist's sympathy for the rebellious Americans: "The colonist had not heard of the Magna Carta. His political faith was simple but very meaningful. He believed that God had made all humanity equal from birth and had endowed it with the rights to life, property, and liberty to the degree that this was in harmony with the rights of others, and that government, a political institution among naturally equal people, exists not to exalt one or a few but for the happiness of the entire country."

In his testimony before the committee of investigation, P. I. Pestel' said: "I was converted from a constitutional monarchist to a republican way of thought chiefly by the following things and considerations. The writings of Destutt de Tracy in the French language affected me very powerfully. He demonstrates that every government in which the head of the state is a single individual, particularly if that rank is hereditary, inevitably ends in despotism. All newspapers and political writings have so strongly praised the rising prosperity in the North American United States, ascribing it to their system of government organization, that this appears to me to be a clear proof of the superiority of republican government. Novikov told me about his republican constitution for Russia, but at that time I still argued in favor of the monarchical. . . ." Thus Pestel' put forth, as one of the important causes of his conversion to republican views, the experience of the United States, whose "prosperity" and the advantages of whose system of government were at that time rather widely propagandized in the pages of the Russian periodical press (for example, in the above-mentioned *Dukh zhurnalov*). The subject of America was, furthermore, relatively safe, because entirely normal and even well-intentioned relations existed between Russia and the U.S.A. As far as Novikov's constitution was concerned, in Pestel's opinion it also contained many "similarities with the American." Judging by the testimony of the Decembrist

S. M. Semenov, Pestel' cited the American experience as early as in his report to the conference of the Core Council of the Union of the Public Good early in 1820 in F. Glinka's apartment in St. Petersburg. "When in 1819 or 1820 Pestel' appeared before the council, they discussed the advantages and disadvantages of various kinds of government. Pestel' argued the superiority of the government of the United States of America over others. All agreed with Pestel' that the government of the United States of America was better than any other government known to that time." When a vote was taken, name by name, all present expressed themselves in favor of the republic. N. I. Turgenev's famous statement "*Le président—sans phrases*" summarized the results concisely and expressively: "The president, and nothing more need be said," i.e., a republic was to be preferred, and why waste words unnecessarily.

Returning to Pestel's testimony about the reasons for his switch to republican views, note that he gave pride of place to Destutt de Tracy's *Commentary on the Spirit of the Laws of Montesquieu*. This work was written at the suggestion of Jefferson, who regarded it as extremely desirable to make a "radical correction" of Montesquieu's famous treatise, in which the advantages of constitutional monarchy over other forms of government were argued. Subsequently, it was precisely thanks to Jefferson's efforts that the *Commentary* was translated into English and published in Philadelphia in 1811. Jefferson believed that it was one of the most valuable of books and "was epoch making in the science of government administration." The American edition of the *Commentary*, published in Philadelphia as translated by W. Duan, apparently never reached Russia. However, the French edition of the work, published in Paris in 1819, was well known there. Pestel' and many other Decembrists apparently used that edition. Although the Decembrists held the treatise of the French writer in high esteem, it would be incorrect to say that it exercised a decisive influence on the shaping of their republican views or that the matter was one of simple borrowing. Let us recall that as early as the beginning of 1820, Pestel' had made his famous report to the meeting of the Core Council in St. Petersburg (according to B. E. Syroechkovskii's corrected estimate, "at the very end of March"). However, Destutt de Tracy's treatise reached the St. Petersburg Committee of Censors and was approved for sale only in April 1820. Thus the members of the Union for the Public Good had adopted their official decision to struggle for a republican form of government in Russia even before having had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the *Commentary* of Destutt de Tracy. When in the fall of 1824

Pestel' met A. V. Podzhio, the latter immediately noted that Pestel' had "quite artfully" converted Destutt de Tracy's *Commentary* "into a mathematically presented system." Podzhio ecstatically predicted for Pestel' the "fame of Washington."

The attitude of K. F. Ryleev, head of the Northern Society, to the United States is of considerable interest. Although in private conversations the poet "always upheld a limited monarchy," inwardly he "preferred over it the image of government in the North American United States, holding that the model of administration of that republic is the most suited to Russia by virtue of its size and the diversity of the peoples populating it." Ryleev spoke precisely of this to many members of the society "and, among others, to Nikita Murav'ev, inclining the latter to make certain changes in the constitution he had written that caused it to resemble the Fundamental Law of the United States, leaving monarchical forms, however." In answer to Pestel's direct question as to the kind of government he preferred for Russia, Ryleev reported that "the North American republic, with its division into regions, would appear to be the most suited to Russia, but with an emperor, whose authority should not greatly exceed the power of the president of the states." "In our time even a vain individual, provided only that he was rational," Ryleev declared, "prefers to be a Washington rather than a Napoleon."

D. I. Zavalishin repeatedly spoke of the advantages of the republican form of government of the United States. To him the transoceanic republic appeared a model for Russia. "The North American states . . . are also no small country, but they do have a republican government, and we see that there the people, enjoying all rights and complete liberty, prosper: not as with us, where not only the people but the nobility as well has lost its rights; consequently, for those rights to be restored an overturn is necessary, and once that occurs it is necessary to choose something better."

The Decembrists' interest in America did not end even after the failure of the rising in Senate Square, the brutal reprisals against the principal "criminals against the state," and the long years of exile for participants in the movement. In a letter to E. A. Engel'gart, I. I. Pushchin wrote that while in the Chia Fort he had translated the first part of Franklin's *Bagatelles* (the second part was translated by V. I. Shteingel'). Also written was "a preface with a dedication of the work to you, honored friend," Pushchin commented. "You introduced me to this practical book as early as in the lyceum. You sent it and other translations to a relative of Mukhanov, a com-

rade of mine here, but everything sank into the sea. . . . I destroyed the draft because an inspection of the prison was carried out. It was impossible to save the contraband: ink was forbidden." Chapters from de Tocqueville's *On Democracy in America* were translated in Siberia by N. I. Bestuzhev and M. A. Fonvizin, who had interested themselves in the history of English colonization of North America and the reasons for the colonists' rebellion. In a letter to his sister of December 1 (13), 1839, M. S. Lunin requested that he be sent, among other things, "The Report of the State of Louisiana and the Criminal Code of that State, compiled by Ed. Livingston."

The facts presented above demonstrate that the Decembrists were familiar with the history of the United States and held in high esteem the War of Independence, the Constitution of 1787, and the work of Washington, Franklin, and other distinguished Americans. They were interested in current events in America, read certain works by American writers (primarily in translations into French) and also books on U.S. history. But, obviously, this was not the principal source of the development of revolutionary moods. The Decembrists took what they read critically and never blindly copied Western European or American experience. The American influence on participants in the Decembrist movement, like the general influence of the United States on the development of revolutionary thought in Russia, was actually rather limited. A. V. Podzhio put this with exceptional precision and color: "We could hardly, by reading some Warden\* or other, borrow convictions from him and introduce in Russia a republic similar to what he describes. Diversity serves the United States as a source of strength and a bulwark, while we feared that introduction of a federal system of government would cause our country to fall apart; they have nine million people, we have forty. The people there are settlers from England, but we are of the Russias. . . . Vengeance there was directed against external enemies, while we looked for those among us who were the enemy. . . . Of course, we borrowed the law codes, the jury system, and the like from the books, but the thoughts of insurrection, the determination, the courage, and how to demonstrate these things: how can it all be interpreted in any other way except that it came not from books but from hearts, from all the passions raging in them! This is the nest that nurtured all our plans and from which they emerged in a consuming flame!"

\* The reference appears to be to D. B. Warden, *Description statistique, historique et politique des Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1820, 5 vols. This work was known to many Decembrists.

Under the conditions of tsarism and a police state, the bourgeois democratic freedoms in the United States truly might appear to be all but ideal, and it is therefore not surprising that the Decembrists were usually positive in their references to the American experience. This does not mean, however, that they closed their eyes to the negative aspects of American life. As a rule the Decembrists were sharply condemnatory of the existence in the republic beyond the ocean of Negro slavery and the extermination of the Indians, and subsequently they came to see many other dark aspects of bourgeois reality. As early as 1817 N. I. Turgenev expressed serious doubts about the generally accepted opinion that the "people possessing substantial property" are needed to represent the public. "Do those peoples deserve liberty, guarantees of which they seek not in citizens' hearts but in their interests? But the freedom of the most recently established peoples is measured in money!" M. S. Lunin wrote about slavery with the forthrightness and directness that characterized him: "Slavery, which is not compatible with the spirit of the times, is sustained only by ignorance and is the source of clear contradictions proportionate to the success peoples have in the realm of rights as citizens. A regrettable but useful example of this truth is presented in the law. While recognizing the triumph of equality of men before the law as the basic principle of their constitution, they demonstrate the opposite on the gallows and cite shades of color to justify evil deeds that shame humankind."

In his declining years A. P. Beliaev, reminiscing about his past as a Decembrist, justly observed: "We all dreamed of a republic, and all imagined that golden age of meetings of the people in which ardent love of country, a freedom limited by no one, and nothing but the law and complete prosperity of the people would reign. Of course, we also dreamed of the liberation of the peoples by mighty Russia's power. In a word, our dreams were an implementation of the wonderful ideal of universal, perfect happiness of the human race on earth, an ideal that, we thought, had been achieved by America, which in those days was regarded as heaven by liberals. . . . In those days we did not yet suspect that the proud republicans who were our ideals were capable of ideally stuffing their pockets at the expense of their great country and of employing their legislative power to conceal the most dishonest deals in stock jobbing and otherwise."

Despite the wealth of studies on the history of the Decembrist movement, clearly inadequate attention has hitherto been paid to

the question of the ties of the Decembrists to the activity of the Russian-American Company. But so early a researcher as Okun' justly noted: "The building at 72 Moika, near the dark-blue bridge, occupied by the head office of the Russian-American Company, became after early 1824 sort of a conspirators' club. The staff of the Decembrist insurrection was housed in that large building, purchased from the heirs of A. Vorontsov, with the double-headed eagle on its facade. Several leaders of the Northern Society lived here, well-attended meetings of the Decembrists were held here, and there open appeals for regicide and decisions on preparations for the coup were made. And it was no accident that visits to the building of the Russian-American Company were taken as equivalent to participation in the conspiracy."

K. F. Ryleev, G. S. Baten'kov, O. M. Somov, and V. P. Romanov were all in the service of the Russian-American Company. D. I. Zavalishin, who had visited the Russian possessions in the American northwest and in California aboard the frigate *Kreiser*, had an exceptional concern for the affairs of Russian American. A. A. Bestuzhev made his home in the company's building, along with Ryleev. Shteingel' stayed over there, and so forth. "The following year, upon arriving in St. Petersburg," Shteingel' recalled, "I stayed in the Russian-American Company building, in the apartment of Director Prokof'ev, and found Ryleev in charge of the company's affairs. This brought us still closer together, particularly when it was necessary to concern ourselves with the case of directors Kramer and Severin, who had brought the company to the brink of bankruptcy." Therefore, one should not be surprised that when Nikolai I found that Somov was in the service of the Russian-American Company, he commented with evident dissatisfaction: "What a company gathered at your place."

In Obolenskii's opinion, Ryleev's work as office chief of the Russian-American Company "deserved special examination in terms of its value." Obolenskii recalled that Ryleev was greatly troubled by the treaty with the United States and in particular, "the making over to the North Americans of the Ross Colony we established in California." The position of the Russian-American Company differed significantly in many cases from the official line of the tsarist government. Suffice it to recall the sharp dissatisfaction in the ranks of the company over the concessions made by Nesselrode in concluding the convention with the U.S.A. and England in 1824-1825. Numerous memoranda and protests were sent to the tsarist government. Moreover, many of them were written on the initiative and with the direct participation of Ryleev, who held that to grant the enterprising citizens of the United States "the right to fish in waters washing the shores of our colonies . . . will shake the very foundations of the company."

While the tsarist government, pursuing its conservative system, was compelled to make concessions to the United States and Great Britain, the Decembrists having connections in and with the Russian-American Company were active proponents of strengthening and expanding the Russian possessions in the American Northwest. As we know, Zavalishin was a forthright advocate of expanding Russian influence in California and enlarging the territory of the Ross Colony. When he was already under investigation, he wrote Nikolai I that the fertility, harbors, and geographic position of California compelled him to desire the annexation of that province to Russia. "I began to study Spanish actively, established ties with missionaries and officers, and was able to gain their confidence. Desiring that the society I had founded be useful to the fatherland not only in its principal purpose but in all its auxiliary activities, I proposed to make California the chief center of its activities and to transform it into a knightly order." Zavalishin further commented that "California, subjected to Russia and populated by Russians, would remain in its possession forever. The acquisition of its harbors and the low cost of maintenance would permit keeping an observation fleet there that would gain for Russia dominance over the Pacific Ocean and the China trade, would strengthen the hold on the other colonies, and would limit the influence of the United States and England."

Zavalishin stated in the same letter that he had transmitted to the management of the company his criticisms of shortcomings in the Russian colonies in America, had come to know Ryleev through N. S. Mordinov, and that it had been proposed to him to enter the service of the company and engage in the correction of these things himself. "In becoming acquainted with him (Zavalishin—N. B.)," Ryleev testified, "my purpose was above all to obtain from him detailed information on the state of the institutions and industry of the Russian-American Company on the shores of northwestern America." Subsequently, Zavalishin brought to Ryleev "the Constitution of the Republic of Haiti, and shortly thereafter the first issue of a magazine published last year in that republic," which he had apparently received through a retired French general, Boyer, who had connections with the president of Haiti. The company, as we know, dreamed of establishing direct trade relations with Haiti and proposed to send one of its ships there.

Additional light on the goals of Zavalishin's California projects is shed by the reminiscences of his friend Beliaev, who shared his views. In advancing the plan "to build and fortify" the settlement of Ross in California, it was kept in mind "that that little place, when settled, would become the nucleus of Russian liberty. How the tiny colony



on the Pacific Ocean could have any influence on the fate of so enormous a state as Russia," Beliaev reminisced, "was something about which no critical thought then entered our heads, we were such children. We dreamed, we built castles in the air, but how those castles could remain suspended there—we did not think about that at all." And so Zavalishin's grandiose projects remained on paper. And on December 14 (26), 1825, the management of the Russian-American Company dispensed with them.

The Decembrist movement, which ended with the uprising in Senate Square and the mutiny of the Chernigov Regiment in the Ukraine, has long been considered one of the more important events not only of Russian but of world history. The significance and objectives of the Decembrist movement were not understood in Western Europe and America for a long time. The character of the reaction in the United States to the news of the death of Alexander I and the uprising on Senate Square that followed may be judged from the official Washington newspaper, the *National Intelligencer*. The first comment on Alexander's death appeared in the paper on February 11, 1826. Later, detailed obituary material and biographical data on Konstantin and Nikolai were published. Pertinent articles from the *Journal de Débat*, *Times*, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, and *Morning Chronicle* were carried. On February 24 a dispatch was published to the effect that Konstantin had not yet arrived in St. Petersburg, along with denials of rumors that he had abdicated in favor of Nikolai. Then came further and even longer articles in memory of Alexander I.

It was only on March 13, 1826, that the *National Intelligencer* carried an "important dispatch from Europe" confirming Konstantin's abdication and the fact that Nikolai I had ascended the Russian throne. At the same time, the news was published that "unpleasant news" about events on Senate Square on December 14 (26) had reached Paris from St. Petersburg. The number of rebels, according to the paper, did not exceed 2,000 persons (in actuality there were about 3,000). "In the final analysis, when all peaceful means proved useless, and after explanation of the circumstances of Konstantin's abdication failed to yield results," the newspaper wrote, the emperor "was compelled to call out soldiers and cannons." And, as if to underline its negative attitude to the rebels, the newspaper, stating that during these events the emperor had manifested "the most noble traits of character," continued, "the probability is that most of the soldiers were misled rather than having criminal intentions."

Several days later the principal official statements were published

without comment of any kind: Nikolai's manifesto of December 25, 1825; the communiqué on Konstantin's abdication, and so forth. And with this the information given American citizens on the events in Russia essentially came to an end. True, a dispatch later appeared in the New York weekly *The Telescope*, stating that the situation in St. Petersburg was not at all as calm as some newspapers had written. Citing a letter from the Russian capital published in London on February 14, 1826, the daily informed its readers about the report of Nikolai's investigating commission, publishing a long list of participants in the conspiracy, and offered the hypothesis that 400 officers would be executed. On May 6, 1826, the same *Telescope* carried an excerpt from another private letter published in Hamburg on March 10. Commenting that "virtually the entire nobility of that great empire is under suspicion," the author, however, exaggerated the number arrested, holding that they exceeded 12,000, and even stated that "several of the main conspirators" had suddenly died in prison.

The obvious failure in the West to understand the character and goals of the Decembrist movement was manifested in its traditional depiction as the outcome of competition among palace cliques. It was precisely on this level that the events in Russia were evaluated by an American, G. U. Buckins [?] in a letter of March 11, 1826, to J. Green. While Konstantin, in the opinion of the author of the letter, enjoyed the support of a considerable portion of the army, the emperor's mother and the intrigues of the Holy Alliance were behind the opposing party. The general conclusion was quite clear-cut: let them over there in Russia argue over "implements of despotism"—that does not concern us. It is significant that even several years later the press in the United States continued to adhere to the official version of the tsarist government. In a survey of events in Russia, an annual published in New York wrote that Nikolai's ascent "to the throne was marked by a military mutiny that was immediately suppressed thanks to his personal energy and presence of mind, although it involved an awesome conspiracy that had been organized against his precursor and to which the entire Romanov family was to be sacrificed." The authoritative annual even emphasized the "mildness" of Nikolai's attitude toward the participants in the insurrection and his "revulsion" at "useless spilling of blood."

Nearly two decades had to pass before anything appeared in the United States about the real fate of the Decembrists, "mercifully" exiled to Siberia by the tsar. The article, not entirely accurate in its details, was devoted to the voluntary exile and life in Siberia of the

wife of S. P. Trubetskoi. The valorous feat of Ekaterina Ivanovna Trubetskaia overcame political obstacles and geographical distances. A note of frank sympathy for the Russian revolutionaries finally broke through the years-long wall of silence. A serious American expert on Slavic languages, Theresa Robinson (Talvi), wrote in 1850 in sympathetic terms of the fate of the Decembrists who were literary figures (K. Ryleev, A. Bestuzhev, and others).

In analyzing American comments on the Decembrist uprising, greatest interest naturally attaches to the reports of the U.S. minister to St. Petersburg, H. Middleton, who was an eyewitness to the events on Senate Square. Even before the uprising the minister had directed attention to Konstantin's popularity in the Russian army and society. On the other hand, part of the nobility, in his opinion, was firmly in favor of Nikolai, who also had the support of most of the foreign missions. The latter held that he would pursue the same policy as Alexander I and feared that Konstantin would introduce changes in it. On December 14 (26), 1825, Middleton received from Nesselrode a copy of a special supplement to the *Journal de St.-Petersbourg* (No. 149), in which Nikolai's manifesto upon ascending the throne and documents associated with Konstantin's abdication were published. Hastening to send these documents by a courier leaving for London and lacking time for detailed description of the events, Middleton initially gave the Decembrist uprising but a single sentence: "There is some dissatisfaction in the Guards in connection with proposed change in the succession, but no doubt everything will be straightened out without any major disturbance."

On December 19 (31), 1825, Nesselrode, on the instructions of Nikolai, informed the American mission "with complete frankness" about the insurrection on Senate Square. Some time later the same information was published in the *Journal de St.-Petersbourg*. In sending on to Washington the materials he received, the U.S. minister associated himself with the government version, commenting that it provided a "correct report on the events that occurred on December 14 in St. Isaac's Square, of which I was an eyewitness." Sending on certain additional information, "derived from reliable sources," Middleton wrote that "a group of dissatisfied" persons had, over a certain period of time, conducted various gatherings "for the purpose of bringing about a certain change in the country." The change in the procedure for succession to the throne had provided a convenient occasion for "immediately carrying their plan into effect." As Middleton commented, the rebels wished to present to the senate "a plan for a government" and establish a regency. "This first objective failed because the members of the senate were in the im-

perial palace, where they were swearing fealty to Nikolai." Meanwhile a battalion of Life Grenadiers and a naval crew of the Guard had joined the Moscow Regiment. The number involved in the rebellion had, in the envoy's estimate, risen to 2,000 or 3,000. The attempt on the part of the capital's military governor, Count Miloradovich, and also of representatives of the church, to persuade the rebels yielded no results, and in the final analysis Nikolai "unwillingly" ordered the use of force.

Middleton sent some additional information and ideas about the rebellion on Senate Square in a private letter to Henry Clay, December 26, 1825 (January 7, 1826). The envoy pointed out that "the wars conducted some years ago in Western Europe gave birth, in the minds of many individuals, to ideas that had formerly never entered the Russian head." Inasmuch as nearly all "Russian civilization" took shape "in the ranks of the military, the mood of the Guard had vast significance." Although "the principal goal" had not yet been identified, Middleton had no doubt that the issue was "the form of government." He also referred to Prince Trubetskoi as a member of the secret society and the intention of the conspirators to introduce a constitution. The number arrested, according to the envoy, was "very considerable." A "military commission consisting of five generals, headed by the war minister (Chernyshev), had been established."

A month and a half later Middleton returned to the events of December 14 (26), 1825, in a "private and confidential" report to Clay: "I had the honor to communicate last time certain circumstances that had occurred on December 14, when part of the Imperial Guard, supporting the rights of Konstantin, refused to take the oath to Nikolai I. This was doubtless a sincere intention on the part of many confused persons, but their leaders had other goals in mind." If initially it was assumed that all that had happened was merely the result of "a misunderstanding among the military," the later revelations made it obvious that "the cause lies deeper." In order to correctly understand the character of the dissatisfaction of certain groups of Russia's population, Middleton commented, "it is necessary to turn to her history, starting with the times of Peter the Great." But the American diplomat then confined himself essentially to recalling the influence of "doctrines that had gained currency in the West." He viewed the nobility (including the military) as "the only part of the population that may be regarded as civilized." As a consequence, the envoy from the United States actually took the side of the monarchy: "If it is true that despotism can flourish only in a barbarian country, it is equally obvious that under

such circumstances no other form of power can survive." It was not without justification that Middleton regarded as natural a reconciliation of the nobility to the existence of autocracy from above "in order to enjoy the benefits of servage from below."

Although a number of the American diplomat's observations and thoughts deserve attention, all in all one might have expected a more objective attitude on his part toward the participants in the uprising. Middleton and his family (wife and daughter) had lived in St. Petersburg for a long time and had led an active social life during all those years. They frequently attended receptions, balls, and parties hosted by officials of the tsar, diplomats, and members of the capital's high society, and they could not have been indifferent to the fate of participants in the Decembrist movement (Middleton's daughter's diary makes frequent reference, specifically, to visits to the home of Count Loyal', whose daughter was the wife of S. P. Trubetskoi). Yet it is quite difficult to find any sympathy for the rebels in the papers of the Middleton family. On the contrary, one often finds expressions of "loyalist" sentiments. Thus in describing the displays of "universal sorrow" at the death of Alexander I, Mrs. Middleton commented in a letter to her sister: "Nevertheless, there are, as you must know from the papers, many persons who for many years have woven a plot with the purpose of destroying him! He undoubtedly deserves more than any other monarch the love of his subjects. There are hundreds of families in deep mourning whose relatives were connected to the late insurrection. Some of them are most outstanding young people whom we never suspected of any such deeply hidden project of destruction and evil."

At the end of April 1826 a special American courier, Edward Vayer, was sent to St. Petersburg with instructions for Middleton and a letter from President John Quincy Adams to Nikolai I with an expression of sympathy on the death of Alexander I. Vayer's arrival in the capital coincided with the handing down of the sentence on the participants in the Decembrist uprising and the execution of Pestel', Ryleev, Murav'ev-Apostol, Bestuzhev-Riumin, and Kakhovskii. To Vayer's honor it should be said that he immediately correctly evaluated the significance of this tragic event and quickly sent a special private dispatch to Henry Clay. "Along with this letter," Vayer commented, "I am sending you a list of those on whom the Russian Senate recently pronounced sentence. Five of them were hanged at 3 o'clock this morning, and the rest had their sentences commuted and will be sent into exile. Judging by this, sir," the diplomat concluded, "the people of this country are not yet prepared for a constitutional form of government, and

will not be ready for it for many years to come." A few days later Vayer sent to Washington issues of the official St. Petersburg newspaper (*Journal de St.-Petersbourg*, July 15/27, 1826, No. 86; July 17/29, 1826, No. 87), containing materials on the investigation, trial, and sentencing of the participants in the Decembrist organizations. "At present," he wrote, "everything looks calm here. How long this will continue only God knows. Nikolai has *much* to do to satisfy his people. He is beginning to understand that an army of a million is excessively expensive. The people of Russia will never again be as passive as they have been until now." To his reports from St. Petersburg Vayer appended "A List of the State Criminals" and the report of the Criminal Supreme Court addressed to Nikolai I.

Thus in the autumn of 1826 the government of the United States received all the basic official documents pertaining to the Decembrists' uprising but, judging from all the evidence, ascribed no serious significance to it. It is curious that the original of Vayer's first report, received in Washington on September 30, 1826, bears, in the hand of Secretary of State Clay, the conclusion: "Little news." That was the evaluation of what was virtually the most important event of all Russian history to that date by this American government figure, famed as the "herald of liberty" of the Western hemisphere.

An echo of the tragic destiny of the Decembrists may also be found in the private correspondence of Middleton's wife. "The fate of the persons associated with the plot of December 26 was recently decided," M. H. Middleton wrote her sister on August 9, 1826. "The five chiefs were hanged. A number were sentenced to life at hard labor in the Siberian mines, and others to 20, 15, and 10 years. . . . Some of the wives of these unhappy people will accompany their husbands, but I have been told that they will not be permitted to visit them. They believe, however, that being nearby they will be able to gain certain conveniences for them with the help of money. What a sad story it is!" As far as the envoy himself was concerned, the verdict and fate of the Decembrists gained no sympathy from him. Naturally, this time as well he informed his government in detail, not only the secretary of state but, privately, President John Quincy Adams, sending the latter both his official report to Clay and copies of the reports of the investigatory commission and the Criminal Supreme Court in the Decembrist case.

In commenting on these materials, Middleton wrote that as the result of "careful investigation," it had been established that "in the course of the last years, plots had been prepared dangerous to the existence of the government of this country. The whole truth

may well not have been reflected in the report, but most of it appears to be proved beyond all doubt." It is curious that the American envoy once again expressed himself as a defense attorney—this time of tsarist justice: "No matter how imperfect the court hearings may have been in many respects, nevertheless, they seem to have resulted in satisfying the country; and when one recalls how despotic and bloody would have been the measures used to suppress a similar plot a century or even half-century ago, there actually seem to be good reasons to be satisfied with the substantial progress of civilization." Perhaps the gallows did not seem to be so monstrous a means of punishment as quartering, but nonetheless, the conclusions of the envoy about the "progress of civilization" must cause amazement, as must the notation of the secretary of state on the report of the trial and verdict against the participants in the Decembrist movement.

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# IDEAS IN OUR TIME

HERBERT APTHEKER

## U.S. Imperialism and Its Intelligence Agencies

President Ford, speaking before the American Legion on August 19 of this year, said:

Sweeping attacks, overgeneralizations against our intelligence activities, jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security . . . I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of the constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or any agency of the federal government. On the basis of the comprehensive studies of our intelligence agencies, by the Rockefeller Commission and by the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses.

In keeping with the whole emphasis of his remarks, President Ford went on to warn very sharply against "any reckless action" directed against intelligence activities and to insist that the United States required "an intelligence capacity second to none."

These remarks are much more than inadequate; they reflect the tactics of obscurantism, postponement and apologetics adopted by a dedicated and harassed servant of U.S. imperialism seeking to shore up one of its main and badly battered bastions—its covert instrumentalities whose aims include thwarting national liberation movements, discrediting progressive individuals and organizations and, especially, destroying Communist parties and socialist states.

This is why the President speaks so delicately of "improper activities" and of the possibility of some undefined action that possibly might "prevent future abuses." Having pardoned unconditionally the arch-conspirator against the integrity of the Republic—though the latter never admitted to any crimes and the ruling class was afraid to permit even its own organs to actually indict and try him!

—we now find the same compassionate one regretting past “improper activities” and promising only to “prevent future abuses.”

Someone who is not President of the United States surely would choose different words to characterize murder, poison plots, arson, forced entry and burglary, kidnapping, forgery, counterfeiting, and the systematic interference in the internal activities of sovereign nations with the purpose of overthrowing their governments and replacing them with puppets whose policies would intensify the suffering of millions of men, women and children. If all these amount to “improper activities,” what constitutes crimes against humanity?

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It may be a service to offer the briefest summary of the crimes committed by intelligence agencies of the United States Government during the post-World War II period when it sought to achieve hegemony over the world, to sustain the colonial system and to “contain” or “roll-back” socialism. We will refer only to admitted or clearly confirmed crimes; obviously the records we use will be public ones. Equally obvious is the fact that that which has been made known in one way or another surely must represent but the tip of the iceberg of systematic criminality of U.S. imperialism, the full disclosure of which will come and can come only with the elimination of that anti-human system.

Actually the mechanics of counterrevolution were spelled out by Sherman Kent, one of the few top-level publicly identified members of the C.I.A., in a book entitled *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy*, published by Princeton University Press back in 1949. Here Mr. Kent described the mechanics of so-called intelligence work to be used against an enemy in war or in peace; the only caution he adds, and it is quite imprecise, is that during peace, these mechanics are to be employed “in their politer guises” (p. 20).

Mr. Kent then spells out the various modes of coming to grips with an enemy. These comprise what he calls conventional and political and economic warfare. And, Mr. Kent went on (p. 21):

Next down the line is what is termed black propaganda, that which purports to come from dissident elements within the enemy's own population, but which is really carried on in great secrecy from the outside. Sometimes the black propaganda is done by radio, sometimes by leaflet, by fake newspaper, by forged letter, by any and all means occurring to perverse ingenuity. The instrumentalities under discussion thus far have been, by and

large, applicable to the target by remote control; there are other instruments which can be employed only by penetrating enemy lines. This group of instruments leads off with the rumor invented and passed along by word of mouth, it includes subornation of perjury, intimidation, subversion, bribery, blackmail, sabotage in all its aspects, kidnapping, booby trapping, assassination, ambush, the *franc tireur*, and the underground army. It includes the clandestine delivery of all the tools of the calling: the undercover personnel, the printing press and radio set, the poison, the explosives, the incendiary substances, and the small arms and supplies for the thugs, guerrillas, and paramilitary formations.

As already stated, this early top-level CIA official, in preparing a textbook on the employment of “Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy,” did remark that these particular methods were to be used “in politer guises” against an “enemy” when actual war did not exist. But how to prepare more politely the surprises he recommends is, to me, a riddle. However Mr. Kent may unravel this, the available material demonstrates that the recommendations in his text have been the actual practices of the intelligence arms of the United States from the time of its appearance to today. For example, two years after the publication of Mr. Kent's book, the late Anthony Leviero, then a leading reporter for the *New York Times*, wrote in that newspaper, December 12, 1951, of the “three types of propaganda—‘white,’ ‘black,’ and ‘grey’” in common usage. Then, as though summarizing Mr. Kent, Leviero went on, describing what was being done:

White propaganda is straightforward overt action, such as the broadcasts of the Voice of America. . . . Black propaganda conceals or falsifies the source, and may include violence, planting false rumors, the manufacture and propagation of scandals and other activities designed to sow confusion and distrust. Grey propaganda is employed in the twilight zone between white and black.

Three days earlier, James Reston himself, in the same paper, made the point that the cold war was conducted by the United States not only through its Departments of State and Defense but also by what “may be described as a sort of Department of Dirty Tricks” meaning, clearly, the CIA; he added that the latter sought “to create behind the Iron Curtain as much mischief short of war” and that these activities were rather well known but: “About the only people who do not know—and they must suspect it—are the American people, many of whom do not know anything about the



bare-knuckle aspects of the Cold War.”\*

Getting closer to the present, the *New York Times*, April 26, 1966, in a front-page story, stated that its sources revealed that: “From wire-tapping to influencing elections, from bridge-blowing to armed invasions, in the dark and in the light, the CIA has become a vital instrument of American policy and a major component of American government.” Two days later the same paper reported that 14,000 sacks of sugar in a warehouse, awaiting shipment from Cuba to the USSR, had been contaminated by CIA agents; that President Kennedy learned of this, was furious and ordered it undone, whereupon the warehouse was set afire by agents.

One may recall the story made public, especially by *Ramparts* magazine and also the *New York Times* in 1967, demonstrating that the CIA had funded, and in part staffed, for over fifteen years, scores of American private institutions and groups, from magazines to student organizations to university research projects—all with the purpose of discrediting anti-war and anti-colonial efforts throughout the world. It was the CIA, in collaboration with the Army’s so-called “Green Berets” which carried out the political assassinations of thousands of Vietnamese in the Project Phoenix.\*\*

The class-collaborationism of the Meany-Lovestone leadership of the AFL-CIO reached the point, as is now widely known, of massive subsidization of the labor organization and several of its major affiliates by the CIA; the latter including the entire foreign affairs department of the AFL-CIO, the International Oil Workers Union, the Food and Restaurant Workers Secretariat, the Communications Workers, the Newspaper Guild, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1), the American Institute for Free Labor Development—especially active in Latin America—and the African-American Labor Center.\*\*\*

Sworn testimony has proven that the CIA was decisive in the overthrow of democratic and progressive governments in Iran and Guatemala, in Brazil and Uruguay and in Chile; and that in each

\* For fuller details and much additional data, see my book *The Truth About Hungary*, New York 1975, pp. 69-119.

\*\* For details, see for example, Harry H. Ransom, *The Intelligence Establishment*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 93-95, 240.

\*\*\* On this see especially George Morris’ pioneering study, *CIA and American Labor* (International Publishers, New York, 1967). See also several columns by the late Drew Pearson in February 1967. Additional details are in Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (Stonehill Publishers, New York, 1975.)

case, the newly-installed governments were fascistic, murder-torture regimes which restored and protected the property and the profits of multinational, U.S.-dominated monopolies in copper and sugar and fruit and oil. From time to time this has been denied by Presidents and Secretaries of State and their assorted flunkies but these denials, shown to be false, simply demonstrated that the men who issued them were not only murderers but also liars.

It is now clear and anyone who does not now know these facts doesn’t want to know or chooses to live elsewhere than on earth: intelligence agencies of the United States, affiliated with other arms of the government, including the Armed Forces, the Public Health Service, the International Revenue Service, have:

- counterfeited the currency of other countries;
- tapped the telephones of thousands of U.S. citizens;
- opened the mail of thousands of U.S. citizens;
- committed hundreds of burglaries upon the premises of the homes and offices of U.S. citizens;
- tested various drugs upon hundreds of U.S. soldiers without their consent; in such experimentation caused the death of at least two persons;
- participated in the planning and at least in some cases, the kidnapping and killing of high officials of foreign governments;
- falsified bank statements and systematically practiced perjury;
- surreptitiously hired scores of reporters for U.S. newspapers—with and without the knowledge of the publishers—so that millions of Americans (and others) read reports not from journalists but from hirelings of intelligence agencies;
- trained the police in many cities in “counter-subversive activities”—as enumerated above;
- blown up refineries, bridges, railroads in foreign countries;
- attacked Soviet ships in Cuban harbors;
- bombarded homes and hotels in Cuba;
- contrary to the overt orders of the President of the U.S. (what his covert orders were is another matter) retained instruments of biological warfare; this also despite international agreements signed by the U.S. to the contrary;
- tested devices of biological warfare in the subway system of New York City, secretly and of course without the awareness of the people using the system;
- corrupted officials of other countries, including those holding highest positions, especially in Latin America; the same for many newspapers throughout the “free” world;
- corrupted scientists, scholars, Christian missionaries, employing them as agents and provocateurs;

- systematically employed informers and provocateurs in civil liberties, civil rights and Left-of-center as well as radical and especially Communist organizations within and outside the U.S.;
  - trained others to torture and participated in the torture of hundreds of political prisoners, especially in Latin America.
- ◦   ◦

The above list is representative, not exhaustive; it includes not simply accusations but authenticated—indeed, not controverted—acts of the U.S. intelligence agencies and associates during the past twenty years. It is this that the President of the United States seeks to obscure when he laments “improper activities” and he does not even suggest punishment for the sadists, arsonists, poisoners and murderers who have acted as agents of this country and who remain in significant positions of authority and prestige.

One of the evidences of the increased merging of monopolies and government—of the appearance and functioning of state monopoly capitalism—is the merging of CIA activity with that of monopolies and multinational corporations. The case of the ITT and CIA in Chile is well known, but this is typical rather than unique. Firms like Exxon and Lockheed and many of the leading banking institutions of the United States have served as direct conduits for and partners of the CIA in corrupting, seeking to overthrow and actually overthrowing foreign governments, as well as supplying millions of dollars to influence elections, bribe newspaper editors and politicians. Increasingly, also, the CIA has set up functioning businesses abroad and used them as fronts for their activities, while the businesses themselves make enormous profits, often through wholly illegal means. These methods have been used throughout Latin America, Western Europe, the Mid-East and much of Asia and Africa.

These developments have reached the point where a writer in the *New York Times Magazine* (October 5, 1975), Milton S. Gwirtzman, an international lawyer with offices in Paris and Washington, argues “that bribery abroad goes hand in hand with coziness with dictators, the excesses of the CIA and everything else that has put us on the defensive in so many parts of the world.” Mr. Gwirtzman thinks that “a foreign policy that at one stroke can justify bribes, the purchase of influence, the overthrow of governments and assassinations of foreign leaders” subverts what he calls the “free-enterprise system.” His description of what is being done is accurate, though incomplete, but it is being done by the leaders of that system not in moments of forgetfulness or carelessness but

rather as expressions of the class needs and policies they represent. The special grossness and criminality of their behavior expresses the deepening crisis of the system out of which they came and for which they labor.

This surreptitious activity was but a reflection—and a pale one at that—of the conduct of affairs by those who rule this country. The CIA agents who frequently bombarded Cuban shores were choir boys compared to what Presidents of the United States did openly and for years in Southeast Asia, for example.

It is well that the revelations finally induce one like Tom Wicker, writing in the *New York Times* (September 12, 1975) to suggest that the CIA is “a Frankenstein monster that must be destroyed”—as the Communist Party of the U.S. and its General Secretary, Gus Hall, have been publicly advocating for years. But it is not well that this same Mr. Wicker only suggests that a CIA doing what he now says he knows it has been doing, “is intolerable in an open, democratic society” and that its practices “have no place in a decent society.” No, it is not only that they have no place in a democratic society and that they may not be co-existent with a decent society, it is rather that the CIA was created by the ruling class of the United States, funded by it with billions of dollars, and that its activities are those which reflect the will and the policy of that ruling class.

It has been U.S. foreign policy to support fascist and utterly reactionary regimes which torment their populations and this has been true in Spain and Greece, in Portugal and Paraguay, in South Korea and South Vietnam, in Guatemala and Iran, in South Africa and Chile. The struggle against the CIA is a struggle against the Pentagon, against the Democratic-Republican racket, against the financial oligarchy and the multinational corporations which dominate Washington and dictate its policies. When the visage of the CIA was unmasked with all its filth and corruption, what was disclosed was the real face of U.S. imperialism.

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The main enemy of that imperialism is the socialist community of nations, headed by the Soviet Union. Let us turn to the chief foreign affairs commentator of the chief organ of the ruling class; let us turn to C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* for a summary statement of the foreign policy aims of the USSR for the past generation. Surely his bias is not pro-Soviet! Here is a paragraph from his column of August 6, 1975—devoted, by the way, to an at-

tack upon democracy in general:

For 21 years the Kremlin pursued a series of related policy objectives: a denuclearized zone in Europe; suppression of foreign bases; withdrawal of troops to their homelands; atomic non-proliferation; reduction of forces in both halves of Germany; European arms limitation and dissolution of military coalitions. In the wake of the Helsinki euphoria it may be anticipated that one by one these goals will be revived.

How awful! What a fearful foreign policy! Just imagine if these aims are indeed "revived"—maybe even achieved. What a defeat for Sulzberger and his class! He is regretting the process of peaceful co-existence; the achievement of detente; the struggle to prevent World War III; the opportunity for humanity to leave at last the epoch of wars and preparing for wars and to enter the antechamber of the human epoch of history when wars will not be known anymore.

The fullest exposure of the CIA and the entire intelligence apparatus of the United States, the insistence that that apparatus as hitherto used has reflected the policy of the ruling class and that the exposure and struggle against those intelligence agencies is simultaneously and fundamentally a struggle to transform those policies—that is the necessary approach to the matter. Not a matter of regretting "improper activities" and preventing "future abuses" but rather of deposing those guilty of crimes against humanity, of punishing them, and of transforming politics in the United States so that the working class and all productive people rather than Rockefellers and their retinue of Fords and Kissingers control our country and make of it a force for equality, justice and peace rather than a threat and a hissing—a poison-peddling, bomb-throwing supporter of every anti-human class and force left in the world.

## COMMUNICATIONS

MICHAEL MYERSON

### Reply to Bert

Writing in the September *Political Affairs*, Comrade Erik Bert responds to my pre-Convention discussion article published in the June issue. Without prolonging this discussion much further, I would like to suggest that the deliberations of our Party's 21st Convention are ample argument against Comrade Bert's polemic.

In his article, Comrade Bert goes over all his disagreements with journalist Pete Hamill's new-found conversion to socialism in order to counter my original article which proposed that we try to attract the new forces (including Hamill) coming toward socialism, rather than turning them away with rhetorical overkill and name-calling. Throwing a hand grenade at a kitchen insect may or may not hit the desired target, but is guaranteed to damage one's own house in the process. (In his *PA* article, Comrade Bert goes further than usual in suggesting that not only is Hamill a dangerous character for his ideas, but may be even more devious because his "socialist manifesto" was published in the *Village Voice*, a capitalist publication whose owner was once associated with the CIA. But in one's darker moments,

what might one make of Comrade Angela Davis publishing her autobiography with Random House, which is owned by RCA and General Sarnoff, with DuPont backing? Or of Comrade Gus Hall's appearing on television and radio stations owned by capitalists large and small, associated or not with the CIA?)

The problem in ideological debate is, in part, one of tone and I would argue that if we are to win new adherents, we need a lighter touch than that of, say, a bagpipe marching band. But part of the problem also is in political approach. I do not believe we can attribute the worst of intentions to all those who have great or small differences with us, and I am not unaware of the myriad strange and mysterious ways the CIA works its evils to perform. I want to suggest that Comrade Bert's smear of Hamill because of his publisher's politics and economics is indicative of just the kind of political approach our 21st Convention rejected.

Comrade Gus Hall, in his *Main Report* to the Convention, said: "The task is to unify and to unite with masses who do not see eye to eye with us on many questions.

... Thus it follows that . . . it is not necessary to have or insist on having agreement on other questions, for example, on fundamental questions of doctrine, theory or ideological questions. Saying this, we, of course, cannot put such questions into cold storage. But we also do not place them as a condition for unity, including unity with us Communists." (*The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back*, page 72.)

Comrade Bert however seems to suggest that we put all questions "into cold storage" *except* our "fundamental questions of doctrine, theory or ideological questions." Comrade Bert argues that Hamill's anti-Soviet remarks are "fatal" because, "Support of the Soviet Union is a matter of principle for tens of millions of Communists throughout the world." Of course it is, but are we to demand that Hamill, just coming toward socialism, become a Communist before we will enter into a dialogue with him to try to enlist him in a united front? The point made in my initial article is that there are hundreds of thousands of sisters and brothers beginning to look toward socialism. They are not Marxist-Leninists, not by a long shot. Do we try to pull them toward us or push them away?

Of course we Communists must defend the Soviet Union and all the socialist camp, but if we are to demand the same position of others as a prerequisite to unity, we will have a small anti-monopoly coalition indeed. With whom

will we form the independent political movement our Convention charges us with the responsibility of working towards? If we judge other forces by the criteria we use for judging Communists, we cannot work with Congressional voices like the Abzugs and the Harringtons and the Dellums. Nor can we work with more independent labor forces like the Chavez's, Sadlowskis, Luceys, Davis's, Livingstons.

Our Convention echoed the call of Comrade Hall in his report: "We have to make the appeal that says, 'We disagree on many things. But if we do not unite against the enemy that is oppressing and exploiting all of us, we will lose even the opportunity to disagree.' We must learn to say: 'Look, it does not matter what you call yourself — Independent, Socialist, Liberal, Democrat or Republican. What counts is that we get together and fight for a program — a fight against big business economics, big business politics. . . ." (*Ibid*, pages 74-5.) This is an approach geared toward winning victories. This is the approach, used in varied and various forms, by Communists in Vietnam, Laos, France, Italy, Finland, Spain, Portugal, Uruguay, Chile, and all over the world. Of course, as Comrade Hall also says, we have our own politics and we will fight for them. A united front does not preclude our fighting for our own position, including the defense of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. But our Party's line is not the starting point for other forces we wish

to attract to a united front.

This is not unrelated to the other point of mine with which Comrade Bert takes issue. That is the need, as I see it, for us to eliminate the distinction between "internal" Party leaders and "mass" Party leaders. Comrade Bert reads into this that I am suggesting that there is no difference between the Party and the mass movements, between Party work and mass work. But this is a misreading of what I was saying. The fact is that the two are not the same thing, but are two parts of a whole. Comrade Bert wishes to separate the two but this cannot be done. Without the Party, mass movements will flounder; but without mass work, the Party will be liquidated. Precisely for this reason, should our comrades, including leading cadres, eliminate the separation of roles as "internal" versus "mass" Party leaders. Our Party — our members, cadres, leaders — have responsibility not to the Party alone but to the working class and mass movements as a

whole.

This is key to building the mass Party our 21st Convention calls for. Our Party leaders must be recognizable not only to our members and cadres, but to the masses. They must have contact with, and give leadership to, masses far beyond our Party. Our vanguard position is not so designated alone by our correct line and direction; we must be recognized as such by others because they see us leading in action. The leaders of mass fraternal parties not only hold party positions but are members of parliaments, leaders of trade unions and workers' movements, heads of women's federations, leaders of peoples' organizations. The leaders of Communist Parties are also leaders of masses. There can be no other way if we are to fulfill our vanguard role, if we are to implement the resolutions passed and the direction set by our 21st Convention, if we are to lead the working class and the masses of our country toward a socialist United States.

## Further Discussion on Kuhn

*Further Discussion on Kuhn's "Structure of Scientific Revolutions."*

It is unfortunate that the discussion in *Political Affairs* around this work (Kahn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*), while it has clarified some philosophical aspects and has developed some agreement among the commentators (Pappademos, Starr and Cohen) has also introduced some scientific and epistemological misconceptions about Kuhn's concept of the "paradigm." I think these must be cleared up.

I will not quarrel with Pappademos' estimate of whether or not Kuhn "exemplifies a progressive trend in current bourgeois philosophy," mainly because this involves a judgment as to whether Kuhn's contribution on the role which ideological struggle plays in the history and growth of science (recognized by all three commentators) does or does not outweigh his erroneous concept of the nature of the ultimate scientific truth (condemned by all three).

However, I cannot accept Pappademos' description of Kuhn's concept of the "paradigm" which he outlines and analyzes on pages 60 and 61 in his "Reply to Starr" (August 1975). If Pappademos means to undermine Kuhn by rejecting the concept of the paradigm he will have to be more

rigorous in his analysis and criticism of it. It seems to me that Pappademos draws the conclusion that because Kuhn has made an erroneous philosophical inference about the nature of "truth" that is obtained in the process of arriving at new paradigms, this fact necessarily arises out of the subjective aspect of the paradigm itself. This does not necessarily follow. In this case, Kuhn's error is due to his own faulty philosophical reasoning, a personal quirk. Pappademos, in trying to prove his own thesis, has misread Kuhn on the nature of the paradigm and has introduced some confusion as to what science is and how and by whom it is conducted.

Pappademos seems to think (quoting: "With Kuhn, the scientist-dependent concept of the paradigm is *prior to*, in fact replaces, the laws of an objectively existing world. But materialists know that the world does not require the existence of scientists to behave in a lawful manner; long before intelligent life evolved on Earth and laws of physics were operating") that a paradigm is devoid of content of the laws of nature. Nothing could be further from the truth. He should reread Kuhn, carefully. *Any paradigm must (and does) incorporate the objective laws of nature as the scientist-proposer discovers them.*

## FURTHER ON KUHN

This is the major function of the paradigm, by which it thus serves as an example for further practice of "normal science."

Obviously then, Pappademos is confused about Kuhn's use and meaning of the term "priority of paradigms" and is himself using it in a sense different from Kuhn's use of it. According to Kuhn this term has to do with the nature of the way(s) in which the paradigm determines *how science is practiced* (not with the laws themselves), defining the relationship to "normal science" and its reaction to the appearance of "anomalies" (Kuhn, 1962 ed., p. 11). A paradigm is not set up in opposition to *all laws* of nature; rather, when a paradigm reigns, a set of natural laws (as part of the paradigm) reigns with it. Kuhn merely makes the assertion—as part of his model—that, for a period of time, the paradigm resists the validity of anomalies or new phenomena apparently not in agreement with it. Eventually, if the anomalies persist, they generate the process whereby a new paradigm is proposed and accepted, incorporating in itself these new phenomena and the natural empirical laws describing them.

Further, no scientist (certainly not Kuhn) doubts that nature operates according to the laws of nature. The question is: what are these laws? They must be discovered and expressed in language form by scientists, who are no more than people. To the extent that these laws are the products of human minds, they

are psychologically determined, even subjective, though they are ultimately checked for their truth content by "practice"—difficult as this may be in individual cases. Therefore, it seems to me, that if Pappademos persists in misinterpreting and in exaggerating the degree of subjectivity involved in Kuhn's term "commonly accepted pattern" as applied to the "paradigm" and pejoratively labeling the paradigm as being "inherently subjective," he must automatically become guilty of the philosophical error of postulating *unknowable* physical laws—simply because all must pass through the minds of men. Once again, all paradigms incorporate the laws of nature applicable to the particular area of the paradigm and, by serving as the core and example for the practice of "normal science," become subject to the objective test of "practice." Indeed, the continued success of normal science tends to confirm the objectivity and the truth content of the paradigm, while it reigns.

But science is much more than being only a list of the laws which describe phenomena. There are theories, principles, postulates, meanings of terms, traditions of work, rules of operation, "world view," etc. that are involved. All of these, as well as empirical laws of nature, interweave to comprise the paradigm. It is especially these aspects of the paradigm, but to a lesser extent even the laws themselves, that invite ideological differences and struggle—as well as the



charges of relativism and subjectivity—during the formative period of a new paradigm. I believe that just as Kuhn has been positive and constructive in his depiction of the role of ideology in this question, so has he been on the question of relativism or on subjectivity.

In a similar vein, Pappademos condemns Kuhn's model for the growth of science as a succession of paradigms, because, he claims, Kuhn admits that all paradigms "contain an element of the arbitrary" and presumably therefore, neither the paradigms nor the process that led to their adoption can correspond to "the truth." However, Kuhn admitted to a certain kind of arbitrariness and accident of history in shaping only the first paradigm of a given field, where he discusses scientific pre-history (before mature science). (See *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 1962 edition, page 4 and Chapter V). This should be obvious, since, if there is no existing paradigm to guide new developments (in the pre-scientific stage), the appearance of a first paradigm could very well be decided by a number of accidents of history. To a much more limited degree and in a somewhat different sense, this is true of subsequent paradigms.

## POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Consider: it is a particular accident of history that Einstein appears on the scene exactly when he does, that he has had a certain kind of training, certain personal experiences, etc., etc. But by and large, new, succeeding paradigms are inexorably linked to preceding ones *by the way in which science is practiced*. If one makes the point that there is an undue amount of arbitrariness in the way in which normal science is made to fit into the limits of the paradigm, Kuhn points out that this does not last forever (else there would never be new paradigms) and that, by and large this corresponds to the way in which the pursuit of science is actually conducted. But, above all, science, especially in its philosophic import, is not solely a collection of empirical laws describing the phenomena of nature and therefore, in its development, must admit a limited degree of some of the elements discussed above, without invalidating its structure (or even any particular model which employs them).

Finally, Pappademos should not fault Kuhn because others misuse or misinterpret him (his ideas). Just think of what is being done to Marxism-Leninism, both by its conscious enemies as well as by well-meaning friends who lack a real comprehension of it.

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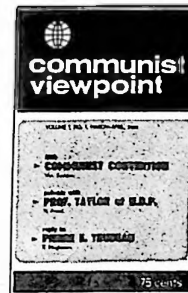
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