

What is Really Behind the "CIA SCANDAL"?

The U. S. bourgeoisie media has recently adopted the "CIA scandal" as its pet issue, and has been playing it up like nothing else. And interestingly enough, the "C" PUSA and even the Soviet social-imperialists have quickly picked up this "scandal", telling us how the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) has violated the "civil rights and freedom" of the American people.

The one and only job of the CIA is to fight revolution and maintain U. S. imperialist hegemony around the world. It was set up shortly after WWII, when the U. S. imperialists were frantically attacking revolutionary struggles everywhere. Chairman Mao wrote in August 1946:

"At present, the actual significance of the US slogan of waging an anti-Soviet war is the oppression of the American people and the expansion of the US forces of aggression in the rest of the capitalist world. As you know, both Hitler and his partners, the Japanese warlords, used anti-Soviet slogans for a long time as a pretext for enslavement of the people at home and aggression against other countries. Now the US reactionaries are acting in exactly the same way.

"To start a war, the US reactionaries must first attack the American people. They are already attacking the American people -- oppressing the workers and democratic circles in the United States politically and economically and preparing to impose fascism there."

(Talk with Anna Louise Strong, V. IV, p. 98
Peking Edition)

Since then, using the tax dollars of the American working class, the CIA has engaged in every kind of counter-revolutionary activity, domestically and internationally in the name of saving "democracy". It has launched overt interference and armed invasion of Albania, China, the Congo, Cuba and Laos, as well as "covert" subversion of Iran, Greece, Chile, and many other governments. It has trained government officials, agents and mercenaries from all over the world to restore the slave-owning Dalai Lama regime in Tibet, and to crush progressive movements in Latin America, Africa and Europe. The CIA has mounted massive campaigns to spread counter-revolutionary propaganda against everything that is revolutionary, such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. It formed assassination squads under the Phoenix program to murder and terrorize the Vietnamese and Indochinese patriots. Here in the US, it has engaged in countless illegal and subversive acts against labor unions, the National

Student Association, the Civil Rights and Black liberation movements, and the student and anti-war movements in the 60's. The list goes on and on, and no communist should be surprised at any of it.

But the "C" PUSA, along with the "liberal" bourgeois media, are "shocked". Now why should the US bourgeoisie, which owns and operates the CIA from top to bottom, suddenly be so worried about the American people's democratic rights? The answer is - it isn't!

The crisis today is wiping out many small businesses, and even the small monopolies. The very biggest monopolies are eating up all of these, and as in the 30's, even bigger monopolies will come out of this crisis. The monopoly capitalists fight harder and harder for the shrinking economic and political spoils, and as always an important part of these spoils is the control of their state machine. With US imperialism being rocked at home and around the world, they must centralize and streamline their state apparatus, gearing it up to meet the bigger struggles ahead. This all-round imperialist crisis is thus leading from greater competition to greater centralization, and again to even fiercer competition.

The CIA "scandal" is a part of this streamlining of the state machine. What the bourgeoisie is worried about is the CIA's violation of its charter. The CIA has been spying on US citizens in the US, and in doing this it is overstepping its jurisdiction, for this is the job of the FBI. The CIA is supposed to take care of international spying, and leave the domestic work to the FBI. But in the past, the two agencies often did not cooperate fully, operating on each other's turf or even working at cross-purposes. In fact, when J. Edgar Hoover headed the FBI, the bourgeoisie often complained that he ran it as his personal power base. Of course, even then there was very little truth in this, as the FBI is always firmly in the grasp of the monopoly capitalist class. But in today's crisis the monopoly capitalists can no longer afford the luxury of such organizational looseness or individual power "kingdoms" within their state machine.

Through this "scandal", the bourgeoisie is removing the CIA from domestic work, thus tuning up its state machine by clarifying the division of labor within it. Each cop will now be able to do his "very best", because each will know exactly what his job is. The "scandal" therefore has absolutely nothing to do with protecting the American people's democratic rights, but just the opposite - 1) streamlining of the state apparatus, 2) greater centralization of power in fewer hands. The issue is the monopoly capitalists' "right" to police the people even more fiercely than before! - rather than democratic rights, we get the heightened danger of fascism.

That is the real content of the "CIA scandal", which explains why the "liberal" bourgeoisie has picked it up, for they are being squeezed out. But what is the link between the US monopoly capitalists, the revisionist "C" PUSA and the Soviet social-imperialists? We still have to explain this. The link is the fact that on certain issues, the interests of a certain sector of the US monopoly capitalists, the "C" PUSA and the Soviet social-imperialists, all converge. And we can describe this convergence in one word: "Detente".

"DETENTE", THE LIBERAL BOURGEOISIE, AND CONTENTION

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its transformation into an imperialist superpower, with the tremendous militarization of the Soviet economy at the expense of home industry and agriculture, have completely upset the Soviet economy. Pressured by the struggles of the Soviet workers, pressured by the over-extension of Soviet social-imperialism around the world in its quest for hegemony, the Soviet state monopoly capitalists badly need a big transfusion of capital loans. Who is to be the donor?

The US economic crisis, with inflation compounded on stagnation, leaves mountains of goods unsold. Among other things, this means slow-downs or completely idle machinery, and a surplus of investable capital. And this surplus capital makes US imperialism a perfect donor for the Soviet social-imperialists. More, a sector of the smaller US monopolists are really stuck with big surpluses, and are very eager to give this transfusion.

For example, the Bank of America, which heads one of the smaller monopoly groups, recently issued a call to rally other similar banks to establish a private consortium and lend a huge amount to the Soviet Union, over \$500 million. To these banks, the "detente" policy is a matter of survival and an absolutely necessary profit venture. Without it they face the prospect of being eaten alive by the larger monopolies, such as the Rockefellers, just as the Franklin National Bank recently went under to Rockefeller's Chemical Bank.

The Soviet social-imperialists will use such transfusions to strengthen themselves in their contention with the US for world hegemony. All US imperialists are naturally against this, and the Bank of America makes these loans only because it has no other way to get rid of its idle capital. But the bigger Rockefeller led monopolists have a "longer-range" perspective, and see very well that large loans and trade in strategic goods with the Soviet social-imperialists will give the Soviet Union an edge in its contention with the US. They have the "longer-range" perspective and above all, since they have actually gained, and will gain more in this crisis, they have the room to maneuver. That's why the Rockefeller-Kissinger-Ford clique limited the government's Export-Import Bank loans to the Soviet Union to \$75 million, well below the \$500 million offered by the Bank of America. That's also

why Ford reneged on his giant grain deal with the Soviet Union, in addition, in order to use food as a weapon for blackmail. These are examples of all-out rivalry and contention, which with all the talk of "detente", are the fundamental practice of the two superpowers.

Is there any real identity of interests between the two superpowers? Is there really peaceful cooperation between them? Is there "irreversible detente", as the revisionist "C" PUSA and Soviet social-imperialists describe it? Absolutely not. Lenin teaches us that inter-imperialist rivalry and contention are absolute. Collusion and cooperation are relative and conditional, and are only forms of preparation for contention at a higher level.

The very nature of imperialism makes it pursue a relentless struggle for hegemony at the expense of other imperialists. They exploit each other's weaknesses, no matter how slight or temporary, whether in politics, economics or the military. The Soviet Union is fully exploiting the deep crisis in the US and Western Europe. Like their deals with the smaller US monopolies, the Soviet social-imperialists push "all-European economic cooperation", trying to draw loans from West European bankers to undermine the Common Market and tear them away from the old US stronghold. Last summer, Cyprus became a political and military vacuum within NATO when the Greek militarists invaded, a vacuum that the Soviet Union exploited in a cynical way. And the recent nuclear arms "limitations" talks at Vladivostok only set higher arms production goals that the two superpowers are now racing to attain.

WHAT "DETENTE" MEANS TO OUR CLASS STRUGGLE

"Detente" is a complicated problem with many aspects. For the Soviet social-imperialists, it is a weapon in their contention with the US, which they use to lull the Western imperialists and cover their maneuvers to undermine opponents. For the smaller US monopolists, it is an absolute, necessary "way out". But for the biggest US monopolies, "detente" is just a "popular" cover for their contention with the Soviet Union.

A cover for contention -- this is the real meaning of "detente" that comes out more and more clearly. With "detente", the two superpowers cover their military build-ups; with "detente", they cover their economic and political throat-cutting. "Detente" is a predatory imperialist peace that will lead to a new world war. As a cover for contention, it is a continuation of the same open imperialist politics of war. And palmed off to the working class as "peace", it deceives the workers about the growing danger of world war.

The deceitful "C" PUSA slogan that "Detente Means Jobs" creates the illusions among the workers that good relations with the Soviet Union can prevent the inevitable crisis of US imperialism. The "C" PUSA spreads the lie that as long as the US imperialists are friendly to the

Soviet Union, everything will be fine. The "C" P even goes so far as to say that "the struggle for detente is the major factor in determining the course of world events. . . . But for the United States it is more than central, it is going to determine the course of events both in foreign and domestic affairs." (The Big Stakes of Detente, Gus Hall). The "C" P thus tells the US workers to "struggle" for "detente" . . . along with the bosses of the Bank of America as partners! This is out-and-out class collaboration, and another big reason why the "liberal" bourgeoisie is so concerned with "detente".

We began with the example of the CIA. Joseph Alsop, the retired columnist who was very close to US ruling circles, revealed around the end of 1973 that there was a purge of over a thousand CIA agents working in the agency's European department. This purge, he claimed, was to clean out the "pro-Soviets" in the CIA. Those "pro-Soviets" were not communists, of course, but agents who were closer to the smaller monopoly capitalists. The whole bourgeoisie depends on CIA agents' reports on the competitiveness of Soviet goods and military hardware to determine to what extent they will trade and lend to the Soviet Union. And their "detente" policy hinges on these moves.

The recent CIA "scandal", through which several high-ranking CIA officials were fired was tit for tat retaliation by the pro-"detente" "liberal" bourgeoisie to "expose" their domestic actions which are not within the jurisdiction of the CIA charter. In the defense of "detente", and under the cover of false "democratic rights" slogans, they have further centralized and streamlined the state, and heightened the danger of fascism!

The illusion created by the "C" PUSA and the Soviet social-imperialist lie of "irreversible detente" deceive the workers about the danger of world war internationally and the danger of fascism domestically. It disarms the American working class in face of stormy class war ahead.

To pretend that struggles within the bourgeois over the charters and constitutionality as "civil rights and freedom" of the American people. To cover up the fights which tightens the bourgeois's strangle hold over the American people as being a "new political scandle and indignation in the U.S." (Pravada) is to help the bourgeoisie to usher in fascism. This is the despicable role of the revisionist "C" P USA and the social-imperialist today.

As Stalin wrote in 1928 about the twin dangers of war and fascism, and the role of revisionism:

"The most widespread method of lulling the working class and of diverting it from the struggle against the danger of war is present-day bourgeois pacifism (read: "detente"), with its League of Nations, its preaching of "peace", its "prohibition" of war, its talk of "disarmament" and so forth.

"Many think that imperialist pacifism is an instrument of peace. That is absolutely wrong. Imperialist pa-

cifism is an instrument for the preparation of war and for disguising this preparation by hypocritical talk of peace. Without this pacifism and its instrument, the League of Nations, preparation for war in the conditions of today would be impossible. "There are naive people who think that since there is imperialist pacifism, there will be no war. That is quite untrue. On the contrary, whoever wishes to get at the truth must reverse this proposition and say: since imperialist pacifism and its League of Nations are flourishing, new imperialist wars and intervention are certain.

"And the most important thing in all this is that Social-Democracy (read: modern revisionists like the "C" PUSA and the Soviet social-imperialists) is the main channel of imperialist pacifism within the working class -- consequently, it is capitalism's main support among the working class in preparing for new wars and intervention.

"But for the preparation of new wars pacifism alone is not enough, even if it is supported by so serious a force as Social-Democracy. For this, certain means of suppressing the masses in the imperialist centres are also needed. It is impossible to wage war for imperialism unless the rear of imperialism is strengthened. It is impossible to strengthen the rear of imperialism without suppressing the workers. And that is what fascism is for.

"Hence the growing acuteness of the inherent contradictions in the capitalist countries, the contradictions between labour and capital.

"On the one hand, preaching of pacifism through the mouths of the Social-Democrats in order more effectively to prepare for new wars; on the other hand, suppression of the working class in the rear, of the Communist Parties in the rear, by the use of fascist methods, in order then to conduct war and intervention more effectively -- such are the ways of preparing new war."

(Results of the July Plenum of the C. C., C. P. S. U. (B.), July 13, 1928. Collected Works, V. II, pgs. 209-210) (cont. on p. 45)

WORKERS VIEWPOINT is the political organ of a communist organization. Our guiding ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. We view ourselves as a part of the general communist movement in the U. S. and look forward to uniting with other communist organizations on the basis of a common program, strategy, tactics and organizational principles. We view the present tasks of our movement as the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse tung Thought and the linking up of the working class movement with the communist movement to help build an anti-revisionist communist party in the United States.

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