

P A R I S

**D**URING A RECENT VISIT TO Belgium, French President Francois Mitterrand came up with a *bon mot* about Euromissiles and pacifists. "The missiles are in the East and the Pacifists are in the West," he said, as if that ended the discussion.

In the Netherlands, Wim Bartels of the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV) told a French television interviewer that he was "most surprised by this simplistic statement. In five years' time, with the currently planned modernization, the number of French and British nuclear missiles will be greater than that of the Soviet intermediate-range missiles now targeted on Europe. There is no reason for the French to be so arrogant." (French television did not, of course, broadcast the interview.)

Mitterrand likes to talk of the needs for "balance" between the superpowers and gets indignant at the very suggestion that French forces might be counted in some sort of balance.

The Russians don't see it that way, but, of course, the Russians must be wrong. A Soviet propagandist, Victor Alexandrov, said the following: "There are not two opposing countries in Europe, but two opposing alliances. The sole difference is that in the Warsaw Treaty the Soviet Union alone possesses nuclear weapons, whereas in NATO three countries have them." But let's not pay any attention to an apologist for the "evil empire."

As Mitterrand told the Bundestag in January, "One can only compare what is comparable," and France's nuclear force cannot be compared to that of the superpowers.

A more recent guest in Bonn was Paris mayor and French right-wing opposition leader Jacques Chirac, who told an audience of Christian Democratic Union (CDU) leaders at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation: "In less than five years, with the system of multiple warheads, the British nuclear force and the French nuclear force will have increased considerably. They will represent a force and a deterrent capacity which will be veritably important, decisive." And in a subsequent interview in *Le Monde*, Chirac said, "It must not be forgotten that France and Britain's strategic nuclear deterrent means are growing rapidly, which explains, among other reasons, their categorical refusal to see their forces counted in the American-Soviet relationship."

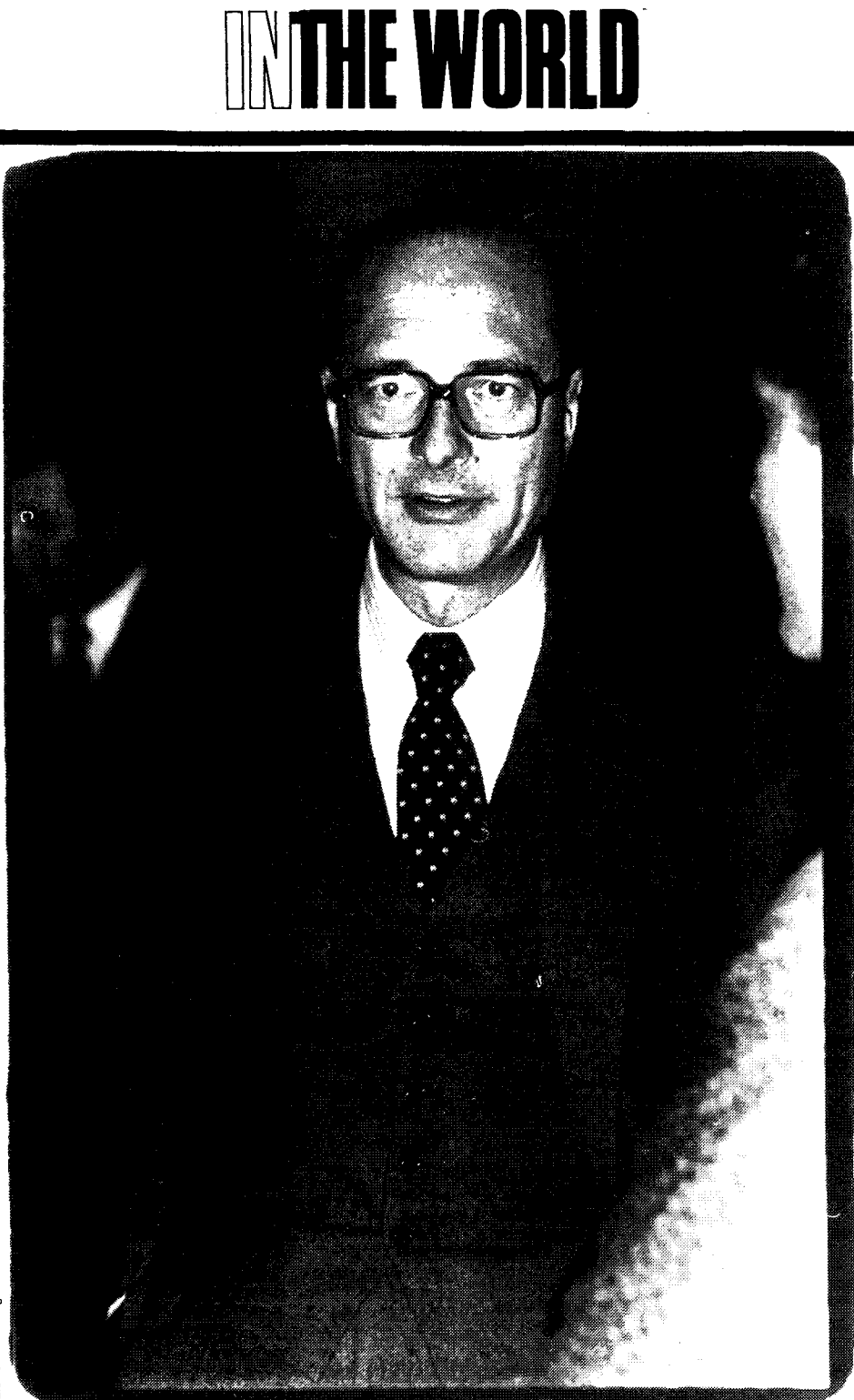
Thus, according to Chirac, the reason for refusing to count the French missiles is not that they are "not comparable," but that they *are* comparable, and France wants to be able to go on increasing the number without anybody comparing or counting or paying too much attention. A count could be a step toward a freeze that would stunt the rapid planned growth of the French nuclear potential.

But that was not the only interesting point Chirac made to the Germans. His main one was the need for a European nuclear force with Germany sharing responsibility. Once the French and British forces have been expanded, he said, "one can envisage in the foreseeable future a European-American deterrent guaranteeing the security of Western Europe. But one cannot imagine it without Germany participating directly at the level of responsibility. One cannot imagine that it is the English and the French who are going to assure Europe's nuclear deterrence. The problem of Germany's direct participation in central questions is a problem that arises and that must be solved."

Alain Clement reported in *Le Monde* that Chirac's speech was warmly received by the German conservatives.

The French Socialist government showed signs of annoyance, even alarm. Defense Minister Charles Hernu declared huffily, "The French government has no lessons to receive from anyone when it comes to Franco-German cooperation" and pointed proudly to plans to build a joint anti-tank missile and perhaps a combat helicopter and a new missile to

Lionel Delvingne



French rightist leader Jacques Chirac says West Germany should participate in the nuclear defense of Europe.

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS

# French, U.K. arms arsenals growing

succeed Exocet as well.

Jacques Huntzinger, an arms questions specialist who is in charge of international relations for the French Socialist Party, called Chirac's remarks "irresponsible." "To say in Bonn that we have to think of a European nuclear defense in which Germany could have a right to participate is not serious," he said. Serious or not, Huntzinger's own position on these questions is so complicated that few people have been able to make heads or tails of it.

### "European independence."

Clearer, at least, is the position of Socialist Jean-Pierre Chevenement, who said he thought Chirac was wrong to say that France and Great Britain could not take care of deterrence in Europe. This would be possible especially with the new multiple warheads that are coming up. Chirac had raised a real problem, he said, but "put it badly," because "the truth is that many European countries will not accept letting Germany have access to nuclear weapons. It's true of the USSR, but it's true of many others...."

Chevenement suggests that the "independence of Europe" can be ensured by French and British nuclear forces.

But what are the Germans to make of this? Can they entrust their security to a Franco-British nuclear force?

By an extremely curious coincidence, the question received a resoundingly negative response on the same day Chirac ar-

rived in Bonn, October 17. In an interview in the Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia* that was immediately picked up and splashed across the German press, 72-year-old retired French General Pierre Gallois, theoretician of the Gaullist *force de frappe*, said France should not take part in the defense of Germany in case of a war with the USSR.

Asked what France should do in case the Russians invaded West Germany, Gen. Gallois replied, "Not lift a finger. Hold still. Let time go by so the Soviets can solve the German problem while we protect France. I prefer to have the Soviet Army on France's border to allowing France to be destroyed." There would be "no other choice" than to "leave Germany to the Soviets."

Moreover, he said he was "sure" that the Soviet Union would invade Germany some time in the next 20 years.

The coincidence was extremely curious because Gallois and Chirac belong to the same political family. Gallois, who in his retirement has been a counselor to Dassault aviation, has been the most conspicuous contributor to Marie-France Garaud's International Geopolitical Institute, which has been making an effective contribution to reviving the Cold War in France (see *In These Times*, May 18). Marie-France Garaud is a former close political ally of, and is believed by some to be a stalking horse for Jacques Chirac, who began his political career as a family

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friend and protege of Marcel Dassault.

Gallois' surprising remarks sound like a provocation meant to call German attention to a *problem*, just as Chirac arrived with the suggestion of a *solution*. The problem is that Germany will not be defended if available nuclear forces are controlled by other countries, even if they are allies, such as France. That is the old Gaullist maxim: everyone looks out for himself. The solution is for Germany to have control of nuclear weapons.

In Germany, Chirac stressed a couple of selling points. One is that, as the French example shows, having one's own nuclear force is the best antidote to "pacifism." Chirac said that "the impression felt by public opinion in our countries that the fate of Europe is, in the last analysis, only a stake in the rivalry between the two superpowers offers a favorable terrain to pacifist propaganda."

The second, which was phrased discreetly, is that Europe must bear part of the burden for protecting its own interests, including those in the Third World, which entails "coordination of policies on energy and raw materials supplies." He did not say this outright, but an implicit feature of "Gaullist" doctrine is that possession of nuclear arms is the condition for a free hand in the Third World.

### Truth or illusion?

Both of these arguments hinge on creating in public opinion an illusion of national independence by following policies that in fact are being forced on Western Europe by the U.S. Liberal Atlanticists have been shoved out of policy making in Washington by a *Realpolitik* school that sees the advantages of a certain "Gaullism."

In France, the government and especially the media have sold almost the whole population on the illusion of French national "independence" based on its own nuclear arsenal. In reality, as a close aide to External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson admitted to a recent caller, the only area of independent foreign policy left to France is selling arms to Iraq.

The ambition to remain in the nuclear power club has bound France ever closer to the U.S., forcing it to propagate ever more illusions and lies. A sad example is the presence of French military forces in Beirut. Officially there is the pretense that they are there to prove that France is still an important guardian power in Lebanon. In reality, France has no policy of its own, and is there to make the presence of the Americans more acceptable politically, both in the Mideast and in the U.S. The fact that French soldiers were blown up along with U.S. Marines should help American public opinion accept sending American boys to "help allies" in the Mideast "defend European oil" and the U.S. gets further embroiled in the forthcoming Persian Gulf war.

In West Berlin, Chirac offered the Germans another illusion: German reunification, which he said he was for. This is ironic, because the French press has been furiously condemning the German peace movement for allegedly seeking reunification. In fact, since under Willy Brandt, the Federal Republic accepted the post-war boundaries, nobody has seriously spoken of reunification in Germany. At most the peace movement wants further detente so that relations can be normal between the two German states. Yet here comes the French right telling Germans that reunification is a fine idea.

Willy Brandt, among others, discovered long ago that no matter what they say, the French are determined supporters of "Yalta" insofar as it means the permanent division of Germany. Social Democrats realize that the belligerent demand for reunification, accompanied by an arms buildup, is the surest way to tighten the Soviet grip and deepen the division between the two German states. It makes reunification impossible—except by a war of liberation, which, with existing armaments, could only mean the total destruction of Germany, East and West. Thus the SPD advocates detente, arms control and disarmament as the on-

Continued on page 30



# Women

Continued from page 9

tions like the League of Women Voters and the Association of American University Women, is kicking off a massive voter education project this month that will concentrate on women who are underrepresented at the voting booth—poor, undereducated and elderly women.

Building on pilot projects by Bella Abzug's Women USA and the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), the WVP will attempt to register women at day care centers, welfare offices, unemployment lines and senior citizen centers. "The result is that the gender gap will be enlarged, but you'll also see a swell in turnout among poor people and minorities," predicts Carol Sheffer-Hartmann of NASW.

That implicit identification of women's interests with those of the "have-nots," as the voting surge phenomenon may be labeled, raises a question that has to be examined outside of traditional two-party terms. With their stands on foreign policy, disarmament, social spending and civil rights, women are coming to look like a natural liberal-left constituency.

"Women are coming into their own, and they're disagreeing with the way society is put together," says Bella Abzug. "What the gender gap shows is that there's a constituency here, that electabil-

ity equals the right position on war and peace, economic equity, the environment, unemployment. Militarism and feminism can't co-exist. You can't afford pay equity, child care, flextime, better Social Security benefits, all the things that women need, with a large military budget."

Feminist theorist Eisenstein sees the gender gap developing a "politics of sexual class consciousness" among women, who are increasingly coming to see themselves holding "secondary status in whatever economic class they belong to." As women come to articulate their "economic class needs"—and vote for those interests—their demands will be increasingly incompatible with the prevailing social and economic order, Eisenstein predicts.

But Harvard political scientist Ethel Klein isn't ready to see women as "the vanguard of creating a more publicly conscious state. I think women just have a very different bottom line. Ronald Reagan has redefined the national debate in terms of 'Should there be social spending?' not 'How much?'" Women may support social spending and welfare programs, Klein says, but they're not calling for drastic spending increases either.

Maybe not yet. But Barbara Ehrenreich, feminist writer and co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), believes the gender gap can be a building block of a mainstream politics that rehabilitates the idea of government as provider. "We need a New Deal for women, a set of government programs to address

the specific problems of women," Ehrenreich told a recent DSA conference on feminism. But that set of demands would have to include economic opportunity and assistance for all who need it, she noted. "Feminists have to push for what government can do."

Whatever the ideological meaning of the gender gap, one certain effect will be to elect more women to office and that can't help but have public-policy implications. A recent study of women officeholders completed by Rutgers' Center for American Women and Politics director Ruth Mandel and colleague Susan Carroll offers interesting evidence that women tend to be more liberal than men, even in public office.

The study included an attitude survey that asked women and men politicians to take stands on women's issues as well as on such questions as whether the U.S. should seek military superiority over the Soviet Union, and whether the private sector would perform in the public interest if left alone. A gender gap emerged on virtually all the issues, with women, especially at the state and national level, taking more liberal positions than men. Black women politicians were the most liberal, but even Republican women stood to the left of their male counterparts.

Mandel credits women officeholders with placing a whole new set of issues on the political agenda, from the feminization of poverty to comparable worth to rape and domestic violence. "These policy concerns didn't exist before, and

they're being carried and dealt with mostly by women in office," Mandel notes.

## Feminism's role.

It may turn out that women have done nationally what they appear to have done in the Republican Party—emerged as a countervailing force to New Right extremism and Reaganomics. While the pollsters were hailing the country's conservative drift in the dark months after the Reagan election—among men, at least, Republican identification was climbing—it took them a while to notice that women weren't following.

It has taken them even longer to notice the role of the women's movement in developing that political independence. In all the elation over the attention the gender gap has won women, there's a note of alarm among feminists when discussing how quickly political analysts have dismissed the importance of "women's issues" in creating it.

"The pollsters ignore the intensity factor," says Smeal. "They say that men and women support the ERA and choice in similar numbers, and don't look at how that affects their vote." Men who take feminist positions are less likely than women to have these issues be the deciding factor in their vote, Smeal notes.

There's evidence for Smeal's contention. Among men and women ERA supporters, 10 percent fewer women voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. And in 1982 it was the machinery of the organized women's movement's ERA campaign that, after the amendment expired in June 1982, turned into a strike force to elect Democrats the next November.

"They say the gender gap is based on economic, not women's issues, but they ignore that economic issues are the base of the women's movement, whether it's pay equity, Social Security reform or the ERA," says NOW President Judy Goldsmith. The gap cuts across class lines "because women of every class experience discrimination just because they are women," Goldsmith says, and the women's movement has been the force that has made them realize that's unacceptable.

A September 28 CBS News/*New York Times* poll may be the first to credit women's issues with a major role in creating the anti-Reagan women's vote. When asked why Reagan might be less popular among women, more people gave his women's rights stand than any other answer. In a follow-up question, women were asked whether there was anything about Reagan that bothered them as women that wouldn't necessarily bother a man. Of the 26 percent who said yes, more pointed to Reagan's women's record than any other explanation.

Whether or not polls can quantify it, the women's movement has unquestionably created the conditions for women to emerge as an independent voting bloc. The expansion of women in the labor force—in part due to economic necessity, in part to women's desire for independence—and the rise in the number of women-headed households have made women come to see their interests differently. Feminism, says Ethel Klein, has helped women define those interests, feel the confidence to articulate them and then seek attention for them in the public realm.

"We've seen the emergence of a woman's consciousness that lets them make their private problems public demands," Klein says. "Their changing experience has allowed them to accept a feminist analysis, and the feminist analysis has given their experience an ideological context."

Ruth Mandel puts it this way. "What's expressing itself as the gender gap is rooted in fundamentally different patterns of experience and values between men and women. But it follows 10 years of the organized women's movement, which placed a new emphasis on the importance of women speaking out, taking part in public life, taking action in the public world. Then you have a president who speaks from an earlier period, who diverges from women's rights positions."

Concludes Klein: "Ronald Reagan created the gap, but the women's movement created the environment for women to begin asking these questions."

IN THESE TIMES

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Back row: David Moberg, Grace Faustino, Diane Scott, Tom Hanigan, Paul Comstock, Bill Rehm, Sheryl Larson, Joan Walsh, Jay Walljasper



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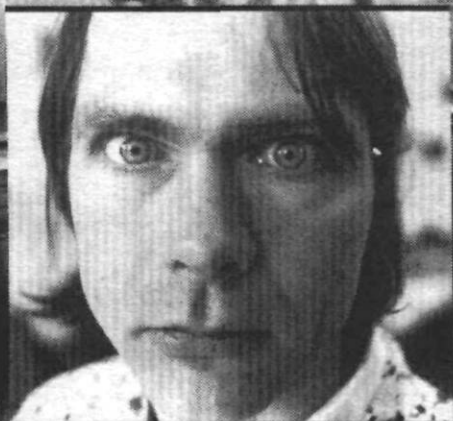
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With this issue, *In These Times* begins its eighth year of publication and of steady improvement and growth. We believe it is a magnificent achievement in light of the general swing to the right of American politics. And we also believe that in the upcoming presidential election year we will have an increasingly important role to play in representing the American left.

Survival is no longer the name of our game. In 1984 and beyond, we expect to improve and be more widely read and needed. Unlike most publications, we can only do this with the active help of our readers and friendly organizations. Our anniversary greetings reflect that support. We're deeply grateful for it.

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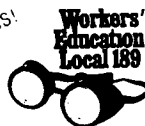
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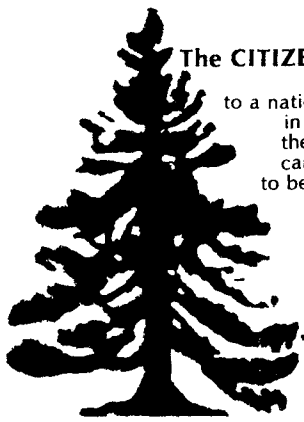
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from

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Joseph M. Schwartz  
DSA National Executive Committee

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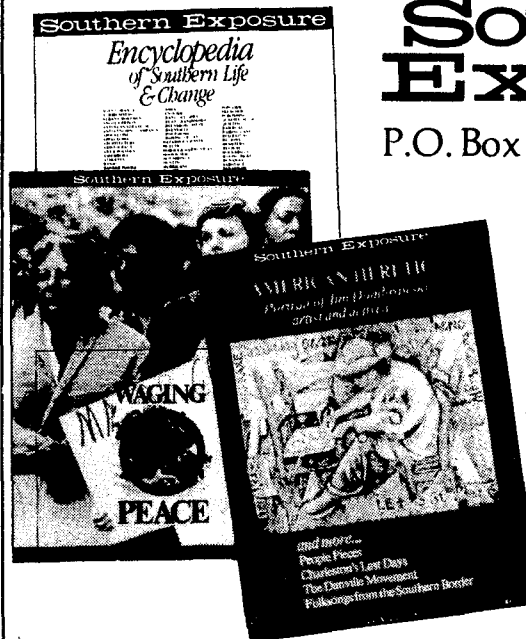
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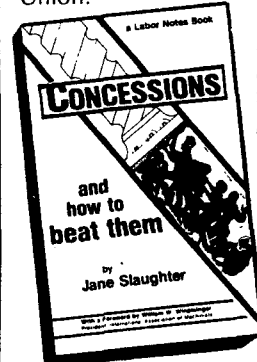
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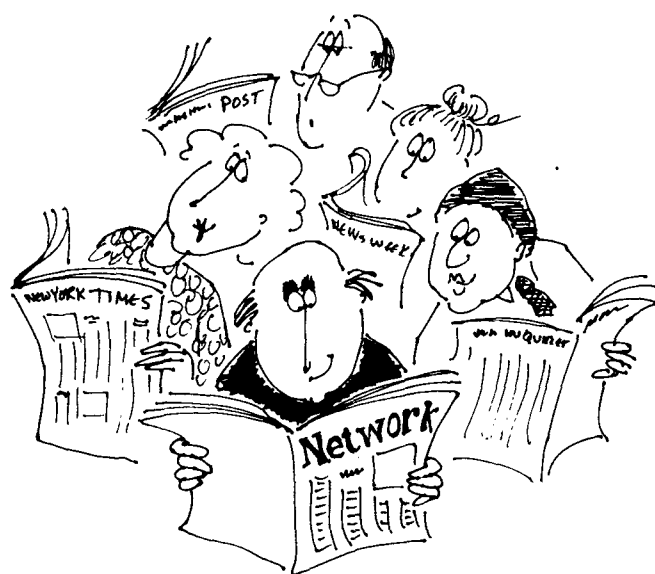


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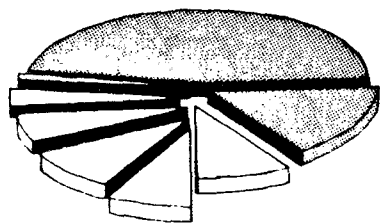
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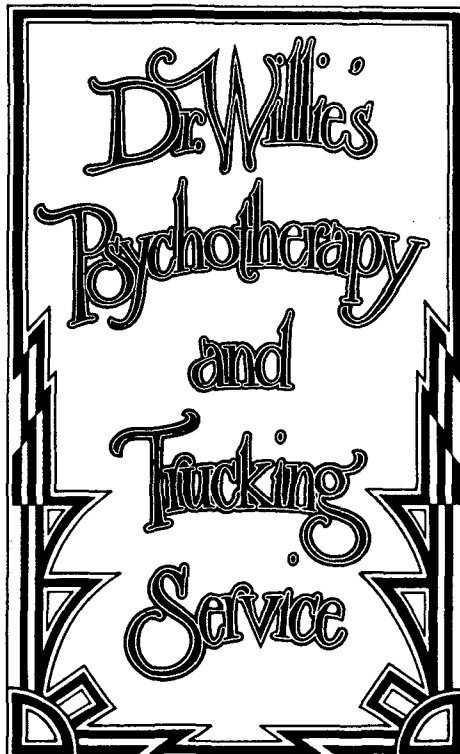
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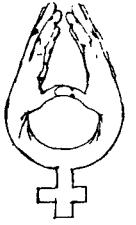
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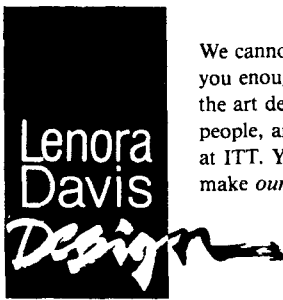


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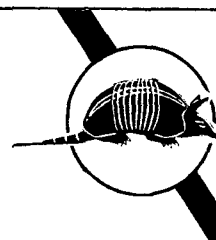
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—Linda Mauro



## Individual Greetings

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# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## HOW ABOUT IT?

ONE COULD ACCUSE *ITT* OF "SEC-Tarianism" in your reply to the letter by Donald Busky (*ITT*, Oct. 19). I would like to read articles about the Socialist Labor Party (the oldest Marxist organization in the U.S.), the Communist Party (surely their union activities in the '30s and '40s merit some praise) and an organization I really don't know about—the Communist Labor Party.

Yes, each of these groups has in your words "a small group of adherents," but they are, like us, dedicated leftists. Come on, let's read about them. Maybe they will write about us!

—Michael Blumenthal  
Former Chair,  
Socialist Party, Los Angeles

## DSA

THE REPORT BY JOHN JUDIS ON THE Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) convention (*ITT*, Oct. 26) was unfortunately limited by what the author found of interest. He made several weak choices. It is inaccurate, or at least incomplete, to describe the debate as the reds vs. the greens. The struggle is between persons who see the socialists struggle as being only a class issue (with class largely defined as union membership), and those who reject such reductionism and choose to work with the working class in its many manifestations (race, gender, immigrants, etc.). It is important for the future of the left to debate this in a pluralistic organization such as DSA. It is inaccurate to assume that this represents previous organizational affiliations. Former NAM and former DSOC people are on both sides.

A significant event was missed in the report. DSA became an anti-racist organization. Both parent organizations had made efforts in this direction, but this first DSA convention established a constitutional 25 percent minimum quota for Third World people on the National Executive Committee, a quota for Vice Chairs, and received the first copies of the new DSA journal, *Third World Socialists*. The earlier work *Women of Color* by the Feminist Commission has been sold out and is being reprinted. DSA had previously established itself as a significant socialist-feminist organization. The additional developments of Afro-American, Latino, Asian Pacific, Native American and Anti-Racism Commissions, and their coordination led by Manning Marable, establishes the basis for a socialist organization that can reach out to all of the working class.

—Duane Campbell  
Co-Chair, DSA Anti-Racism  
Commission  
Sacramento, Calif.

## THE ROSENBERGS AND THE CP

AS ONE OF THREE FORMER Communist Party functionaries interviewed by Ronald Radosh and cited in *The Rosenberg File* by Radosh and Joyce Milton presumably to corroborate its conclusions, I'd like to comment on the way the book used the interview with me. My comments do not bear on the guilt or innocence of

the Rosenbergs. They do bear upon Radosh's reliability.

I'm quoted in the book as having told Radosh: "By and large, anyone who became a spy for the Soviet Union was completely separated from the Party." The implication, plainly, is that the Party colluded in spying and I was aware of it. In *The New York Review of Books* (Sept. 29), Radosh gilds the lily: "Max Gordon gave us background on how Communists in general who have been recruited for spying were handled by the American CP."

This is precisely the opposite of what I told Radosh in a telephone conversation in mid-1978. I did not imply that the CP—with which I broke a quarter century ago—had any association with spying. In my nearly 30 years in the Party I had never had the slightest indication of any such association and had always considered this among the more vicious canards about the Party.

Radosh called to ask if I knew anything about the Rosenberg case. I said I had never heard of the Rosenbergs until their arrest in 1950, and had no personal knowledge of them or the case. To a more general question about Party policy toward members engaged in espionage, I responded that I knew of no association between the party and espionage and I doubted it existed.

Radosh then posed a hypothetical question: supposing a Party member did become a Soviet spy, would he be separated from the Party? Having established that I had never heard of such a case, I responded that I would presume so. This abstract speculation, expressly unrelated to any knowledge or experience, is transformed in the book into a contrived quotation inferring Party collusion in espionage and my awareness of it.

In further speculative chit-chat, Radosh and I agreed that the Soviet Union no doubt recruited non-Communists as spies, and that a dedicated Soviet sympathizer in the Party might volunteer his services to the Russians, particularly under World War II circumstances. But my speculations about hypothetical situations were no more informed than those who had never been close to the Party. Yet the book uses these speculations with a spurious authority to prop up its case against the Rosenbergs.

The book also surmises that the Communist Party came to the Rosenbergs' defense only after it was convinced they would not talk. This makes no sense. In the book's terms, Party failure to come to their defense would tend to discourage their presumed resistance; nor was there any way the Party could be convinced they would not talk as execution day approached. I'm cited in the book, accurately in this case, as telling Radosh about Manny Bloch's pleading with me to enlist *The Daily Worker* in the Rosenbergs' defense and responding that the decision had to come from the Party. Discussions on the matter suggested that Party leaders—as Cedric Belfrage put it in *Something to Guard*—were "too pre-occupied and threatened by [their] own trials" to come to the Rosenbergs' defense. The leadership was then expecting the Party to be outlawed and was immersed in preparing for this.

Reflecting Radosh's current extreme anti-Communist animus, the book engages in some free-wheeling conjectures about the CP's, and the world communist movement's reason for joining the Rosenberg campaign. Em-

phasis is placed on an alleged intent to divert attention from the Slansky executions in Prague in December, 1952. Again Belfrage's recollection, which parallels my own, is rather more accurate: the campaign became too big for any left group to stay out of it. My recollection is that the extraordinary response to Bill Reuben's series on the case in *The National Guardian*, during the summer and fall of 1951, triggered the Party's entry, well before the Slansky trials, amid considerable self-criticism for having failed to come in earlier.

Once the Party, with its then-shrinking membership of 40,000 to 45,000, threw itself into the campaign, it was instrumental in developing a high-powered committee to mobilize communist parties and others abroad, as it had done in the Scottsboro defense. Communists abroad responded with alacrity to this clearly perceived Cold War struggle. Much in the Communist Party's conduct generally merits criticism, even condemnation. But it is neither necessary nor helpful to distort history or interviews, in order to shape it to personal and social paranoias.

As noted earlier, my comments are confined to a few areas where I was personally involved. None of it bears on whether or not the Rosenbergs participated in espionage.

—Max Gordon  
New York, N.Y.

## WHAT IS LIBERATION?

RECENT LETTER WRITERS SUGGEST that you cover the "men's liberation movement" (*ITT*, Oct. 19). As long as the men's movement changes only men's personalities, I urge *ITT* not to cover such excuses to avoid fighting women's oppression by men. Men do have the "visible power" the letter writer suggests, and they must use it to stop their fellow men from doing violence to us women. Until then, please continue to spare me stories about how men have learned to cry.

Also, Sheryl Larson's piece on Japanese fashion (*ITT*, Oct. 19) makes no sense to me. How can a model made to look like a battered woman via "lips stained a color resembling a four-day-old bruise and the head wrapped with scarves the way a nurse bandages someone suffering from a bullet to the brain" look "futuristic"? This is not, as Larson suggests, a "liberating attitude." This is a celebration of the beating, bruising and shooting of women. This is pornography.

It further appears that in Japanese

fashion women models become the ultimate object: "A rack on which to hang a Miyake design." Women's bodies are no longer seen even as objects. Now we are not seen at all ("why not make [the clothes] the focus of attention instead of the body?"). This is thought to be "a vision that for years has been sorely lacking in fashion."

—Maria Pastoor  
St. Paul, Minn.

*Sheryl Larson replies: I assume Pastoor has not seen the film The Road Warrior. Otherwise, she would know that the "futuristic" look to which I refer could also be called post-nuclear holocaust chic. A quick perusal of recent magazines turns up fashion spreads in which the models look as if they've just experienced a nuclear attack. This trend has been apparent for several fashion seasons. Unfortunately, I did not have the space to comment on it.*

*But apparently Pastoor did not read the article very carefully. If she had, she would have noticed that after I describe the way the fashion magazines choose to present the Japanese designs, I write: "Japanese experiments such as the ones described above end up looking overdone, silly and immediately expendable."*

*It is also unfortunate she believes I was implying that Japanese designs make women the "ultimate object." Quite the contrary. Many of the loose and layered Japanese designs offer the woman wearer increased freedom of movement and draw less attention to the body—something that I contend "has been sorely lacking in fashion for years."*

## CORRECTION

In the October 26 issue of *In These Times* featuring a story by our South African correspondent Jan Pager we misidentified Nana Mahomo of the AFL-CIO's African American Labor Center. The identification should have read: "In the South African press Mahomo has been reported to be linked to the CIA." We regret the error.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

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