



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

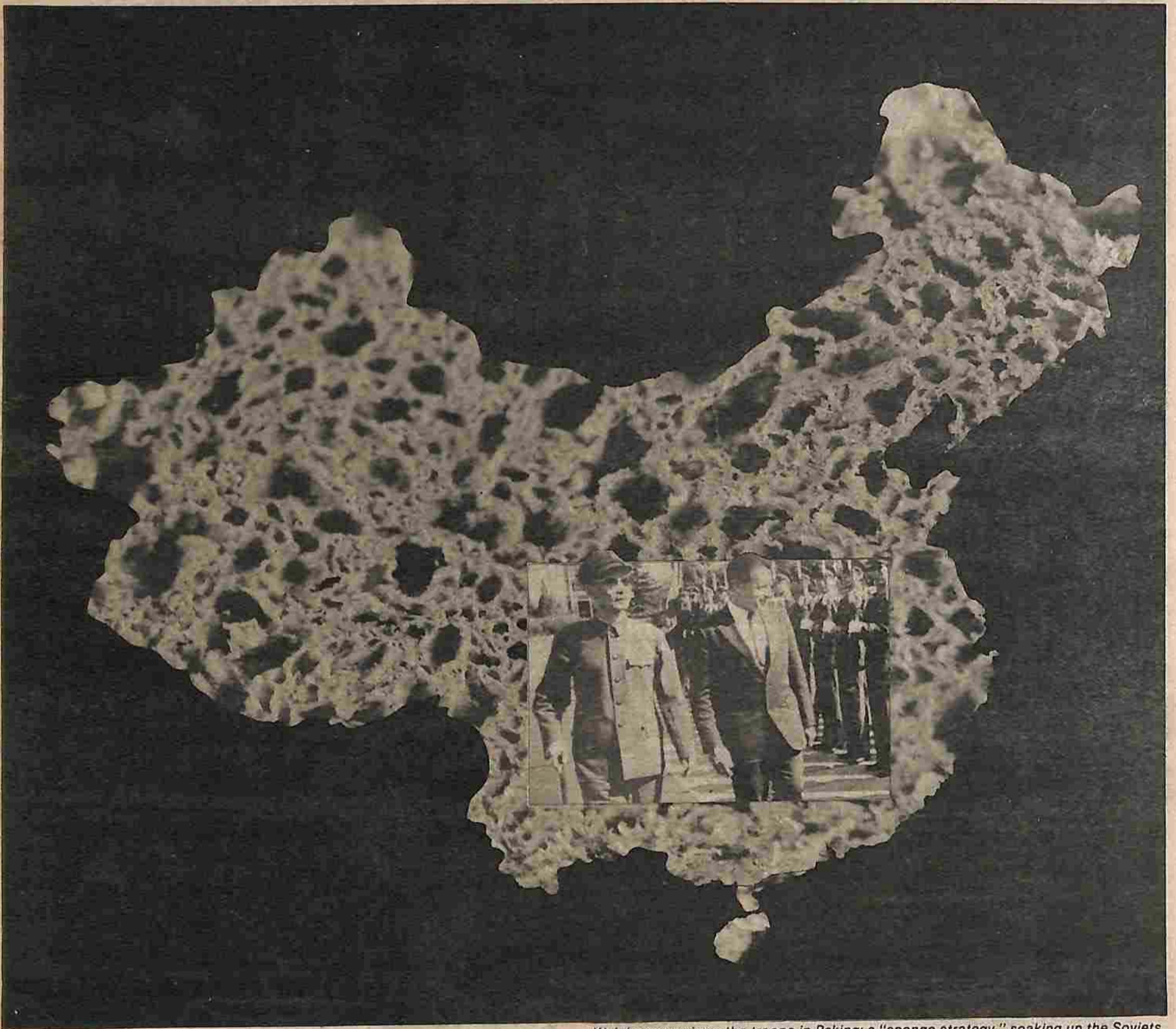
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Caspar Goes to China

The Delicacies of Bloc-Building on the Eastern Front



Weinberger reviews the troops in Peking: a "sponge strategy," soaking up the Soviets.

On the surface, the recent trip to China by U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger looked like a strange case of role reversal. Just a few years ago, the Chinese revisionists were pathetically begging on their knees for arms, investments and technology from the U.S. And now, the picture presented by the U.S. press was one of Weinberger going to China to practically plead with the "reluctant" Chinese leadership to accept offers of arms sales and military exchanges. The *New York Times* even claimed that the Chinese maneuvered Mr. Weinberger into the role of supplicant by acting "cool" to U.S. military offers and through such tactics as postponing meetings at the last moment and persuading Weinberger to speak first at meetings, thus continually forcing him to

expose his hand. The *Times* pointed out that Weinberger urged the Chinese throughout his trip to join in "strategic cooperation" against the Soviet Union, but they "would have none of that" and "said they would go their own way even if they accepted help from the U.S." And the revisionists continued to insist that the U.S. military sales and semi-official relations with Taiwan was "the main obstacle" to improvements in the U.S.-China relations. The Chinese have chosen, said a *Times* editorial, a "fiercely independent 'third world' role."

As we shall see, there are particular reasons behind the acting out of this farce in Peking. But first, it must be pointed out that the concrete results of the Weinberger visit clearly showed that what is taking place is significant steps in fur-

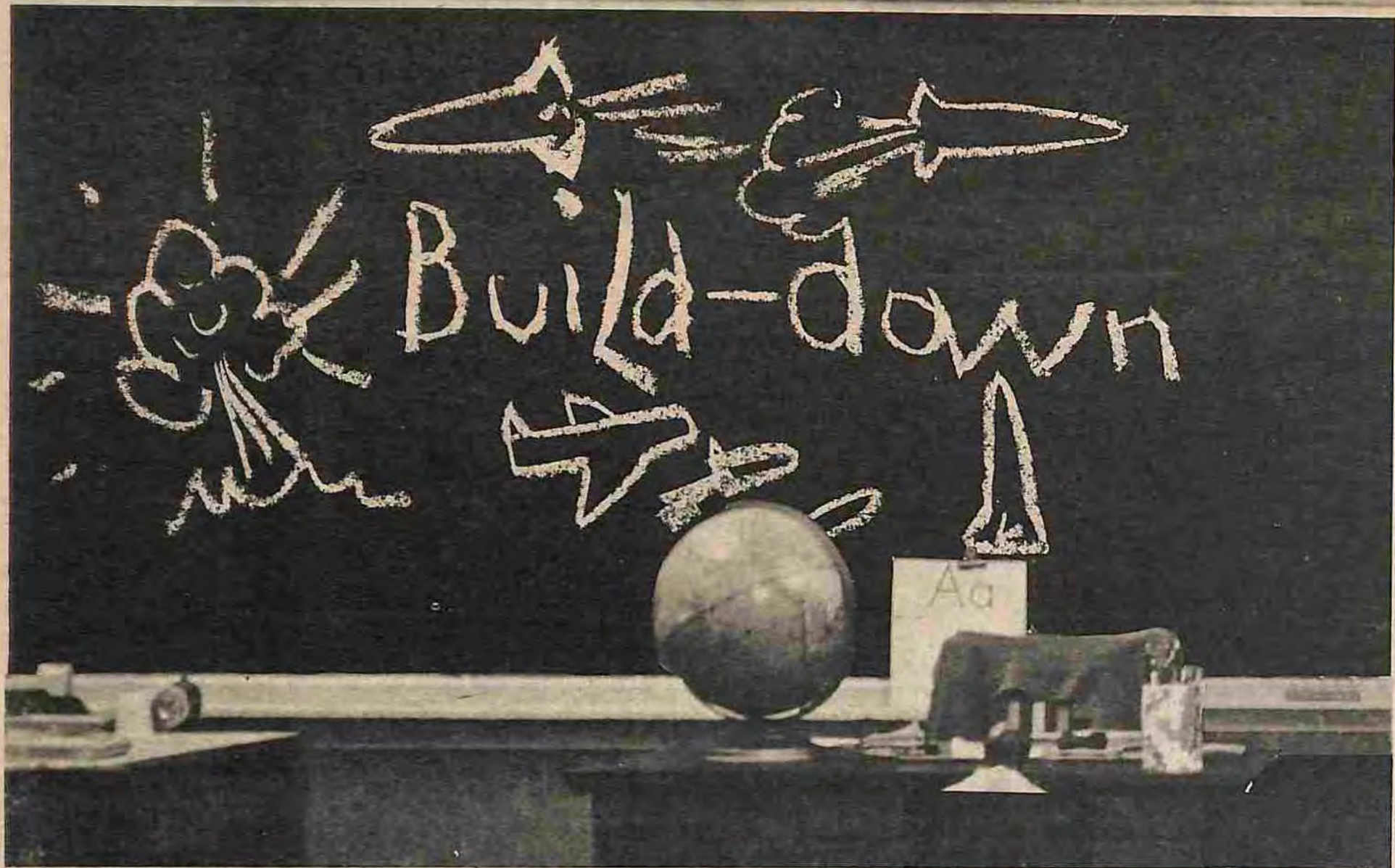
ther solidifying China's ties to the U.S. war bloc. Even as the revisionists clamored about the Taiwan issue being a big "obstacle," the two sides agreed to a major diplomatic exchange — Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang will visit the U.S. next January, and Reagan will return the call in April. This will mark the first U.S. presidential visit to China since Ford in 1976. And as a *San Francisco Examiner* editorial exclaimed with some glee, "A balancing visit by Soviet leader Andropov is noticeably not anticipated."

At the beginning of the trip, Weinberger expressed hope that "This visit will strengthen the defense component of our two country's relationship and provide a basis for further development of exchanges and cooperation between our two armed forces." Despite

the ballyhooed "coolness" of the Chinese to U.S. proposals, it became obvious by the end of the Weinberger visit that the gearing up of military ties between the two countries is in the works. Weinberger told reporters that his talks with the Chinese "will mature into — and very quickly — the actual transfer of weapons systems if that's what the Chinese want. We are fully prepared to do that." He added that: China has "genuine interests" in such "defensive" military hardware as anti-aircraft and anti-tank weaponry and radar systems. Weinberger's comment that actual shipment of arms could come about "very quickly" was perhaps based on the fact that for some time several dozen U.S. arms manufacturers already have had

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A Lesson in the Grammar and Dialectics of...



And now, boys and girls, its time for another vocabulary lesson in that strange tongue: *Imperialistspeak*.

This week's word is "build-down."

"Build-down" is what our president says he wants to do with American and Russian missiles.

Grammatically speaking, "build-down" can be analyzed in a number of different ways. For example, it can be seen as a contraction. What is a contraction? It is a word where something is left out and is usually replaced by an apostrophe, like the English word "isn't." But in the grammar of *Imperialistspeak*, contractions can do marvelous things. Whole words can be

left out and understood, and here they are replaced by a hyphen, not an apostrophe. So the long version of the word "build-down," as understood by an experienced interpreter of *Imperialistspeak*, is "build up American missiles and bombers and, as for the Russian's stuff, tear theirs down." So there you have it; all those extra, unneeded and confusing words boiled down to the nice, neat "build-down."

"Build-down" can also be analyzed from the viewpoint of philosophy. It is an example of *Imperialistspeak* dialectics, that is, a unity of opposites. "Build" implies adding something; "down" implies taking away. So *Imperialistspeak* has wondrous words that let us simultaneously increase and decrease our nuclear firepower. Some people might be unkind and

call that sophistry and hypocrisy (two words, by the way, which are *never* mentioned in *Imperialistspeak* except when referring to remarks by "the other guy"). But good students of philosophy know that in dialectics one of the opposites is always principal, that is, either increasing or decreasing is the main thing. A U.S. Senator, enthusing for TV news cameras about the president's "build-down" disarmament proposal, demonstrated a good working knowledge of this feature of dialectics when he praised the proposal and said, "Now the MX missile is sure to pass the Congress." *Imperialistspeak* disarmament at its finest.

And now, Johnny, can you use the word "build-down" in a sentence?

"Well, yes, teacher, I think I can. Let's

build-down our missiles enough so that we can blow those Russians away."

Very good, Johnny! You're a smart boy and if you keep it up you just might be president some day.

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Contention Thru Collusion — France, The U.S. & Chad



French troops in Chad.

Within the heart of the Western bloc contention can only be carried out through and subordinated to collusion. This is one of the important lessons to be drawn from the high-stakes imperialist intrigue going on in Chad.

The recent French-U.S. "flap" concerning the tactics of sending AWACs to Sudan and French troops to Chad has been interpreted in many ways: a mere smokescreen on the part of the French to cover over their own evil deeds; a means by the U.S. to pressure France to do its own dirty work for it and so forth. In fact, all of these "explanations" are at best partly correct and all fail to understand the essence of the complicated imperialist relationship between France, the U.S. and the USSR.

Chad is one of the least "neo" of the French neocolonies. While it has long been pillaged by French imperialism, its real interest to the latter lies in Chad's strategic location — a sort of bridge between West and Central French Africa and Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya), France's other main stomping ground in Africa. As Mitterand put it in his interview with *Le Monde* (August 26, 1983), "France has her word to say, even though she doesn't demand it. Let's not talk about neo-colonialism (!), the attitude of France argues against such an interpretation (!!). But there are African countries — and more precisely the bulk of the French-speaking countries of Black Africa and some others — who look to France. Above all Chad, whoever has been and whoever might be its leaders." In other words, to paraphrase a statement a younger Mitterand made more than twenty years ago concerning Algeria, "*Le Tchad, c'est la France.*"*

Defending France's imperialist interests in Africa remains a central element of its global strategy regardless of the color of the government at any time. As Mitterand also said in the same interview with equal frankness in comparing his Africa policy to that of his predecessors "If the method has changed the objective has remained the same, which is to preserve the role and interests of France and fulfill our duties towards our African friends with whom we have established obligations and even alliances, including sometimes military agreements. Without forgetting our considerable economic efforts that we assume in Africa."

In short Africa is essential to France — not merely one arena of exploitation and contention with its rivals, as it is for the U.S., but the very heart of its Empire. The French claim to a large chunk of Africa has also been long accepted by the U.S. imperialists who have been happy to let the French take on the burden of "policing" the area — Kissinger's con-

cept of "regional responsibility." Reagan's candid statements about France's "traditional sphere of influence" only underscore what has long been the accepted division of Africa between the three major Western powers with interests on the continent — Britain, France and the U.S.

Soviet Threat

The big problem for France and the U.S. alike has been the rapid development of Soviet influence in Africa. While for the most part French-speaking Africa has been a bastion of the so-called "moderate" (i.e., pro-West) bloc, these countries also are susceptible to changes on the continent and in the world as a whole and, in particular, threatened by Libya and Colonel Khadafy who has made no secret of his desire to be the head of Arab-African Islamic "anti-imperialist" movement, which puts him in sharp conflict with the French empire that surrounds him on the west and south. Needless to say, Khadafy's ambitions dovetail nicely with the policy of the Soviets in the area who are his principal suppliers.*

Thus the principal contradiction in the world, the growing rivalry between the two imperialist blocs of East and West, is clearly determining the shape of things in Africa as elsewhere. It is this common opposition to Soviet incursions that has led France and the United States to "coordinate" their Chad policy, despite denials and counter-denials emanating from Paris and Washington.

Nevertheless the contradiction between France and the United States is quite real. While much can be attributed to a kind of "division of labor" between the two — with the U.S. playing the role of the tough guy and France calling for peace, understanding and a new economic order — in fact even this division of labor is a reflection of real and often conflicting interests.

It is tempting to dismiss the pompous declarations of various French governments (of the right and the left) against U.S. "economic imperialism" or "hegemonic practices" as so much hot air, especially when one knows that France continues to play cheerleader for the deployment of the Euromissiles and is more and more integrating itself into the NATO military command. (Contrary to popular belief France has never "left" NATO, but only its joint supreme military command.) In fact military

*One clear indication that geopolitical considerations take precedence over Khadafy's peculiar brand of Islam is his full support for Mengistu's war against the people of Eritrea, mainly Islamic and closely linked to the Arab world.



1981—Mitterand and Goukouni in Paris shortly before he was overthrown by Habré.

cooperation has always existed between France and the other NATO members and recently the NATO meeting of Defense Ministers was held in Paris for the first time since De Gaulle's decision to withdraw from the joint military command. Today, and basically throughout the whole post-World War 2 era, French imperialism has largely benefited from, even been propped up to a degree by U.S. imperialism. But still there are conflicts. And from a long-term point of view, France is opposed to U.S. imperialism's hegemony in the world and it does seek a "new economic order" — specifically a new economic order based on its own imperialist hegemony. However, French imperialism is acutely aware that their hopes for creating this new order can only be furthered in conjunction with and as part of the Western bloc which is, and can only be under the present circumstances, led by U.S. imperialism.

Contention and collusion are, like any opposites, mutually transformable and each contains within it elements of the other. Specifically, collusion can be a means through which contention is carried out. For example, the United States "colluded" with Great Britain during World War 2 but the history of this alliance was full of contradictions (contention) as all serious histories point out, because each imperialist power sought to carry out this collusion against a greater enemy (in this case German imperialism) in such a way as to preserve and protect its own imperialist interests. The collusion with Britain, just as much as the contention against Germany, set the stage for the emergence of the "American Century" and the actual division of the world that took place was in the last analysis largely at Britain's expense. The French

imperialists are good students of history. They recognize that the current division of the world is by no means permanent and that which is "unthinkable" today can become a program for action tomorrow.

How To Deal With Khadafy

The various machinations of France and the U.S. in Chad are a glimpse of the working out of this process of "contention through collusion." Take for example the obvious differences between the U.S. and France in dealing with Colonel Khadafy. Despite ridiculous charges in the U.S. press of a "pro-Libyan" lobby in the French government, it is certainly true that the current government as well as previous French governments have gone to great lengths to separate themselves from the U.S.'s holy crusade against Khadafy. Nor can such a policy be merely attributed to France's mercantile interests in Libya; the French newspapers respond with indignation that in fact the interests of the U.S. in Libya are at least as important (30 percent of the oil, for example, is exported to the U.S.).

In an article in the monthly journal *Le Monde Diplomatique* (September), published by the daily of the same name, Eric Rouleau (a principal *Le Monde* correspondent who has been the privileged interlocutor of Mitterand throughout the Chad crisis) argues strongly against the anti-Khadafy crusade. He argues that Khadafy is not a Soviet client and that he is "anxious to preserve his independence in face of the two superpowers and develop exchanges with France. Libya was, until 1979, one of the most important clients of French armaments. Hun-

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**"Algeria is France!" remarked Mitterand at the outbreak of the Algerian War.

Haiti to New York

Dinosaurs and Other Beasts Lash Out

On September 22, Firmin Joseph was returning from the Manhattan office that printed his weekly *Tribune D'Haiti* when he was shot cold-bloodedly a few paces from his home in Brooklyn by two men who shouted at him in Creole. The murder is widely believed to be a hit, and as such, part of a picture of bloody maneuvering by the regime of one of the U.S.'s most loyal neocolonies. And the fact that the murder was carried out in the U.S. has inevitably raised suspicions of a direct or indirect U.S. hand in the affair.

It is revealing that three of the regime's most notorious torturers and interrogators of political prisoners were reported to be in New York City around the time of Joseph's murder. Jean Valme, former chief of police and a still-powerful figure linked to the Ton Ton Macoutes, Duvalier's particularly vicious terror squad, was seen in an apartment house in New York City one day before Joseph was killed; and Valme, Albert Pierre (called Ti Boule, the "little fire" — who is well known as the one who does much of the actual physical beating of political prisoners) and Major Orceel, another infamous torturer, were reported to be in New York the day of Joseph's funeral.

A more brutal political message to the immigrant Haitian community could hardly be sent: no matter where you may be, the long arm of the Ton Ton Macoutes will be with you and there will be no holds barred, even murder.

Torture and murder have been part of the everyday life of the Haitian masses for decades. It was to escape such that drove many of the émigré community to the U.S. years ago, most of whom at that time were from the anti-Duvalier national bourgeoisie and the middle strata of professionals and intellectuals. In the words of one of Joseph's associates, "We thought we had protection here. Now, we

are not so sure." Joseph's murder signifies a leap in the regime's determination to clamp down on these forces, and through them, the broad masses of Haitians in the U.S.

The murder came at a time of some significant infighting within Jean-Claude's ruling clique and the adoption of a new constitution which specifies that Jean-Claude has the right to designate his own successor. There has been considerable speculation lately about the possibility of Jean-Claude stepping down from his "president for life" position which he has held since 1971. Reports of his ill-health abound — and also some opinion that this "ill-health" may be a sign the U.S. government would prefer more civilized repression than the Ton Ton Macoutes are noted for. One will recall the late Shah of Iran's illness which was publicized as a factor in his "decision" to leave Iran and then later became the stated reason for coming to (read: getting sanctuary in) the U.S.

The only remaining opposition newspaper in Haiti, however vacillating its role has been, *Petit Samedi Soir*, recently ran an article about possible successors and their profiles, along with an exposure of the new constitution. For this, the issue was confiscated, shut down for a week, and its publisher taken into custody for a day. These possible successors, it reported, include Jean-Claude's wife Michelle Bennett (readers may recall his \$5 million wedding in 1980), his mother Simone (widow of the original Duvalier, "Papa Doc"), and several ministers of state. The only reason Jean-Claude's son is not on the list is that he is only two years old and the constitution states that one must be 18 to be president. Others conspicuously not on the list are eight former top military men recently removed from their posts, including Col. Prosper Avril, who had been one of the

most important members of the presidential guard. This appears to be part of a power struggle between the "dinosaurs," as they are called, of Papa Doc's days who are still loyal to his widow and the technocrats in the regime, grouped around Michelle Bennett. Undoubtedly the CIA has its hands full trying to both anticipate and direct such moves to insure that whoever ends up on top will carry out the interests of U.S. imperialism in the most effective manner.

This is where the clampdown on the Haitian masses is of such importance at this time, particularly on those like the Cap Haitien rebels (see accompanying letter), but also on anti-Duvalier forces in the émigré community. For no matter who is appointed temporary president, or if Jean-Claude remains in power, the masses of Haitians must be kept under control. Joseph's murder made clear — just because some changes are being played out within the palace walls, don't think for a minute that anything different is in store for you.

The experience of "liberalization" in 1976 is not to be repeated. (Although it is not clear that the new constitution necessarily means a new liberalization, any new shift in the arrangement of power holds certain common dangers to the ruling class.) In line with then-president Carter's human rights campaign, Jean-Claude made some mouthings about "liberalization and democratization" for Haiti, words he had also been prompted by the U.S. to spout when he became "president for life" after his father died. This was nothing but a desperate move by the regime and its U.S. masters to try to head off increasing unrest among the masses, particularly the petty bourgeoisie, and didn't change the exploitation and oppression of the Haitian people one bit. But as the *RW* wrote in 1980, "The effect of this move was quite

the opposite of what was intended. As one Haitian put it, 'When Jean-Claude announced 'liberalization,' the masses took him up on it!' " and moved into wide-ranging struggle. This time the Ton Ton Macoutes and other armed enforcers of the regime have made clear from the get just what any personnel changes mean: no change for the great majority of Haitians.

This was in fact advertised and bragged about in the official newspaper of the Haitian government, *Le Nouveau Monde*. In New York, Joseph's *Tribune D'Haiti* had run several exposures and criticisms of the Ton Ton Macoutes and figures in the Duvalier regime, including Juan Magloire, director of the government paper. One article, written by editor Daniel Boncy, raked Magloire over the coals, contrasting the situation of the masses in Haiti "where people don't even have water to drink" with Magloire's — "you, millionaire of the revolution (referring to Papa Doc's rise to power—*RW*) have water running all the time everyday... the day all these things will change is slowly coming... it will eventually come." Concluding, Boncy wrote that he hoped that when Magloire died he would die like a dog.

Magloire responded to this and other anti-Duvalierists directly in the pages of his newspaper: "We are pleased to praise the Ton Ton Macoutes," he wrote. "While these people criticize the Ton Ton Macoutes, they are indispensable for the stability of Haiti. Haiti — such as any region where the major part is in fire and blood." Indeed, this Charlie McCarthy spoke well — stability is defined by who is being fired on and whose blood is being spilled.

Then Magloire continued his attack, hitting at those "who enjoy the protec-

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Rebellion, Murder in Cap Haitien

Editors Note: This letter is from a Haitian refugee who recently talked directly to people in Cap Haitien shortly after the events described.

To the *RW*:

Jacques Thomas was from Cap Haitien. He was a teacher there and a radio commentator for several stations before he went to work for La Voix du Nord where he was the host of a two-hour program for the youth on Sunday afternoons. In this program he discussed different topics concerning the youth. He also did commentaries on current events regarding both Haiti and other countries. He also did investigative reports where he exposed police and Macoute repression on the civilian population. Because of these exposures Jacques Thomas was considered an enemy of the government and many times pro-government officials threatened him verbally (sometimes in other radio shows, other times on the street).

On Saturday, September 17, Jacques Thomas was commenting on current events. (Accounts in Haitian newspapers in the U.S. said that Thomas and another newscaster were commenting on the rumored sale of Môle St. Nicholas, a strategic region on Haiti's northern coast, just 70 nautical miles across the windward passage from Cuba, to the U.S. government. They were also reported to be commenting on the new constitution which allows president-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier to designate his own successor—*RW*.) While he was talking on the radio, four armed policemen came to arrest him because he disobeyed their order to stop doing the news in Creole. When these four policemen came to get him, he alerted the population telling them they'd come to arrest him because he

was doing the news in Creole.

After this call went over the air, more police reinforcements came. They went inside the radio station to get him. At the same time the population poured in to the street and started to move in the direction of the radio station. The youth picked up sticks, pieces of iron and rocks, and they were ready to confront the government forces and stop them from arresting Jacques Thomas. When the police stormed the radio station to try to take away Jacques Thomas, the crowd, which was in front of the station, started to fight the government forces, who by that time were joined by Leopards (anti-guerrilla armed forces trained by the U.S.—*RW*), sent to Cap Haitien by the central government to quell the rebellion. The government forces opened fire, machine gunning the crowd. In that violent process 51 people died among them Jacques Thomas. After this assassination the population of Cap Haitien and other towns took to the streets to protest the murder of these people.

The massacre of civilian population by the government troops is similar to what is going on right now in El Salvador, where government troops are indiscriminately shooting down young boys, young girls, pregnant women... this shows that these people are criminals who are there to repress the people, stop them from rising up. These troops are against the interests and welfare of the people. All they care about is their own self interest and that of the government they represent. Jacques Thomas was very vocal against the abuses of authority. He was always on the side of the people, always trying to enlighten them about what's happening, since there's a lot of things going on in Haiti now that goes against the in-

terests and welfare of the people, like the change in the constitution that would allow Duvalier to chose his own successor. It was this sort of exposure that makes the government forces want to suppress his voice.

It was not the first time that Jacques Thomas made some commentary about government policy... And now since there's a power struggle going on in Haiti, where the acting president wanted to transfer power to someone else, it becomes very important for that transition to take place smoothly. Therefore the last thing the government would want is opposition from the people. Thus, the masses should be completely ignorant about what is going on. Anybody who is informing the people is a danger that must be eliminated, and Jacques Thomas certainly was a danger that the government wanted to eliminate.

The population of Cap Haitien like the population of other towns and cities in Haiti would like the existing situation in Haiti changed. In Cap Haitien, the population always manifested their opposition to the regime openly. For example, in the last municipal election, the Haitian government as usual was furnishing its own candidate, Claude Vixamar, who was also Prefect Director of Customs... But the population who knew Claude Vixamar as a puppet of the government, opposed Claude Vixamar and chose Le Rouge as their candidate. When Vixamar went over the air to announce his candidacy for deputy, he said that "Mama Simone", the mother of Baby Doc, chose him to be deputy of Cap Haitien. The population which was fed up with the government, went in front of Radio Citadelle, where Vixamar was talking, they stood there waiting for him to come out. The police

were trying to violently disperse the crowd, then the crowd became angry and started to fight the police. They dismantled a police car, and the people in their thousands started marching in the street in the direction of the telephone company, Teleco. When they arrived in front of Teleco, they were chanting "Teleco, call president Duvalier, tell him if Le Rouge is not elected we'll burn Cap Haitien to the ground." Then they marched to Vixamar's house which was in the rich suburbs of Bandu Nord. They stormed Vixamar's house to search for him. Before the march reached Vixamar's house, he fled to Port-au-Prince, and up to that day he has never set foot again in Cap Haitien.

The death of these 51 people will haunt the government for a long time because the people of Cap Haitien will never forget this criminal act. It would etch like a scar on their mind as long as the Duvalier regime and its repressive forces remain in power, and this will in no way deter the people from manifesting their opposition to the existing regime. On the contrary these murders will sharpen the opposition of the people against the regime. Since before independence the people of Cap Haitien were in the front line of every struggle, they have a tradition of struggle that no one can alter, not with violence, not with the murder of 51 people. The government could kill Jacques Thomas, but many other living Jacques Thomases would take the place of the dead Jacques Thomas and thus haunt the government throughout its existence.

—A reader

Part I

The Triangle That Ended In Mass Murder:

The U.S., The Soviets and Jonestown

Immediately following the "mass suicide" of 900 people deep in the Guyanese jungle at Jonestown, an interesting and revealing war of exposure opened up in the Guyanese press. The Guyanese revisionist party, the People's Progressive Party, started to expose the deep involvement of the Guyanese government and its long-time Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham, in Jonestown. Burnham's government, according to these documented exposures, had protected Jonestown in various ways, had accepted bribes and other favors. What's more, the reports helped confirm the raft of other material implicating the U.S. in the massacre: Burnham, after all, had been placed in power by the CIA in the mid-'60s, while the CIA and the U.S. embassy had many of their own ties with Jim Jones and his settlement.

The Guyanese government fought back by publishing internal Jonestown memos of meetings with the KGB, held to discuss the possibility of moving the People's Temple to the Soviet Union. Further exposures revealed letters sent to the Soviet embassy in Guyana just as the end neared. The letters listed bank accounts where millions in Temple money was deposited, and instructed Soviet diplomats how to withdraw it, to use as Moscow saw fit.

As this war of exposure was going into high gear, the leader of the Guyanese revisionists, Cheddi Jagan, was called to Moscow. Jagan was no minor figure on the Guyanese political scene; when Guyana was a British colony, Jagan was the highest elected official, the Prime Minister, and under Burnham's regime his People's Progressive Party was the main parliamentary opposition — these were forces in a position to know some things. And apparently, they were in a position to cover up what they knew, too. For, when Jagan returned from the Soviet Union, the exposure abruptly stopped. The *Washington Post* commented on all this in February 1979: "So many strange things happen in Guyana, long a playing-field for the world's foremost intelligence agencies, that it seemed almost inevitable to many informed diplomats and Guyanese that the KGB and CIA would somehow become involved in the Jonestown affair." Wonders of a free press! One of the "world's foremost" organs of U.S. imperialism announces that the KGB and CIA were "inevitably" involved in Jonestown, and casually lays the matter to rest; no Watergate series of muckraking here! What a contrast to Moscow, which straightforwardly won't print it in the first place and orders the likes of Cheddi Jagan to put the cap on any international spilling of the beans! The *Post* casually informs its readers that, in Guyana at least, a deal has been struck with the Soviets about just what would and would not be exposed about intelligence agencies' involvement in the matter.

Inside the U.S., the "free press" quickly settled on its version of Jonestown — a detailed cover story with major and minor themes and reactionary ideological lessons that are by now nauseatingly familiar. Within a year, two movies, at least ten books, innumerable TV specials, editorials, newspaper and magazine articles had been cranked out. Overwhelmingly, they pushed the same basic interpretation: 912 people, 90% of them Black, hated life in the United States enough to go deep into the jungles of Guyana with a demented white preacher who had them practicing suicide even be-

fore they left San Francisco. Jonestown became the story of sheeplike masses of oppressed, putting up with beatings and sexual degradation, slave-like labor, even committing mass suicide because of the demonic spell of the socialist preacher. Jonestown was to be a stark reminder that, as *Time* magazine put it, "After centuries of what rationalism would like to call progress, in 1978 the line dividing civilization from savagery was still tragically fragile." *Newsweek*, in the most sanctimonious editorial of all, decreed, "...the jungle is only a few yards away."

In point of fact, one need not invent demonic spells in order to explain why several hundreds of Black people would hate and want to leave the U.S. As for "mass suicide," formidable evidence today shows that the event was more a mass murder than a mass suicide. Yet the aborted mutual exposures of U.S. and Soviet intelligence raises something else entirely: the real events of Jonestown, as much as they have been uncovered to this point, indict not the supposed "horror" inherent in the human soul, but the nature and aims of two imperialist monsters who, it seems clear, used this group of people in their global game of one-upmanship in the realm of public opinion — a game with high stakes indeed. Recall for a moment the major flap over the defection or possible defection of a ballet dancer, track star, or ambassador's son; then transpose this onto the defection of several hundred Black proletarians from the U.S. to the Soviet Union — the propaganda stakes must be evident at once! What would the U.S. *not* do to avoid such a catastrophe!

This interpretation of the bizarre story is no longer just hypothesis, but is beginning to distinctly emerge from the Jonestown literature.

True, the full story of Jonestown has not yet emerged; a government "deep throat" has not yet spoken, the documentary evidence on the operations of the CIA, KGB, and other forces remains hidden in the vaults and in the memory of those who choose not to speak, or are dead. Even so, enough is known, through various conspiracy theorists, journalistic accounts, and stories told by defectors, as well as through interviews and other evidence gathered by the *RW*, to deeply implicate the U.S. government, the Soviet government, and other lesser, though significant, figures and forces.

The Cover-Up

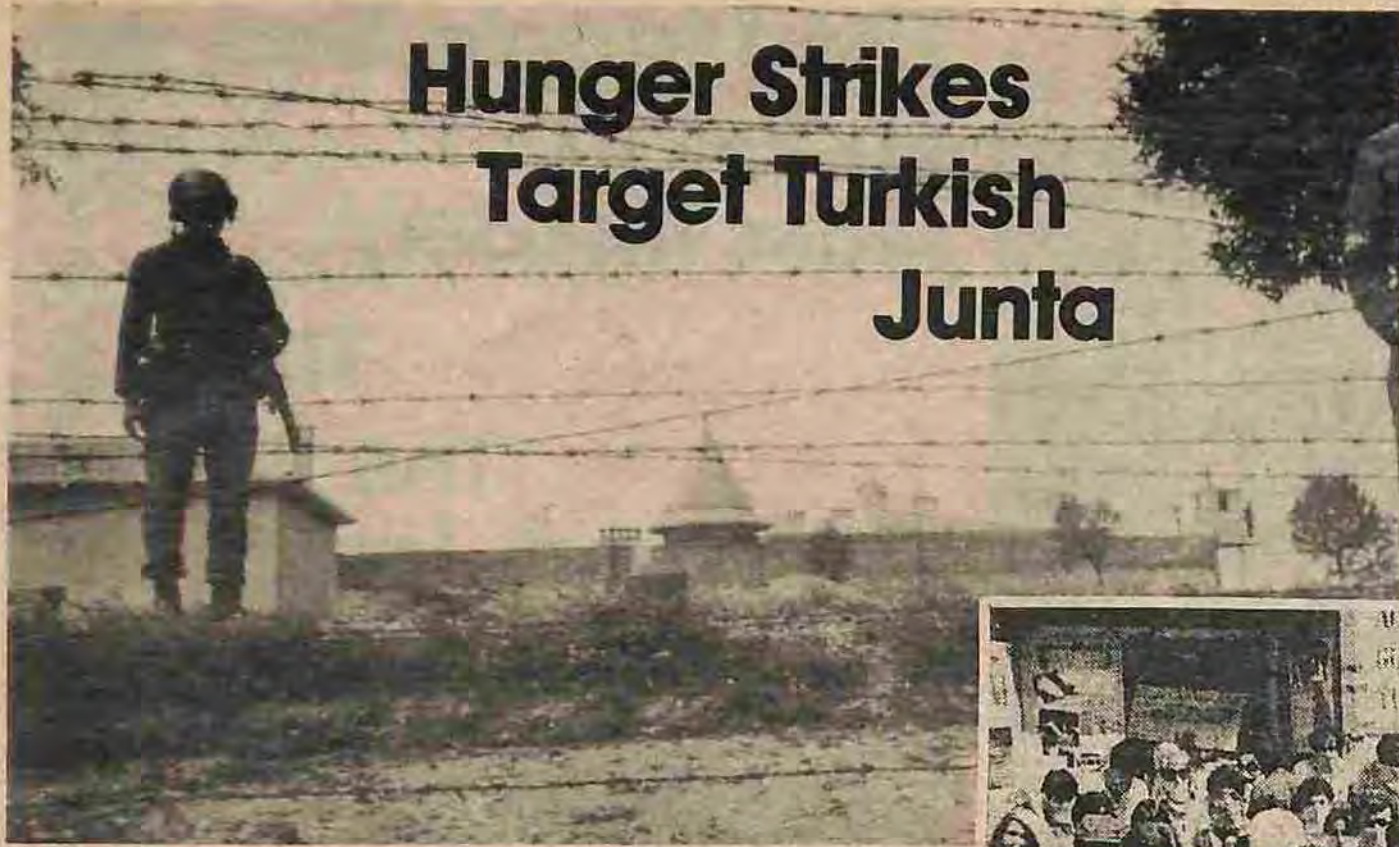
Unearthing the story of Jonestown has to begin with the massive cover-up that began even before the smoke had cleared. In 1979, the House Foreign Affairs Committee made an inquiry into the murder of Leo Ryan, the congressman whose murder at the gates of Jonestown precipitated the "mass suicide." The Committee issued an 800-page public report; the 5000 pages of interviews with principal characters that the report is "based" on are classified. In the public report, the CIA is mentioned once and dismissed, in relation to Jones' "paranoia" that there was a CIA conspiracy against him.

Yet, less than a year after that bowdlerized report was issued, ranking members of the Committee ordered another "private" inquiry. The Chief Counselor of the Committee stated to the press, "There are suggestions that the CIA had been using Jonestown as a base for drug experiments and for covert operations. Certain aspects of the affair smack of the

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Hunger Strikes Target Turkish Junta



Below, a demonstration in West Germany in support of the hunger strike in Turkish prisons.



A wave of hunger strikes by political prisoners in Turkey, which began in early July in four military prisons around Istanbul and then spread to other prisons across the country, continues to hound the Turkish junta. A combined assault of torture and promises of concessions to the strikers' demands — which have, however, not been met — managed to bring the Istanbul hunger strike to an end only after more than a month of fierce resistance by the hunger-strikers and considerable exposure internationally of the real deal behind Turkey's "transition to democracy" under the tutelage of NATO. Since July, immigrants from Turkey and other opponents of the junta in Europe and elsewhere have waged hunger strikes and other actions in support of the Turkish prisoners, thereby focusing a spotlight in the Western media on the struggle in Turkey. The RW has

received correspondence from readers reporting on a hunger strike in Melbourne, Australia in solidarity with the Turkish prisoners, and on another hunger strike by immigrants from Turkey and Greece in Brussels, with similar actions occurring in Switzerland, West Germany, France, Austria, Denmark and Sweden.

Now, ironically, the junta's own vicious attacks on revolutionaries have set the stage for bringing to light a new outbreak of protest in the military prison at Diyarbakir, in Kurdistan. News of the Diyarbakir hunger strike broke at a recent trial of Kurdish revolutionaries in Diyarbakir, where several of the accused, themselves prisoners, courageously testified before the court about the hunger strike which began on Sept. 2, involving as many as 2000 prisoners according to some reports. These prisoners,

many of whom were brought beaten to the stand, went on to expose to reporters and others assembled at the trial the brutal conditions in the prison. After two days of such testimony — and in apparent retaliation for this stinging exposure, which even made it into the pages of the *New York Times*, whose reporter on the scene baldly asserted that "It was the first known denunciation of prison conditions here since the 1980 military

takeover"! — on the night of Sept. 7, an army unit was dispatched into the prison, killing at least two prisoners and wounding over thirty others. Evidently this trial, one of a series of legal proceedings over the last three years which have condemned to death hundreds of revolutionaries, including Kurdish nationalists, and imprisoned thousands more, did not exactly have the kind of effect the authorities had hoped for. □

Contention Thru Collusion

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dreds of pilots and technicians have been trained in France." And, "One notes a repugnance during the Chad crisis to put France in accusation, preferring instead to save his (Khadafy's — RW) arrows for the United States. Despite what is generally believed, he is not unfavorable to certain diplomatic initiatives of President Mitterand." Deng Xiaoping take note! The famous "three world's theory," discredited in the revolutionary movement, is still alive and well as a current of openly bourgeois and imperialist thought, in this case France's "second world" desire to "unite" with third world Khadafy against "the superpowers" (mainly the Soviet superpower).

This deliberate understatement of the extent of Soviet influence on Khadafy is less a result of a Pollyannish view of the objective situation than a program for the future. In fact, Khadafy has (often) been a vocal critic of French "imperialism" and "neocolonialism" which in no way lessens France's hope to incorporate Libya into France's sphere of influence and use regional ambitions of an Arab-African "anti-imperialist" Islamic movement for its own purposes. Mitterand himself pointed out in his *Le Monde* interview that he didn't believe Khadafy's "political-mystical view would overtake the realism that the current relation of forces in Chad demands." The same point has a wider application, that is, France hopes that a certain relation of forces in the region, now or in the future, can convince a realistic Khadafy that he cannot pursue his ambitions outside of close cooperation with France. It should be remembered that Libya is surrounded on the west and the south by France's sphere of influence and that recently Khadafy has shown a desire to come to terms with the other states of the Maghreb — which can only mean coming to terms with France.

As far as the U.S. is concerned, Khadafy's African ambitions are not really the main problem. In particular

they are concerned by Khadafy's role, together with Syria, as a main vehicle for Soviet influence in the Middle East which corresponds with Khadafy's policy to his east, that is his virulent opposition to Egypt, the main U.S. stronghold in the Arab world, and to all attempts to engineer a pro-U.S. "settlement" of the "Palestinian problem" (Camp David, the Reagan Plan, the Conference of Fez, etc.). For the U.S., Chad represents above all a chance to teach Khadafy a lesson (*à la* the Falkland Islands) and thereby diminish his effectiveness as well as his considerable prestige in the Arab world.

Also involved, secondarily, are U.S. efforts to encroach on French turf in Africa. While France has been far more successful than Britain in keeping U.S. influence in "its" territory to a minimum, nevertheless the possibility of U.S. inroads remains a worry for them. The U.S. is already firmly implanted in Zaire, one of the most important African countries in terms of population and minerals, and one in which France, while never dominating alone, has always had as Mitterand put it "its word to say."

Reagan's reminder of France's "traditional sphere of influence" was as much a threat as a recognition of reality. The steady stream of puppets to Washington during the Chad crisis (not only Mobutu but the leader of Senegal, the very heart of French Black Africa) was a reminder that the U.S. could step into France's shoes were the latter to prove itself an unreliable "ally" of the various reactionary regimes in the area.

The big France-U.S. flap erupted at the very moment French forces were sent to Chad, as a result of an article published in *Le Monde* on August 17, by the same Eric Rouleau after a private conversation with Mitterand. This article, saying that France was not consulted in the sending of AWACS (hard to believe), does contain one interesting and telling observation. Mitterand, according to Rouleau, blames the U.S. for causing much of the

trouble in the first place by financing the overthrow of then Chadian leader Goukouni in 1981 through massive CIA funding of Habré, then exiled in Sudan. Mitterand told Rouleau that he was indifferent to the outcome of the struggle between Habré and Goukouni; in fact if anything he was more favorable toward Goukouni whom he called a "great lord of the desert." France had "obtained" (a word that appears both in Rouleau's article and Mitterand's interview) the evacuation of Libyan soldiers from Chad in 1981 through the intermediary of Goukouni. "What could be the interest of America," asks Rouleau rhetorically "to encourage the rebels at that time to overthrow a government in N'Djamena who was a friend of France?" The strategic interests of the U.S. in Chad are to incorporate Chad into its plans for World War 3 which, almost certainly, would put France and the U.S. in the same camp but which would also decide subsequent balance of strength between them. Habré is clearly operating at the behest of the U.S. and his government provides the U.S. a vehicle to have a more direct means for demanding that its strategic interests in the world not be subordinated to France's effort to "resolve" the Chad conflict on the basis of its own strategic interests.

France, on the other hand, has made clear that the Habré government is expendable even though it is necessary to prop it up on a temporary basis because of Khadafy. It is interesting to note that Mitterand, who refuses to be accused of neocolonialism, was quick to propose a "federal solution" for Chad — in other words a basic revamping of the state structure in the country. In fact, the "word of France" counts for quite a bit more than the word of Habré who has only several thousand ill-armed soldiers to defend his claim to state power compared with an equal number of France's most elite troops armed with the most modern military equipment.

The French CP

The Chad adventure has proved more than a little embarrassing to the French Communist Party (PCF), which par-

ticipates in the Mitterand government. The PCF is kept strictly at arms length from anything having to do with the actual state power and, in fact, Mitterand did not even call a Council of Ministers meeting during the several weeks, provoking one letter writer to *Le Monde* to sarcastically suggest that "*L'Etat c'est toujours moi*."* Nevertheless the PCF faced a situation in which its Ministers were expected to publicly support a military adventure directed against a Soviet client state. The PCF has, through different mouths, expressed its "worry" about a possible involvement in the "Chad quagmire" and, especially, criticizing U.S. pressures on France. They have not, however, condemned the sending of troops.

The PCF does not and cannot oppose French imperialism, it wishes to integrate itself into the French imperialist ruling class. It does, however, energetically oppose U.S. imperialism since its overall strategy is based on a realignment of France with the Soviet camp. Thus the PCF vigorously applauds all of Mitterand's words about negotiated settlements, against U.S. pressure, etc., but supports the basic line that France has "interests" and "obligations" in the region which require the sending of troops.

Even other forces who oppose the French intervention in Chad accept to a large degree the framework of the debate set up by the PCF and to a large degree Mitterand himself — that is, the pressures exercised by the United States on France. Opposition to the French soldiers in Chad becomes opposition not to France but to U.S. imperialism and its effort to "make" France do the U.S.'s work for it. This kind of thinking is particularly noticeable among the main Trotskyite formations in France who, it should be pointed out, supported the election of the "Left" (i.e., the socialist/communist coalition). It is also the position of numerous openly pro-Soviet forces in France (for example some foreign groups

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*King Louis XIV is famous for having declared "the state is me."

Contribution to the Discussion on the Finite and Infinite

Infinity: The Ultimate Perspective

Some time ago, we printed translations of two important articles from the Shanghai journal *Dialectics of Nature*. This journal was published by Chinese revolutionaries from 1973 through the end of 1975. The two articles were authored by Bian Sizu, and titled "Matter Is Infinitely Divisible" (RW No. 122) and "The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness" (RW No. 135). The appearance of these articles aroused great interest, sparking correspondence on these questions which can be found in RW issues 141 and 214. The following was submitted as a contribution to the continuing discussion.

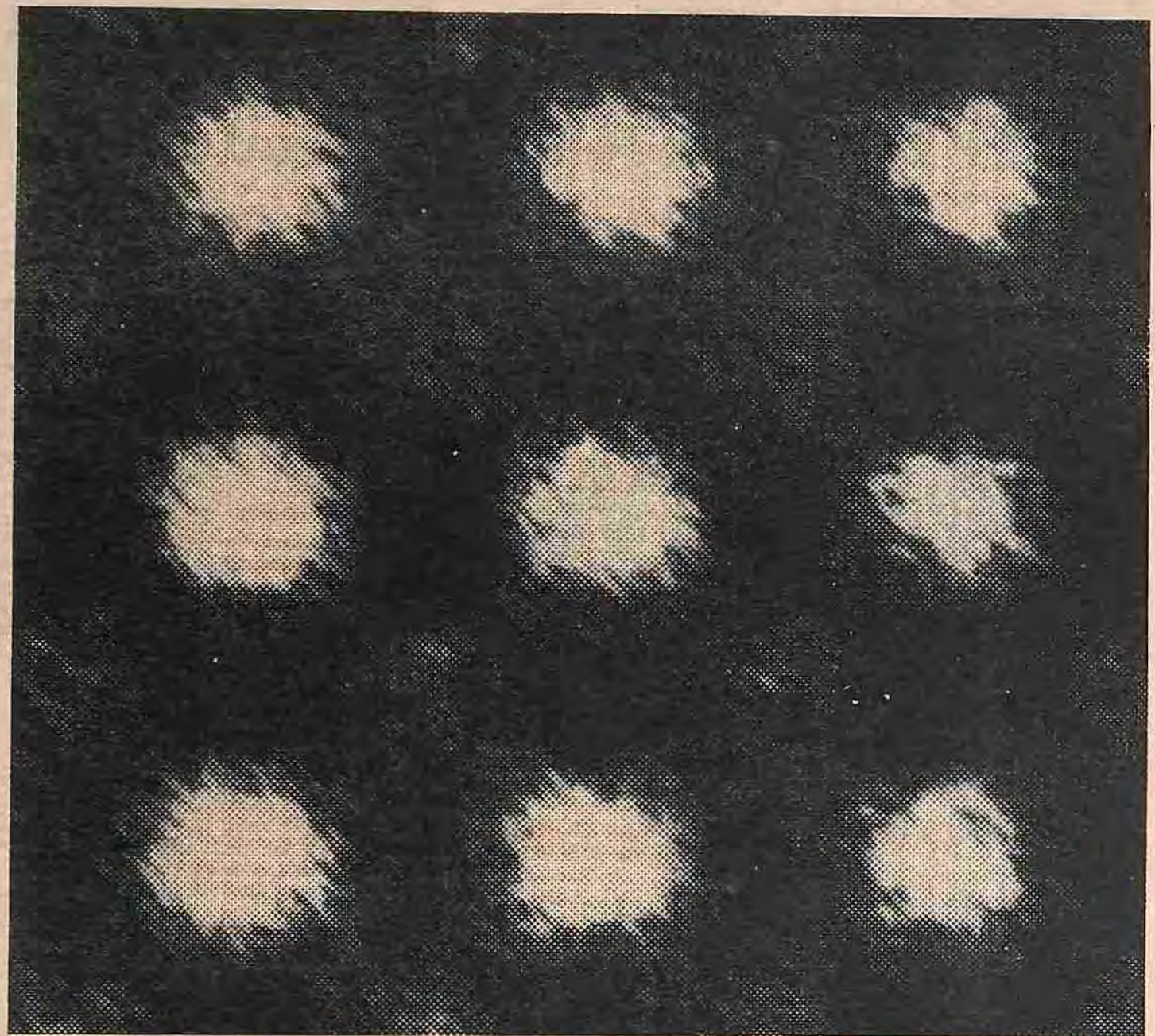
Carl Sagan states that his intention in the book *Cosmos* (and the TV series) is to deal with perspective. The ultimate question of perspective, the most "cosmic" form of this question, is that of infinity. Does matter, everything that exists (in his opening sentence Sagan defines the term cosmos as "all that is or ever was or ever will be"), have a final boundary or a beginning or an end? Or is it possible to speak of the entirety of all existing matter as if it is a concrete existing whole thing? And if only concrete, particular, individual things exist, can there be such a statement that the universe is infinite, boundless and timeless? This is the question of the relationship between the universal and the particular in terms of infinity in space and time. Thus the question of infinity is an aspect of the most fundamental question of dialectics. *On Contradiction* states that "This truth concerning general and individual character, concerning absoluteness and relativity, is the quintessence of the problem of contradiction in things: failure to understand it is tantamount to abandoning dialectics." (Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 330)

Sagan comes to deal specifically with the question of infinity, of extension in space, of beginning and end, in the context of the big bang theory. He takes this theory as his starting point. He then poses two alternative modes of development, and with each mode, he disposes of God as a solution to the question of origins (although with some reluctance).

The first mode of possible development is the ever-expanding universe, beginning with the big bang. But there arises here the more difficult question of what happened before that. "In many cultures it is customary to answer that God created the universe out of nothing. But this is mere temporizing. If we wish courageously to pursue the question, we must, of course ask next where God comes from. And if we decide this to be unanswerable, why not save a step and decide that the origin of the universe is an unanswerable question? Or, if we say that God has always existed, why not save a step and conclude that the universe has always existed?" (*Cosmos*, p. 257)

The second mode of possible development is an infinitely oscillating universe, a constant process of repeated expansion and contraction, with the big bang as the end of each cycle, and the jumping off point of each new oscillation. In terms of origin, he relates that the Hindu religion is "the only one of the world's great faiths dedicated to the idea that the Cosmos itself undergoes an immense, indeed an infinite, number of deaths and rebirths." (p. 258) He finds the Hindu idea that the universe is but an endlessly recurring dream of the god, and the idea of infinite universes each with its own god dreaming the cosmic dream, a "deep and appealing notion." Still, his final summation expresses the thought that these great ideas are tempered by "perhaps" a still greater one. "It is said that men may not be the dreams of the gods, but rather that the gods are the dreams of men." (p. 258)

There is another reference to God as creator in Chapter 2, where Sagan deals with evolution and natural selection. He states that natural selection is a far more



Infinity in the concrete: first electron microscope photograph of atoms as they exist in a solid, zirconia.

compelling explanation for the organization of life than that of a Great Designer. And he argues further that qualities of natural selection, trial and error and inability to anticipate the future, are inconsistent with an efficient Great Designer. But he seems reluctant to just leave it there, and adds parenthetically, "(although not with a Designer of a more remote and indirect temperament)." (p. 29)

In all this it seems that Sagan tends to think of the universe, the Cosmos, as some thing, as a whole with many parts. Thus the door is left open for some Thing else to exist. Bian Sizu writes, "As long as the universe has a boundary, then there is an 'other side world' outside the universe. There, then, exists a residence for God." (RW 135) (And the opportunity for a reactionary ruling class to proclaim its divine right to rule.) Sagan is resolutely against such a proclamation, and does much to debunk the notion of God upon which it rests. But there is a problem, and a comment in "Another reader's" letter (RW 214), written in a somewhat different context, is applicable here. "The problem arises in trying to turn infinity into finiteness, and thus attempting-possibly to turn a concrete expression of the Universe into the Universe."

The universe cannot be understood as some thing. If the universe is not understood as both finite and infinite, both with and without boundary — the universe infinite, the concrete expression of the universe finite (as Bian Sizu expresses it) — then questions remain about origins, and what is out there beyond. . . . The door is open for god.

This problem has special reference to the big bang theory, which Sagan relies upon, although not in an absolute sense. Using Bian Sizu, "Another reader" shows how the big bang theory, useful in some ways to the proletariat, must also be understood as a limited and one-sided scientific premise. As such, it gives a new lease on life to attempts to reconcile science with religion. This is because it

can readily be used by the idealist to describe an act of creation, the creation of the universe out of nothing. And then the question, who did the creating?

So on two counts Sagan finds himself on shaky ground as he pursues the truth that there is no God, no creator. The universe is not some thing. The universe is infinite, every concrete expression of the universe is finite. The big bang theory is not the beginning of the universe. Though Sagan in some ways avoids the idealist trap, he is still vulnerable, and his reluctance to give up entirely on divinity shows this.

"Do we live in a universe that expands forever or in one in which there is an infinite set of cycles?" (*Cosmos*, p. 260) Thus Sagan poses two alternative conceptions of infinity. In fact, neither speaks to an infinite universe, and Sagan himself finds both cosmologies a little depressing. In the first, some 10 to 20 billion years ago, the universe begins somehow with the big bang, with matter continuing to disperse. The quantity of matter in the universe is not sufficient to exert enough gravitational force to cause a reverse action. Thus the universe "expands forever, the galaxies mutually receding. . . the stars cool and die, matter itself decays and the universe becomes a thin cold haze of elementary particles." (p. 259)

This must be criticized on two counts. Bian Sizu argues that no matter how long or how far the universe expands, it is always a finite universe that does the expanding; "how can an infinite universe possibly expand?" Likewise, it is a doomsday scenario of the universe, as Sagan himself describes it, a universe with an origin and doomsday. But in one of the key insights in the Bian Sizu article, we read, "The universe as a whole cannot have an origin and doomsday, because the universe as a whole is not a concrete thing (like a table, chair, or cup), not a closed system." So this cosmology cannot express infinity in space. No matter how long or how far the universe ex-

pands, "no matter how potentially infinite its expansion at any given moment, the universe is always finite. . . how can an infinite universe possibly expand."

Nor can the statement that this concrete universe has always existed express infinity in time. Infinite time does not exist as a concrete entity. There are only finite times of all material forms, all of which have a birth, development, and death. Infinite time exists within these concrete times, as their sum total. "Another reader" puts it this way, that the universe is infinite in time, "not 15 billion, or 15 billion billion years — not time of any concrete measurement at all."

This infinite regression scenario looks a lot like the Newtonian picture that Bian Sizu criticizes as being materialist, but also metaphysical, rightly expressing the finite transforming into the infinite, but not the infinite transforming into the finite. Newton proposed a universe like a big box without boundary, with matter homogeneously distributed, and moved by gravity in a constant series of motions, that is, an infinite series. The big bang/entropy scenario differs in that it is entropy that forces matter to disperse, but it likewise disperses in an infinite series, without boundary. The truth that is hit upon here is that the finite constitutes the infinite. But what is missed is the infinite realized in the finite, transposed into the finite. Infinity forever remains potential infinity. The big bang/entropy universe is a finite universe.

That this scenario is not favored by Sagan seems clear in that he spends the majority of his efforts on the second scenario, an infinitely oscillating universe, in which gravity is the dominant force. The big bang is but the end of the previous cycle, "expansion followed by contraction, universe upon universe, Cosmos without end." (p. 259) Does this cosmology express infinity?

Sagan applies to this oscillating universe

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The 1983 March on Washington

THE AMERICAN DREAM ROAM

and The Real Way Out of the Nightmare

On August 27, 1983, the twentieth anniversary commemoration of the 1963 march on Washington, called under the slogan "We Still Have A Dream!" by a coalition of forces initiated by political representatives of the Black bourgeoisie, drew some 250,000 to the capital. What are the social contradictions and class forces giving rise to such an event; what do the political forces and programs manifested there reveal about the situation shaping up in the world; and how in this light can the behavior of these various forces and the necessary behavior of proletarian revolutionaries be seen: these are the questions which must be addressed if one is to pierce the fog of both unqualified and somewhat qualified praise of this march from various quarters.

Billed as a commemoration of the 1963 march on Washington, the 1983 version in some respects was indeed a commemoration and a continuation of the "historic tradition" of its forerunner, but under different conditions and with different aims. The 1963 march, aptly called by Malcolm X a circus led by clowns, was a desperate attempt on the part of the U.S. ruling class in league with various "respectable Black leaders" to channel the growing protest and rebellion of the Black masses into acceptable channels. It has been well exposed how Kennedy, fearing that the march would be a real mass outpouring, summoned Wilkins, Randolph, King and other Black bourgeois leaders to the White House for coffee and put them at the head of the march. Well, the Black bourgeoisie still can't turn down the coffee. The "lofty" dream which Martin Luther King intoned twenty years ago — the tired refrain of the house slave begging to rise to the "majestic heights" of sitting down at the masters' table — and the strategic goal of these class forces, the goal of "getting in" on the action of U.S. imperialism, were proclaimed loud and clear by the so-called new "civil rights leaders" from the pulpit at the Lincoln Memorial in 1983. But this march occurs under different conditions; and with higher stakes all-around, one can only say that if the first time was a farce, the second time was worse.

This time around, the march was not a question of immediately diverting a threatening rebellion of the masses, but a question of preparation and positioning for the future. It should be clear: there is no "civil rights movement" — that movement was transformed and developed into a powerful revolutionary upsurge of the Black people and in large part the "we want in" program was repudiated in practice by a significant section of the Black masses in the 1960s. Anyone who is calling himself a "civil rights leader" today is nothing but a pimp in priest's clothing. And while it is also true that today there is not the kind of revolutionary upsurge which developed in the '60s and the class polarization among the Black people has resulted in part in a significant social base for the line of "we want in," the important thing is to understand the underlying contradictions, and as Marx pointed out, what the masses will be compelled to do by the development of contradictions in the world. This march was not the product of a "new civil rights movement" but the product of the separate but related needs of two different class forces in particular — the U.S. imperialist ruling class and the Black bourgeoisie.

With the imperialist system engulfed in

a profound and deepening crisis, which the imperialists can only resolve through a war between the West and the East blocs to redivide the world, the U.S. ruling class needs to mobilize and retain the loyalty of a large social base to fight and die to make America No. 1 again. As an extremely important part of this, the U.S. rulers need to rally and retain the loyalty of the Black masses and in particular to attempt to cash in on the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class forces among the Black people which the U.S. government made a conscious attempt to develop in the wake of the revolutionary upsurge of the 1960s. At the same time, and as a partial answer to their hopes of "fulfilling the American Dream" — that is, a "fair share" in the spoils of U.S. imperialism — the Black bourgeoisie (and, in a more contradictory way, the Black petty bourgeoisie) are compelled to "want in." Thus the political program advanced for the 1980s by bourgeois and aspiring bourgeois forces among the oppressed of "getting into and becoming somebody within the system" — a program which advances the parliamentary road (that is, the ballot and by all means not the bullet) and working within the system as the only "realistic solution" for the Black masses — is an attempt by the Black bourgeoisie to rally the social base for such a program which exists among the Black petty bourgeoisie and the better off sections of Black workers (and to also drag in as many of the lower strata as they can) as political capital in the achievement of their lofty dream of an equal spot at the imperialist table. And this program and outlook is also being widely advertised by the imperialist ruling class who have vigorously pushed this as the essence of the struggle against oppression and inequality (all except the part about the "equal" spot at the table).

D.C. Congressman Walter Fauntroy, the national coordinator of the march, expressed this outlook and program rather crassly when three days after the march he announced "phase two" of the work of the "New Coalition of Conscience": "It will be a classic get out the vote effort on Judgement Day, er — I mean payday, er — I mean election day." In other words, when these bourgeois politicians deliver the Black masses as their political clout — first at the ballot box, and then at the trenches — they will be judged fit to further cash in on the glorious future the U.S. ruling class has in store for the people of the world. But if this seems too crude, Martin Luther King Jr. made it clear himself 20 years ago in his famous "I Have A Dream" speech when he said: "So we have come to cash this check — a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice."

This brings to mind a statement made more than 100 years ago by Engels who pointed out that the "realm of reason" promised by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 18th century proved in reality to be "nothing more than the idealized realm of the bourgeoisie; that eternal justice found its realization in bourgeois justice; that equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the most essential rights of man; and that the government of reason, Rousseau's social contract, came into being and could only come into being, as a bourgeois-democratic republic."

But today is not the 18th century, the period of historically progressive

A N D S H O W

capitalism. Given the realities of modern imperialist relations (not to mention the fact that the first gentleman to preside over the American Realm of Reason was an outright slavemaster), the ideal "realm of freedom" of Martin Luther King Jr. and his dream — before the words had even left his lips — were nothing but the dream of rewards for services rendered as a political broker for the present-day slavemasters and amounted to calling on the masses to uphold the ideals of a rotting corpse. Twenty years, and a somewhat less glorious presentation, have only enhanced the stench considerably.

A Profound Contradiction

However, the U.S. ruling class and the Black bourgeoisie are compelled by their different but related class interests to advance such a program and to drag the masses into political life in an extremely contradictory and potentially explosive situation — a situation in which both national oppression and the class polarization among the Black people are intensifying. While there is a social base, and one which is somewhat broader than existed prior to the 1970s, for social chauvinism, reformism and "Black American patriotism," at the same time the material situation of the masses of Black people does *not* correspond to these politics. The same crisis which is lending urgency to the calls for safe reformism, for "we want in" and for "Black patriotism" is simultaneously driving huge sections of the Black (and other oppressed) masses into ever deeper misery — and potentially into profound feelings of "we want out" of this imperialist system.

Only three weeks before the march on Washington, the *New York Times* reported that the latest official census statistics revealed that the poverty rate among Black people overall was 35.6% in 1982, nearly three times the poverty rate for whites and *higher* than it was in 1972 when it was 33.3%. The poverty rate for Black children was officially figured at 47.0%. Meanwhile, no sooner had the march on Washington ended than a Black astronaut was in orbit providing a role model for Black youth who, all the bourgeois studies indicate, would be "lucky" to get a job selling Star Wars glasses at McDonalds. A Black Miss America was chosen singing "Happy Days Are Here Again" while 70% of Black families below the poverty line are headed by women. And Jesse Jackson was being flown around to the troops in West Germany, compliments of the U.S. Army, talking about how the U.S. is one of the few countries in the world where you get to elect the commander-in-chief, and preaching at the Berlin Wall about how "this is where freedom stops and tyranny begins." Can we not draw some correlation between the rate at which the material conditions of the masses of Black people are deteriorating and the rate at which all this clap-trap American Dream ideology is being shoved down their throats? Sure there's a class base for this line, and it is bigger than it was when Lyndon Johnson launched his so-called War on Poverty, and this shit is paralyzing and demoralizing people even among the proletariat. But is it not also a product of a real and growing gap which the U.S. ruling class has to try to paper over, a gap which will become even more gaping as what they have in store for the future comes clearer into view?

This is a big contradiction facing the

ruling class. It is also the case that their ability to build up bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces as a buffer to help divert and suppress the Black masses is being undermined by the very crisis which is gripping their system as a whole, though they must and will devote efforts to build-up such forces and especially to entice them into being political firefighters. This contradiction was reflected in an editorial in the *New York Times* on the usefulness of a Black presidential candidate, when they make the point that: "The question for black America and all America is how to consolidate the civil rights gains of the past and press for equality in new ways. Whether a black runs or sprints in 1984, the best weapon for promoting the welfare of black America is the ballot."

What they mean here, if we may be permitted to put their liberal jargon in perspective, is that it is a pressing necessity for the Black bourgeois forces and the U.S. ruling class to *consolidate* a social base among the Black petty bourgeoisie and better off workers, to cash in now on this potential base for American patriotism and to utilize their influence to try and drag the oppressed, even kicking and screaming, into the bourgeois political process. This was exactly a major purpose of the march on Washington: to make headway in consolidating such a social base. (And we should note their emphasis is on *consolidating*, not expanding this base. The decades of the '60s and '70s are over; there is no plan for, or ability to engineer, a major new "move on up" for a section of the Black masses. Crisis and war are what lie ahead.)

The organizers of the march did not attempt to turn out the dispossessed Black masses. (There were few posters for the event to be seen in the D.C. ghettos in the months of preparation for the march, for example.) In fact you might say the proletariat was not invited, and was notably almost completely absent from this event. The *Washington Post* even ran an article on this point noting that many Black people from Washington, D.C. did not go to the march. And, as in other large cities, the great majority of Black masses are by no means middle class. The fact that the class forces organizing the march did not want the proletarian masses of the oppressed at their big commemoration is another indication that, even while they hope to stifle and even influence them, they view these people as quite a problem and that is certainly favorable for the proletariat. The fact that there were not any significant number of proletarians there to oppose the politics of the march indicates something about the objective situation *and* that revolutionaries have some work to do.

Black Middle Class

Overwhelmingly the Black people who did attend, comprising about 60% of the march crowd, were from the petty-bourgeois strata and the better off sections of the working class. Many of these forces had in fact been active in the early '60s in the civil rights movement or took that as their political frame of reference. And there was a smaller number which had been drawn into the revolutionary upsurges of the '60s but who, due to the objective situation and their class position, express the kind of cynical "realism" which has quite a bit of currency with formerly revolutionary forces among the petty bourgeoisie. Also evident was the contradictory mood among these strata which corresponds to their class position. On the one hand they have

to some extent tasted the fruit of the American Dream and are now faced, if not with a serious threat to their position (which many do face), then certainly with the fact that their aspirations for further advancement are clouded not only by the overall crisis of imperialism but by the intensification of national oppression.

This has given rise to a somewhat contradictory mood among these forces, alternating between conservatism of the "hold onto what you got" variety and militant reformism. One interesting development along these lines was the appearance at the march of Louis Farrakhan, of the Nation of Islam, who normally espouses militant separatism and likes to maintain somewhat of a distance between himself and the politics of the more exposed political representatives of the Black bourgeoisie. In his speech, Farrakhan (who trades off the militant reputation of Malcolm X even while his own initial rise within the Muslims coincided with the censure of Malcolm by that organization) made a big point of distinguishing himself from the historical stand of the Muslims when Malcolm was influential. "Many people have asked me, 'Brother Louis Farrakhan, why are you here to march when 20 years ago, when Dr. King marched, the Nation of Islam under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad was not present?' And I say to you in answer to that question, I am here today because I realize and recognize that every Black man, woman and child in this country, indeed, every Black person on the earth has benefited from the civil rights movement and the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King and all of the martyrs who shed their blood to make his dream a reality." Farrakhan then went on to quote George Washington and Abraham Lincoln to show how America has failed to live up to their vision and to militantly declare his support for "making America overcome its propensity toward racism." Farrakhan's militant rhetoric combined with fence-mending was very well received by the crowd and indicates something about both sides of the mood of the Black petty bourgeoisie these days.

In a somewhat different category, the stand of various revolutionary nationalists is also worth noting. While some participated and "critically" tailed the politics of the march, overall these forces mostly engaged in tailist abstentionism — that is neither participating in nor exposing the politics of the march. This indicates both dissatisfaction with the leadership and politics of the event, on the one hand, but on the other hand, a stance which is still governed by nationalism. This is reminiscent of the phenomenon during the 1970s where many revolutionary nationalists, who during the revolutionary upsurge of the '60s stood sharply with Malcolm against the bootlicking of Martin Luther King Jr., attempted to reconcile the two — due to both the objective situation (the ebbing movement) and their own nationalist outlook.

That the organizers of this march were hip to the contradictory mood among these class forces was indicated (as was the direction they are leading in) when they tried to get people at the rally to sing "America the Beautiful" and were forced to preface it with an explanation that even though they realized that many people wouldn't be too happy about singing praise to America today, still they should join in the song with the spirit of "bringing America back to the people."

The March's Program, Or War Time and the Black Bourgeoisie

This refrain of "making America fulfill its promise" was at the heart of the program advanced at this march under the slogan of "Jobs, Peace and Freedom." Hailed on the "left" as a sweeping progressive platform which objectively poses a "challenge to the capitalist system," this platform is, on the contrary, a reactionary platform designed to rally a loyal opposition (with the emphasis on loyal) and has the particular feature of being both profoundly American social-chauvinist and offering considerable maneuvering room for the revisionists of the Communist Party, USA (who are maneuvering like crazy in these political waters).

Is it a shock that the class forces leading this march have to come around and say "make America fulfill its promise"? Did anyone seriously expect them to come around and say, "America has fulfilled its promise," and that what it promises for the future is to drag the masses into untold misery and destruction? Maybe somebody thought they could get up and say, well, we've got more than 20% unemployment in the ghetto and more than 50% unemployment among the youth — see America has fulfilled its promise — so go join the Army and be all you can be? Are they expected to tell the Black masses that all their talk about a "new social contract" for jobs has never amounted to anything more than the so-called American Dream for certain strata of the oppressed while the masses of oppressed get the American nightmare? Or that the American Dream handouts that have been offered to a section of the oppressed people here are based on the position of the U.S. as number one economic power in the world and maintaining and expanding that position means war regardless of how many times and how many people talk about "re-ordering priorities"? Of course they're not going to do that. It would be quite contrary to their class interests.

As to the demand for Freedom, here too America has certainly fulfilled its promise to the oppressed all over the world and a million times over. The concept of freedom under imperialism becomes bizarre when it is pointed out that in the routine workings of the system this "freedom" translates out to the fact that over 8% of all Black people are arrested each and every year. There are more than 600,000 people who are currently prisoners in the U.S. — one of the highest percentages of prisoners in the world — and more than 50% of them are Black. Twenty-five percent of all the people arrested in the U.S. in any given year are Black. Actually, a fair idea of U.S. imperialism's notion of freedom and jobs was provided by chief justice of the Supreme Court Warren Burger's proposal that prisons be turned into "factories with fences." Perhaps this was a solution to the dilemma posed by M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition, in a *New York Times* roundtable discussion after the 1983 march which touched on the problem of the growing number of impoverished Black masses: "You've got really only a couple of options. Either you are going to make them a part of the economic future you're planning or you're going to spend

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Nightmare

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money, as the states and cities are spending it now, on how do we get them into jails as fast as we can." It really does make one wonder just what Coretta King is talking about sharing when she says, as she did at the march, that she does not just want freedom for people in this country but for people in El Salvador, South Africa and so on. But the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have always had more than their share of freedom à la Americana (and more than their fill of people like Mrs. King, too).

Historically the Black bourgeoisie has always led the charge under the banner of "progressive imperialism." Especially in war time it has been the program of such class forces to support the war effort and "fight for recognition" — promoting a kind of perverse reverse logic like focusing the attention of Vietnam veterans on the fact that they haven't been honored! In this regard it is worth noting a comparison drawn by Black social democrat Manning Marable, which appeared in the special issue of *The Guardian* newspaper distributed at the march, where he states that the 1983 march on Washington has, in his view, more in common with the 1941 march on Washington called by A. Philip Randolph, than with the 1963 march. "Thus, despite the formal title of a 'twentieth anniversary march,' the potential and force of this mobilization and its linkage of these major democratic and anti-corporate demands evokes greater parallels to the more militant 1941 march."

The 1941 march on Washington was a march that never happened. The situation among Black people at the time was explosive, especially among Black workers and urban poor. Walter White, the executive director of the NAACP at the time, described the scene as follows, "Discontent and bitterness were growing like wildfire among Negroes all over the country." In addition and related to the outrage brewing over the intensifying national oppression, there was also quite a bit of nationalist anti-war sentiment among the masses of Black people on the grounds that World War 2 was a "white person's war." All of this threatened to cause serious problems for the U.S. imperialists as they prepared to go to war.

In response to this A. Philip Randolph, together with other Black bourgeois forces, organized a movement for a march on Washington in 1941 around demands for an end to discrimination in defense industry hiring and in the military itself. As Black historian Vincent Harding pointed out, the purpose of the march was two-fold — to channel the protest of the Black masses into "non-radical" forms of struggle and to enable the Black bourgeoisie to use its influence among the masses as leverage in their dealings with the federal government. The march on Washington was cancelled one week before it was supposed to happen due to a deal worked out between Randolph and President Roosevelt, in which Roosevelt signed an executive order formally ending discrimination in employment in defense industries and setting up the Federal Employment Practices Commission to police the situation.

One really owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Marable and *The Guardian* for making this comparison to the 1941 march which so beautifully concentrates the slogan Jobs and War, or maybe War and Jobs (if one is counting on the U.S. to win the next big one). We think there is much truth to this comparison and it makes it harder for *The Guardian* to accuse us of being sectarian when we point out that all the peace mongering at the 1983 march is a means to prepare a section of the masses for war. Ironically, *The Guardian*, intending to do the opposite, has made the point themselves! With the ranks of "another warmonger for peace" swelling daily (and even Ronald Reagan getting into the act at the United Nations) it is hardly surprising to find the likes of Andrew Young talking about a broad coalition based on "disarmament." And it certainly shouldn't surprise anyone to find that the literature put out by the march coalition calls on "the American people to follow the leadership of the growing number of religious leaders and other leaders of conscience, who are seek-

ing ways to resolve world conflicts through non-violent means..." Like Jesse Jackson, for instance, who has demonstrated his ability to talk peace while riding in an army tank and keeping everybody in suspense about whether or not he's going to make a bid for commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces.

In sum, this march and this program reminds us of Lenin's point that "never do governments stand in such need of agreement with all the parties of the ruling classes, or of the 'peaceful' submission of the oppressed classes to that rule, as in the time of war." This program advanced by the leaders of this march and advertised on the left as "broad" and "progressive," ad nauseam, is precisely designed to accomplish that mission of submission. Frankly it's really no different than anything the Democrats come up with at election time. And while we might be tempted to label it a bad-dreamer's program to "move imperialism to the left," it is in fact a program to move the masses of people under the imperialist banner for war.

Role of the CP

The pro-Soviet CPUSA found considerable room within the framework of "turning the country around and bringing the real America home" for maneuvering to increase their influence and advance their strategy of "historic compromise" — a strategy which combines gradualism with putschism, whereby they seek to position themselves for an alliance with a section of the U.S. bourgeoisie which, in a drastically altered world situation, would see it in their own national interest to pursue a course more favorable to the global interests of the Soviet bloc. Thus, the apparent contradiction of the pro-Soviet CP supporting this march and the program of the Black bourgeoisie which is fundamentally pro-American should be viewed not merely as fuddy-duddy reformism but as a part of this strategy. What they especially like about such a program is that it is fundamentally pro-imperialist and they are banking on big world events to decide the issue of which imperialism, U.S. or Soviet, such a line will serve. The politics of this demonstration, especially the emphasis on anti-Reaganism, were quite agreeable to them and they declared in the July-August issue of their journal *Political Affairs* that the preparation, mobilization and organization for the August 27th demonstration was of "first priority in our work." Summing up the 1984 elections as "turn-around elections," the CP views the formation of a broad "anti-Reagan front" as a good opening for increasing their influence among certain sections of the people, particularly those class forces mobilized for this march. In the same issue of *Political Affairs* cited above, the CP states: "The fact that many involved in this movement, say, like Harriman, MacNamara, George Kennan, etc., will never support an anti-monopoly people's front, does not mean that they cannot be part of an all-people's movement against Reagan's foreign policy. In any case, to prevent a nuclear holocaust is the only foundation for the building of any movement for social advance. The profound lessons drawn from this struggle will heighten the consciousness of the masses in the fight for higher and higher goals. The concept of an all-people's front to defeat Reagan is a temporary tactic corresponding to the present moment."

It is also significant to note that apparently there was struggle among the forces leading this march over the question of uniting with revisionist forces and that the CP had some success. A Joint Statement of the Central Committee of the CPUSA and the National Committee of the Young Communist League USA states that: "The march overcame and rejected anti-communism with which the administration and its agents among the people tried to divide and divert the broad all-people's front of struggle, represented in the mobilization, isolate the more advanced elements, and delimit the political horizons of the masses in the struggle for the kind of society in which the Dream can be made real." The CP itself marched in an open contingent of several hundred (appropriately under the big gray balloons used to signify "multi-issue groups"). Also significant was the fact that the morning rally before the march featured speakers from the pro-Soviet ANC of South Africa and the FDR of El

Salvador. Apparently, even while Jesse Jackson is off at the Berlin Wall talking about Soviet tyranny, at least some of the bourgeois forces leading this march think they might need a little Soviet clout to pursue their dream.

Anti-Reaganism

Overall, however, and given the current alignment of forces in the world, the political party of the hour was the U.S. imperialists' own "party of the people" — the Democrats. Anti-Reaganism was the unifying theme and the most discussed. This prompted the *New York Times* to note that: "Although it is too early to say what the coalitions on the left may do for the divided Democratic Party and its candidates, their efforts are almost all focused in that direction." This was seconded by Andrew Young who said, "There's no question that Ronald Reagan was the organizing factor that pulled this coalition together." And the echo resounded in every "left" paper from the CP to the Trotskyites to Amiri Baraka's *Unity* where Baraka declared: "His attacks on the workers movement, women, oppressed nationalities, the environment, the arts and relentlessly on the African-American people should have identified him as the maximum enemy of the multinational majority in this country. But because of the weakness of the movement, the weakness of the Democratic Party and Reagan's acting skills, it is not even 'even money' that he can get beaten in 1984. He still has a very good chance of getting re-elected! This is the fundamental reason why the August 27 return to Washington must be supported..." It is tempting here to say that if Ronald Reagan won the next election due to the fact that a significant section of Black masses put into practice the slogan "the Black masses, who have fought to get the right to vote, must now have the political sophistication and awareness not to exercise it!" that would be progress! It would mean an advanced section had begun preparing to be something other than pawns in a tired old and very deadly imperialist game. Noting that like the AFL-CIO Solidarity Day demonstration in 1981, the organizers of the march were attempting to channel discontent into the confines of the Democratic Party, *The Guardian* says "nevertheless, mass actions have a decidedly different impact on the people in the crowd" and then, in typical *Guardian* fashion, they go to quote "an activist with the El Salvador Initiative Campaign" to say "The Democratic Party would like not to discuss jobs, peace and freedom. This helps legitimize our issues and pressure the Democrats to address them."

Now, just what is being legitimized here is remarkably clear and it points out the fact that after all is said and done Ronald Reagan turns out to be a very versatile character for U.S. imperialism. In the 1980 elections, Ronald Reagan was particularly useful to advance one aspect of overall U.S. war preparations by facilitating the consolidation of their most loyal and reactionary social base, typified by the reinteral politics and ideology of the Moral Majority. The election of Ronald Reagan served not only to rally this social base, to rouse them with new vigor into the political arena, but also to puff them up and give new respectability to loud and blatant pro-U.S. chauvinism, open warmongering, and "nuke 'em all" anti-Sovietism. Now Ronald Reagan is proving quite useful in another respect — as an all-purpose "target" and rallying cry to consolidate and mobilize another very necessary side — a loyal opposition, without which no good imperialist war can be waged. Within this context, there are also disputes among the various class forces of how best to develop such a loyal opposition and how to best advance their own interests within this overall framework. And this sort of conflict was reflected at the Washington march, for example in the dispute among various Black bourgeois forces as to the desirability of a Black political candidate. But overall, the main aspect, as indicated by the very terms in which these differences are debated, is unity on the necessity of mobilizing their social base among the petty bourgeoisie and workers in the trade unions and dragging as many of the dispossessed as they can into the elections.

Whether a Black candidate or just a plain white Democrat is the vehicle, they need to get busy. As Jesse Jackson put it,

in an article which appeared in the newspaper of the Nation of Islam, *The Final Call*, "A bargainer without a base is a beggar." Jesse Jackson "preached" to the rally, "We must not focus so much on the strength of Goliath, but the courage and power of little David. The regressive Reagan regime won because David did not use all of his political rocks and did not pick up his slingshot. David has unused rocks just lying around. In 1980 Reagan won with a reverse coalition of the rich and the unregistered. Rocks just lying around. Reagan won in Massachusetts by 2500 votes. There were 64,000 unregistered Blacks. Rocks just lying around." Whether or not one interprets little David to be a reference to Jackson's own candidacy or as a more collective reference to the Black bourgeoisie overall, the main point is the same. The fact that the Black masses have to be dragged out to vote is not so much an indication of an advanced level of political consciousness and revolutionary mood these days, as it is an indication that they have been left out of the bourgeois political process. That the bourgeoisie is compelled to drag them into political life is only a further indication of the sharpening up of the contradictions in the world and events, far more earth-shaking than the 1984 elections, which the masses will be dragged into in the not so distant future.

There are, unfortunately, more than a few people, who see much of what is wrong with political events such as the August 27 march, who are still tempted to "be realistic" and to try to find some revolutionary justification for submerging themselves in "the action." To them we must recommend a good hard look at what the action is and just where it is going. As the RCP leaflet passed out at that march put it, "There are those who 'want in' the imperialist system; the 1983 commemorative march on Washington and the criminal program it represents is tailor-made for them." Should a revolutionary really want to tail such ambitions? It is correct, of course, to want to relate to significant political events such as these, but the question is *how*. And the revolutionary answer is by exposing the real essence of the program of the march — and bringing forward the revolutionary programme in opposition.

As for realism, again we must ask first and foremost, realism for what? A realistic program for imperialist war and national oppression or a realistic program for revolution and an end to oppression. We must get beneath the superficial. Yes, today there is motion by the Black bourgeoisie and by the imperialists to get the Black masses (or some of them) into political life. But why? Once that question is asked and scientifically answered, then it becomes clear that there are other, even more profound, events stirring. The same forces that are producing the need to get Black people mobilized under the reformist and social-chauvinist banner of the sort raised by this march are also producing the basis for real, revolutionary events in the future. Not only has U.S. imperialism produced a Black bourgeoisie (and a petty bourgeoisie which — with important contradictions — provides a base for their line); it also has produced a proletariat and is today driving vast sections of people — including Black people — deeper into oppression. The imperialists want and need to mobilize people as part of a base for war and worldwide reaction; but at the same time they are driven to further oppress them and ultimately drag them to the frontlines. Is it realism to overlook all this, or to dismiss it as irrelevant for revolutionary strategy? Hardly.

Even to win over, or at least neutralize, large sections of the petty bourgeoisie among Black people it is necessary *not* to tail them. Instead it is necessary to expose the program under which many of them are today being mobilized, to carry out all-around revolutionary work among all sections of the people, but especially among the lower sections of the proletariat — and on *that* basis, as events in the world unfold, to lay a real and solid basis for winning support for revolution from these middle strata.

The 1980s will bring profound revolutionary opportunities around the world, including possibly here in the U.S. It would be a shame — and worse — to throw them away for the sake of marching behind a circus led by clowns. □

Note to RW Readers: We are reprinting the German translation of the call to "Desert America's Warmongering, Be At The European Frontlines"

with grammatical corrections made by a German supporter.

German translation of the call to "Desert Americas Warmongering, Be At The European Frontlines"

Desertiert Die US-Kriegshetzerei! Seid An Den Kampffronten In Europa!

Schnell nähert sich der Countdown Null um die Stationierung der ersten US-Pershing II Raketen und der landgestützten Cruise Missiles in Europa. Gerade die Entschlossenheit und wesentliche Übereinstimmung jeder US-geführten westlichen Macht, den Weg zur Aufstellung der Raketen weiter zu bahnen, hat Millionen beigebracht, genau wie äusserst ernsthaft ihre Pläne doch sind, einen Weltkrieg gegen ihren sovietimperialistischen Gegner zu führen. Aber als sie die europäischen Kampffronten kühn weiter vorbereiten, tritt eine andere "Kampffront" hervor — als Menschen, besonders der Jugend, von quer durch Europa und noch weiter weg sich zusammenziehen, um diese ungeheuerliche Abscheulichkeit und ihren Begeher zu bekämpfen.

Besonders in der Bundesrepublik zieht sich die tiefste politische Krise seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg zusammen. Die Lage da wird sehr intensiv, äusserst kompliziert, und es wird viel auf dem Spiel sein. Es ist wichtig und dringend, dass etwas anderes als Raketen aus den USA nach Europa im Herbst reisen. Von den Universitäten, von den Bewegungen der Raketen-Gegner, der Feministinnen, und Einziehens-Gegner, sowohl auch von der pro-

letarischen Jugend wird ein Kontingent geschlossen werden, um diesen Oktober in die BRD zu fahren und sich dieser "Kampffront" direkt anzuschliessen. Die westliche und ostliche Bündnisse erheben fast täglich ihre betreffenden chauvinistischen Geschrei immer heftiger. Schnell erhöhen sie die eigentliche Kriegshetzerei zum allerletzten Weltentscheidungskampf. Ist es dann nicht mehr als ein wenig zugehörig, ihre Aufrufe um Patriotismus (bzw. engsten Eigennützten) zu bespucken in dem man Tausende von Meilen reist, über sogenannte heilige Grenzen, um neben denjenigen in Europa, die dazu kämpfen, die Zukunft von den Imperialisten zu entreissen, zu stehen!

Die die nie gezögert haben, ihr Napalm, Truppen, und Todeskommandos nach jeder Ecke der Erde zu schicken, und deren Militär die Raketestützpunkte bewachen werden, werden selbstverständlich das Kontingent bezichtigen, "ausenstehende Unruhestifter" zu sein. Gut — desto besser Grund, da anwesend zu sein! Die europäischen Ordnungshüter, die so tüchtig arbeiten, beides die Karotte und den Stock zu schwingen, um die immer steigende Opposition innerhalb der genehmigten Grenzen zu behalten (d.h.

genehmigt, für den imperialistischen Kriegsvorbereitungsbedarf) werden auch diese Gruppe kaum willkommen heissen. Nochmals — desto besserer Grund, die Art und Weise zu ersuchen, da zu sein. Aber ein noch besserer Grund, da zu sein, ist die Tatsache, dass viele in diesem politischen Kampf die jungen Menschen und andere aus den USA, die sich mit ihnen nicht nur im Geist, sondern auch sehr konkret anschliessen, nicht nur begrüßen, sondern auch von ihnen ermutigt sein werden. Die Augen der ganzen Welt werden auf diesen höchst wichtigen Entscheidungskampf gerichtet sein. Beantragt sofort Eure Reisepässe und fangt an, das Reisegeld zusammenzubringen!

NIEDER MIT DEN PERSHING UND CRUISE RAKETEN UND ALLEN KRIEGSVORBEREITUNGEN VON BEIDE OSTEN UND WESTEN!

EINE WELT OHNE IMPERIALISMUS, NICHT EIN IMPERIALISTISCHER WELTKRIEG!

ORGANISATORISCHER AUSSCHUSS "Für eine Welt ohne Imperialismus Kontingent" aus den USA nach das BRD — Oktober, 1983

Vets Sponsor Desertion To European Frontlines

To the RW:

The deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe is a fine example of what the rulers in this country have in store for millions of people around the world. And being participants in Amerikkka's 15-year long venture into peacekeeping in Southeast Asia, we learned first-hand as to what extent these bastards will go to keep their empire intact. We have no doubt that these so-called lovers of life will hesitate in any way to use these weapons, when they see the necessity to do so. Today their troops are practicing mass grave digging in W. Germany.

We feel that a contingent from the belly of the beast, joining with millions from around the world in opposition to the preparations by the U.S. and the USSR for WW3 is right on time, and because of lessons so bitterly learned, we assume that veterans from many imperialist wars will desert to West Germany in October. We urge as many as possible to do so.

But we also see the absolute necessity for a large contingent of future cannonfodder to be there on the frontlines.

Not only to show that there is a section of youth in this country that know they have absolutely no interest in defending the most murderous and oppressive country that has ever existed on the face of the earth, but what better place than in the midst of political battle, to struggle with, join with and learn from others who like themselves have been influenced by the trend of proletarian internationalism, and know that the people of the world have no interest at all in lining up with any imperialism, no matter what form it takes.

For these reasons our chapter of VVAW (AI) has decided to help sponsor a draft-age youth to West Germany. Chairman Bob Avakian once said, "Let the youth be in the forefront and let the old people be not far behind."

As the U.S. and SU prepare to incinerate millions, let the voice of youth be heard loud and clear, fuck you both, and your plans for WW3.

We will have a world without imperialism, not imperialist war.

A Vietnam veteran, who's a member of the Seattle chapter of VVAW (AI)



Contention

Continued from page 6

located in Paris), who are not hamstrung in their ability to "criticize" the socialist government in the same way as is the PCF.

In fact such a line plays right into the hands of French imperialism. One of the main arguments used by *Le Monde* in its vigorous public opinion campaign to intervene in Chad (begun well before the actual sending of troops) was that a strong French military presence was necessary to maintain France's influence vis à vis the U.S. He who has no troops has no "word" (to return to Mitterand's formulation) — a lesson which is also graphically shown in Lebanon, where France also is involved in joint action

with the U.S. while trying to fight for its own interests in the overall context of common participation in the Western alliance.

What the French imperialists, revisionists and opportunists of all stripes seek to cover up is that France itself is compelled by its very imperialist nature to seek a more favorable redivision of the world. That this can only be accomplished at the present time in unity with the U.S. and to a certain extent under its baton changes nothing about the predatory and reactionary nature of France's own interests.

In this light it is interesting to quote from an editorial in the Paris daily *Libération* when the French troops were sent — a newspaper historically connected with the "extreme left" and the May 1968 generation.

"With the return in force of French paras to N'Djamena, the world resembles

a little bit more the way both the Kremlin and the White House describe it: two camps, and only two camps, everyone pick a side. But *voilà*, you can't choose your camp any easier than you can pick your parents... you belong to it... The moderate third world-ism of the Socialist International together with a certain revitalized Gaulism furnished the theoretical framework for, if not a third path, at least a second-and-a-half path. This apparently modest project could hide a great plan: break the binary logic that dominates, just as computers, the politics of the Superpowers...

"Very quickly the third worldist good will of the French government collided with the reality of the great Western power (the U.S. — RW) who intends to remain such.

"... Together with the vestiges (sic) of its Great Power status menaced (by

Khadafy) France found itself also trapped in the logic of its Western alliance: one can hardly demand for oneself the right to not fall under the Soviet hammer while letting friendly governments to the mercy of a man who loves the USSR less than they say but more than he thinks. The major East-West conflict logically contradicted the North-South opening." (*Libération*, August 11, 1983)

Yes, an imperialist power doesn't pick its camp, it belongs. This is the reality that governs the essence of French policy at the current time; whatever long-term dreams the French imperialists may have of establishing their own independent imperialist camp, such ambitions must be subordinated to and pursued in accordance with the realities of the current world situation binding France ever more tightly into the U.S.-led bloc. □

Bloc-Building

Continued from page 1

"license to market" approval for sales to China. Such approval is usually not given by the U.S. government unless final approval is likely. It was also announced that the Chinese defense minister will come to the U.S. in the near future — presumably with a shopping list.

Weinberger also confirmed the decision made by the Reagan administration earlier this year to reclassify China's export status as a "friendly, non-allied country." Previously, China had been placed in a category more restrictive than even countries such as India. The new classification makes China eligible for sophisticated "dual use" technology — "civilian" technology with possible military applications, such as semi-conductors, software for computer aided design, high speed computers, etc.

Arms and "dual use" technology will not be the only military related things traveling to China. The Weinberger trip also produced an agreement for the start of military exchanges next year, involving reciprocal visits by U.S. and Chinese military officials. According to one U.S. official, the exchanges will deal with "training doctrine, military medicine and logistics to aid the modernization of the Chinese army." It is unclear at this point exactly what form the military exchanges will take, but it may turn out to be an important opening for the U.S. to nurture a core of U.S.-trained officers within the military that could act as a lever for U.S. influence. A UPI report speculated that the agreement "could lead to the first U.S. warship calling at Shanghai since the communist takeover in 1949." Just think, we might see U.S. arms, military advisors, and warships in "fiercely independent" China. (Of course, it's already well known that China houses U.S. "listening posts" aimed at the Soviet Union.)

At this point, however, massive infusion of military aid and shipment of heavier "offensive" weapons like tanks and aircraft in an effort to carry out a major modernization of the Chinese armed forces are not in the cards, as threatening as that may be to the Soviet Union. It is not only that such a task would require huge funds in the order of tens or even hundreds of billions of dollars. More to

the point is what kind of a role that the U.S. sees China playing for the bloc as world war approaches and actually breaks out. Essentially, China's value for the U.S. bloc is as a sort of a sponge that can suck up big sections of the Soviet military in defense of the long Sino-Soviet border or possibly in a difficult war inside China. China also serves as a club over the head of the pro-Soviet regime in Vietnam. On the other hand, a China with a significantly upgraded military capability might become somewhat less amenable to U.S. control and influence. (And that China might switch blocs is also a possibility that the U.S. imperialists are seriously taking into account.) According to a Pentagon defense guideline document "leaked" to the press earlier this year, the U.S. aim is to "enhance the durability of our strategic relationship with the People's Republic of China through a continuing program of military to military contact and prudent assistance... in defensive weaponry." In other words, the U.S. seeks to keep channels open to maintain influence and provide limited kinds and levels of weaponry, enough to keep China as a viable threat to the Soviets.

Contrary to their performance as "reluctant" objects of amorous advances by the U.S., the Chinese revisionists were no doubt quite happy with the results of the Weinberger visit. Arms sales, "dual use" technology transfers and the Reagan-Zhao exchange visits have all been goals that the revisionists have been pursuing for some time. For Deng & Co., economic and military "aid" from the U.S. and other imperialist powers in the bloc is still crucial. At the same time, they are aware of the fact that the U.S. sees China as a sponge to absorb the Soviets. It is largely in an effort to maneuver to lessen the dangers posed by the U.S. strategy and the Soviet threat, as well as to enforce their bargaining position vis-à-vis the U.S., that the Deng regime responded to Soviet overtures last year for negotiations to normalize relations. Weinberger's visit, in fact, was sandwiched between a visit to Peking by the Soviet deputy foreign minister and the start of a new session of Sino-Soviet talks.

The dominant line among the Chinese revisionists is still that it is in their best interests to keep themselves tied to the U.S. bloc. They feel that the U.S., Japanese, and West European imperialists are able

to provide more of the economic and military support they need than the Soviets. (Also, their assessment at this time is that the U.S. bloc is more likely to come out on top in the approaching conjuncture.) At the same time, however, there are tremendous objective pressures on China. The Soviet military presence right on the border poses a huge and immediate danger. And the U.S. obviously wants to use China to tie up and even absorb some of the Soviet military might. This situation fuels arguments for switching to the Soviet bloc, thus relieving China of the pressure from the Soviet military threat and avoiding the U.S. plans to use China as a sacrificial lamb. As things intensify and pressures mount on China, there is the possibility that the Soviets could forcibly wrench China from the U.S. bloc. In this light, the Taiwan question is a very sensitive issue for Deng. The U.S. has made it clear that it intends to keep its hold on Taiwan and continue feeding arms to the regime there. The pro-Soviet forces in China can, and probably are, using this point to attack Deng for selling out China's "national interests" and to argue against relying on the U.S. The Soviets have been openly hammering on the contradiction over the Taiwan question, proclaiming that in contrast to the U.S., the Soviet Union has never supported the concept of "two Chinas." The Deng clique, therefore, must try to put a certain emphasis on secondary contradictions with the U.S. and keep a certain facade of "independence," however flimsy it may be, even as they continue to tighten up their relations with the U.S. This could be seen not only during the Weinberger visit, but also during the voting on the U.S.-sponsored UN Security Council resolution condemning the Soviets for the Korean jet incident. While strongly criticizing the Soviets and calling for payment of damages to the families of passengers, China ended up abstaining on the resolution.

The U.S. is definitely worried about the implications of the Sino-Soviet talks. Improvements in Sino-Soviet relations might free up some Soviet troops from the border for deployment elsewhere, as well as open up opportunities for the Soviets to meddle inside China. There is also apprehension that China might make some kind of conciliatory moves in areas like Afghanistan or Kampuchea where China plays an important role for

the U.S. bloc by supporting the anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnamese forces. However, the U.S. is also concerned that putting too much intense and direct pressure on China at this point might lead to destabilization of the Deng regime, making the situation far worse. And the U.S. appears well aware that contributing to Deng's delicate condition is the possibility that masses of Chinese people may not be so easily turned into sponges when push comes to shove.

Weinberger's willingness to go along with playing the role of the "suppliant," as well as the series of conciliatory gestures made toward China recently, reflects a recognition on the part of the U.S. imperialists of precisely some of the pressures the Deng regime is facing. Besides the reclassification of China on export control, the U.S. reached an agreement last July allowing China more growth of textile exports for the U.S. than any other major exporters, ending a minor "trade war" in which the U.S. had imposed stiff quotas on Chinese textiles and China had hit back with an embargo on U.S. wheat and other agricultural and chemical products. Also near conclusion is an agreement enabling China to buy U.S. nuclear power equipment. And the Weinberger trip, of course, marks some leaps in the military sphere. By thus accentuating the positive developments in the U.S.-China relations and de-emphasizing the contradictions, the U.S. seeks to undercut the process of Sino-Soviet negotiations, or at least put up some obstacles in the way.

These recent moves for the U.S. to firm up relations with China, and especially the Weinberger visit, obviously raised the stakes for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had initiated the talks with China hoping to seize on and exacerbate the contradictions between the U.S. and China. Now the U.S. seems to have seized back the initiative. According to an article in the *New York Times*, U.S. officials are now watching to see what moves the Soviets will make in response. The Soviets, for instance, might go half way in meeting the Chinese pre-conditions for improving relations by agreeing to reduce Soviet troops in Afghanistan or to a troop pullback from the Chinese border area. As the *Times* article concludes, with Reagan's trip still many months away, "There is time for Moscow to act to stay in the game." □

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Infinity

Continued from page 7

the conception of a universe curved like a sphere, finite and unbounded, that is, a four-dimensional hypersphere. "... the universe as a four-dimensional hypersphere with no center and no edge, and nothing beyond." (p. 264) Such a universe has a closed shape, and light must be trapped within it. Thus he says it is perfectly correct to describe this universe which is closed and from which no light can escape, and beyond which there is nothing, as a black hole. Then there arises the possibility of a black hole, the universe, being also a passageway to other holes, other universes, so that there are many other universes. Being consistent with Sagan's description, one must conclude that these other possible universes all partake of the same characteristics of a curved sphere, finite and unbounded, a four-dimensional hypersphere, and all form the content of the eternally oscillating "universe."

What is described here is the universe that Bian Sizu criticizes in his remarks on Einstein, as being a "... boundary-less yet closed four-dimensional spherical space, identical to Hegel's circle." It does not express an infinite universe.

Hegel's circle had its origin in his attempt to counteract Newton's "bad infinity," an infinity that always remains potential, a straight line without end. Hegel proposed "real infinity" in which the infinite is realized in the finite. But he did so by picturing a circle, "a line reaching itself, closed and completely present, without starting or ending point" (as quoted in Bian Sizu). Hegel's conception was an advance over Newton, because it opposed the absolute separation of the infinite and the finite. But it is also a trap, because it is one-sided in the other direction; it equates the infinite with the finite. As "bad infinity," a cosmos eternally receding into space, is only potential infinity, so "real infinity," an eternally oscillating closed universe, is real finiteness.

I want to note here that I think "Another reader" errs in the specific way of criticizing the eternally oscillating, finite and unbounded universe that "A reader" (RW 141) upholds. "Another reader" calls it false infinity, and quotes Bian Sizu to this point: "The real infinity is infinity completed, and makes the infinite finite." The way I read that sentence, and the paragraph and sense of that section in Bian Sizu, is that the real infinity being referred to, is being referred to in order to criticize it, not to uphold it. This is because real infinity, like false infinity, also expresses a one-sided view... in this case, the infinite transforming into the finite. It is the position of Hegel and Einstein. I think it is in terms of Hegel's real infinity, which is real finiteness, that the eternally oscillating, finite and unbounded universe must be criticized, not in terms of false infinity (potential infinity).

The infinite universe, the sum total of all finite matter, is not some thing, is not ultimately an immensely large or infinitesimally small "apple pie," as Sagan calls it in one place. Both cosmologies that he first advances make it so. Infinity, the eternal, boundless universe, is only realized and expressed in particular, finite, and ever developing concrete forms of matter. But there is not end to such expressions. And no beginning, or limit. Thus the particular forms of matter in motion, as they constantly transform into new forms, are both temporary and timeless, both bounded and boundless, each finite whole is likewise the infinite aggregate of all matter. This is the contradiction, which will ever remain a contradiction, of the infinite and the finite.

Both the first and second cosmologies that have so far been described, in the main express an homogeneous, structureless universe, metaphysical matter, without differentiation or qualitative change. In this respect they are Newton's universe which, because of its materialist characteristics, was an advance in his time. And they are also Einstein's homogeneous universe. But, unlike Newton, Einstein reverted back to a homogeneous universe after Hegel's break with metaphysics and his expression of a level-type universe, matter with definite structure and divisible. Thus to posit a homogeneous universe these days represents a backward position that

reflects the declining period of capitalism, as Bian Sizu expresses it.

Sagan's predilection is clearly away from these homogeneous type universes, and for a level-type universe. He fights for this understanding. When he speaks of the massive and continuous explosions, and transformation in space that far outreach anything we have dreamed possible, and the process of cosmic evolution in which he says order and disorder are equally evident, he speaks of "clusters of galaxies, galaxies, stars, planets, and, eventually, life and an intelligence able to understand a little of the elegant process responsible for its origin." (p. 247)

But when it comes to resolving some of these basic questions that Sagan raises — homogeneous, vs. level, regression vs. cycle, it is disturbing to read him making such a statement as, "When the cosmic inventory is completed, the mass of all the galaxies, quasars, black holes, intergalactic hydrogen, gravitational waves and still more exotic denizens of space is summed up, we will know what kind of universe we inhabit." (p. 262) Such a statement follows from his misconception of the universe as if it is some thing, as if it is possible to make an accurate census of the total amount of matter in the universe, or to see to its edge. But it is also inconsistent with Sagan's usual methodology in *Cosmos*. The assumption of this statement is that more facts, the simple accumulation of more data, will automatically lead to a true conclusion on the nature of the material universe. More consistently, Sagan's method is in line with Stephen Jay Gould's theme that science is a human endeavor, that theory is not just a summation of facts. Gould writes, "But creative thought in science is exactly this — not a mechanical collection of facts and induction of theories, but a complex process involving intuition, bias, and insight from other fields. Science, at its best, interposes human judgment and ingenuity upon all its proceedings. It is, after all (although we sometimes forget it), practiced by human beings." (*Ever Since Darwin*, p. 125)

In discussing the specific question of the relationship between the infinite and the finite, this statement must be taken further. That is, to the relationship between philosophy and natural science. Bian Sizu's critique of false and real infinity is a philosophical critique, relying on dialectical materialism to resolve, not (and never) totally or exhaustively, but truly to resolve the dilemma of the contradiction between the infinite and the finite. "Therefore, in the theory of knowledge, the universe signifies the philosophical category of the universal, eternal, objective Nature, which is reflected in human consciousness through the continuous development of human beings' knowledge from small to big, increasing both deeply and comprehensively." Without dialectical and historical materialism, there can be no solution to this dilemma. But with it, we know right now that the universe is infinite, unbounded in time and space, in no sense a single whole thing. And likewise, we know that only particular things exist, and all our knowledge of infinity is dependent upon and reflects back upon particular and temporary forms that matter takes in its endless and relentless process of development — first of all known through natural science, and known philosophically as a summation of natural scientific knowledge, which itself is never simply an accumulation of data or a deduction of theory.

Sagan asks, "Will we ever come to an end in our understanding of the nature of matter, or is there an infinite regression into more and more fundamental particles? This is one of the great unsolved problems in science." (p. 220) We know the answer to this right now, though not in any sense that these answers exhaust truth or replace "the need for scientific investigation into every sphere of society," as Bob Avakian has put it, in a different context, in his questions to Gould. ("More Questions to Carl Sagan, Stephen Gould, and Isaac Asimov," RW 207) We know that we will never come to an end in our understanding of the nature of matter, that there is no such thing as the ultimate particle or the ultimate universe. We know this with the surety of philosophy reflecting upon, influencing, and summing up the findings of natural science, in the spiral-like development in

which "science and scientific understanding are influenced by and guided — correctly or incorrectly — by philosophical class outlook and struggle," as "Another reader" expresses it. The content of our knowledge of the nature of the universe at this time forms a guideline and a foundation for further and continual deepening and enriching of our understanding of the nature of matter, as a part of the class struggle. (Another of Avakian's points in that same reflection bears repeating here. That is, that ideas become a powerful factor in changing the world only as they become weapons in the class struggle, "grasped and applied by the advanced class in society.")

Sagan continually finds himself cramped and held in by the two cosmologies described here. At the same time, at every point, he tries to break away from any theoretical formulation that limits and restricts the understanding of the cosmos. He explores themes that go up against what Engels calls universe structures or models which "artificially 'circle' the infinite universe, and artificially impose upon the whole universe the laws of some local region" (as quoted in Bian Sizu).

In this spirit Sagan concludes his chapter on infinity with a third possible cosmology, one which "stirs the blood." He speaks of it as entirely un-demonstrated and religious in origin. "There is, we are told, an infinite hierarchy of universes, so that an elementary particle, such as an electron, in our universe would, if penetrated, reveal itself to be an entire closed universe. Within it, organized into the local equivalent of galaxies and smaller structures, are an immense number of other, much tinier elementary particles, which are themselves universe at the next level, and so on forever... upwards as well. Our familiar universe of galaxies and stars, planets and people, would be a single elementary particle in the next universe up, and the first step of another infinite regress." (pp. 265-67)

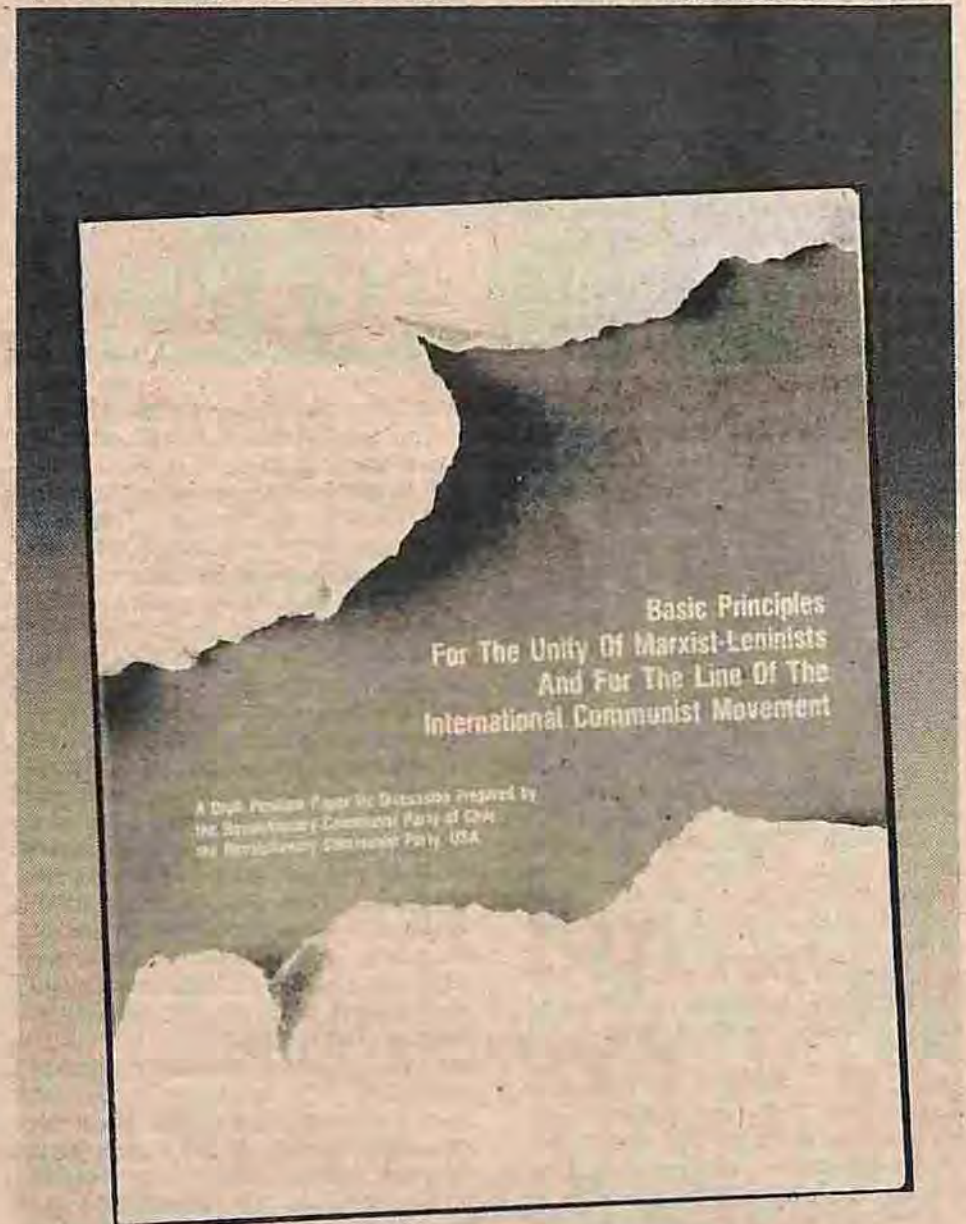
First, this "infinite hierarchy of universes" is explicitly a level-type

universe. Matter is discrete, and structured, although the fact of continuous qualitative change is not dealt with here. Second, the "infinite regress" is not the same as the regress in false, that is potential infinity, because here the infinite is contained and realized in the finite. The description here more approximates Bian Sizu's expression: "... the universe has become an inexhaustive series of 'universes'... every given finite whole is exactly the infinite aggregate of actual things."

Third, this cosmology is not the circled universe of real infinity, not a universe as if it is some thing. The elementary particle, which is in itself "an entire closed universe," also contains within it levels of universes, upward and downward forever. This again approximates Bian Sizu's expression: "... every level is a different state of aggregates of matter, each is both an inexhaustive 'universe' and a given finite whole."

This third cosmology does not address infinity in time. But it is not inimical to the understanding of a cosmos both bounded and unbounded in time. In fact, it lends itself to such an understanding, so that Bian Sizu's description of infinity in time can be applied to this cosmology without wrenching the meaning of either. "That is to say, one 'universe' is finished, and another 'universe' is born. The universe is in this way going continuously from quantitative changes to qualitative changes, in transition from one kind of material form to another, forever, without end and without boundary."

Sagan concludes the chapter musing on what other universe levels would be like, if they would be built on different laws of physics, with unimaginably different forms of life... musing on a cosmology that objectively moves toward and in search of a dialectical and materialist understanding of the universe. The universe, in "Another reader's" words, "the totality of all that exists, the totality of all matter in space and time," that is both finite and infinite, bounded and without boundary in space and in time. []



A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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Jonestown

Continued from page 5

bizarre. . . .” The House didn’t need to look very far to uncover CIA involvement. Leo Ryan’s administrative aide, Joe Holsinger, testified before another committee that he received a call in San Francisco from the Caribbean Desk of the State Department one hour after Ryan’s death informing him that three people were dead, possibly Ryan. A short time later, he got a call direct from the White House. The caller, a White House staff person, told him that five people were dead, including Ryan. Holsinger told the staff person that didn’t correspond with the previous call. The staff person replied, “Joe, our information is correct. We have a CIA report from the scene.”

In 1979, in the best traditions of imperialist fact-finding, then Secretary of State Cyrus Vance appointed two “retired senior foreign service officers,” John Hugh Crimmins and Stanley Carpenter, to investigate and produce the “official” government report. They faced the unenviable job of explaining away the State Department’s and embassy’s not acting on Temple defectors’ warnings of suicide rehearsals, gun- and drug-running, and kidnappings and beatings in Jonestown. But Crimmins and Carpenter came through, blaming the “ineptitude” on the embassy’s concern of violating the Temple’s rights under the First Amendment and Freedom of Information Act. It figures this would be their finding since, according to researchers, retired agent Crimmins began his career with the CIA in 1956, continued in 1963 in Miami as “Coordinator of Cuban Affairs” for subversive activities, and moved on to become Consul General in the Dominican Republic, where he supervised the invasion by U.S. troops in 1965. The hand of the U.S. government, especially the CIA, is evident at every turn in the “accepted version” of Jonestown: in trying to cover tracks and to invent evidence to fuel the story of the “mass suicide.” This is most evident in the story of the “suicide” itself, to which we will return later.

The Mind Control Thesis

The question of just what the U.S. government’s interest and involvement in Jonestown had been, just what it was they were trying to cover up, has given rise to a suggestion by many, including Joe Holsinger, that Jonestown was a “CIA mind control experiment.” In 1982, this view received some press, with a lawsuit brought against the U.S. government by a group of People’s Temple defectors, contending that Jim Jones, from 1963 until death, “was an employee, servant, agent or operative of the . . . Central Intelligence Agency.”

In part, this argument is based on parallels between certain of Jones’ activities, and the CIA experiments in the ’50s and ’60s which involved the use of mind-altering drugs like LSD, various torture techniques, and studies of such things as lobotomies and electroshock. In the course of cleaning up and investigating Jonestown after the deaths, the Guyanese government found two refrigerators stuffed with a wide range of mind-altering drugs, including thiorazine and sodium pentathol (truth serum).

A tremendous mystique has been built up around Jones’ “demonic” ability to get a group of people to act against their own interests and instincts. One House of Representatives report declared Jones (perhaps enviously) a “mind control genius.” But for all the notoriety given to this “genius,” the essence of Jones’ abilities remained at the end what it had been at the beginning — a mixture of old-time religion and politics. In the late 1950s, he had been a traveling evangelist with the usual repertoire of charlatan’s tricks — having the faithful talking in tongues and extracting an occasional “cancer” by psychic healing (that is, by magician’s tricks with cleverly hidden pieces of rotting chicken livers). Even at that early date, he spiked his act by opposing racism and spicing his spiel with Marxist phrases. Until the end, there remained his staples — though “Marxism,” in the form of utopianism and pro-Soviet revisionism, became much more important at the end. And throughout his career, it is doubtful if he came up with anything more sophisticated in the realm of “mind

control” than some of the grotesque rituals of confession developed by the Christian church in the Middle Ages.

The “mind control” thesis therefore totally misses the mark. Really, it is no different from *Time* magazine’s version which points to the “jungle only a few yards away” in the very “nature” of human beings — only the demon using magical powers to herd people to their deaths in this scenario is the CIA instead of Jones. Both versions of the “mind control” argument, despite the intentions of some who want to expose the CIA, give credence to the story that hundreds of Black people were responsible for taking their own lives, that this can adequately be described as suicide. One is supposed to walk away from this with the old lesson ever more firmly fixed in our heads: that civilization as we know it — and that means society sundered into classes, into oppressed and oppressors — is the thin border of barbed wire restraining our base instincts, however “imperfect” such civilization appears to be.

Moreover, the CIA seems to have been a central but by no means exclusive vehicle for the U.S. imperialists’ influence on the Temple. A fixation with the CIA connection fails to come to grips with the vast tangle of high-level contacts in the bourgeoisie maintained by Jones, or alternatively posits the intelligence agency as the behind-the-scenes hand guiding all, giving it far more power than it actually had. It seems clear that from the beginning, the Temple had achieved at least some fairly heavyweight connections in the government, and that Jones had grand ambitions in this direction. To be sure, the bulk of evidence indicates that many of the Temple’s early governmental ties were with the CIA — a Temple defectors’ lawsuit alleging such ties was thrown out of court on a technicality. Even this, though, doesn’t necessarily reveal some special relationship between the Temple and the CIA at this stage — the CIA had its hand in a lot of things in the ’60s, from the National Student Association to the Moonies. And like the Moonies, what became most important about the People’s Temple as time went on was not what went on inside it, but its increasing involvement on the larger political stage. The milestone in this changeover occurred after the Temple moved to San Francisco.

San Francisco

From his long-time base in Ukiah, Jones had gone on barnstorming trips across the country, holding meetings where he recruited new people to come to Ukiah, and sometimes setting up small branches of the People’s Temple. He gradually began to focus on San Francisco as a new headquarters and moved people and the center of his operation there. By 1976, the move was complete. Jones and the Temple almost immediately became a force in the bourgeois political arena, and at the same time, he introduced further changes in the internal life of the Temple.

The Temple, on the basis of its reputation of lifting people out of crime, prostitution, and drug addiction and of taking care of old people, continued to grow in San Francisco. But Jones’ main focus was not expanding the membership of the Temple itself, but developing a cohesive political force in the big city. He required his members to live communally, placing the Temple as the main source of information and knowledge. He was already discarding the more old-line spiritualism, substituting a mix of “Marxism,” patriotism, and utopianism, promising a paradise on earth. (Jones’ mix of “Marxism” and patriotism was neither unusual nor original — forces like the Communist Party USA, with which Jones was to be increasingly involved, had already long followed such a seemingly paradoxical political tack.) Just to make sure no Temple members would ask embarrassing questions about Jones’ brand of “socialism,” he had had all Marxist literature belonging to Temple members burned in 1972. Only “dad” was going to read — and interpret — such literature. This he did, quite openly. The Temple newspaper was laced with articles praising the Soviet Union and socialism-according-to-Jones.

It is at this stage that Jones began to pull together his well-known connections with the Rosalyn Carters and Tom Bradleys of the American political world, even as the CIA and undoubtedly other covert governmental links were extended. Jones

worked feverishly to build up a network of political contacts, protection and financial support, or in other words a big-city political machine. He was instrumental in getting George Moscone elected Mayor of San Francisco in ’75, providing the difference in a very close election by canvassing and by busing Temple members in from San Francisco to vote (Jones made sure that every member of the Temple was registered to vote — he was not one to miss out on any chips in the electoral game). Jones was rewarded for his services to Moscone by being appointed head of the San Francisco Housing Commission, where he fought for various liberal reforms, including passing a bill for the city to buy the International Hotel, then in the midst of a massive struggle over the eviction of older, mainly Chinese and Filipino, tenants.

At the same time he maintained, and attempted to use, the Temple’s credibility as an activist organization, at one time, for example, busing hundreds of Temple members to a demonstration supporting the threatened tenants of the International Hotel. As word of Jones’ ability to deliver spread, the ghetto temple was besieged by the vain and the glorious, from then Governor Jerry Brown, to Angela Davis, to business tycoon Cyril Magnin. Mayor Bradley of Los Angeles spoke for them all at a ceremonial dinner honoring Jones when he enthused, “Here, truly, is a man touched by God.”

One particular tie to the San Francisco establishment that stands out is Tim Stone, the People’s Temple lawyer and informal second-in-command. Stone had been Assistant DA in Ukiah when the Temple was headquartered there, and he quickly got a job as Assistant DA in San Francisco, a position which proved extremely valuable to Jones; local police and the District Attorney’s office not only ignored Temple members’ reports of beatings and suicide drills and other such things, they turned the names of these “traitors” over to Jones. On the other hand, Stone ultimately turned against Jones, as we shall see, and proved to be a formidable enemy.

Overall, the political connections Jones established in S.F. were to be immensely valuable. Almost nothing unfavorable to the Temple was published in the press until 1977, despite the scandalous goings-on inside, and despite the fact that Temple defectors were trying very hard to find anyone who would print exposures. Ultimately, for example, over 150 foster children in the care of Temple families were kidnapped to Guyana and died there. Though the State Welfare Department knew of the kidnappings, no charges were ever filed. Even after welfare checks came back to San Francisco after being cashed in Guyana, they continued to be mailed out. A California state official told his staff at the time not to investigate any charges of misconduct because “the case is dirty, that is, it had political problems and could be dangerous.”

While it is not clear exactly when Jones started to develop ties with the CPUSA, these ties apparently blossomed in S.F. It was a “natural” thing. Jones sought ties with the social movements in the Bay Area; the Temple looked progressive in a legitimate sort of way; Jones was an adept maneuverer in bourgeois political circles, with extensive ties; he emphasized both his patriotism and his socialist, pro-Soviet leanings; and he led an influential grouping of Black people. It’s hardly surprising that Angela Davis spoke at the Temple, and continued to support Jones after the move to Guyana.

The Winds Shift

After a relatively short period of glory in San Francisco, things started to turn against Jones. In the summer of 1977, the first significant attack appeared in the press, a partial exposure of some of the Temple’s disciplinary practices in a California monthly magazine, *New West*. Jones got wind of the article before it was even published and became extremely paranoid. He knew very well that if the bourgeoisie turned against him, they could tear him to pieces. Indeed, *New West* magazine was at that time beginning to take up with gusto a series of journalistic hatchet jobs for the bourgeoisie; this was no lightweight local press leak. There were other signs of unfavorable winds blowing against Jones in high places, too. Almost at the same time as the article appeared in print, the entire

Temple was on its way to Guyana — a move that had long been planned, but which was executed under pressure.

Strangely, the *New West* article barely mentioned Tim Stone — who, one might think, would be a big target, with his dual role as Assistant DA and leading light in the Temple. Shortly after the move to Guyana, he left the Temple entirely, and started to organize a well-funded Concerned Relatives organization to push for further attacks on Jonestown. Was *New West* simply protecting Stone as a news source? Or deliberately keeping clean the name of a figure who was soon to play an important role in the U.S. pressure on the Temple? In any case, two things are significant about Stone defecting from the Temple: first, Stone is accused in some of the Jonestown literature as a possible long-time intelligence agent of some kind (Jones and Temple loyalists, in particular, point this finger); and second, he was replaced as Temple lawyer by Charles Garry, big-time revisionist lawyer with ancient ties to the CPUSA. The upshot was that the Temple had serious bourgeois opposition inside the U.S. at the same time as it drifted into a new dependence on pro-Soviet revisionist circles. Inside Guyana, the settlement quickly established friendly relations with both the U.S. embassy and the Soviet embassy, as well as the Guyanese government. The stage was set for a vicious tug-of-war, with the U.S. and Soviets on either end, and Jones himself jumping back and forth. In the tightening hammerlock of external pressures, and buffeted by parallel faction-fighting within the Temple, Jones’ grand plan increasingly became a desperate floundering for survival.

Guyana — Rifts and Risks

The People’s Temple first sought out the possibility of buying land in Guyana in 1973, while still in Ukiah, and it finalized the deal in 1974, buying a piece of remote and difficult jungle positioned between the population centers of Guyana and the Venezuelan border. Between ’74 and ’77 Jones sent some people with agricultural skills and some with construction skills to build up a settlement. Jonestown was so remote that it was impossible to get there or leave without a boat or plane. The inaccessibility was certainly part of what Jones was seeking for a location for his “paradise”; the location between Venezuela and Guyana’s populated coast was also of some advantage to the Guyanese government as well, especially at the time the colony was founded. There was an historic border dispute between Venezuela and Guyana, and Jonestown was in the disputed territory; in 1977 the tension was high, and Venezuela, at the urging of the U.S., was threatening to invade. The Guyanese government, therefore, didn’t at all mind a settlement of Americans with respectable credentials (but who expressed appreciation for Guyanese “socialism”) as a living buffer in the middle of the disputed territory.

But there was much more than mere geographic location and the fact that the government of Guyana was largely black that made Guyana Jones’ choice for his settlement. One writer on Jonestown, John Nugent in *White Night*, described Guyana this way, in a book that is largely an apology for the CIA and U.S. State Department:

“It is a sensitive monitoring post for the U.S. as well as the 30 other nations represented there. It is an influential center of ideological moods of the nearly 30 countries in this volatile area. It is also an excellent observation point from which to study the way a Socialist government works in the Americas. Diplomats also take the pulse of what the nonaligned nations are up to. Yugoslavia has an embassy there, for example, as well as key Eastern bloc governments that are active in the 3rd world: North Korea, Cuba, East Germany. Georgetown, Guyana, is a small enough city — about 170,000 population — to allow a close study of global trends through contact with the diplomats present: how the Russians and Chinese are getting on; what the prospects are for spreading Socialism and Marxism in the 3rd world; how Cuba’s moods fluctuate on the critical

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Jonestown

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issues — critical at least for the U.S. — of military intervention in African affairs; what increasingly active (in revolution-exporting) Libya is up to in this hemisphere...."

Another writer called Guyana a "spy's paradise." This atmosphere, superheated by U.S./Soviet contention, was to be seen by Jones as an ideal climate to negotiate the exodus of Temple members to the "socialist" country. This being so, one is forced to consider whether Jones held out this possibility from the very beginning, whether Guyana was seen all along as a kind of way station for a final *pièce de résistance*. Whatever the intentions, this was undeniably the outcome.

But Jones did not have forever, whether he knew it or not. The "opening" for him in Guyana hinged on the way Guyana fit into the shifting international relations in the '70s. Forbes Burnham, the Guyanese prime minister, had been put into power in the middle-'60s in a CIA-manipulated election, but as the U.S. was defeated in Vietnam, and the Soviet Union flexed its muscles as a rival superpower, Burnham scented the possibility of increasing his own stature as a neo-colonial lackey. In 1970, Burnham, who had always declared himself a "socialist," nationalized the three largest corporations in Guyana (one of them British, the other two American). While much of this nationalization was on financial terms extremely favorable to imperialism, there were loud squeals from the U.S. In 1972,

Guyana extended diplomatic recognition to Cuba and started to strengthen its economic ties with the Soviet bloc.

1976-77 marked the low point in U.S./Guyanese relations. Guyana extended aid to the pro-Soviet MPLA guerrillas in Angola, and the U.S. responded with political and economic pressure. In 1977, Guyana applied for associate membership in the CMEA, the Soviet international economic association. It was during this time that the border dispute between Guyana and Venezuela reached its sharpest point, with Venezuela threatening to invade. It was at this time, too, that the bulk of the Jonestown settlers arrived.

However, by 1978, the U.S., through a combination of measures, began to pull Guyana back into the fold. By October 1978, Guyana was beginning an austerity program linked to an \$81 million IMF loan, while Forbes Burnham was denouncing the Soviet Union for refusing them aid. Venezuela was backing down on the border. In November 1978, 900 people died at Jonestown. The "opening" for Jonestown in Guyana had closed. Hard.

One More Look At The "Suicide"

At this point, before dropping from the sphere of international relations to look back inside the Temple, it should be noted that by the time Jones had moved to Guyana, the Temple was directly involved in its own international relations, and this had direct influence on what happened inside the Temple. Jonestown lieutenants had ongoing relations with a number of embassies, and at the U.S. and Soviet embassies at least, this apparently included CIA and KGB agents under dip-

lomatic cover. The meetings between Jonestown lieutenants and various governments were reported, though in a distorted way, inside the Temple, and had profound impact on the mood of the people.

Relations with the U.S. embassy were intriguing indeed, a total puzzle, if one ignores the propaganda tug-of-war which colored events from the start. Various congressional investigations insist on the embassy's "proper respect for the Temple's civil liberties," which, it must be said, appears to have been the rule — astonishingly so, given the dirty dealings and anti-U.S. scheming within Jonestown! The U.S. embassy had to know soon after Jones arrived, if not before, that the Temple was negotiating to defect to the Soviet Union. This would clearly have been a devastating propaganda blow to the U.S., and would have required energetic countermeasures from any reasonable diplomat, let alone a CIA agent. Yet, for almost the entire period of the Jonestown settlement's existence in Guyana, the embassy actively worked to protect Jones and Jonestown and give the settlement great freedom of action.

Throughout '77 and '78, shipments of drugs, guns and cash kept pouring into the Jonestown settlement, and the embassy staff all but gave them official diplomatic cover. In '77 Temple defectors advised the Treasury Department that shipments of guns and cash were going to Guyana. The Department encouraged them to keep on reporting, but no official action was ever taken. Debra Blakey, one of those in the Temple's inner circle, defected from Jonestown in May 1978. She sought embassy aid to get back to the U.S. and told Consul Richard

McCoy about beatings and suicide drills; he put her written report in his safe and essentially told her to keep her mouth shut, and *not* to talk to the press.

McCoy also had responsibility for dealing with relatives of Temple members who would call the embassy and ask officials to talk to their relatives, find out if they wanted to leave the Temple, etc. The embassy policy on these matters in practice was to assure relatives that Jonestown seemed to be a nice place, then promise to make a visit and talk to the Temple members in question. The embassy would then submit a list to Jonestown of members whom officials wanted to visit, make the trip to the jungle settlement, and then interview Temple members in the presence of Jonestown leadership — if the Temple members in question were "available." Such visits invariably led to reports that all was fine.

Why was the embassy and the U.S. government in general acting this way? It would seem that part of this had to do with the necessities of being careful with the delicate relations between Guyana and the U.S. Jonestown had its own "socialist" relations with the Guyanese government, and functioned as a buffer between Guyana and U.S.-backed Venezuela. But most fundamentally, it would seem that the U.S. government was continuing its long-term policy of supporting Jones, a policy which already had resulted in a dependence being built up in Jonestown on the good graces of the U.S. government — graces which could be pulled out in a minute — or utilized — with devastating effect.

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Dinosaurs

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tion of other countries" whose criticism of Haiti "harms the welfare of the poor people in Haiti" because they encourage foreign governments to "stop giving money to Haiti." And then, menacingly, in an obvious reference to Boney's article, Magloire wrote that dying like a dog does not happen in Haiti but it does in New York — but nevertheless he hoped it didn't happen to Boney. Boney had received threats before, and shortly after Firmin's murder a man called and told him there is "a list of people who have to be shot. Firmin Joseph was on that list and he was just the first."

We can thank Magloire for here making clear not only his own disapproval of critics of the Duvalier regime but also the disapproval of the U.S. In specifying anti-Duvalier Haitians living in "other countries" and stating that it is in New York that people "die like a dog" Magloire was including in his not at all subtle threat at least the "approval" of the U.S.

Joseph's paper had also carried an exposure of Jean-Claude's father-in-law for not paying taxes — to which Bennett responded directly and produced a letter from the tax bureau that said he had paid, which he sent to *Tribune D'Haiti*. Joseph responded that he knew what the situation was — that if Bennett appeared at the tax office, they would know that they had better produce what was demanded or else their lives would be on the line.

Joseph was a controversial figure in the Haitian émigré community with some criticizing him for various questionable ventures. It is clear that the articles in his paper hit at some highly sensitive targets among Haitian ruling circles, however, and people were not surprised when soon after he reported a threat. On August 14, the *Tribune D'Haiti* reported a telephone call from someone saying he was a spokesman for the Haitian Consulate in New York and asking for the editor. The voice warned the paper to stop printing a currently-running series, "157 Days in Jail," because "this doesn't please the Consul General." The voice refused to identify himself but 15 minutes later called back and said he was the Vice Consul of Haiti and if the paper continued its anti-Duvalier campaign "the government which is a powerful regime could get you and kick your ass. Besides, we have diplomatic immunity and we have the means to find you wherever you are in New York." It also demanded that the

paper stop harassing Juan Magloire's *Le Nouveau Monde*.

The Haitian Consulate has, of course, denied having anything to do with Joseph's death. The denial did not include the very accurate connection made by the caller between the U.S. govern-

ment and the government of Haiti.

Recently, Haitians in Miami have also been subject to increased terror — several buildings connected with the Haitian community have been torched, with the origin widely believed to be the Macoutes.

If the murder of Firmin Joseph is any indication, however, the increased repression will raise more questions than it will settle. What is at stake is indeed, in Magloire's words, the "stability" of Haiti. "Stability" which the U.S. government has a great stake in maintaining. □

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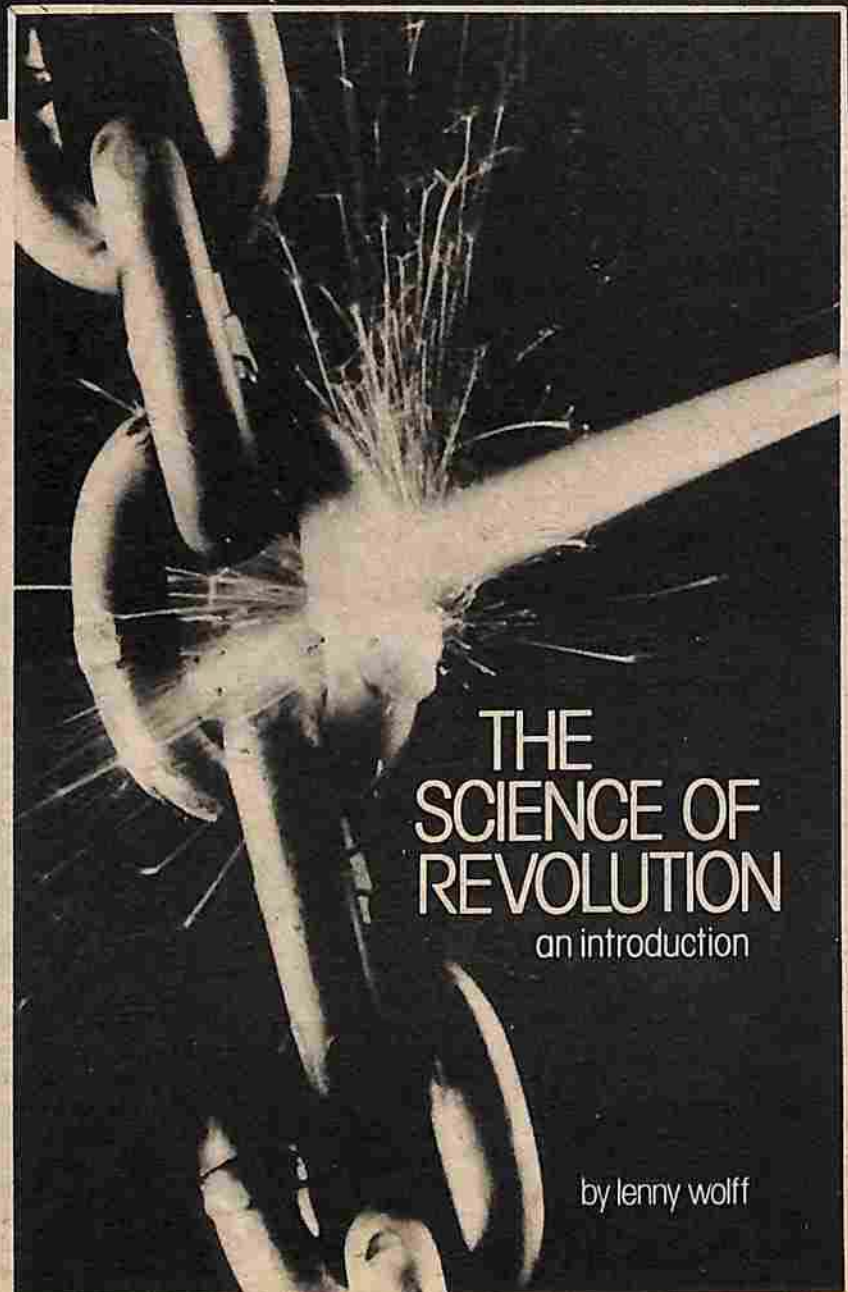
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THE
SCIENCE OF
REVOLUTION
an introduction

by lenny wolff

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

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

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