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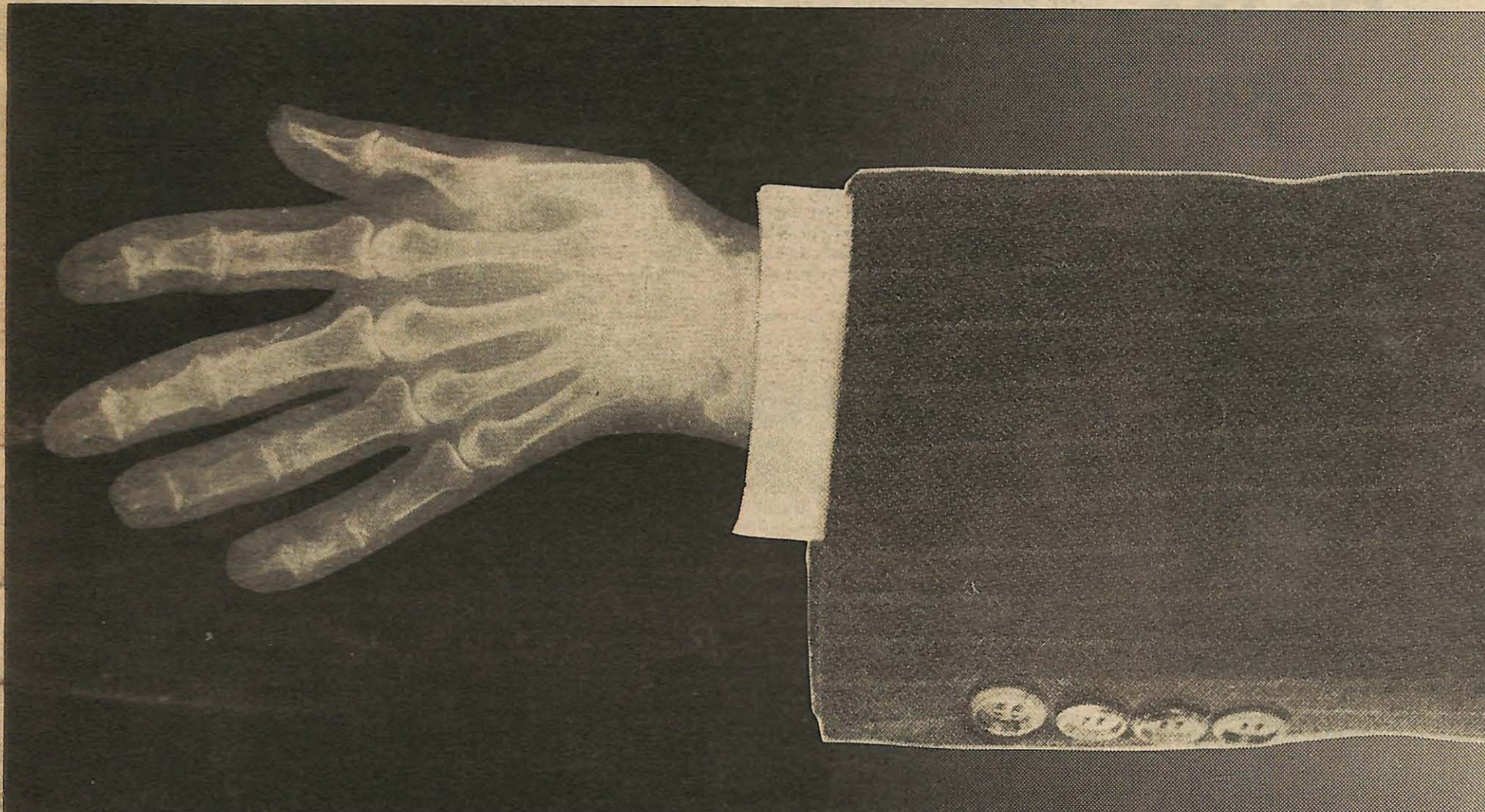
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EL SALVADOR: INVITATION TO NEGOTIATION



It was the kind of performance all have come to expect from José Napoleón Duarte. Standing before the United Nations General Assembly on October 8, El Salvador's president waxed euphoric over the "new reality" his election had brought to that country. For 55 minutes he told the assembled delegates that now that he's on the job, the peasants have the best land, the army "works for the people," and "violations of human rights have been reduced to the minimum and the guilty are prosecuted and punished." The only thing marring this picture of

contentment is the opposition. Duarte urged them to stop their "destruction and killing" and to join with him in creating a situation "where peace can be a base for our development." By the time he reached the end of his speech, the stage had been set for a surprise announcement: Duarte "invited" the guerrilla leaders (those "who are in the mountains," not those "living in comfort" outside El Salvador, he said) to talk "peace" in the village of La Palma in the department (province) of Chalatenango on Monday, October 15 — and to come, as he would,

"without arms."

Once again the foremost Salvadoran representative of U.S.-style democracy has demonstrated the particular quality that is so appreciated by his Washington, D.C. superiors — the ability to lay down a blanket of demogogy and lies to cover over thousands of dead bodies, and prepare for more.

What is the "new reality" on which Duarte's call for "peace" is based? There has been a dramatic increase in the official murder of the civilian population in areas where the opposition is strong. In-

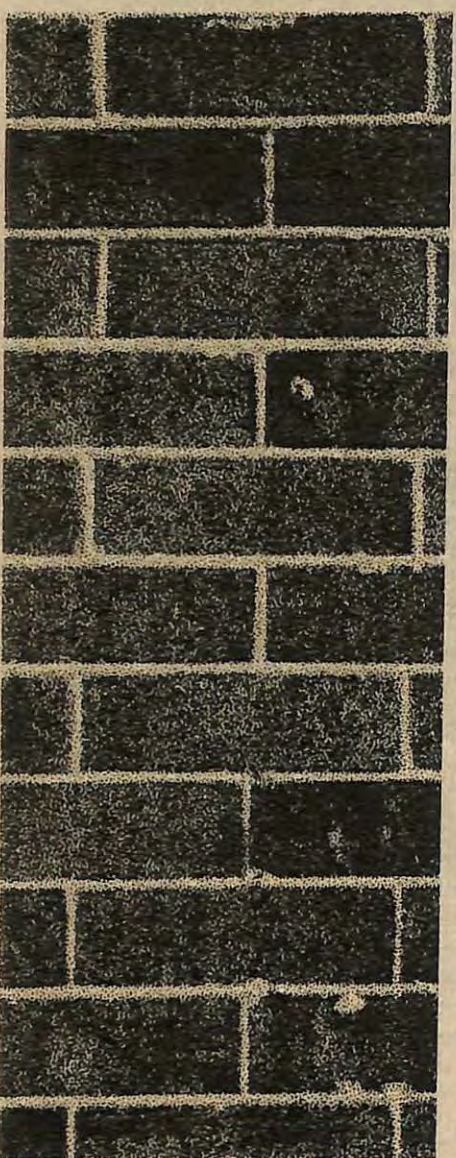
discriminant bombing-and-strafting runs, using a recently beefed-up fleet of U.S.-supplied A-37 Dragonfly planes and/or UH-1H helicopter gunships, are a much more common occurrence than ever before. They will soon be even further enhanced by the addition of C-47s with 50-caliber machine guns mounted on them. These aerial assaults are joined by a step-up in search-and-destroy missions, including more incidents of peasant massacres by U.S.-trained battalions of the Salvadoran army. Of course,

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Soon...
The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA,
Will Be Making Public A
Major Message On War And
Revolution!



Murderers On The Loose



On Friday, October 5, in a vicious slap in the face of Black and all oppressed people, a judge threw out the indictments against three New York City transit cops who'd been charged with second-degree manslaughter in the death of a young Black artist, Michael Stewart.

As reported in *RW* No. 273, the move was long in coming. Stewart was arrested in September 1983 for writing "RAS" — for Rastafarian — on a subway wall and was dead an hour later at the hands of eleven cops. Since then, this deliberate, animalistic act has been further compounded by a year-long process of concerted efforts to cover it up and pat the murdering cops on the back.

The very way the dismissal of the indictment was handled in court was a "coverup": the judge gave his decision literally in a whisper, inaudible to the supporters of Michael Stewart in the courtroom. Then as the three transit cops started smiling and patting each other on the back one woman in the courtroom started shouting, demanding to know what was going on. When the judge announced the dismissal so that all could hear, denunciations went flying.

A woman who was a friend of Michael Stewart's yelled, "This is outrageous" and stormed out of the courtroom before court officers could grab her. A Black woman and another woman tore into this decision. One of them said later, "In court I said 'I was asked to do jury duty this week — you call this justice? This is a kangaroo court. My say doesn't mean anything. This is America... you call yourself a judge... you're a joke.'"

We have also recently learned of how numerous eyewitnesses to Stewart's murder were treated by the authorities at the time of the killing. A woman from the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee reported testimony from a person who witnessed the murder: on the night Stewart was being repeatedly kicked, beaten and choked, a crowd of at least forty people gathered, having heard Stewart's repeated screams for help. When people came to Stewart's aid the cops continued the deadly beating while other cops held the crowd back with their guns drawn. The same person reported that he "had never seen so much blood in his life" and yet by morning it had been completely washed away, and further that this person went to the district attorney's office begging to testify before the grand jury but he was never called.

"Juror No. 1"

Judge George F. Roberts dismissed the indictment last week on the grounds of a "tainted" grand jury. This was the very same judge who only a short time ago handed over to the cops' lawyer the 5,500 pages of the grand jury minutes, complete with portions of the transcript highlighted by the judge as favorable to the cops' case; this was done without any request from the cops' lawyer. The judge never did deal with the fact that the indictment itself was probably defective

from a legal standpoint — clearly, a pardon for the cops was in the works one way or another! By zeroing in on the issue of a tainted grand jury — and there is apparently no other case in the country where this has occurred — the dropping of the indictment has been made to appear to be the fault of an overly zealous juror, Ronald Fields, while the authorities have been angling and outright lying to see their boys in blue exonerated.

What is actually happening here is that "juror No. 1" — Ronald Fields — realized that the state was attempting to manipulate a weak and unsustainable indictment, that the cops would be ultimately exonerated. Fields made efforts to bring to light information that he knew was being suppressed, something which jurors have a certain legal latitude to do (grand jurors can hire their own private investigators, for example). Fields is being accused of overstepping the bounds of private inquiry, but whether this is true or not is highly questionable. More to the point: whatever the legalisms, the state was clearly aiming to pardon their cops for the brutal crime. The fact that Fields moved to expose their dirty dealings made him the target of their maneuvering.

Recently it was disclosed that not only Fields felt uncomfortable with the way the state was proceeding. Two other jurors, it now appears, conducted their own private investigations at the scene of the crime.

The judge's seven-page written decision exposes this even further. The judge wrote that Fields "engaged in a continuous course of conduct which injected extraneous matters into the grand jury. This conduct frequently occurred off the record in the grand jury room in the absence of the District Attorney. Press releases by Dr. Gross, the Medical Examiner, were brought into the grand jury room, shown to other grand jurors and commented upon by grand juror No. 1 long before Dr. Gross testified."

There was every reason for Fields to be upset about this doctor. Eliot Gross, Chief Medical Examiner, New York City, first ruled the cause of Michael Stewart's death as cardiac arrest but was forced to change his finding to injury to the spinal cord (which would indicate death by beating, although Gross did not specify that). Dr. Gross had quite a lot of explaining to do before the media about his own conduct. In one instance a TV reporter even caught Gross briefing Transit Authority cops prior to a press conference.

The judge wrote further, "He (Fields—*RW*) went beyond investigating and suggesting lines of inquiry to the assistant district attorney. He went beyond advocating his view of the evidence. He became, in effect, an unsworn witness against the defendants. He repeatedly alluded to a 'cover up' and suggested that the grand jury was not getting all of the evidence."

Ronald Fields is still fighting to be permitted by the court to tell all about what went down in the grand jury. But according to Fields' lawyer, as reported in the *New York Times* on October 9, Fields learned of important witnesses from TV coverage, and when he requested that certain witnesses be called, the assistant district attorney refused.

Second Indictment

After the dropping of the indictment, the *New York Times* editorialized, "Although a new indictment may be preferable, if only because it will probably be free of similar allegations of taint, the new grand jury investigation will be difficult. Indeed, there are no guarantees of a second indictment."

"During the original inquiry, some witnesses balked at testifying, setting off a court fight that delayed the investigations. A similar battle could be expected this time. Other witnesses, once willing to talk, may have been scared off by the extensive media coverage." The *Times* writes further, "Because witnesses were unable to identify which of several officers had administered the purported beating, the three arresting officers — Henry Boerner, John Kostick and Anthony Piscola — were held responsible for Mr. Stewart's death, a novel interpretation of manslaughter laws that the prosecutors say has never before been tested in a New York state court."

Exactly where this legal charade has been heading all along has in this way been made rather clear in the pages of the *New York Times* — to thoroughly white-wash Michael Stewart's murder, to continue to threaten and intimidate witnesses to this murder, and to now openly float the possibility of no second indictment. Here it should be noted that while the investigation of Stewart's death is starting over again, the eight cops who were granted immunity from prosecution in the last grand jury conveniently retain that immunity.

In response to the dropping of the indictment an emergency demonstration was called by the Friends of Michael Stewart Committee. Word about the demonstration was spread through the music clubs in Manhattan's East Village and was also taken up by different organized political forces. On less than 24 hours notice 100-150 people, many of them punks, gathered to protest at Union Square near the spot where Michael Stewart was beaten to death. The demonstration was marked with a determination to continue to fight through on Michael Stewart's murder with one woman saying, "The evidence is so blatant; the evidence was all over his body." □

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The "Secret Alert": Confirmation And Cover-Up



This week, spokesmen for both the U.S. and Japanese governments confirmed that only a few days after Reagan's "joke" about bombing the Soviet Union, a command unit for Soviet forces in the Far East issued the following communication: "We are going into a state of war against the United States." The instruction was withdrawn by the Soviets after thirty minutes (twenty minutes according to one newspaper), following a period of "extreme tension" in the Japanese government, according to the Japanese newspaper *Nihon Keizai*. The paper, and others in Japan, reported that U.S. and

Japanese forces had issued an "emergency alert" of their own.

Although Pentagon press spokesmen continue to officially issue "no comment" about the incident, this newspaper has learned that a U.S. Congressman did receive a response to his inquiry on the alert from the office of Caspar Weinberger. Congressman Michael Barnes of Maryland, a Democrat who supports the nuclear Freeze, sent a clipping on the alert from the *Baltimore Sun*, along with a personal letter of inquiry on October 5. Barnes' office told the *RW* that on October 9, Weinberger's office confirmed that such a Soviet war communication had been intercepted. The Pentagon also claimed the signal was likely issued by a "wayward operator" and not on orders from Moscow. It also denied that U.S. forces responded with an alert of their own. Barnes' office made his letter to Weinberger public at a press conference and expressed surprise that the release had not been carried in major U.S. newspapers.

But the Weinberger denial of a U.S. counter-alert was flatly contradicted by several reports in the Japanese press, as was the Pentagon's downplaying of the incident. *Nihon Keizai* reported that after the Soviet war communication, "the United States and Japan responded by issuing emergency alerts to U.S. troops and U.S. forces and Self-Defense Forces (Japanese military forces — *RW*). About twenty minutes later, the newspaper reported, the Soviets withdrew the alert with the message: "The contents of the last message is voided."

In contrast to the low-key treatment by U.S. media and the Pentagon, *Nihon Keizai* paints a stark picture:

"This coded message was sent immediately to Premier Nakasone. The Government was for a time in a state of extreme tension." The paper also writes, "There is also a boastful assessment in the government that the coded message was monitored and immediately decoded and emergency communications were established with the official residence (presumably of Nakasone — *RW*), and U.S. and Self-Defense Forces. This shows that the U.S./Japan security system is functioning very well."

Also, on October 3, at least three Japanese newspapers published articles stating that top Japanese government officials had confirmed "on background" (not for direct attribution) the original story in *Yomiuri Shimbun* of a Soviet alert and a counter-alert by U.S. and Japanese forces. These papers were: *Sankei*, *Nihon Keizai*, and *Tokyo Shimbun*.

The Soviet war signal was dispatched by a Soviet military command at Vladivostok at 4 p.m. on August 15. This was four days after the Reagan "joke" was made, and followed by a very short time the publication of Reagan's "joke" in Soviet newspapers, which ran the item on the evening of August 14. The message was directed to a Soviet "special command unit" at Ussurisk.

Although the threats and counter-threats in the Pacific remain in effect a "secret alert" in this country, as we reported last week, sources at the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* which originally broke the story told us that its report was accurate and that the whole affair was an "alarming signal." Indeed it is. Reagan's "joke" has shown

to be deadly serious, and has been answered by the Soviet imperialists with a threat that was itself a half-step away from a declaration of war. In the U.S. no nationally prominent bourgeois newspaper has yet covered the incident in more than a mini-item, most professing to be ignorant of Barnes' letter to Weinberger. This fact alone shows how thinkable nuclear war has become: threats will be made, the razor-edge of war will grow still sharper, and there will be no scandal, no cries of outrage, from the loyal gentlemen of the media. □

Debate of the Mummies

"With regard to Social Security I hope there'll be more time than just this win it—minute—to mention that, but I will say this: a president should never say never."

—Reagan, Louisville TV debate

It didn't really matter. Reagan stumbled over words and forgot his lines. He committed mistakes and outright lied. He was not, as the *New York Times'* James Reston gently put it, quite "mentally alert."

And it didn't matter, any more than it has mattered throughout the campaign. After all, the Reagan of the TV debate is the same Reagan who fell asleep during a meeting with the Pope last year, and who, according to aide Michael Deaver, takes a little doze now and then during cabinet meetings and so what? Any Hitler can have a day off. What's more, Reagan's obvious lack of brain power has been part of the image—he is the perfect know-nothing for an imperialist country whooping it up over patriotic know-nothingism, the perfect role model for the nuclear warriors.

Back at the time of the Republican Convention, *Time* magazine contributing editor Hugh Sidey put it this

way:

"Reagan has an unusual number of nincompoops working for his administration. His insensitivities to the poor are monumental. His opposition to abortion and support for school prayer smack of zealotry. He still cannot understand the feminists. His beloved military wastes money hand over fist. But these are secondary issues. Those qualities of the spirit that Reagan so relentlessly thunders from the White House are what free and self-governing societies run on."

Reagan's, said Sidey, was "leadership from the heart"... "the issues" and Reagan's lack of "mental alertness" be damned.

But now, with the curtain up on the TV show, it was time for something else. The electoral campaign which had so far alternated between the levels of a fascist horror show and Family Feud, was suddenly imbued with a bit of life. A spirited Mondale marched to a new beat, declared the winner by the media! Reagan on the defensive! Mondale, having managed to stay more or less coherent, overnight qualified in the press as a brilliant orator. Reagan himself, in what should have been the clearest tipoff to the game being played, said that he thought he hadn't exactly been a dynamo.

The point was that the American public-opinion machine had heretofore given Reagan an overwhelming lead in literally every state except Rhode Island. But a Reagan rout with a small voter turnout would not be considered successful by the bourgeoisie. The election circus must become, if not a horserace, then at least a little lifeline.

During the show the newly crowned "brilliant Democratic debator" took great pains to come on as not basically different than Reagan—just better at it. In Louisville, Mondale added to his list of good works by Reagan, an enthusiastic clap on the back for presiding over the Olympics war fever. But perhaps the most telling exposure of the debate was not what the candidates did say but what they did not. Here was a debate on supposedly the central issues of domestic policy, yet a review of the transcript shows not a single direct reference to Black people, not even routine propaganda promising justice, equality, and so on. (Mondale made two very incidental references to "civil rights.") Neither was there any mention of immigrants in this country, not even of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, which is of course a major offensive against immigrant proletarians but is sometimes posed as "addressing

the immigrant problem." Not a word—these sections of the people are not even part of the debate—these questions are settled!

Instead, according to Mondale, the "paramount issue of our time" is the federal budget deficit. Now the deficit is surely an important economic problem for the U.S. imperialists. But at a time when the U.S. is preparing for the most violent conflict in history, to raise the deficit as "paramount" is to embrace, de facto, the grand drive to world war. On that there is no argument.

And don't think, just because the debate concerns domestic policy, that the preparation for war could play no part. It was Reagan once again taking the point position on this in his closing statement. Even though criticized some for the "mind-numbing statistics" in the first part of the closing, Reagan lumbered into gear in his conclusion, lauding U.S. military power, praising the high morale of the troops and the patriotic war fever of the populace, and then declaring,

"...we're in a position to heed the words of Thomas Paine who said, 'We have it in our power to begin the world all over again.' " This is the second prominent mention of the Paine quote by Reagan recently and it is nothing but another call to plunge "on to Armageddon." This quote, from the days of the beginnings of the U.S. bourgeoisie, is a watchword of a class willing to risk obliterating the earth in order to keep their top-dog position in the world, a class with the blind arrogance to think that there are any "new beginnings" for them.

Mondale closed next, asking, "Are you better off?" and running through a list of items from taxes to the environment. He conspicuously did not challenge Reagan's verbal mushroom clouds and patriotic garbage—that is a point of unity.

Here then are imperialism's "great leaders" and here is what they are bringing the world to. If the debate demonstrated anything positive, it showed that this is a class that, one way or another, is finished. □



The Basques and the Land of Extradition

France, the "land of political asylum," took a giant step down the road of becoming the "land of extradition" on September 23, 1984, when, for the first time in history, the French government decided to extradite three Basque revolutionaries back to Spain. On Friday, September 21, the French court of appeals refused the demands of seven Basques not to be extradited. Two days later, the Mitterrand administration, which had the final say, let its decision be known: Francisco-Javier Lujambio, José Manuel Martínez-Balestegui and José Carlos García Ramírez would be delivered to the Spanish authorities who have been trying to get their hands on them since 1980. The four other Basques were expelled from France — to Togo, West Africa. These expulsions took place one hour before the government decision was announced, under the guard of several hundred French police, from the prison at Fresnes where all seven Basques had been carrying out a hunger strike protesting the extradition proceedings — which were hastily speeded up on order to avoid the embarrassing situation of ruling on the extradition of dead revolutionaries. As Sunday was the 46th day of their hunger strike, the four were taken on stretchers by helicopter to a military air base where they were flown to a hospital in Lomé, Togo.

Three days later, on September 26th, the Council of State, France's highest judiciary body, gave the final democratic O.K. to the extradition of the three remaining Basques. This followed decisions by the lower courts in Pau, and the court of appeals. President Mitterrand gave the go-ahead, and his new Prime Minister, Fabius, selected which three would get the extradition axe. The imperialists are running a flag up their social-democratic flagpole, serving notice on how revolutionary activity in bourgeois democracies like France is to be treated.

Although the decision regarding the Basque nationalists represents a major erosion of ground in the policy of granting the right of exile in France, the French bourgeoisie has been chiseling away at this, one of its most touted traditions, for a long time, and within the context of debate in ruling circles the Basque issue has always been somewhat of a weather vane for them. Former president Giscard d'Estaing never dared to expel a Basque during his seven years in office, although Spain did officially become a "democracy" during his tenure following Franco's long-awaited demise. The French Socialist Party mounted a protest against the attack on the right of political exile back in November 1977, when Giscard dared to extradite Klaus Croissant, the West German lawyer who was accused of giving a pistol to imprisoned Red Army Faction leader, Andreas Baader — a pistol that the W. German police then used to "suicide" Baader in jail. Yet, some measures were taken to limit the freedom of the Spanish Basques even under Giscard. For example, he eliminated the status of political refugee for Spanish Basques, and those who had already been granted such status had their card taken away from them.

But it was the Socialist Party itself which stepped up the pace, opening up discussion and negotiations on one hand and, after the initial socialist euphoria that colored government statements, actively pursuing Spanish Basques on the other. Upon the victory of the Left (Socialist Party/Communist Party) in the May elections of 1981, for example, Gaston Deferre, the Interior Minister at the time, said in an interview: "... there will be no extraditions. Perhaps because I lived underground myself (during WWII)

I feel very strongly that to extradite goes against French tradition, especially when it is a case, as it is there (in Basque country), of political combat." And, Raymond Forni, President of the Law Commission of the National Assembly declared, "The extraditions will be kept to a strict minimum, for common criminals. There will be no deviation on the part of the Socialist Party in domains that are, near or far, political..." Nonetheless, at the end of 1981, fifteen Basque militants were forced to live under house arrest far from their home territory in French Basque country. And at the same time, the French authorities said they would give work papers to any Basque who agreed to end their political activities.

On November 10, 1982, the French Council of Ministers formulated a new doctrine on government policy concerning political exile. This stipulates that extradition will be carried out for those guilty of "criminal acts (taking of hostages, voluntary homicide, violence causing bodily damage or death), such that the alleged political goals could not justify the use of such unacceptable means," and that "blood crimes are not political" in nature.

A Bloody Compact

In the fall of 1982, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) was elected, which offered the possibility of building a national consensus behind the fatherland in Spain. Such a consensus boded well for the increased stabilization of Spain and its more active participation in both the military defense and political tightening of Europe. Large-scale debates are being carried out within the ruling PSOE over whether to integrate Spain fully and officially into NATO, which is supposed to be decided in a parliamentary vote this fall. In the name of opposing the fascist threat, a big face-lift for democracy is an important part of this consolidation process into the prewar preparations of Europe. Unions and other workers' organizations are helping to depressurize social unrest to "keep the fascists from coming back." Twice since the death of Franco, there have been right-wing coup attempts and Basque revolutionary violence has been the pretext for repeated right-wing threats and reactionary acts against the Basque militants of the ETA, as well as political pressure to let the fascists bring the situation under control. On the economic front, to bolster Spanish "democracy," the Western-bloc partners have finally decided to let Spain join the Common Market, because the economic and political stability this would bring for the bloc outweighs the negative consequences it will probably mean for France — flooding the French market with Spanish products, long a point of tension between the two countries. (An incident earlier this year, for example, greatly exacerbated this tension, when the French machine-gunned a Spanish fishing boat, and the fisherman had to have his leg amputated. The French government quickly promised to send back some Basque refugees to smooth over the problem.)

The old Franco elements, that other faction of the Spanish bourgeoisie, are still there — in the police, the army and other government bodies that count in seizing state power. The return of the extreme right to power in Spain using the pretext of social unrest, such as Basque violence, could be a serious disruption to a national consensus behind the bourgeoisie. This kind of instability and consequently Spain's reduced capacity to mobilize for the benefit of greater Europe and the "free world" is a genuine concern to Spain's imperialist partners. (Of

course, as past experience shows, these same imperialists are able and anxious to support a fascist takeover if that should prove the best method of crushing the revolutionary movement...)

It is in this context that France's closer cooperation with the Spanish government must be seen, even though it is only one aspect of the extradition decision. As far as cooperation between the two governments over the Basques in particular, in the spring of 1983, the French government took away the right to family and housing assistance for all Basques with less than three-month residency permits — a situation which applies to most refugees. And from the department of open French-Spanish pig collaboration, it has come out that the unofficial Spanish police terrorist group GAL (Grupo Antiterrorista de Liberación), which among many other acts assassinated nine Spanish Basques in France, sent photos to the Spanish weekly, *Cambio 16*, which had originally been given to the French police by the Basque refugees for their identity papers. In October 1983, the French police arrested four Spanish cops in the process of kidnapping Basque refugee and militant Larratexa Goni. The four police terrorists were promptly turned back over to Spain at the request of the government, even though they had wounded Goni. Since that time, other Spanish police and French underworld figures have been caught in the act and set free by the same court in Pau which this August first decided to extradite the seven Basques.

On December 20th, 1983, Mitterrand met with Felipe Gonzalez, head of the Spanish government. During dinner, Gonzalez asked Mitterrand to help him fight the "Basque cancer," evoking the 300 *Guardia Civil* (Spanish police) who have been recipients of Basque violence over the past fifteen years and the threat that the ETA poses for the young Spanish democracy. According to Gonzalez, in an interview with two major bourgeois Spanish papers (*El País* and the monarchist *ABC*), it was during this dinner that Mitterrand promised to help Madrid and two weeks later French police began arresting and expelling Spanish Basques.

On January 10 of this year the French police arrested seventeen refugees. They were aiming for a higher number but many of the hunted Basques had recently moved — address unknown — and are still being sought. Of the seventeen, eleven were put under house arrest in other French departments in the northeast of France, far from French Basque country, and the other six were sent to Guadeloupe in the Caribbean. In the first six months of this year, almost thirty Basque refugees were expelled to Latin America — to Panama, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic.

All this had already rather obviously undermined the right to asylum in France and echoed in the March decision of the Minister of the Interior to give any Spaniard asking for refugee status a one-month residency permit and forbidding refugees to live in the southwest of France. Then on June 14, Gaston Deferre, French Minister of the Interior (at the time), and the Spanish Minister of the Interior, José Barrionuevo, signed a joint statement for cooperation between the two states in fighting organized crime and terrorism which explicitly notes "the progress made in the field of the struggle against terrorism." Gaston Deferre went on to say, "A terrorist is not a political refugee." This is the same Gaston Deferre who in 1981 told the French weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, that it was a "political combat there" in the Basque country.

But what is a terrorist in the eyes of the

Spanish government? After having studied West German and Italian legislation in the matter, the Spanish government went through its democratic process of making its own laws. The Spanish Constitution of December 27, 1978, which is otherwise very detailed, mentions the word terrorist twice without defining it. Spain, like France, since November 1982 considers terrorist crimes not to be political crimes. On December 1, 1980, the Cortès (parliament) voted in the "antiterrorist law" (organic law 11/80). This law now being used by the ruling Socialist Party is the same law they denounced before coming to power in Spain.

The antiterrorist law is so encompassing that it could make any citizen a terrorist and certainly *does* of all genuine revolutionaries. The law states: "People whose fundamental rights may be suspended, are those who, reputed to be part of or in relation with either terrorist elements, or armed bands, bring serious danger to urban security, premeditating, organizing, carrying out, cooperating with or inciting in an indirect way the realization of acts covered by the following paragraph as well as those who make public apology for or cover those involved."

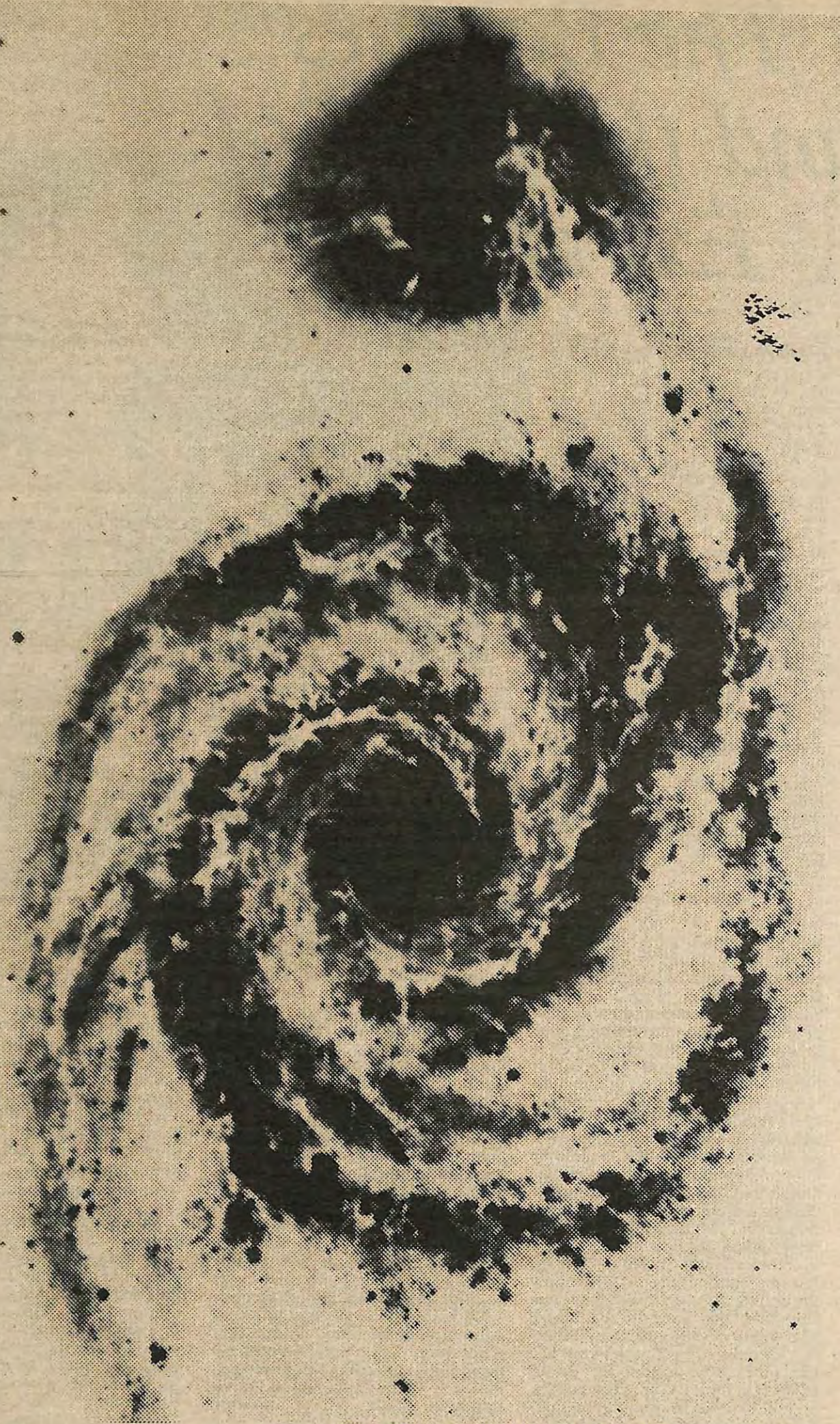
It is quite possible to be accused of inciting Basque separatism for speaking Basque in the street and as a result of this law be kept in secret detention at the local police station for a total of ten days. According to Amnesty International's April 1983 report, in which four pages are devoted to continued torture in "democratic" Spain, "the law 11/80, called the antiterrorist law, favors the use of torture." Add to this the sentence in the February 1973 ZEN (Zona Especial Norte) Plan by the Ministry of State Security which states: "interrogations will be the most profitable means for obtaining information."

A Study in Democracy

Although a number of well-exposed, repressive anti-"terrorist" laws have swept through Western Europe in the past ten years, notably in West Germany, Italy and Great Britain, this new phase seems to have an additional stench. The first extradition related to the most recent attacks on Basque political refugees occurred not in France but in Belgium. In July, the Belgian government extradited two Basques to Spain, which they emphasized had a minimum of guarantees for "the psychological and physical integrity" of the two persons concerned. This implicitly recognized the use of torture in democratic Spain and the risk that these two Basques would get a taste of it.

In France, certain "judiciary guarantees" provided to the final lynch mob over at the Council of State became the focus of the Mitterrand apologists' arguments in the final rounds. These "guarantees" basically promised not to interrogate these political prisoners and that they be handed over to Spanish justice (to get their life sentences) instead of being directly placed in the hands of the Spanish pigs. But then, Spain is a democracy and must be treated as such — this has been the cornerstone throughout this whole affair for the French Socialists, using the sensitive Basque question to slither in to make a kill on political exile and extradition. Compelled to appear on French TV to publicly justify the Socialists' about-face on extradition, the brand new Prime Minister, Fabius (reportedly one of the few who showed up for his university exams in May '68!), put it out straight that the government's decision rests on exactly

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A spiral galaxy (NGC 5194) and its smaller, irregular companion (NGC 5195).

This article on the cosmology of the big bang was contributed to the Revolutionary Worker and will be published in two parts. Part II appears next week.

Almost everyone has at least heard of the "big bang" and the great explosion at the "moment of creation." Yet there is very little popular understanding of the big bang theory and its significance. In typical fashion the merchants of pop-science pabulum offer only the most meager amount of information and knowledge and often what's offered is laden with leading questions to the effect of: Does the big bang prove Genesis? In many cases the answer is quick in coming: it *may* very well. In other words, YES! Take for example the work of Robert Jastrow, founder and director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies, TV science personality and author of several popular and even acclaimed books on the subject. In his book *God and the Astronomers*, Jastrow asks, "Was it, as the Bible says, that 'Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thine hands.'?" Quickly he answers, "Now we see how the astronomical evidence leads to a biblical view of the origin of the world. The

details differ, but the essential elements in the astronomical and biblical accounts of Genesis are the same: the chain of events leading to man commenced suddenly and sharply at a definite moment in time, in a flash of light and energy." Such preposterous and absurd statements are hardly worth even addressing except to encourage anyone who is inclined to believe this so-called scientist to read about the big bang theory and also read the Genesis account. Anyone who finds any similarity between the two accounts should consult their nearest bible thumper, explain to them what the big theory has to say, and wait for them to denounce it as totally ungodly and worthy of denunciation by all godfearing souls. And the bible thumper would be far more right than the liberal theologians who specialize in reconciling religion with the science.

Those who think that they can use the big bang theory to "prove" that the priests have been right all along, will sooner or later find that just the opposite is the case. They will find that the big bang theory is but another important step in the banishment of god from the Universe (or, to put it more precisely, from the conscious part of the Universe

that brought Him into existence in the first place). And, while it is true that many of the scientists responsible for the development of the big bang theory themselves fall into idealism in one form or another (some are even religious, to some degree at least), their work, including a number of clear and fascinating popular writings explaining their discoveries, represents a gigantic leap in astronomy and physics. The development of the big bang cosmology is one of only a few major historic breakthroughs in natural science and offers a whole new way of looking at our universe from the subatomic level to the level of galaxies and clusters of galaxies.*

This article will deal somewhat with the philosophical idealism present within modern cosmology, but mainly it will try

By R. Quasar

to explain the essential features of the big bang cosmology and show how this is a far more dialectical view than existed previously. Obviously only the basics can be covered in this short space, but hopefully this will encourage further study and discussion. The reader should be aware that this basic picture is unavoidably somewhat conservative and limited to that which has been fairly well established and agreed upon by astronomers and theoretical physicists. These fields have exploded with many new theories and versions of the big bang model which differ in many particular aspects.¹ There are still many gaps and unsolved problems in current theories and much more work to be done. Yet the basic outline of the big bang theory is clear and there is little question that it represents a scientific advance perhaps analogous in significance to the theory of the evolution of life on earth.

Dynamic vs. Static View

In fact the big bang theory *is* a theory of evolution, not of life on earth, but of "our" whole universe and all the matter in it from the level of galaxies to the level of subatomic particles. It reveals a universe (and quite clearly a Universe) in constant motion and flux — full of violent changes, qualitative leaps, and most basically the struggle of interpenetrating opposites. The old views of a static or slowly moving, hardly-ever-changing, and ever-present heavens and earth have been overthrown by an immeasurably more dynamic cosmology. This dramatic breakthrough by astronomers and physicists has necessitated a much more dialectical view of the nature and development of the universe. The Universe itself demands that humans recast their thinking.

Up until about 50 or 60 years ago astronomers and physicists believed that the universe was a much calmer and more orderly place than it turns out to be. At first, theoretical work and observations which indicated otherwise were quickly rejected. The static and unchanging universe was pretty much unchallengeable. Even when motion and development were acknowledged in our immediate neighborhood of the cosmos, this was seen against a backdrop which was unchanging. Furthermore, any change and development which was recognized was viewed as gradualistic and mechanical without any real qualitative alteration. It was not even considered that the universe had any real history at all.

The dominance of these views can be attributed in part to a lack of specific astronomical knowledge; however, more significant is the role of prevailing philosophy and theology. Cosmologies especially have always been highly philosophically charged and closely followed (and viciously attacked when

1. Recently, for example, some physicists have developed what they call the "inflationary universe" model which is claimed to supersede the big bang model. Nevertheless even this theory shares many points in common with the basic big bang model.

*Author's note: For purposes of complete clarity, this article uses the word Universe with a capital U to mean the infinite material world — infinite in space, time, and diversity — and the word universe with a small u to denote the largest portion of the Universe that we are now aware of and can concretely contemplate — that is, practically speaking, all the matter that was involved in the big bang. Given that this matter — whether we can observe it all now or not

— has a considerable common history and similar basic composition and laws of motion, it can realistically be called a finite, concrete universe. This concrete universe, it must always be remembered, is only part of the truly infinite and infinitely changing Universe. All quotations from other sources, however, are reprinted exactly the way they appeared originally.

A Look At The Big Bang

necessary) by the ruling classes. It is easy to see, for example, how static and unchanging heavens were essential for the continuance of feudal society with its deep dependence on the church. For if the idea arose that something as big and grand as the heavens were in violent motion and undergoing major leaps in development, then surely this would tend to call into question the permanence and unchangeability of the established order on earth. In more modern times, even though scientists are not burned at the stake or imprisoned for advocating heretical views and so forth, it is still very much the case that the forces ruling society uphold and promote a definite philosophy and oppose and hinder things, including scientific theories, which tend to go against it. In addition there is always the tremendous weight of the past resting on science and philosophy. Thus major scientific developments to this day have had to fight to be recognized and even when they are recognized there are always attempts to twist them to serve the prevailing interests.

The extent of the dominance of the static view is illustrated by the fact that even Einstein, whose General Theory of Relativity, especially, shook the foundations of the prevailing physics and played such an important role in shaping modern cosmological views, was trapped by these ossified prejudices. His work on the General Theory led almost directly to the conclusion that the universe was expanding and has to be in constant motion, yet he refused to believe it. In 1917 he deliberately fudged on some of his equations and introduced the "cosmological constant" into them in order to be consistent with a static universe. Later he publicly regretted doing so. However, Einstein's General Theory was overwhelmingly correct and his gravitational field equations minus the interjected cosmological constant became central to the new cosmology.

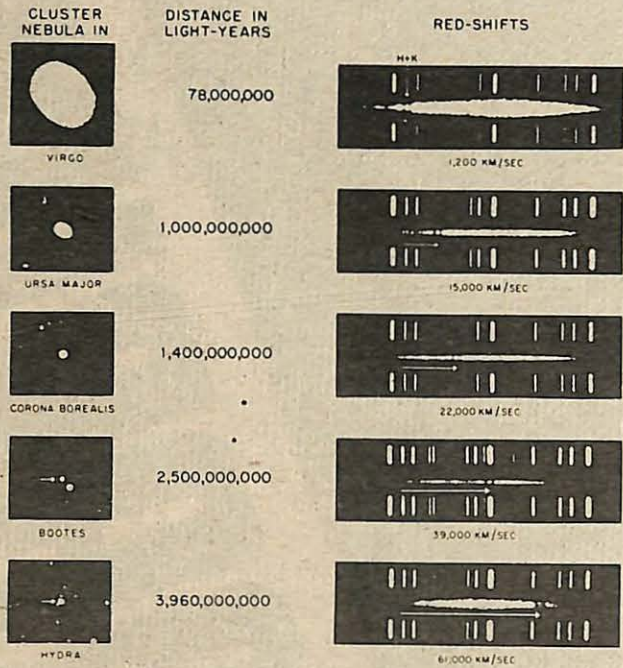
It was Alexander Friedmann, a Russian meteorologist and mathematician, and Abbé Georges Lemaître, a Belgian cleric, who built on Einstein's work and advanced the theory of the expanding universe (a universe expanding as if blown apart by an explosion) for the first time — Friedmann in 1922 and Lemaître in 1927. In 1929 an American astronomer, Edwin Hubble, announced that he had measured the rate of recession of the distant galaxies from our galaxy and formulated a simple law for this recession: the farther away a galaxy is from us, the faster it is moving away from us. This discovery was the first solid evidence that the universe was expanding. It dramatically put the big bang theory on the map. However, the big bang was still not broadly accepted by cosmologists. It was seriously challenged by the Steady State Theory which contended that while the universe was expanding, no initial explosion was involved. In this view, new galaxies were continuously being created to fill in the gaps left by the receding galaxies and this process went on *ad infinitum*. It was not until 1965, with the discovery of the 3°K (Kelvin) microwave radiation background — which provided irrefutable evidence that the universe had a hot dense past (more on this later) — that the big bang cosmology decisively defeated its detractors and went on to become the "standard model" for modern cosmology.

Hubble's measurements were limited and contained errors. Nevertheless his discovery of the recession of the galaxies

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RELATION BETWEEN RED SHIFT AND DISTANCE: Shown here are bright galaxies in five galaxy clusters, together with their spectra. The spectra of the galaxies are the long, horizontal white smears, crossed with a few short, dark vertical lines. Each position along these spectra corresponds to light from the galaxy with a definite wavelength; the dark vertical lines arise from absorption of light within the atmospheres of stars in these galaxies. (The bright vertical lines above and below each galaxy's spectrum are merely standard comparison spectra, superimposed on the spectrum of the galaxy to aid in determining wavelengths.) The arrows below each spectrum indicate the shift of two specific absorption lines (the H and K lines of calcium) from their normal position, toward the right (red) end of the spectrum. If interpreted as a Doppler effect, the red shift of these absorption lines indicates a velocity ranging from 1,200 kilometers per second for the Virgo cluster galaxy to 61,000 kilometers per second for the Hydra cluster. With a red shift proportional to distance, this indicates that these galaxies are at successively greater distances. (The distances given here are computed with a Hubble constant of 15.3 kilometers per second per million light years.) This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the galaxies appear progressively smaller and dimmer with increasing red shift. (Hale Observatories Photograph)

RELATION BETWEEN RED-SHIFT AND DISTANCE FOR EXTRAGALACTIC NEBULAE



Red-shifts are expressed as velocities, $c \Delta\lambda/\lambda$. Arrows indicate shift for calcium lines H and K. One light-year equals about 9.5 trillion kilometers, or 9.5×10^{12} kilometers. Distances are based on an expansion rate of 50 km/sec per million parsecs.

Reprinted from *The First Three Minutes*, by Steven Weinberg.

THE COSMIC TIME SCALE

Cosmic Time	Era	Redshift	Event	Time from Now
0	Singularity	Infinite	Big Bang	20 billion years
10^{-43} second	Planck time	10^{32}	Particle creation	20 billion years
10^{-6} second	Hadronic Era	10^{13}	Annihilation of proton-antiproton pairs	20 billion years
1 second	Leptonic Era	10^{10}	Annihilation of electron-positron pairs	20 billion years
1 minute	Radiation Era	10^9	Nucleosynthesis of helium and deuterium	20 billion years
1 week		10^7	Radiation thermalizes prior to this epoch	20 billion years
10,000 years	Matter Era	10^4	Universe becomes matter-dominated	20 billion years
300,000 years	Decoupling Era	10^3	Universe becomes transparent	19.7 billion years
1–2 billion years		10–30	Galaxy formation begins	18–19 billion years
3 billion years		5	Galaxy clustering begins	17 billion years
4 billion years			Our protogalaxy collapses	16 billion years
4.1 billion years			The first stars form	15.9 billion years
5 billion years		3	Quasars are born; Population II stars form	15 billion years
10 billion years		1	Population I stars form	10 billion years
15.2 billion years			Our parent interstellar cloud forms	4.8 billion years
15.3 billion years			Collapse of protosolar nebula	4.7 billion years
15.4 billion years			Planets form; rock solidification	4.6 billion years
15.7 billion years			Intense cratering of planets	4.3 billion years
16.1 billion years	Archeozoic Era		Oldest terrestrial rocks form	3.9 billion years
17 billion years			Microscopic life forms	3 billion years
18 billion years	Proterozoic Era		Oxygen-rich atmosphere develops	2 billion years
19 billion years	Paleozoic Era		Macroscopic life forms	1 billion years
19.4 billion years			Earliest fossil records	600 million years
19.55 billion years			Early land plants	450 million years
19.6 billion years			Fish	400 million years
19.7 billion years			Ferns	300 million years
19.75 billion years	Mesozoic Era		Conifers; mountains formed	250 million years
19.8 billion years			Reptiles	200 million years
19.85 billion years	Cenozoic Era		Dinosaurs; continental drift	150 million years
19.95 billion years			First mammals	50 million years
20 billion years			<i>Homo sapiens</i>	2 million years

*See footnote 11

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Avakian surveys the contemporary social and political terrain to reveal how and under what circumstances U.S. imperialism might be brought down. Yet what makes this such a compelling study is not merely its insights into revolutionary strategy but its insistence that these issues be viewed in the larger setting of the historical advance toward, and the problems attendant to, the achievement of socialism and communism.

Avakian casts his analytical gaze on the shortcomings of the movements of the 1960s, the recent assaults on Leninism, Marxist-Leninist military theory and experience, the enslaving essence of modern democracy, the role of dissent in socialist society, the centrality of the woman question to the revolutionary process, and the ideological roots of accommodationism and capitulationism within the revolution. Here, as in all his writings, Avakian articulates a Marxism for which revolution cannot be a halfway affair.

A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror? is not airy speculation but a lucid and riveting assessment of the problems, tasks, and opportunities that this critical historical period presents to revolutionary-minded people. It may be objected to but can no more be ignored than can the imperialists' plans for nuclear war: the world situation is just that acute and the approaching possibilities for the revolutionary seizure of power are just that real.

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INVITATION TO NEGOTIATION

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Duarte continually promises to investigate such activity — but every such promise has been followed up a few days later with a presidential pronouncement that absolves the military of any blame, sending the message that much more wanton bloodletting by government forces is to be expected.

Chalatenango — where the “peace” talks are to be held — has already received a large share of such operations. And Duarte is praised as “courageous” by U.S. officials when he offers the macabre pledge to go to the talks “without any protection”!

Napalm is another aspect of the “new reality” in El Salvador. Suddenly there has appeared in the hands of the Salvadoran military a stockpile of the incendiary chemical weaponry that the U.S. first made famous in Vietnam. The announcement was first made by U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, who denied that the U.S. had anything to do with it. It was subsequently reported that the napalm came from the U.S.’s principal client in the Middle East, Israel. El Salvador’s Minister of Defense, Vides Casanova, then admitted that they had stockpiles of napalm bombs, but added that “we have no intention of using them.” Meanwhile, several congressmen said that they had been told by Salvadoran air force officers last year that napalm had already been used on occasion. And U.S. medical personnel, such as a plastic surgeon from Massachusetts General Hospital, reported seeing burn scars and hearing descriptions from Salvadoran peasants that has convinced them that napalm was being used. The manner in which the entire story was unfolded in the U.S. press not only made clear that the chemical was in operation, but was designed to conjure up the specter of “another Vietnam” from the U.S.’s side — that is, a clear-cut threat of much more death and destruction, much more ravaging of the countryside and much more direct U.S. military involvement.

Overall, Duarte’s “new reality” is a product of what has already been a major U.S. escalation in Central America. In

the past fiscal year the U.S. doubled its military aid to El Salvador (bringing the total to \$196 million, more than 30 times the 1980 figure), while so-called economic aid — much of which is directly used for military purposes and all of which can be classified under the general heading of “counterinsurgency” — now totals \$332 million. Salvadoran air strikes and troop deployments are already directed from information called in by air reconnaissance missions over El Salvador, using infrared sensors and radio-monitoring equipment, flown by U.S. Air Force pilots operating out of Palmerola Air Base in Honduras — one of ten U.S. air bases, munitions depots or radar stations currently being manned by U.S. forces in that country. None of which prevents Duarte from commenting, with as straight a face as he can muster, that in his upcoming talks with the opposition, “power is not at stake because power can only be given through popular vote. We do not gain power with blood and bullets.”

In fact, blood and bullets is precisely how power is gained — or maintained — as current U.S. actions in Central America demonstrate. And Duarte’s call for “peace” talks is designed to complement — indeed, *facilitate* — the bludgeoning of all who oppose U.S. imperialism in the region.

The timing of this particular move is no coincidence. October 15 is the deadline for acceptance of the Contadora Peace Act, which Nicaragua has already agreed to sign. However, El Salvador and other U.S. neocolonies in the region have already announced that they will reject the proposed treaty as it is currently written. Instead, as directed by the U.S., they are pressuring Nicaragua to agree to measures that would further destabilize and weaken Sandinista rule and provide an opportunity for a successful armed grab for power there involving some combination of pro-U.S. and/or direct U.S. forces. But this action has strengthened the Sandinista’s political standing with some regional and international forces that the U.S. would prefer not to have arrayed against it, if and when it does make such a move. Duarte’s call for “peace” talks is designed to relieve any pressure on El Salvador for rejecting the Contadora proposal, and more importantly, to go “one-up” on Nicaragua. Indeed, both Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz used the opportunity to demand that the Sandinistas negotiate with the *Contras*.

October 15 is also a significant date within El Salvador. For the past couple of

years the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) — the military wing of the opposition coalition which also includes the civilian Democratic Revolutionary Front, or FDR — has launched what they call an “offensive” on that date. October 15, 1979, is the day that the U.S. pulled off a “reformist” coup in El Salvador, flying out its previously exposed generalissimo and replacing him with a junta that included some forces now in the leadership of the opposition. Although that government only lasted three months, and more Salvadorans were killed during its tenure than in the previous two and a half years, the guerrillas have begun their fall military campaigns on October 15 to try to identify with the forces and program of that junta — using military pressure as a bargaining chip to try and bring about a negotiated compromise that would include the pro-Soviet revisionist and pro-Western social-democratic forces who lead the FDR/FMLN in a new government.

But this year, in the context of heightened international tensions overall, the U.S. has become more desperate to demonstrate its ability to clamp down Central America overall, and El Salvador within it, and assert its absolute domination of the region. Part of that demonstration has been the public declaration by Pentagon officials that the Salvadoran army now has the upper hand in its battle with the guerrillas — a declaration that would be exposed should the guerrillas conduct their typical “offensive.” Duarte’s call for “peace” talks on that date is also an effort to put the Salvadoran opposition in a position where they are damned if they do and damned if they don’t. That is, if they fail to engage in their customary military activity on October 15, they support the U.S. claim that El Salvador’s military is now on top; however, if they attack, it will be cited as “proof,” to the various imperialist and comprador forces among whom the Salvadoran opposition is trying to maneuver, that the guerrillas don’t really want a “peaceful solution.” And it is also possible that the U.S. would use such activity as the pretext to launch its own offensive — including, perhaps, an invasion.

In other words, this entire “peace” talk proposal by Duarte is a maneuver to help the U.S. intensify political and diplomatic pressure on the opposition forces in the region — thereby helping to improve conditions for an even greater U.S. military move, whenever it should occur.

It’s almost funny. When Nicaragua accepts the Contadora Peace Act, U.S. officials proclaim it a “trick” and the free press is unanimous in declaring the proposed treaty “full of loopholes.” Now, Duarte has proposed the most blatantly transparent and militarily threatening call for “peace” talks. U.S. officials declare it “courageous” and “far-sighted” and the free press is unanimous in declaring that “Mr. Duarte deserves applause...” — as the *New York Times* did on its editorial page, while the front-page headlines, photos of Duarte speaking at the UN and TV news reports all do the applauding. We say *almost* funny because it’s so seriously deadly.

It’s also almost funny that U.S. officials are pretending that Duarte dreamed up this death-squad “peacemaking” all on his own. Not only does the State Department admit that it has discussed the general question of talks with the opposition with Duarte, but the sad-eyed butcher himself recently explained who calls the shots in El Salvador. In an interview in *Playboy* magazine, Duarte was asked if the U.S. military advisors tell him how to run the war. He replied: “This is the problem, no? The root of this problem is that the aid is given under such conditions that its use is really decided by the Americans and not by us. Decisions like how many planes or helicopters we buy, how we spend our money, how many trucks we need, how many bullets and of what caliber, how many pairs of boots and where our priorities should be — all of that.”

Playboy: “All of that is decided by the Americans?”

Duarte: “It is decided by the one who gives the money. And all of the money is spent over there. We never even see a penny of it, because everything arrives here already paid for.”

Understandably, a senior State Department official told the *New York Times* that the U.S. was “very comfortable” with “Duarte’s” proposal.

As we go to press, various details of the “peace” talks are still being worked out, the opposition having accepted Duarte’s offer. There has been no lessening of the military pressure that the U.S. and its underlings are applying to all the opposition forces in the region — and no lessening of the threat of a qualitative leap in such activity despite the fact that the U.S. fears the forces that might be unleashed by it. Revolutionaries should be vigilant and ready to oppose any moves the U.S. might make in Central America — and to take advantage of every opportunity that the situation may provide. □

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South Africa: The Army Vs. The Revolt of the Young

Over the last week a number of significant developments have occurred in relation to the almost two months-long rebellion that has swept over the black townships of Azania. While the rebellions themselves have continued, there has been relatively little new information available on this. On the other hand, new moves taken by the South African government indicate the depth and severity of the crisis — and the stakes involved in it — that is rocking the South African regime these days.

On Friday, October 5 the Minister of Law and Order, Lewis LeGrange, took the unprecedented step of publicly announcing that the army was being called out to deal with the uprisings. According to LeGrange, the South African Defense Force (SADF) will join the police in patrolling the townships and manning roadblocks and will be generally available to the police "to use as and when they think fit." At the same time, LeGrange announced that the civilian police force was being expanded by 45%, from 47,000 to 68,000 members. After four days of patrolling, the army was temporarily recalled with LeGrange warning that they would be deployed again if necessary.

This is not the first time that the South African army has been deployed to quell uprisings among the Azanian people. And, it is definitely the case that army equipment and weaponry has frequently been made available to the police in the past. However, this is the first time that the South African government has not only admitted using the army but has publicly announced its use with a great deal of official fanfare. In addition to all the obvious reasons that have forced the apartheid regime to call out the army, it should also be noted that such a move could have the effect of clamping down a news blackout on the continuing rebellions since it is illegal in South Africa to report on any and all military troop movements.

At the same time, the South African security police have also stepped up their

activities. A number of antigovernment forces throughout the country were raided on October 9 and all materials were seized. And, the government has even begun to float out the possibility of banning the reformist and ANC-influenced United Democratic Front (UDF). In relation to this, three of the Durban 6 — the UDF people holed up in the British Consulate in Durban — left the consulate on Saturday and were immediately arrested by the security police. The response of the U.S. to the situation is also indicative of the stakes involved in the current crisis for both the South African regime and the Western imperialists. The U.S. flat-out denied sanctuary to any of the six UDF people on the ludicrous basis of there being "no imminent bodily harm" facing the Six.

On the other end of the scale, the South African government recently announced

that it was prepared to grant concessions to black Azanian students in the form of allowing Students Representative Councils (SRC) to be set up in all-black schools. Azanian youth and students have been playing a key role in all of the recent rebellions. As of October 8, there were still 220,000 black students boycotting schools throughout the country. And, in much the same way as Soweto was, these recent uprisings have been characterized as a "revolt of the young." According to one report in the *Washington Post*, at least two-thirds of the 2,000 people officially reported as being arrested since the recent uprisings began have been under 18 — with some as young as nine and ten years old and a very large number between 12 and 14 years old.

In the face of this situation the South African government has offered as a

"reform" the formation of SRCs — one of the demands raised by the boycotting students. Of course, as with every apartheid "reform," this too is a sham. The government has carefully outlined what these new SRCs will and will not be allowed to do. At the top of the list is a restriction against the SRCs being used for "ulterior political purposes." Instead, the government wants these organizations to be sort of miniature models of its puppet governments in the black townships and the bantustan homelands with the added possibility of their also serving as a recruiting ground for pro-government infiltrators and spies. Among the officially sanctioned functions of these proposed SRCs are: maintaining law and order in the schools; helping families arrange funerals for fellow students; providing a good example to fellow students in the areas of "discipline, loyalty, respect, punctuality, academic thoroughness, morality and cooperation"; encouraging participation in school activities; setting up tea parties with the school staff; taking care of the principal's office; congratulating teachers on their birthdays and serving refreshments at all official functions.

Not surprisingly, the announcement of this concession coincided with the outbreak of new battles in the black townships. □



Mourners shake fists at South African policemen at the funeral of 34 blacks killed during recent rebellions.

Sketches From NATO's Autumn Maneuvers

The U.S. TV camera was scanning the landscape around Fulda as the news commentator said into his microphone, "This is where the third world war could start." And it is possibly true, of course. The Fulda Gap is a natural hollow within a string of West German hills which butts up against the East German border. It is one of a handful of "natural corridors" for the massive tank armies that are poised in Central Europe for respective "deep thrusts" either toward the east or west. 50,000 U.S. soldiers are currently stationed around the town of Fulda. Military installations in the area are being expanded and modernized. And the Fulda Gap was one major focus of the Autumn maneuvers of NATO war games, which just ended on the continent.

Over the last few weeks the *Revolutionary Worker* has been running accounts of the resistance which raged around the war games. There was not only a mass demonstration of thousands on September 22, but numerous fiercely fought battles between police and demonstrators trying to penetrate hated military installations. Information remains scattered, and because most comes from bourgeois sources it has sometimes been necessary to "read between the lines."

What follows are capsule descriptions of various incidents taken from the West German press. They deal with the numerous hit-and-run disruptions that took place in the countryside throughout the military maneuvers. What they provide is a flavor of some of the confrontation, and the kind of political debate, that arose because of this latest step in war preparation.

The infantryman, crouching in a newly dug trench, was exactly the same age as the thirteen antiwar demonstrators who

squatted in front of him.

"Listen my friends," he says, "We may be able to talk and argue now, but in a moment I'll just have to drag you guys off again. Do you think that's any fun for me either?"

"Then think it over why we're doing this," the answer comes. "Do you know anything about the new American strategy called 'AirLand Battle'? It's full of talk of winning war, and of going on the offensive. That is against the (West German) Constitution!"

The soldier shakes his head, "You don't even believe that stuff yourselves... do you imagine that an order's just going to come down, 'Well guys, get it together, 12 o'clock we take off for Moscow?'"

"And what would you do if it happens?"

More head shaking, "It'll never happen..."

"You're the only one that believes that."

"Look, if you think that, then go deal with the politicians... you guys painted all over our car, it took us almost an hour to scrub that shit off."

"That," one demonstrator shot back, "was an hour in which war was *not* being prepared."

In the town of Ulmbeck, a scene of tense confrontation unfolds in front of the volunteer fire department. Along the side of the road a row of military trucks are idling. One of them leans to one side, obviously suffering from a very flat tire. Nearby stand a group of demonstrators, discussing in the drizzle. And across the street from them a nervous cluster of police surrounding a young man who had been arrested for puncturing the tire. "Leave this square, otherwise I will turn the village loose on you," the loudspeaker on top of the police wagon issues the threat. For highly charged moments

nothing happens. Then suddenly a shrill fire siren bursts from the station. Firemen in uniform jump out, obviously on command from the police. Many hold clubs. None of the demonstrators retreats. From the firehouse garage the truck is wheeled out and the hoses unwound. As the water splatters against the demonstrators, firefighters start yelling "gas 'em" and "kill them."

According to reports, military helicopters have been at the disposal of both police units and the elite border troops of the interior ministry for rushing to the scene of disturbances. There have also been a few reports of civilians mobilized to launch attacks on demonstrators in situations where official brutality would be politically damaging, such as cars driven by reactionaries apparently pushing into sit-ins of demonstrators blocking military convoy routes.

A military column stretches through the village of Kefenrod, 40 kilometers from Fulda. There are tanks left and right, and uniformed soldiers are visible, crouching under cover with rifles at ready. It is a war game. Behind them looms an advertising billboard blaring out "Our country, our beer." About 25 youth from the International Peace Camp of Grebenhain surround the soldiers. Fourteen different camps were set up to organize civil disobedience against the maneuvers, all in all they held about 400 militants who formed the hard core of the weeks of disruption. In Kefenrod they are distributing leaflets and debating with the soldiers. One leaflet reads: "We are taking no actions that threaten you or that could force you to injure yourselves. But we do want to ask you if you have thought over exactly what the hell you are doing."

Suddenly the order comes for the column to pull out. Demonstrators rush to

block the street. They sit down.

To the whine of diesels and the clank of treads, the tanks pull out, with demonstrators in hot pursuit. Further down the road the military vehicles gather up again. A 39-year-old librarian from the United States darts among them and pulls giant balls of yellow and red yarn from a bag. She starts wrapping the tanks with it. Military police converge on her and drag her off. Meanwhile demonstrators are again appearing to block the forest road. As armed men pull them out of the way, others take their places.

In the official press a great deal of effort is being made to portray these maneuvers as vital to the defense of the West German homeland. They are specifically not to be seen as *American* maneuvers aimed at Soviet troops in East Germany. One item that has gotten big play: the "Orange team" in sub-manuever "Spearhead '84," which is made up of West German, Dutch and American troops, is commanded by one General Henning von Ondarza — it is supposedly the first time American troops roll under the direct command of a German General.

Meanwhile in Hildesheim, at the heartland of the British maneuver known as "Lionheart" — the high command is now reported to have had to stop troop movement on Saturday, September 22, because of automobile convoys entering the area from northern West Germany. While "Lionheart" lay becalmed, West German troops and reservists in the area were sent against "the inner enemy." Government forces, of all kinds, were reported to have reacted by disabling cars they were able to identify and seize. □

The Return of the FSM to Berkeley



Berkeley, 1964.

A series of events commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) took place during the first week of this month at the University of California, Berkeley campus. The events formed a week of hot discussion and debate on the student movement of the 1960s and the role of student activism today.

It was in October 1964 that the FSM arose on the campus and put Berkeley on the map as the center of radical political activism. Organized by the UC Berkeley graduate assembly and a number of former FSM leaders, the week's activities included a noon-time rally at Sproul Plaza on October 2 featuring Mario Savio and other veterans of the FSM; an exhibit of photos, posters, newspaper articles and other memorabilia from the FSM and Berkeley in the '60s; and a series of panel discussions on "Students in the '60s and the '80s."

The FSM week was a major event on the Berkeley campus and in the San Francisco Bay Area generally. *Daily Cal*, the student newspaper, ran daily articles for more than a week on the anniversary activities and the history of the FSM. The Bay Area bourgeois press carried front-page articles on the October 2nd rally, focusing especially on the return of Mario Savio to the political limelight after years of staying out of it: "A swarm of people from the press gathered for a look at the man who generally is credited with the creation of the FSM," noted the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The rally itself drew an estimated crowd of 4,000, mostly present-day students. A panel discussion later that night, again featuring FSM veterans, was attended by well over 1,000 people.

Of course there were efforts from various quarters to restrict the scope of this reexamination of the FSM and the student upsurge of the '60s and channel it in certain directions. The posters for the commemoration week included a picture of the facade of Sproul Hall, the university administration building, during the famed sit-ins. The only parts of the picture done in color are the large banners bearing the letters FSM draped over the

railings of the second-floor balconies and an American flag being held out of a window. "All quite respectable" is obviously the message that some wanted to put forth. The bourgeois media made sure to underline "respectable": the *San Francisco Examiner*, for example, described the FSM as "a protest movement based on civil disobedience rather than the violence that was condoned during the years of antiwar activism that followed."

The CPUSA and various other revisionist/opportunist forces also were maneuvering in the field and promoting their line and program. Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport, who is close to the revisionists, was one of the main speakers at the campus rally. According to Newport, the relevance of the FSM today is that, "We have a situation here comparable to that of 20 years ago. Ronald Reagan must be rebuffed at all costs."

However, the overall effect of the FSM commemoration activity was that it focused attention on and led to a fairly broad grappling over the questions of the student upsurge of the '60s linked with student activism in the '80s. It is also significant that people like Savio are being compelled by world developments to speak out politically as they had not done since the '60s. Although the FSM needed to be, and was, transformed into something higher, and "another FSM" is certainly not what is on the agenda today, it is still no less important today to uphold the upsurge of the '60s and analyze its lessons.

Expressing the general sentiments of the former leaders in upholding the FSM, Savio said that it "was a victory for students to practice speech and organize on campus. On a second and broader level, we showed that a mass movement among white youth was possible. It showed the force and magnitude of student activism. It gave us courage to oppose the colonial war in Vietnam. It showed that white youth would not tolerate racism."

And clearly, the thousands of the present-day students, many of whom were infants in diapers at the time of the FSM, did not show up to listen to these political leaders from the '60s merely

because of some special significance attached to a 20th anniversary of an historical event. Rather, it is the press of world events — the U.S. moves in Central America and other parts of the world, the nuclear buildup and war preparations by both the East and West — that is moving a broad number of students to take interest in and learn from the movements of the '60s. The *Daily Cal* quoted one student who had heard about the FSM in a class and attended the rally: "I wanted to see what had inspired the people before me. I wanted to catch a glimpse of what had happened." One student wrote in the book of comments at the "memorabilia" exhibition that, "I was only in kindergarten when this happened; I'm glad that it (the commemoration) happened." Another wrote, "We can't forget this, what happened to Vietnam."

Beginnings

On October 1, 1964, Jack Weinberg, a 24-year-old activist with the Congress on Racial Equality set up a literature and donation table on Sproul Plaza. This was a direct challenge to the university administration which had expressly banned political advocacy and soliciting of funds for nonuniversity causes on the campus. Weinberg was arrested, but before the police car could carry him away, it was surrounded by hundreds of students. One of the first of many to climb up on the car and speak was a philosophy major named Mario Savio, an activist with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Savio demanded Weinberg's release and freedom of political expression on the campus. There was a standoff for the next thirty-two hours, the crowd surrounding the police car growing to thousands by the next day, until a temporary truce between the university and the students was reached. Thus was launched the FSM.

Of course the movement did not arise out of nowhere. By the early '60s a core of students at Berkeley were organizing such actions as a sit-in at a local hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a vigil protesting the resumption of nuclear testing by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and conferences of activists from campuses nationwide. But it was the fight against segregation in the South that gave momentum and focus to student activism in Berkeley and elsewhere. In Savio's words, "The Civil Rights Movement was the pivot of the pivot" to the student movement of the early '60s.

Six months before the birth of the FSM, there was a demonstration and sit-in of 1,000 at the Sheraton Palace Hotel in San Francisco to protest discriminatory hiring practices, one of a number of major civil rights protests in the Bay Area led by UC students. A number of the students went down to Mississippi to participate in voter registration drives. Thus when the university tried to clamp down on the radicalized students by issuing the ban on political activities on the campus, according to Savio, "Whose side are you on, which side are you on was a very strong feeling. . . . There was no light debate 'What does this mean?' There was a very clear feeling: OK, they are now on the same side as the establishment of the state of Mississippi. Absolutely unacceptable."

October 1964 did mark a leap in the student movement at Berkeley and nationwide. As one FSM veteran recalled, the leaders themselves were somewhat taken aback by the quick turn in the mood of the students: hundreds of students who only days before had refused to sign petitions against university policies because they were concerned about their academic future were suddenly participating in an act of civil disobedience. Word of the Sproul Plaza standoff spread fast to other universities across the country, and support actions were organized on a number of campuses.

After the Sproul Plaza incident, another high point was reached on December 2 when 1,000 protesters sat-in

at Sproul Hall in response to the filing of new criminal charges against FSM leaders. The police moved in 12 hours later, and, as 7,000 students gathered to watch, 761 people were arrested — the largest single peace-time arrest in U.S. history to that time. Teaching assistants went on strike in response to the mass arrests and shut down more than half the classes, while the faculty Academic Senate passed a resolution supporting the demands of the FSM. The university finally gave in, and the FSM had its first legal rally on the campus on January 5, 1965. Having won its demands, the FSM went out of existence in April at the end of the academic year.

COINTELPRO

One *Daily Cal* article during the 20th anniversary week focused on the feverish activities of the FBI, in particular through its COINTELPRO program, to monitor and discredit the FSM. The information was only a fraction from thousands of pages of such material obtained by the *Daily Cal* a couple of years ago, indicating very extensive operations against the FSM. A FBI memo of December 1964 warns that "the same thing could happen at other campuses across the land" and that "we need to and will give continuous attention to this matter." Over 800 files were opened on FSM activists, faculty supporters and lawyers. When a number of FSM leaders went on a nationwide speaking tour, the FBI sent memos to offices across the country requesting them to be "alert for any possible contact between Savio and leaders of the CP." FBI agents posing as reporters attended press conferences where Savio was asked leading questions, such as "How many communists are there in the FSM?", which of course found their way into the national press.

Such use of the press to attack radical figures and movements was a favorite COINTELPRO tactic, and it was used liberally against the FSM. Immediately prior to the Sproul Hall sit-in, a series of articles appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner* attacking "the Marxist-dominated free speech movement" and warning of "blueprints" for "planned agitation at other West Coast colleges." According to COINTELPRO documents, which named the writer of the *Examiner* articles as "a cooperative use media source," the FBI highly appreciated the series: "These are excellent articles. They deal with subversive affiliations on the part of some of the more prominent demonstrators, and had been the subject of considerable discussions . . . on a statewide basis. They were extremely timely, in that they appeared prior to the mass arrests." Huge red headlines in other local papers screamed about "Anarchistic communist students." Clark Kerr, president of the U.C. system, joined in this chorus with his declaration that the FSM was "49% communist."

While a few in the FSM did call themselves "revolutionary socialists" or openly identified themselves with the CPUSA, it certainly wasn't "49% communist" (of the revisionist or the revolutionary kind). The FSM leaders were greatly influenced by the "civil rights movement" of Martin Luther King, Jr.; the August 1983 "We still have a dream" march on Washington led by King and other Black bourgeois forces was their inspiration, not Malcolm X (who called the Washington march "a circus led by clowns," and a desperate effort by the U.S. ruling class in league with "respectable Black leaders" to channel the growing protest and rebellion among the Black masses into acceptable avenues).

However, the concentrated attack in the media, the massive use of the forces of the state, as well as the attempt to diffuse the situation by conceding to the immediate demands, did show that the ruling class had a sense of the significance of the FSM and its danger to the system, perhaps more clearly than the student activists themselves. What the bourgeoisie

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A Look At The Big Bang

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was unchallengeable. Subsequent measurements using more advanced equipment have come up with more accurate data showing that the rate of recession is about 15 km/sec per million light years that a galaxy is separated from "our" galaxy, the Milky Way. Hubble estimated the rate at 170km/sec per million light years.² This law does not apply to the closest galaxies to ours. They are part of the same galaxy cluster as the Milky Way and are strongly affected by the local gravitational pulls within the cluster. For example, the Andromeda Nebula (two million light years away) is actually moving toward us at about 50km/sec. However, for all the rest of the billions and billions of galaxies that have been observed in the universe, Hubble's Law is valid. The galaxies really are moving apart from each other as if they had all been thrown apart by a massive explosion.³ This fact has become one of only a few precious, but key, pieces of evidence for a whole new conception of the nature and history of the universe and even for the fact that it had any real history at all.

Given that the galaxies are all receding from each other, it was a relatively easy step to trace back the expansion to a point where all the galaxies were touching — and then further and further back. This meant that matter was packed much more densely and everything was much hotter in the past. Under these conditions matter must have existed in a much different form than today. Thus, all the matter that we know of today has undergone a definite evolution and is still evolving. More than that, the universe we know had a definite birth and it will have a death as well (more on this later). Notions such as this shattered the peaceful and orderly world of previous cosmologies.

Based on current knowledge it is estimated that our universe was born between 10 and 20 billion years ago — probably closer to 20 billion. This estimate has been made by tracing back the expansion of the universe, taking into account that the rate of expansion has slowed considerably since its inception — due to the mutual gravitational pull of the expanding matter. Calculations of the ages of stars in the Milky Way indicate an age of at least 15 billion years. Measurements of relative abundance of uranium and uranium isotopes that have ended up in the earth indicate that these elements have been around for about 10 billion years and radioactive dating of lunar rock and the oldest known meteorites puts the age of the solar system at around 4.6

billion years. This information provides a general time frame for the birth of our universe and of the galaxies and our solar system as well. It also provides confirmation for the estimate of the age of the universe based on the rate of expansion.

Looking Out in Space, Back in Time

The big bang was not exactly the kind of explosion like that of a bomb or some sort of explosive agent. Such explosions are uneven and the material closer to the center of the explosion is pushed out with a greater force and therefore a greater velocity than the material further away, for example. In the big bang it was more like an extremely rapid expansion of matter rushing away from itself in all directions with no center to the explosion (at least no center that can be detected now). Thus, as far as can be currently measured, the universe at present is essentially isotropic and homogeneous — that is, evenly distributed in all directions from whatever vantage point in the universe one chooses. (It is quite possible that this isotropy and homogeneity did not exist in early phases of the evolution of the universe and that initial anisotropy has been smoothed over in the course of time.) Matter is, of course, clumped into stars, galaxies, galaxy clusters, etc., with a great deal of space between these aggregations. This isotropy and homogeneity is on a much larger scale, involving areas containing millions of galaxies. These huge volumes contain pretty much the same amount of matter, though within them there is a great deal of inhomogeneity due to the gravitational clumping of matter. There is no visible center (now at least) to the universe — no specific point that matter is rushing away from.

Hubble's Law is equally applicable throughout the universe — that is, every galaxy is moving away from every other galaxy at a rate proportional to their separation. This can be visualized by imagining the surface of a balloon with dots drawn on it. When the balloon is blown up, the dots will move away from each other in such a way that the farther away any dot is from another dot, the faster it will be moving from it; and it makes no difference which dot you pick as a point of reference. If you put four dots on a balloon so that they form the corners of a square and then blow up the balloon; they will still form a square only it will be bigger. Of course, the universe exists in three dimensions not two, as is the case with the surface of a balloon. So you have to visualize sort of a solid balloon or rubber ball which is puffing up at a regular rate. Another commonly used analogy is raisin bread baking. The raisins represent galaxies and each raisin sees the other raisins moving away in the same manner as the bread rises and bakes. Naturally there are limits to any analogy and in this case the raisins on the edge of the bread will actually not see things the same way in all directions as is the case with the galaxies in the universe, but still this should suffice as a general picture.

We cannot see this expanding universe from the outside. We are an integral part of it. We are right in the midst of it and expanding with it. From our vantage point (or any other one within the universe) it appears that we are at the center of the explosion with all other galaxies rushing away from us in all directions with the fastest being the farthest away. This appearance of being at the center of it all is an illusion. So we can't rely on superficial observation and crude common sense in constructing an accurate picture of the universe. And we have to take into account that we are not, and can never be, all-seeing observers of our own universe, possessed with the ability of instantaneous "sight" of how everything looks "now" as we view it all from some privileged mountain top above it all. Light itself has a definite speed which must be reckoned with at the distances we are dealing with. Even at the incredible speed of 186,000 miles per second (or 5.9 trillion miles per year), light takes two million years just to get to us from the closest galaxy. So there is no such thing as instantaneous observation of events or any kind of absolute simultaneity. We have to be very precise

and careful even in using the word "now." There is no such thing as a universal "now." The light we are receiving from a galaxy, say five billion light years away, left that galaxy at a time before our solar system even existed. So we are seeing it "now" as it was five billion years ago. During the time that the light has been traveling to us, that galaxy has aged five billion years and has moved much farther away from us as well.

The farther out we look in any direction from earth the longer light has had to travel to reach us and the further back in time we are looking. We see galaxies in earlier stages of their development and we can even observe remnants of the big bang itself.⁴ The oldest objects we can see are the closest to us, in or near our galaxy. It appears as if the universe is sort of turned inside out. On the one hand we seem to be at the center, yet the farther out we look the more we see of the universe in its youth when it was far more compact and closer to the explosive beginning. There are also other problems. For example, light itself is affected by gravity. It is bent in strong gravitational fields including that of the matter in the universe as a whole. So light from very distant sources doesn't come to us in a straight line but is curved and bent, distorting our view of the distribution of matter in space and time.⁵ In addition, we are limited in how far out we can see in the universe. No matter how big or advanced our telescopes, radio telescopes, etc., get, there is a limit to what we will be able to see at any moment. This is due to the fact that light from objects which are farther away from us than the distance that light could have traveled since the big bang began has not had enough time to reach us yet. This means that there is sort of a moving horizon to how far out we can see. If we wait long enough and have the necessary technology, we will be able to see new objects "come over the horizon" and suddenly appear. And when we first see them they will be moving away from us at nearly the speed of light.

None of this means that we cannot know what the universe is really like or that we cannot constantly refine and perfect our view of it. It just means that all these kinds of factors have to be allowed for and simple earthbound "common sense" will not get you very far in the universe. As we saw earlier, the prevailing common sense in cosmology considered the very idea of the big bang impossible until irrefutable proof was provided. It "just could not be" that the universe had an explosive beginning and that it is still evolving. But today physicists have been able to construct a very vivid picture of the evolution of the universe through a combination of theoretical work and observation and experiment in the fields of astronomy and particle physics.

Basics of Big Bang Theory

What follows is a simplified and basic account of this evolution. The precise times of events and other specific details are the subject of debate among cosmologists, but the general picture is well established. Cosmologists have reconstructed this process by tracing back the expansion of the universe and determining the heat and density of matter at various stages. With this knowledge, a knowledge of the present makeup of the universe, and experimental and theoretical knowledge of the behavior of particles and radiation under various conditions, scientists have been able to piece together a theoretical picture which conforms to currently known physical laws and the best available observational evidence. Of course, the actual "hard" observational evidence of the big bang is scarce in the same way as (but to a much greater degree than) early fossil evidence

is scarce and partial for those reconstructing the evolution of life on earth. Nevertheless, this basic picture is substantially correct in its outlines and has been accepted as the "standard model" by the bulk of astronomers and theoretical physicists. Certainly further research and discoveries will cause alterations and refinements of this theory, even dramatic changes. But it is not likely that they will invalidate the essence of the big bang theory.

Our universe began some 20 billion years ago (some estimates put it at 15 billion years or even slightly less). What it was born out of is not known. Nor is the initial quantity of matter or its dimensions known. Many physicists and astronomers go so far as to say that things were so compressed by the immense gravitational forces pulling everything together that the whole universe consisted of a singularity (an infinitely small, dimensionless point) or even that the universe could have been born out of a vacuum torn apart by gravity. Thus, according to these views, matter came into being literally out of nothing — that is out of a total absence of matter (total vacuum) acted upon by a disembodied force (pure gravity). Can this be possible? Not without imbuing the abstract concepts of vacuum (matterless space) and pure gravity (matterless force) with the attributes of material substance (matter). If they truly are meant to be abstract conceptions independent of matter by these theorists, then all the contradictions of idealism (the material world is ultimately a creation of consciousness) present themselves; for example, if the concepts of vacuum and gravity, devoid of all material substance, brought the universe into being, then whose conceptions were they? Yours? Mine? A supreme being's? Products of the supreme absolute Idea? Did the universe even exist before humans were around to conceive of vacuum and gravity? If these concepts were responsible for the creation of the universe out of nothing then what non-thing was doing the conceptualizing? Obviously, such ideas only create more and more absurd and meaningless questions. There cannot be consciousness or conceptions existing independently of the organs of thought (thinking matter), of which they are a product. And for the same reason the abstract ideas of total vacuum and pure gravity without matter could not have created matter.

If, on the other hand, "vacuum" and "pure gravity" are meant to imply something real — material — then it makes no sense to use the terms which by definition mean the opposite. If "vacuum" and "pure gravity" are theorized to actually consist of matter, then why use the terms? Why not say that the universe was created out of matter and set about to determine what kind of matter, in what form, and with what properties? Clearly though, the proponents of this "something out of nothing" view are not playing with words. When they say the universe was born out of nothing, they really mean it. And, as we have seen, such a proposition cannot have any validity and leads only to questioning the existence of any reality independent of the thinking of conscious beings with all the attendant absurdities of such notions.

There can be no doubt that our universe was born as a part of the larger and truly infinite (in time and space) Universe. (If this were not true, then what kind of nonuniverse, spirit world, or other idealist abstraction exists "outside" the universe?) It was not created out of nothing, but out of already existing matter in some form with definite dimensions (even if infinitesimally smaller than today). At a certain point this given quantity of matter underwent an extremely rapid qualitative change due to the contradictions inherent in it and its interactions with other matter unknown to us at present. We do not know what form this matter was in nor exactly how the explosion occurred. Almost certainly things were in a state unlike anything we are currently familiar with. Nevertheless, it was real matter just the same.⁶

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2. These measurements are made with telescopes connected to spectrographs which break up the light from galaxies into its various wavelengths (essentially like a prism does). Various chemical elements in the galaxies leave a characteristic pattern (a series of light and dark lines) in this spectrum. However, when an object is moving away at a significant speed, the wavelengths of the light coming from it are lengthened in a way analogous to the lowering in pitch of a train whistle as it moves away from an observer. All the wavelengths in the light from the receding galaxies are thus shifted toward the longer — or red — end of the spectrum. This is called the *Doppler red shift*. The faster something is moving away the more the characteristic pattern from the elements within it is shifted toward the red, and this is measured precisely to determine the exact speed of recession. This data is then correlated with calculations of the distance of the object made by comparing the estimated *intrinsic brightness* of the object (how bright it actually is) to its *apparent brightness* (how bright it appears to us). The farther away something is, the dimmer it appears — decreasing by the square of the distance. Thus as long as the intrinsic brightness of a star or galaxy can be accurately estimated through knowledge of the brightness of nearby stars of various types and through star counts and measurements of the proportions of various types of stars in galaxies and so forth, a pretty accurate estimate of the distance to a galaxy can be made. Obviously there are limits to how precise this can be, especially when you go way out to the limits of current technology. Still, things have been refined to the point that for most galaxies you can determine how far away it is simply by measuring its red shift and calculating its distance using Hubble's Law and the updated value of the *Hubble constant* — 15 km/sec per million light years.

3. The ratio of distance to speed of recession is illustrated by the following examples: a galaxy 78 million light years away is moving away at a speed of 1,200 km/sec; one 1.4 billion light years away at a speed of 22,000 km/sec; one 3.9 billion light years away at 61,000 km/sec or over 20% of the speed of light.

4. Astronomers have been able to see galaxies and objects out to about 10 billion light years. As they look farther out, the more quasars (the most energetic and luminous objects yet observed) are seen. These quasars may be galaxies in the early stages of evolution. The earliest information we are now "seeing" is the 3°K microwave radiation background (electromagnetic radiation just like light only at longer than visible wavelengths). This radiation was produced at a time only about 300,000 years after the big bang began. It comes to us from all directions; we are literally being bathed in it.

5. Strong gravitational fields also cause light to lose energy and thus lengthen in wavelength. Thus it suffers an additional red shift and it will seem to us that the object it came from is moving away from us faster, and is therefore farther away, than it really is.

6. The term "matter" here includes not only particulate matter (atoms, molecules, subatomic particles, etc.) but also electromagnetic radiation (light, radio waves, x-rays, gamma rays, etc.) and any other real thing existing in the form of discrete units and/or continuous fields.

A Look At The Big Bang

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Initially everything was so hot and densely packed that matter existed in a form beyond anything we can yet comprehend.⁷ By about a millisecond after the big bang ensued, things start to become clearer. The main form which matter is in at this stage is electromagnetic radiation.⁸ Slightly before the first millisecond came to an end, the Hadronic Era had already come and gone. In this flash of an instant, pairs of hadrons (heavy particles in the nucleus of atoms such as protons and neutrons and their respective antiparticles, antiprotons, etc.) had been formed by the high-energy photons (waveicles of electromagnetic radiation, in this case in the gamma ray range) and then largely annihilated each other, releasing gamma rays once again. However, there was a small but crucial asymmetry in this process which left a tiny percentage of protons and neutrons alive.⁹

After this first millisecond, the Leptonic Era beings (leptons are the class of light particles like electrons, positrons, neutrinos, etc.). Things have cooled to the point where the energy of the electromagnetic radiation photons is low enough for the creation of lepton particle pairs. By this time the universe consists of a super-hot "soup" of photons, neutrinos (and antineutrinos), electrons and their antiparticles, positrons, and a tiny number of protons and neutrons left over from the previous Hadronic Era. (From measurements of the ratio of nuclear particles to photons in the universe today it is known that there was one proton or neutron for every billion of the other constituents.) This "soup" was extremely dense (3.8 billion times the density of water on earth) and hot (10^{11} or 100 billion degrees K) and was expanding rapidly (doubling in size about every .02 seconds) while cooling correspondingly. Things were so hot and dense that all of these photons, leptons, and hadrons were in continual collision with each other and, except for the few hadrons, transforming into each other continually. No particle or photon could escape this situation. As soon as a particle or photon moved away from another photon or particle, or was formed, it would collide with something else or be annihilated. Thus the universe was opaque to radiation. An observer looking at it would see only a completely black, dense blob expanding at an incredible rate and having a phenomenal gravitational attraction. It was so opaque and dense that even neutrinos, which are so energetic and tiny that they pass right through the entire earth and only extremely rarely hit anything, could not escape being in a continual state of collision and transformation.

The Leptonic Era lasts till about one minute after the beginning of the big

bang. Slightly after the first second things have expanded and accordingly cooled to the point where neutrinos can begin to behave like free particles — that is, they are not obliged to collide continuously with the rest of the primordial soup. They have "decoupled" from the rest of the matter and go merrily on their way at the speed of light. At the temperature of 10 billion° K and density of 380,000 times that of water, the electron and positron pairs begin to annihilate faster than the particles can be formed out of photons. By about 13 seconds later this electron-positron annihilation is in full swing and they begin to rapidly disappear from the scene. The energy released by this annihilation slows the rate of cooling of the universe and the "decoupled" neutrinos are not 8% cooler than the electrons, positrons, and photons and this disparity will increase throughout the period of annihilation. This period will mainly be over within a few minutes after its inception though it is not fully completed for another half hour or so. But just after the first minute draws to a close another dramatic process begins — Nucleosynthesis.

Nucleosynthesis is the formation of what will become nuclei of atoms. It is known that at a temperature of about one billion° K this process begins. It is cool enough for the fusion process between the relatively rare neutrons and protons to begin to form simple atomic nuclei — those of hydrogen and helium and their isotopes (deuterium, tritium and helium three).¹⁰ Of course, these protons and proton-neutron combinations are not "nuclei" of anything yet; atoms have yet to exist. By the time nucleosynthesis is underway in earnest, the electrons and positrons have mostly annihilated each other. After 30 minutes more, all pairs have annihilated except for a crucial but extremely tiny extra percentage of electrons (one extra for every billion original electrons and positrons). Nucleosynthesis is over as well, leaving hydrogen and helium nuclei. Things have cooled down to 300 million° K and the size of the universe is expanding at the rate of doubling every one and one quarter hours. The great bulk of the universe consists of radiation (100 million photons for every nucleus). There is roughly one electron for every proton. At this stage most of the density in the universe is still accounted for by electromagnetic radiation. The free electrons and the photons are in constant collision and neither they nor the nuclei can travel for more than the briefest instant before suffering another collision. So the universe is still a dense, foggy soup, expanding and cooling. It will continue to expand and cool with no significant qualitative leap in development for about 300,000 years.

Because the entire period beginning just after the inception of the big bang is dominated by electromagnetic radiation (this radiation constitutes the bulk of the density of the universe), it is called the Radiation Era or the Radiation-dominated Era. As the expansion continues and things thin out, particles take up a greater and greater percentage of this density. This is because photons of electromagnetic energy have almost no mass and lose energy (thus lengthening in wavelength) as the universe expands. Particles (crystallizations of mass/energy) lose proportionally a much smaller amount of their mass/energy as

the universe expands and cools. By the time conditions become ripe for the formation of atoms for the first time, the Radiation Era gives way to the Matter Era.¹¹ Even though there are so few nuclei compared to the number of photons, they contain more mass/energy than that of all the photons. As the Matter Era gets underway another dramatic turning point approaches — a moment we can actually "see" today.

After about 300,000 years since the Nucleosynthetic Era and when the temperature had cooled to about 3,000° K and the universe had expanded to a size of about 1,000 times less than that of today, electrons and nuclei begin to form atoms for the first time. This process takes to about the age of one million years to complete. It is so efficient that only about one electron and nucleus for every 100,000 atoms fail to combine. The combination of the free electrons with the nuclei forming hydrogen and helium atoms ties up the previously freely interacting electrons and frees up the photons to travel. They are scattered in all directions and fly off suffering only minimal interaction thereafter. For the first time particles and radiation have "decoupled" and the universe becomes transparent to radiation. This point, 300,000 years after the big bang begins, has been called the beginning of the Decoupling Era. If anyone could have been present to witness the beginning of the Decoupling Era they would have seen the previously black, foggy blob of a universe suddenly explode in a flash of intense light and heat. Today we "see" that radiation (that is, detect it with sensitive instruments) bombarding us from all directions only with 1,000 times less energy and therefore 1,000 times longer characteristic wavelength. That radiation is the 3° K microwave background radiation mentioned earlier. It is direct evidence of the big bang.

The intense radiation from the Decoupling Era has been stretched out as the universe expanded; it undergoes the same kind of Doppler red shift that light from the receding galaxies does only to a far greater extent than the farthest galaxies we have yet seen. It is coming from around 20 billion light years away and has been red-shifted so drastically that it is no longer in the visible range, but instead in the microwave range of the electromagnetic spectrum. This radiation background is the oldest observational evidence yet of the events in the early universe. It has been measured in all parts of the sky to an extremely fine degree of accuracy by microwave-receiving antennas. Because of the extreme density of the universe before the Decoupling Era it is not likely that much will be able to be observed from the period up until that point. There is a possibility that the neutrinos that decoupled after the first second can be detected. Calculations show that the characteristic wavelength of these neutrinos (like other subatomic particles neutrinos exhibit wavelike properties) today, after losing energy for billions of years, should correspond to that of radiation characteristic of a temperature of about 2° K. The search for these elusive neutrinos has so far been unsuccessful.

At the end of the Decoupling Era the universe consisted of hydrogen and helium atoms and the decoupled photons and neutrinos. Everything continued to expand (at a slower rate) and cool. This begins a whole new phase in the evolution of the universe. Small irregularities in the distribution of the gas atoms became the basis for larger and larger clumps of gas to pull together by mutual gravitational attraction. Great swirling masses of gas separated and grew denser, forming the precursors of galaxies and galaxy clusters. Smaller globs of gas drew together within these massive clouds and when they became dense enough, fusion

reactions began in their cores and stars were born in the billions upon billions. Within a few billion years of the Decoupling Era, the universe looked much more like what we see now. In the cores of many generations of stars, hydrogen and helium atoms were fused together to form all of the elements that we are familiar with today. When stars die or explode as supernovas, the elements they have forged are distributed widely and intermix with the rest of the galaxy they are in. These elements become part of the material for new stars and other bodies including planets. This phase is obviously a very complex one, full of diversity and continuing to evolve, but for our purposes here this brief description should be sufficient.

Struggle and Leaps

Even a superficial look at the intense drama outlined above reveals a process of explosive evolution characterized by the struggle of opposites transforming into each other under given conditions. For example, a basic contradiction throughout this whole evolution is the mutual attraction of matter (gravitation, attraction of opposite charges, the strong and weak forces within the atom) vs. repulsion (resistance to compression of particles, particle motion, radiation pressure, repulsion of like electric charges, etc.). Each calls forth the other and struggles against the other aspect. Equilibrium between these two opposite tendencies of matter can only be temporary and conditional while the dominance of one aspect and the switching of these positions is constant. Attraction held sway for some amount of time before the big bang ensued. It was overcome by its opposite in a rapidly explosive way. But even as the universe expands, gravity is slowing it down and also causing the clumping of matter into galaxies, stars, etc. This clumping and gathering into denser and denser aggregations in turn increasingly gives rise to repulsion in stars and galaxies. This multifaceted contradiction plays a central role in the development of the universe on various levels. Other readily apparent contradictions include: electromagnetic radiation vs. particles, particles vs. antiparticles, thermal energy vs. mass/energy density and so on. The struggle of the various diametrically opposed but interdependent opposites gives rise to the whole evolutionary process and the entire series of processes within it. These do not proceed smoothly or take place neatly, one after the other in a straight-line fashion like following a cake recipe — first add water, then add eggs, then stir and bake, etc. Furthermore, the outcome of any given process is not predetermined in any way; there is a hefty dose of chance involved — existing right along with, and in opposition to, necessity. In other words the process of the evolution of the universe is more like that of a zig-zag, or better yet a spiral, *not* a straight line. It is full of back and forth, twists and turns with complex and simultaneous interactions. This *spiral-like* development takes place through a whole series of qualitative leaps where the previous order goes through radical change very rapidly (even in milliseconds or less). It is these qualitative leaps that are the essential dynamic feature of the big bang.

Even the relatively long periods of relatively slow and quantitative development are propelled forward by myriad qualitative leaps. For example, the evolution of one of the many billions of galaxies is an exceedingly violent and dramatic affair; the same is true of the formation and development of stars which on one level is a mundane concern of mainly quantitative significance but on another level is full of sudden changes, including sudden triggering of the fusion process out of relatively inert gas, cataclysmic collapse, supernova explosions (where a star will release as much energy as a billion suns in a matter of weeks), and much more. Whole galaxies have been observed to collide and explode all the time, and even the seemingly slow movement and rotation of normal galaxies is taking place at phenomenal speeds compared to what we are used to dealing with. Actually, given the immense scale with which we are dealing, the universe is changing extremely rapidly. One astronomer put it this way, "...by astronomical standards, the universe is

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7. Tracing back the expansion of the universe, some have estimated that at what is called the Planck time (just 10-43 seconds after the big bang began) all the matter we can now observe in the universe was concentrated in a sphere the size of the point of a needle with a density of around 10^{90} kilograms per cubic centimeter. If this is correct, one can hardly imagine the extreme physical conditions existing at this early time.

8. Some theorize that along with photons of radiation there were quarks and antiquarks (the most basic class of particles yet known). Quarks in various combinations form the various hadrons (particles in the nucleus of atoms). So far six types of quarks have been identified by particle physicists.

9. It has been observed in particle accelerators that high-energy gamma ray photons, with a specific energy, colliding with each other will create particle pairs of all kinds. The kind of particle pairs formed depends on the energy of the photons. Two photons of about half a billion electron volts will create a proton and an antiproton. Two photons of about half a million electron volts will create an electron and a positron. When these particle/antiparticle pairs meet they annihilate each other and throw off two gamma ray photons with the same energy as those which created the particles in the first place. In fact, in the high-energy environment we have been describing, particle creation and annihilation goes on continuously and no particles can exist for more than an instant. There is a constant process of radiation to particles and then back again. After things cool down, due to continued expansion, and the photons no longer possess enough energy in the main to form a specific kind of particle/antiparticle pair and the majority of these pairs annihilate — only then are any remaining particles able to exist relatively stably and independently.

10. The nucleus of hydrogen is a single unbound proton. Helium and all of the isotopes of hydrogen contain neutrons. When a neutron captures a proton the nucleus of deuterium is formed. Add another neutron and you get tritium. Add a proton to tritium and you get a helium nucleus. In the big bang soup there was a neutron to proton balance of 13% neutrons to 87% protons. (Actually this percentage was the product of a process of neutrons decaying into protons over a period of time.) Almost all of the neutrons went into helium nuclei since in most cases the deuterium nuclei will quickly absorb free neutrons forming the tritium nucleus which usually fuses quickly with another proton to make a helium nucleus. A relatively few deuterium nuclei remained and the unbound protons reacted no further since there were no free neutrons around. According to this picture there should be a ratio of about 22%-28% helium in the basic gas in the universe with almost all of the rest being hydrogen. Astronomical measurements have actually determined a percentage of 20-30% helium! A discovery which has served to confirm the big bang theory.

11. This commonly used term is misleading and reflects a common misunderstanding. The implication of the opposition of "matter-dominated" to "radiation-dominated" is that radiation is somehow not matter because it doesn't exist in the same form as atoms and their constituent particles do. Clearly, electromagnetic radiation is a form of matter and is, as we have seen, capable of coagulating into particles under the proper conditions. Particles are aggregates of mass/energy and even exhibit wavelike properties similar to those of light. Both particles and radiation are matter, only in different forms with different specific properties. Perhaps "particle-dominated" era would be a more accurate term than "matter-dominated," but to avoid confusion this article will continue to use the latter term.

the Land of Extradition

from page 5

two points: even if there were political motivations, men lay dead and this must be considered an assassination; and two, the French government is satisfied with the guarantees regarding the legal status of the returned exiles, so how can they refuse the Spanish democracy the right to judge its crimes? And in case anyone was confused, he spelled out that, "France cannot be a sanctuary for a whole series of criminal acts," and "Spain is a democratic country."

To take a closer look at these arguments, it is evident what the real point is — don't try to carry out revolutionary activity in bourgeois-democratic countries like France or you'll face the full weight of the state. First, extradition policy has always excluded any crimes of a political nature. Until the November 1982 revision by the Socialist Council of Ministers — which four Communist Party Ministers, now criticising the extraditions, took part in — it was never the case that "blood crimes" could not be considered political. Even the pro-Socialist French daily *Liberation* felt the need to point out that: "When the Swiss government refused to extradite Algerian NLF leaders during the Algerian war, it was not because they did not recognize France as an authentic democracy, but because the Algerian rebellion, entirely motivated by nationalist motives, could not be reduced to a simple common law crime question." Or, for more current hypocrisy, at the very time that these same imperialist gentlemen were preparing to extradite the Basque revolutionaries, they were gushing over how they had rolled out the red carpet for revolutionary filmmaker Yilmaz Güney, whom the Turkish government had accused, among other things, of killing a judge! But then, depending on the situation, it is sometimes a different matter when "blood crimes" occur against military or judicial authorities of fascist dictatorships in underdeveloped countries. This highlights their second point about the need to fortify their social-democratic alliances and boost public faith and illusions in democracy. Just as the bourgeoisies of Western civilization are willing to democratically "guarantee" a whole slew of appeals and channels all the way to the gas chamber, so here are the French imperialists attacking what has been a "right" under their bourgeois democracy in the name of... democracy. Carrying out political extraditions to support their "democratic" bloc partners, they are setting out to destroy what they have always waved as proof of their democratic institutions: "we offer refuge and asylum to all those forced to leave their countries because of their political beliefs."

The fact that the French bourgeoisie is reversing this age-old institution by boldly and unabashedly going after the politically flammable case of the Basque

revolutionaries, who have a lot of support and have been the focus of long-standing tension, is significant. It also reveals their desire to resolve this particular conflict within their territory and to openly make it easier to link up with other European bourgeoisies for tighter collaboration in the period to come. Hundreds of Italian refugees in France, as well as West German and Irish political activists, are perhaps next in line to the democratic showers, i.e., becoming extraditable for "nonpolitical" crimes. And it is noteworthy that this same enlightened logic guided the democratic process cited in the refusal to grant political asylum status in France to RCP, USA Chairman, Bob Avakian: since America's a democracy, therefore, how could there exist political persecution?

It is quite evident that the French imperialist hypocrites who have a list of blood crimes of their own stretching from Vietnam to Algeria to Zaire to South Africa to Chad and Lebanon have some serious doubts about their ability and that of their European imperialist associates to contain and divert revolutionary activity as the world situation heats up. Taking steps to refuse refuge to and pave the way for easy extradition of political prisoners and revolutionaries is no small contribution for those running the Elysée.

As for the Spanish government, although immensely pleased with the decision and its new appointment as official democrats with full reign to try to suppress the nationalist struggle raging on their northern border, things are likely not to be so rosy either. At the same time as they are busily drawing up lists for the next Basques they want the French to deliver to their "justice," they have no means to "extradite" their Basque problem. There is a great deal of support for the ETA armed struggle, and nationalist sentiments for independence are deeply rooted. For instance, in the March 1984 elections for the regional Basque parliament (which has little governing power) over 40% abstained, most likely following the ETA call to boycott the "sham elections." In addition, the Herri Batasuna coalition (which can be considered the legal apparatus of the ETA) got 15% of the vote (over 150,000 votes), though the Herri Batasuna has refused to take its thirteen seats as a protest to the phony character of the regional parliament, and they called for independence instead. And in a referendum in 1978, 67% of the Basque voters refused to approve the new Spanish Constitution. The point is that in reality the Basques are not terrorists but represent a political movement with a mass base — a national liberation movement against the Spanish government — and all the imperialists' talk of wiping out the "armed bands of terrorists" does not conform to the situation they face.

Reaction to the extraditions has been swift and violent in Basque country. Beyond the targeting of a number of both French and Spanish Socialist Party headquarters, French banks and companies, barricades went up in the streets and militant demonstrations have been held in all the major cities in both Basque regions, including a general strike on September 26. While French TV reported this strike as only partially successful, they described the cities as *dead*! In Bayonne, an

angry march carried banners saying, "Mitterrand, the People Won't Forgive You," "France, Land of Extradition," and "Police Out of Basque Country." In the days following, three Guardia Civil's duty was permanently terminated in the flow of outrage after the extraditions. The Spanish government has already updated its antiterrorist law, adding a special new provision that "will seriously punish" any disrespect of state symbols, especially the Spanish flag, and threatens to shut down newspapers which show any sympathy towards the Basque struggle.

The French bourgeoisie has a complicated situation on its hands also, trying to sum up its reactionary move in a palpable way. Volumes are coming out daily from the press, with editorials and counter-editorials, first upholding, then criticizing, the turncoat Socialists and speculating about the long-term consequences and rupture with tradition. A shameless and conspicuous silence has settled in over at the office of Robert Badinter, the Minister of Justice, who likes to consider himself a great civil libertarian and who once acted as a defense lawyer for revolutionary Basques. In contrast, many of the progressive lawyers who have defended political refugees over the years issued public statements condemning the extraditions.

The cards are not all out yet regarding the exact maneuvers and plans of the French bourgeoisie, now that the question of the freedom to political asylum is squarely out on the table. But the Socialists have been forced out of their bag more than a little bit over this controversy, and as the new exporters of revolutionaries they are looking more like every other imperialist preparing for war and hard times ahead. □

Berkeley

Continued from page 12

saw taking shape was an unprecedented occurrence of organized, radical political activism among the white intellectual youth, who were supposed to be material to be molded through the university system to become loyal managers of the imperialist order. And this was taking place in the context of objective developments that were becoming increasingly unfavorable all around for U.S. imperialism. The "civil rights movement" was already transforming and developing into a powerful revolutionary upsurge of Black people and other oppressed nationalities. Internationally, the national liberation struggles were delivering ever-stronger blows to the American empire. The FSM cleared the way and set a groundwork for the more rebellious student movement of the latter '60s, which was influenced by the tremendous upheaval and upsurge in the world as well as in the U.S.

Shortcomings

As Bob Avakian points out in the book, *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?*: "As important and radical in many ways as the '60s movement in the U.S. was — especially the more revolutionary currents that developed — there was still was not, even on the part of the most influential revolutionary forces, that radical rupture with (leap beyond) the confines of bourgeois democracy, in

particular patriotism (nationalism) in one form or another and the thrust of fighting for 'equality' as the essential and highest goal. Such a goal... ultimately remains within the confines of bourgeois democracy" (page 127).

This very aptly describes the outlook of the FSM leaders (although they and their movement were not the most revolutionary current in the '60s) then and now. In his remarks at the October 2 rally, Savio said, "If you add up the Blacks, Chicanos, gays and all the other so-called 'interest groups,' we have a majority. That makes us the real nationalists. It is our flag, too." "What we need to say — to speak — to America," said Savio, "is that less capitalistic is not less democratic but more democratic."

Notably lacking at the October 2 rally was the question of world war. Jack Weinberg, in fact, was the only speaker to address the issue of nuclear war: "Our species is now so advanced that life may not go on... no objective justifies risking the species." Savio did put considerable emphasis on the very immediate issue of the day — the possibly imminent invasion of Nicaragua. But his evoking of the '60s struggle in this context points to the limitations in his overall outlook as well as his analysis of the objective situation: "Either we succeed in making Nicaragua the Mississippi of this generation, or it will become our Vietnam. The choice may still be ours."

The sentiment of "U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua" is certainly righteous and to be united with. But the '60s outlook and analysis of the world situation, even in their most advanced expressions, is not enough for the '80s, where the stakes and dangers are much higher, and the revolutionary opportunities also that much greater. What activists confront today is not simply supporting the struggle of an oppressed people (a Mississippi) or even just a bitter fight against U.S. intervention in the Third World (a Vietnam). The stakes are global and vast — and what is needed is a radical rupture with the whole bourgeois-democratic framework, and a leap to proletarian internationalism.

In a counterpoint to the generally respectable and accepted FSM commemoration, four people were arrested on the morning of the October 2 rally for allegedly spraypainting slogans on up to 43 campus buildings. They were charged with felony vandalism and conspiracy and had to come up with \$5,000 bail each to be released. The D.A. charged that they had caused \$75,000 worth of damages, even though the slogans were almost completely removed by the time of the rally. According to the *Daily Cal*, the slogans "related to a variety of political causes from military involvement in Central America to university ties with Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories."

The FSM commemoration was something the bourgeoisie did not entirely like but could tolerate and try to contain in various ways. The spraypainting clearly exceeded the limits, showing in another way the importance to the bourgeoisie of this look at the '60s by students of the '80s. Revolutionaries should also take note, recognizing the movement's shortcomings, drawing its lessons. □

A Look At The Big Bang

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changing very rapidly. When life first developed on earth, the external galaxies were so much closer to our Milky Way system that the mean density of matter in the universe was about twice what it is today. If this does not seem like a spectacular change, I would add that only about twice as far back in the past the material in all the other galaxies was right on top of our own...."

Consider once again the picture painted by the big bang theory: An instant before the first millisecond, hadrons are created out of radiation. The radiation photons create opposing pairs of particle/antiparticles. These virtually all annihilate, except by chance and for reasons not yet known a small percentage of protons and neutrons remains. If this hadn't been the case, nothing we know of

would exist today, from atoms to galaxies. Even as the hadron annihilation process goes on, lepton particle pairs begin to be created. A few seconds later the lepton particle pairs start to annihilate. But meanwhile, nucleosynthesis begins. By about 30 minutes, the lepton annihilation and nucleosynthesis is over and again by chance a tiny, tiny percentage of electrons are left over — electrons which possess the proper charge and other properties necessary to unite with the nuclei to form a whole new thing, atoms. Yet this combination of whizzing, spinning and seething particles will not take place for over 300,000 years. In any case, within 30 some-odd minutes, matter has gone from a state totally unrecognizable to us — hotter and denser than can be meaningfully compared to anything we are familiar with — to a soup of immense quantities of radiation but with all the essential potential building blocks of atoms embedded in it. As the universe expands, it suddenly reaches a point where the determinant aspect become particles instead of radiation and in a flash the

dense fog lifts. The electrons have interacted with the nuclei for the first time and atoms form.

Fortunately (for us anyway) there are enough atoms around to begin the process of galaxy and star formation. It was probably more likely that this wouldn't have been the case since there were so many necessary preconditions and favorable accidents in the process. This phase itself is made up of many overlapping processes and diverse phenomena, including the forging of all the elements out of hydrogen and helium over a protracted period and through various stages. The motion and development of all of these different atoms and molecules in a variety of aggregations gives rise to the whole panorama of bodies we see in the universe. Nothing in this phase either proceeds in a straight-line way or is predetermined to happen in any way. For example, the formation of "our" solar system was a complex process and could easily have not occurred at all (though it is probably not unusual for solar systems to form in our galaxy and in other galaxies).

And the evolution continues. It will not be long on this time scale (*only* six billion years) until the Earth and our solar system will die and become transformed into something else. This, like everything else which is to come, will take place by leaps. It is known that the sun will start to swell up, then collapse suddenly, and expand again swallowing up the planets and then becoming a white dwarf star surrounded by debris. Later it will burn out entirely. Truly, this entire picture represents a radical point of departure from the previous era of static gradualistic cosmology. The big bang and modern cosmological theories are much more full of life and therefore much truer to life than anything which preceded them.

(Continued next week)

Some books for further reading:
The First Three Minutes by Steven Weinberg
Einstein's Universe by Nigel Calder
Violent Universe by Nigel Calder

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