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Congress Discovers CIA The Shock of Recognition

The distinguished Senators and Congressmen are positively shocked! What is it, one wonders, that could possibly so offend the sensibilities of those who routinely vote their approval and funding for nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons of unprecedented destructive capabilities, and who equally routinely distribute billions of dollars to death-squad regimes around the globe? Why, it's the discovery that the CIA has written, published and distributed to its puppet anti-Sandinista army, the *Contras*, a primer entitled "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare."

It may be hard to believe, but this manual actually directs the *Contras* to do some really nasty stuff — like "neutralizing" public officials who don't go along with them, shooting citizens who attempt to leave a town they have taken over, hiring professional criminals to carry out some important tasks and blackmailing people to get them to cooperate, along with much, much more. Who could ever have imagined that the peaceloving CIA — who everyone thought was committed to nonviolence — would engage in such activities?

Not the legislators, you can be assured of that. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is vice-chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, is positively livid. Don't forget, Moynihan already protested quite vociferously over the CIA mining of Nicaragua's harbors, going so far as to publicly resign his position... for about a day and a half. This time, Moynihan is

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Excerpts from:

A Horrible End, or An End To The Horror?

by Bob Avakian

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Of "Peace Talks" And Clampdowns

The October 15 "peace" talks in El Salvador bore a striking resemblance to those other staged extravaganzas for which that country has become noted recently — elections. On those occasions, *RW* readers will recall, U.S. television screens were lit up with a picture of thousands of anxious Salvadorans streaming to the polls, while the commentators all proclaimed it a demonstration that what the people in El Salvador *really* want is U.S.-style democracy. Naturally, this meant that much more neocolonial fascist brutality was in store.

Now, we have the picture of thousands of anxious Salvadorans waving white flags and the commentators all proclaiming that what the people of El Salvador *really* want is U.S.-style peace. Can there be any doubt that what is at hand is much more U.S.-led bloodshed?

Given the contradictions involved, image is everything in these events. The star of the show is El Salvador's president, José Napoleón Duarte, who has presided over, fronted for and facilitated the mass murder of tens of thousands of Salvadorans. But now he is a dedicated (and "courageous") "man of peace." The image is helped along by highly publicized verbal attacks on Duarte from the "ultra-right" death squads — such as the Secret Anti-Communist Army, which accuses Duarte of "high treason" and announces that he will be a "target of our military action" — and the infamous Roberto D'Aubuisson. Of course, the fearless Duarte goes to the talks anyway, protected only by the Red Cross and Boy Scouts, but somehow, miraculously, the "ultra-right" fails to carry out its threats. Perhaps it is only coincidence that Duarte travels to the session in a Cherokee Jeep — the regulation vehicle for death squads in El Salvador.

A few days before the talks, the "notorious right-wing" Colonel Ochoa (a favorite of the U.S. advisors in El Salvador) leads his troops into La Palma, the northern Chalatenango town that Duarte had dramatically chosen to be the site of his performance. Ochoa claims this is to prove that the army is strong and can control every part of the country — neglecting to mention that this is the first time in nine months that the Salvadoran military has entered the town, since the guerrillas control all of northern Chalatenango (and between one-fourth and one-third of the country overall), and the army could be fairly certain they could march in unharmed due to the pending talks. The move, however,

enables Duarte to stand up to the army and order the troops to leave town — adding to the "courageous man of peace" persona he has been given in this morality play.

This Duarte vs. army (or Duarte vs. "the right") theme provides just the right melodrama to all the U.S.'s Salvadoran extravaganzas these days. After all, every morality play must have its villain. In this case, there must be a foil for Duarte's "New Reality" — the vision of an El Salvador where peasants get land, everyone still speaks his or her mind and there are no more of those infamous "abuses of authority." Without the picture of a "heroic" and "democratic" Duarte battling these gorilla generalissimos, this "new reality" demagoguery would be even more threadbare than it is now. Just one example of how different everything is these days:

when the Salvadoran air force wants to drop 500-pound bombs on the population, it must get permission from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which is, of course, answerable to the liberal commander in chief, President Duarte. There has been no official word yet on whether the army's ground troops must first obtain Duarte's permission before they massacre peasant men, women and children. Perhaps this is one of the items that the "courageous" Salvadoran president will be willing to negotiate — in exchange for a guerrilla surrender, of course.

For surrender is precisely what the "man of peace" is proposing. Prior to meeting with leaders of the opposition coalition Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) in La Palma, Duarte's supporters passed out a

leaflet announcing that he was offering amnesty to "all those who may have participated directly or indirectly in crimes connected with the situation of political violence." The question was raised if this proposed amnesty would apply not only to the FDR/FMLN forces but to the death squads as well. One of Duarte's advisors quickly answered that it would not. After all, why would death squads need amnesty? It is only *opposition* to the government and its U.S. backers that is a crime in El Salvador.

But what if there are some naive souls who, on the basis of faith in Duarte's "New Reality" or a belief that this is a real concession, decided to lay down their arms and come into the "process," as State Department officials like to call it? What would happen? For a clue, we can look at another "process" initiated under

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The following call, issued by the signatories below, has appeared in the *Village Voice*, October 16, 1984, the *Bay Guardian*, October 17, 1984, and will be appearing numerous local and antiwar publications.

A CALL TO ACT

The threat of world war is increasingly real and pressing. The recent past has witnessed an unprecedented increase in international tension and war preparations. The great powers stand toe to toe, openly building and boasting of their increased armaments. They intervene against popular struggles around the world, while at the same time a series of confrontation points between the great powers (and their proxies) burn like fuses capable of igniting a greater conflagration.

The military forces of the major powers are equipped with nuclear weapons at all levels, making it all but certain that any global conflict would be fought with these weapons of mass destruction. Target lists to annihilate whole nations have been drawn up and are continually revised. Beyond the hundreds of millions of deaths their use would cause, lies a future scarred by global climatic, ecological, and economic effects. Worldwide, many millions more who might have escaped the immediate effects of nuclear weapons will die of starvation and disease.

In this season of peril, all the governments continue to proclaim their peaceful intents and declare global nuclear war to be unthinkable. Yet their actions (and with increasing frequency their words as well) speak differently. The major powers continuously hone their war plans with new weapons tests and ever more realistic war games. New disarmament proposals are cynically designed to elicit rejection. Jingoistic appeals to national pride abound. Military-political moves and counter-moves force the situation to ever more dangerous heights. The U.S. government stands belligerently on the front lines of these moves to war. Crisis follows crisis in a spiral that cannot go on without resulting in the gravest of consequences.

Such an extraordinary situation requires an extraordinary response. Mass opposition

and resistance to war must achieve new heights, and with the greatest urgency. Only the independent action of millions stepping onto the stage of history to resist can realistically speak to the enormity that looms before us. It is in this spirit of practical politics that we now call for a coordinated day of national action against war, a concerted day of "No Business As Usual" on April 29, 1985. A day that deliberately disrupts and shuts down as much as possible of the daily routine through which we are lurching toward global war. A day of diverse events across the country which include the activities of people of many nationalities and social backgrounds: the anti-nuclear and anti-interventionist movements, the rebellious youth, the women's movement, religious activists, immigrants and political exiles, academics, workers, those involved in the war machine itself, and others. With activities ranging from teach-ins and forums to civil disobedience and other creative forms of direct action, our joint actions will focus the attention of large sectors of society on this critical question and on the necessity to act, and will deliver a powerful message that we will *not* go along with the rulers down the road to World War III.

We who issue this call have taken part in many different ways in the movements against injustice, exploitation, and war. Among us we hold different political and philosophical analyses of the configurations of world power, the sources of wars through history, and the many fronts of struggle and tactics we must employ for social change. But we share the recognition that now it is time to unite to say NO. Precisely because:

*They won't listen to reason,
They won't be bound by votes,
The governments must be stopped from launching World War III,
No matter what it takes!*

Individuals' organization listed for identification purpose only

Anti-War Action Coalition (AWAC), Cleveland

Emile de Antonio, film director and writer

Karl Bissinger, anti-war activist, NY

Robert McAfee Brown, Professor of Theology and Ethics,
Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley

Kate Champa, artist, resister and mother, Providence

Jack and Felice Cohen-Joppa, editors, The Nuclear Resister

Grace Copperhead, **Kalrose**, **Ann Lewis**, **Cathy Hope**,
Joyce Land & Carlyle Cesal, of the Women's Encampment for Peace
AND Justice, Savannah River Plant, 1983-84

Carl Dix, Revolutionary Communist Party, Black G.I. member of the Fort
Lewis 6 who served 2 years in Leavenworth for refusing to go to Vietnam

Patrick S. Diehl, Livermore Action Group staff member

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Lillian Ford and Therese Forte, Seattle Non-Violent Group

Kris Fulsas, Northwest Passage

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Squatters Anonymous, San Francisco

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Geoff Yippiel, Abalone Alliance, People's Law School, San Francisco

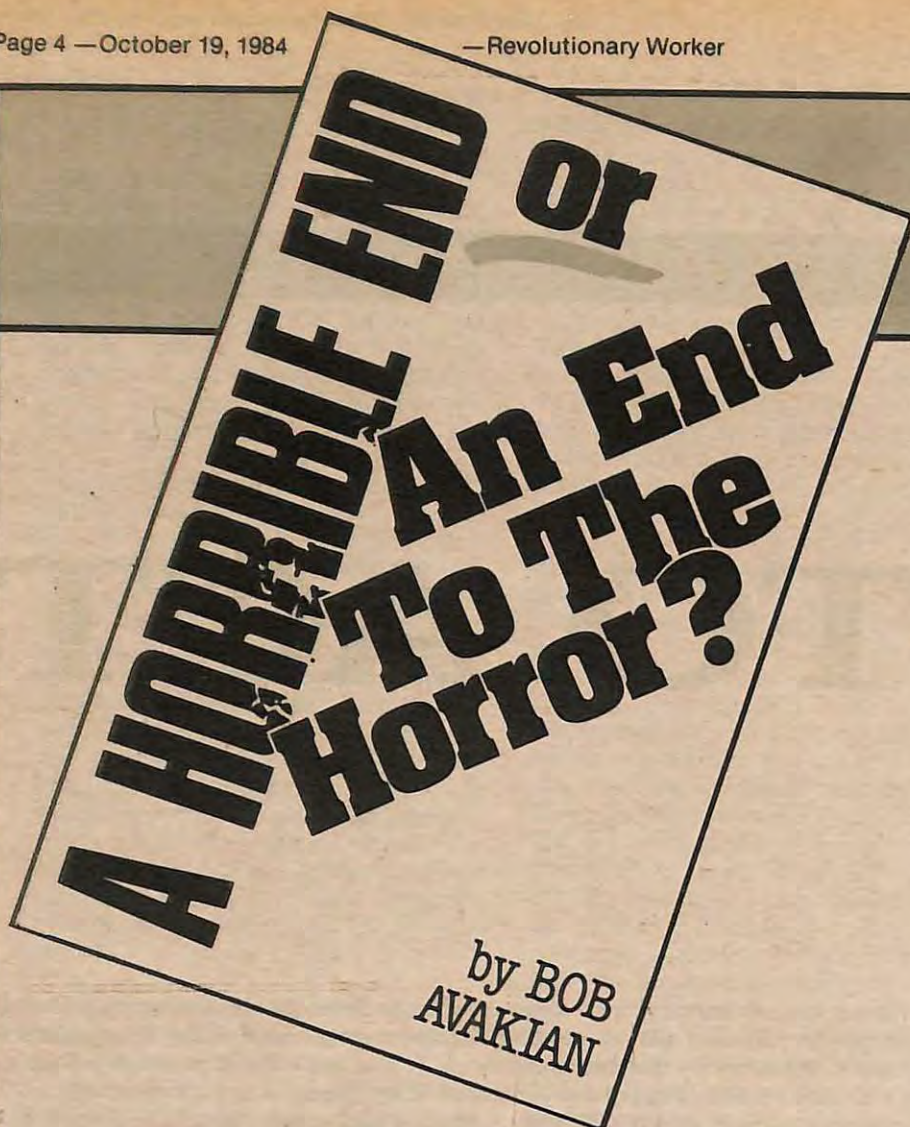
Joe Zone, organizer, Republican War Chest Tour

8 Democratic War Chest Tourists

and 3 Republican War Chest Tourists

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*No business as usual:
Monday, April 29, 1985*



This week the Revolutionary Worker begins a series of excerpts from Bob Avakian's newest and most important work to date, *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?* The entire book is being serialized weekly in Spanish in *Obrero Revolucionario*. In English, we will only be excerpting some sections to give our readers a "taste." The book is available at local Revolution Bookstores and outlets, through RCP Publications, and at some other locations.

This week's excerpt includes the introduction to the book and two subsections ("The Godfather" and "JFK and RR") which come from Chapter 1 and its first major section "Nuclear War — Political and Ideological Questions." The other subsections in this section of the book are:

Imperialist Chauvinistic Fatalism and World War 3
 The Day the Earth Stood Still
 The "Fram Oil Filter" Line
 The Baretta TV Show Theme
 World War, Nuclear Destruction, and Lopsidedness
 What We Intend To Do With the Productive Forces
 "Maoism," "Primitive Communism," and the
 "Theory of the Productive Forces"
 Imperialism — No Future; But What About the Future of Humanity?

Introduction: War and Revolution

The question of world war — the growing, imminent danger of war between two equally imperialist blocs, one headed by the USA and the other headed by the USSR — is the most acute problem in the world today. This is not some kind of "accidental" phenomenon, nor is it the expression of the subjective attitudes or actions of individuals, no matter how powerful. It is rather the expression of profound objective contradictions which have reached a decisive conjuncture: it represents a concentration of the "normal workings" of the imperialist system and at the same time a tremendous magnification of them and their destructive consequences for the great majority of the world's people, for humanity as a whole. This poses new and genuinely unprecedented problems, even as compared to previous explosions of the world contradictions of imperialism with previous world wars.

The present world-historic conjuncture shaping up, the intense gathering together and heightening of the major contradictions in the world in this period, is in an overall way magnified many times beyond — in fact it is qualitatively beyond — previous conjunctures of this kind focused around the two previous world wars. Thus not only the dangers and potentially destructive consequences but also the possibilities for revolutionary breakthroughs, for the overthrow of reactionary social systems and for profound revolutionary changes in the entire structure of world relations, are greatly heightened.

The relation (or dialectic) between war and revolution is at the center of this historic drama being enacted in the world arena: a deadly serious struggle is going on between these two trends which will have everything to do with determining the direction of human society, and indeed the destiny of humanity itself. The question of revolution is very much alive — and more, it represents the only possible way forward. This, again, is all the more so because the whole world and its future are this time, quite literally, at stake. Any other attempted solution to this, which will leave the foundations of imperialism untouched and bring no fundamental changes in world relations and social systems, is utterly incapable of providing a way forward out of this howling madness; only proletarian revolution holds the possibility for doing so.

The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is a tremendous advance out of the setback and disarray experienced by the international communist movement in the wake of the loss in China (following only two decades after the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union). The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement represents a very significant regrouping of the international forces of proletarian revolution and a real change in the equation of world relations — it represents a leap in the potential to confront and transform the world situation, including the possibility of actually preventing world war through revolution. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* states, "only the advance of the world revolution can stop the war in preparation and attack its source."¹ And as I formulated it recently, "only the seizure of power by the proletariat in large and/or strategic enough parts of the world to qualitatively alter the whole equation of world relations — can prevent world war, and on the other hand if world war does break out, with all its terrible destruction, that will in fact heighten the possibilities for revolution, which remains the only way forward out of all this madness and destruction."²

Perhaps, if things are looked at narrowly, and specifically are seen from only

a U.S. or European (or "developed country") perspective, this statement — and particularly the second part about the possibilities for revolution being heightened if war does break out — may seem unrealistic, even wildly out of touch with reality; but if things are truly viewed from a worldwide and world-historic perspective, this orientation is of even greater importance than ever before, *precisely because* of what the stakes are this time. With this kind of orientation and understanding it is possible to grasp more deeply the profound correctness and significance of the statement by Mao Tsetung cited in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*: "Either revolution will prevent [world] war, or [world] war will give rise to revolution."³ Given the stakes that have been spoken of — and in particular the actual consequences of a world war that would almost certainly involve major nuclear exchanges — it is not only correct but crucial to give great emphasis to the question of preventing this war. But at the same time we must struggle all the more to win people to the understanding that only the advance of the world proletarian revolution holds the possibility for doing this, and the tendency to think that literally nothing will be possible — at least nothing positive — if such a war breaks out must be vigorously and sharply refuted. In all this, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has a tremendously important role to play, and every effort must be extended to support, strengthen, and develop it to realize its full potential to profoundly affect world events in the period before us, which will represent a turning point without precedent in human society.

At the same time, special responsibilities as well as particular opportunities to affect world events exist in the U.S., given the kind of country it is and the role it plays in world relations. It was recently reported to me that a comrade from another country who has been deeply involved in intense struggles between revolution and counterrevolution there posed in a very frank and earnest way the question: when are you (our party in the U.S.) going to launch the revolutionary struggle for power? This was asked not as a criticism or with unthinking impatience, but with the open — and very correct — urging that such a struggle, launched when and as soon as the conditions emerged for doing so and launched with a perspective for fighting through to win, would be a powerful blow for the world revolution and a great assistance and encouragement to the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle everywhere. It is in unity with this spirit and orientation that this book is being written and that it will focus to a large extent on a number of major questions related to the revolutionary struggle in the U.S. — touching especially on the actual possibility for revolution in such a country and the strategy for actually carrying out the revolutionary struggle to overthrow U.S. imperialism and establish proletarian rule. But this will also be taken up in the context of world relations and struggles and the world-historic problem of communist revolution in a global environment still ruled, distorted, and threatened with massive destruction by imperialism.

Hence the title of this book: *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?* A horrible end — at least to human civilization as it has developed to this point — that is a very real possibility posed in the period ahead; it is to this threshold that the development of civilization under the domination of exploiting classes and their oppressive states has brought us. And such a horrible end is something to be actively, urgently fought against. But at the same time, it must

¹ *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* (English edition, 1984), p. 43. This *Declaration* was issued on May 1, 1984 in 22 languages and is being distributed in all parts of the world. It was adopted by the delegates and observers of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
 Ceylon Communist Party
 Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy]
 Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) Mao Tsetung Regional Committee
 Communist Party of Peru
 Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist
 Haitian International Revolutionary Group
 Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
 New Zealand Red Flag Group

Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups [Britain]
 Proletarian Communist Organization, Marxist-Leninist [Italy]
 Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla [Bangladesh]
 Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
 Revolutionary Communist Party, India
 Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
 Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic]
 Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

² "World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution, Not Peace," *Revolutionary Worker (RW)*, No. 227 (October 21, 1983), p. 3.

³ Cited in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, p. 7.

never be forgotten that the daily workings of this system are a continual horror for the great majority of the world's people — this is no exaggeration but a profound, searing truth commonly overlooked in the preserves of privilege and comfort that exist for broad strata much of the time in the imperialist citadels. Nor must it be forgotten that, as stressed earlier, the only possible means of preventing such a horrible end, or in any case the only way forward in the face of it, is the advance of the world proletarian revolution.

To quote again the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* on this crucial point:

Communists are resolute opponents of imperialist war and must mobilise and lead the masses in the fight against preparations for a third world war which would be the greatest crime committed in the history of mankind. But the Marxist-Leninists will never hide the truth from the masses: only revolution, revolutionary war that the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary forces are leading or preparing to lead, can prevent this crime. . . . If, on the other hand, the revolutionary struggle is not capable of preventing a third world war, the communists and the revolutionary proletariat and masses must be prepared to mobilise the outrage that such a war and the inevitable suffering accompanying it will engender and direct it against the source of war — imperialism, take advantage of the weakened position of the enemy and in this way turn a reactionary imperialist war into a just war against imperialism and reaction.⁴

Thus the question is not whether there will be sacrifice, even heightened suffering for a period, but of what kind, yes of what magnitude but most fundamentally toward what end: A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?

The stakes involved and the urgency of these questions demand that they be taken up in a penetrating and thoroughgoing way and unshrinkingly grappled with not only by the advanced, politically conscious forces, on the international level as well as within the different countries, but also by broader masses as they are awakened to political life. It is more crucial than ever that these questions and their profound implications be made accessible to all those who are concerned and must be concerned with these questions and are, potentially at least, part of the solution and not part of the problem.

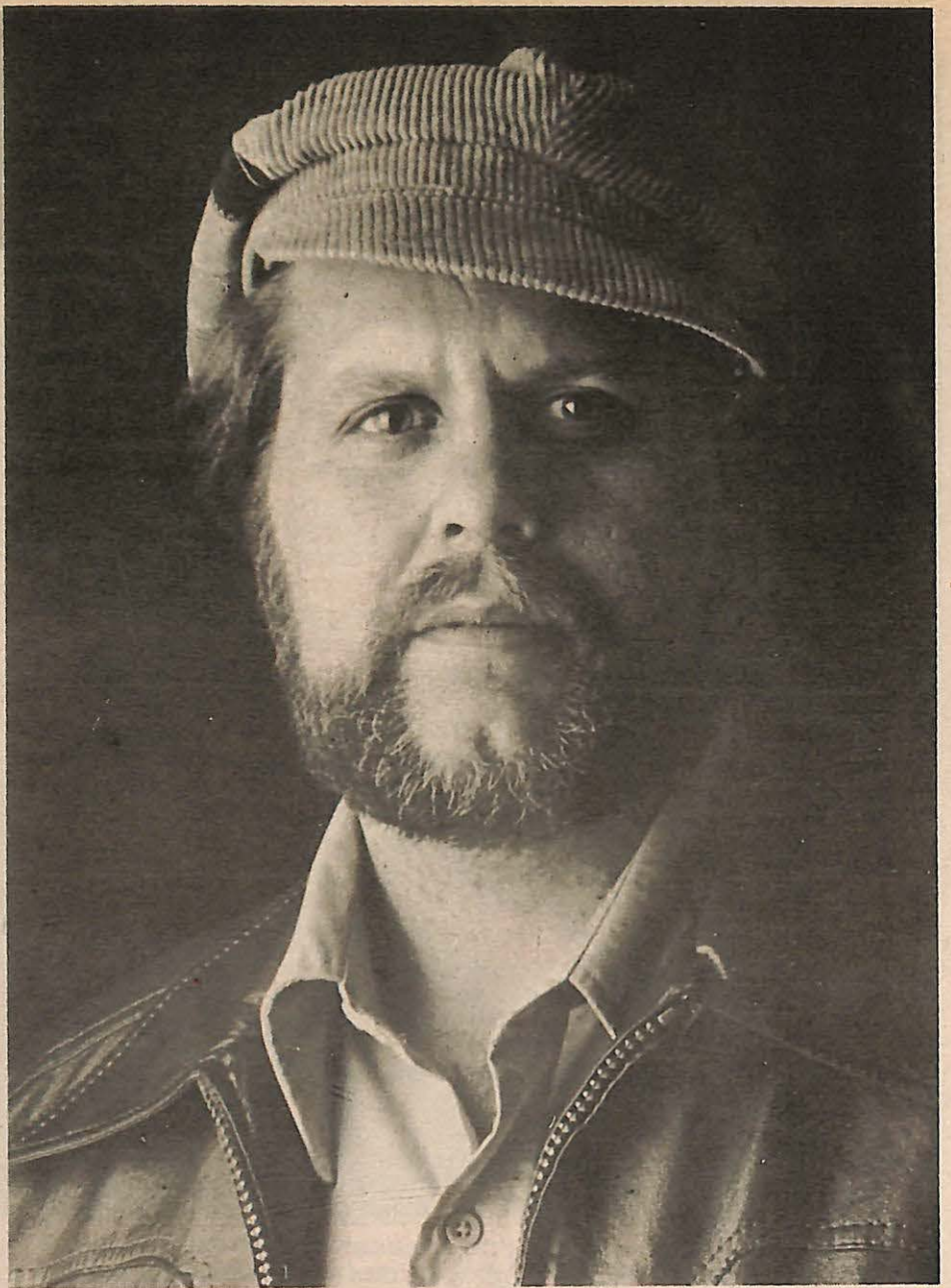
With the above as an introduction, I'll turn now to the main substance of this book.

Nuclear War — Political and Ideological Questions

The Godfather

Here I'm referring specifically to the end of the movie *Godfather I*. After Vito Corleone has died and Sonny, the impetuous and volatile son who held sway for a brief and stormy interregnum, has been gunned down, Michael, the "pure bourgeois" godfather, takes over. In the closing scenes — which are very powerfully done — Michael is acting, literally, as the godfather for his sister's newborn child, solemnly swearing to renounce Satan and his deeds, while one by one we see his opponents being gunned down in cold blood (from the Las Vegas hotel-casino owner to all of Michael's rivals in New York and New Jersey, etc.). Through back and forth between the baptism and the murders we see Michael repeating, "I do renounce them," not only with a straight face but in a very sanctimonious way while at the very same time his orders are being carried out to gun people down — deeds worthy of the devil's deeds he's denouncing.

Then at the end of all that there's a final scene where his sister comes in and accuses him, rightly, of having murdered her husband — on top of these other assassinations — because he betrayed the family. But when she accuses him of this he basically passes it off as "feminine hysteria" and tries to "calm her down." And then she goes out, having rebuked him — "you're so heartless, you murdered the father of the very child you just acted as godfather for." Michael's wife is there and has witnessed this scene; she looks up at him searchingly and says, "Michael, is it true?" He slams down his fist and says, "Never ask me about my affairs! Never ask me about my business!" But she persists and finally he says, "Okay, this one time. This one time you can ask me." So she looks at him as if to repeat the question "is it true?" And he says, "No, it's



not true." With an absolutely straight face!

I think there's a lesson here. There are many lessons here on many different levels, but to make a summary: here we have Michael Corleone having coldly executed a series of synchronized murders while he wears the straight face of respectability and swears pious sanctity, even acting as godfather for a child whose father's murder he has already ordered. What can we learn from this? This is a glimpse into the inner nature of the imperialists — both superpowers and both blocs of imperialists. If we take for example the 007 airplane incident and look at the rationales on both sides it is straight gangster logic all the way around. Imperialist provocation and response on the basis of straight gangster logic: "We are world powers in a confrontation for who will dominate the world and on that basis nobody's gonna fuck with us." That, I think, is something that holds some very important lessons for us.

What is the rationale and what is the whole posture taken by the one side and the other? On the one hand in creating the provocation — which was clearly engineered by the U.S. — and on the other hand in not only responding in the expected way but then in the rationale that was given and the posture that was struck by the Soviet Union, it is imperialist maneuvering, positioning and contending, and gangster logic all the way around. Or you can take the missile deployments in Europe and the arguments and maneuvering around them on both sides, which we've been treated to in the last year or so. Or El Salvador and Nicaragua on the one hand and Afghanistan and Poland on the other. In all these cases and in innumerable other cases that could be cited, the straight-up imperialist gangster logic used as justification by the imperialists on both sides is very striking. And as I said, the examples could be multiplied many times over.

Both sides are imperialist. Both are driven by the same inner compulsion of the laws (or contradictions) of the imperialist system and the world conjuncture to which this is leading. Both of them are Michael Corleones. Both will swear and are swearing with pious sanctity and an absolutely straight fact that they do

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not intend to do and would never think of doing — that in fact they renounce — the very thing for which they are preparing: world war with all of its destruction. Yes, they *will* do it — go to war with each other and engage in major nuclear exchanges in an effort to win that war. They *will* do it — if they aren't stopped — and every effort must be exerted to stop them! And intense ideological struggle and debate must be waged over the momentous question: what is necessary to actually stop them?

Here it is necessary to refute the rather widely propagated notion, including within the "peace movement" (in its broadest definition), that such a war and such nuclear exchanges will not happen because neither side could win, and if nothing else they are both capable enough of recognizing their own interests and therefore of refraining from such a mutually destructive and self-defeating enterprise. Or, as a companion argument to this, it is said that if such a war did break out it would be due to an "accident" or "misjudgment" of some kind, a danger which is said to be great now because of the spiraling arms race and the current very intense atmosphere of confrontation and belligerency on both sides.

Thus, according to this argument, the essential step to bring these superpowers, and mankind, back from the brink of Armageddon is to reverse the arms race and take real steps toward eventual disarmament and to cool out the tension and "hot spots" in the international geopolitical scene. This is not infrequently coupled with the insistence that, whatever one thinks of the Soviet Union, it is not imperialist like the U.S., it is not driven to war by the same inner compulsion of the imperialist system, and its huge military apparatus and arms budget, its involvement in the "arms race" and even its military adventures and interventions are of an essentially defensive nature, in reaction to the aggressiveness and bellicosity of the U.S., or at least certain U.S. administrations (such as the Reagan Administration). But, in one form or another — and whether apologetic for the Soviet Union or not — this kind of argument is forced to deny the fundamental truth that it is the contradictions and motion of imperialism and its fundamental and essential nature that is right now propelling things toward the brink of world war and nuclear devastation.

For example, one of the leading spokesmen for this view, one of the prominent figures in the established "peace movement" in England (and Europe), E.P. Thompson, has insisted that "the present war crisis" is "being willed by no single causative historical logic ('the increasingly aggressive military posture of world imperialism,' etc.) — a logic which then may be analysed in terms of origins, intentions or goals, contradictions or conjunctures" but is "simply the product of a messy inertia"⁵ — the continuing momentum and influence of the Cold War, the arms race, the military-industrial complex, and so forth. Thompson further argues that not only world war itself but even the massive military expenditures on both sides at the present time are irrational — from their own point of view. Therefore, world war and nuclear devastation are avoidable, if the people act as a massive popular force, a counterweight to this inertia — and if they do so act they can not only prevent this inertia from dragging the world into nuclear Armageddon but can also eventually bring about a radical change in the present military blocs and whole new possibilities for peaceful realignments and other major political changes in the world (peaceful at least in the sense that the threat of world war/nuclear devastation will have been removed).⁶

Sometimes arguments such as these are presented as a "refutation" of the basic principle formulated by the nineteenth-century German military writer and scholar Carl von Clausewitz, a principle upheld and propagated by Lenin (and later by Mao), that war is the continuation of politics by other, military, means. This "refutation" insists that since neither side can win such a world war involving major nuclear exchanges, then this war, if it occurred, could not be the expression or extension of conscious policy aims of either side, but could only result from accidental causes (as referred to above) or at most could express the interests of military cliques or a military-industrial complex within the elites of both sides, as opposed to the general self-interest of the ruling classes as a whole. Or such an argument might be presented as an *application* of the Clausewitzian principle, but "in reverse": that is, since such a war could only be self-defeating for both sides and bring mutual destruction (as well as the annihilation of human civilization, at least as we have known it), then the extension of the political objectives on both sides — to ensure dominance and the ability to exploit — would lead not to the waging but to the avoiding of war with the other side, armed as it is with the same weapons of mutual destruction.

The problem with this line of reasoning is that it ignores the fundamental fact that the very logic — the inner contradiction and motion — of imperialism has now brought things to the point where both sides desperately need a qualitative change in the whole structure of world relations and *each stands as the direct barrier to the other in achieving this*. Or, as I wrote in the article, "World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution, Not Peace," for the imperialists — and not just the ruling classes of the superpowers but all the imperialists — on both sides "the world cannot much longer go on as it is anyway — it must be forcibly recast in order for that system to lurch ahead for a time once again and for their positions to be strengthened and secured at the expense of their rivals and of the masses of people in the world."⁷

It is for this reason that even massive outpourings of protest in Europe and elsewhere have failed to halt the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.⁸ Take, for example, the insistence of the Western imperialists to go ahead with this deployment in the face of acknowledged majority opposition in West Germany and massive protest in many other countries (and let us keep in

mind that the original decision to deploy was made while a Democrat, Carter, was President in the U.S. and Social Democrats headed the government in West Germany). How can this — or for that matter the corresponding moves and countermeasures by the Soviet bloc — be considered the outcome of "inertia" or simply the product of a so-called military-industrial complex, on one or both sides, somehow standing above, even in opposition to, the ruling classes as a whole and their rational self-interest? It is now more than ever a dangerous delusion, or self-delusion, to propagate such theories which fail or refuse to reckon with and deal with reality as it is and as it is developing, ever more rapidly, toward an apocalyptic eruption.

In fact, the present accelerating motion toward war, on both sides, is a dramatic illustration of the principle enunciated by Clausewitz, a principle which has not infrequently been vulgarized, especially by those who deny its validity. Clausewitz argued that while war is something qualitatively different from politics per se, war never exists in pure form, exactly because it is "nothing but a continuation of political intercourse, with a mixture of other means." Clausewitz continues: "We say mixed with other means in order thereby to maintain at the same time that this political intercourse does not cease by the War itself, is not changed into something quite different, but that, in its essence, it continues to exist, whatever may be the form of the means which it uses, and that the chief lines on which the events of the War progress, and to which they are attached, are only the general features of policy which run all through the War until peace takes place."⁹ In other words, war is throughout commanded, guided, by the political objectives for which it is being fought; and the means used in the war, including the deployment of different weapons, their actual use, etc., are influenced and overall determined by these political objectives — even though war does "have a life of its own."

It is consistent with — and not a refutation of — this basic principle that the military strategists and planners, as well as the overall political leaders, on both sides are attempting to find the means for fighting *and winning* a war, one that will involve large-scale nuclear exchanges, with the other bloc. The fact that it is very, very unlikely that all their planning and strategic thinking can accomplish the objective of fighting and winning such a war without in the process bringing about the destruction of much of human civilization as it exists today — this too is not a refutation of the "Clausewitzian principle": such a war would still be an attempt (again by both sides) to achieve political objectives (serving underlying economic interests) by military means, and it would not be the first time in history that such an attempt led to failure and destruction on both sides, though it would certainly be the most profound and cataclysmic instance.

The recent criticisms, proposals, etc., from such people as Robert McNamara (Defense Secretary under Kennedy and Johnson, during the Vietnam War) and Democratic presidential candidate Gary Hart, are precisely attempts to deal with this contradiction and to come up with a military strategy and nuclear policy capable of waging and surviving — surviving as the *victor* — a war involving significant nuclear exchanges with the Soviet bloc. As analyzed in our party's newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, in general terms such strategic thinking — and the thrust of the criticism of current policy and doctrine — emphasizes more flexibility in place of overwhelming reliance on massive nuclear strikes or the threat of them — but *not* in place of the *use* of nukes. Beefed-up conventional forces; rapid strikes deep into Soviet-bloc territory to "intermingle" with Warsaw Pact troops and thereby to some degree "neutralize" nuclear attacks on NATO troops in this situation; the possibility of holding off from using "the nuclear option" for awhile — while reaping full propaganda value from pulling back from the up-to-now *declared* (and never renounced) first-strike policy of the U.S. — and at all costs ensuring the "survivability" of the U.S. (and NATO) nuclear arsenals for "retaliation"; more emphasis on mobility and "fast-tempo attacks" and the kind of changes in doctrine and weapons production that would necessarily go along with this: these are some examples of the attempts of such "critics" to contribute to the cause of propagandizing peace and of actually winning the war "in some recognizable sense," as the *Revolutionary Worker* so incisively put it.¹⁰

It is crucial to point out here and to continually expose the fact that nuclear weapons, from "tactical battlefield" weapons to strategic nukes, have been so thoroughly integrated into both the weapons systems and the war-fighting doctrines of both sides that there is no way they can wage war against each other without the large-scale employment of nuclear weapons — besides the fact that neither side is at all likely to actually get involved in this war and then turn around and decide that rather than risk the destruction that the introduction of nuclear weapons would involve, they will simply surrender instead, since conventional war (with perhaps some tactical nuclear weapons) has gone badly for them! Every significant imperialist strategist, the "critics" referred to included, knows that the question they face is how to be in the best position to fight and win if it comes, as it will, to a choice between that and simply letting the other side have clear-cut domination in the world: a choice equally unthinkable — far more unthinkable than nuclear war — to the imperialists on both sides.

In short, it is a deadly error — and deadly is far too weak a word given what the stakes are and what time it is on the clock of world events and world history — to be taken in by the reasonable assurances and pious declarations of the imperialists: they *will* do it, because they have to; they will do it... unless they are prevented by revolution.

JFK and RR

The basis, or cause, for the increasingly open belligerent posture of U.S. imperialism and the push from its side toward world war is not "the rise of the right," nor Ronald Reagan personally or the fact that he is in office, and so on. These are effects, symbols, and instruments of a system in profound crisis and approaching the forcible, cataclysmic eruption of its basic contradictions, as well as of the particular position and role of U.S. imperialism in world relations today.

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⁹ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, edited with an introduction by Anatol Rapoport (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1983), p. 402.

¹⁰ See "Nuclear War Fighting With a Certified Dove," *RW*, No. 244 (February 24, 1984), p. 8; "What's So New About Nuclear War," *RW*, No. 248 (March 23, 1984), p. 1; Robert S. McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, et al., "Nuclear Weapons and the Atlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1982, pp. 753-68; and Robert S. McNamara, "The Military Role of Nuclear Weapons: Perceptions and Misperceptions," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1983/1984, pp. 59-80. For an analysis of Soviet military doctrine and how it reflects the imperialist nature of the Soviet Union and the attempts of its rulers to be in a position to fight and win a war with the Western imperialist bloc, including the use of nuclear weapons as the decisive force, see Mike Ely, "Against the 'Lesser Evil' Thesis: Soviet Preparations for World War 3," *Revolution*, No. 52 (Summer 1984), pp. 29-55.

⁵ E.P. Thompson, *Beyond the Cold War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 41.

⁶ Thompson, *Beyond the Cold War*, p. 76.

⁷ "World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution," *RW*, No. 227, p. 3. Here, as in this article, I urge people — especially those who would dismiss this as dogma or rhetoric — to seriously study and grapple with the profound analysis of this found in Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon, *America in Decline: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution, in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Banner Press, 1984).

⁸ The case of the Netherlands, where the government has delayed deployment, in part at least because of domestic political considerations, does not alter the fundamental point here. It does not outweigh the overwhelming fact that the key missiles are being installed, and even if we were to assume that the government of the Netherlands would actually refuse once and for all to have these missiles deployed — which it has *not* done and which it is not likely to do — the existence of this one "exception" not only is the "exception that proves the rule" but no doubt would be turned to political advantage by the "Western democratic" bloc of imperialists — cited as proof of "the right of dissent" setting it apart from the rival Soviet bloc and providing yet another illustration of why it is well worth fighting and dying for!

The Shock

Continued from page 1

swearing that he didn't know a thing — and if he had, he would have put a stop to it right away. After all, he told ABC News, "It's got to mean killing people. It's exactly what we said we would never do." Oh my god, this might besmirch the U.S.'s well-known reputation for pristine honesty.

But Moynihan was only one voice among many. Here we have an outraged Teddy Kennedy, crying out: "The real question is what did President Reagan know about this document and when did he know it — and what did he do about it?" Kennedy is of course appalled at such activity — failing to mention, however, that his brother presided over the Bay of Pigs invasion and the assassination of South Vietnamese president Diem; and Diem was an ally of the U.S. — one can only imagine the number of opponents he had knocked off (see list, page 13).

Congressman Thomas Downey of New York was the first to call for an investigation. He demanded to know, "Is it the position of our Government to hire killers?" Does Jerry Falwell read the Bible? One is tempted to ask if Downey, given his professed ignorance of CIA activity, is also unaware of the tradition of certain other notable American institutions — like the U.S. Marines. Downey went a bit too far. After all, neither he nor the other legislators and officials would be able to get any of their other important work done if they themselves had to go out and kill the fifty-thousand Salvadorans, thirty-thousand Chileans, one-million Vietnamese, and the millions more the U.S. is planning to murder.

The primer itself is a vivid exposure of the imperialists' view of "revolution." In addition to the above-mentioned assassinations, blackmail, hiring thugs and so forth, it has a section that directs the *Contras* to arrange the shooting death of some of their public supporters in order to create "martyrs for the cause." In other words, it is chock-full of the kind of things they like to accuse revolutionaries of doing. It could be called "People's War" — from the "people" at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

As to why all the feigned outrage now, only the general outlines of this are visible at this time. Clearly, it is a product of the U.S.'s basic dilemma in Central America — the desperate need for a U.S. victory, mixed with the fear that a U.S. invasion would lead to getting bogged down amid global war preparations, a situation that would be nothing short of disaster for U.S. imperialism. It is also undoubtedly influenced by the election campaign, and the newly created "horse race," especially since it occurs on the eve of the second debate — the one that is supposed to focus on foreign policy.

As we go to press, it is unclear how big this "outrage" will get. Reagan's spokesmen joined the hypocrisy parade by stating, "This administration has not advocated or condoned political assassinations nor any other attacks on civilians, nor will we" (this as the administration laid plans for what? — for anniversary celebrations of the invasion of Grenada!), and then announced two separate "investigations" — one by the CIA and another by a Presidential Oversight Board. Undoubtedly, these will fail to turn up the smoking guns, so to speak. However, Congress has also scheduled a couple of its own "investigations" — that will surely back up the "we didn't know" claims of the Congressmen — and several Congressmen are calling for CIA director Casey's resignation. One thing is as certain as the fact that we have not seen the last of the CIA's assassinations — we have also not heard the last of the mock shock and protestations of ignorance over its activity. □

Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade Leaflet

A Vote In '84 Is A Vote For Nuclear War

Into the voting booth and off to the nuclear battle zone. They couldn't make the terms of the 1984 election much clearer — even though they are trying. Ronald Reagan proclaims a belief in an updated version of Armageddon, where god's chosen legions destroy the "evil empire" in a nuclear cloud! On the other hand, a "sane" Walter Mondale claims he's even tougher on the Soviets, but can't we just have a little more rhetoric about negotiations to better con people into thinking everything possible is being done to prevent world war.

Both candidates are warmongers. To get involved in the debate over who to vote for is to accept its basic terms: who is the most fitting to lead and what is the best way to nuke the Russians, and make America Number One again. And if you vote, you're contributing to World War 3 whether you know it or not.

As Bob Avakian put it, "... Whether or not there is a world war will depend not on whether anybody, or any group or even any ruling class, *wants it*; it will break out unless it is prevented by revolution because in the world today the ruling classes of the imperialist blocs *need* such a war and their most class-conscious and leading representatives *prefer* such a war to the alternative — to seeing their position in the world severely undermined and perhaps even overthrown by their rivals or by the revolutionary masses." As they prepare to unleash their greatest

crime yet, the imperialists more than ever need the unquestioning, blind obedience of the masses.

On election night, identically programmed broadcasters throughout the "free world" hope to inform their viewers that a united America has spoken, with all opposition to the future of World War 3 safely swept into the ballot box.

They *wish*. Already this summer in the streets of San Francisco, a disloyal opposition crashed the Democratic War Party Convention. And even in Dallas rebel youth surfaced, boldly challenging and shattering the coronation at the Republican Convention.

In this spirit, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade is calling on rebel youth to take to the streets on election day — and night. We already know who's going to win the election — THEM! Never has there been more urgency or opportunity to expose the future these imperialists have in store for the world; and use this to win forces to the only solution to this madness — revolution. The day can not go down without the boldest, most creative action by rebel youth. The whole world will be watching and the whole world must see the most powerful political disruptions possible.

Revolutionary Communist Youth
Brigade (RCYB)
PO Box 30735, Terminal Annex
Los Angeles, CA. 90060

The Thought-Police Raid

El Diario

On Thursday, October 11, the INS staged an outrageous attack: two INS agents descended upon the offices of *El Diario*, the largest Spanish daily newspaper in New York City, and demanded to see the immigration papers of three reporters and an editor. This is the first time that the INS has staged such a raid at *El Diario*, and the only one at any newspaper in recent memory.

The INS raid was swiftly — and accurately — denounced by *El Diario's* editor as "militaristic and fascist." *El Diario* officially stated that the raid was in retaliation for the newspaper's opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. The paper has published editorials objecting to some features of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, as well as exposures on the brutal conditions in INS detention cells and articles on the viciousness of INS raids. Manuel de Dios Unanue, *El Diario's* editor, stated, "It was too much of a coincidence that three of the people they wanted to talk to wrote the articles on Hispanics confined by the INS."

The targeted journalists are from Spain, Argentina and the Dominican Republic.

INS agents had tried to raid the newspaper once unsuccessfully, then came back on October 11 and got past the front desk. When the paper's editor saw what was going on he objected, but the agents were able to approach the reporters and demand their papers. The INS gave the flimsy excuse that they had information that the reporters were in the U.S. illegally but the legal status of these journalists was easily retrievable from the files of the INS. The INS agents also threatened to come back to *El Diario* and check their personnel records. This raid was a calculated assault and open threat.

El Diario is owned by the Gannet chain, a major national group of bourgeois newspapers. According to *El Diario* its circulation is around 60,000 papers a day with its readership based primarily

among the Puerto Rican and Dominican population in New York City and secondarily among Spanish-speaking immigrants from Central and Latin America. *El Diario's* editorial line has been one of liberal opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, echoing objections to the bill from the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. But even this position, well within the framework of "responsible" bourgeois debate, has caught INS flak, with the clear message: "don't mess with us — or else."

We spoke with one of the targeted journalists. He was not, per se, opposed to an immigration bill or to the right of the U.S. to "control its borders." But he vehemently opposed the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, saying that the call for fines against employers knowingly hiring illegal immigrants would result in across-the-board discrimination against all Spanish-speaking people, that the amnesty provision of the bill would only apply to a small minority, and that in applying for amnesty, immigrants would open themselves up for retaliation.

The reporter also objected that while people from Soviet-bloc countries are welcomed into the U.S., the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill would still restrict political asylum for people from countries like El Salvador. "If you are a leftist from El Salvador" he said, and applied for political asylum in the U.S., this meant going to the Salvadoran regime's "backers" and "that can be problematic." He likened the identification card plan in the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill to creating a "police state" and denounced the institution of temporary workers as a "slave system." As for immigrants coming to the U.S. out of economic reasons, he said "the U.S. is to blame" and cited the exploitation of U.S. corporations like the United Fruit Company.

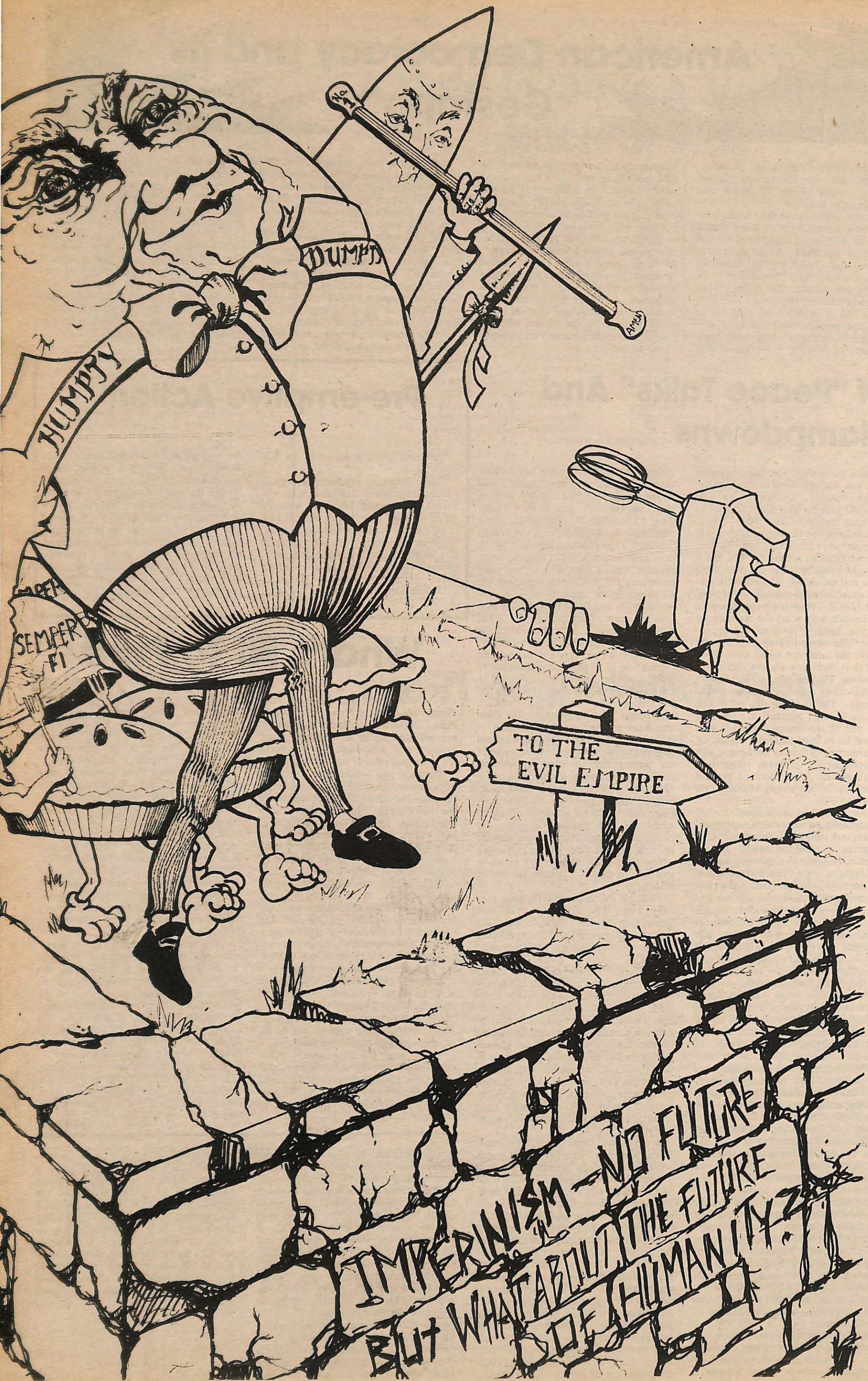
This particular reporter has also written articles condemning statements made

by various U.S. officials like that made last spring by the wife of Vice-President George Bush, "Hispanic women do not have the capacity to learn English," and that by Philip Abrams of the Department of Urban Housing Development who stated that Hispanic families live in crowded conditions not out of poverty but because of "cultural preference."

The INS raid was meant to have a broad impact and certainly when the INS agents ventured into the offices of the largest daily Spanish-language paper in New York City they had this very much in mind. For instance, in the past immigrants facing deportation have contacted reporters at *El Diario* requesting assistance and publicity of their cases. In at least two cases publicized by *El Diario*, deportation was either stopped or reversed. This is a practice the INS would clearly like stopped. Further, by targeting foreign-born journalists, people who are in better-off positions and under the so-called protection of freedom of the press, a clear threat is leveled that any immigrant in any position is liable to be attacked. This sort of hounding, terror and control over immigrants is exactly what the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill itself aims to accomplish. The way one *El Diario* reporter put it, the raid was a message to immigrants broadly: "we're coming for you."

But the raid has also created more contradictions for the imperialists who have exposed more of their system's vicious nature and ironically, have provided more copy for the pages of *El Diario*. Just a week after the raid, *El Diario* published an article running down in detail the structure of the INS, how many agents it has, how they are deployed, equipment newly provided for the INS, such as infrared searchlights, and the conditions immigrants are subjected to in detention cells, such as the obscene strip searches to which women are subjected. □





American Democracy and Its Gestapo

In the middle of the night of Thursday, October 18, four hundred gun-toting pigs gave a vicious display of justice and democracy in the USA.

On that night, more than three hundred New York City cops along with a hundred FBI agents descended on the homes of nine Black political activists in Queens and Brooklyn. A shrieking chorus shouting "terrorists" in newspapers across the country immediately followed the raids.

The FBI is receiving full play for its boast that the raids were "preemptive," that they "interdicted" supposedly planned acts of violence. "We know they

were going to do something soon," an FBI spokesman said, "We had to act to interdict that." In other words, no one swept up in this fascist attack has actually been charged with doing anything illegal, but only with *planning* to do something — conspiracy. The FBI has charged that nine people arrested were "successors" to those arrested after the attempted Brinks robbery three years ago, that those arrested were *planning* to free Kuwasi Balagoon, a former Brinks defendant, from a Bronx courthouse where he is currently being tried on another robbery charge, that those arrested were *planning* to rob an armored car.

As we go to press, no indictment has been handed down on the defendants. They are being held without bail under a notorious federal law known as "SB-1" — which allows a judge to hold people in what amounts to preventive detention.

FBI spokesmen openly bragged on TV that "surveillance" has been carried on for months, including court-ordered phone taps, and microphones placed in people's homes. In addition, subpoenas to a grand jury are already being issued, including one to a fifteen-year-old daughter of one of the defendants.

At the time of this writing no names of defendants have been released, and many

of the details of the attack remain unclear. We do have the comment of a Chicago newspaper that those arrested were part of a "group that advocates establishing a separate black nation in the United States, by force if necessary." This is truly a cynical "accusation." The U.S. bourgeoisie is a class drenched in the blood of worldwide terror and mass murder, which in this very case mobilized hundreds of its armed thugs... this class dares "accuse" the oppressed of planning to use force! The defendants are accused of planning expropriations... accused by the biggest expropriators in history! □

Of "Peace Talks" And Clampdowns

Continued from page 2

Duarte's leadership, the land reform, which was also proposed as a concession to the masses. Designed by the AFL-CIO's (better put, the AFL-CIA's) American Institute for Free Labor Development, the land reform program was implemented in March 1980 so that, in the words of its architect, "The leftist onslaught would be effectively eliminated by the end of 1980." The estimate was based on incidents like the following, told to the *NACLA Report on the Americas* by a former worker of the Salvadoran agency in charge of the land reform program: "The troops came and told the workers the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves. The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning the troops came back and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders." This was not an isolated incident. According to a former top official of the agency, this death-to-the-tiller program resulted in the murder of 240 leaders of peasant cooperatives between March and December 1980.

Some forces have pointed to the amnesty and agreements between the government and some guerrilla forces in Colombia as a potential model for El Salvador. This, too, is somewhat instructive. En route to the "peace" treaty signing ceremony, the guerrilla delegation was ambushed by Colombian police and four members were wounded. In the midst of treaty negotiations, a cofounder of one of the guerrilla groups was murdered, apparently by a Colombian death squad. He had already accepted a November 1982 amnesty; according to *The Guardian*, which supports these agreements, this victim was the forty-third former guerrilla to have accepted amnesty and then been murdered by the death squads.

As we pointed out last week, El Salvador's "peace" talks are not only based on an already massive escalation of U.S. military and counterinsurgency "aid" and the resulted increase in carpet bombing and peasant massacres, as well as the threat of much more from the fortification of Honduras, incessant joint U.S.-Honduran maneuvers and the like — but are actually designed to *facilitate* even more brutal bludgeoning at the hands of U.S. imperialism. There are any number of ways this can occur.

For example, it is well known that the U.S. and Duarte & Co. are centering their Salvadoran diplomatic efforts on splitting the FDR/FMLN, bringing in (to the kind of welcome discussed above) as many of the opposition forces as possible, and leaving others out in the hills. Of course, the point here is to make it easier for the U.S. to isolate and eliminate continuing opposition to its domination of Central America.

And then there is the way the U.S. has already used the Salvadoran "peace" show to ratchet-up the pressure on Nicaragua. Suddenly, it has become a

major story in the U.S. press that the Sandinistas refused to follow Duarte's lead and negotiate with the *Contras* — as if the two "opposition" groups were equal. The FDR/FMLN represents some significant social and political forces in El Salvador. (The coalition is guided by the line and strategy of "historic compromise," but it does, after all, represent something.) The *Contras* represent the CIA and other agencies of U.S. imperialism — and those Nicaraguans who love the taste of its shoe polish. What even-handedness! Under the guise of the great gods of pluralism and democracy, U.S. imperialism uses the Salvadoran "peace" so as to demand capitulation to itself — and to "legitimize" its "right" to the imperialist domination of Nicaragua.

Even as the paeans to "peace" reverberate from El Salvador, the *Contras* have stepped up their assaults in Nicaragua, attacking an agricultural cooperative in Jinotega, claiming credit for setting fire to three agricultural chemical warehouses and announcing a new series of attacks on the Costa Rican border. Clearly, there is a new *Contra* offensive in the works, as part of efforts to screw up the pending elections in Nicaragua. It remains to be seen how far the U.S. and its allies will go in playing off the talks in El Salvador to commit — and to "justify" — further murder in Nicaragua.

With all the disarming illusions that have been conjured up over this Salvadoran "peace" show, it is not entirely inappropriate that Duarte is being compared to the late Egyptian lackey of the U.S., Anwar Sadat, and his "courageous" acceptance of the Camp David proposal — supposedly as a means of achieving "peace" in the Middle East. Why, just look how peaceful the Middle East has become since then. It is also instructive to recall the constant diplomatic shuttle and "peace" talks that accompanied the Israeli invasion of Lebanon — or the years of negotiations that accompanied the U.S.'s wholesale destruction of Vietnam... until it was driven out in defeat. "Peace" talks have always gone along quite nicely with imperialist wars of aggression.

In the current Central American scene, there are any number of possible scenarios that could be in the works, and it is not possible to predict exactly what moves will or won't be taken at this time. But it is vital to recognize that U.S. imperialism, in the context of a world situation heading rapidly towards explosion, can not tolerate the current status quo in its "own backyard." The U.S.'s framework of absolute command over its neocolonial dependencies in the region is rotting and its Soviet rivals have taken advantage of the situation to gain and hold significant influence over the region's opposition forces. A stalemate here is intolerable to the U.S. — it desperately needs a victory in Central America. There is great worry in U.S. ruling circles about the possibility of getting bogged down in

Pre-emptive Action

The story you'll never see in the *New York Times*:

Flash. Today, in a move to stop international terroristic activities and robberies, ten thousand terrorists were arrested in their safe houses in a hidden refuge in the Virginia woods in Langley, Virginia. "We knew they were going to do something soon," a source close to the operation said. "We had to interdict that."

Unfortunately the massive show of

force which authorities had assembled to avoid violence arrived a bit late. Word was received that this outfit had already carried out tens of millions of murders and assassinations and the robbery of many billions of dollars in wealth, using a vast array of weapons including atom bombs. This had occurred on numerous occasions since this group's shadowy origins more than two hundred years ago as a splinter group split off from the parent organization: Britain. □

What's Fit To Print

Everyone knows that the *New York Times* runs "All the News That's Fit to Print." It even says so each day in the upper left-hand corner of the front page. Therefore, if they don't run something it's either not news or not fit. Right?

Certainly one would think that the designation "news" would aptly describe the letter and report from the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), often referred to in the press as "Sendero Luminoso" (Shining Path), recently received by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (See *RW* No. 271) and released by its participating parties and organizations to the press. This, one might think, would be especially so in the case of the *New York Times* in light of several prominently featured articles in August and September on Peru and its "Maoist guerrillas." Its September 7 article was even headlined as a search for "Clues to Shining Path," and commented that "For a long time... their numbers, organization and ideology remained much of a mystery. They showed no interest in publicizing themselves to the press..." And "Shining Path appears not to depend on outside supplies or solidarity."

Surely then, the first current public statement made by this "mysterious" group which addresses some points about "outside solidarity" and their ideology and activities would be of some interest and note. But no.

The first response of an editor on the *New York Times* Foreign Desk after reading the material was "I showed it to a number of people and it didn't seem to strike anyone here as particularly noteworthy." Further, "It's not news."

The very week these comments were made to an RCP press liaison person, the *New York Times* was displaying just what it considered news and, therefore, fit for its noble pages: an extensive feature series on "A World of Drugs: America as the Target," which included the "grim war against the Shining Path." No reticence here to break through the "mystery" and proclaim it "the most vicious and indiscriminately brutal guerrilla force that has arisen since Pol Pot's forces terrorized Cambodia" (*New York Times* 9-13-84).

In all fairness, it wasn't only the *Times* that held fast to its "news only" principle in not running the material from the PCP. Indeed, the assistant general manager and foreign news editor of the Associated Press in New York City interrupted the RCP press liaison as she was pointing out the significance of the reports from the PCP: "My dear," he explained, "I run a news organization!"

Good gentlemen of the Fourth Estate, it is fortunate that world history does not hinge on what you declare to be news: what's fit to print is due to come in for some drastic redefining. □

a regional quagmire — a "war without end" in Central America — in the midst of overall preparations for global war with the Soviet Union. And this has been a constraint against a direct U.S. invasion of the region, so far. But there is even greater concern the longer the U.S. is unable to clamp down its absolute and total domination of Central America. This contradiction sets the terms for various policy debates over Central America in the U.S. ruling class, even while there has been general unity on the extensive preparatory moves — the fortification of Honduras, the efforts to harmonize comprador infighting in El Salvador, etc. — that have improved the chances of U.S. success in the military realm. But whether it comes down to a

full-scale U.S. invasion or some combination of U.S. and pro-U.S. troops, or a different scenario involving the abject capitulation of some leaders of the opposition... and the wholesale bludgeoning of the masses — the U.S.'s crying need for a decisive change in its favor in Central America must be satisfied; the vampire must have his blood. And all this talk of "peace" just serves to heighten the vigilance of all who oppose U.S. imperialist domination of Central America. □

By R. Quasar

A Look At The Big Bang

Part II

In Part II of A Look At The Big Bang, the author examines various views of the universe. Part I, published last week, dealt with the features of the big bang cosmology.

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.

Idealism in Modern Cosmology

So far we have said little about the size of the universe or even if it has any finite size at all. On this question the metaphysical and idealist problems within modern cosmology are strongly manifested. Some cosmologists say the universe is infinite, some say it is finite, but they almost all believe essentially that this universe (everything that was involved in the big bang) is all there is of the Universe (the totality of the material world). It is this stubborn narrowness — declaring *a priori* that the whole Universe took part in the big bang — that leads many cosmologists into trouble. It can easily be shown that the big bang could not have involved the whole Universe. To say that it did — to say that the Universe is the same as the universe — is to immediately say that the Universe (the entire material world) is finite in quantity and quality and therefore to immediately be faced with trying to explain what nonreality lies beyond it. How can a truly infinite amount of matter be involved in a common explosion? How can an infinitely diverse and complex Universe, made up of an infinite number of qualitatively different levels, be confined to a single common process of evolution? Clearly only a finite amount of matter, a concrete universe, could have been and was involved in the big bang. This must be the case even if today we cannot tell how much matter it was or how big the dimen-

sions of our universe are. This finite universe is all that we can now comprehend of the infinite Universe.¹

Cosmologists who posit a finite Universe — that is, those who believe that a finite amount of matter was involved in the big bang but that this is all there is to the material world — largely subscribe to the Einsteinian “finite but unbounded” view. This view claims to avoid the embarrassing “boundary problem”: if the Universe is finite it must have an edge, but then what is beyond the edge? The “solution” lies in hypothesizing a Universe of a finite amount of matter, but one that “curves” in on itself in space and time in such a way that anything traveling in any direction will end up back where it started, given enough time. This applies to light itself; so, if at some point we could look out in one direction far enough and enough time had passed we would begin to see the other side of galaxies that we have already seen in the opposite direction. In this view the Universe is unbounded in the same way a circle or a sphere is. If you travel around it in a straight line you will end up back where you started. It may be that our universe “curves” in on itself in space and time as Einstein suggested. Light is bent in gravitational fields and if the density of matter in the universe is great enough it will possess a gravitational field strong enough so that all light produced will end up traveling a path around the universe eventually curving back on itself. This is something which needs more concrete investigation and study, though most current evidence (estimates of the average density of matter, etc.) suggests that this is not the case. But even if it turns out that Einstein was right in a more limited sense — that our finite universe is “curved” as he theorized — this would, in fact, establish a boundary for a finite universe.

Circles and spheres have boundaries even if you can walk around their surfaces in a straight line and end up where you began. If all light in our universe travels in an arc which eventually intersects itself then this is a specific kind of boundary beyond which lies other levels of matter. This spherical curve merely defines the borders of a discrete part of the Universe. Beyond it, matter undergoes qualitative change and our universe becomes part of another universe. Even if we cannot take a telescope and see an edge to our universe it nevertheless has some kind of boundary, an outer limit.

¹ For a thorough examination of the question of the infinity and finiteness of the Universe see, “The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness” by Brian Sizu, reprinted in *RW*, No. 135 (Dec. 18, 1981).

We can always close our minds and say, “Well, since we can’t see any border, it doesn’t exist.” But this would hardly be science. So the “boundary problem” cannot be avoided. The proponents of the strict Einsteinian model cannot escape the fact that the “finite but unbounded” model is really a description of a finite, therefore bounded, Universe. And if the entire material Universe is finite, then in what does it exist? Some nonmaterial “other” world? The mind of a god or gods? The mind of humans or a particular human?

On the flip side of this idealist coin are the exponents of the infinite universe — those who believe that the entire infinite Universe was involved in the big bang. As we have already seen this simply cannot be the case since it is a logical nonsequitur to say that something which is truly unending and limitless can be confined to a single finite process. The infinity spoken of in this view is really a false infinity or “bad infinity.” The infinite Universe is envisioned merely as a straight extension of the universe which we can observe. Like the old Newtonian homogeneous Universe, the Universe is seen as essentially containing an infinite amount of the same goods. All matter is seen as evolving in the same way as part of the same process — out of an infinitely large primordial soup arises an infinite number of atoms giving birth to an infinite number of stars, galaxies, etc. This is, of course, quite an advance over what was known in Newton’s time, but still this view philosophically amounts to an updated version of the homogeneous Universe. Infinity is seen basically as a neverending ruler or an endless repetition of things of the same quality rather than being composed of an infinite number of finite universes, of an infinite number of levels of matter, each qualitatively different than the others. Thus infinity is turned into something vague and really intangible. It’s essentially a false infinity, just an imaginary extension of what is already seen and known about, going on forever. In practice the infinite universe view winds up negating infinity; it’s just a specific form of closing off and limiting an infinite Universe. It is an attempt to impose our limited observations and deductions about an infinitesimally small portion of an infinitely large Universe upon all of matter — which exists on a scale infinitely greater than can be comprehended by mankind at any finite point in our knowledge of its parts and which is infinitely diverse and changing constantly.

So both the finite Universe and infinite universe formulations are just different forms of closing off the Universe, equating it with our universe. They both

flow from the same narrow pragmatic (all we know is what we see and all we see is all there is) outlook. They are both variations of the same idealist philosophy which puts artificial limits on the material world, leaving the door open for consciousness without matter and ultimately gods and mysticism. This idealist outlook within modern cosmology is even more sharply evident on the questions of how the big bang got started and what existed before it. If, as is the view of most cosmologists, the big bang theory encompasses the entire Universe, then the entire material world had a beginning. Now this presents a real problem. If the entire material world had a beginning, then what existed before it? How did it get started? Did it suddenly arise out of nothing through the actions of mysterious spirits, gods, or some such nonmaterial entities or forces? Or perhaps our whole Universe isn’t material at all but just the unfolding of thought or ideas in the abstract? As spoken to earlier, such idealist propositions lead to absurdities. “Solving” the problem by resorting to the supernatural and mystical only invites more and more absurd questions. The bottom line of these kinds of solutions is faith in one form of religious dogma or another.

As mentioned earlier (in Part I) some scientists actually do openly advocate that the Universe was born out of nothing — that is, a vacuum. These theoretical physicists subscribe to the view that “space itself” can be affected by forces existing independently of matter. In other words, space entirely devoid of all matter can be torn apart by a pure gravitational field in such a way as to create matter. To say that there can be space or time devoid of matter or pure forces without material substance is basically just another way of saying that there exists some kind of non-material or noncorporeal world. There can be no such thing as pure space or pure forces. Without the matter in motion from which these concepts arise, these terms are just ephemeral abstractions. It is true that levels of matter which we are not capable of detecting now could produce tremendous forces in what seems to be empty space. But still this is matter — material substance — acting on matter.

What these scientists are reacting to and confused by is that the universe could not have been born out of matter as we are familiar with in it. Clearly it existed in a form and state totally unrecognizable to us. Nevertheless it existed as some material substance. It was not “nothing” any more than the elusive neutrinos are nothing or air molecules, which keep us alive but are invisible to the naked eye,

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It's appropriate to reprint the list now (it originally appeared in RW No. 259), since "revelations" concerning a certain CIA manual in Nicaragua have fueled such Congressional "shock" and "horror," including the solemn (and straight-faced) proposition that "America doesn't do things like this."

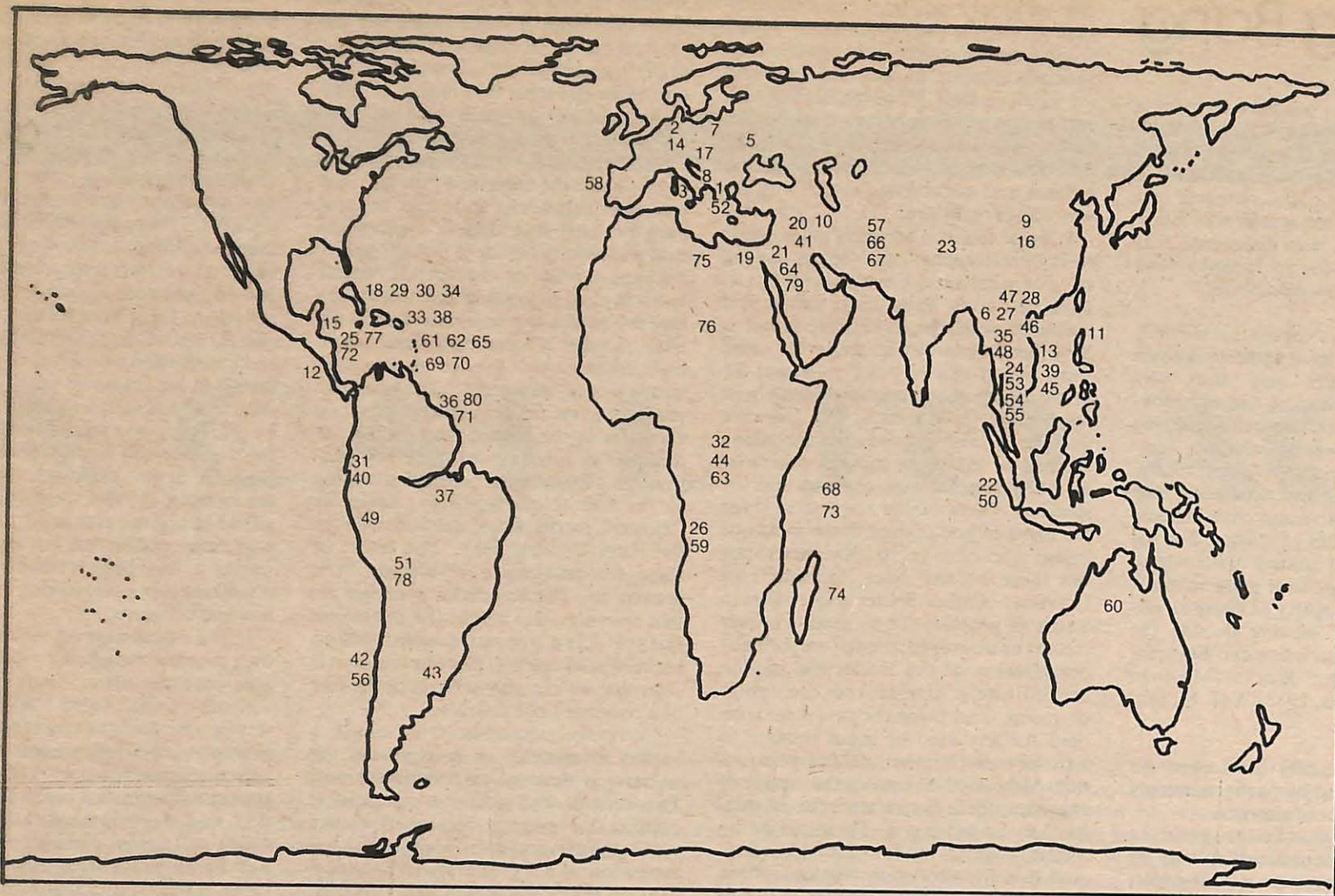
TERRORISTS

Forty Years of American Dirty Work

The U.S. imperialists, of course, never tire of their rhetoric about "international terrorism," lately extending this to calls for "preemptive strikes" against "terrorism." This certainly turns history inside out. The American trail of sabotage, assassinations, mass executions and more extends to every corner of the world; a trail of blood rivaled only by the list of U.S. overt intervention, invasion, and warfare against the peoples of the world.

The following list was compiled by the Center for Military Research and Analysis in New York City, and drawn from an extensive bibliography of books, papers, memoir material, and government documents. Its formal title: "United States Covert Action Abroad to Restore Favorable Political Conditions (Partial List)." The compilation represents a vivid exposure of America's vaunted "forty years of peace."

Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome	Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome
1. 1946	Greece	Restore monarchy after overthrow of Metaxas government. Successful.	26. 1960	Angola	Financial and military assistance to rebel forces of Holden Roberto. Inconclusive.
2. 1946-1955	West Germany	Average of \$6 million annually to support former Nazi intelligence network of General Reinhard Gehlen. Successful.	27. 1960	Laos	Military assistance, including 400 United States Special Forces troops, to deny the Plain of Jars and Mekong Basin to Pathet Lao. Inconclusive.
3. 1948-1968	Italy	Average of \$30 million annually in payments to political and labor leaders to support anti-communist candidates in Italian elections. Successful.	28. 1961-1965	Laos	Average of \$300 million annually to recruit and maintain L'Armée Clandestine of 35,000 Hmong and Meo tribesmen and 17,000 Thai mercenaries in support of government of Phoumi Nosavan to resist Pathet Lao. Successful.
4. 1949	Greece	Military assistance to anticommunist forces in Greek civil war. Successful.	29. 1961-1963	Cuba	Assassinate Fidel Castro. Six attempts in this period. Unsuccessful.
5. 1949-1953	Ukraine	Organize and support a Ukranian resistance movement. Unsuccessful.	30. 1961	Cuba	Train and support invasion force of Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro government, and assist their invasion at the Bay of Pigs. Cost: \$62 million. Unsuccessful.
6. 1949-1961	Burma	Support 12,000 Nationalist Chinese troops in Burma under General Li Mi as an incursion force into People's Republic of China. Unsuccessful.	31. 1961	Ecuador	Overthrow government of José Velasco Ibarra. Successful.
7. 1950-1952	Poland	Financial and military assistance for Polish Freedom and Independence Movement. Unsuccessful.	32. 1961	Congo	Precipitate conditions leading to assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Successful.
8. 1950	Albania	Overthrow government of Enver Hoxha. Unsuccessful.	33. 1961	Dominican Republic	Precipitate conditions leading to assassination of Rafael Trujillo. Successful.
9. 1951-1954	China	Airdrop guerrilla teams into People's Republic of China. Unsuccessful.	34. 1961-1966	Cuba	Broad sabotage program, including terrorist attacks on coastal targets and the introduction of bacteriological agents to spread disease and contaminate crops and stores, in effort to weaken Castro government. Unsuccessful.
10. 1953	Iran	Overthrow Mossadegh government and install Zahedi. Cost: \$10 million. Successful.	35. 1962	Thailand	Brigade of 5,000 United States Marines to resist threat to Thai government by Pathet Lao. Successful.
11. 1953	Philippines	Assassination and propaganda campaign to overcome Huk resistance and install government of Ramón Magsaysay. Successful.	36. 1962-1964	British Guyana	Organize labor strikes and riots to overthrow government of Cheddi Jagan. Successful.
12. 1953	Costa Rica	Overthrow government of José Figueres. Unsuccessful.	37. 1962-1964	Brazil	Organize campaign of labor strikes and propaganda to overthrow government of Joao Goulart. Successful.
13. 1954	South Vietnam	Install government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Successful.	38. 1963	Dominican Republic	Overthrow government of Juan Bosch in military coup. Successful.
14. 1954	West Germany	Arrange abduction and discrediting of West German intelligence chief Otto John, and replace with Reinhard Gehlen. Successful.	39. 1963	South Vietnam	Precipitate conditions leading to assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem. Successful.
15. 1954	Guatemala	Overthrow government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and replace with Carlos Castillo Armas. Successful.	40. 1963	Ecuador	Overthrow government of Carlos Julio Arosemena. Successful.
16. 1955	China	Assassinate Chou En-lai en route to Bandung Conference. Unsuccessful.	41. 1963-1973	Iraq	Financial and military assistance for Freedom Party of Mullah Mustafa al Barzani in effort to establish independent Kurdistan. Unsuccessful.
17. 1956	Hungary	Financial and military assistance to organize and support a Hungarian resistance movement, and broad propaganda campaign to encourage it. Unsuccessful.	42. 1964	Chile	\$20 million in assistance for Eduardo Frei to defeat Salvador Allende in Chilean elections. Successful.
18. 1956	Cuba	Establish anticommunist police force, Buró de Represión de Actividades Comunistas (BRAC) under Batista regime. Successful.	43. 1964	Uruguay	Provide training in assassination and interrogation techniques for Uruguayan police and intelligence personnel in effort to defeat Tupamaros. Unsuccessful.
19. 1956	Egypt	Overthrow Nasser government. Unsuccessful.	44. 1964	Congo	Financial and military assistance, including B-26 and T-28 aircraft, and American and exiled Cuban pilots, for Joseph Mobutu and Cyril Adoula, and later for Moise Tshombe in Katanga, to defeat rebel forces loyal to Lumumba. Successful.
20. 1956	Syria	Overthrow Ghazzi government. Aborted by Israeli invasion of Egypt.	45. 1964-1967	South Vietnam	Phoenix Program to eliminate Viet Cong political infrastructure through more than 20,00 assassinations. Infiltrated by Viet Cong and only partially successful.
21. 1956-1976	Jordan	Average of \$750,000 annually in personal payments to King Hussein. According to United States government, payments ceased when disclosed in 1976.	46. 1964-1971	North Vietnam	Sabotage and ambush missions under Operations Plan 34A by United States Special Forces personnel and Nung tribesmen. Inconclusive.
22. 1958	Indonesia	Financial and military assistance, including B-26 bombers, for rebel forces attempting to overthrow Sukarno government. Unsuccessful.			
23. 1958-1961	Tibet	Infiltrate Tibetan guerrillas trained in United States to fight Chinese communists. Unsuccessful.			
24. 1959	Cambodia	Assassinate Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Unsuccessful.			
25. 1960	Guatemala	Military assistance to defeat rebel forces. Successful.			



Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome	Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome		
47.	1965-1971	Laos	Under Operations Shining Brass and Prairie Fire, sabotage and ambush missions by United States Special Forces personnel and Nung and Meo tribesmen under General Vang Pao. Inconclusive.	64.	1979	Iran	Install military government to replace Shah and resist growth of Moslem fundamentalism. Unsuccessful.
48.	1965	Thailand	Recruit 17,000 mercenaries to support Laotian government of Phoumi Nosavan resisting Pathet Lao. Successful.	65.	1979-1980	Jamaica	Financial pressure to destabilize government of Michael Manley, and campaign of propaganda and demonstrations to defeat it in elections. Successful.
49.	1965	Peru	Provide training in assassination and interrogation techniques for Peruvian police and intelligence personnel, similar to training given in Uruguay, Brazil and Dominican Republic, in effort to defeat resistance movement. Unsuccessful.	66.	1979	Afghanistan	Military aid to rebel forces of Zia Nezi, Zia Khan Nassry, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Sayed Ahmed Gailani and conservative mullahs to overthrow government of Hafizullah Amin. Aborted by Soviet intervention and installation of new government.
50.	1965	Indonesia	Organize campaign of propaganda to overthrow Sukarno government, and precipitate conditions leading to massacre of more than 500,000 members of Indonesian Communist Party, in order to eliminate opposition to new Suharto government. Successful.	67.	1980-1984	Afghanistan	Continuing military aid to same rebel groups to harass Soviet occupation forces and challenge legitimacy of government of Babrak Karmal.
51.	1967	Bolivia	Assist government in capture of Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Successful.	68.	1979	Seychelles	Destabilize government of France Albert René. Unsuccessful.
52.	1967	Greece	Overthrow government of George Papandreou and install military government of Colonel George Papadopoulos after abdication of King Constantine. Successful.	69.	1980	Grenada	Mercenary coup to overthrow government of Maurice Bishop. Unsuccessful.
53.	1967-1971	Cambodia	Under Projects Daniel Boone and Salem House, sabotage and ambush missions by United States Special Forces personnel and Meo tribesmen. Inconclusive.	70.	1980	Dominica	Financial support to Freedom Party of Eugenia Charles to defeat Oliver Seraphim in Dominican elections. Successful.
54.	1969-1970	Cambodia	Bombing campaign to crush Viet Cong sanctuaries in Cambodia. Unsuccessful.	71.	1980	Guyana	Assassinate opposition leader Walter Rodney to consolidate power of government of Forbes Burnham. Successful.
55.	1970	Cambodia	Overthrow government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Successful.	72.	1980-1984	Nicaragua	Military assistance to Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, Fernando Chamorro Rappacioli, Edén Pastora Gómez, Adrianna Guillen, Steadman Fagoth and former Somozan National Guard officers, to recruit, train and equip anti-Sandinista forces for sabotage and terrorist incursions into Nicaragua from sanctuaries in Honduras and Costa Rica, in effort to destabilize government of Daniel Ortega Saavedra. Inconclusive.
56.	1970-1973	Chile	Campaign of assassinations, propaganda, labor strikes and demonstrations to overthrow government of Salvador Allende. Successful. Cost: \$8,400,000.	73.	1981	Seychelles	Military coup to overthrow government of France Albert René. Unsuccessful.
57.	1973-1978	Afghanistan	Military and financial assistance to government of Mohammed Daud to resist rise to power of Noor Mohammed Taraki. Unsuccessful.	74.	1981-1982	Mauritius	Financial support to Seewoosagar Ramgoolam to bring him to power in 1982 elections. Unsuccessful.
58.	1975	Portugal	Overthrow government of General Vasco dos Santos Goncalves. Successful.	75.	1981-1984	Libya	Broad campaign of economic pressure, propaganda, military maneuvers in Egypt, Sudan and Gulf of Sidra, and organization of Libyan Liberation Front exiles to destabilize government of Muammar Kaddafi. Inconclusive.
59.	1975	Angola	Military assistance to forces of Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi to defeat forces of Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during Angolan civil war, and prevent MPLA from forming new government. Unsuccessful.	76.	1982	Chad	Military assistance to Hissen Habré to overthrow government of Goukouni Oueddei. Successful.
60.	1975	Australia	Propaganda and political pressure to force dissolution of labor government of Gough Whitlam. Successful.	77.	1982	Guatemala	Military coup to overthrow government of Angel Anibal Guevara. Successful.
61.	1976	Jamaica	Military coup to overthrow government of Michael Manley. Unsuccessful.	78.	1982	Bolivia	Military coup to overthrow government of Celso Torrelio. Successful.
62.	1976-1979	Jamaica	Assassinate Michael Manley. Three attempts in this period. Unsuccessful.	79.	1982	Jordan	Military assistance to equip and train two Jordanian brigades as an Arab strike force to implement United States policy objectives without Israeli assistance. Inconclusive.
63.	1976-1984	Angola	Financial and military assistance to forces of Jonas Savimbi to harass and destabilize Neto and succeeding governments. Inconclusive.	80.	1982-1983	Surinam	Overthrow government of Colonel Desi Bouterse. Three attempts in this period. Unsuccessful.

The Big Bang

Continued from page 11

are nothing. Matter can take an infinite number of forms and constantly changes its forms but it never ceases to be matter. Lenin spoke to this point in reference to physicists of his time who retreated into idealism claiming that matter was disappearing because it was discovered that objects lost mass due to radiation and because of other new discoveries:

“‘Matter disappears’ means that the limit within which we have hitherto known matter disappears and that our knowledge is penetrating deeper; properties of matter are likewise disappearing which formerly seemed absolute, immutable, and primary (impenetrability, inertia, mass, etc.) and which are now revealed to be relative and characteristic only of certain states of matter. For the sole ‘property’ of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of *being an objective reality*, of existing outside the mind” (Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Collected Works* [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972], Vol. 14, pp., 260-61).

Lenin’s point is equally valid when applied to the problem of matter seemingly appearing from out of nowhere.

Many scientists would rather avoid the problem of “the beginning” entirely by ruling the whole question out of order, declaring it null and void. Take for example this typical nifty decree by the authors of a 1976 *Scientific American* article on the big bang:

“Thus it appears that the universe began from a state of infinite density. . . . Space and time were created in that event and so was all the matter in the universe. It is not meaningful to ask what happened before the big bang; it is somewhat like asking what is north of the North Pole. Similarly, it is not sensible to ask where the big bang took place. The point-universe was not an object isolated in space; it was the entire universe, and so the only answer can be that the big bang happened everywhere.”

Presto! The problem has been solved by fiat. Since matter, space, time and everything began with the big bang there is no such thing as “before” the beginning; the very question is meaningless (thank god!). Is it also meaningless to ask how this view differs at all from saying that everything suddenly appeared out of nothing (i.e., an infinitely dense, dimensionless point-universe)? Clearly there is no essential difference between the two formulations. The view presented by these authors is simply another way of phrasing the idea that the entire material world was born out of nothing. As we have seen, to contend this either explicitly or implicitly, is precisely to call on the inhabitants of the supernatural nonworld. Far from avoiding the problem of “before,” with all the attendant philosophical ramifications, these authors believe in and are promoting idealist philosophy.

So, unfortunately, it is not surprising to find many cosmologists issuing de facto invitations for the preachers to man the pulpits. This is done in agnostic fashion, with many cosmologists saying: Cosmologists can’t say anything about before the big bang or how it began since it is currently and perhaps permanently impossible to gather any information about the universe prior to the first instant and even then there is no direct evidence of the big bang until hundreds of thousands of years later. Therefore, science can take no position either way as to whether God willed the Universe into being or not. Science can only deal with “facts”; questions about God and such things should be left up to those concerned with such matters (presumably the religious authorities).² This is, indeed, too bad. Scientists and their discoveries

can be a very powerful force in combating religion and all forms of superstitious ignorance precisely because they generally attempt to deal with the world the way it really is. However, dealing with reality is much deeper than “getting the facts,” narrowly conceived; it inevitably involves bringing one’s philosophical outlook and method into accord with the way things really are.

It’s true that it is currently not possible to say exactly what came before the big bang or what precise events led up to it. However, a few basic things *can* be said with assurance. Our finite universe had to have been born out of matter of some form which existed prior to it and no prime mover of any kind could have been responsible for the birth. The Universe must be infinite, consisting of an infinite amount of matter in motion, otherwise we face the infinite conundrums of idealism. There can be no room in it for the hand of god (except in the minds of beings who have yet to learn better) nor can there be any place “outside” the Universe. Neither matter (material substance in general) nor its motion is ever created or destroyed, though the forms of organization of this matter and motion are infinitely diverse and constantly changing. This being the case there is no need for any kind of initial impulse to have set everything in the Universe in motion. Motion of all kinds is the “mode of existence, the inherent attribute, of matter,” as Engels put it. There can be no matter without motion and vice versa. And it is the very contradictions within the countless forms of matter that give rise to their motion and development. As Mao put it:

“Contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its interrelations and interactions with other things are secondary causes. . . . It is evident that purely external causes can only give rise to mechanical motion, that is, to changes in scale or quantity, but cannot explain why things differ qualitatively in thousands of ways and why one thing changes into another. As a matter of fact, even mechanical motion under external force occurs through the internal contradictoriness of things” (Mao Tsetung, *On Contradiction, Selected Works* [Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967] Vol. 1, p. 313).

So it was not as if what became our universe was a stagnant pool before something happened to breathe life into it — some spark or bolt from the blue. The matter out of which our universe came into being existed in a given form possessed of given motion in time and space. At a certain point this matter underwent rapid qualitative change in form and motion and thus began the big bang. The basis for this explosive change was the contradictions within that aggregation of matter. Naturally, the exact relation between the internal contradictions and external causes that gave birth to our universe is not known nor is it known how our universe fits into the life of other levels of matter. We do not know what state matter was in prior to the big bang or what things are like beyond our universe. Nevertheless we can say with certainty that the stuff of which everything around us is made has always been in motion in time and space and will always be in motion even after the entire known universe as it is presently constituted comes to an end and the material within it is subject to new forms and stages of development of some sort.

Fry or Freeze?

This brings us to the question of the fate of our expanding universe. This is the subject of considerable debate among astronomers and physicists and interest in it goes well beyond the walls of scientific institutions. As mentioned earlier, such cosmological questions are loaded with philosophical implications. Religious leaders, official ideologues and many others have rushed to support one side or

another on this question, driven by the desire to bolster, or minimize the damage to, their particular dogma. As in the case of the beginning of the universe, the question of the end is hardly a matter of indifference to the religious and political authorities.

The debate has, in the main, centered over whether the universe is “closed” and will stop expanding and then collapse back on itself to a state of tremendous heat and density similar to that of the pre-big bang universe or whether it is “open” and will go on expanding and cooling at a slower and slower rate and never stop until it becomes a completely dead sea of motionless matter.³ In short the question is, “Will it fry or freeze?” The two main camps on this debate are the same two camps as on the debate over whether the universe is finite or infinite. The proponents of the “open” model subscribe to the infinite universe view, while the “closed” model advocates subscribe to the finite Universe view. The errors of these formulations have already been spoken to. The erroneous thinking on that question also colors the debate on fate, yet it is a separate question and an entirely valid one to explore as long as it is clear that we can only talk about the fate of a concrete finite universe.

Currently astronomers are using a variety of methods to determine if the universe is destined to collapse or not. The central and decisive question is whether the average density of matter within the universe is sufficient to halt the expansion. If it is greater than the critical density, the universe will begin to contract and the Big Crunch or Big Squeeze will begin leading to a return to the superhot, compressed state that existed before the big bang. If it is equal to or less than the critical density,⁴ the universe will go on expanding, although at a decreasing rate, and never contract. The necessary measurements are difficult to obtain with the equipment and knowledge which now exists, but all current evidence tends to favor the non-collapsing view. So far not nearly enough mass/energy has been discovered for the collapsing view to be right. However, it is entirely possible that large amounts of matter have been missed by astronomers — extremely thin gas clouds, matter hidden in black holes, the mass of neutrinos and so on. Only further concrete investigation can resolve this question.

³ Involved with the “open” vs. “closed” question is the problem of the “curvature of space.” As mentioned earlier, the “curvature” or “geometry” of space, as cosmologists describe it, refers to the fact that strong gravitational fields bend light and distort things in such a way that the normal Euclidean geometry we use everyday is not applicable. For example, the surface area of the sun is actually 3.4 million square miles less than would be predicted by taking its radius and using the standard Euclidean formula ($4\pi r^2$) to calculate its surface area. In stronger gravitational fields than the sun’s this distortion is even more pronounced.

Einstein discovered and elaborated on all of this in his pathbreaking General Theory of Relativity. Einstein ventured that Euclidean geometry and the whole straight line cartesian spatial coordinate system associated with it becomes increasingly less valid as gravitational fields come into play and when an object is accelerating in relation to other objects. Neither light nor anything else travels in straight lines under these circumstances, spatial dimensions undergo bending and distortion, and time slows down in relation to gravity-free and unaccelerated frames of reference. This curvature has many striking ramifications and demands a departure from rigid views of space, time, and their interrelation.

The universe as a whole possesses a gravitational field, and large distortions of the type described by Einstein may well exist throughout it. According to cosmologists, if there is enough mass/energy density to “close” the universe, then light and everything else will behave as if space was “positively curved” or “spherically curved” in a manner analogous to a sphere — where no two straight lines are parallel and always intersect and where the sum of the angles of a triangle is always greater than 180° and so forth. In this case all light will end up traveling in a circle and closing back in on itself. If the density is less than the critical density, then cosmologists theorize that the universe has a “negative” or “hyperbolic” curvature somewhat analogous to a saddleshaped surface, where an infinite number of parallel lines can be drawn through any point and the sum of the angles of a triangle is less than 180°, etc. In this case light would travel a curved path but one that would never intersect itself. The final possibility is that the mass/energy density is equal to the critical value. Cosmologists describe such a universe as having a “flat” or “zero” curvature — essentially the familiar Euclidean geometry.

⁴ This critical density is only about the equivalent of three hydrogen atoms per cubic meter of space within the universe. However, this is a lot given that there is so little matter between the galaxies which are so widely separated.

Whichever view on this question of fate turns out to be correct, our universe as it is now constituted is destined to come to an end — to die. It can be no other way. No particular aggregation of matter is permanent, be it a subatomic particle, a galaxy or whatever; it cannot exist forever without undergoing qualitative change and becoming transformed in one way or another into something entirely different. It may be that the universe will keep expanding and cooling to the point where all the stars and galaxies burn out and all light goes zooming off for parts unknown. Or it may be that the expansion is reversed and everything gets melted and compressed into a ball of primordial matter in an unknown state. Either way the universe as we know it will cease to exist. However, the matter which made up this universe will not disappear from the Universe or be destroyed; it is truly indestructible. (If this were not true there would be no Universe at all). All that will have happened is that the matter in the universe has been transformed into something else — something qualitatively new and different.

If the noncollapsing view is correct, then the electromagnetic radiation which goes zooming off is bound to interact with other matter in the Universe in some way or other and take part in whole other processes of development beyond our current comprehension. The matter left behind will continue some form of motion and development, perhaps even “light up” again. This remaining matter will also interact with other matter existing in the infinite Universe. If the collapsing view turns out to be correct, then the superdense glob of matter will continue to evolve and develop in new ways (perhaps becoming the basis for a new big bang) and it too will interact with other matter in the Universe. In short, the moving matter from our dead universe will take part in the birth and/or transformation of other forms of matter, other universes of some type. This is absolutely certain.

It is wrong to say, as one typical description of the future according to the “open” universe model does: “Eventually all matter will become utterly cold, attaining a temperature of absolute zero. All forces will fade and disappear, until a state is reached where nothing will ever change again.” Besides assuming that our universe is the entire cosmos — and therefore that the matter in our universe does not interact with other matter — this view postulates that matter can exist without motion and development. If either were true for *any* aggregation of material substance, initial impulses and prime movers would have to figure into the picture. Our universe is constantly in interaction with other levels of matter (even if we have no idea how at this time), as are all material things. And as it expands it may well be that this interaction with other matter comes more and more into play. To say that matter can be motionless is to deny the existence of internal contradiction — to deny the existence of something real altogether. In fact, saying that matter can be motionless or that there can be quantities of material substance of any sort which do not interact with other quantities is to say the same thing. If our universe doesn’t interact with other universes, then it is essentially motionless in relation to other matter; somehow it exists, yet has none of the properties of existence (motion, internal contradictions, etc.).

This last point is particularly important in relation to the infinitely *oscillating* Universe model. This is a particular version of the “closed” Universe model which seeks to avoid the problem of a beginning and end by postulating a cyclical and perpetually expanding and contracting Universe (an infinite number of big bangs). Such a model cannot be valid even with the caveat that it only applies to our finite universe and not the whole cosmos. To begin with, there is already substantial evidence that our universe could not have undergone an infinite number of big bangs before now. Each big bang would have altered the ratio of elementary particles to photons of radiation in such a way that the number of particles would be infinitesimally small. Estimates are that there couldn’t have been more than 100 previous explosions. Of course, these estimates could be wrong precisely because interaction with

Continued on page 15

² There are, however, some scientists who openly espouse mystical and explicitly theistic views. A few, like Robert Jastrow, mentioned in Part I, crudely declare that God (the Judeo-Christian one) did it and that the big bang proves Genesis right. Others, like some quantum physicists, gravitate toward mysticism and contend that the Universe is really just a creation of our minds. In this view, there is no

single true reality beyond human thought; humans create reality through their own observations and ideas. It is quite common historically that new and unsettling scientific discoveries give rise to a spate of subjective idealism; when the comfortable old reality is shattered, it often leads to questioning the existence of objective material reality in general.

The Big Bang

Continued from page 14

other levels of matter outside our universe plays a role, causing the expansion and contraction of the universe. But even if something like this were found to be the case, the infinitely oscillating model still describes the impossible situation of a universe which never has and never will interact with other matter to the degree that its whole evolutionary process could have been dramatically affected in any qualitative way. This is the equivalent of saying that any given atom, planet, star, galaxy, etc., will never react with each other or any other levels of matter to the extent that they undergo major transformation or cease to exist in any manner like their original states; they may change and evolve, but they will never collide with anything, intermix with anything, be torn asunder by anything, etc. We know this cannot be; in fact, it's just the opposite — it cannot be that this radical interaction will *not* happen. The same is true for matter on the level of our universe as a whole and every other level. So while our universe may indeed have undergone previous big bangs and may undergo future contractions and big bangs, this process will not go on infinitely in a neverending cycle.

Clearing Out God

It is very important to criticize these idealist and metaphysical errors because they hold back and act as a drag on what has been a very dynamic branch of the natural sciences. As we said earlier, the last 50 years or so has seen some of the greatest scientific advances in history in the fields of astronomy and physics. Giant strides in cosmology have revealed a complex, dynamic, and dialectical universe. These discoveries serve to enrich mankind's understanding of the dialectics of nature as a whole and need to

be built on. And because modern cosmology has expanded our knowledge of the universe the way it really is, it continues to be an enemy of religion and superstition. Even scientists with idealist and religious leanings are, through their work, undermining the basis for belief in prime movers and initial impulses of all stripes. As Engels once put it:

"God is nowhere treated worse than by natural scientists, who believe in him. Materialists simply explain the facts, without making use of such phrases; they do this first when importunate pious believers try to force God upon them, and then answer curtly, either like Laplace: *Sire, je n'avais pas, etc.*,⁵ or more rudely in the manner of the Dutch merchants who, when German commercial travelers press their shoddy goods on them, are accustomed to turn them away with the words: *Ik kan die Zaken niet gebruiken* (I have no use for the things), and that is the end of the matter. But what God has had to suffer at the hands of his defenders! In the history of modern natural science, God is treated by his defenders as Frederick William III was treated by his generals and officials in the campaign of Jena. One division of the army after another lowers its weapons, one fortress after another capitulates before the march of science, until at last the whole infinite realm of nature is conquered by science, and there is no place left in it for the Creator. Newton still allowed Him the 'first impulse' but forbade Him any further interference in his solar system.

⁵ When Napoleon asked him why God did not appear in his "System of the World," he answered "Sir, I have had no reason to employ that hypothesis."

Father Secchi bows Him out of the solar system altogether, with all canonical honors it is true, but none the less categorically for all that, and he only allows Him a creative act as regards the primordial nebula. And so in all spheres. . . . What a distance from the old God — the Creator of heaven and earth, the maintainer of all things — without whom not a hair can fall from the head!" (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature* [New York: International Publishers, 1976], pp. 176-77).

While the Universe is infinite, the realm for god is finite. Modern cosmology has succeeded in relegating

him/her/it to the role of a spark tens of billions of light years from the Milky Way galaxy (and everything else in the universe) and tens of billions of years in the past. In the final analysis this can only help clear the spirits out of the brain casings of human beings and fully unleash the passion and insight for exploring into the deepest and most vast reaches of the infinite cosmos in all of its dissonant and turbulent splendor. □

CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (October 12, 1984), two errors appear in the article "A Look at the Big Bang, Part I." On page 14, column one, the first sentence in the second paragraph should read: After this first millisecond, the Leptonic Era begins (leptons are the class of light particles like electrons, positrons, neutrinos, etc.).

The second error is also on page 14, in the second column. The fifth sentence in the beginning of that column should read: The energy released by this annihilation slows the rate of cooling of the universe and the "decoupled" neutrinos are now 8% cooler than the electrons, positrons, and photons and this disparity will increase throughout the period of annihilation.

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In the same issue an error appears in the article on page 12, "The Return of the FSM to Berkeley." In the fourth column, the next to last paragraph, the second sentence should read: The FSM leaders were greatly influenced by the "civil rights movement" of Martin Luther King, Jr.; the August 1963 "We have a dream" march on Washington led by King and other Black bourgeois forces. . . . The sentence continues on as is.

A Horrible End, or An End To The Horror?

Continued from page 6

To get at this, a comparison between John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan might be helpful. In a couple of the articles in the series *Reflections and Sketches* — in particular "On Phil Ochs, Or Why You Can't Have Kennedy and Revolution Too" and "Frank Sinatra" — I spoke to how the image and role of John F. Kennedy was based on a certain position and certain maneuvering room for U.S. imperialism which no longer exist in the same way today.¹¹ If JFK were alive and chief executive of U.S. imperialism today his basic orientation and his policies, especially in the crucial arena of international relations and more particularly the confrontation with the rival Soviet bloc, would not only be fundamentally the same as those of Ronald Reagan, but would be very similar in many specifics. In fact (and some bourgeois commentators, particularly more openly right-wing ones, seem to delight in pointing this out) there is a lot more in common between RR and JFK than many people, especially many liberals, would like to acknowledge.

Why does Ronald Reagan uphold, even in large part identify himself with, the legacy of John Kennedy (and he has made a point on a number of occasions of doing so)? Clearly, it can only be for JFK's "tough" stand vis-à-vis the Soviets, in particular around the Cuban Missile Crisis. We have pointed out elsewhere that this Missile Crisis did not lead to and was extremely unlikely to lead to world war. Fundamentally, this was because the rise to power of the new bourgeoisie within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (headed at that time by Khrushchev) and the restoration of capitalism there led to a situation where the Soviet Union and the bloc it led posed no obstacle as a socialist camp to the U.S. bloc, and this new bourgeoisie was unprepared to mount a straight-up challenge to the U.S. and its allies as rival imperialists. It had the necessity instead to seek to collude with U.S. imperialism to suppress revolutions and to compete and contend with U.S. imperialism within a framework of more or less peaceful relations between the two superpowers and the two blocs (that is, avoiding a direct military confrontation at all costs). The Cuban Missile Crisis dramatically established that it was the U.S. that would maintain the upper hand in this situation and that it would be the USSR that would have to do the backing down to avoid world war if push was about to come to shove.

Now, however, world relations and the "world balance of forces" (as the revisionists in the USSR and their followers like to say) have changed sharply, with the result that the question of which side will have the upper hand is precisely the question acutely posed on the agenda. Neither side can afford to back down from a major confrontation with the other — one which would cast the die as to which side will dominate — but is driven to put everything on the line to decide exactly this. Thus it is the "tough stand" of Kennedy against the Russians that Reagan is identifying with and making use of in the current world situation where this can only mean and only serve actually going down with the Russians: world war / nuclear devastation.

And why is it that Reagan also repeatedly identifies himself in many different ways (right down to radio addresses) with another paragon of Democratic Party liberalism, Franklin D. Roosevelt? What is it that he and FDR have in common? Their domestic economic programs? Their specific at-

titudes and policies in regard to social programs, especially for "the unemployed, the poor, the minorities," etc.? No, obviously not. But there is one fundamental thing in common! (though Reagan *so far* is still preparing for *his* role as commander in chief in a global showdown).

So even while Reagan raves and foams open reaction, he revives the memory (and many "echoes") of FDR for that one thing they have in common (or will, if the U.S. imperialists keep Reagan as President and the advance of the world revolution does not "intervene" to topple the whole agenda). At the same time he also revives the FDR and the JFK images for another very important reason: to make it appear as if this whole thing (moving toward war) is all being done by a reasonable man, and reluctantly — responsibly and with agonizing, as we are told JFK agonized as he risked the fate of humanity to ensure that the USSR could not have missiles ninety miles from the U.S. border while the U.S. had them much closer to the Soviet border (in Turkey, for example). This image of the reasonable, responsible (even agonizing) man at the helm as the "ship of state" heads into the "winds of war" is especially important for Ronald Reagan (and the whole U.S. ruling class), given Reagan's other tough-guy, gunslinger "track."

The example of how JFK handled the Cuban Missile Crisis — or rather, the image and mythology that has been created around this — is employed now in the service of soothing people and seducing them into believing that if (and only if) we have someone with the nerve to go "eyeball to eyeball" with the Russians "without blinking," it will be possible to avoid a war with them, with all its disastrous consequences. (Another example where this basic logic was sharply presented: on American TV, ABC's "Crisis Game." It was not by any accident, I believe, that this "Crisis Game" — with its message that war with the Russians can be avoided only if "we" responsibly but firmly stand up to them — followed immediately after *The Day After*. Anyone who thinks that was an accident — or doesn't even know about this "Crisis Game" program — needs the waking up that we're talking about.) All this is precisely not for the purpose of avoiding war with the rival Soviet-led bloc but of preparing (people) for just this war.

What all this shows, from several different angles, is that fundamentally it is not "the man at the helm" who determines monumental questions like this (world war / nuclear devastation) but the imperialist system and "the times" — the compulsion of that system, the interests of and demands on the imperialist ruling class flowing from that compulsion in the context of the actual world relations. And there is not one of their politicians of any significance — *not one* — who would give a different answer than Ronald Reagan (or for that matter JFK or FDR before him) to the basic question: which is preferable, world war / nuclear devastation or the U.S. reduced to not being "number one"?¹² That is exactly the question the U.S. imperialists and all their major politicians are facing. And you only have to listen to them with a discerning ear to know their answer to it: nothing could be more unthinkable than for the U.S. to be reduced to "second class status" in the world (to say nothing of the U.S. suffering a totally devastating military defeat, or even worse being overthrown by revolution); for them this is a far worse horror than the world and the mass of humanity being devastated by world war and nuclear destruction.

¹² This basic orientation is well captured in Ken Follett's novel about intrigue surrounding the Russo-English alliance at the start of World War I, *The Man From St. Petersburg* (New York: Signet, 1983). The English Lord Walden charged with cementing this alliance several times protests that he does not want war with all its carnage and suffering, *but* he is clear that such a war is preferable to seeing Germany supplant England as dominant world power. Today, while a world war would bring carnage and suffering on a whole other level beyond even the horrors of the previous two world wars, the position of the ruling "lords" of all the imperialist powers remains — and can only remain under such a system — that such a war is preferable to seeing "the other side" have dominance in the world.

¹¹ "On Phil Ochs, Or Why You Can't Have Kennedy and Revolution Too," *RW*, No. 176 (October 15, 1982), p. 8; "Frank Sinatra," *RW*, No. 182 (November 26, 1982), p. 3.

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A HORRIBLE END or An End To The Horror?

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AVAKIAN

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If the rulers of this country can prepare for a global war of conquest against their Soviet rivals, a conflagration which has the potential to extinguish human life on this planet, then why cannot those who understand this fact and who aspire to a higher form of society prepare to overthrow these rulers before they embark on this monstrous enterprise? This is the profound challenge posed by Bob Avakian in his latest and most important work to date, *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?*

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.