



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 224 (Vol. 5, No. 22) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

September 30, 1983

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50¢

REAGAN SPEECH TO UN

DIPLOMACY: THE NOBLE ART OF BLOODSUCKING

Strange game Professor Falken. The only way to win is not to play at all.

These lines displayed by a supercomputer in the movie *War Games* would get nothing but laughs if they came instead from the mouth of one Ronald Reagan. At least, that's what any sane person would have guessed before Reagan's speech Monday before the United Nations during which he stated "A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought," and laced his speech with other pious sounds about world peace, and "the noble art of diplomacy." But instead of guffaws, the U.S. press gave a respectful hearing to the remarks by their chief executive known heretofore as the

loving guardian of the MX, fervent advocate of "nuclear warfighting capability," and in the most original vision of all, the prophet of death rays in space. A strange game indeed.

On closer inspection, though, the speech was less a game than a kind of fairy tale with a deadly moral attached, a foot-stomping and bellicose message hidden barely beneath the surface. The fairy tale is of the sort that the U.S. has been

reciting since the shooting down of KAL 007: deliberately reviving some of the crudest ideological trappings of the fifties, it has the U.S. searching the globe for thirty years for the ways to peace, out of no other motivation than pure goodness, but headed off at every turn by the Soviets with the result that "the use of violence for political gain has become more, not less, widespread in the present decade." The cynical little tale was adorned with the "original ideals of the U.N." as Reagan intoned: "What happened to the dreams of the U.N. founders? What happened to the spirit which created the U.N.?" Reagan, that is, continued to process the maximum political mileage out of the airliner incident by posing the U.S. — the country which was, let us be clear, putting the final touches on preparations for the nuclear holocaust at Hiroshima just as the U.N. Charter was being signed in April 1945 and has otherwise been

nothing but a master at "barbarism" itself — as the champion of peace and of the U.N., both up against a nefarious enemy.

The speech was an ideological blast at the Soviets which set world records in hypocrisy. The only substantive issues addressed in the talk revolved around a handful of proposals on arms control which were *simultaneously* dismissed by other U.S. officials who told the press that "the new ideas offered by Mr. Reagan were aimed at showing flexibility without upsetting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's deployment schedule"! Or to put it a bit more straightforwardly, they weren't worth a shit. The *New York Times* said it best of all in the headline to its lead editorial the following day: "On to Deployment"!

Instead the president ranted on about KAL 007: "Why should a mother flying toward a reunion with her family, or the

Continued on page 6



1981—Haitian refugees experience America's love of freedom as they are left to starve and drown. Those who make it to U.S. shores are thrown into concentration camps.



1898—American civilization comes to the Philippines, the initial conquest is followed by years of bloody suppression. Here some U.S. troops pose on a pile of Filipino bones at Batangas cemetery in Luzon.



1945—U.S. high ideals are realized with the incineration of hundreds of thousands of Japanese in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Judge Denies Custody To Tina Fishman

A Case of American Family Morals in Action

It is rather unusual for a judge to refuse to offer a written opinion or a legal "finding of facts" in a highly controversial case which has generated television, radio and newspaper coverage nationally, including from the *New York Times*. But beyond a mere one-sentence statement, the Chicago judge presiding over the custody case of RCP supporter Tina Fishman was mum as to why he ordered temporary custody of her daughter extended to ex-husband Ted until July 3, 1984. Judge Richard Jorzak, head of the Domestic Relations Court of Cook County, would say only that while "both parents are qualified," it is in the "best interest of the child" to remain with her father.

Could Jorzak's stunning silence be due to the fact that the court-appointed psychiatrist, personally handpicked by himself, recommended that custody be awarded to Tina? Could it be that he would have difficulty explaining why "temporary" custody has been granted to Ted four times now, meaning that the child will have been in his custody for three years in July 1984? Jorzak's refusal to elaborate on these sticky questions stems not just from cowardice on his part (cowardly though it is), but reflects some very volatile contradictions that the bourgeoisie is caught in around this case. On the one hand they face the necessity to press ahead with this political attack on the RCP, to drive home the message that "if you stand with revolution and internationalism, you will pay for it with your own flesh and blood" — a calculated attempt at legal terrorism aimed not only at members and supporters of the RCP and those who gravitate toward revolutionary politics, but women who, as Tina put it, "dare to deviate from the deadening life of happy homemaker." On the other hand, the exposure of the explosive significance of this case among progressive sections of society, as well as in the courtroom itself, made it impossible for Jorzak to just outright grant perma-

nent custody to Ted.

This case has proven to be far from the express railroad that the bourgeoisie intended back when the California courts first ramrodded through an order of temporary, emergency custody to Ted in August 1981 on the baldly political grounds that Tina was "neglecting" the child because of her status as a Mao Tse-tung Defendant. As the bourgeoisie has pursued this case further due to their necessity to suppress revolutionaries and to tighten the chains of tradition on women, at each juncture of this two-year battle people from increasingly broad and diverse circles — from radical feminists to professional women and women on college campuses, from lawyers and others concerned about political repression to organized atheists — have stepped forward to protest this outrage.

In this current round of the battle, what has come to the fore even more prominently is the depth of the contradictions that the imperialists face with the changing role of women over the last 20 years. For example, increasingly larger sections of professional women have been drawn to examine the underlying assumptions of this attack. These are women who, on the one hand, have achieved a degree of status and success in society, but on the other hand find

themselves increasingly victimized by the current reactionary wind to put women "in their place," weighed down by all the trappings of home, motherhood and subservience to men that this implies. One aspect of this offensive is an increasingly sharp and well-documented trend to punish women who depart from the traditional roles, who work, or who have interests outside the home, by taking custody of their children away from them — all in the name of "the best interests of the child." (see *RW*, June 7, 1983) In this context, the news of Tina's custody case not so much strikes a sympathetic chord as it administers an electric shock. Tina heard from one liberal supporter, for example, that progressive, divorced women, familiar with her custody case, have taken to hiding any radical literature they might have lying around the house for fear that their ex-husbands could use it against them as proof that they are "unfit mothers." In the face of this custody club being dangled over their heads, many women and other progressive people have recently stepped forward in a way that has dramatically expanded the scope of support for this case, including from rural areas like Iowa City and Champagne-Urbana, Illinois.

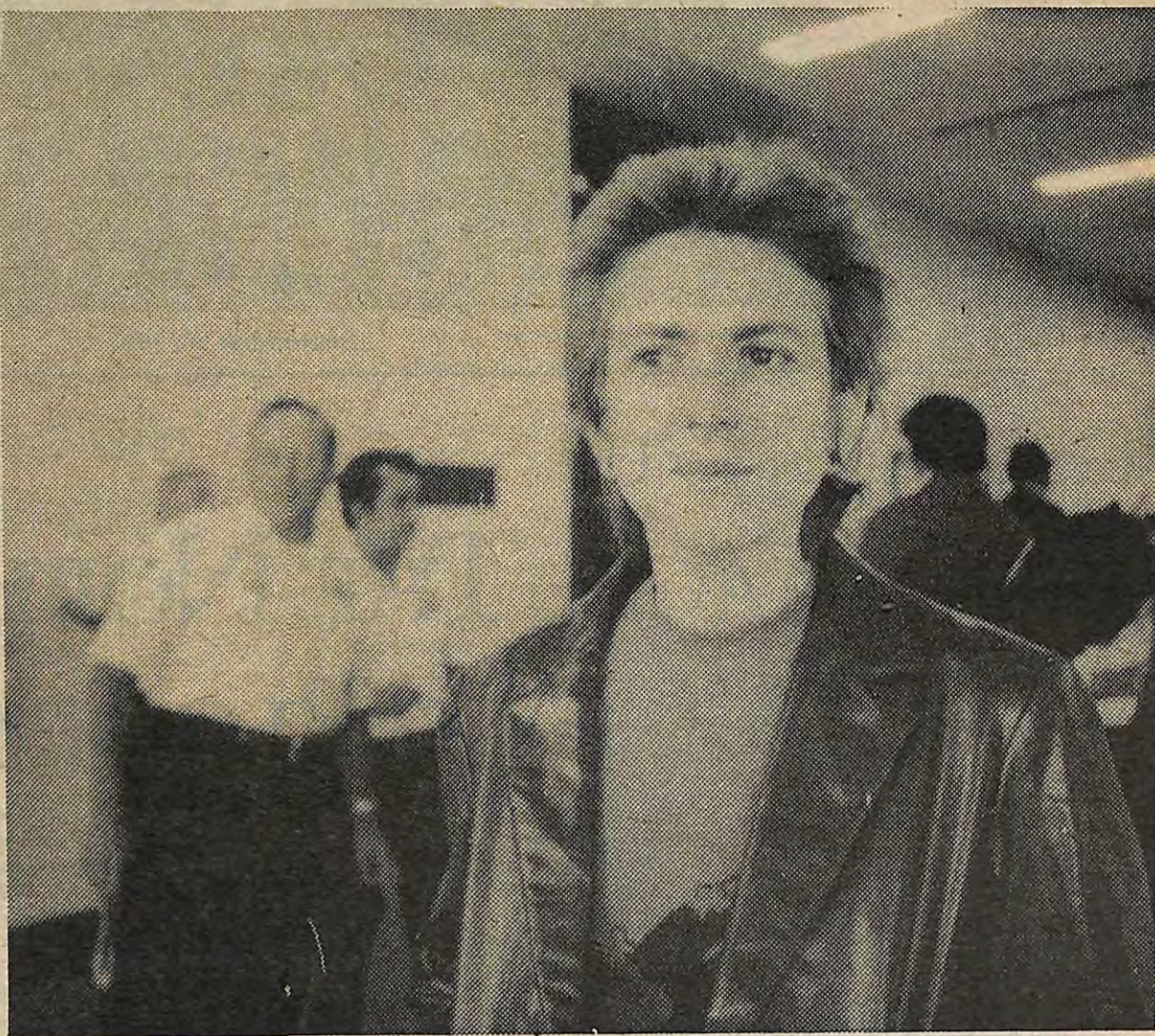
Shifty Attack

The forces that have gravitated toward

the case at each turning point and contributed to calling out this attack for what it is have necessitated various shifts in direction and new tactics by the courts as they have sought to minimize the damaging political exposure arising from this custody attack, even while never ceasing to pursue it. At first the case was characterized by openly flaunting the political nature of the kidnapping. The original order to Ted was upheld in November 1981 by California Commissioner James Browning (of COINTELPRO fame) who confirmed that an "emergency" existed. Undaunted by the fact that he was making a mockery out of the guidelines set forth in the Uniform Child Custody and Jurisdiction Act (UCCJA), Browning dreamed up a whole new definition of "neglect" which he described as "withholding the intangible necessities of parenting" on Tina's part due to her political activities. However, the courts soon learned that holding this child hostage due to her mother's political activities was not something that could be easily crammed down the throats of many radical and progressive people whose eyes had been fixed on the case.

On appeal, California Superior Court Judge Gerald Ragan did a hasty backpeddling act and attempted to "depoliticize" the case by admitting in

Continued from page 12



Tina Fishman at court during the Sept. 15th hearing.

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The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

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The following correspondence is an eyewitness account of the recent rioting unleashed by the Sri Lankan government against the Tamils, a minority nationality there. The Tamils include both fairly well-to-do strata of distant Indian descent, who were once favored by the British colonialists, and also large numbers of more recent immigrants from the Indian state of Tamil Nadu who were brought over as laborers for the colonialist tea gardens. Today, promoting Sinhala (the majority nationality) chauvinism goes hand in hand with the largely Sinhalese ruling class's subservience to the U.S. bloc, while posing as big brother to Sri Lankan Tamils has become popular with the pro-Soviet Indian government. The author of this account — slightly edited by the RW — is a Sri Lankan Tamil who still lives in Sri Lanka, where the government imposed strict censorship on exposure and analysis of the riots. For more on this country, including an analysis of its internal national question, see *A Marxist Looks at the History of Ceylon*, by N. Samugathasan, Secretary General of the Ceylon Communist Party. (Sri Lanka is a Sinhala word for the island.)

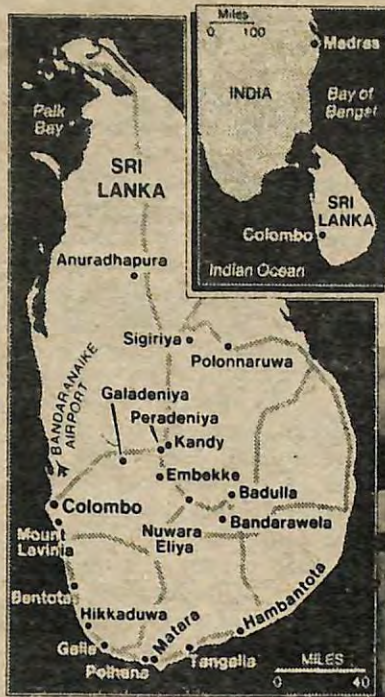
For the second time in my life (the first was during the 1958 communal riots), I had to undergo the indignities associated with being a Tamil in Sri Lanka. This time, it was under the *Dharmista* (a Buddhist term meaning righteousness) government of Junius Richard Jayawardena. One has, of course, heard that this kind of thing has happened to others. To the Jews in Europe, the Negroes in the USA, the Palestinians in Lebanon and so on. But, somehow or other, one hoped that it would not happen to yourself. Although communal violence has been frequent in Sri Lanka, it had always been contained and been within limits.

But, not so this time. It was the most horrifying nightmare one could have imagined — looting, burning, murder on a scale never before imagined. The city of Colombo resembles a bombed city in places — charred and blackened, roofless, gaping buildings where prosperous houses, shops and factories once stood. What is dreadful to realize is that the whole operation has been planned and carried out almost with the precision of a military operation. Tamil and Indian shops, houses and factories have quite clearly been marked out earlier. Everything took place so quickly, giving the idea of spontaneity and over a large area — but with the same pattern. As the BBC is reported to have put it, "the idea seems to have been to destroy the economic base of the Tamils." It was an attempt at genocide.

Someone seemed to have planned the whole thing and waited only for an opportunity. The opportunity came when on the night of the 23rd of July, at about 11:30 pm, the so-called terrorists of the North, carrying on an armed struggle for a separate state of Eelam for the Tamils, ambushed and killed 13 soldiers who were all Sinhalese. The Sri Lankan army is almost entirely Sinhalese. This sparked the fuse.

The army had shot and killed two "terrorists" in the North a week earlier. The Tigers, as the Tamil militant youth call themselves, had been planning a retaliation. They lured the army out several times on false information. Then, on July 23rd, "information" about the whereabouts of some "terrorists" was fed to the army. Ignoring an order not to go out on night patrol, armed soldiers went out in two vehicles. They were easily ambushed. A detonator, which had recently been stolen from the Kankesanuraim cement factory, was used to blow up the vehicles. When the soldiers got out, they were shot down from all sides. Thirteen died on the spot. Two were wounded.

Sunday: Colombo received the news on Sunday, the 24th. By evening, crowds had gathered at Colombo's main cemetery where, apparently, the government had made an attempt to bury the bodies. Nobody knows why the government decided on this step, without releasing the bodies to the various areas from which the soldiers came. The government seems to have had some confused idea of reaping political capital by rousing hatred among the Sinhalese of the "terrorists." In any event, a crowd of thousands had



Report from Sri Lanka



Destroyed homes of Tamils in Colombo.

surrounded the President's house at Ward Place and demanded the bodies. The crowd was tear-gassed. But the government retreated. It was a section of this crowd that started the communal violence that night by setting fire to Tamil houses at the Borella end of Rosmead Place (near the cemetery).

By seven in the evening I received the news of the attack on the army. All Tamils started phoning each other — expecting the worst but hoping for the best. At about 1 am on the morning of Monday, the 25th, I was woken by a telephone call from a Sinhalese friend telling me that Tamil houses in Rosmead Place were burning. It was the start of the nightmare that was to extend for days.

Monday: The morning newspapers, despite a press censorship, published in headlines a statement from the Defence Minister not merely announcing the killing of the 13 soldiers but also announcing their funeral, with full state honours, for that morning. This was nothing but sheer provocation. Thousands gathered near the cemetery and began looting and burning on all sides. The mob gathered because of the government's announcement. Within hours Colombo was caught up in the worst holocaust it had ever experienced. Tamil shops and houses were singled out and looted and burnt while many Tamils were murdered. The figure for the first two days was estimated at more than 500. More than 500 cars and lorries were burnt and their wreckage left on the roads. Liquor shops owned by Tamils and Indians were looted and the mobs got drunk. The Indian establishment — Victoria Stores — owned a chain of liquor shops. They were all looted.

There is no doubt that someone had earlier identified the Tamil houses, shops and factories. Seventeen industrial complexes belonging to some of the leading Tamil and Indian industrialists were razed to the ground. Among these was the multi-millionaire and firm supporter of the ruling party, A.Y. Gnanam, who was the only capitalist in Sri Lanka to whom the World Bank offered a loan and the influential Maharaja Organisation. The Indian-owned textile mills of Hidramani Ltd., which employed a labour force of 4000 in the suburbs of Colombo, were gutted. So was the K.G. Industries Ltd. The same fate fell Hentleys Garments, one of the biggest exporters of garments, and several other big textile and garment manufacturing establishments geared for export. The Indian Overseas Bank and the Bank of Oman were burnt. Several cinema houses owned by Tamils were destroyed. The list is endless. The suburb of Wellawatte, where had lived the largest concentration of Tamils, resembled a bombed town. It will have to be re-built. Probably the worst affected area was the Pettah, the

commercial centre of Colombo where Tamil and Indian traders played a dominant role. Hardly a single Tamil or Indian establishment was left standing.

A most distressing aspect of the vandalism was the burning and the destruction of the houses and dispensaries of eminent Tamil doctors — some with over a quarter of a century of service in Sinhala areas. Tamils form a good proportion of Sri Lanka's medical profession. More than one doctor is rumoured to have been killed in Colombo and in other cities.

While all this happened, the police and the armed forces were more conspicuous by their absence. They either looked the other way or joined in the looting. The army was the worst offender. Several onlookers have reported that army men travelling in lorries waved merrily to the looters who waved back. No action whatsoever was taken to disperse the mobs. Not even tear gas was used. The result was that the criminal gangs gained confidence.

During the day, as more and more reports came of increasing violence, I debated whether to move to a safer place with my family. We were living near the heart of the city. But I put off the decision hoping against hope that the situation would improve, although we had been watching smoke spiralling from burnt houses within half a mile away. By this time, about three other Tamil refugees with two small children had taken shelter in our house. Their houses had been attacked. To make matters worse for us, our telephone failed. Not just my telephone, but all adjacent telephones also. We were effectively cut off. By about five in the evening, smoke erupted from two houses which were burning hardly hundred yards away. We could not dally anymore. Eight adults and three children — all vaulted over the high back wall of our house and took shelter at the Muslim house behind ours. Huddled together in the back verandah — lest we be spotted — we spent a nightmare which I would not care to have repeated.

Tuesday: As soon as dawn broke, we returned to our home and, on our way, saw the charred remains of the two burnt Tamil houses. Again, the debate as to whether we should leave to safer places. By ten in the morning, Sinhalese friends came by car and we decided to move. Our family split up to go to two different houses. I went with a nephew to a Sinhala friend's house in Ratmalana, a suburb where also several factories and houses had been burnt. I had to keep a low profile in my friend's house so that people would not recognise the fact that he was harbouring Tamils.

While it is true that the Tamils will never forget or forgive the chauvinistic and criminal elements from among the

Sinhalese who wrought havoc on the properties and the persons of the Tamils, it is equally true that they would like to salute those brave and good-hearted Sinhalese who sheltered a large number of Tamils at great risk to themselves. It was with one of them that I sheltered. . . .

Wednesday: As Wednesday dawned there were still sporadic incidents. The curfew was lifted at dawn to enable people to buy necessary provisions. But food shortages had hit the country — not because there was no stocks but because the distribution system had broken down. The sacking of 3rd Cross Street and 4th Cross Street at Pettah, the business centre of Colombo, meant that wholesale trade in rice, which was dominated by Indians, had been disturbed. Most of the grocery shops and retail outlets in and around Colombo were in the hands of the Indians or Tamils. Their destruction meant immediate shortage of foodstuffs. Although basic essentials were available in small quantities, many things, like cigarettes, became unobtainable. Queues formed for rice and bread and sugar.

By mid-day, I heard the horrible news about the murder of 35 Tamil detainees inside Welikade prison. It was a terrific shock that jolted everyone — Tamil and Sinhalese. The looting and burning by unidentifiable gangs, who thereafter disappear, is one thing. But it is quite another thing to permit the killing in cold blood of prisoners who had been committed to prison by courts of law and whose safety was quite definitely the responsibilities of the prison authorities. Very few believed the story that these killings were the result of a prison riot. How did the other prisoners get out of their cells? Where did they get their weapons? And, most important, who put these Island Reconvicted Criminals next to the detainees and in the same building? And when? Even if one overlooked the first killing, how explain the second killing of 17 Tamil detainees on the following day? What were the prison authorities doing for the 24 hours without sending the Tamil detainees to a safer place? This coldly calculated murder of Tamil prisoners, held in custody inside a prison, will be an eternal blot on the Sri Lankan government that nothing can wipe out. An army personnel who had visited the prison morgue told me that the detainees must have been attacked with clubs and knives. . . .

Thursday: Rumours were flying fast about the possibility of an Indian invasion. In fact, it was rumoured that the Indian troops had already landed in Jaffna. This was, of course, a response to the three-hour debate on the Sri Lankan situation in the Indian parliament and to the telephone conversation that Indian

Continued on page 4

Sri Lanka

Continued from page 3

Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, had with President Jayawardane in the course of which she asked Jayawardane to receive Indian Foreign Minister Narasima Rao, whom she was sending to Sri Lanka on a fact-finding mission.

Sporadic incidents continued while the food shortage worsened. Another Sinhalese friend brought me some rice and flour. It was reported that seven suspects who were allegedly carrying small arms and bombs in a bid to destroy the Fort railway station, Colombo's main railway centre, were shot and killed.

In the night, the President made his much delayed speech in the TV... What a sorry performance! There was no condemnation of communal violence that had taken place. There was not even a mention of the killing of the Tamils or of the murder inside the prison. His speech was a justification of the violence by the Sinhala mobs and a virtual invitation for more. He said that the actions of the Sinhalese were a reaction to the Tamil demand for separation. He spoke, not as the President of Sri Lanka but as a Sinhala President. In the course of his speech, he announced that legislation would be brought to ban all parties and movements advocating separation and severe penalties, including loss of civic rights and the right to practice their professions, imposed on members of such parties...

Friday: By now nearly ten refugee camps had been set up in Colombo to house those Tamils who had been rendered homeless. The figures soon rose to 20,000 and reached the figure of 50,000 within days and then rose to 79,000. Conditions in the camps were horrible, almost primitive. The Ratalana airport hangar, which was got ready to house 800 refugees, accommodated 8000. According to an inmate, there was hardly standing space. There were over 2000 infants and 500 elderly people, with only one doctor to serve them. Water was scarce and food was inadequate. Similar camps had also been set up in Kandy, Matale, Badulla, etc., where also serious incidents had taken place. Several service organisations were volunteering to look after the refugees.

In the night, the Prime Minister came over TV and radio. For the first time, it became clear that the government was attempting to shift the blame for the communal violence on to the shoulders of the forces opposed to the government. The Prime Minister said that this was an attempt to topple the government by forces that were defeated at the Presidential elections and at the referendum and who were jealous at the economic growth the country was making under this government (sic!). But he did not mention any party or organisation.

Saturday: The curfew that was imposed on Friday afternoon was extended to both Saturday and Sunday. The radio announced that 600 looters had been arrested. It also announced that those guilty of looting or murder would be punished with death or life imprisonment. Punishment for selling, buying or retaining stolen property would be imprisonment for 10-20 years. The radio also discounted a rumour that Sinhala peasants in the up-country were getting ready to attack plantation workers of Indian origin and vice versa.

The Minister for State, Ananda Tissa de Alwis came on TV and radio to suggest this what had happened was not just a Sinhala/Tamil communal clash but a deep-seated plan to overthrow the government. He also accused an unnamed big power as having masterminded the operation which he claimed had been well planned. For the first time, it was suggested that certain political parties who had secret connection with the northern terrorists were behind the violence. Still no names were mentioned.

But the identity of these parties were soon revealed when the radio announced that the Peoples Liberation Front (JVP), the Nava Samasamaja Party (NSSP), and the (pro-Soviet — RW) Communist Party (CPSL) were behind the riots and were proscribed for the duration of the emergency and prescribed severe penalties, including death or life imprisonment and loss of civic rights for those having contact with the proscribed

parties or failing to report them.

To any intelligent political observer in Sri Lanka this accusation must seem ridiculous. The NSSP and the CPSL had never taken up communal political attitudes, except for a short time in 1964 when after the fall of the first coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranayake, they succumbed to the masala vadai line (a reference to Tamil eating habits) of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). The JVP had been openly anti-Indian Tamil during its 1971 insurrection, but had dropped that stance since and not revived it. It would appear that the fact that certain students from one or two schools in Colombo had taken part in the initial incidents seems to have lent belief to the theory that the JVP, which drew its main support from the youth, was behind it. There is no doubt that the CPSL and the JVP, which were both pro-Soviet and had close ties with the Soviet Union, were brought up to lend credence to the theory that the Soviet Union and certain Eastern European countries had masterminded the communal violence. The anti-Soviet turn was undoubtedly to obtain Western imperialist sympathy — particularly that of the USA — and future further hand-outs. It was also a move to checkmate India which had shown open sympathy to the cause of the Ceylon Tamils.

But most of those who witnessed the scenes of looting and arson recognised the gangs as being UNP (the government party — RW) elements having allegiance to two prominent cabinet ministers — one of whom had clearly been revealed as the sinister force behind the communal violence that took place a month previously at the Eastern seaport and the natural harbour of Trincomalee. It was the employees of certain corporations coming under the ministers and the members of the pro-UNP trade union of which this Minister is president that seem to have played a major role in these riots.

It is also significant that a virulently anti-Tamil book in Sinhala, entitled *Protect the Buddhist Religion*, by Minister Cyril Mathew, had been circulating for some time. It was distributed free of cost. Besides, if the government wants people to believe that the nation-wide disturbances that took place were due to the JVP, the NSSP and the CPSL, then these parties must indeed be powerful parties!

It is also easily forgotten that the provocation to violence was offered by the government, itself, when it announced the funeral of the 13 dead soldiers at Kanatte, for the morning of the 25th. It was the crowd of thousands that gathered there that set on foot the communal violence.

Sunday: All India Radio reported that the Indian Foreign Minister had returned to New Delhi and reported to Indira Gandhi who had cut short her visit to Sikkim to meet him. Local gossip had it that Narasima Rao had cut President Jayawardane to size and did not treat him as a Head of a State. His report to Indira Gandhi was that the situation in Sri Lanka had not been brought under control. He had also reported that the conditions in the refugee camps were not satisfactory. The Indian Radio also announced that India was willing to send security forces to Sri Lanka, to bring the situation under control, if requested. But no such request had been made by Sri Lanka, the radio said.

I heard the gruesome story that on Tuesday, two Tamils about to leave Sri Lanka by Air Lanka were shot dead by air force guards as they walked to the plane. This incident was witnessed by a Swiss acquaintance who flew by this plane and phoned her husband in Sri Lanka after her arrival in Zürich. Her tale was relayed to us.

The Indian Radio had been announcing protests and demonstrations all over Tamil Nadu. There had been demonstrations in Bombay and several in Delhi opposite the Ceylon High Commission in which MPs of several parties had taken part. M.G. Ramachandran, chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, led an all-Party delegation from Tamil Nadu to New Delhi to place their views and voice their concern about events in Sri Lanka to the Indian Prime Minister...

Monday: Several of my Sinhala comrades called to inquire about my safety... Meanwhile, TV stations in the USA, Europe and even the Middle East were showing pictures of Sri Lanka in flames. Apparently, foreigners in Sri Lanka at the time of the outbreak of the

violence had not been prevented from taking photographs and filming the scenes of looting and arson. This led to anxious calls from all over the world. Meanwhile, many foreigners — having had a bitter taste of paradise — were leaving in droves and were clogging every available airplane out of Sri Lanka. The tourist industry, which had become the second biggest earner of foreign exchange (next to tea) had taken a serious beating from which it is doubtful it could recover.

Tuesday: Today saw a further procession of Sinhala friends to our home — to bring whatever foodstuffs they could lay their hands on. By noon, we were overstocked. Things were reported to be returning to normal. The curfew was relaxed and people went out to buy whatever foodstuffs they could...

With the restoration of a certain amount of relative calm, the question arose of the future of Tamils in the South of Sri Lanka. Some of the refugees from the camps were already on their way home to Jaffna by ships. More ships were being got ready. India, too, was sending three ships to transport refugees from south to north. What about their future? Could they return to their business, their professions, their employment? Many had had their homes destroyed. Therefore, there was no place to which they could go. Could they live among the Sinhalese again? This was what was worrying most of them. Just as, at a certain stage, the American Negroes arrived at a realisation that there were no good white men, so the Tamils of Sri Lanka had been driven to doubt the existence of good Sinhalese. Such was the trauma they had undergone.

But what could they do? They could not all go back to Jaffna because there was no economy to support all of them. It is a good guess that most professionals — the doctors, engineers and accountants — would seek jobs abroad. It was already reported that Canada and Australia would ease restrictions about entries, to Sri Lankan Tamil professionals. All who could go will definitely leave Sri Lanka. What about the others who form the majority? Only the future can tell. If one must live, one must live with dignity. Otherwise, life is worthless.

The radio reported that although 31 people from the proscribed parties were on the list to be arrested, only 18 had been detained. The rest had gone underground. Among the latter were the main leaders of the JVP and the NSSP. Severe penalties were announced for anyone harbouring them or failing to report their presence.

Wednesday: Bread supply to our doorstep resumed. It was a sign of return to normalcy. Offices had reopened. But no Tamils reported for work.

Government announced the convening of Parliament for Thursday to discuss the sixth amendment to the constitution by which all parties advocating separation would be banned and severe penalties imposed on members. Concretely, this meant that the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), with 17 seats in parliament (its leader is the leader of the opposition) would be banned. This is basically a stupid move because it would mean that the government would have no one to talk to.

In the evening, the radio announced a speech by the President to his cabinet. In it, he came out with the fantastic story that, when he called the first roundtable conference of political parties for July 20th, he had intended to discuss a solution of the Tamil problem, including granting greater powers to the Development Councils, the withdrawal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, a general amnesty to all those arrested under it (anyway, only a few have been left not murdered) and the withdrawal of the Army from the North. But, he moaned that all parties had boycotted the talks and thus prevented him from discussing his proposals for the solution of the problem.

There could be no greater political lie! It brings into question the political honesty of the President. He seems to forget that six years have passed since his government has come to power and that, during this long period, he had done nothing (despite election promises) to bring about a settlement of the Tamil problem except more and more repression. He also seems conveniently to ignore his own interview to the *Daily Telegraph* a couple of weeks ago wherein he had said that he did not

care for the opinion of the people of Jaffna and that he had called the conference only to discuss the question of the suppression of terrorism in the North and that he would carry out his ideas irrespective of the views of the other parties. Obviously the President had to resort to these blatant falsehoods in order to defend himself against international condemnation. Sri Lanka's image in the world had sunk low indeed! A Sinhalese specialist doctor returning from London a few days ago had said that he was ashamed to call himself a Sinhalese when he was abroad. The radio also announced that the Constitutional Court, consisting of judges of the Supreme Court, had ruled today that the sixth amendment (barring two sections) was not inconsistent with the constitution. It will undoubtedly be passed in parliament tomorrow. It is unlikely that the TULF will attend. If prisoners can be murdered, anything can happen to the MPs.

I must now stop these notes — not only because conditions are returning to normal (so I hope), also because the courier taking these notes abroad is leaving the island tomorrow.

What of the future? Not merely the economy of the Tamils but the Sri Lankan economy has been struck a deadly blow. A Cabinet Minister has estimated that nearly 150,000 people have lost their jobs. When will the destroyed factories be rebuilt? Will they be rebuilt at all? Where is the money to come from?

More important, how did this happen? The truth has to be faced that all recent politics in Sri Lanka has been frankly communal. The people — both Tamils and Sinhalese — have been fed on communalism and parliamentary politics in Sri Lanka has nourished this. Even the left movement — once very strong — had not consistently fought this. The left had fought against communalism among the Tamils, but not against Sinhala communalism. This was due to its parliamentary opportunism, and reformism. The old left leadership was afraid to offend Sinhala chauvinist opinion which was their electorate.

Unfortunately, the role played by the Maha Sangha, as the Buddhist priesthood is called, has been negative and reactionary. Except for their knowledge of Buddhist philosophy, the Buddhist priests (with exceptions) are illiterate and completely narrow minded, and sectarian and inward looking. They identify Buddhism with the Sinhalese and have often fed the flames of communal frenzy. During the recent rioting, more than one Buddhist priest was seen exhorting the mobs, with their robes raised.

What a departure from the noble truths preached by Buddhism which advocates non-violence, compassion and *maithiri* as part of the seven noble paths. The Buddhists preach kindness to animals and would not kill them. How do they reconcile the killing of Tamils and the burning of Hindu temples? (Hindu temples were burnt at Matale, Gampola and Nawalapitiya). The Buddhist priesthood must not be allowed to dabble in politics, let them stick to religion. It must, however, be admitted that Buddhism had failed in Sri Lanka.

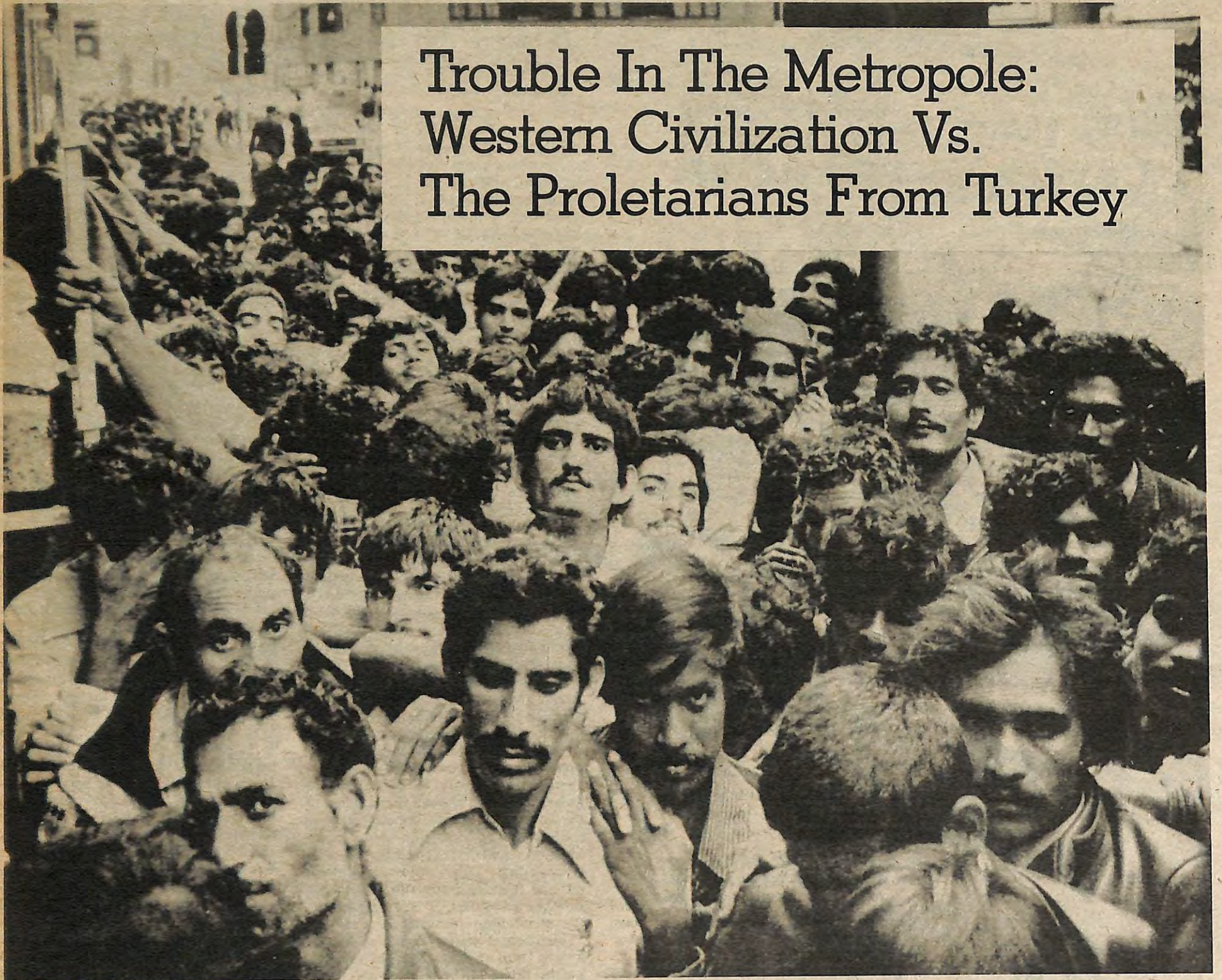
There was only one Sinhalese leader, a former Premier, Sir John Kotelawela, who had a correct attitude to the Buddhist priests whom he once threatened to disrobe!

Finally, is there a possible solution? The demand of the Tamils for a separate state of Eelam was a cry born out of despair and frustration. It surfaced only in 1976. It was a result of the callous disregard by successive Sinhala governments to the demands of the Tamil people.

There was no doubt that no Sinhalese will countenance a separate state because it presupposes the truncating of this small island. But, is there no compromise? I think that the grant of regional autonomy to the areas in the North and the East which are predominantly inhabited by the Tamils should satisfy Tamil demands. But it presupposes a complete change of heart on both sides.

The situation has been made worse by the present weakness of the left movement which has been sacrificed at the altar of parliamentary opportunism and reformism during the United Front government from 1970-75. An alternative, revolutionary movement is yet to rise. On it depends the hopes for the future. □

Trouble In The Metropole: Western Civilization Vs. The Proletarians From Turkey



Look at Berlin today, and you see concentrated into a few hundred square miles all those contradictions that are coiled up in the heart of the old continent, and that in the future may explode in unpredictable directions. A century ago, a newly united imperial Germany required a majestic capital city, and the quiet Prussian city of Berlin was systematically groomed by a succession of German imperialists from Bismarck to Hitler to not just be the center of German life, but for a future role as *the* capital of Europe itself. Today, barbed wire sprawls down the carefully plotted avenues of a city whose most famous monument now is the bristling wall that separates the armies of two massive military blocs.

West Berlin itself is an amputated head, long severed from any body, and kept alive through the medical miracle of modern political necessity. Throughout the '50s and '60s, West Berlin was artificially puffed up to be a glittering Western bauble in the heart of East Germany, but by now the gilding has worn thin — and the future pressing in on modern imperialism is evident on every hand. Social life has been dominated for a decade by the swelling and rebellious concentration of West German youth who were first drawn to the city by its special status which exempts them there from the draft and who then increasingly came because of the growth of a subversive "alternative culture" of squatters, leftists and creative "free-thinkers."

But if anything symbolizes that the survival of imperialism is in serious doubt, it is the pervasive presence of the proletarians from Turkey — who are the subject of this article.

There is a city within a city in Berlin, concentrated in the ghetto of Kreuzberg pressing against the wall to the east. Officially there are about 250,000 foreigners in West Berlin, but in reality their numbers are far greater since illegal immigrants cannot be accurately counted, and are known to arrive steadily, mainly by way of the East German airport at Schoenefeld. At present every fourth child born in the city is non-German. And in Kreuz-

berg, the percentage of immigrant children in the schools has now reached almost 60%. The city simply could not function without their labor — and yet at the same time the chauvinist ghettoization the foreign workers have been subjected to has forged an "alien" cultural and political current growing within the very heart of society.

In all of this West Berlin is a fitting symbol of modern imperialism, and of the fact that it is no settled question who finally inherits the future. As a result, the question of foreign workers, especially of those from Turkey, has emerged as a sharp collision point of the class struggle.

Speaking about the "foreigner problem," the West German Employers' Federation recently lamented: "It was unforeseeable that, because of our economic situation and because of the state of the labor market, the employment of for-

eigners would have become such a pervasive structural necessity and lingering economic phenomenon."

This is an understatement.

Between 1967 and 1973, hundreds of thousands of proletarians were swept out of the countries ringing the Mediterranean, press-ganged by merchants of human flesh. As the feverish rate of West German economic expansion had pressed painfully up against the limits of its own domestic labor force, the wheels of capitalist industry cranked out an increasingly insistent command: "Fresh blood, fresh blood. . . ." And quite without foresight, quite anarchically, the workings of capitalism had delivered up able-bodied men. Workers were herded in mass recruitment, examined like horses, and told to "sign here," arbitrarily assigned a city and an employer, and delivered up in batches at the gates of West German industry.

Today there are four million foreign

workers in West Germany, fully half of whom came in the single wave of a decade ago. Of them the largest grouping is from Turkey: in 1961 there were 2,600 adult workers from Turkey in West Germany, a number which leapt to a steady 600,000 through the decade of the '70s right up until today. Counting family, there are now 1.6 million proletarians there from Turkey; 500,000 of them are of the oppressed Kurdish nationality, from the part of Kurdistan that stretches through eastern Turkey.

For years, all this was quite pleasing to West German imperialism. They had generated a whole lower section of their working class, which was remarkably profitable to exploit. These were overwhelmingly men who came alone, isolated within an alien culture, devoid of rights, compelled to seek work abroad. Like Arabs in Israel, or Africans in Johannesburg, national oppression had

Continued on page 14

A military tribunal in Turkey where over 100 prisoners were condemned to death.



DIPLOMACY: THE NOBLE ART OF BLOODSUCKING

Continued from page 1

death of a scholar headed toward new pursuits of knowledge matter so deeply?... The reason rests on our assumptions about civilized life and the search for peace." This touching defense of the freedom of travel will cause some shock among any of the surviving group of a thousand Haitian refugees, who were left stranded and starving to death on a Caribbean sandbar after the U.S. Coast Guard was given orders not to rescue them. In cooperation with the U.S., Bahaman cops were then dispatched to the sandbar to beat and arrest the refugees and deport most of them to Haiti and into the clutches of the U.S.-backed murderer Baby Doc. It will also disgust the thousands of Haitians imprisoned in Miami concentration camps, many indeed split apart from their families, who have also experienced the American version of "civilized life." But of course, these are refugees from the tender mercies of a U.S. client dictatorship; no tears for them in the U.N.

Reagan also used the airliner shooting to revive some old Iron Curtain rhetoric about the Soviet "empire directed from the center, which is Moscow." As for the U.S., the president gasped in mock innocence, "The United States does not head any bloc of subservient nations nor do we desire to. What is called the West is a free alliance of governments most of whom are democratic and all of whom greatly value their independence." Now it is true that the imperialist powers that are aligned with the U.S. are world-class oppressors in their own right, who greatly cherish their ability to carve out the greatest chunk of plunder in the pillage of the world; there is some contrast between the Soviet bloc, which as a whole is a rising power, and that of the West which includes a dirty "dozen" of virtually all the old-line thieving colonial governments, now headed by the U.S. But there are also the neocolonial countries of the U.S. "free alliance" whose peoples might have a thing or two to say about the so-called independence of the regimes which rule them. The direct U.S. hand in the coup in Chile in 1973 in which tens of thousands were butchered by U.S.-trained and

directed military is another incident which may receive little notice in the U.N. right about here.

Even Reagan's self-righteous praise of the U.N. for "directly saving countless lives through its refugee and emergency relief programs" must ring as a hollow joke to anyone familiar with Reagan's checkered political career. While Reagan was governor of California, the SLA kidnapped Patty Hearst and forced her father to finance a program to give free food to the poor in the San Francisco Bay Area. Reagan's comment on this: "We can only pray for an outbreak of botulism." One need not share the views of the SLA, which we don't, to recognize another example of the U.S. humanitarians in action. Today the president is constrained to cry crocodile tears and praise international philanthropy for the masses oppressed, even starved, by the hand of the system he so well represents. But the real opinions of these imperialist mouthpieces will out!

"Just look at the world for the last thirty years and then decide for yourself whether the United States or the Soviet Union has pursued an expansionist policy." A point well taken! For much of that time the U.S. and its clients did as much tromping as possible around the world, in places noted in his speech — Central America, Lebanon, for example — and places conspicuously absent — Vietnam for one. But the "thirty years" is a clue to what's the problem in the U.S.'s view, that takes us back to the U.S. position as top-dog among imperialists in the whole world following the last inter-imperialist world war.

Specifically, the "thirty years" is a reference to the first Soviet H-bomb test, which marked the end of the U.S. nuclear monopoly, although the Soviet Union was still at that time a socialist country. With the restoration of capitalism in 1956, the Soviet Union began to step out to challenge this post-war dream world of the U.S., drawing itself up to full, equally monstrous height in the last decade. The Reagan dream is one of U.S. world power unrivaled and top-dog in the world once again.

Apart from all this hypocritical, liberal sounding peace posturing, Reagan also delivered a rather raw political message having to do with the U.N. itself, a world body which had taken more than a little shoving around by the U.S. in the days previous to the address. First, the U.S., in an incident clearly engineered from the top, made it impossible for Soviet U.N. ambassador Andrei Gromyko to attend the General Assembly without seeming to sit still for a sharp diplomatic slap in the face. (The Governors of New York and New Jersey (quite on their own — ha, ha) refused the ambassador's plane permission to land at N.Y. area airports.) Then there was the U.S. under-official to the U.N. telling the U.N. as a whole that if it wanted to leave the U.S., "I would be at the dock waving it goodbye." And only a couple of days after *that* the Senate voted to cut back the U.S. monetary contribution to the U.N. — which has always been the largest and the bulwark of the U.N. budget and a major lever of U.S. influence in the organization — and to cut it out *entirely* if certain conditions weren't met. All in all, Reagan's homage to the U.N. symbol that day can be likened to that of a mafia godfather who finishes off a round of arm-twisting and gun-toting by proclaiming, "I'm a reasonable man — and nobody wants to get hurt — so let's talk."

To be specific, the godfather-in-chief wanted to talk about why certain "non-aligned nations," for one reason or another, just wouldn't dance to every note of every tune played by the U.S.; Reagan called it "pseudo non-alignment." This should be put in perspective. It was as recently as 1971 that the U.S. first lost any major vote in the world organization, when the People's Republic of China was recognized as that nation's representative government over U.S. objections. Previous to this, the story was very different. Reagan waxed eloquent over the founding ideals of the world body when the U.S. ruled the organization with an

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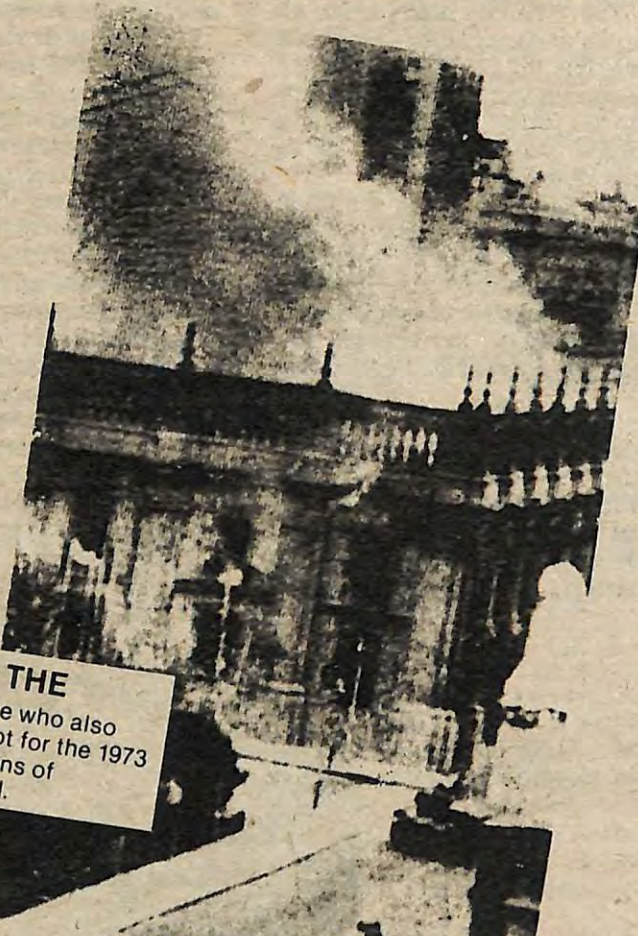
APPLAUSE FROM THE DELEGATE from Indonesia, which has been a solid member of the "free Western alliance" ever since the U.S. helped in a coup in 1965 during which over a million were massacred.



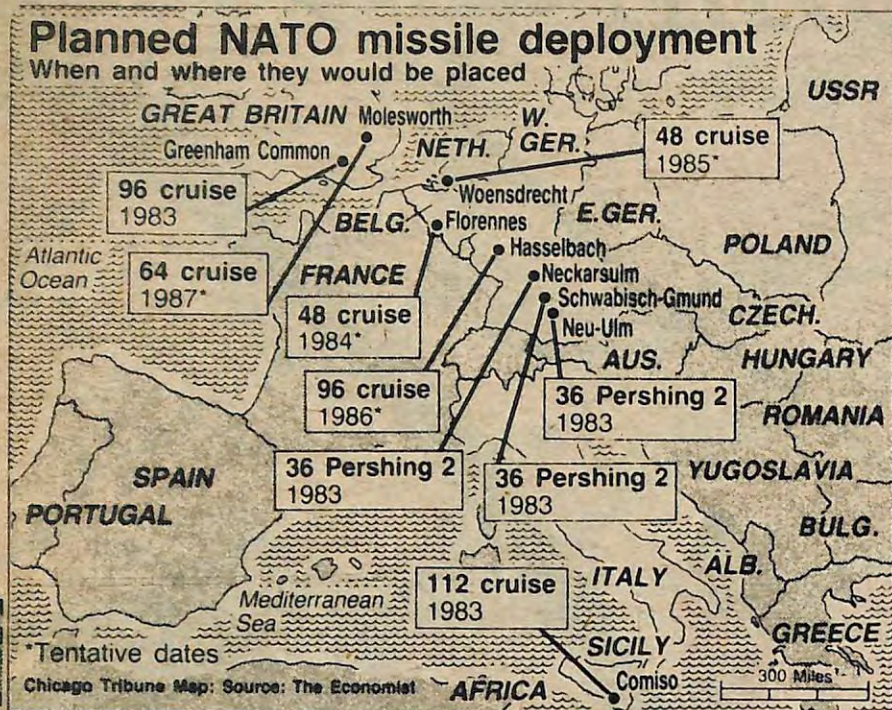
APPLAUSE FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES from South Korea who owe their positions of power to the invasion of U.S. troops and the continuing presence of tens of thousands of them.



APPLAUSE FROM THE DELEGATE from Chile who also would not be present if not for the 1973 Pinochet coup in which tens of thousands were butchered.



Sensitivity Training for the Troops: Two Methods



At the moment, apparently there is quite a bit of attention being paid to the psychology of the various troops charged with carrying out the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe this fall. Above we see elements of the elite GSG-9 Commando Unit of the West German Border police, known for the freeing of hostages on a Lufthansa airliner. Specialists from the Unit are on their way to a church-run school to, as it was officially put, develop their "inner resources" for the coming "hot autumn" demonstrations. They will attend "Self-Realization Seminars" taught by Professors Bernhard Pietrowicz and Joseph Pieper on the subject of "Moral Courage, Physical Courage and Civil Courage in the Coming Collisions."

On the right, U.S. soldiers are being "sensitized," if it hasn't already sunk in, to what the missile deployments are all about. It seems that, for the first time ever, a unit of the U.S. Army's V Corps based in West Germany conducted mass burial training as part of the current Confident Enterprise military maneuvers. The "authorized unofficial" U.S. Army Stars and Stripes newspaper, far from hiding the exercise, ran an exclusive on it, which was picked up by West German papers complete with photos such as the one on the left showing GI's at work inside a bulldozed gravesite containing "the body of a simulated casualty."

The West German bourgeoisie, having a hard enough time convincing its populace to pitch in with the NATO nuclear effort, was not amused. One TV commentator moaned, "Doesn't the American military understand that in the Federal Republic we are having a serious discussion about the very existence of our future?" Another newspaper called the exercises "a demonstration of insensitivity." Maybe so. But then again, quite possibly the military wants to do some developing of the "inner resources" of its troops, and of others, for the deadly orders it plans to carry out in the future.

All of which raises a final point: with U.S. troops in West Germany engulfed in political upheaval and deluged with peace agitation, and with the military putting the GI's through ghoulish role-playing like the above, aren't there inevitably right now growing numbers of GI's who are asking questions and growing quite sickened about what they are being asked to do?



BLOODSUCKING

Continued from page 6

iron hand. The U.N. founders, said he, wanted a world where "human rights were honored, development would blossom," and so on, which is a notion with much currency among people in the world, but which is just a cruel lie. In point of fact, the U.N. was founded as a victors' club towards the end of World War 2. It was planned to enforce a world order, all right, one safe for the purposes of the victorious imperialists, but the presence of a former ally, the then-socialist Soviet Union, was a sticking point. A series of conferences was held with the aim of icing out the Soviets, and a maneuver settled on at Yalta in February 1945 in which all countries who had declared war on Germany and Japan by March were eligible for membership. The next few weeks saw a tidal wave of hasty declarations of war by Latin American and other client governments of the U.S. to just beat the March deadline and by April, when it was founded, the Soviets saw themselves drastically out-voted.

In the two decades following, the U.N. was to appear, as in Korea, actually flying its flag as a disgusting justification for U.S. imperialist actions, or as a force consolidating and protecting and prettifying the situation in regions previously ravished by imperialist interventions and wars, as in the Middle East. One blatant action was that of the U.N. force in the province of Katanga, the Congo in 1961, which ended in the "neutral" U.N. forces seizing and handing over the revolutionary Patrice Lumumba to CIA-puppet soldiers for execution. The U.N. Representative during the Katanga mis-

sion, a progressive Irish diplomat named Conner Cruise O'Brien, described the U.S. influence at the U.N. at that time. He relates that, to his initial shock, neither the General Assembly nor the Security Council had enough knowledge or influence to make U.N. policy, only the General-Secretary Dag Hammarskjöld and his inner circle on African affairs, the "Congo Club" could do that. Three men sat at the core of this Club:

"The gentle (Ralph) Bunche, the solid (Andrew) Cordier, the incisive (Heinz) Weischoff had two things in common: they were all three Americans and they were all at this time the closest advisors to the Secretary General....

"There was no one in the United Nations, of any nationality, who 'did not give a damn what Washington said.' Washington paid most of the bills, was the heaviest contributor to the organizations' general budget and was the heaviest contributor to the Congo operation.... Washington wielded tremendous influence in the Security Council and General Assembly. It is almost certainly true to say that any Secretary-General who lost the confidence of Washington would have to resign."

Conner Cruise O'Brien, *To Katanga and Back* (N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1962), pp. 53, 56.

But things have changed some. Since the China vote, the U.S. has seen its firmest Middle East ally, Israeli Zionism, equated with racism in an official U.N. resolution, and has seen the Soviets begin to exert influence in the U.N. through and beyond its bloc, paralleling the role of the Soviets as a fully-emergent imperialist

power. On the Security Council vote on the airliner incident itself, the U.S. barely squeaked by with enough votes to force the Soviets to use their veto. Typical of the problems of the Americans in the U.N. was the abstention of pro-Western Zimbabwe on the U.S.-sponsored resolution because as President Mugabe explained on U.S. t.v., Zimbabwe's credibility in Africa would be jeopardized by a blatantly pro-U.S. stand.

All these are signs of the forces which are pushing both the U.S. and Soviets to sort things out in the most decisive and brutal way. And because push is coming to shove, Reagan delivered a menacing message to the U.N. The man who once said that a Divine Plan had made a special place out of North America, demanded "a spirit beyond narrow national interests." He stated, "the members of the United Nations must be aligned on the side of justice, rather than injustice, peace rather than aggression, human dignity rather than subjugation,"... in short, as the president made crystal clear in his speech, with *us* rather than *them*. Despite the ridiculous declaration that the U.S. does not see the world "as divided between two empires of east and west," in reality the Soviet Union was the sole subject and symbol of every world problem in Reagan's eyes, and the clear message is — "make your choice." This was given a final flourish by U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick who made the "serious proposal" that the U.N. spend six months hosted by the U.S., and six months hosted by (and in) Moscow. Of course, there will continue to be middle positions of varying character between the U.S. and the Soviets, and naturally the U.S. recognizes this, but Reagan's purpose here is to tighten the Western bloc and isolate the Soviets around the airliner shooting to the max,

and this requires what we see — high fallutin' peacetalk and bone-crunching pressure — the imperialist art of diplomacy.

As Reagan concluded his speech, applause filled the hall. True to form, the U.S. media made a big point of this, too, showing the Soviet delegates (there are two other representatives aside from Gromyko) *not* clapping, and everyone else... well, a whole lot of everyone else applauding nicely. ("Soviets Don't Clap Amidst Applause" one newspaper actually headlined.) The t.v. camera on one network panned straight from the frowning Soviets to the representatives of South Korea clapping madly. And well they might, having been placed in their position of power through the bloody intervention of U.S. troops, and kept there by a remaining contingent of tens of thousands of soldiers from the "civilized power." Indeed, the Korean government has received plenty of sympathy for its losses in the airliner incident, its own bloody massacre of thousands at Kwangju in 1980 quietly put aside. Many others were clapping for similar macabre reasons — the Indonesians for example, who have been a firm part of the "free Western alliance" ever since the U.S. and Great Britain backed the coup and the massacres of over a million people there during a period of political upheaval in 1965 — a massacre in which the CIA engineered the murder of thousands of Indonesian communists and a large part of their social base as well.

Then again there are many millions of oppressed who are decidedly not clapping. "People don't make war, governments do," Reagan sermonized at one point in the U.N. speech. But unfortunately for Reagan and all his ilk, this too is a lie and the people of the world will prove it. □

Deserters Prepare for Hot Autumn Frontlines

On September 9, 1983, the RW published this urgent call:

Desert America's Warmongering Be At The European Frontlines

The countdown is rapidly approaching zero for the stationing of the first American Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe. The very determination and essential agreement of all the Western powers led by the U.S. to forge ahead with installing the missiles has driven home to millions just how deadly serious their plans are for waging a world war with their Soviet imperialist rivals. But as they brashly move to further prepare their European frontline, another "frontline" has been emerging — as forces, especially youth, from across Europe and beyond have been converging to do battle against this monstrous outrage and the perpetrators of it.

In West Germany in particular, the most profound political crisis since World War 2 has been brewing. The scene there will be quite intense, the situation extremely complicated, the lessons profound and the stakes high. It is important and urgent that something other than missiles travel to Europe from the United States this fall. From the campuses, from among the anti-nuke, feminist and anti-draft movements and from among proletarian youths, a contingent will be formed to go to West Germany this October and directly join this "frontline." The Western and Eastern blocs raise their respective jingoist cries to a higher pitch almost daily. Rapidly they escalate actual war-mongering toward their ultimate global showdown. Is it not a bit more than appropriate to spit at their appeals for patriotism (and/or narrow self-interests!) by traveling thousands of miles, across so-called sacred borders to stand with those in Europe fighting to wrest the future from them!

Of course those who have never blinked an eye at sending their napalm, troops and death squads to every corner of the globe and whose military will be guarding the missile sites will undoubtedly charge "outside troublemakers" of such a contingent. Fine, all the more reason to be there! The European guardians of order who have been working so hard brandishing both the stick and the carrot to keep the mounting opposition within acceptable bounds (acceptable, that is, to the necessities of imperialist war preparations!) will also not put out any welcome mat for such a group. Again — all the more reason to find the ways and means to be there. But even more of a reason to be there is that there will be many among those in this political battle who will not only welcome but be encouraged by youth and others from the U.S. joining them, not only in spirit, but quite directly. The eyes of the whole world will be on this crucial showdown. Apply for your passport immediately and start getting the money together to go.

**DOWN WITH THE PERSHING AND CRUISE MISSILES
AND ALL WAR PREPARATIONS BOTH EAST
AND WEST!
A WORLD WITHOUT IMPERIALISM,
NOT AN IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR!!**

Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent" from the U.S. to West Germany — October '83

In this issue, we are printing some of the letters responding to this call forwarded to the RW for publication by the Organizing Committee and some which we have received directly.

For further information, contact the national committee right away. Send endorsements, statements of support, copies of press coverage, messages and banners for the frontlines, and contributions to:

**Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent"
44 Monterey Blvd., No. 9
San Francisco, California 94131
Or leave a message for the committee at (415) 548-7800**

To the Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent,"

I no longer believe that the system will cure itself — I personally can't live within the system without getting trapped — I'm very much sad to find out the reality — the truth of world powers — I have discovered that not only are we slaves but we are told how to live and when to die. I won't sit aside anymore — leaving an opening for being programmed. I won't be ignorant to the reality of the world.

My feelings on nuclear war are plain and simple, it's wrong and it would never work. I am very upset to have found out that the American Pershing II and the ground launch cruise are being sent to West Germany to be installed — that says to me that our government is (dead) serious in their plans for waging a world war with the Soviet Union — it scares the hell out of me, everyone's future of further (life) on this planet. I've been told, more or less that I'm an extremist — I feel that everyone should stop what they're doing and actively concentrate on peace, because if anything that anyone is doing, won't add up to anything if peace is not at hand — it will take many many more

supporters for peace to ever have a chance.

I see that people fear peace, yet fear war — the reality is that peace is the only way of life at this point. I would like to go to Germany in October as a Black woman who has been told all her life that she can't learn that she is the lesser — I would like to bring back the reality of our government, which is so hard to find here — I would also like to learn — to share in seeing personal growth — I would like to participate in the contingent from the U.S. to West Germany to help, to show these people they are not alone, to show that we know our government destroys life too. I have seen many new ideas this summer, channeling through the woman's peace camp, power — freedom — unity — and most important nonviolence — you can't fight war with war!!!

A young Black woman who wants to go to West Germany

To the Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent":

Having spent a good deal of the last year in Europe active in the peace movement, I think the "World Without Im-

perialism" contingent to Germany is a great idea. It will be a chance to develop and strengthen the network of resistance to the arms race and to experience directly, rather than merely comprehend intellectually, the meaning of our country's imperialism.

Most Americans in Europe are either tourists — who are interested in only a certain kind of exchange — or military personnel. Other evidence of American values is visible in the culture we export, particularly the TV and super-market consumer mentality. If our country was tutored in imperialism by England, we are now Western Europe's teacher. Yet in Europe there is within many people a memory conspicuously absent here: memory of a war fought on home soil. The war was an experience that brought to all social classes. Here, the ravages of 'peace time' military spending on the ghettos are more easily ignored by those who don't have to live with them. But Germany is still an oc-

cupied country; there has never been a peace treaty with the allied powers. This is not to say that Germany's government is not complicit in interventions as well. But although the Federal Republic of Germany has a draft and ranks sixth in the world in weapons exports, relative to us it is still in a position of being used by the superpowers.

This will become obvious in language. All West Germans learn English in school; all East Germans learn Russian. I saw more clearly when I was in Europe how American education contributes to our ignorance, narrows our awareness. I hope that whatever the





cold war is perpetuated partly by a division of people, the more we are able to dissolve this division, the less will American and Soviet propaganda be believable. Then we will stand and work as one people.

September 15, 1983
Boston, Massachusetts

September 16, 1983
To the Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent."
Dear Friends:

While traveling and visiting friends here in your beautiful despite contradictions country, I joined the rally of "Women take back the night" in Santa Barbara. It was an amazing event and I have been amazed too by the organiza-

contingent brings to Germany, it is not an assumption that we Americans have the answers to their problems. This visit is an opportunity to build up the kind of contact that can displace that way of relating, that arrogance that is the seed of imperialism.

It is also an opportunity to live in defiance of the boundaries imposed by competitive nationalism. Some of the most inspiring and difficult work going on now in Europe is dialogue between disarmament activists in NATO countries and human rights activists and advocates in Warsaw Pact countries. The

Continued on page 10

German translation of the call to "Desert America's Warmongering, Be At The European Frontlines"

Desertiert Die Us-Kriegshetzerei! Seid An Der Kampffronten In Europa!

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

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

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

Die die nie gezögert haben, ihre Napalm, Truppen, und Toteskommandos nach jede Ecke der Erde zu schicken, und deren Militär die Raketestützpunkte bewachen werden, werden selbstverständlich das Kontingent bezichtigen, "ausenstehende Unrugestifter" zu sein. Gut — desto besser Grund, da anwesend zu sein! Die europäische Ordnungshüter, die so tüchtig arbeiten, beides die Karotte und den Stock zu schwingen, um die immer steigende Opposition innerhalb der genehmigten Grenzen zu

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

NIEDER MIT DEN PERSHING UND CRUISE RAKETEN UND ALLEN KRIEGSVORBEREITUNGEN VON BEIDE OSTEN UND WESTEN! EINE WELT OHNE IMPERIALISMUS, NICHT EIN IMPERIALISTISCHER WELTKRIEG!

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

Frontlines

Continued from page 9

tional as well as by the theoretical way it was performed.

So, I came to know about your idea, to support our fight against the installation of the missiles. What a splendid idea!! Well, I am not able to give you money. What I can do is to offer you my address. I live next to Bonn, Cologne and Krefeld and all the other places are not far abroad. If you need a place to stay, you're welcome anytime! I also can take your call back to Germany and show it (to) my friends, so they could contact you if they have a room or a place available. I'll try to publish your idea in the local media.

So, I hope we could join into an international network this way. Perhaps.

Best wishes and solidarity

The following is a comment that was sent in from a 40-year-old ex-nun who attended one of the committee meetings:

Last night I attended a meeting of a local committee formed to help individuals join a contingent from the U.S. to West Germany in October. As a newcomer to such meetings and as a "over 40" participant, I was most impressed with a young punker who was present. His remarks and suggestions were among the most helpful and to the point. I hope that he and many others like him will be able to go to West Germany.

To the Organizing Committee,

I'm an anti-imperialist Vietnam veteran and I welcome the opportunity to go to W. Germany and unite with anti-imperialist forces eager to battle the ruling powers on the projected nuclear battleground.

The battle against the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe is now the frontline against imperialism and I am anxious to help stir up internationalism among the outraged and down-pressed of that section of the world.

A contingent from the proletariat of the U.S., going to the frontline is unique and powerful weaponry, stating its unequal determination to deploy international forces across Europe, to combat nuclear madness, and rebuild a world without imperialism.

I encourage serious proletarians to go as a contingent to West Germany, including other Vietnam veterans who want to fight for world revolution.

R.M.
San Diego

Dear RW readers,

I am a youth from L.A. I'm not rich and I don't even have any kind of job. When I heard about the call to go to West Germany, I said to myself — come on me go to Germany, shit. That was two weeks ago. Now I have a passport that I raised the money for. Anyway, I think it's very important to go. Because a lot of people there don't know what people here think. I don't think going there will stop the bomb, but it's a big step in the right direction to desert Amerika's warmongering, to go to the European frontlines. Yep, that's what I said "desert"; can you imagine people over there are gonna freak out when they see and hear about a contingent from Amerika coming with banners and letters of support from the ghettos of Watts and the people of Beverly Hills. Of course no protest will stop the imperialists from going to war, a lot of people will get demoralized when they see it doesn't work to just demonstrate. So what, the struggle still goes on to revolution. So to make this short — send letters of support, banners with signatures and most important contributions for the trip. Oh, one more important thing — send me to Germany.

Youth without a country

To the RW:

I was riding on a train up the Rhine valley, toward the outskirts of the gigantic industrial belly of West Germany.

We were moving through the kind of European countryside that enchants tourists, and especially Americans — it seems like a vision from a completely different time. The ruined castles of medieval robber barons still perch on the upper ridges of the surrounding mountains, like predatory birds, and it is not hard to imagine them ready to unleash thieves-in-chainmail on the passing caravan. One town after the other passes on the river bank, and they all seem to be wrapped in an ancient calm. Fields flew by, cluttered with hand-twisted stacks of hay, and occasionally I would spy a tractor-pulled cart, with farmers (I guess they aren't still peasants?) tossing straw on board with pitchforks.

From the water's edge, passing houses clustered on the flatlands near the riverbed, my eyes wandered up the slopes of the mountains, taking in the vineyards that stretch up to the closest ridges and beyond them, out of sight.

Suddenly (and this is why I'm writing to you) something snapped me out of my daydreams. I realized that half a mile above every village a road has been carved into the hillside producing a fifteen-foot wall against the high ground. And painted on that wall, in

gigantic letters, visible to me across the valley, were the names of the rivertowns below, one after the other, as my train ran north. At first it was odd to me, giant billboards painted on field stone, advertising the tiny villages in wine country — until it hit me; these signs were designed to be read from the air, turning this whole part of West Germany into one giant legible roadmap during wartime.

The Rhine, this central artery of Europe, suddenly appeared in a very different light. In my imagination, clattering fleets of helicopter gunships streamed down the valley, lost in the nuclear fog of some future firefight, using these signs to find their place in the confusion of world war three, locating themselves by the names of the towns that used to be below them. And it struck me, as if for the first time, that West Germany is on the frontline, and that all the regularity of daily life, all the consumerism of modern imperialism exists at the sufferance of the warriors from a dozen states, who lurk by the millions within hundreds of miles of this valley, hidden on both sides of the border, with their barracks, their silos, their military camps and their airfields.

Wanting to talk to someone about this feeling of horror, I turned to the only other person in the train compartment with me — an obviously middle-class German woman in her sixties, who sat absorbed in her newspaper.

I asked her if my guess had been right, and if these painted names really could be the highway markers of nuclear war. Her face tightened. And completely unexpected tones of anger and bitterness came out, as if I had accidentally lanced some badly infected wound.

"Of course," she answered, "We've lived with this for twenty years. We accepted, and even supported it. It seemed like a price for peace with the Russians. And now..."

I just waited for her to continue.

"Let me tell you something." Her anger forced tears into her eyes. "I see the push to war again. I lived through the last one. I lost a brother and a husband. I lost the only child I ever had. And not just me. Everyone bled and wept. We died, or else we buried those who died. I will never live through another one, that's all. What I mean is, I would die to prevent it." She leaned forward, "And I deeply believe our youth will never support it. Never. They are not like we were."

She sat back abruptly, as if suddenly embarrassed by her own outbreak, and looked, once again, for all the world like a composed, middle-aged, middle-class

German. And we sat silent, absorbed in our thoughts for the last half-hour of the trip.

The point is how different this is from the mood of only a few years ago. Her memories are obviously not newly created; they are real and have been a part of the consciousness of her generation through the decades. But, I have never before seen them expressed as part of such a criticism of the present, and of such an intense foreboding of the future. As the world situation develops, and sinks in, something is happening that I had not really expected to see — certainly something major is stirring, if people like this reflexively look to the youth, and the anti-war youth at that!

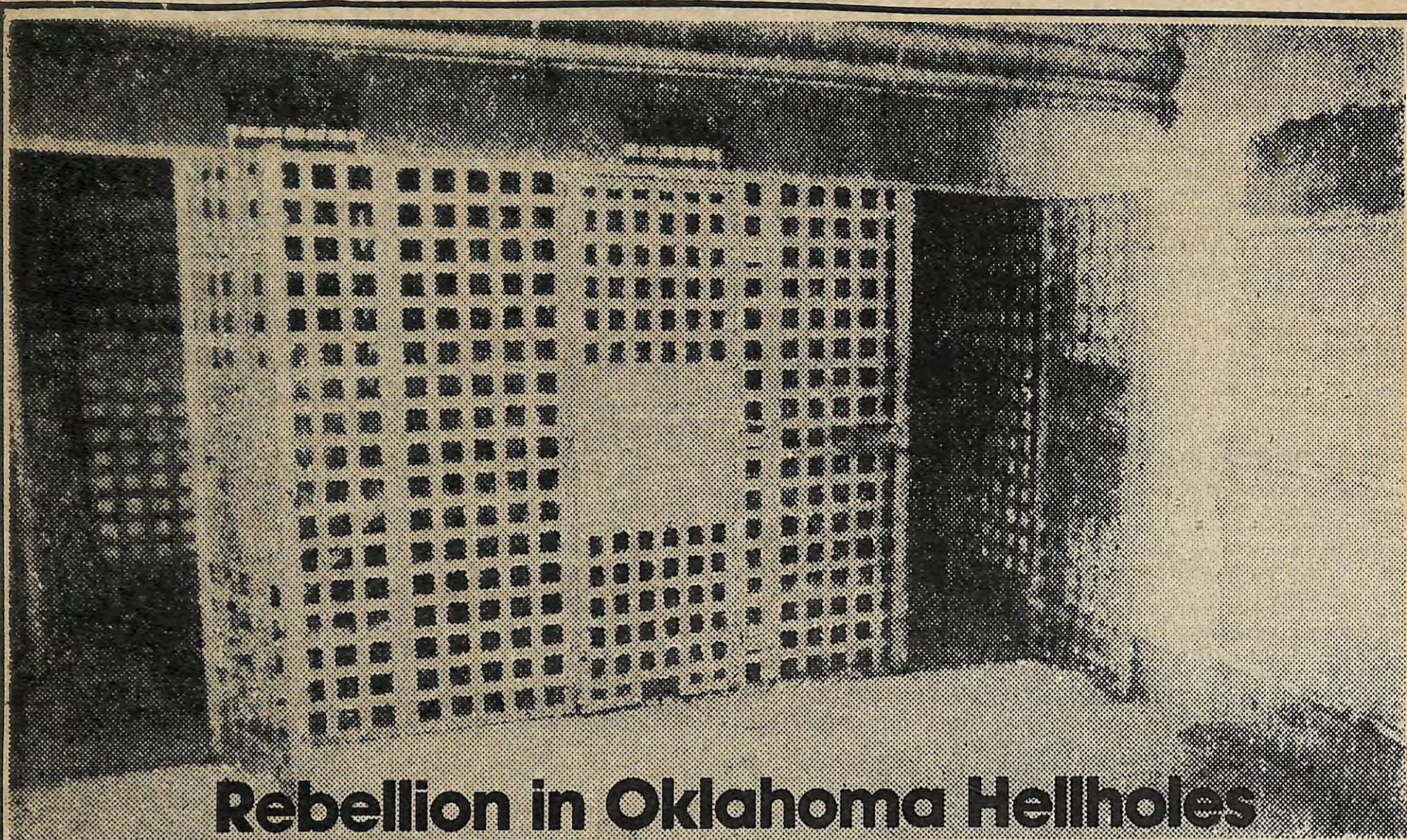
I was lucky enough to meet someone later in a major university town who took me to one of the mass planning meetings that were happening around some action. (I've forgotten what exactly the demonstration was.)

I'll leave aside the details and simply mention three impressions I got:

First, there was a feeling of irrepressible ascendancy around the meeting, as if all the obstacles thrown up by the government were simply so many hurdles to be jumped one by one. At the time, the state was mobilizing border police to set up roadblocks on the major highways to stop car convoys from getting to demonstrations, and the word had come from Stuttgart that the railroads were fucking around with train cars that had been rented. It came out in the course of discussion that there was an intricate network of phone-trees connecting the various areas: reports had spread all over West Germany, within hours, of another massive invasion by police of the occupied housing in Berlin.

Second, you got the feeling of a tremendous political curiosity being unleashed by the activity. Later, at a pub packed with high-school students, video tapes of street-fighting were being shown, complete with commentary on the politics and tactics of the city-fathers. One phrase in particular struck me — and it was the proclamation in the film: "Our movement transcends all borders. We are one... from Berlin, to Hamburg, to Amsterdam, from Zürich, to Copenhagen!" An attempt to challenge narrowness and, at the same time, an assertion of that inward concentration onto Europe alone — as if everywhere else was just the periphery of the *real* struggle in Europe against nukes and modern European society. When I mentioned the idea of a "vanguard party" — I quickly got a lesson in the state of things. A veteran

Continued on page 11



Rebellion in Oklahoma Hellholes

This article is based on news clippings from Oklahoma sent by a reader.

The Oklahoma prison system has been rocked in recent weeks by a number of "outbreaks" that have led to the surfacing of revelations about some of the conditions prisoners must live under. On August 29, an uprising of hundreds of prisoners at the Conner Correctional Center near Hominy left one inmate dead, 30 other inmates and guards injured and an estimated \$3.5 million worth of damage to the prison. Two weeks later, the Joseph Harp Correctional Center near Lexington exploded as 150 prisoners refused to be locked in their cells and rebelled, torching one prison building. The following day, after two prisoners were given "disciplinary action" at the Oklahoma State Penitentiary (where 655 "troublemakers" had been transferred from Conner and Harp after the disturbances there), two guards were taken hostage as six inmates briefly took over the prison control center, surrendering after the warden personally pumped a shotgun round into the room where they were holding out. While the press blacked out information on the causes of the eruptions in these state facilities (and prison officials ran their standard line about "racially motivated incidents," etc., etc.), there nevertheless arose a flurry of media concern about "the crisis

in Oklahoma's hellholes" with some facts leaking out about Oklahoma's county jails, lockups and holding facilities.

According to the *Tulsa Tribune*, almost all of the state's county jails were built before 1940 with many constructed around or before the time of statehood in 1907. State officials swear up and down that these rotting dungeons are safe, clean and in compliance with standards despite the fact that their own health department issued 46 letters of non-compliance in the past year for such things as 100 degree cell temperatures, stopped-up toilets, broken plumbing leaking all over the place, and roach-infested kitchens — and everyone knows how rigorous state health department standards are! For example, state regulations require only 30 square feet of cell space — six by five feet — per prisoner. But 84% of the state's full-time jails do not even comply with the space rule. (Lawton County Jail, for instance, is officially listed on the books as having a normal prisoner capacity of zero since there is only 24 square feet of cell space per occupant.)

In the past four months alone, 20% of the state's jails were officially rated "unclean" — read: despicably filthy. Among some of the other conditions inspectors have admitted are: Tulsa County

jail officials routinely eavesdropped on prisoner phone conversations; dozens of Oklahoma County Jail prisoners became sick after jailers refused to issue blankets when cell temperatures dropped to 46 degrees; Atoka County jail prisoners were fed uncooked, frozen food. There have been 597 official complaints filed by prisoners. At the notorious Jackson County Jail one said simply: "We are tired of living like animals. We want these conditions changed."

A full-page chart in the *Tulsa Tribune* that detailed the authorized "explanations" for 24 of the 27 inmate deaths that are officially admitted to have occurred in Oklahoma jails (not counting state prison deaths) between August 1982 and August 1983, exposed, somewhat inadvertently, the sort of brutality and outright murder Oklahoma prisoners face at the hands of the state's "correctional authorities." A quick perusal of this chart reveals that of the 24 deaths covered, 17 were designated as "suicides" — most of them coming shortly after minor arrests for public drunkenness (in which there is often "hostility" directed towards the arresting officers). Of these 17, we are actually expected to believe that seven hanged themselves with their shirts, that six hanged themselves with their pants, a blanket strip, etc., and that one "lay on the floor,

looped a belt around a commode and his throat and pulled until he choked himself to death"! In a number of these cases, state inspectors managed to keep a straight face while reprimanding jailers for "not monitoring cells closely enough" and "not trying to revive prisoners" when found.

As one letter daringly printed by the *Tribune* on Sept. 12 put it: "Oklahoma has condoned a brutal, backward, archaic, prison system. They have condoned beatings and murder of prisoners... What they have been is dehumanized. They've been treated worse than zoo animals, given less cage space than a lion." The *Tribune* was, however, obliged to append an editorial note indicating that this letter was written by "one of the most dangerous criminals in Oklahoma's maximum security prison" (McAlester) — i.e., a man serving 25 years for robbery and who has escaped from jail four times. But who, it might be asked, is more qualified to speak on the outrageous conditions in Oklahoma prisons? The enlightened penologists of the Oklahoma Department of Corrections, perhaps? Two days later they announced their response to the furor and their latest financial plan for "jail improvements" in the wake of the riots: they are suing Oklahoma inmates for \$1.5 million in damages! □

Frontlines

Continued from page 10

of the '60s I was with, one of the major organizers of the high-school youth center, rolled his eyes to the ceiling — as if to say he had heard that drivel before, and was beyond even discussing it. And at the same time, this was obviously not a closed question to everyone crowding around — where the discussion quickly turned to whether the goal was a dissolution of state power, or the seizure of state power, or maybe just to infiltrate it.

The final impression has to do with the perception I ran into of Americans. Since the late '70s, there has evidently been an intense effort by the powers-that-be in Europe to convince people that America is one dead-head wasteland of cowboys and beach boys, where everyone is a loyal supporter of the war machine. The point has been to try to demoralize Western Europeans and intimidate them — with some image of a ferocious ally "across the water" whose guidance of NATO policy would hardly be affected by the opinions of whole movements of pressure outside its borders. And, that very image was even seized on by members of the anti-war movement itself in Europe as further proof that Europe had to simply go its

own way freed from both the eagle and the bear. The excitement I saw over my presence, which was after all living proof that all Americans weren't Reagan-clones, is just a small sign of the impact that a contingent from North America can have politically, in the heat of the months ahead.

However things turn out this fall with the deployment of the Pershing/cruises, the war drums of war blocs are stirring up a real counter beat.

Please consider this my application for a spot with the contingent to West Germany, for "A World Without Imperialism, Not an Imperialist World War!"

An internationalist

To the Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent":

It's very clear what comrade Bob Avakian said that the '80s are going to be heavier than previous decades. All those class-conscious people around the world confront tasks more demanding than ever. We know the situation in Chile, Peru, El Salvador, Chad, Lebanon, and the Philippines is intensifying. But what is there about the situation in Germany in particular? What's happening there is these imperialist dogs are serious about their war preparations. Let's put an end to illusions about their bourgeois democracy, which after all

won't offer a solution for the international proletariat. Here in the belly of imperialism, youth of all nationalities also want to send a message to our comrades in Germany. From what I've heard the Europeans think all the people in the U.S. are empty-headed and don't think about the world. Well, they're mistaken; the revolutionary youth in the U.S. have forged a committee to send youth to Germany to take part in the anti-nuclear struggle. What most attracts me about this struggle is that I and my family were part of the struggle in Nicaragua, we were part of Sandinismo. But now I'm part of internationalism.

It's clear that historical circumstances demand men and women to change their outlook. But how do people change their vision? With illusions? I don't think so. The only way people are going to change the way they see things is through having an understanding of the objective situation that's unfolding. The installation of the imperialist missiles is a good lesson in this, what is brewing and a good lesson for those who have pacifist illusions. In the end, I believe that this contingent will have an impact, an historic significance, that there will be great lessons to be learned and tasks to be carried out.

It is very urgent and at the same time necessary to send this contingent of

youth to Germany because I imagine that a lot of people will have a lot of questions and a lot of things to work out. I would like to emphasize again what happens when people who have illusions, that have faith in their imperialist leaders: they can't avoid a war. Are we going to sit with our hands crossed and let these vampires decide the future? Or are we going to rise up in revolutionary spirit to end once and for all this imperialist system? We have to remember there are "very few" of them and we, the proletariat, are "the great majority." The international bourgeoisie is presenting us with opportunities to put an end to their sacred state, we have to take advantage of them when the right moment comes for world revolution.

The imperialists are brazenly installing the Pershing II missiles. It's in this language the bourgeoisies are talking to us — a la imperialista. Are we going to respond like pacifist robots? Or are we going to take action to chart the course that must be charted?

But of course a lot of money is needed to send this contingent — we are putting a call out to all those that can contribute funds to be able to carry out this historic mission.

Internationalist youth,
L.A.

Translated from Spanish by the RW

Family

Continued from page 2

December 1982 that no emergency had ever existed and that, furthermore, the California courts had illegally assumed jurisdiction of the case since the home state of both Tina and Riva is Illinois. As a result, he ordered custody returned to Tina. After making these admissions in order to cool out the anger around the case, Ragan continued to perpetrate the attack by coming up with a very bizarre method for "closing the rift" that had developed between mother and daughter — the extension of an additional six months of temporary custody to Ted! At the expiration of the six months, Ragan granted another unheard of 30-day extension of custody until July 30 of this year.

With this unsavory history as a backdrop, it was clear that the bourgeois state had to clean up its raggedy case, both legally and politically, coming into the current round of the custody battle. The image of the courts as supposedly neutral arbitrators whose role is to stand above the squabbling parents had been blown open by the overtly political nature of the California decisions as well as by the sanctioning of an illegal, politically-motivated kidnapping. As a result, on the legal front Judge Jorzak suddenly made the amazing discovery in July of this year that Illinois should indeed assume jurisdiction over the case. To do otherwise at that juncture would have been to give a green light to every child kidnapper in the country to win their case by grabbing their kid, running to another state and filing for custody in violation of the UCCJA and the Parental Kidnapping Prevention Act.

The "Final" Hearing

Politically, as the supposedly final hearing for permanent custody opened on September 15, it was clear that Jorzak intended to restore the court's tarnished image as a disinterested, unbiased party concerned only with determining "the best interests of the child." Gone was the freewheeling atmosphere of a political witch hunt that had characterized the Ragan hearing with every aspect of Tina's political activity and beliefs under scrutiny. When Ted's lawyer began grilling Tina on "Do you attend RCP meetings? Are your friends RCP supporters?" Jorzak quickly ushered all attorneys back into his chamber. Here he made it clear that "politics" was not the issue in the case — at least in this crass and overt way. Don Daugherty, the California probation officer who had previously done his part as a tool of the state by interrogating Tina on her political activities and overriding the original caseworker who had found that no "emergency" existed, was not allowed to submit any reports. "After all, this is America where we don't snatch kids away from their parents because of their political beliefs — we have a democracy where there are laws, courts, and procedures to govern such matters," was the image Jorzak sought to project.

While the judge maintained the stance of "no politics allowed" throughout the course of the hearing, what literally gushed through the testimony of Ted and his witnesses and through the role of Jorzak himself was the political content embodied in American family values. This was the question put squarely on center stage by the legal strategy pursued by Ted which focused exclusively on "the best interests of the child." Since the state has been so badly exposed on its two-year, politically motivated illegal kidnapping, they have now resorted to pushing through with this attack by resting their entire case on the desires of Riva who, after two years of living the stable, godly and respectable American Way with her father, is now in a hysterical and disturbed state. Suddenly these blood-suckers have the greatest regard for the opinion of a 12-year-old girl! This would surely come as a revelation to the youth, including the 11-year-old girl who was denied the right to an abortion by a Michigan court last year, forced to bear a child and then had the child taken away by the state. Since Tina is still the custodial parent, the burden of proof was on Ted to show that a "change in circumstance" had occurred justifying a modification of custody. The prosecution argument was simple and straightforward: the

kid hates her mother, and therefore it is in the "best interest of the child" that she live with her father.

Precisely because of the growing support for this case and sensing that some of their most cherished values were under attack, reactionary forces felt compelled to lash out and rally to Ted's side in preparation for this hearing. Playing up the angle that pits "Religious Father" Ted (who practices Orthodox Judaism) vs. "Revolutionary Mother" Tina, two articles by Rabbi Dov Aharoni-Fisch, head of the Herut Zionist Organization in the U.S. (connected to Menachem Begin's party), appeared in two Zionist publications — "Jewish Chicago" (September issue) and "The Jewish Press" (August 19, 1983).

Interestingly enough, while there is plenty of handwringing over the possibility that Riva may be returned to her Godless atheist mother, this is not the essence of the articles. The heart of the rabbi's argument dovetails exactly with the current legal strategy being pursued by Ted to regain possession of his property, Riva. According to the rabbi, Tina is bringing "extraneous issues" into the case such as claims of "male chauvinism and sexism" and "persecution for (her) political beliefs," when the real issue in this case is "the child's best interests." The logic behind this is to wipe out the origins and history of a politically motivated kidnapping by focusing exclusively on Riva, which is a backhanded admission of just how exposed the bourgeoisie's hand has been over the last two years. This has made it all the more necessary to persist in this attack and to mobilize a social base of reactionaries (who did attend this hearing in small numbers), whose appetites were undoubtedly whetted by a thinly-veiled call to violence against the RCP that concludes these articles.

But according to all the official and unofficial guardians of American family morals, there is no cause for alarm in the shocking transformation of the behavior of 12-year-old Riva, who only developed her new-found "hatred" for Tina after two years of living with Ted. No need to worry over the fact that Riva's behavior has changed drastically from that of the bright, lively, and inquiring ten-year-old girl who, while facing all the contradictions of any child with divorced parents, was quite happy living with her mother, as testified to by her fourth-grade teacher. As for the three days of visitation spent with Tina in early August which were filled with Riva's temper tantrums, concocted stories and attempts to call the police into Tina's home, and which wound up with her placement in a foster home after she ran away from home, isn't that all fine? After all, hysterics are no cause for concern if aimed at the proper target. The same gangster logic under the Shah of Iran led to the torture of children before their parents' eyes in order to break them. And although the legal kidnapping of children is a tactic better suited to the bourgeois-democratic conditions of the imperialist mother country, the underlying purpose of this in serving very definite class interests is the same.

But the cynical manipulation of this child's psychological trauma, while perversely maintaining that all this is in her "best interests," has been like lifting a rock only to drop it on one's toes. Far from bolstering the assertion of the courts throughout the two-year history of this case that Ted's is *the* model family, the very distraught behavior of Riva illustrated something about the reality underlying the all-American dream of life in the suburbs and the family relations that go along with it. While Judge Ragan exalted Ted, a Zionist missile-making physicist employed by Lockheed, for providing a "stable, safe, religious and orderly environment in an attractive, comfortable community," his praise of this traditional, patriarchal family just didn't wash even among Jorzak's own court-appointed professionals.

It became a lot harder for Jorzak to continue hoisting the banner of the "best interests of the child" when Dr. Helen Morrisson, the child psychiatrist appointed by the judge himself, recommended that custody be returned to Tina. In remarks that were extremely damaging to the whole legal strategy of pulling out Riva's tantrums as an ace in the hole, Morrisson asserted that she had been reduced to the emotional level of a two-year-old; she also said Riva could give no reasons for hating her mother, and that the constant repetition of this phrase sounded like "parroting or a lesson learned by rote." Testifying that Riva's "primary emotional attachment" was with Tina, Morrisson stated that to return the girl to her father in California would be "destructive." In a move that stunned courtroom spectators, Jorzak responded to all this by trying to intimidate Morrisson, towering over her menacingly during a hostile cross-examination aimed at discrediting her.

Similarly unimpressed with Ted and his "model family" was the woman chosen as Riva's court-appointed guardian/attorney by the state in an attempt to open up a direct line of influence on the child. Rather than coming through with flying colors for the father as obviously expected, Maureen McGann-Ryan was at a loss to make a custody recommendation to the judge, but she felt compelled to comment at her disgust over the sexual stereotypes promoted in Ted's household. And this is a reflection of the fact that, despite Jorzak's insistence of "no politics allowed," the politics of the oppression of women was very much at issue in his courtroom.

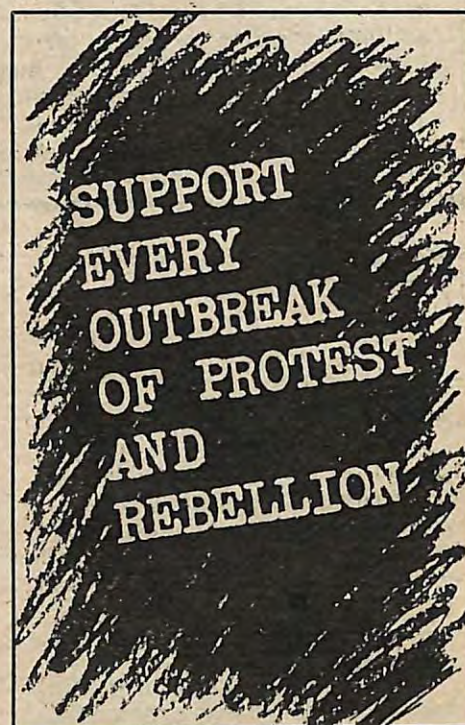
The judge himself set the tone for this by grilling Tina on the details of her personal life. While all his questions were well within the scope of custody cases, the zealotry with which the judge delved into them made his political point clear: can this woman be a fit mother who deliberately works only part-time in order to devote major energies to revolutionary activity, who is not the least bit God-fearing or anchored to the home, and who has raised her children with a sense of responsibility to be concerned about events in society and the world?

If the judge's point was to discredit Tina as a woman who doesn't know "her

place," his efforts hardly had the desired impact among many women observers of this case who are less than enamored with tending the home fires themselves. And here is where McGann-Ryan's closing argument is interesting as a reflection of some deep contradictions the bourgeoisie faces in its various moves to jam women back into their traditional mold. Despite the glowing reports on Ted's nuclear family, Riva's guardian said she was "troubled about the sexual roles" in a home where Ted prays three times a day but neither the wife nor daughters join in because they are preoccupied with child-care and household tasks. (We would point out that the oppression of women is a fundamental tenet of not only Ted's brand of Orthodox Judaism; but of the entire Judeo-Christian tradition, as well as Islam, Hindu, and so on — RW). She ridiculed Ted's charges that Tina had "neglected" Riva by leaving her with relatives or the babysitter; and she lambasted him for maintaining "a mysterious — if not diabolical silence" in the face of Riva's rantings that she hates her mother. By contrast, she portrayed Tina as a "strong-willed" woman who had raised a bright and articulate child, who had always provided for Riva even during periods when her husband was unemployed. The above illustrates in a small way the difficulty for the state in pushing through with this custody attack, and goes a long way toward explaining the irony of Judge Jorzak declaring Tina, a supporter of the RCP, to be a "qualified" parent! Having said this, the judge's brief and vicious decision to award temporary custody to Ted has made it crystal clear what is meant by "best interest of the child" and just which class interests are served by this decision.

Repeatedly the courts have attempted to use this custody case to set important precedents, both legally and politically. They have used it to go after the party, and also to send a message to women more broadly who depart from the traditional role of homemaker and child-bearer, or who are in any way questioning, rebellious or acting contrary to the interests of the present order; but they have been made to pay a high political price for this throughout the twists and turns of this case.

This case is by no means over. The legal ramifications of the decision are being investigated and the best way to bring an appeal is being explored. It is important for all those who recognize the implications of this case to continue to expose the role of the state which has made a naked display of the American family morals which will be enforced as long as they have power. □



Two articles from the *Revolutionary Worker*—"Support Every Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion" and "It's In Your Hands—100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW"—Which address major questions of orientation for the revolutionary movement in breaking with the influence of reformism and in beginning serious and all around preparation for proletarian revolution.

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The following statements were among those read at a press conference held before the permanent custody hearing in the Tina Fishman case on Sept. 15, 1983:

Press statement from the NEW WAVE student organization, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

The Tina Fishman case presently being battled out in the Chicago court of Judge Richard Jorzak is one of interest to all women, to all political activists and especially to active women.

As the crisis in the American system deepens the reactionaries in power attack the people at all levels. This case is another manifestation of the message of the "pro-family movement" to beat back the gains of the women's movement. At the same time that it says "back in your proper place" to all women, it is also attacking Tina Fishman as a radical, and as a communist. The message is clear: American capitalism and patriarchy is in trouble, and moves are under way to silence opposition, from the left and the women's movement.

We stand in solidarity with Tina Fishman and all struggling women everywhere, and call for her child to be returned to her.

The Organization Committee of NEW WAVE, Iowa City.

Statement of Support for Tina Fishman

The United Legal Workers of Chicago, affiliated with the National Organization of Legal Services Workers, District 65, UAW, wishes to express its support of and solidarity with Tina Fishman and her struggle for custody of her child.

Her struggle exemplifies the need for continued vigilance against repression of people based on their sex and political beliefs.

We call upon all progressive people in Chicago and across the nation to join with us in demanding that the ends of justice are served and that TINA be reunited with her daughter.

United Legal Workers of Chicago

In the past month, the U.S. has once again tightened its screw on Nicaragua with bands of *Contras* acting as the main tool. While cover was being provided by several thousand troops on maneuvers just across the northern border in Honduras and by U.S. warships off both the east and west coasts, a series of *Contra* assaults throughout Nicaragua were staged. There were air raids on the capital city of Managua and the country's principal port at the city of Corinto, sabotage on Nicaragua's only offshore oil terminal, attacks on an electrical generating plant and fishing cooperative (which the *Contras* publicly claimed was an arms depot), and attempts to take over and hold pieces of territory near both the Honduran and Costa Rican borders. Several of the attacks were directed against key economic targets which, given the backwardness of the Nicaraguan economy, could have caused a great deal of damage if they had been more successful. And they occurred in the midst of a vigorous campaign by the U.S. to get its European allies to deny the further investment (in the form of "aid" and loans) that Sandinista leaders have been begging for — with the attacks helping to highlight the riskiness of any *unapproved* investments on the U.S.'s turf. As usual, the U.S.'s Mr. Bigs refused to offer any official direct comment on their "covert" hit-men's activities, but one deputy assistant secretary of state couldn't resist the opportunity for some understated gangland-style arrogance. He snickered to the *Los Angeles Times* that "The overall level of pressure on the Nicaraguans has ratcheted up a couple of degrees."

At the moment, there are two basic groupings of *Contras* doing the ratcheting. Based in Honduras and running operations across the border aided and abetted by the regular Honduran army is the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). The FDN's officer corps and many of its troops are former members of Somoza's U.S.-trained and equipped national guard; while it is public knowledge that the FDN is supplied by Israel, Honduras, and the CIA, has training camps in the U.S. and is directed out of the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras. Previous FDN operations have not been particularly noteworthy for their success, and frontline commanders have apparently grown somewhat reluctant to lead their small bands into battle against the Sandinista troops. Not only have these setbacks adversely affected the U.S. efforts to squeeze the Sandinistas, but they have also fueled the much-vaunted liberal opposition in the U.S. to these exposed CIA activities (an opposition that has always been based on the fear that "it might not work" and could leave the U.S. in worse shape in Central America overall). Thus, U.S. officials in Honduras and elsewhere have been delivering some pointed warnings to FDN leaders that they had better show that they have the ability — or at least the potential — to hurt the Sandinistas or their funding could very well get cut off. In the midst of this latest *Contra* offensive — which has really only showed the *potential* damage that the FDN may someday be able to inflict — FDN leader and former Coca-Cola executive Adolfo Calera described the effect that his group's sneak attacks were having on certain "skeptical" congressmen: "First, they told us that to help us was immoral. Then, they backed off that and told us that we couldn't win. Now, we're showing that we can win — we can cripple the Sandinistas. So now, the congressmen are asking us, 'Well, what kind of government are you going to have?'"

The other *Contra* grouping, based in Costa Rica and operating mainly in the southern part of Nicaragua, is known as the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) and is run by the former Sandinista "Commander Zero," Edén Pastora, and a pro-U.S. businessman who was once a member of the post-Somoza Nicaraguan junta, Alfonso Robelo. Commander Zero likes to call his operation a "peasant insurrection," although it appears that he has had to go pretty far afield to find his "peasants": recently, Costa Rica expelled 100 U.S. soldier-of-fortune types with weapons who had been recruited to join ARDE's commandos. Pastora also makes a big deal of supposedly not getting any funding from the CIA, and ARDE overall claims to get no funds from the U.S.

Nicaragua

"Strange Contributions" To The Contras

government. Rather, Robelo says that ARDE gets "strange contributions from people who call up and say they want to help," and then donate large sums of money, even though Robelo says he has no idea who they are. Perhaps they heard about the operation during one of Pastora's or Robelo's forays among U.S. congressmen and Western European politicians. Or maybe they're peasants too. Pastora has long insisted that he would have nothing to do with the Somocistas that operate out of Honduras, but it is well known that the leadership of ARDE has been meeting with the FDN to try to come to an agreement. In any case, Pastora has stepped up his military activities this month, launching an attack on the city of Bluefields, the main urban area on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, and claiming credit for the air raids on Managua and Corinto. Undoubtedly, it is something more than coincidence that Zero's "peasants" and the CIA's Somocistas happened to launch an "offensive" at precisely the same time.

In conjunction with the new *Contra* "offensive," the U.S. has also announced plans to build up a network of roads and bridges — suitable for military transport, of course — throughout the northern border regions of Costa Rica where the *Contras* are based. Economic aid, you know. Like similar activity currently taking place in the *Contra* regions of Honduras, this construction work is to be carried out by U.S. troops — only in this case, they will be backed up by members of the Panamanian and Colombian armies as well, intensifying the pressure on Nicaragua even more. This activity may also involve what the *New York Times* describes as "new farm settlements" that are slated to be built in the same area, through a \$19 million loan from the U.S. Agency for International Development, a notorious front for the CIA. It is clear that the U.S. is moving very rapidly to turn this sparsely populated jungle region of Costa Rica into a heavily fortified military outpost — with all the weapons pointed due north. At the present time, Pastora's "peasants" may be the main force making use of all this, but that can quickly change and more regular forces can be brought in if the situation so warrants.

Costa Rica exhibited a further cooperative attitude toward the U.S.'s desires by arresting an alleged "Basque terrorist" on charges of attempting to assassinate Pastora and Robelo. The implication was that the Basque nationalist group, the ETA, was working with the Sandinistas on this plan — something that has been denied by both parties. But the arrest was rather convenient for the U.S., since it just happened to take place while Sandinista interior minister Tomás Borge was in Spain, trying to drum up political and economic support from its social-democratic government; obviously, the discovery of any connections between the ETA and Sandinistas would put a big damper on Spain's "friendship" with Nicaragua. It is not insignificant that all this is taking place in Costa Rica, which has had previously to keep a certain distance from U.S. moves against Nicaragua (as in the showy expulsion of the above-mentioned U.S. mercenaries) in order to maintain a degree of "internal stability" relative to the rest of the region. While this approach may not be entirely abandoned — the Mexico City newspaper *Excelsior* reported a whole raft of U.S. proposals to join the full-scale military squeeze on Nicaragua, all of which were supposedly "resisted" by Costa Rica's president Monge — it is clear that Costa Rica, like all the other U.S. neocolonies in the region, will be expected to assume a greater role in U.S. actions against the Sandinistas.

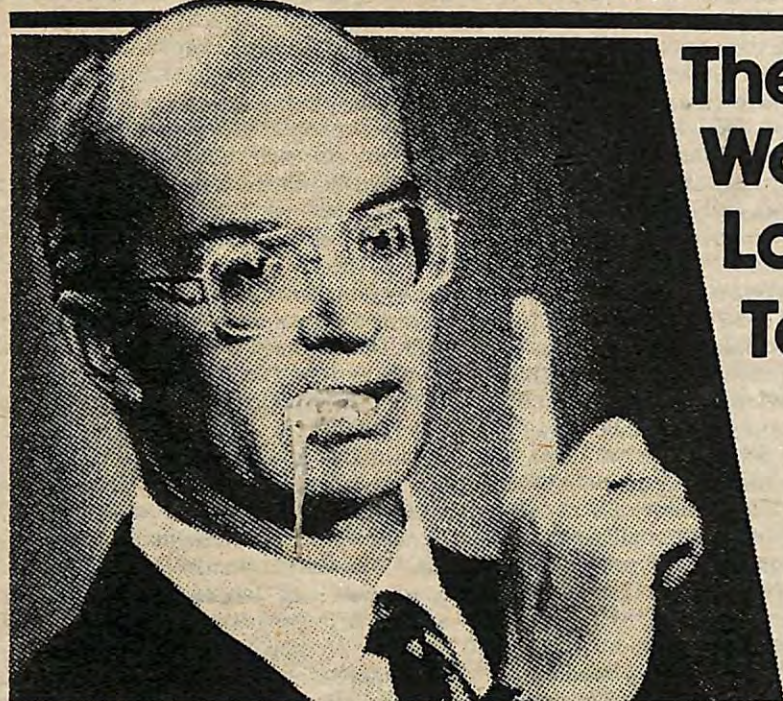
With the new *Contra* "offensive" and related developments in Costa Rica, the U.S. is once again intensifying its spiral of aggression against Nicaragua in the hopes of eventually creating a break in its

favor throughout Central America. The Sandinista regime, where pro-Soviet revisionist forces have gained the upper hand in a ruling coalition that still includes some social-democratic and more nationalist bourgeois forces as well, represents the failure of the U.S. to exercise absolute domination over its "own backyard" and a sign that the rival imperialists' "historic compromise" strategy holds continuing attraction for significant bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition forces throughout the region. This is the reality behind the recently highly-publicized words of Reagan administration's ideologue Fred Iklé, the undersecretary of defense, who stated that the U.S. "must prevent consolidation of a Sandinista regime in Nicaragua," and if this consolidation took place, "such a development would then force us to man a new military frontline of the East-West conflict, right here on our continent." What Iklé neglected to point out is that this could have a potentially fatal effect on the U.S.'s efforts to *win* that "East-West conflict" when its military frontlines are exploding all over the globe. Thus, the U.S. will continue to throw imperial firepower at the Sandinista regime to prevent this "consolidation" and send a poison pen message to the other opposition coalitions in Central America.

This may seem to be somewhat in contradiction to the old U.S. administration tale that all this bludgeoning of Nicaragua and U.S. support for the *Contras* in particular was purely in response to the *immense* "arms flow" to the guerrillas in El Salvador. It might especially seem to be a problem since the U.S. has never been able to come up with any evidence that there is even an arms *trickle*. But really, there is no problem here. As a certain anonymous U.S. official pointed out to the *New York*

Times, the administration is now changing "arms flow" to "subversion" as in "...we are supporting the rebels (*Contras*) until the Nicaraguans stop their subversion" in the rest of Central America. And it was made clear that this will henceforth include not only El Salvador, but Honduras and Costa Rica as well. In other words, Nicaragua will be held responsible (and be the target for further "destabilization," sabotage and so forth) for every outbreak, on the one hand, or gain in pro-Soviet influence on the other, that occurs in the other countries in the region. Undoubtedly, the U.S. is hoping that this will encourage the Sandinistas to increase their own considerable pressure they have already been applying to the Salvadoran opposition to try and "lower the tension" in the region, and take the heat off the Sandinistas, and that this "fraternal" Sandinista pressure will also be increasingly applied to the already growing opposition forces in Honduras and Costa Rica.

In the meantime, the U.S. is not only continuing with its current bloodletting but also paving the way for a much grander version. In addition to the previously mentioned roads, bridges, and so forth, the U.S. is making use of the current military maneuvers to build new airstrips in Honduras that will accommodate U.S. troop transport planes, a new deepwater port that can accommodate U.S. warships, and a new radar station. So, while the U.S. troops currently disembarking in Central America are forming the backdrop for the U.S.'s latest *Contra* "offensive," they are also the forward approach for something much bigger up ahead. Or, as one U.S. army colonel said as he gazed upon his troops operating in Honduras, "It's a marvelous opportunity to bring in troops from the U.S. to a foreign country and learn how to operate on foreign soil." □



The Watt Logic Test

The latest foamings at the mouth from Secretary of the Interior Watt, who described an advisory panel as having the ideal combination of "a black, a woman, two Jews and a cripple," has created the biggest furor yet in what has become a standard scenario whereby Watt runs off at the mouth popularizing racist slanders and then there is a big debate about whether or not he really meant it and whether or not he should resign. Truly democracy in action. This has prompted the following short RW quiz. Read the questions below and decide whether or not the following public officials would be ousted from the government, no matter whether it was Democrats or Republicans in office, if the following occurred:

A. A Black Secretary of the Interior remarked that he had "put together the perfect panel consisting of three Blacks, two honkeys and a Zionist." Would he be fired?

B. A Chicana Secretary of the Interior remarked that she had a "well balanced commission of inquiry including two Blacks, two Chicanos, a Puerto Rican, and two Yankees." Would she be forced to resign?

Answers below.

Answers:
A. Fired right away for "reverse discrimination."
B. This answer depends on whether she made a verbal comment in which case there might be some argument that after all the word "Yankee" was evocative of slavery days and thus was acceptable terminology for a member of the U.S. ruling class to be popularizing. However if it was a written statement and the word was spelled Yanqui, and certainly if it had "go home" after it, that would be another story altogether.

Trouble In The Metropole

Continued from page 5

presented them with proletarians to do tasks a bourgeoisified white worker wouldn't perform, at wages he wouldn't consider. In addition, this whole process undoubtedly fit into plans West Germany had for Turkey itself — the paychecks mailed home were providing valuable economic stability for the shaky Turkish society, while the ebb and flow of workers was swelling a trained pool of proletarians in Turkey for future ventures within that country itself.

However, it is unforeseen consequences of this immigration that have produced an ominous problem for the imperialists.

In the first place, the end of the '70s saw the economy sour; there are now 2.5 million unemployed in West Germany, 120,000 of them Turkish. But even given the fact that the labor shortage has ceased, it has proven almost impossible for the West German imperialists to contemplate doing without foreign labor — like a junkie they have become dependent on a cheap and disfranchised section of workers who, in almost classic pattern, are concentrated in the filthiest, most dangerous and lowest paid work in both service and heavy industry. One example: the West German auto industry. In the Ford works of Cologne, 13,500 of the 22,000 workers are now foreigners. Half are from Turkey, 4,000 are Italians, 1,500 are Greeks and about 600 to 1,000 are Yugoslavs. These figures are far from unusual in the industry: in the Opel and BMW works over half the wage slaves are foreign-born. Within the plant, all the difficult, mind-deadening and most dangerous work is assigned to the foreigners. In paint- and lacquer-spraying departments and in the stamping of sheet metal: only foreigners. In upholstery and in the kitchens: overwhelmingly foreign women. And over the period of this infusion of "fresh blood" there was an unprecedented intensification of the work, that was only partially due to automation; ten years ago 40,000 workers at Ford produced 1,200 cars daily, today half as many produce 1,300.

In addition, as the "temporary" importation of labor became permanent, the workers themselves started to plant roots within West Germany. Originally the labor contractors had projected forcibly "rotating" foreign workers every five years to ensure their "temporary" status, and undercut their political and social impact. But as the cost of constantly retraining new labor made that impractical, the "rotation" was abandoned. Half of the workers from Turkey in West Germany have now been there a full decade. And with that has come the massive influx of family dependents. While the number of employed male immigrants from Turkey has remained roughly constant at 600,000, the number of children has mushroomed. In 1973 there were 158,500 children under 15, in 1981 there were well over half a million.

Obviously a great deal of noise is being made about "Turks taking German jobs in a time of economic crisis." The figures are constantly raised that about 200,000 youth in West Germany now are unable to find openings in industry after getting out of school — and that figure corresponds closely to the fact that there are 202,000 Turkish youth in the country who are between 15 and 21 who are also entering the work force. But in reality, these refrains are basically for the political purposes of whipping up public opinion. For the ruling class, who have no intention of living without cheap pools of foreign labor, the dilemma is the different one of how to deal with an indispensable economic work force that is simultaneously a volatile and potentially revolutionary social force. Imperialism, by its nature, creates a split within the metropole working classes between more bourgeoisified sections and those who truly have nothing to lose. Even as it is threa-

CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (No. 223, September 23), there is an error in the article "RICO Net Closes." On page 5 of that article, in the fourth column, the sentence should read: Chokwe Lumumba, representing Bilal Sunni-Ali, had obtained numerous government documents... with the rest of the sentence continuing as is. ■

tened by the lower sections, it cannot do without them.

Grappling for a short-term solution, the West German imperialists have unleashed their resident mad dog, Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmerman, to institute a two-pronged approach to the immigrants. First there is to be an institution of the policy of "rotation" — forcing long-time workers and families back into their home countries, especially Turkey, while maintaining a lean and youthful core of immigrant wage slaves in key sectors. And second, the unleashing of an all-sided political clampdown on these workers — hounding them for the exercise of their national culture, crushing any political (and especially revolutionary) organization, unleashing hysteria to isolate them from the West German population in general, and skillfully using the naked terror of the junta *within Turkey* to suppress rebellious masses within the European metropole.

First: The Rotation

A decade ago, the proposed policy of a "forced rotation" every five years was rejected as an unprofitable waste of trained manpower. The present proposal skillfully avoids this problem, and in the process also cleverly maintains all the finesse of Western "democratic" traditions. The proposed rotation is to be "responsible and humane" and above all "voluntary." According to reports in the major newspaper *Bildzeitung*, the monies that long-time immigrant workers are due in the form of pensions and other social services will be made available to them in a one-time-only payment of "return money" amounting to about \$6,000: "10,500 marks of return money will be paid by Bonn to Turks, Yugoslavs, and guest workers from non-EEC countries, if they return to their homes with their families voluntarily before the end of September 1984. . . . Federal Labor Minister Blüm added: 'I estimate that about 85,000 workers will return.'"

In a recent *Spiegel* interview, Zimmerman was pointedly asked if it was not discrimination unbecoming of a "liberal state" to make such a sharp distinction between EEC immigrants (like Spaniards and Italians) and non-EEC workers (meaning immigrants from Turkey).

He answered:

"These people come from a completely different cultural circle, from a whole other world. There is a tremendous difference when we are talking about 1.7 million Moslems here, people who don't want to stay, who don't want to integrate themselves, who don't want to become German citizens, but who instead arrive with the obvious intention of earning money and then returning."

The gross hypocrisy of this is clear once it is revealed that the very target of this "voluntary rotation" is exactly those workers who have sunk roots in Germany and those who have tried to bring their families with them. The major target of the "voluntary rotation" is the "older generation" of workers from Turkey who came in the first wave ten years ago, and who are now in their forties and fifties, approaching pension age and often physically destroyed by ten brutal years in heavy industry. The inducement of this oh-so-voluntary program is that laid-off and sick workers are simply not rehired, and the point is driven home to them that benefits they draw now, such as unemployment benefits, will be directly deducted from the "return help." In other words, "Once you lose your job, get old or sick — don't waste time getting the hell out!" By squeezing out workers most likely to rely on health and social benefits, Blüm himself estimates that the West German state will reap a cool 2.5 billion Deutschmarks "saving" in the long run!

The "voluntary" nature of expulsion is underscored by a whole program of tightening restrictions soon to go into effect. Turkish children older than six are not to be allowed entrance into West Germany. Wives and children of workers who died in Europe are to be expelled from the country. School-age Turkish youth are being pressed out of the educational system, and in many cases are confronting Jim Crow-style "German literacy tests" obstructing their entry into the workforce. One particularly gross ruling is that if a man of a divorced couple



A demonstration of revolutionary workers from Turkey.



"Turks out," scrawled on a wall in W. Berlin.

chooses to leave West Germany, the woman is also to be expelled. Zimmerman grunts: "If they came together, then they have to leave together." And in a separate statement he added tender concern for Turkish "customs" by saying, "You have to understand, the position of women in Turkey is different than it is with us, and we want to have our actions jibe with the prevailing conditions in Turkey."

In short, even in the press, to expel the "superfluous population," the sick, the old and the family-dependent, West German capital still presses its need for "fresh blood" — but its tastes are refining to the choice, robust, unattached flesh — "And don't get too comfortable or settled in either!" The rotation is as "voluntary" as the desperation that brought the proletarians from Turkey to West Germany in the first place.

Second: The Political Clampdown

Tremendous attention is being paid, especially in the sensationalist prostitute press of West Germany, to isolate the proletarians from Turkey. Obviously there is the bonehead hysteria of "they are taking German jobs in a time of economic crisis — Germany for the Germans," which has a very familiar ring to readers of the *RW* in the U.S. The image of the "guest worker" gracefully performing menial work to the benefit of the prospering Germans has vanished from official media. The word for immigrants is now *Ausländer* (i.e., foreigner) — and the significance of that change is obvious.

With this comes another familiar form of chauvinistic ranting: People from Turkey are portrayed as an alien barbaric culture, a race of sneaky Asiatics peddling dope, mumbling a bastardized "Tarzan-German," seducing white women, fiendishly prone to use knives, and disrupting Western Christian civilization with pagan rites.

The following passage is truly a remarkable example of the "democratic"

doubletalk of the Free World: At a congress of the now-ruling Christian Democratic Party held to discuss the "Ausländer Problem," an official expert on religion named Bouman explained his views on Islam:

"In relation to God and his textual revelations, Islam does not recognize pluralism. Inside the religion, within the Islamic community and within Islamic law there is no room for dissenting opinions. But it is exactly this which is central to Western democracy. In our very constitution, the permission is granted to widespread opposition to official practices. But it is exactly on this point that Islam collides with us, and where its laws cannot tolerate our ways. . . ."

Leading political figures themselves have drawn out the "democratic" conclusion of West German "pluralism" more starkly: CDU parliamentary representative Werner Broll simply insists, "For normal (sic) people there is a quite definite limit to how far they can stand to be confronted with demonstratively flaunted differences." Not to be outdone, former Chancellor Schmidt set the tone for the Socialist Party a couple of years ago by saying it was quite understandable the German citizen should be outraged by the strange outlandish smells of "Ausländer" cooking wafting through their stolid German communities, or that they should be disgusted with people who slaughter lambs in their bathtubs.

At this point, we can't resist making two observations: first, the West German media has endlessly whipped up this picture of bathtub slaughterhouses, while systematically hiding the fact that Moslems (who have well-known strictures on both eating pork and Western butchering techniques) cannot patronize West German butchers who cut up little but the pig. Second, we could ask where these self-righteous bigots (who scarf up their own specialties like, say, blood-and-

Continued on page 15

Continued from page 14

tongue sausage) got a god-given privilege to decide which cuisine is bizarre and which is not.

The purpose and result of this ideological offensive is obviously neither to convince immigrants from Turkey to "integrate themselves" into West German society, nor to defend "Western civilization" in the abstract. Nor is it simply an economic response of "shifting the burden of crisis onto the backs of the workers." It is to politically contain a section of the proletariat, which is extremely dangerous and threatening to the bourgeoisie because it is not particularly enamored of the society the ruling class will soon be calling on millions to die for. Unable to either dispense with it, or to assimilate it, their temporary solution is to isolate it from the rest of the population and try to implant fear and political passivity through open terror if necessary. It is the ruling class as a whole, including the social-liberals of the SPD, who directly bear responsibility for the current resurrection of the famous German credo of the "master race," for the increasing appearance of slogans spraypainted on walls like "Save a match, burn a Turk" — and it is they who are directly responsible for the outbreaks of violent pogrom-type terror attacks that are being randomly sprung on immigrants from Turkey walking on the streets.

Pointed Political Repression

In the final analysis, however, the most dangerous threat the West German imperialists fear is not the explosive cultural collision in their inner-city ghettos, it is their well-founded fear of profound political divergencies among the immigrants from Turkey. In Turkey itself, the fascist junta sits uneasily on the rotting corpse of an imperialist-dominated society wracked by feudal relations. For years, political struggles in Turkey have become increasingly violent and irreconcilable. Feuding sections of the bourgeoisie there have settled their differences with assassinations and the firing squad. And there is revolutionary armed struggle taking place. All of this is reflected within West Germany itself, even more so because the rapid motion from Turkey to West Germany has swept thousands toward new and subversive political thoughts. In many ways, the attempt of the fascist military in Turkey to stamp out political struggle in that country has directly led to a blossoming of activity among proletarians scattered throughout Europe. Among immigrants from Turkey, all kinds of political trends openly contend and collide, spanning the spectrum from extreme right-wing terrorists like the Grey Wolves to a left which includes pro-Soviet revisionist forces, genuine proletarian revolutionaries of the internationalist trend grouped around the organ *Partizan*, and various revolutionary nationalist currents. (The Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist — TKPML — is illegal in West Germany.)

Zimmerman openly shrieks about the danger of large masses of proletarians supporting either the revisionist cause of the Soviet Union, or the red banner of thoroughgoing proletarian social revolution. In the previously mentioned *Spiegel* interview, for example, he was asked if he wasn't shocked and frightened by the statement of a CSU government spokesman Regenspurger who asked rhetorically, "How long will we allow Turks to march and demonstrate under the hammer, the sickle and the red-star, and to openly lay claim to streets and market-places for these purposes." Zimmerman answered: "How can such a statement be frightening? What frightens me is that it is even necessary to pose such a question. Where in other Western countries are hundreds of thousands of Germans allowed to march under such insignia? Or, where in the Eastern bloc for that matter?"

Systematic steps are underway to brutally suppress such dangers. Last February, the interior ministry declared the revolutionary organization *Devrimci Sol* and the workers' association *Halk Der* illegal. And there are open plans underfoot this fall to systematically ban other left organizations, both genuinely revolutionary ones and others that are considered dangerous because of their pro-Soviet character. The method used to justify this banning is quite revealing to revolutionaries everywhere: the state "proved" (to its own satisfaction) that there was evidence of a systematic record

of "violent acts" on the part of these organizations, and backed this up with statements taken from various publications.

In the words of Zimmerman:

"The foreign associations have oriented their activities overwhelmingly toward the political conflict and crisis situation in their previous home countries. In the process, they are adversely affecting the security, and both the internal and external political situation, of our country in important ways. . . . Activities which endanger national security are emanating from such extremist organizations, whose agitation is increasingly also being aimed at aspects of German politics: the Federal Republic of Germany as a NATO partner of Turkey, German military and economic aid to Turkey, and German policies toward the rights of foreigners within its own borders."

Alongside such "legal" assaults, the West German ruling class actively uses the vicious Grey Wolf gangs of Turkish reactionaries — on the one hand, West German officials insist that such gangs are a "myth," while with the other hand they mobilize the police to defend their demonstrations. In Heidelberg a political trial started in the middle of July where five members of the revolutionary Turkish workers' association ATIF and student association ATÖF have been charged with "aggravated assault" after fights at rallies of the Grey Wolves.

Turkey and West Germany

By far the most deadly threat against revolutionary Turkish immigrants is the specter of the hangman in their home country. Throughout the last decade, historic ties between West German imperialism and Turkey have been strengthening. West Germany is the greatest capitalist exploiter of Turkey, and takes responsibility (within NATO's paternal "division of labor") for keeping an eye and active hand on the security problems of the eastern anchor of the NATO alliance. Ripples of protest have been heard from bourgeois quarters within Turkey itself about the increasingly brutal policies of expulsion. Not only have the paychecks from West Germany been important within the decayed Turkish economy, but (more importantly) the prospect of thousands of angry politicized proletarians being forced back from Europe into the squalor and degradation of their homeland is a nightmare for a junta propped up by the might of NATO and the U.S.

One "expulsion," however, does not give rise to protests from the Turkish ruling classes: the openly *involuntary* expulsion of "extremists."

The Murder of C.K. Altun

In July, Interior Minister Zimmerman came back from a business trip to Turkey, openly declaring his intention to accelerate the policy of turning over arrested troublemakers to the junta. He clutched in his hand 180 new extradition orders from the Turkish government, plus the agreement to expedite 135 others that were backlogged. Among these was the case of C.K. Altun. Two months later Altun was dead. In West Berlin, the 23-year-old brother of a prominent exiled Turkish social-democratic parliamentarian had jumped from a window of an administration building during a hearing on the final steps of his extradition to Turkey. Apparently, after 13 months in solitary, and facing the prospects of certain torture and death in Turkey, Altun seized what must have appeared to him as his last chance for a public political statement.

In part because the hounding of Altun reflected an attack on the Turkish counterparts of the SPD, this murder erupted into the headlines and has lingered as a major scandal and focus of mass outrage. What has now been widely revealed is the longstanding murderous link between the two states — serving their mutual counterrevolutionary interests. While readers of the *Revolutionary Worker*, who followed the case of Comrade Hüseyin Balkir, as well as the case of the extradition of Darnell Summers, are familiar with the methods of the West German bourgeoisie in these matters, it is now widely known that for years, starting immediately after the fascist coup three years ago and involving the then-ruling German Socialist Party (SPD), it was common practice by the West German government to routinely hand the papers of people from Turkey requesting asylum

High Ground of Hypocrisy

The record \$187.5 billion arms bill passed by Congress two weeks ago authorizes all necessary money for production of the MX missile, \$5.63 billion for the B-1 bomber, \$407.7 million more for the Pershing II, and funding for other weaponry. Even before KAL flight 007, the bill was a virtual shoo-in. After 007, and along with 007, it became a national war cry.

The only point of any controversy had been the bill's \$1.5 million provision for new binary nerve gas weapons. But this was easily covered by the shadow of current events. On the House floor, one day after that august body's unanimous resolution condemning the "barbaric Soviet attack on an unarmed Korean

airliner," Rep. Martin Leath, for one, was unable to "restrain his emotions." He declared, "While we stand on the high ground with our backs turned and our heads bowed, the Soviet butchers are gassing hundreds of thousands of people." His colleagues concurred, determined to keep *America No. 1* — in every respect. The bill, nerve gas and all, sailed through without a hitch.

It turned out that abandoning the "high ground" on this issue proved pretty simple for U.S. imperialism. Understandably so. The use of biological and chemical weaponry by the U.S. isn't simply *alleged*, but documented. Against who? Well, for one, against the Korean people during the Korean war!

in West Germany directly over to the Turkish fascists to supposedly ascertain whether there were legal charges pending against them meriting extradition rather than asylum. Given the well-documented practice of the Turkish junta of crudely fabricating major charges, appropriately "criminal," against exiled activists (including assassination, robbery, "terrorism," etc.), this was a systematic practice of handing people over to their deaths. Exact figures are not released, but estimates are that about 2700 people were deported to Turkey from the Federal Republic, for various reasons, in 1982 alone.

To this we can add one more disgusting example of the Catch-22 of legalism: The Turkish government has de facto made *the very act of applying for asylum* a major criminal offense! Their new law states that "spreading damaging reports in a foreign country containing charges concerning the internal conditions of the (Turkish) state in a baseless, exaggerated or self-serving way. . . will be punished by not less than five years in prison." In other words, making a public statement of political persecution in Turkey itself becomes a crime against the state, so that those then *refused* asylum and who are therefore ejected face additional legal threat from the process itself.

To further develop the excellent working relations between the police of West Germany and those of Turkey, special "Anti-Terrorist Conferences" are being planned for the fall of this year. Already, the West German Interior Ministry has revealed that both governments agree to estimates of 60,000 "radicals" in the Federal Republic, whom the governments are (in the words of Zimmerman) "committed to making disappear from the face of the earth." A virtual sword of Damocles swings ominously over the head of every political refugee and proletarian from Turkey living in West Germany.

In the face of this, it is especially significant that the September 12 demonstration in Cologne denouncing the Turkish junta on the third anniversary of its coup drew an unprecedentedly broad coalition of immigrant organizations and West German groups, and that 10,000 marchers in all gathered in defiance of the escalating blood threats. It is also significant that their demands did not simply focus on the question of fascism in Turkey or on the conditions of immigrant workers in Europe, but included demands aimed against nuclear war.

The exact way in which this heightening struggle between the immigrant workers and West German imperialism will develop in the months ahead, and how it will interpenetrate with the threatening crisis over the Pershing II's, is an open question.

Two reports concerning Berlin indicate some of the immediate questions being posed.

Recently, *Stern*, a major West German magazine, had a cover story on openly fascist and anti-Turkish activity that is based among soccer fan-clubs. Their article ended with the report that at the end of October, in the middle of "hot autumn," the national soccer game between West Germany and Turkey is going to be held in the famous Olympic stadium built by Adolf Hitler. Leaflets have been distributed throughout West Germany call-

ing for reactionaries to turn that game into a demonstration of German chauvinism and fascist hatred of foreign workers, in the midst of the impending political struggle over war preparations. The article ends by quoting a thoroughly slimy storm-trooper type (and naturally, in the process spreading his "message"), saying that on the night immediately following the game, "Kreuzberg burns."

The second story: Last June 18, an extreme right-wing German outfit, "Konservative Aktion" (KA), mobilized across West Germany to go to West Berlin and confront immigrants from Turkey in Kreuzberg, demanding their expulsion. 20,000 counter-demonstrators met them, ranging from bourgeois-liberal political forces to the alternative parties to the more revolutionary youth in the squatters movement. In the massive street battle that broke out that night between demonstrators and police, the pigs seized the occasion to combine an "official" pogrom against the immigrants with systematic sweeps through the ghetto to evict squatters from some of their fiercely defended tenements. According to reports, for the first time barricades were jointly built by squatters together with the immigrant youth and proletarians. In addition there are reports of German youth in West Berlin and other cities wearing Middle Eastern scarves and other clothing, and developing a taste for Middle Eastern food, as a form of protest and international solidarity. Truly an example of events and political forces in a minor collision foreshadowing in embryo major events to come.

As we have already pointed out in a number of articles on West Germany (*RW* No. 210, 214 and 221), the intensification of international tensions, and especially the impending stationing of U.S. Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles, are provoking political disruption and radical activity extremely broadly among the West German population itself. This contradiction of war preparation itself arises from the global crisis of the imperialist system which is also giving rise to numerous other intense and explosive manifestations. While the approach of war is in many ways overall determining the accelerated pace of events and social collision, the broader picture in West Germany reveals how this inter-imperialist war contradiction intertwines with the collision of antagonistic classes and with the struggle of oppressed nations against their oppressors. Certainly it is a fitting irony that the hundreds of thousands of wage slaves driven like cattle into Europe to slave and die should, in a global crisis, emerge as an extremely dangerous and fearful force within the very heart of their imperialist citadels. Zimmerman himself drives this point home by taking an overview of his own policies on restrictions on German leftist activity, anti-demonstrations laws, increased political surveillance, the banning of anti-religious films in West Germany, the tightening of asylum rights, and the overall policy of expelling workers from Turkey: "You have to understand," he said with characteristic frankness, "these are all policies cut from one cloth, together they make up a single course of action."

Truly they are training legions of their own gravediggers. □

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

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

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