



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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**MAY 1st,
1984**

**Celebrate the Formation
of the
Revolutionary
Internationalist
Movement!**

**Prevent World War!
Step Up the Struggle
for Revolution
Throughout the World!**

**Communist
Party of Peru
and Others Adhere
to Revolutionary
Internationalist Movement
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DOMINICAN UPHEAVAL!



The late-night CBS news coverage began with the panorama of the turquoise-blue Caribbean washing up on sandy beaches with palm fronds swaying in the breeze: "Most of the time the Dominican Republic is a tropical paradise. . . ." This past week thousands of Dominicans — for whom this tropical paradise is a burning prison — have

shaken the walls and let in gusts of refreshing air. On Monday and Tuesday, April 24 and 25 (details of the events of Wednesday and Thursday are still not known), the only position that may have been as dangerous as policeman was banker, as streets throughout the country were seized, barricades erected, police stations attacked, stores and at least one

bank burned to the ground. The rebellion spread from the capital of Santo Domingo to a reported 20 cities — it was met quickly by savage repression, leaving an official count of 52 dead, hundreds wounded. Unofficial numbers go much higher.

The immediate provocation for the outburst was the Dominican government's announcement of a deal concluded with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) — headquartered appropriately in the U.S. capital of Washington, D.C. — to obtain a loan of over half-a-billion dollars, the conditions of which require the Dominican government to impose a harsh austerity program, much like those already in position in dozens of other oppressed countries heavily in debt to the Western banks. Though the exact terms of the agreement are at this point still under wraps, a number of specifics were let out: the price of imported goods, upon which the country has grown increasingly reliant, including many foodstuffs, are being tripled; 150 import items (rice, peanut butter, cars, tractors, etc.) are banned altogether; and what are known as primary necessities (food, and including medicine) are rising around 50% or so.

The government's announcement of these measures came almost literally on the eve of the nineteenth anniversary of the 1965 uprising in Santo Domingo, which was brutally crushed by the invasion of about 25,000 U.S. Marines. Memory of those events is ever-present in the minds of Dominicans. A *Wall Street Journal* reporter asked one person whether he could recall the U.S. occupation: "I knew him by name," said the young Dominican. He pointed to the darkened outline of a grain silo overlooking Santo Domingo and said: "He stayed up there night and day with a high-powered rifle which would kill anything that stepped into the street — a person, a dog, anything. Later people said he had been sent to Vietnam and was killed there." Some people thought that the Dominican government's timing of their announcement of the IMF deal was simply thoughtless, mere bureaucratic indifference to the passions that run swiftly and near to the surface at this time of year; perhaps so — but it is certain that the Dominican masses regarded the government's announcement as one made with conscious contempt, adding humiliation to the harsh terms they face from the IMF.

But the reaction was furious. The catalyst for street action appears to have been a strike called by small shopkeepers and students which then quickly escalated and spread. By Monday afternoon, major street fighting had broken out throughout Santo Domingo, particularly in the northern barrios. A number of buses were overturned and burned, forming the core of barricades against the

cops. No one has ventured estimates of the numbers involved in the actual street fighting itself, but it was certainly in the thousands.

A measure of the scale of the rebellion is had by the government reaction: the first day police were using tear gas and typical riot-control tactics, including tear gas dropped from helicopters. By that evening the authorities had called out the military. Machine guns and automatic-weapons fire surrounded the streets; by Tuesday, the U.S. media reported that the military had orders to "shoot to kill." Despite this, fighting raged on — there were reports that in one provincial city a group of youth attacked a police station, killing one cop and wounding others.

However far from the authorities' minds were the events of 1965 to begin with, at this point they seem to have recovered enough of their memory to act on some of the lessons they must have learned back then: especially the crucial role of mass communications, which were so handily used by the insurgents in '65 to direct the insurrection. Since 1978 the U.S. has boasted continually of the Dominican Republic as a "shrine," in the words of one State Department official, of freedom and democracy in the Caribbean. Within hours of the outbreak of street fighting, the Santo Domingo district attorney marched in with squads of armed officers to seize three radio stations; they closed one TV station as well. Two of the stations were charged with the offense of having mobile units at the site of fighting, so that the reports given over the air were "alarmist." Indeed, the touted freedom of the press seems to have quickly assumed the character of the freedom to read official government releases over the air.

Meanwhile, the casualties mounted, and the arrests too. Reuters News Agency reported over 40 dead on Tuesday and said that local sources estimated several times that number. The police themselves say they've arrested about 1,000. There are reports already circulating of brutal beatings and torture going on inside congested jail cells. There are also reports of random terror by government forces being directed at certain sectors of the people: of blocks being shot up by machine-gun fire, of people being pulled out of their homes and shot.

The government of the Dominican Republic, while applying ruthless repression on the one hand, has issued an absolute denial of any responsibility for the events, saying that the austerity measures did not set off the violence, but that the violence was the result of provocations by conspiracies of the two major opposition parties to the left and right. There has indeed been significant infighting within the Dominican bourgeoisie over how to deal with the critical economic situation and with the severe measures demanded by their Western masters. The Dominican Liberation Party (PLD), the party of Juan Bosch, a central figure in the 1965 events, held a march protesting the IMF measures several weeks ago. And the party of former Dominican president Balaguer, the Reformist Party, has also protested the IMF measures. However, that either of these two groups carried out clandestine preparations for the burning of banks and mass attacks on police stations is an amusing notion. Balaguer was strongman Trujillo's right-hand man for years; he was provisionally confirmed as Dominican president in 1961 by the CIA and the U.S. ambassador and was chosen to be the U.S. pointman in 1966 in the wake of the U.S. Marine invasion, again as president. His base of support includes not only the U.S. embassy, but the military and police sectors as well. Beyond that, Balaguer has denounced the upheaval. And Bosch, too, has disassociated himself from "the violence." The heads of five of the largest unions in the country meanwhile issued a call for a strike — after the country was already paralyzed by street fighting — and, at the first sign of an ebb, called on the workers to return to their jobs and went on the radio to say that the street actions perverted the struggle for higher wages. Other forces in the country cried for the "lost" atmosphere of freedom and democracy — one of the major

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From the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Press Release
London
24 April 1984

Communist Party of Peru and Others Adhere to Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Abdul Kerim, of the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, made the following statement in London today:

“It is with great pleasure that we announce the adhesion of three Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. These are:

Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy]
Communist Party of Peru
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla [Bangladesh]

“All these parties and organisations have signed the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* which was produced by the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations. Due to technical difficulties involving communication and/or time required to evaluate the *Declaration*, it was not possible to announce the names of these organisations at the March 12th press conference, nevertheless these parties and organisations, together with the fourteen other parties and organisations whose names were released March 12th at our London press conference, are all founders of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.”

Kerim pointed out that, “The adherence of these organisations adds great strength to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and we are proud to count them in our ranks.

“In particular the Communist Party of Peru (also referred to in the press as “Sendero Luminoso”) is currently waging an important People’s War which, despite the frantic attempts of the enemy to drown it in blood, is continuing to develop. This revolutionary warfare is a bright spot on today’s globe and lights the path forward for the proletariat and the oppressed people everywhere.”

Kerim stressed that, “The Communist Party of Peru has been the object of great slander and attack from all quarters. But our Movement believes as Mao Tsetung put it: ‘It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.’”

Abdul Kerim stated that, “The struggle in Peru shows that it is possible for an oppressed people, led by a genuine vanguard party, to wage revolutionary war without falling into the clutches of one imperialist power or another. In a world where the danger of a new world war is growing, this takes on all the more importance. All the imperialist powers, including the Soviet Union, vilify the just revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of Peru.”

Kerim concluded by saying that, “Our Movement will make itself felt for the first time this May First. For the first time in many decades workers and the oppressed will be acting in more than fourteen countries under common slogans. The means for celebrating the First of May around these common slogans has been left to the different parties and organisations to develop the appropriate forms. In some places our Movement will be celebrating the First of May through marches and meetings, in others the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement will be greeted by revolutionary warfare.”

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* will be made available on May First in 22 languages. It is available from our Information Bureau in London.

The participating organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement are:

Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
Ceylon Communist Party
Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy]
Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) Mao Tsetung Regional Committee
Communist Party of Peru
Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist
Haitian International Revolutionary Group
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups [Britain]
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla [Bangladesh]
Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
Revolutionary Communist Party, India
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic]
Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

May 1st Slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

- ★ Long Live Red 1st of May,
Symbol of the World Proletarian Revolution!
- ★ Build the Unity of the International Proletariat!
Hail the Formation of the
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!
- ★ Prevent World War!
Step Up the Struggle for Revolution
Throughout the World!
- ★ Develop the Struggle of the Masses Against Imperialist War Preparations
As a Mighty Force for Revolution!
- ★ Support the Peoples War in Peru and All Revolutionary Struggles of the
Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction!
- ★ Solidarity with All Imprisoned Fighters for Revolution! Fight for Their Liberation!
- ★ Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

DOMINICAN UPHEAVAL!

Continued from page 2

Dominican newspapers, *La Noticia* called for the government to proceed with "wisdom and sensitivity, so that from these ruins will be reborn public confidence and stability." It added a plea for understanding of "the youth who need guidance and support." Child psychologists for the rioters — surely this is a skilled pupil of the *New York Times*.

While the repression escalated, Dominican President Blanco went on the air to call for people to renounce violence. Blanco had important traditions to defend, for the butchers of 1984 were not your more notorious U.S. generalissimo-style puppets, but bona fide members of the Second International — socialists, kith and kin of Mitterrand and Willy Brandt, striving to transform their nation into "a country like France, Norway or Sweden," as one spokesman said. And so, while the machine guns barked, and while his own party armed its members to stand shoulder to shoulder with the army in its work, Blanco proceeded to literally invoke the spirit of none other than Mahatma Gandhi. Such is indeed the glorious tradition of these socialists — the masses go with pacifism, the army with lead. But the bottom line was more bluntly put by another high-ranking official, who stated that "We would prefer that this government complete its term without the spilling of blood, but if the circumstances require the spilling of blood, so be it."

The roots of the rage that boiled over in this neocolony of the U.S. are deep, and the IMF measures are hardly likely to dig them out. Indeed, they will be deeper than ever. Even during the decade of the 1970s when there was a certain amount of economic growth in the Dominican Republic, average real wages declined, dropping from \$80 per month to \$54 per month. Unemployment in the cities has reached an official rate of 30% and vast shantytowns, fueled by even more staggering unemployment in the countryside, have grown up around the cities. In 1982 well over 150 businesses in Santo Domingo were on the verge of bankruptcy. The central bank was nearly \$400 million behind in its commercial payments, and overdue debts piled up above \$200 million. The 1982 balance of payments deficit was already \$560 million; the government budget deficit was even higher. By 1983 they were also one-half-billion dollars behind on payments of external debt. Faced with the strangulation of imperialism, the country is now being plunged further into debt and deeper oppression. The current emphasis is on the "free trade zones," where tens of thousands of women assemble electronics and the like for export, mainly to the U.S., at below the Dominican Republic's minimum wage — in fact, the country boasts of the lowest free trade zone wage rate in the Caribbean. But it is sugar that runs through the veins of the Dominican economy — which has been

kept straitjacketed in this mono-crop dependency by the U.S. for decades — and with international sugar prices at record lows, no one has any illusions of any major economic recovery.

Beyond the economic instability of the Dominican situation, the political order is itself of great concern to Western-bloc observers. That their Dominican puppets were unable to deal with the 1965 uprising on their own and had to have the support of the largest U.S. invasion force in Latin America in decades is never far from anyone's mind, and the ability of the Dominican rulers to hold things together now is of great concern. The hand of the U.S. has directly hovered over the scene at critical points. Just a few weeks before the IMF deal, Dominican President Blanco traveled to Washington, D.C. and met with Reagan himself. And just after the outbreaks in Santo Domingo a special IMF mission returned to the Dominican Republic to hammer out the specifics of the deal — and no doubt to give their lieutenants some advice based on their vast experience in squeezing other indebted nations.

What happens in the Dominican Republic is of more moment than the profit/loss ledgers on Western banks, and the outbreaks have highlighted that fact too. For the past few years, the U.S. has been considering erecting a new naval base on the Haitian/Dominican island, and has recently been leaning towards erecting it on the Dominican end. Their

reason for this location: concern for the stability of Haiti's Duvalier regime. And then, as one State Department official put it: "The very location of the country on one of the most important strategic and commercial arteries for the U.S. speaks for itself." U.S. Ambassador Robert Anderson elaborated, pointing out that, in the event of a NATO conflict, 70% of "reinforcement shipments" must steam through the Caribbean and by the Dominican Republic.

Given all this, it should be pointed out that the U.S. press has low-keyed the rebellion. The *New York Times*, for instance, spent less than 25 column-inches on the entire week's events — about as much as their average home recipe column. But this was no oversight, nor simply the lack of a reporter on the scene, but part of a more centralized policy that became clearer on Thursday, April 26. The State Department released an official statement which said that the events in the Dominican Republic were basically over, and that the disturbances were no big deal but rather "minor incidents like the burning of tires and looting of shops."

A more forthright assessment came from the director of the Dominican Republic's Central Bank, who stated, "We tell people there's light at the end of the tunnel, but we have to hope that the tunnel is not very long." □

From the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Call to the Workers, Oppressed Peoples and the Genuine Communists of All Countries

ON MAY 1ST, LET US JOIN RANKS UNDER THE RED BANNER OF THE PROLETARIAT RAISED HIGH BY THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND ACCELERATE THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM, SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM AND ALL FORMS OF REACTION!

May 1st, the day on which the slogan "Long Live the First of May!" reverberates throughout the world every year, has a great historical significance for class-conscious proletarians:

May 1st, the day of international unity, solidarity and struggle for the working class which has nothing to lose but its chains and a whole world to win!

May 1st, the day when the workers and toilers of all nationalities, races and sexes reach across continents and lock hands, when they raise their clenched fists together and shout their battle slogans, closing ranks under the banner of proletarian internationalism!

May 1st, the day symbolising the struggle to declare that the pulse of the world must and shall beat with the pulse of the proletariat and that the proletariat is stepping onto history's stage as the real gravediggers of world reaction!

May 1st, the day that symbolises the red might embodied in the arms of the proletariat, who under the guidance of the international communist movement, shall emancipate all humanity, putting an end to every form of oppression and exploitation by advancing to communism!

It is for these reasons that the open and masked enemies of the international proletariat resort to every counter-revolutionary means they are capable of in order to blur and tarnish this historical meaning of May 1st, to disorient the proletariat and to minimise the role May 1st can play in the struggle for world proletarian revolution or to render it obsolete. This has been true in the past and will continue to be true in the future.

These factors make May 1st even more significant in the context of the current world situation which penetratingly demonstrates the putrid and moribund nature of imperialism in every aspect of social life, rendering it ever more necessary and crucial for the proletariat to realise its historical mission of creating a new world on new foundations.

Like all other processes of historical change, the world proletarian revolution too has a zig-zag path of development. This path is even more complex and tortuous since, unlike all other revolutions, it is a revolution which ends all exploitation. It has made tremendous advances and has also suffered grave defeats. In spite of the momentous gains achieved through its inspiring revolutionary struggles, the virus of modern revisionism has managed to temporarily overturn them. The modern revisionists transformed the lands of socialism and people's democracy into links in the chain of the imperialist system and the communist parties into instruments of bourgeois dictatorships. However, undaunted by such losses the proletariat dared to scale new heights, reversing the counter-revolutionary current and advancing the science of revolution through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. Today with the reversal of proletarian rule in China the world proletariat has suffered yet another heavy blow, and imperialism and reaction try to arrogantly proclaim the death of revolutionary Marxism — what they couldn't achieve through frontal attacks and open wars, they believe has been finally achieved by modern revisionism through "conquering the fortress from within." Yet within the temporary defeats of the proletariat lie the seeds of its victory. Drawing lessons from defeats and turning them into even greater victories it has broken new ground in the past, thus arming itself with even more advanced theoretical weapons and experience. Today too it remains unvanquished.

In addition, these setbacks of the proletariat, although providing brief breathing spells for imperialism, have in no way altered its death-bound

course. As imperialism lurches towards its final destruction it goes through frantic convulsions, becomes more desperate and vicious and resorts to any means at its disposal to strangle the national and social liberation struggles. But this only intensifies the revolutionary struggles of the masses, thus further enabling the proletarian vanguard to convert defeats into victories.

This incontestable truth is all the more evident in today's world conditions where the major contradictions of the imperialist system, which spell its death verdict, are rapidly intensifying, where the threat and preparations for a new imperialist war are becoming more pronounced, and where the masses are defiantly persevering in revolutionary struggles. Amidst this turmoil and the storms that are brewing, foreshadowed by the claps of thunder already bursting in many places around the world, the proletariat must ready itself for new upsurges and be fully conscious of the quickening dynamics which strain the limits of the existing order, presenting vast possibilities and forging new opportunities for the period ahead. A class-conscious force however small it may be, armed with revolutionary theory can create a tremendous impact, galvanising sections of the masses hurled into motion by the crippling crises of the imperialist system. Basing itself on the just hatred of the exploited, it can draw new forces around the red flag and temper its fighters for the decisive battles shaping up ahead.

Imperialism and reaction are real tigers — together they form a vicious and powerful foe. But in essence, and from a long-term point of view, they are nothing other than paper tigers.

Proletarians are revolutionary optimists and despite the hurdles thrown up by setbacks they look at the future with the spirit of conquering the most distant horizons. Today this optimism has once again been both vindicated and revitalised by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement — a significant leap achieved at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations from various countries held earlier this year. This conference took up the task of summing up the past and adopted a *Declaration* upholding and applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, providing a source of tremendous strength and inspiration for the proletariat and all revolutionaries.

Herein lies the significance of May First 1984. In many countries around the world, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, in joint May First actions, is hoisting the banner of proletarian internationalism high across the skies. Imperialists, social-imperialists and their henchmen can rest assured that none of their weapons, murderous schemes and intimidation will be able to contain the boundless wrath of the oppressed who yearn to break free of their bondage.

Let the slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement ring out loud and clear from all four corners of the world, declaring to friends and foes alike that there are those in growing numbers determined to see to it that "the earth shall rise on new foundations"!

**LONG LIVE RED FIRST OF MAY,
SYMBOL OF WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!**

**BUILD THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!
HAIL THE FORMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!**

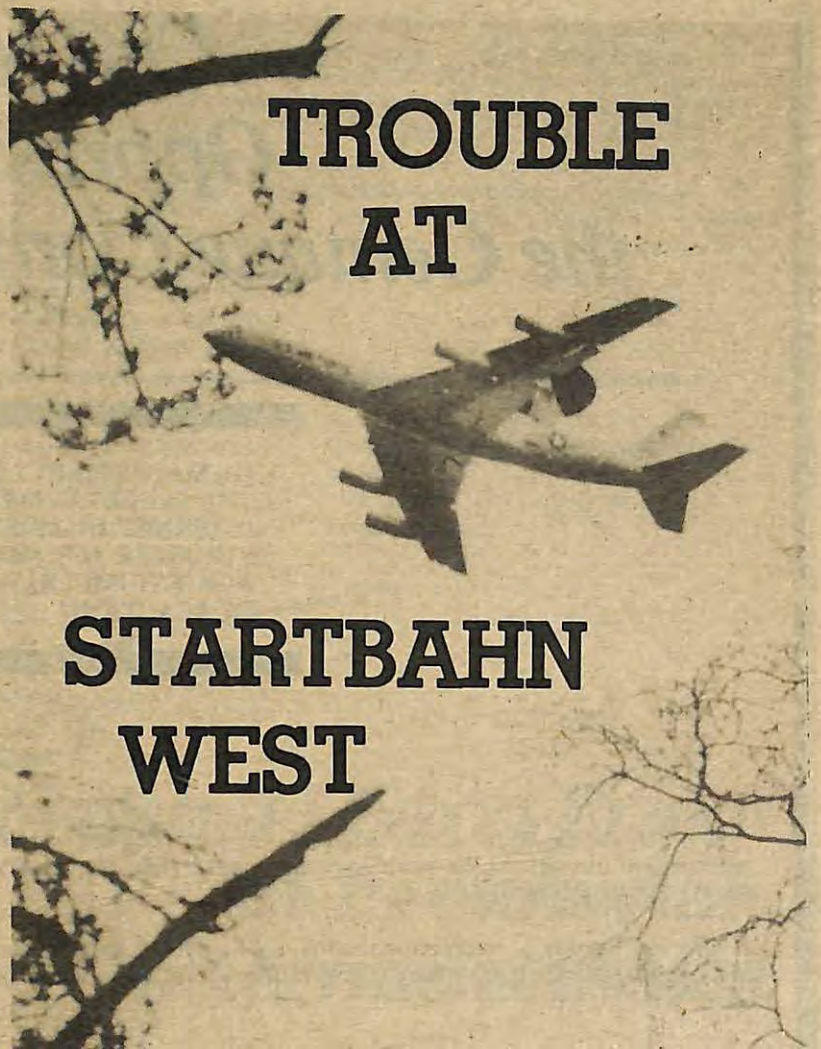
**PREVENT WORLD WAR!
STEP UP THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!**

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement



April 14, 1984

Spring Offensive in West Germany



TROUBLE AT STARTBAHN WEST

by C. Clark Kissinger

The author was the RW's special correspondent in West Germany during last autumn's antimissile demonstrations.

West Germany once again exploded throughout the Easter Week in renewed militant resistance to imperialist war preparations. For months the West German bourgeoisie has been proclaiming the German antiwar movement to be defeated, divided, and demoralized. Yet with the opening of the controversial new runway (Startbahn West) at Frankfurt's Rhein-Main Airport, the movement

came roaring back with a vengeance as thousands of demonstrators, on April 14, stormed the concrete walls surrounding the new military facility, setting two police water cannon on fire.

But this was only the beginning of a week of protest activities culminating in the Easter weekend, which has been a traditional time for antiwar protests since the movement against West German rearmament in the 1950s. On April 20 hundreds of demonstrators battled police to blockade the entrance to the U.S. Army base at Garlstedt, north of Bremen. Here police fired tear-gas canisters and arrested 160 in two days. Six protestors hit directly by water cannon required medical treatment. At a NATO air base at Geilenkirchen on the West German-

Dutch border, 150 were arrested as 400 tried to blockade the main entrance to the base.

Then on Saturday, April 21, demonstrators once again stormed the U.S. base at Mutlangen in southern Germany where the first of 108 Pershing II Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles to be deployed in West Germany are already stationed. Here more than 35 protestors cut through the barbed-wire entanglements to confront U.S. sentries inside the small base. For the first time since the antimissile protests began last fall, a U.S. soldier fired warning shots over the heads of the oncoming demonstrators with his M-16 rifle to hold them back until German police finally dragged them off.

Easter Sunday saw mass rallies in major cities throughout West Germany involving several hundred thousand people, as well as a renewed assault on Startbahn West. The biggest rallies were in Hamburg and Essen. Then on Monday, 20,000 people completely surrounded the U.S. missile base at Mutlangen, while in Munich 15,000 formed a seven-mile human chain around a hill made from the rubble of buildings destroyed in World War 2. A major demonstration also occurred in Köln on Monday. The ten days of mass outpourings sent the ruling Christian Democratic party into a frenzy, their spokesman declaring that the protestors were "demonstration-tourists who are making exploitable idiots of themselves for the Soviet Union."

In terms of the development of the West German antiwar movement, the most significant of the demonstrations was the April 14 action at Startbahn West. For years its construction has been the target of militant protest demonstrations. The official cutting of the ribbon on April 12 by the Social Democratic prime minister of the state of Hesse, was designed to be an "in your face" action by the imperialist warmakers to a defeated movement. The West German magazine *Stern* cockily declared in advance: "The chronology of the disputed runway is a case study in popular protests which fail." But the crowing was a little premature as on April 14 over 8,000 demonstrators rallied at the huge wall surrounding the facility.

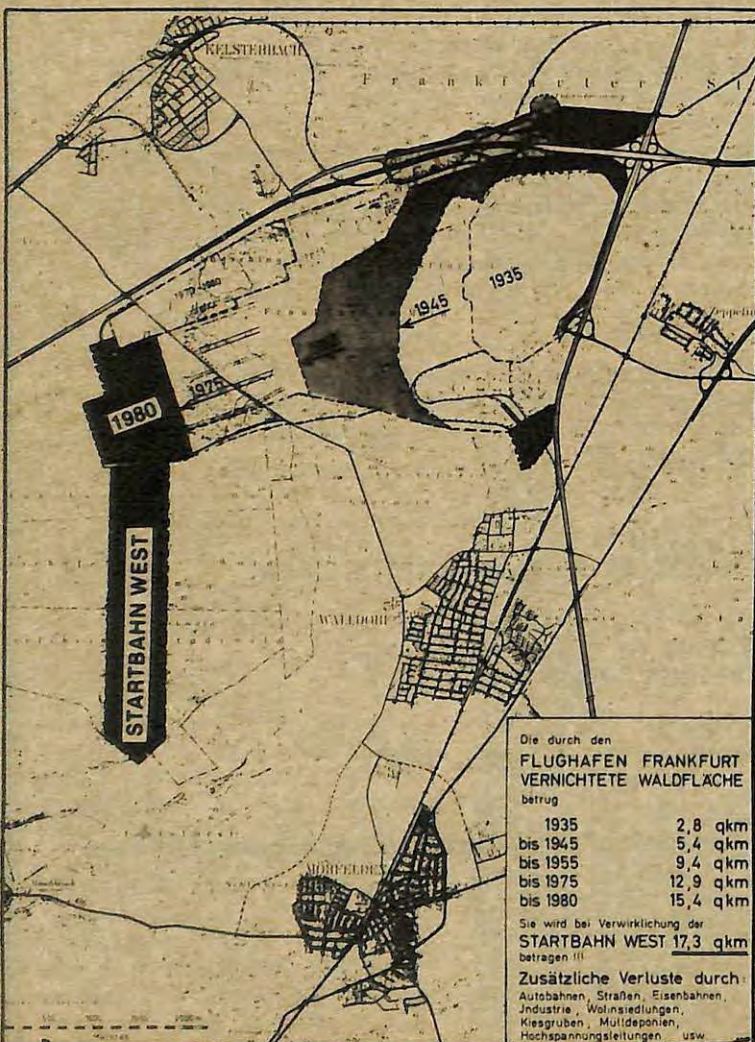
In spite of police roadblocks which searched 2,000 cars approaching the

demonstration area, the antiwar protestors arrived in numbers and ready for action. The police were deployed to defend 15 kilometers of concrete wall, topped with barbed wire and surrounded by forest. Following their usual tactics, the police acted "restrained" until most of the press had left, then unleashed the MEK (the Mobile Intervention Commandos) wearing camouflage helmets and wielding extra-long wooden clubs, who pursued demonstrators into the woods, clubbing anyone they could catch. But this time it wasn't a one-sided battle. Dozens of demonstrators tried to smash the concrete wall down using tree trunks as battering rams, while others scaled the wall with improvised ladders. Still others fired steel ball bearings at the cops with slingshots. In the ensuing battle 10 police wagons were trashed, and two water cannon were set on fire. The water cannon ended up spraying each other to put out the fires. Police repeatedly fired tear gas into the crowd, but this was not so effective against tactics like the releasing of dozens of gas-filled balloons to float over the airport to disrupt air traffic. At the end of the day police reported 26 injured police officers, ten injured demonstrators, and 52 arrests which included not only Germans but two Danes and one Austrian.

Expansion at the "Gateway to Europe"

The resurgence of the Startbahn West struggle was one that the West German bourgeoisie definitely did not want to see. In 1981, before the present upsurge against the new nuclear missiles, the Startbahn West struggle was the most protracted, militant social conflict in West Germany. Since 1980 there have been 2,399 criminal prosecutions in the Startbahn conflict (including 237 against over-zealous cops!) and tens of thousands of arrests. And while the movement was usually portrayed (including by many of its participants) as an ecological protest against the cutting down of the forests to expand the airport, it was the direct connection between the airport's expansion and the preparations for world war that gave the movement its momentum.

Even before its expansion, Frankfurt's Rhein-Main Airport was the largest in West Germany and the third largest in



The expansion of the airport from 1935 to the present

Europe. It consisted of two enormous runways running east-west, on the north side of which is the civilian air terminal for Frankfurt — West Germany's business and financial capital. But on the southside of the runways lies the sprawling U.S. Rhein-Main Air Base, "The Gateway to Europe" (and all points East!). Here, 10,000 GIs are stationed, handling on the average 700,000 military passengers and 100,000 tons of military freight a year. On the average "peacetime" day, there are 50 takeoffs and landings of military air transports, including the C-5A Galaxy, C-141 Starlifters, and the smaller C-130 Hercules transports. The airborne command posts, AWACS, also fly out of Rhein-Main. Rhein-Main is the largest Military Airlift Command facility outside of the United States.

As the principal air freight depot for U.S. military forces in Europe and the Middle East, Rhein-Main has figured prominently in every regional and East-West conflict. It was a principal staging area for the Berlin airlift in 1948-49. It was used to transport men and materiel during the U.S. invasion of Lebanon in 1959. During the Vietnam War, there was the constant shipment of troops and equipment through Rhein-Main from the U.S. Army in Europe to the Far East. And more recently, the U.S. hostages released from Iran were flown directly to Rhein-Main.

Rhein-Main has also been the logistical key to recent NATO war games, like Operations Big Lift and Reforger. In Reforger '81, 17,000 troops were flown in from the states to test the airlift capability. In November 1981, Operation Bright Star tested out the new U.S. Rapid Deployment Force by ferrying U.S. troops and equipment from North Carolina to Egypt via Rhein-Main. Yet even this picture was to take a qualitative leap.

By the 1970s momentous changes were taking place globally, with the acute intensification of war preparations between the U.S.- and Soviet-led imperialist blocs. These changes were reflected in Europe in a series of decisions taken by the NATO alliance countries to upgrade military preparations. Among these was the 1979 decision to deploy 572 Pershing II and Tomahawk cruise missiles in Western Europe. But also included were decisions to strengthen the conventional forces, and a change in military doctrine calling for offensive deep thrusts into Eastern Europe in the event of war. These decisions required the immediate upgrading of military airlift capacity and the eventual repositioning in Europe of the tanks and equipment for the six U.S. divisions slated to be transported to Europe in the event of war.

Accordingly, in May 1978 the NATO alliance adopted a Long-Term Development Plan which called for a three percent increase in military spending by the European members, and in particular for the expansion of airport facilities. Already in 1975 and in 1980 the two existing runways at Rhein-Main had been extended to a final length of over 13,000 feet. Similarly, other major airport runways in West Germany were also extended. These four-kilometer-long runways are totally unnecessary for civilian air transport, but 13,000 feet is required for the fully-loaded C-5A Galaxy, the largest aircraft in the world.

As the hub of U.S. military air transport in Europe, Rhein-Main had to be configured not only to meet the "peacetime" requirements of preparedness for intervention in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere, but also to handle the full-scale requirements of transport and supply for a world war. Thus plans were drawn up to add a third 13,000-foot runway (*startbahn*) on the western end of Rhein-Main running toward the south into the woods. In March 1981, West German Foreign Minister Genscher (Free Democratic Party) and West German Defense Minister Apel (Social Democratic Party) paid a visit to Washington to assure U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger that West Germany was ready, willing, and able to carry out its commitments under the "Host Nation Support Program." Under this agreement, all military facilities, roads, and airports in West Germany would be put at the disposal of

the U.S. in the case of a "defense emergency." Apel also assured the U.S. of West German logistical support in the event of U.S. action in the Middle East. Thus the new *Startbahn West* was from the beginning a major component of war preparations for the Western bloc.

Conflict at Startbahn West

In the social movement against *Startbahn West*, however, this salient fact was in general unknown at first, and was in fact deliberately suppressed by some forces in the movement. There had, in fact, been suggestions for many years to build a third runway at Rhein-Main. But because of the location of the existing autobahns, the civilian terminals, and the U.S. air base, the only possible location would be in the forest at the west end of the existing facilities. These woods are communal forests belonging to the small towns of Walldorf and Mörfelden. The residents of both these towns were solidly opposed to having their woods chopped down, and had for many years blocked all such actions with successful court suits citing ecological damage. Then in 1978 the courts suddenly reversed themselves — in the time-honored manner of the "independent judiciary" — and approved all the government's plans. The shocked residents of the two towns didn't know what to do. The local heads of the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, the Free Democrats, and the revisionist German Communist Party (DKP) even held a joint hunger strike in protest! No one could understand why the government was so insistent on pushing the airport expansion through (and those who did know weren't telling!). The Social Democratic government of the state of Hesse, whose project the expansion was, doggedly insisted that the need for the airport expansion was purely economic: Frankfurt needed a world-class airport, and it would mean more jobs. Those who opposed it (including the pro-Soviet DKP, whose slogan any other day of the week is "Jobs, Jobs, Jobs") rushed to defend the trees. But nary a hint of war

preparations was to be heard.

Local citizens' initiatives began to form in all the local towns, and a large wooden meeting hut was erected in the woods scheduled to be torn down, which became a symbol of the resistance and a meeting place for the movement. Nonetheless, in the summer of 1980 the first trees were cut down for the airport expansion. Various hearings and appeals went on in the state parliament, but in February 1981 the Social Democratic head of the Hessian government declared that "The construction of *Startbahn West* is inevitable."

I was to learn of the subsequent development of the struggle by traveling to Mörfelden and through a lengthy interview with a leading activist of the *Startbahn* struggle, Alexander Schubart.

You never realize just how large a C-5A Galaxy is until you actually see one. It's a plane 250 feet long that weighs 385 tons — empty. The newer versions can carry 122 tons of cargo for over 3,000 miles. As I rode the commuter train out of Frankfurt, one of them glided in over the train tracks for a landing at Rhein-Main. Very impressive. At Mörfelden, however, they are not impressed, but rather sullen and angry, and trying to sum up why the struggle seemed lost. In a long talk at the combination headquarters and bookstore in Mörfelden, much more of the picture began to unfold.

It was in 1981 that the resistance movement really began to grow and along two parallel tracks. It was by then clear that the government was not going to be talked out of the airport expansion by sweet reason, although the real reasons for its construction were unknown to most. So there began, on the one hand, a spontaneous expansion of the encampment in the woods which was to develop into a complete "hut village." The object was to physically block the felling of forest and the expansion of the airport. The battlefield was constantly manned and produced creative tactics like driving

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Startbahn West, 1981 and '82

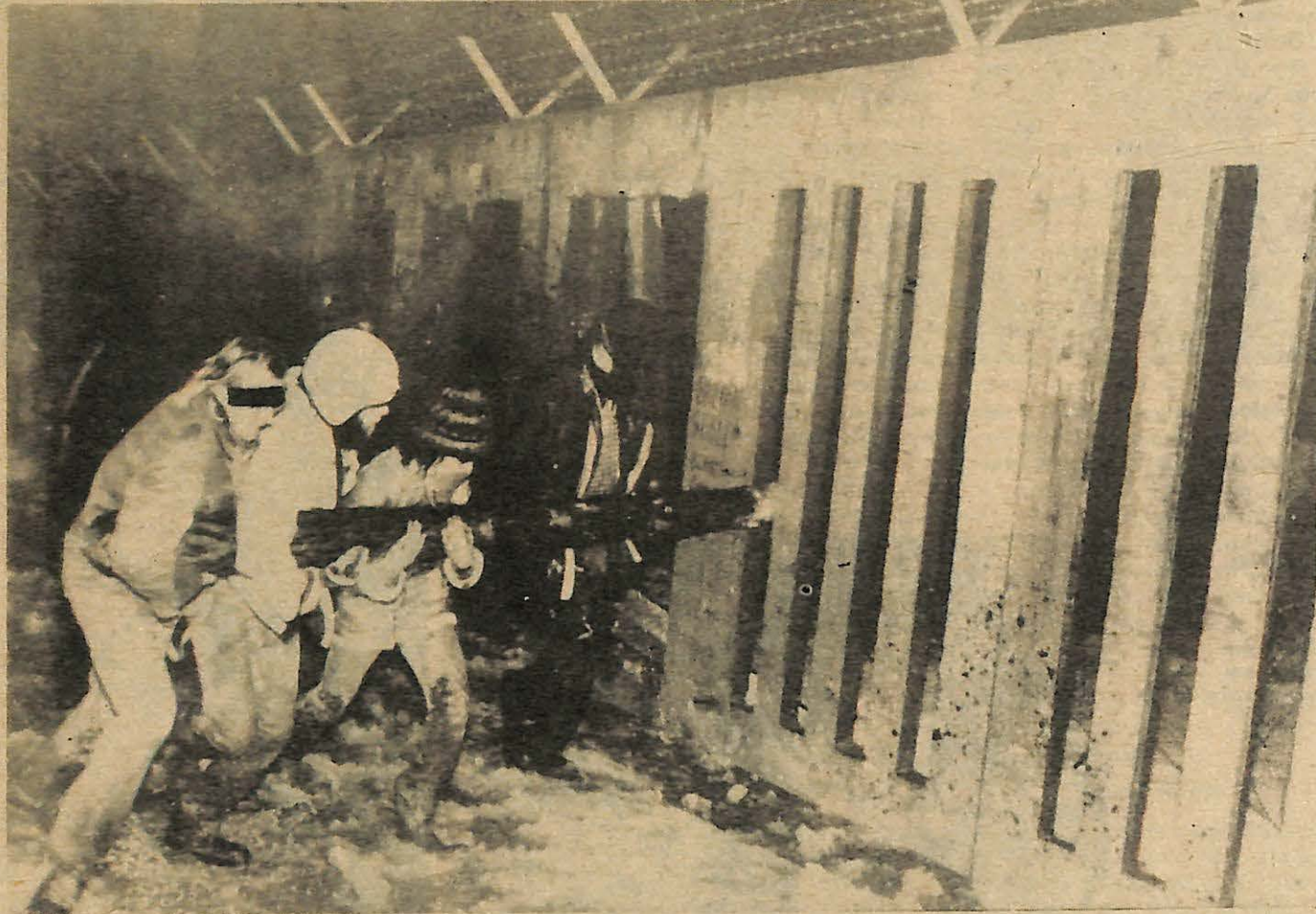
(Right) A CN-Gas gun, developed to replace canisters, which can be thrown back.



Startbahn West



Startbahn West, 1981 and '82



"I can't stand to look at another cop," a demonstrator in the November 14th rally in Wiesbaden, 1981.



Police demolish the camp



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nails into the trees to wreck the chainsaws that were used.

Along the other path, Alexander Schubart and others suggested the use of a little-known provision of the Hessian State Constitution which provides for the enactment of laws by direct citizen referendum. Like all such gimmicks in bourgeois constitutions, it is loaded with provisions that make it impossible to use in practice. First one has to petition for a referendum which requires 180,000 signatures. Then the government has to pass on the constitutionality of the proposed new law. And finally 800,000 signatures are necessary to actually put it on the ballot — this in a state with only a little over four million voters! But the first step was in fact accomplished and 220,000 signatures were gathered before the deadline.

But with resistance growing, the police now ordered the hut village removed and hundreds of police moved in to protect workers cutting trees and extended the concrete wall around the new runway area. In the towns of Mörfelden and Walldorf, committees of local women cooked meals and delivered them to the activists in the hut village. A system of ringing church bells was set up to summon people to the woods to protect the trees. A solidarity delegation from the struggle against the Naripa Airport outside Tokyo arrived. Powerful forces were about to collide.

It was during this period that the Startbahn movement also acquired a certain reputation in the West German left as a "model" of the way things should be done. Here, it was claimed, the left was finally able to move out of isolation and unite with the broad masses of people. Here it was claimed that the people were being organized around their direct self-interest, here impressive electoral gains were being made, here the bourgeoisie's own constitution was now being turned into a tool of people's power and here effective resistance had been conducted nonviolently. It had been demonstrated that there was no commercial need for the new runway, and all the local representatives of the bourgeois parties had been forced to join the movement. Even the old people had been mobilized to go into the woods and take part.

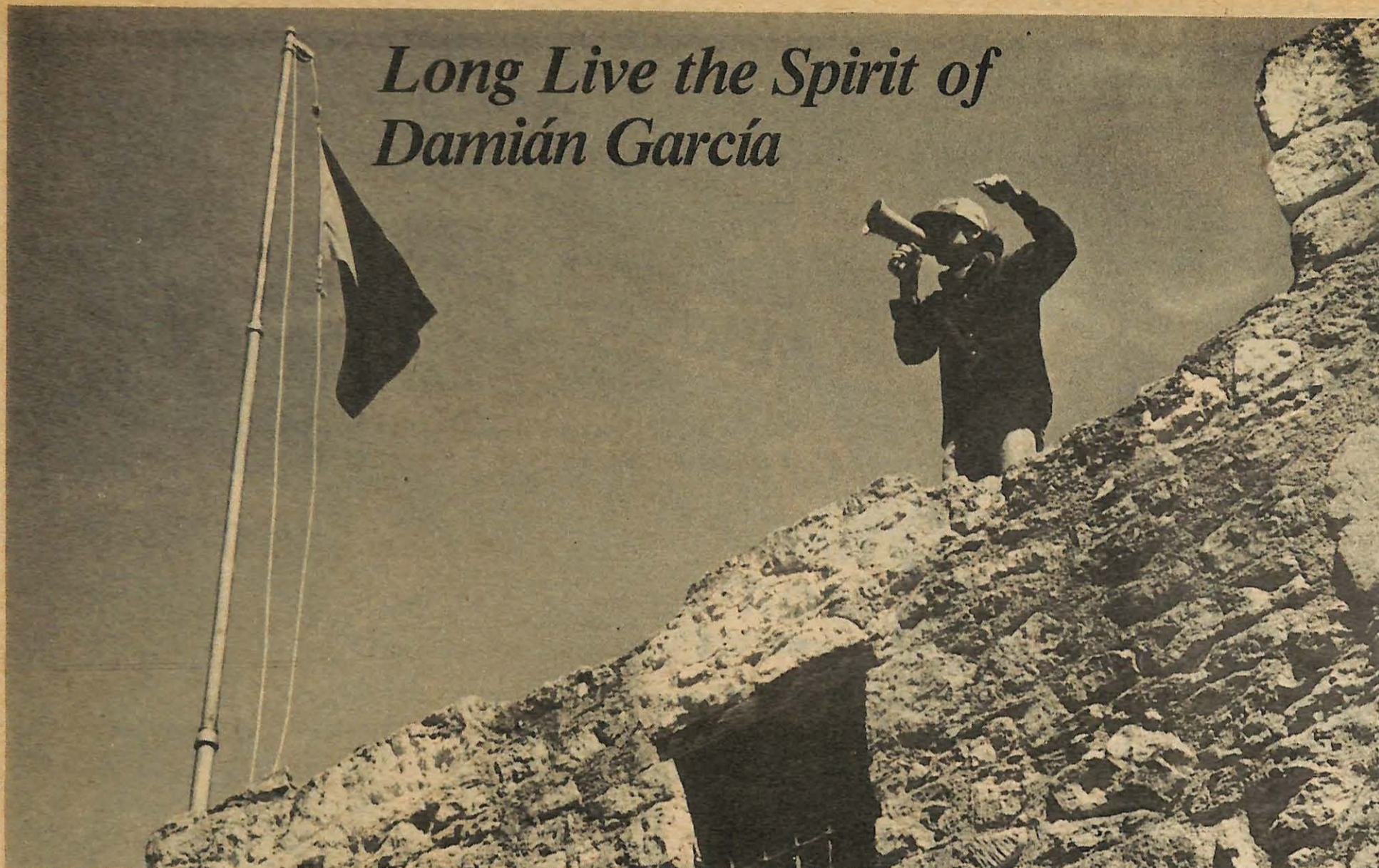
Bloody Sunday

Then came Bloody Sunday. On Monday, October 5, 1981 it was clear that a showdown was in the works. Ten thousand people had assembled in the woods at the edge of the construction area. The masses had erected impressive fortifications, including massive trenches, wooden watchtowers, and palisades. The police, on their side, had brought up armored cars and water cannon, and an elite commando unit. For several days the nonviolent resistance continued, but after the press left, police clubs came out. By the end of the week most of the seven-hectare area had been cleared of demonstrators.

But on Sunday the demonstrators were back and tried to hold a religious service at the construction site wall. As a scare tactic, the waves of police advanced, beating their clubs on their shields in rhythmic unison like an advancing Roman legion. As these waves broke over the demonstrators, it suddenly became clear that their orders from the Social Democratic state government had not simply been to "control" or "disperse" the demonstration — but to pound it bloody, and to mete out an unmistakable political message. Cops waded into the thousands gathered there, most of whom were sitting on the ground in classic non-violent tactics. Flailing about them with their clubs, they battered the defenseless people mercilessly, ganging up to club people at random into unconsciousness. At least 75 people ended up in hospitals. The experience provided a profound, even a watershed lesson to the many there who were newly drawn into political life — and was to be debated and referred to through the emerging movement that was to unleash hot autumn 1983. The Social Democrats had eloquently taken their stand in the eyes of countless thousands.

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Long Live the Spirit of Damián García



Damián García raising the red flag on the Alamo, March 20, 1980

Sunday, April 22, marked the fourth anniversary of the day that Comrade Damián García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was murdered by police agents in Los Angeles in the midst of preparations for May 1st at the Pico-Aliso housing project. Three thousand miles away, in the Atlanta city jail, these lines were penned on a brown paper bag:

Damián García is dead
But in his death I came alive

Every day we are murdered bit by bit
I am 40 years old
A veteran, and a Black man
My brother has been murdered
Cold-blooded, gangster scum death
I'm running out of patience

Damián García is dead
But in his death I came alive

He held the blood-red flag as his own
blood flowed
I never knew I had a flag
Until Damián García died
Rage is nothing new to me
And I've seen death before
But I'm 40 years old and running out of
patience

Damián García is dead
What you gonna do?

I'm gonna take his place, motherfuckers
And if you slit my throat and open
my belly
I was dying anyway bit by bit
I lost an eye in the army, got shot in the
back by a pig
I'm 40 years old, run out of patience
Ready for Revolution

Damián García is dead
But in his death I came alive

Pass me a red flag
Hand me a gun
And when the time comes and we all
ready

I'll be one with the millions
And I'll whisper to myself
This one's for you, Damián
'Cause in your death I came alive

Only one month before, on March 20, 1980, Comrade Damián García and two others had scaled the ramparts of the Alamo, the despised symbol of U.S. conquest and oppression. The sanctity of this chauvinist shrine was pierced as the flags of the USA and the state of Texas were lowered from on high into the Texas dirt. In their place, the red flag of proletarian internationalism was raised, and for one hour the Alamo became politically liberated territory. From atop the crumbling fortress a call rang out for the

masses to take history into their own hands on May 1st. This was an event of international significance which aroused great joy in the oppressed around the world and great hatred in imperialists and reactionaries.

The execution of Damián García was a response of this criminal class, which has to this day not stopped trying to undo the damage at the Alamo. Each year the imperialists and their henchmen are compelled to raise the issue again, moaning that their bloody shrine has fallen into disrepute and making reactionary

threats. This year saw the very liberal *New York Times* feature an article, on April 12, describing a dispute between an Illinois "history buff" and entrepreneur and the Daughters of the Republic of Texas over who had the best approach to restoring the Alamo. "It's a shrine," whined the Daughters, "not a battlefield." And this year the Grand Dragon of the White Camilion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas announced that the Klan plans to guard the Alamo on May 1st again this year, saying, "We couldn't be there 365 days of the year but

we could be there at least one day and May First is the communist revolution day around the world."

But each year, the period before May 1st, particularly in Los Angeles, sees the memory of Damián García spread further and deeper among the ranks of the oppressed, be they Black youth in Watts or recent immigrants living near the park which now bears Damián's name. And, just as the imperialists cannot exorcise the history of Damián's life and actions, so they have proved unable in these four

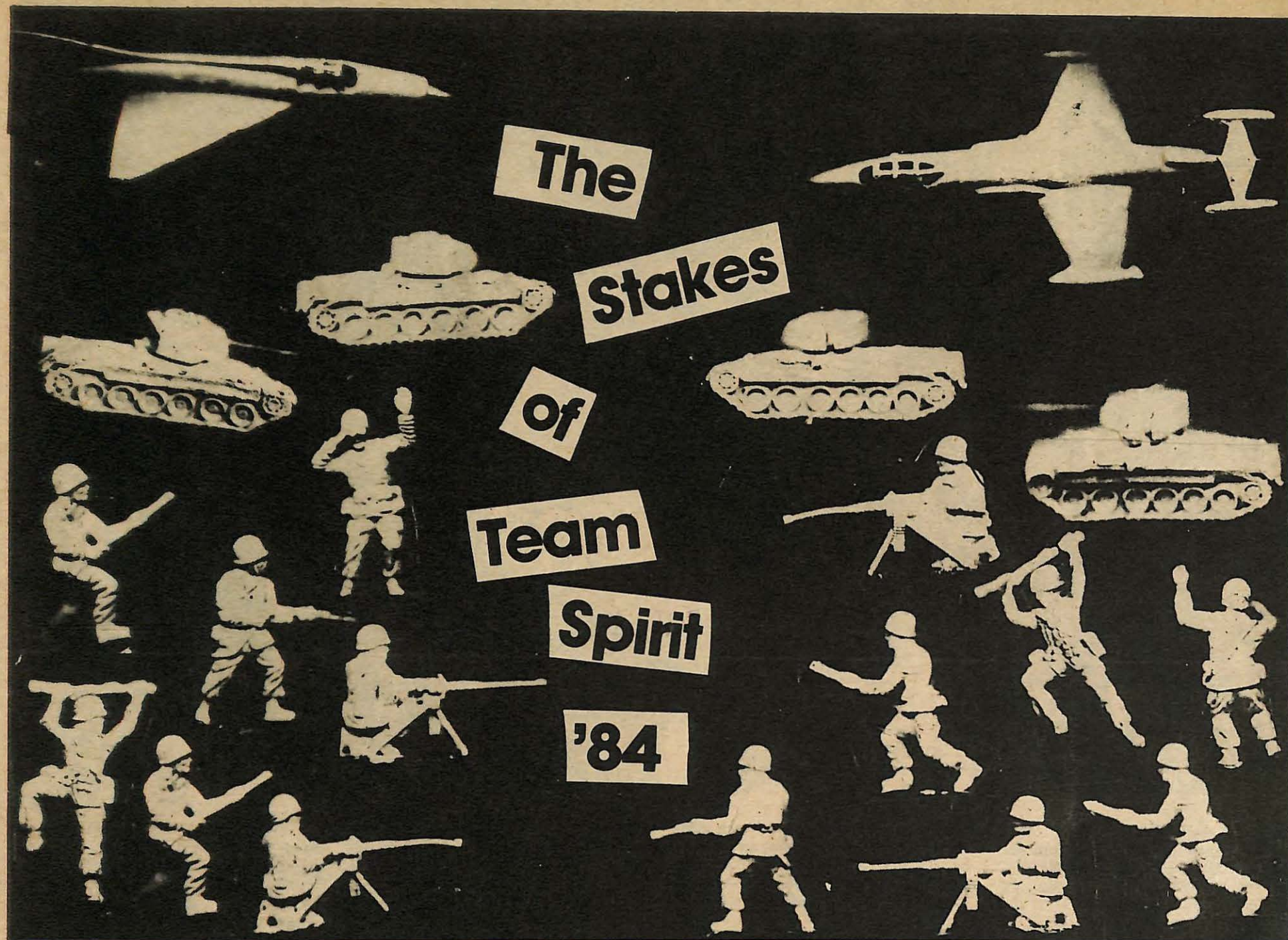
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Rally at Damián García Park



Last Sunday, April 22, over 200 people gathered in Damián García Park for a rally to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the murder of Comrade Damián García by police agents. Under a color painting of Damián with the red flag atop the Alamo, and a banner with the inscription "Parque Damián García" — which was signed by some attending the rally — the crowd was overwhelmingly made up of proletarian immigrants from the surrounding neighborhoods though others, such as an American Indian activist who delivered a statement of support, attended as well. Some who came to the rally and raised the red flag had been in the country only a few days, while others were regular readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* who have been taking part in the preparations for this year's revolutionary May First celebration. The significance of the rally was not lost on the Los Angeles police who arrived on the scene shortly before the rally began and — as they had on the Sunday before International Women's Day — threatened arrest and issued a citation, declaring any selling of revolutionary literature and the *Revolutionary Worker* to be "illegal." This attempt at intimidation did not stop the distribution of revolutionary literature and, in fact, as a large crowd gathered the three police cars that had come in the park decided to leave.

The speech by the Revolutionary Communist Party, which focused particularly on the responsibility of the most politically advanced to take an active part in revolutionary preparations, including by joining the party itself, drew special interest and attention. Following the rally, arrangements were made to hold discussions to get further into these points as well as into the preparations for May First itself. □



The stream of superlatives describing the joint U.S./South Korean war exercise that took place in February and March gives a good idea of not only the scale and scope of the military maneuvers but also the intensity of the overall situation in the Korean peninsula. Called Team Spirit '84, it was "the largest peace time military exercise held in Korea since 1945" — the U.S., of course, interrupted the years of "peace" when it led an actual invasion of North Korea during the Korean War. General Robert Sennewald, head of the U.S. and South Korean Combined Forces Command (CFC), bragged that Team Spirit '84 was "the most sophisticated ever... we tried to exercise all the techniques and procedures associated with the conflicts on the peninsula." Even as the Western press filled its pages in March and April with "gigantic Soviet maneuvers" north of Europe, the CFC was bragging — quietly — that Team Spirit '84 was "the largest field maneuvers in the free world." Meanwhile, North Korea went on full military alert and declared that the Korean peninsula was at "the eve of war" (an exaggeration for the moment, but even then, only from a short-term perspective).

U.S. army, marine, navy and air force units from bases in Japan, Okinawa, Guam and the U.S. were airlifted in for the exercise, which involved 207,000 U.S. and South Korean troops in all. The high point of the exercise was the huge amphibious operation staged on the east coast of South Korea. The carrier battle group centered around the *Kitty Hawk* of the U.S. Seventh Fleet was mobilized, including some 25 navy ships, more than 200 aircraft and 50,000 troops. Offensive maneuvers — such as an "aerial attack demonstration" involving B-52 bombers and F-16 fighter bombers, "tank-firing demonstrations" and river-crossing operations — were carried out right near the demilitarized zone, a narrow strip of land at the 38th parallel separating North and South Korea. CFC spy planes and ships reportedly violated North Korean airspace and territorial waters during the exercise.

Needless to say, the Soviets were watching all this activity closely. A Soviet nuclear-powered attack submarine, perhaps a bit over zealous in trailing the *Kitty Hawk*, collided with a carrier in the Sea of Japan.

War Footing

The U.S. imperialists claim that such outright provocations and the large-scale U.S. military presence in South Korea as a whole, including nuclear weapons, are justified because of the supposed threats of a North Korean invasion of "freedom-loving" South Korea. In fact, the essential reason for the high-tension military activity has to do with strategic questions of the region as part of the world confrontation between the U.S. and Soviet blocs. Still, the U.S. ceaselessly grinds out its propaganda about the North Koreans, who are pictured as unpredictable war fanatics, armed to the teeth and hellbent on overrunning the South. Indeed, North Korea does possess a giant war machinery of 7-800,000 troops and has a numerical superiority over the South in terms of tanks, aircraft and navy vessels. But while the U.S. loses no opportunity to condemn North Korea for being "on a perpetual war footing," the high-gear war preparations in the South are conveniently left out of the picture. Team Spirit '84, despite its status as "the largest field maneuvers" of the U.S. bloc, was hardly given any press at all.

The South Korean regime itself has over 600,000 active troops, and the U.S. troops stationed in South Korea number 40,000. One of the stated purposes of the annual Team Spirit exercises is to practice and demonstrate the ability to quickly and effectively "augment" U.S. forces in Korea "in wartime or during a crisis" with troops from other U.S. bases in the Pacific region and the U.S. itself. The Seventh Fleet can also be mobilized to conduct amphibious operations which send fighter bombers to the Korean battlefield. And let us not forget the Japanese imperialists, who have vital economic and military interests in Korea. Japanese officers began to participate in the Team Spirit exercises a few years ago. Although no Japanese troops have taken part yet, the Japanese rulers have in recent years broached a debate about Japan's role in the event of a "Korean emergency."

The U.S. forces in South Korea, moreover, are amply armed with nuclear weapons. About 600 Lance, Honest John and Pershing I class, short-range tip missiles are deployed in South Korea, and U.S. Army units in the field are equipped with 155-millimeter and other artillery

capable of firing nuclear shells. B-52 strategic bombers, taking off from Guam, regularly make simulated nuclear bombing runs on the North. There have also been signs that the U.S. is considering emplacing nuclear-armed cruise missiles on the South Korean peninsula. North Korea, meanwhile, has been warning about what it holds are U.S. plans for deploying of Pershing II missiles as well, which would complete a veritable "Euromissile" deployment here. This of course would have major military and political consequences.

Airland Battle

This massive concentration of conventional and nuclear forces in South Korea is supposedly part of the U.S. "forward defense" in the north Pacific region. But some truth about the actual strategies involved is revealed in an article written by General Sennewald in the October '83 issue of the *Army* magazine. Speaking to his own kind, the general apparently felt free to drop at least in part the usual fig leaf of "defense." The article, "Tailoring Airland Doctrine to Threat in Korea," is part of the current effort to whip into shape — and publicize — Western offensive warmaking capacity.

As developed by NATO and already incorporated into its operational planning for the central European theater, Airland Battle is a doctrine of bold and rapid offensive strikes deep inside the Warsaw Pact territory, and strongly implies the preempting of any Warsaw Pact offensive by attacking first. According to Sennewald, the major task for the CFC in 1983 has been to "fix" the Airland Battle doctrine for "the situation and capabilities in Korea... to take the fight to the enemy in depth and to seize the initiative at the appropriate hour." The general continues: "The combined forces must, in their initial contact, prevent a major breakthrough and disrupt the timetables and plans of advancing enemy echelons by attacking high-value targets well beyond the frontlines with air, artillery, conventional and unconventional ground forces, and electronic warfare. The objective of these attacks is to support eventual offensive operations aimed at the enemy's destruction."

The key element of Airland Battle is surprise. The general seems confident that U.S. forces in South Korea are up to the task: "Eighth Army units have

achieved and now maintain a readiness posture commensurate with their mission requirements. Soldiers of the Second Infantry Division... spend most of their time in field training, much of it at night. A full spectrum of realistic, innovative training exercises, including periodic no-notice alerts and actual ambush and combat patrols in combat-sensitive areas, keeps the command physically and mentally honed to meet the threat under any conditions." Just who indeed is on "a perpetual war footing"?

U.S. Aims

The immense military buildup and the incorporation of the offensive Airland Battle doctrine raises some questions about what the overall aims of the U.S. imperialists are in Korea. Although the Korean demilitarized zone is often referred to as the Asian version of the European "frontline," North Korea, after all, is not integrated into the Soviet-bloc war machinery in the same way that the Warsaw Pact states in Eastern Europe are. In fact, the revisionist North Korean leadership headed by Kim Il-Sung has been keeping a careful "centrist" position in relation to the Soviet Union and China, and maintains economic, political and military ties with both Moscow and Peking. Indeed, both Kim and his son, the probable successor, have made visits to China recently, while Kim has not been to Moscow in 18 years. Recently, U.S. and Japan have been promoting China as a major player in the Korean scene, hoping to increase Peking's influence with Pyongyang and thus squeeze out the Soviets. At the same time, overt military pressure from the South is kept up.

But there is much more to the U.S. aims than simply bringing the North Korean regime itself to its knees (or at least under Peking's tutelage). The U.S. has broader interests and objectives in Korea, which can only be understood in the context of the looming world war between the U.S. and Soviet imperialist blocs and the critical strategic importance of the Korean peninsula in the Far Eastern-Pacific theater.

In recent years, U.S. government and military figures, think-tankers, newspaper columnists, etc., have been issuing constant and shrill alarms about the rapid Soviet military buildup in the Far

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HENRY KISSINGER ON TALKING PEACE



Why the imperialists do it:

"Only a demonstrated commitment to peace can sustain domestic support for an adequate defense and vigilant foreign policy. Our public and Congress will not back policies which appear to invite crisis; nor will they support firmness in a crisis unless they are convinced that peaceful and honorable alternatives have been exhausted."

— *Speech to International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, June 25, 1976*

And where it leads . . .

"We must always keep in mind that any agreement on limiting or reducing strategic weapons will further undermine the credibility of a strategy based on their use . . ."

"Important as arms control is, commitment to it must not obscure the basic reality . . . the cause of tensions is the political conflict between East and West, the clash of philosophies and the Soviet effort to expand its power and its sphere. Sooner or later there must be a settlement of this political conflict or all subsidiary political negotiations will ultimately become irrelevancies."

— *"Nuclear Weapons and the Peace Movement," The Washington Quarterly, Summer, 1982*

For months, even years, the United States has often worn the black "bad guy" hat in international "peace" maneuverings. In recent years, as Washington singlemindedly nailed its NATO bloodpact together using the deployment of the new Pershing II and cruise missiles, the Soviet Union sniped from the east, floating one arms reduction proposal after another which were crafted to guarantee brisk and public American rejection.

Now, as late April brings flowers to Geneva, a new scenario is supposed to unfold. A lean and earnest George Bush, U.S. Vice-President, has arrived to take the wraps off President Reagan's radical new proposal on nerve gas at the 40-nation Disarmament Conference. This time it is the U.S. that is going to don the mantle of "peace warrior," and not only propose limitations on chemical weapons but a comprehensive ban on their production, possession and use worldwide. And this time (by God!) it is the Soviets who are assigned the role of villainous "wrench in the peace-works."

A month ago, at the press conference where Reagan announced his nerve gas "initiative," a well-trained reporter gave him a graceful opportunity to answer inevitable accusations in advance:

Question: "Mr President, with regard to your proposal to ban chemical weapons, isn't this proposal another way to get Congress to do what they've failed to do for the last three years, which is to appropriate money for chemical weapons? And what do we say if our adversaries accuse us of talking peace but preparing for war?"

Reagan's answer: "I don't think the accusation would stand up if they said that. The situation is that we haven't produced any such weapons for 15 years. The Soviet Union has a massive arsenal and is ahead of us in many areas having to do with chemical warfare. Now if there is ever one place where there is an example of the power of a deterrent force it is in the field of chemical weapons, and I hand you World War 2, when all the nations had them and no one used them, even in the most desperate moments when defeat was staring at them, because they knew that others had them and could use them in return.

"The second thing is, if we're going to have a chemical warfare ban, or a treaty banning them, you've got to have something to bargain with, and therefore, it's just the same as it is with the other weapons. They must know that the alternative to banning them is the fact that we're going to build a deterrent."

"Why don't we all step back for a moment and examine this potential "accusation" that the U.S. is "talking peace but preparing for war" — especially in light of the details of the proposal Bush finally pushed across the green baize tables of Geneva.

Firm Truth

Undoubtedly "it's just the same as it is with the other weapons." And most assuredly, the U.S. wants to break a pat-

Nerve And Gas . . . Round Two

tern of fifteen years.

Not that the U.S. nerve gas arsenal has ever been a slouch, mind you. Estimates of present U.S. poison gas stockpiles range up to 150,000 tons. In addition, far into the period Reagan described as a fifteen-year abstention, the U.S. dropped 72-million liters of defoliants — Agent Orange, Agent White, and Agent Blue — over Indochina, leaving uncounted Vietnamese sick or dead in its path and destroying the ecological balance of the land for decades to come. Does anyone remember Times Beach, Missouri? This defunct town was the home of dioxin, primary ingredient in Agent Orange, its lands poisoned during the fifteen years the U.S. was being so good about chemical weapons.

But the truth is, the U.S. is planning a major new initiative, focused especially on nerve gas. A new nerve gas delivery system, the binary artillery shell has been developed (during the 15 years of U.S. gas "moratorium," of course); and its deployment would mark the first step in a comprehensive transformation of U.S. nerve gas potential.

The Reagan administration is proposing that \$1.2 billion be spent on poison-gas warfare in 1985 alone. This would finance three areas of "deterrent development": \$163 million for "retaliatory capacity" and its maintenance (i.e., the production of the new binary artillery shells for nerve gas, among other things, as well as for their transportation and storage), \$150 million to destroy "obsolete weapons," and \$813 million for "protective measures," including a vast new program to equip the "new action army" to survive gas and other chemical attacks.

Which brings us to the question of cynics: is such weaponry to wage peace or to wage war? Reagan's answer, of course, is the old "two-track" song — feverish armaments are necessary not only to "insure peace through strength," but also as the prerequisite for disarmament, and for the ultimate banning of genocidal weapons, and so on, ad nauseam.

But in looking for the real meaning of this song — and you don't have to look far — it is worth examining the symbolism of choosing George Bush to be the emissary of the noble quest to "ban these weapons forever." Bush, of course, this Connecticut-preppie-turned-Texas-cowboy, has rightfully earned a reputation as a point-man in the battle to produce the nerve gas. You see, in the efforts to get this billion-dollar program off the ground, a consistent inner-bourgeois hassle has developed. Numerous bourgeois political figures feel that not enough political spadework has been done to head-off the inevitable outrage over a U.S. spurt of nerve gas production. Three times the nerve gas appropriations have bogged down in Congress. Here Bush has made his mark. Twice, when the Senate was tied 49-49 over poison gas, peace-loving

George (in his Vice-Presidential capacity as president of the Senate) broke the tie by firmly coming down on the side of synapse annihilation. Bush's position has been simply, *to hell* with the political spadework, let's get it on now!

At the time of Bush's second vote, last November, Reagan was winging his way from Alaska toward Japan aboard Air Force One. Reagan was so smitten by the decisiveness of his second-in-command that he expressed gratitude with a personal touch: from his perch above the Pacific, Reagan phoned Dorothy Bush, the 82-year-old mother of the Vice-President, in her Connecticut mansion to congratulate the aging Brahmin for having spawned such a noble son.

Unfortunately, despite Bush's "heroics," the nerve gas bills still bogged down. What's more, some Western allies still feel politically unable to openly welcome the totally antipersonnel weapon into Europe. So a decisive campaign must be waged to convince the people of the world that the U.S. is really the resolute enemy of nerve gas, and on *that* basis to produce it on an unprecedented scale!

Enter George Bush into Geneva, April 1984 — proven fighter for peace, a man with a mission.

Developments

Frankly, it was obvious all along that the Reagan "nerve gas treaty" was to be stillborn.

In the first place, it is basically the same proposal the U.S. made at this very same permanent Conference last February 10. This grand plan, in other words, is not only a sham, it is an *old* sham.

In the second place, the U.S. and the Soviets both fully intend to have massive stockpiles of nerve gas on hand, not for deterrence *but for use* in a conflict that they see before them. The United States in particular has spent decades wrestling with the military problem of defeating superior Soviet conventional forces in Europe. Like the neutron bomb, nerve gas could wipe out massive tank armies. As for the Soviets, there is considerable evidence that the use of chemical weapons has (since Afghanistan) been reduced to a *tactical* military decision left up to the discretion of divisional commanders in conflict — meaning that there is an assumption from the East as well that poison gases will most likely be used in any future conflict as an integrated part of modern warfare.

The third giveaway that the Reagan proposal was not exactly destined to transform diplomatic history is the fact that it has been crudely rigged from the beginning to insure a huffy Soviet rejection. The Soviet Union has always balked at on-site inspection of its military facilities. So naturally, in all negotiations on weapons to date, the U.S. has wielded "insistences on verification" to coin reasonable sounding proposals that are anathema to the "other side." The most

the Soviets have been willing to discuss in connection with nerve gas is "permanent on-site verification of the destruction of its chemical weapons stocks" at sites *the Soviets* would chose by "declaring them."

True to form, the day of the Reagan press conference, in early April, an anonymous "senior administration official" reported that the treaty proposal would include the "most stringent terms" on verification. The only question all along was, how stringent. Now that Bush is in Geneva, we know, and the details are revealing.

The honorable son of American motherhood centered his presentation in Geneva around a lecture on the importance of "openness" in society, and the fact that the "U.S. government is willing to pay the price of such openness." Coming from Bush, as former head of the CIA, such a commitment to "openness" might be somewhat suspect, but the political point was clear: to attack the "closed societies" behind the "iron curtain," and to milk the maximum pro-Western propaganda out of this whole charade. He then proceeded to insist that the U.S. have the right to inspect not only Soviet-declared chemical weapons sites, but also any additional ones the U.S. might choose to look at. *And* that the consent to have such special inspections must be granted within 24-hours of the request. But Bush's final proposal truly carved out a whole new level of hypocrisy in inter-bloc peace wars: he declared that the countries should agree "to open for international inspection on short notice all its military or government-owned and government-controlled facilities." We repeat: "government-owned." Needless to say, this would open quite a large part of Soviet industry for inspection, while leaving the Dows and Duponts plumb out of the scope of the agreement. Carefully crafted to win Soviet compliance and effect a sincere process of banning nerve gas forever, wouldn't you agree? Hardly. Here stand the partisans of free enterprise, private business and "openness," indicting the rulers of state-monopoly capitalism; the whole point of Bush's demands being to call attention to the "structural differences" over which the two sides mean to go to war. It's "our way of life over yours . . ." This has nothing to do with peace, but only the political grandstanding in a deepening antagonism being acted out in a crude little farce.

Needless to say, the Soviet imperialists immediately denounced the Bush presentation as "absurd and unacceptable." The treaty discussion will die (as it was supposed to). And the production of U.S. nerve gas will most likely proceed (as it is supposed to), since after all it is now justified by Soviet "intransigence" and the necessity for U.S. "deterrence." And George Bush can retire his whiny, self-righteous indignation act until the next time it is needed. □

Damián García!

Continued from page 9

years to wash the blood of Damián's murder from their hands. Indeed, the sharp infighting in bourgeois quarters over the role and activities of the political police in Los Angeles gave rise to significant exposure of the LAPD's role in the murder of Damián García in the *L.A. Times* itself. And last year, when a delegation went to the Los Angeles City Council to demand that the name of MacArthur Park be changed to Damián García Park, the police responded with a massive pre-planned assault on the delegation—their attack once again capturing major press coverage and catapulting the name of Damián García and preparations for May 1st into the center of public attention. It also focused even more intense attention on the rally, held on April 22, at which the park was

actually renamed.

Just this past week, during a meeting of the L.A. Police Commission which was considering the issuing of a parade permit for this year's May Day celebration, the president of the police commission was reminded of an investigation into Damián's murder which the commission had ordered but the report of which has never seen the light of day. The commission president responded that he would make a "public comment" about the status of the report on this investigation at the next commission meeting, which happens, appropriately enough, to fall on May 1. Meanwhile the wrongful death lawsuit filed against the city of Los Angeles by Carole García, who was Damián's wife, is still pending in the courts, and this lawsuit promises to provide even greater exposure of the dirty

work of the L.A. political police and their involvement in Damián's murder.

Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, in a statement made shortly after the murder of Damián, said, "Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people can not only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole. . . to live and die for cause of the international proletariat, to make revolution, transform society and advance mankind to the bright dawn of communism—this is truly a living, and a dying, that is full of meaning and inspiration for millions and hundreds of millions fighting for or awakening to the same goal all around the world. Such was the

life and death of Comrade García, a fighter and martyr in the army of the international proletariat. We cherish and draw strength and illumination from his example; and we are determined to honor him by carrying through to victory the immediate battle for May First in which he fell and carrying forward the overall cause for which he gave his life and of which May Day is now such a crucial part — proletarian revolution and the final abolition of every form of exploitation and class division throughout the entire world." Today, four years later, as we again prepare to celebrate the First of May, and this year to celebrate the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in particular, these words and the example of Comrade Damián García are especially meaningful. □

Stakes

Continued from page 10

East and the Pacific. One indication of the attention that the Soviets are giving to their war preparations in this region was the establishment in 1979 of a Far East theater headquarters for the first time since the end of the Korean War. The Soviets thus created a centralized command and control facility for the entire region. About a quarter of all Soviet ground and air units are based in the Far East today, a three- to fourfold increase since the mid-'60s. Soviet strategic forces based in east Asia now comprise 35-40% of its ICBMs and SLBMs as well as over 30% of its strategic bombers. The Soviet Pacific Fleet has been greatly strengthened through the '70s and is now the biggest of the four main Soviet fleets, making up about 30% of total navy forces. And the use of air and naval bases in Vietnam has greatly enhanced the ability of the Soviet Union to extend its power to Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean.

The commander-in-chief of the U.S. forces in the Pacific declared that "In the last decade, the most dramatic military action that has occurred anywhere in the world has been the Soviet military buildup in the Pacific." Such a statement is more than a bit self-serving; despite the real leaps in Soviet military might in the region, the U.S. overall still maintains superiority. This is especially so concerning the serious geostrategic liabilities that the Soviets face. For example, Vladivostok, the main Soviet base in the Far East, is located only 16 kilometers from the Chinese border, and is within easy striking range of aircraft based in South Korea and Japan. Other Soviet bases in the region are similarly vulnerable. Thus a U.S. thrust on the Korean peninsula would put even greater pressure on the Soviets. In this light, the open provocation of North Korea along with the constant advertisement of the "threat" from the "unpredictable" North could be setting things up for a North Korean "first shot" — real or imaginary — that would serve as justification for a "retaliatory" strike.

In addition, the Tsu-shima Strait between South Korea and Japan is one of the three "choke points" for the Soviet warships steaming out of Vladivostok and toward the open seas. Present plans call for blocking the strait with mines. However, this could be where U.S. intermediate-range missile systems come in. The U.S. Defense Nuclear Agency recently conducted a study to determine the feasibility of deploying nuclear-armed cruise missiles in South Korea to close off the strait and bottle up the Soviet ships in the sea of Japan.

Soviets

The Soviets, however, are not necessarily passive bystanders in all of this. They are acutely aware of the strategic situation and certainly plan for pre-emptive "deep attacks" of their own around Korea and east Asia. According to a Rand Corporation analyst, "Soviet war doctrine considers that one of the possible and likely variants for conducting the war in east Asia will be to use the Korean peninsula, or the northern part of it at least, as the Soviet place of arms for the strategical outflanking of China and/or Japan." This, the analyst says,

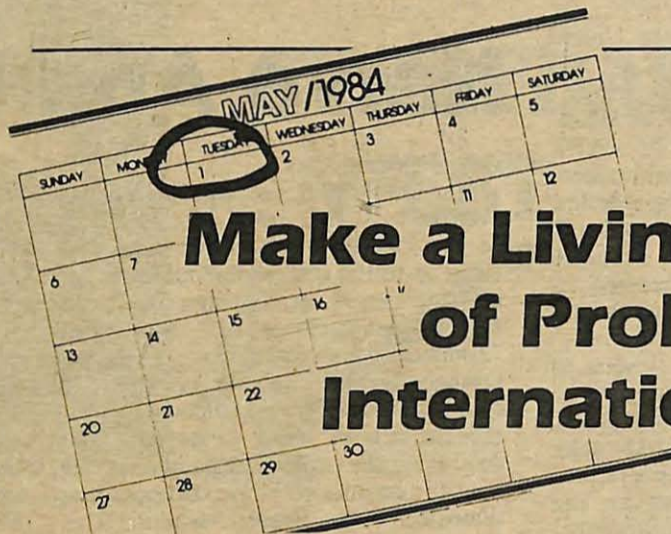
will be done with or without cooperation of the North Korean regime, and the Soviets might continue to march right down to the South.

One scenario put forward by some Western analysts is a quick march by the Soviet forces in Mongolia toward the Korean peninsula, cutting off the industrially developed but highly vulnerable northeast China from the rest of the country. This would be backed by the approximately 120 SS-20 missiles deployed in the Soviet Far East. Once entrenched in Korea, the Soviets would pose a great threat to Peking and the coastal heartlands of China, as well as exert tremendous pressure on Japan (Korea has been described by some as a dagger aimed at the heart of Japan). By occupying South Korea, the Soviets could also open up the Tsu-shima Strait for Soviet ships.

With two armies totalling more than one-million facing off against each other, thousands of tanks, artillery and jet fighters, a major nuclear arsenal and

warships lurking offshore, the Korean peninsula is one of the most heavily militarized areas in the world. The unprecedented scale of this year's Team Spirit exercise and the nature of what was being practiced are clear indications that

the tensions created by the collision of strategic interests of the Soviet Union, the U.S., Japan and China at this Asian "frontline" are rapidly mounting to a breaking point. □



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The Political Police and the Henry Kissinger Affair

The rude shattering of the "political peace" by hundreds of demonstrators in San Francisco when Henry Kissinger came to town on April 16th caught the authorities momentarily off guard and left them politically wounded. "Political peace" at home, when the atmosphere screams with the tension of empires preparing for war, both regional and global, is most highly valued and energetically worked for by those in power. This applies with a vengeance in San Francisco right now, with the Democratic Convention scheduled for July — a convention which is supposed to represent the integration of the "outsiders" into the American democratic process, and thus to become a symbol of national unity.

In the wake of the Kissinger demonstration, and especially through the press and the media, the authorities launched their attack. In the first few days, this was a little confused and even a bit self-contradictory, though some major themes could be discerned — a gross exaggeration of the "violence" of the demonstrators, the crude defense of the brutality of the police, and the attempt to utilize certain leaders of forces planning respectable and safe actions at the convention to attack and suppress the Kissinger demonstrators and some of the more radical forces and organizations involved in the action. By Friday, four days after the demonstration, this had hardened into a concentrated political attack, aimed particularly at the RCP, and more broadly at potential "disrupters" of any kind.

The chief public avenue for this attack was the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The April 20th edition of the *Chronicle* ran a front-page story titled: "How radicals disrupted S.F. protest." It reads like a fantasy of the political police: the demonstration, "planned as a peaceful event," was "led into a violent confrontation by members of two small militant groups who joined the protest uninvited." After stressing how worried "planners for the Democratic National Convention" were about "similar disruptions" at the convention, the article continued with a fanciful "recon-

struction" of the demonstration — supposedly based on interviews with "demonstrators, police and other witnesses." The reconstruction is chock-full of innuendos and supposed quotes from representatives of the Livermore Action Group (LAG) and the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador

(CISPES), which tried hard to paint a picture of these groups disassociating themselves from the demonstration and claiming that everything that happened beyond peaceful picketing was the work of the RCP and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.

Near the end of the article, police in-

spector Hennessey laid bare the heart of the purpose of the article: "All it would have taken is somebody from Livermore Action Group saying, 'listen, those people are not with us.' Factions that are not with the host group can be identified and segregated by being given their own

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RCP Press Release, San Francisco

PRESS RELEASE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, SAN FRANCISCO

Fact number one: The demonstration against Henry Kissinger on Monday was led into a violent confrontation by members of a violent fringe group known as the San Francisco TAC Squad.

Fact number two: The RCP joined in and supported wholeheartedly the political demonstration against the U.S.'s aggressive and terroristic activities in Central America. It is our view that the government's war in Central America must be opposed in its own right and also opposed as part of their preparations for World War. The violence and terrorism of the U.S. in Central America and worldwide is part of the tenor and tone of the times that provoked vast outrage among the demonstrators. What the authorities hate is the fact that at the Kissinger demonstration, they were unable to divide the unruly and spirited crowd who were united against Henry Kissinger as a concentrated representative of the truly grotesque, bloodthirsty and globally-despised nature of U.S. imperialism. We support the festive atmosphere of Monday's demonstration where a variety of forces used creative activities to make a strong political statement against the U.S. war moves in Central America. We also support the unity of the demonstrators in continuing to make their political

statements in the face of vicious police assault.

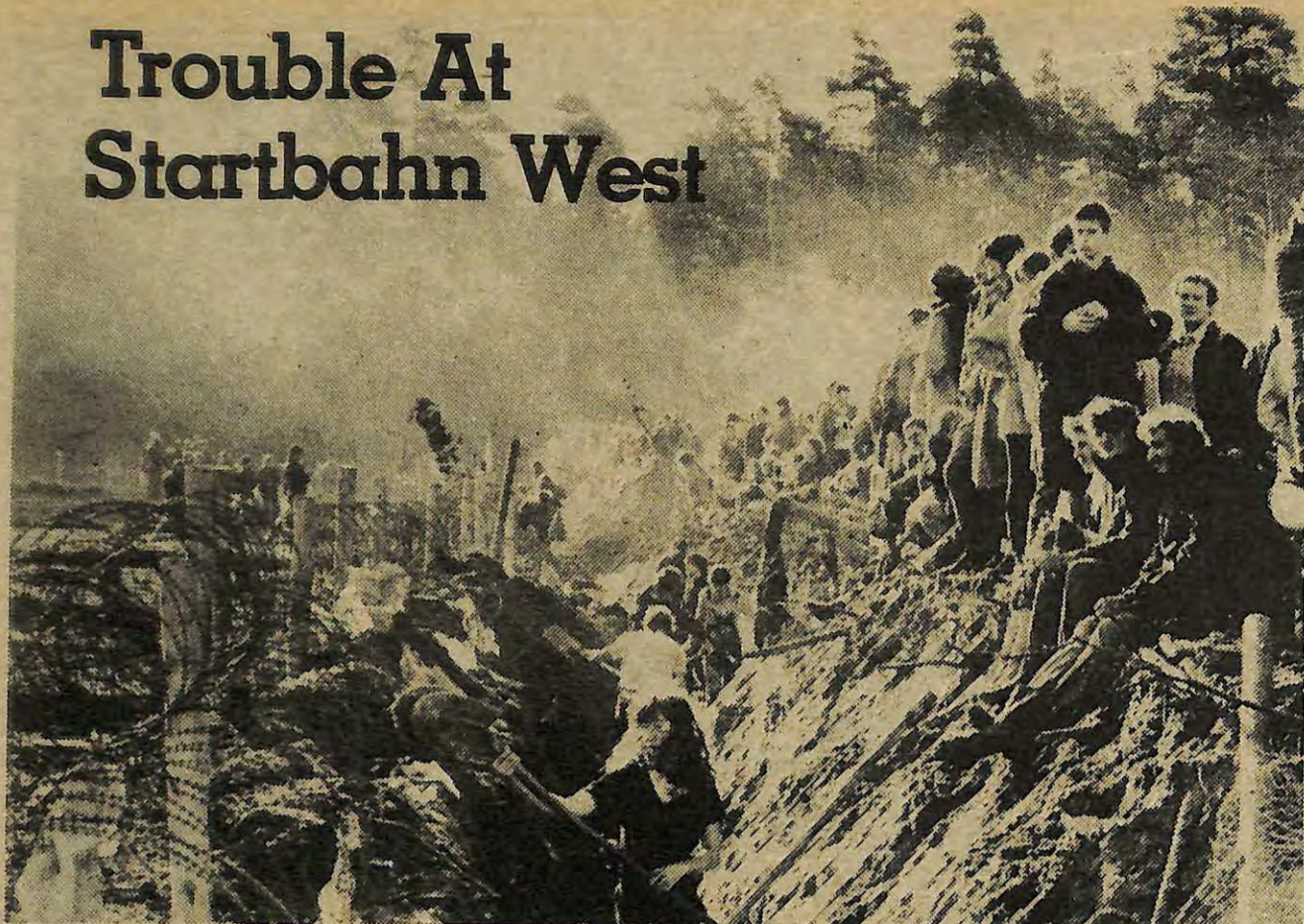
Fact number three: We know for a fact that CISPES and LAG have not as organizations taken the positions attributed to them by the *Chronicle* article. In the most unscrupulous of journalistic methods the *Chronicle* has constructed a story based on the reasoning and wishes of the FBI and other agencies of the government rather than on fact and reality. Interestingly enough, the press coverage in general omitted several pertinent facts. For instance, in the premeditated attack on the demonstrators, the police not only arrested 200 people but also selectively singled out individuals for felony charges such as (1) a member of CISPES who was beaten by police and then charged with assault on police; (2) a supporter of the RCP whose name is on the May Day 1984 permit application and his Monday felony charge was then used on Tuesday to deny the sound and march permit for May Day; and (3) a young Tax Day protestor who was choked unconscious by the police is still hospitalized.

Fact number four: Inspector Hennessey's statement in the *Chronicle* lays bare the purpose of the premeditated police attack and the subsequent press attacks when he says, "All it would have taken is somebody from Livermore Action Group saying 'Listen, those people are not with us.' Factions that are not

with the host group can be identified and segregated by being given their own area." This is an internationally infamous tactic of the political police known as the policy of "distancing." It was used in West Germany this past autumn to divide forces that opposed the government, including revolutionaries, from those who seek to work within and support the system and to get the latter to act as the peace police against the former. This same tactic is now being used by the S.F. police to set the bounds for any upcoming protest during the Democratic Convention. The ruling class has an agenda for the Democratic Convention that they do not want disrupted in any way. Only those organizations that constitute themselves as an appendage of the Democratic Party and/or the state apparatus will be tolerated. All others are to be singled out for attack. This is an attempt on the part of the government to bound political protests into acceptable limits thereby rendering them harmless and irrelevant. The authorities want to make it clear starting now that protest is fine so long as it does not constitute a threat to their agenda in July and the continuation of the government's actions and plans — the continued mining of Nicaragua's harbor, the continued slaughter of workers and peasants in El Salvador, and the continued drive towards nuclear world war. The *Chronicle* article also stated that the authorities

have denied all permits for the 1984 May Day demonstration in S.F. The RCP and the May Day Committee have applied for permits to hold a rally at 24th & Mission followed by a march to 9th and Van Ness (military recruiters station for the army, navy, air force, marines) to take place on Tuesday, May 1st. May Day 1984 will celebrate and demonstrate proletarian internationalism on a whole new level. The fact is that this year's May Day is being organized under slogans of the newly formed Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. At the march permit hearing, when Supervisor Hongisto was asked if his permit committee will condone and take responsibility for any premeditated police attacks on May 1st by his denying the march permit, his reply was "I'm sure we will." We want to make it clear and we want to make it known that the May Day Committee has and will pursue all efforts to acquire the necessary permits to march and rally and plan to abide by all traffic laws for the march. We feel it is necessary that the overall attempts by the authorities to create opinion to attack May Day should be exposed and opposed by all progressive forces so that the police will have to consider meeting with mass outrage for any preplanned attacks on a political demonstration for the second time in two weeks.

Trouble At Startbahn West



Startbahn West, 1981

Continued from page 8

By November 2, the last of the village had been torn down, and the air overhead was filled with U.S. transports carrying troops to Egypt for Operation Bright Star.

A big rally was now held in Walldorf in protest of the police action, while in Frankfurt itself almost daily demonstrations of thousands were going on. Startbahn had become a national issue. And the lines over what to do were becoming more sharply drawn. Radical antiwar activists were now participating in ever greater numbers, pointing out the connection between the airport expansion and the preparations for war. By contrast a speaker for the DKP in Mörfelden criticized the police by saying that instead of attacking good citizens who could be their fathers, they should be cleaning up the riff-raff around the train station in Frankfurt! The youth had different plans for the Frankfurt railroad station than a respectable revisionist "clean-up" campaign: thousands descended on the train station, sitting down right on the tracks and blocking train traffic throughout central West Germany. A DKP leaflet sported the American flag with tree stumps in place of the stars, and the slogan: "Without the American Base, the Woods Would Still Be Standing." In short, those who hailed the Startbahn for its "broad unity" were set on preventing any radicalization of the struggle by keeping the issues focused on the most narrow, most local and most provincial aspects they could find. Similarly, the resistance had to be kept absolutely passive, lest some potential voter be offended and the electoral strategy be impaired. The bottom line of this viewpoint was that the people are fundamentally powerless to affect history independently; the most they could hope for was to persuade the ruling class to change its policy by dint of their high moral purpose, popular support and reasoned argument. It was particularly important in this view not to expose the Social Democratic government as imperialist war partners of the United States, for they would surely take offense at this.

Yet despite the behind-the-scenes maneuvers of social democrats and revisionists to keep the protests within bounds acceptable to the ruling class, it exploded in ever greater proportion as it ran up against the rocks of imperialist reality. This was sharply reflected in my conversation with Alexander Schubart, a former bureaucrat for the Frankfurt city government and attorney in charge of civil magistrates. We talked for hours in his home in the outskirts of Frankfurt, about Startbahn, about the threat of world war, and about the German movement.

Schubart got involved in Startbahn strictly around the ecological issue. He never doubted for a minute that it was solely an issue of economic demands versus preserving the environment. He was, and still is, a firm believer in nonviolence and the norms of formal democracy. For him, use of the popular referendum was

the perfect solution. The people would speak, and the matter would be resolved. Thus he became particularly disturbed when the government moved to attack the hut village just a few days before the 220,000 signatures were to be turned in. The government knew the movement had the signatures and knew it would lose the referendum. To move in now with force and cut down the trees, just a few days before the referendum process would begin was, in his view, to subvert democracy. It would present the people with a *fait accompli* and deny democratic choice, Schubart explained.

On November 14 a mass rally was held in Wiesbaden, the capital of Hesse, where 150,000 people assembled to present the petition to the government. Schubart was the main speaker. Now that the petition was in and the referendum was to be held, he demanded that the government declare a moratorium on construction until the vote was taken, that the police be removed from the construction area, and that the ugly concrete wall be taken down. Further, he expected that the government should indicate some conciliatory response at once... otherwise everyone should take a stroll through the Rhein-Main civilian air terminal the next day and shut the place down!

There was, of course, no capitulation by the government, so the next day thousands of demonstrators poured into the airport. Police attempting to deal with the protestors landed reinforcements by helicopter on the autobahns leading in, adding further to the blockade. And the airport was effectively shut down. The next day Schubart was indicted on a host of charges.

It was at this point, Schubart told me, that he first learned of the military aspect of the airport's expansion. He had obtained a government information bulletin which contained excerpts from a U.S. Senate committee hearing in which U.S. generals were testifying on the airport expansion program in Europe! He was genuinely shocked. He could now see, in retrospect, that "If the courts had gone against the government, it would have become a constitutional crisis."

And the courts were swift indeed. They immediately threw out the referendum on the grounds that the airport was not an issue of land useage (and hence a state issue), but rather it was an issue of air traffic and hence a federal issue over which the state government had no jurisdiction! Schubart was suspended from his city job and swiftly sentenced to two years in prison (suspended).

Resistance to Startbahn West was to continue throughout 1982, with non-violence now taking a decided back seat. Every foot of forest was fought for, with demonstrators no longer taking beatings lying down and construction equipment taking an ever higher toll in sabotage. In the final stages of the struggle, a number of the militant youth were attracted to revolutionary anarchist organizations like the RZ (the Revolutionary Cells).

In the cauldron of this struggle, the Social Democrats aptly displayed their

character as a part of the imperialist bourgeoisie. For the Green Party, it threw into severe question their program of changing things through the electoral process — even where they held the balance of power. For this is exactly what happened in the state of Hesse, where neither the Christian Democrats nor the Social Democrats had a majority. The elected Green representatives controlled the decisive balance and went into negotiations with the SPD to form a coalition government, demanding the destruction of Startbahn West and its reforestation. They ended up negotiating over limiting nighttime flights and noise reduction, while many of their constituency became ever more radicalized. The revisionist DKP was reduced to whining about how "extremists" had destroyed the unity of the movement — a "unity" through which they had tried to quietly promote Soviet military interests posing as mere ecologists.

April 14, 1984

By contrast, the participation of the autonomous peace groups (those not affiliated to the national peace organizations controlled by the SPD and the DKP), students, third world support groups, and the revolutionary anarchist *autonomen* in the anti-Startbahn struggle has continued to grow. On Friday, April 13, a demonstration of 3-4,000 anti-imperialist activists from this broad grouping was held in downtown Frankfurt, raising demands which ranged from, U.S. out of Nicaragua to Freedom for political prisoners in Turkey, to an end to Startbahn West. The rally was attacked by the police and set the tone for the next day's action at the Startbahn wall, as some of the *autonomen* raised the slogan "On To The Wall!"

The renewed outpouring of determined resistance to imperialist war preparations which characterized the April 14, 1984 Startbahn demonstration, also produced one of the most bitter internal disputes in the West German antiwar movement in years. As soon as the call for the national demonstration on April 14 was put out by a group of Frankfurt-area anti-Startbahn citizens' initiatives, the local initiatives in Walldorf and Mörfelden announced a counterplan to mark the opening of Startbahn West with a photo exhibition commemorating the Startbahn movement "the way it was." Every conceivable trick was now used to attack the April 14 rally at the wall, amounting to what the West German left-

ist daily *Die Tageszeitung* called a "campaign of defamation" against the April 14 action. The local initiatives in Mörfelden and Walldorf and the SPD mayor of Mörfelden announced that they would have "absolutely nothing to do" with the April 14 event. Ads were placed in the local paper warning people not to go, and that it was not a "legitimate" event since it did not have the support of the local people.

The police now jumped in with threats of their own. Since the runway was now open, it was no longer a question of "breaking the peace" but possible prosecution under Section 315 of the criminal code, "Endangering commercial air traffic," which is punishable by up to five years in prison.

Once again the tactic of "distancing" was trundled out, and calls were made for the "responsible" members of the antiwar movement to "distance" themselves from the "violent minority." Having summed up how the government exploited this tactic to divide and paralyze sections of the movement during the autumn, many now spoke up to denounce this tactic. Inge Ammon, a leader of the generally conservative BBU (the national environmental protection federation), put it this way: "With 'distancing' we are taken in by our enemy by dividing ourselves into predictable and manageable groups. In so doing we give free rein to the destroyers of the ecology and the warmongers to continue their police tactics."

The Green Party was bitterly divided over the Startbahn action. The local Greens in Mörfelden and Walldorf joined the SPD in opposing the April 14 demo. But the district-level Greens supported it four to one. In the *Landstag*, the state parliament, great pressure was now put on the Green deputies to denounce the demonstration, even though the Greens had traditionally supported the Startbahn movement. After all, they were told: *You are a responsible party now, negotiating to be a part of the government. How can you take part in an anti-government demonstration? Have you yourselves not said, we are a parliamentary party, not a revolutionary party? Well, act like it!* The result was that a majority of the Green deputies voted not to support the April 14 demonstration, which produced in a wave of bitter denunciations of them by grassroots Green activists.

While a number of prominent "leaders" of the anti-Startbahn struggle eventually succumbed to the "blackmail of the backward," the rising tempo of war preparations brought out thousands to the largest anti-Startbahn action in several years behind the call for determined resistance. The principal speaker at the April 14 rally was Alexander Schubart, himself a founder of the Greens in Hesse, who closed his remarks with these words:

"Since the Tower of Babel it has been the fate of the construction of man not to be fixed for eternity. Startbahn will certainly be no exception, and it assuredly will not stand as long as the pyramids of Egypt. Thus the only question is, how long will it stand. And the answer to this question does not ultimately depend on whether a combination of good arguments and good resistance continues in this area, which slowly but surely changes peoples' consciousness...."

"Fundamental change in the anti-ecology politics of the rulers will not be achieved either by good-intentioned parliamentary work or good-intentioned parliamentary speeches by Green-alternative groups alone. Much more decisive is and remains the quality and level of development of the extra-parliamentary struggle. Therefore we say not only No without any Yes to Startbahn West, we also say Yes without any No to the extra-parliamentary struggle, Yes to disobedience to those who construct such insane projects as Startbahn West." □

MAY 1984

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19

Break Out, Break Free —
Take History into Our Hands

For the second time in less than a month and the third time in five months, the Everett (Washington state) Feminist Women's Health Center was the target of arson. On Thursday, April 19 at 9:30 p.m., an arsonist struck again, broke the plastic covering from a low window, poured large amounts of a flammable liquid through the broken window and torched the building. Police found an empty five-gallon container and another smaller one at the site a short while later. Although a man was seen running from the scene and was chased for blocks by a neighbor of the center, police claimed they are no closer to solving this case of arson than they are to solving the other two attacks. The first attack occurred on December 3 of last year and caused some \$40,000 in damage, closing the clinic down for two months. On March 26, a smaller fire caused \$10,000 worth of damage to the counseling room but the clinic remained in operation. This latest outrage caused over \$75,000 in damage and the staff estimates that the clinic will not reopen for at least two months. But, they vow, it will reopen.

Since the clinic reopened last August in the small town of Everett, 30 miles north of Seattle, it has been the target of incessant and vicious harassment with daily pickets by right-wing idiots who claimed they are obeying the word of their Father, God, and that the staff and clients of the Feminist Women's Health Center are at the command of the devil. Clinic staff, patients and supporters have been videotaped. Fetal heartbeats have been broadcast over a loudspeaker system and photos of fetuses have been displayed on huge picket signs. For several months, the clinic received several hundred harassing phone calls per day. Staff members have had their lives threatened.

The arson fire was set this time on the very day that a court case began, where supporters and staff of the clinic are seeking a permanent injunction against the picketers, hoping to limit the number of pickets at any one time and keep them

Another Anti-Women Firebomb from God

down the block, away from the clinic entrance. A temporary injunction was issued earlier this year. But as one defense committee member told the *RW*, "It didn't stop anything." In fact in the days leading up to the hearing, harassment apparently escalated with at least one man trespassing, literally entering the clinic to harass clients. And on Saturday, April 14, the clinic had a medical emergency and as they rushed the woman out of the clinic to a nearby hospital, these vultures stepped into their way to get photos of the patient.

Staff and supporters have refused to knuckle under to the intimidation and plan to rebuild and reopen the clinic as soon as possible to continue to serve women's health needs, including exams, counseling and abortion. A defense committee was organized following the first arson fire and has played a very active role in gathering broad support for the clinic, raising funds and making it possible to rebuild and reopen the clinic following each attack. A rally held in late

January attracted hundreds of people from a wide range of the political spectrum, from church groups to a local college women's alumni club as well as from various social movements.

God Works In Mysterious Ways

Various authorities have played their role in promoting and exonerating the reactionary harassment, as well as perpetuating their own brutal harassment and attempting to financially cripple the clinic. Following the December fire, the Safeco Insurance Company abruptly cancelled the clinic's insurance coverage, and, for good measure, suspended for one month the operating license of the agent who sold them the policy in the first place. The staff was able to get another insurance policy but at three times the price. The Everett police, in the course of their so-called investigation, demanded that the women staffing the center take lie detector tests to prove they hadn't torched the clinic themselves in a publicity stunt! One woman defiantly refused to go

along with this intimidation, refusing to submit to the test. And now a federal investigator who was just brought in has begun to grill the *staff members* about their past history, financial situation, etc.

A group of women confronted the fire chief and the mayor on the day following the fire, calling them out for "having allowed this act of terrorism to happen." The mayor then released a statement to the press promising that the clinic would be protected 24-hours a day. Voices of the press have done their own posturing, complaining that the Everett police are not doing their jobs. "It (the clinic — *RW*) is, after all, right in downtown Everett." Why, such a fire endangers the lives and businesses of more than just a few feminists! And this same editorial is quick to deny that the antiabortionists have anything to do with this violence — the same ones who, after the December fire, were singing "Hallelujah" and claiming that God was responding to their prayers.

As we go to press, the antiabortionists are approaching the city council, seeking a parade permit for May 12 (the day before Mother's Day) to hold a march from the Planned Parenthood Office in Everett to the Feminist Women's Health Center. The defense committee plans an appropriate response if the permit is granted and is laying further plans for rebuilding the clinic and galvanizing further support. The judge presiding over the injunction hearing has already received a great many letters, mainly in support of the clinic. As the Feminist Women's Health Center Defense Committee said in a statement following the March 26 arson fire, "We will *never* allow the vicious attacks on abortion services to send our sisters back to the slaughter of illegal abortions.... The survival of the Feminist Women's Health Center and the value of the lives of women are *not* negotiable." □

Kissinger

Continued from page 13

area." This is an internationally infamous tactic of the political police known as "distancing" (see box).

Too Far

The problem in this case for the police and the *Chronicle* is that they went a little too far with their lies, contemptuously underestimating the political forces they were trying to drag into the attack and the volatility of the international situation. The day the article appeared, no one could be found in either CISPES or LAG who would admit to either attacking the demonstration, or the RCP, in statements to the press. And those who had been interviewed by the press for the article reported that they had repeatedly criticized the police attack on the demonstration as the cause of what "violence" had occurred. Beyond that, something of the method of "reporting" for the article began to come to light when a LAG spokesperson said that she had been called by one of the writers of the *Chronicle* article and asked if the RCP "paid the punks to do their dirty work!" It seems this stupid fabrication was too much for even the *Chronicle* to print.

A spokesman for CISPES, who had been quoted in the *Chronicle* article, gave a public statement to the *RW*: "CISPES completely condemns this vicious, manipulative red-baiting that the *Chronicle* has engaged in. This attempt to isolate the movement and create divisions, when the real issue is U.S. crimes in Central America. They've done this from the beginning, ever since Monday, focusing not on what really happened, organized police violence, and an indiscriminate attack against the crowd, but seizing on the isolated incidents that took place on the part of the demonstrators.... We all know the history of this in terms of splitting up and dividing the movement and getting groups to attack each other, and we're not going to fall into those kind of traps or play those kind of games. I think it's also important, the issue here is more than just the *Chronicle's* distorted reporting, it has to deal with that in the larger context of stepped-up government repression and surveillance on a national

scale... we are very concerned about attempts to shift the issue from what it should be and create tension and splits among people that are united in opposition to intervention in Central America."

Crude Attack

Alongside the April 20th *Chronicle* article was a box, which ran with the title "Three Militant Groups Cause Convention Fears." The box began with a garbled "history" of the RCP which rattled on about "violent clashes with police and storming city council meetings," and pointedly noted that a request had been made for a permit for a May First march this year. As a whole, the list of "Three Militant Groups" — the paper added a fourth in later editions — was obviously taken from a smear list made by Governor George Deukmejian several years ago when he was State's Attorney General and used ever since to brand left and other groups as "terrorist." Judging from the language, the descriptions in this article could have been copied from police sources as well. The *Chronicle*, it seems, has been doing some work of its own, in coordination with various other California police agencies.

However, this rather clumsy police propaganda has not exactly been greeted with the open arms that the bourgeoisie must have expected. Along with the counterstatement by CISPES, statements rebutting the *Chronicle* were made the next day by representatives from LAG and the RCP, and published in the *Chronicle*. Indeed, any group or individual with a shred of political sophistication ought to be expected to reject the crude police "distancing" tactics.

Further complications for the authorities have been presented by the revisionist CPUSA. Usually more than willing to act as "internal police" at movement demonstrations, the revisionists have this time supported the Kissinger demonstration in their newspaper and opposed media attempts to slander it. Quite possibly this has to do with the developing tension in Central America and increasing U.S. military activity there, but whatever the particulars, this hasn't aided the bourgeoisie in its dirty work.

But the bourgeoisie has its eye on a broader picture, especially right now the Convention, where it expects to bring to bear a much more highly-charged "sur-

round and suppress" strategy against any who would march outside its banner of national unity. For this it will rely importantly on those who support Jesse Jackson.

This being the case, the media attacks continued after a Monday, April 23 speech by Caspar Weinberger in San Francisco. Weinberger was greeted by 1,000 demonstrators, and the mood was tense and angry, but the *San Francisco Examiner* was able to run the story on the front page the next day under the headline "A Totally Different Protest This Time." Inspector Hennessey said "The organizers met with us beforehand. We agreed upon guidelines and they cooperated. They monitored their own people. This is how we hope to handle things if we get demonstrators at the convention. It's always better for everybody if the demonstrators monitor and control their own people instead of us having to do it."

The *Examiner* also continued, "Police intelligence sources had expressed concern that radical dissidents — members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Spartacist League and the Prairie Fire group — would attempt to infiltrate last night's rally and provoke a violent confrontation with officers in riot gear or on horseback." Something of the kinds of terms the police are trying to set with all this was revealed in how the *Examiner* handled the actions of a few people who crossed over police barricades and sat down in the street, committing acts of civil disobedience. The *Examiner* termed this "violations of the peace between police and demonstrators," and when one of those arrested turned out to have a Spanish name, police announced that his status would be investigated by immigration officials.

May First

Within all of the struggle over the political terms of protest at the convention, the authorities have launched an attack on activities planned for May First this year. For several weeks, the city of San Francisco denied every application for permits in relation to May Day — a permit for a rally at the 24th and Mission BART Plaza, a permit for the use of sound equipment, and a permit for a march from 24th and Mission to the Armed Forces Recruiting Center at Ninth and Market, where the army, navy, air

force and marines all have their San Francisco recruiting headquarters, were all denied.

When the permit was filed, police in the Permit Division first refused to even sign it or to accept it. When it was finally accepted, it was then denied by the San Francisco Police Permit Board, on the grounds of "traffic congestion." When this was appealed to the Transportation and Traffic Committee of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Captain Macia of Mission Station appeared, along with several others from the Mission Station, some of whom were involved in the premeditated police attack on the May Day 1981 march in the Mission District. Captain Macia testified that the permit should be denied, because "each time they held a demonstration it was violent." He specifically mentioned May Day 1981 in San Francisco and May Day 1983 in L.A. — and thus managed to flaunt both his political police connections to L.A. and raise two examples of blatant police attacks on May Day that were now evidence of "violence-prone" demonstrators.

Macia also dragged in the Kissinger demonstration, mentioning that "the application had been signed by someone who was arrested at the Kissinger demonstration." A curious coincidence, that. Somehow the person who signed the march permit ended up being charged with totally bogus felony assault on a police officer charges after the Kissinger demonstration, one of three obviously selected felony arrests at the action.

The Transportation and Traffic Committee denied the permit; San Francisco authorities are clearly maneuvering here to try to set up a police assault on May First. Indeed, the city has scarcely bothered to deny this. When San Francisco supervisor Hongisto was asked if his committee (which oversees matters such as the granting of demonstration permits) would take responsibility for such an attack, his reply was "I'm sure we will."

As we go to press, the police, after extended closed-door negotiations with themselves, have come up with a sound permit for a period of time including May First, but still continue to deny the application for a march in the street. The party and local May Day committee continue to pursue every channel and unite all who can be united to oppose the high-handed tactics of the political police. □

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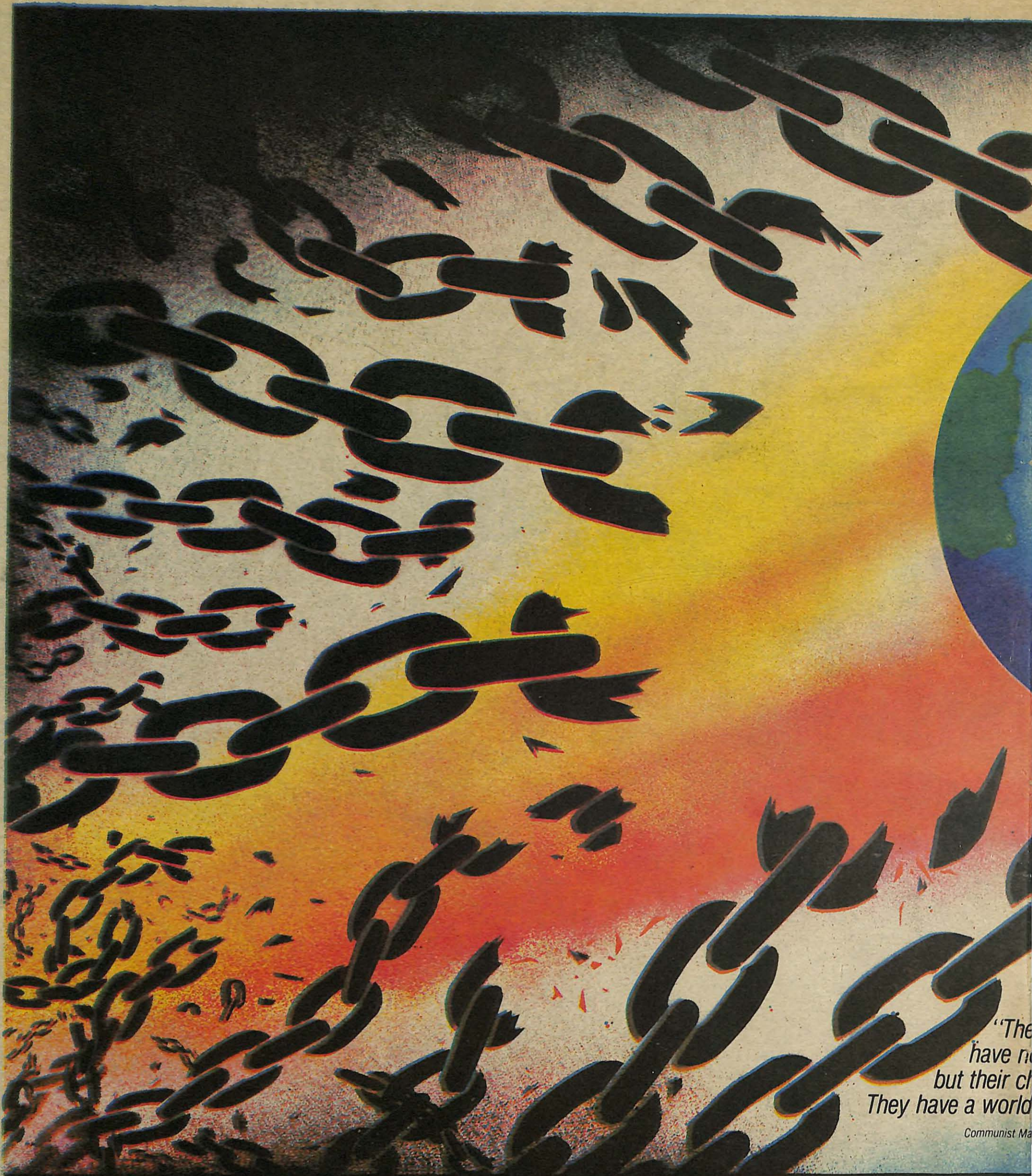
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