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Iran and Iraq have agreed to halt the shelling of each others' cities, something responsible for over 700 deaths in the past two weeks alone. This ceasefire, the first in the war, comes amid other hints that both sides may now be ready for negotiations. Iraq has repeatedly made known its desire for talks since its forces were driven from Iran some two years ago, and its recent bellicosity may well be at least partially aimed at improving its bargaining position.

What is now new is that similar signals are coming from Iran. Ayatollah Khomeini reportedly said on Iranian radio that "negotiations might be possible"; a high Iranian official recently declared that Iran was "ready to sign a collective declaration" guaranteeing the borders of all states in the region; and Majlis speaker Rafsanjani promised, in reference to a possible widening of the Gulf war, that Iran would strive "to prevent such a disaster for humanity from happening by diplomacy and appropriate talks and meetings." Further, Iran's response to the U.S.-Saudi downing of one of its F4 jets was both delayed — by a day and a half — and noticeably muted. Moreover, Iran's long anticipated "final offensive" has yet to materialize.

These signals, however, are a long ways from heralding the beginning of the end of the Gulf war. No sooner had the ceasefire been agreed to than Iraq's Saddam Hussein was warning his troops, "to expect the enemy's offensive at any time, and be ready to crush the enemy's head and fire the bullet of mercy at the dying mule to finish it off," and that "Your real friend is your gun." Certain Iranian leaders declared that ceasefire or no, there would be no negotiations with the "war criminal" Hussein and that they would fight to "final victory," this while they continued to amass troops on the Iraqi border. And it is far from certain that the imperialist powers, who have so far benefitted from the carnage and destruction and have noticeably not leaped on the recent motion toward negotiation, are interested in a settlement at this point.

But if negotiations do grow out of the present limited ceasefire, and if the Gulf war is even ended, what would this signify? A lessening of tensions and the arrival of stability?

There's more happening here than the contradiction between the regimes of Iran and Iraq. Put differently, it is certainly not only these local reactionaries that will be held accountable for the slaughter: the imperialist powers of both blocs have the blood of hundreds of thousands of people on their hands because they have fueled and encouraged this war. This has its logic in a larger contention and crisis be-

Continued on page 15

## The Gulf Destabilizers



## The Krefeld Affair

By C. Clark  
Kissinger

See Centerfold

# Murder in the Noose

On Wednesday, June 6, the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Hamilton*, which was busily patrolling the waters just off of Haiti, murdered seven people. Since a 1981 Interdiction at Sea program, the U.S. has been halting Haitian vessels at sea and forcing refugees back to Haiti, effectively putting a U.S. noose around Haiti. Coming off of outbreaks of rebellion in cities like Cap Haïtien and other places in Haiti just two weeks prior, this patrol had particular significance. On board the *Hamilton* were officials from the INS (Immigration & Naturalization Service) and the Coast Guard — film camera and all. According to the Coast Guard it was when they and INS officials boarded the 30-foot wooden vessel that the 70 or so people on board panicked, rushed to one side of the boat and caused it to capsize. Seven people are known to have drowned. And as people, many of them women and children, were sent falling into the sea, a camera on board the Coast Guard vessel callously filmed the whole thing. The scene was played and replayed on TV news in the U.S. and news of a capsized

boat was carried in Haiti as well. As news of this capsized boat and the seven drowned people spread, an unmistakable message was being delivered: No one is getting off of the hell-hole that Haiti is; no one is going to spread any news of the outbreaks of rebellion inside Haiti (the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami reports that people on the capsized boat were from Cap Haïtien). If martial law, curfews and arrests inside Haiti are not sufficient, the U.S. will be right off the coast with its dragnets in place.

Further, there are reports which contradict the Coast Guard's version of just what occurred. According to the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, one of the survivors has said that the Coast Guard boat had surrounded and circled the Haitian vessel and that one of the Coast Guard boats hit the Haitian vessel from the side, causing it to take on water and eventually capsize.

On the night the vessel capsized and on into the next day the U.S. staged a "search party" expedition. On Thursday, June 7, the *Miami Herald* reported

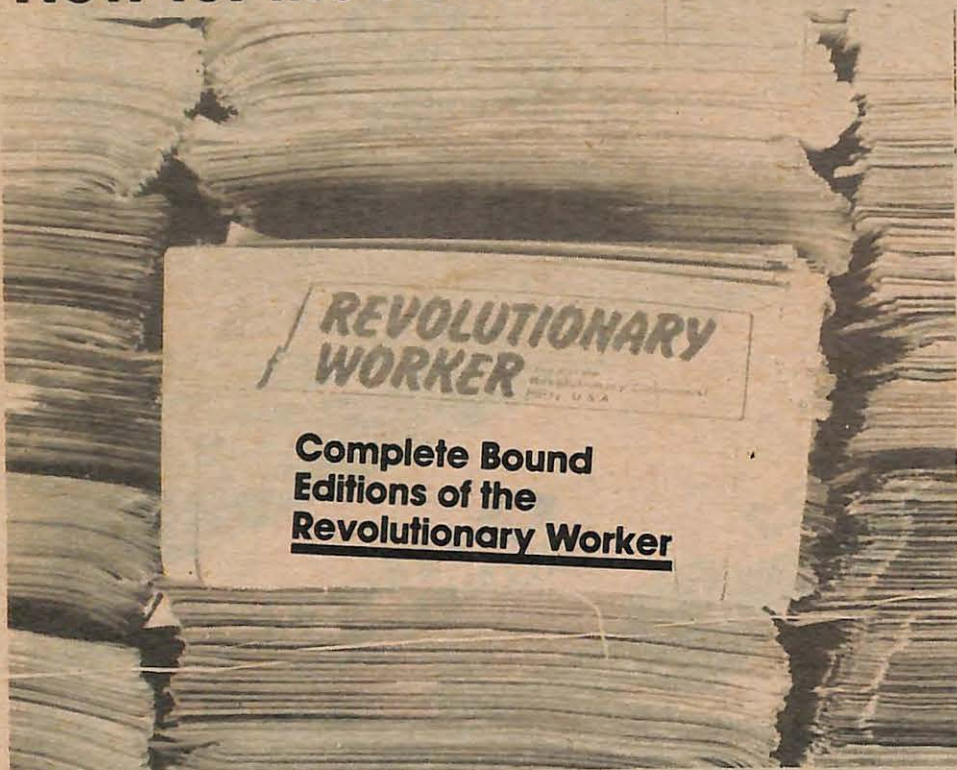
that "A hastily organized task force of U.S. vessels and aircraft was en route to the scene Wednesday night to help the *Hamilton's* continuing search." To the *Hamilton* were added two more Coast Guard vessels, *Dallas* and *Decisive*. "Also aiding the operation," wrote the *Miami Herald*, "was a helicopter from Borinquen, Puerto Rico, equipped with a high-intensity 'Night Sun' light for night rescue work and two Falcon jet airplanes — one from Miami, one from Borinquen. The Falcons are specifically designed for search and rescue." The *Miami Herald* also reported that a navy vessel, the U.S.S. *Wainwright* was en route "bearing a medical team from the naval base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba."

The following day the *Miami Herald* spelled out a little more just what the U.S.S. *Wainwright* was — "A navy guided-missile cruiser" which, along with the jets, the Coast Guard cutters and helicopter just happened to be "combing the area" looking for "survivors." According to the State Department the U.S.S. *Wainwright* was also used to transport bodies of Haitians back to Port-au-Prince. The spectacle of a U.S. guided-missile cruiser with a cargo of drowned Haitians docking in Port-au-Prince carried a message that no one escapes Haiti — dead or alive — and that if things get too far out of hand inside Haiti, the U.S. is prepared to move. A plainly self-serving "rescue" effort.

The Haitian vessel was only 20 miles off Haiti's northern coast when it was stopped by the Coast Guard and a full five hundred miles from Miami. According to the Haitian Refugee Center the

vessel was bound for the Bahamas and not the U.S. Clearly it didn't matter to the U.S. where the boat was going but where it was coming from and who was on it. About the last thing the U.S. needs right now is another wave of Haitian refugees spilling out of Haiti and casting a floodlight of exposure on the ruthless dictatorship the U.S. sponsors in Haiti in general, and on the outbreaks of rebellion and subsequent brutal repression by the Duvalier regime in particular. The flow of Haitian refugees from one of their own little authoritarian regimes has been a source of public and international embarrassment for the U.S.; and the Haitian masses, with first-hand experience of U.S. imperialism, are considered potentially disruptive elements in the land of the free, where thousands were held in concentration camps. The Interdiction at Sea agreement was designed to put out the lights of exposure and keep put the Haitian masses. By shutting off an escape valve, this most certainly has had the effect of contributing to the instability inside of Haiti and to the heightening of the contradictions involved in putting a more "humane" face on the Duvalier regime. In effect, the U.S. has created a pressure cooker, in part perhaps to put pressure on the Duvalier regime to more effectively safeguard U.S. interests. But in so doing, the U.S. has a touchy situation. While pro-U.S. opposition to Duvalier is certainly not lacking, the prospect of a change in regime could prove to be extremely destabilizing, and a power struggle between Duvalier and other bourgeois elements would surely provide an opening for unpredictable genies to get out of the bottle. That the U.S. has cordoned off Haiti, beefing up its patrols of Haitian waters — two more ships were stopped after the capsizing incident — using the Falcon jets to comb the area and deploying a guided missile cruiser, indicates further the very seriousness of the crisis inside of Haiti. □

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There is a certain image of Dwight D. Eisenhower as a "man of peace" that has been promoted over the years; the president who, throughout the 1950s, presided over one of the most mammoth military machines the world has ever seen and yet supposedly did so with a sense of moral restraint and sanity.

As the legend goes, "Ike" even went so far as to warn his successors of the dangers of the "unwarranted influence" of the "military-industrial complex" on the U.S.'s role in world affairs. The latest manufactured "man of peace," Jesse Jackson, has continued the hallowed myth by stating recently that he would take the same "bold initiatives" that Eisenhower took when Ike "went to Korea," purportedly in search of peace.

That the man who presided over allied troops in World War 2 and then went on to preside over the U.S. imperialist government as it fought to consolidate the fruits of its victory in World War 2 — including the expansion of the U.S. colonial empire throughout the world — could somehow come to be known as a peace advocate has always seemed a little odd; nonetheless, for the most part the legend has persisted.

On June 7th, however, the U.S. State Department released 2,000 pages of documents, most of which had been previously classified, appear to represent quite a deliberate shattering of the old Ike portrait, replacing this with a grim picture much more appropriate for the '80s. Among other things, the documents con-



## State Dept. Issues Historical Demonstration Shot Ike's First-Strike Memoirs

tain a whole series of notes and memoranda from the National Security Council (NSC), the Special Intelligence Advisory Committee and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which detail the U.S. imperialists' discussions about — and plans to — use nuclear bombs in Korea and against revolutionary China. In the released documents, Eisenhower is shown all gung-ho on an admiral's proposal for a "massive atomic air strike" against revolutionary China and the

military tells the National Security Council that it is "most anxious" to use atomic weapons. (If Jesse Jackson wants to put his trip to Syria in *this* category, we would heartily agree!)

### Barbarism

The documents cover the years 1952-1954. The U.S. had been locked into a stalemate in Korea for quite some time — facing at best a negotiated settlement officially sealing the stalemate. The barbaric activities of the U.S. imperialists in Korea up to that time have been well-documented: Napalm was first used on an experimental basis during this war, and chemical and bacteriological weapons were used as well. Industrial and population centers throughout the country had been leveled by massive U.S. bombing raids. But, as these new documents show, the U.S. imperialists were coldly preparing for far more barbaric activities against the Korean people, but by no means limited to Korea. A far bigger atrocity was on the strategic drawing boards, as the newly released documents imply.

Eisenhower had been elected president in November 1952 on a platform of

bringing peace to Korea. In December 1952 Eisenhower even took a tour of the frontlines in Korea to call attention to his peace promises. However, the notes of the National Security meeting three months later on March 31, 1953 show the cold reality of Eisenhower's views on what constituted peace in Korea and the "positive actions" that would be necessary to achieve it.

According to these NSC notes Eisenhower proposed that the U.S. use nuclear weapons to win in Korea — a move which he "felt would be worth the cost if, through use of atomic weapons, we could (1) achieve a substantial victory over the communist forces and (2) get to a line at the waist of Korea." And Eisenhower argued quite strenuously for this.

At a May 13, 1953 NSC meeting the notes state that the ever-frugal Eisenhower even argued along cost-efficiency lines in order to counter arguments that dropping nukes in Korea might not be able to produce enough "large-scale destruction of enemy personnel and matériel." According to these notes: "The President nevertheless thought it might be cheaper, dollarwise, to use atomic weapons in Korea than to continue to use conventional weapons against the dugouts which honeycombed the hills along which the enemy forces were presently deployed. This, the President felt, was particularly true if one took into account the logistic costs of getting conventional ammunition from this country to the frontlines."

But it was not simply or even mainly a matter of using tactical nuclear weapons inside Korea that occupied the strategists for U.S. imperialism. Indeed, a good number of the documents dealing with this subject are far more concerned with carrying their nuclear attack into revolutionary China and beyond that, possibly into confrontation with the then socialist Soviet Union.

These new documents show the U.S. rulers very carefully planning to not only just retaliate against China for its role in aiding the popular forces in Korea but to completely wipe out China. During the May 13, 1953 NSC meeting General John

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## Attention Readers!

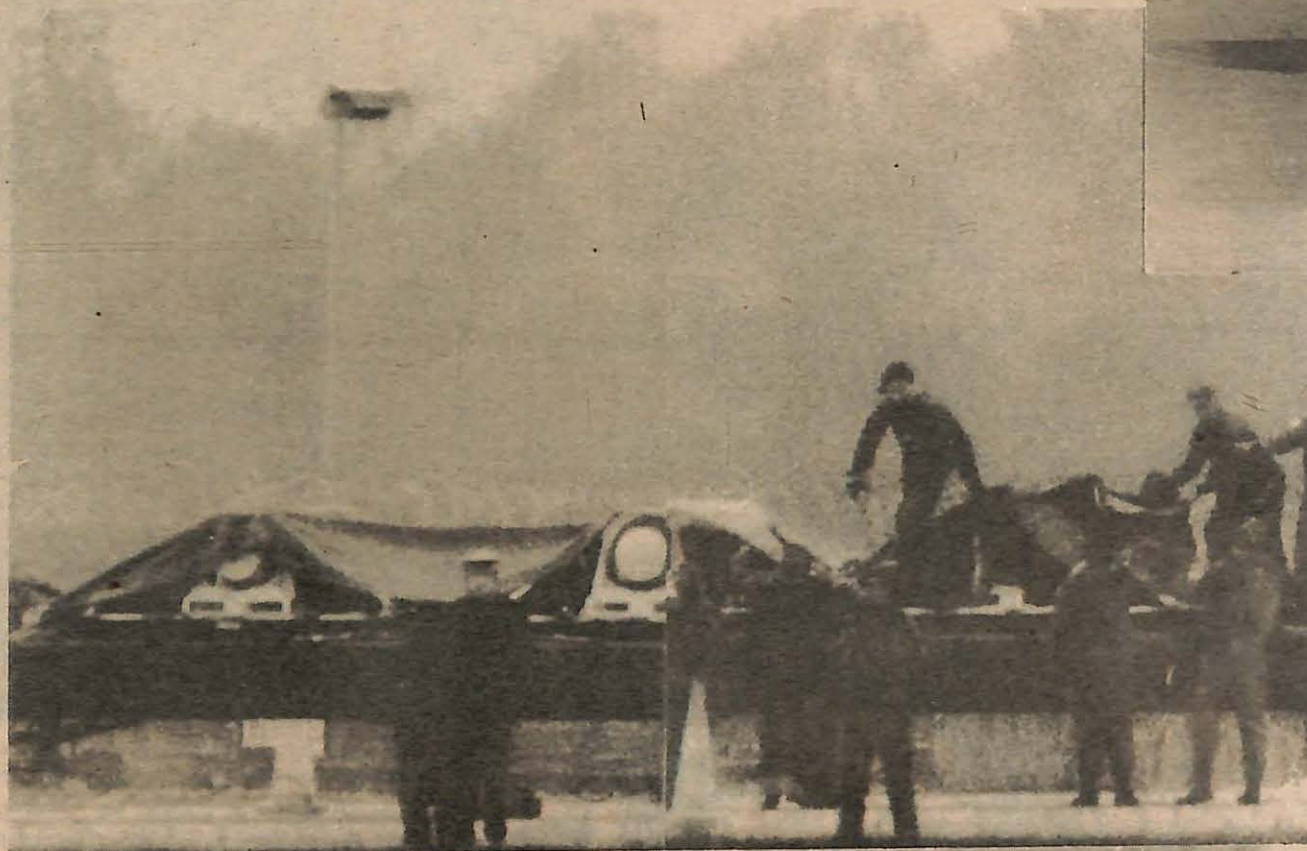
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*"Each of us rejects the use of force as a means of settling disputes. . . We are convinced that international problems and conflicts can and must be resolved through reasoned dialogue and negotiation and we shall support all efforts to this end."*

*From the "Declaration of Democratic Values" issued by Thatcher, Reagan, Mitterrand, Trudeau, Nakasone, Kohl, Thorn and Craxi at the London Summit Conference.*

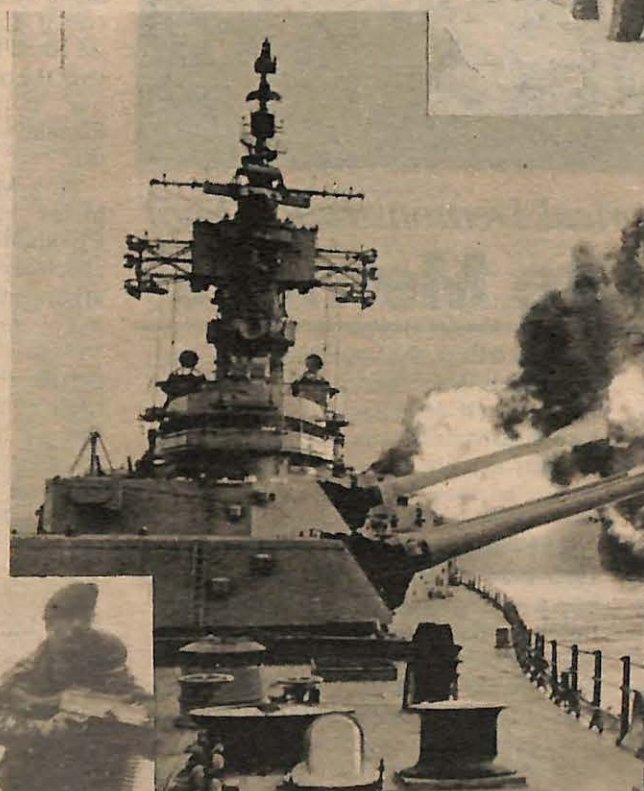


*U.S. invades Grenada, October 1983*



*Pershing IIs arrive in Europe, November 1983*

*French troops sent to Chad, August 1983*



*August 1982, France, U.S., Britain and Italy land in Lebanon. Left: The New Jersey, which was stationed off the coast of Beirut.*



*England invades the Falklands, May 1982*

*Japan participates in major naval maneuvers, March 1984*



On the surface the U.S. Navy's ELF Test Facility near Clam Lake, Wisconsin appears to be nothing more than a small compound of buildings buried deep in the Chequamegon National Forest down a maze of unmarked gravel roads. However, this location was hardly chosen for the idyllic atmosphere of the "North Woods," but because the surrounding topology has rare military potential. ELF is no innocent denizen of the forest, but is very much in tune with modern "civilization" and its overlords who are strategizing how to fight and win World War 3. As a critical communications link to the Trident nuclear submarines, ELF is one component of U.S. imperialism's development of a nuclear "first-strike" capability.

As the opening shot in a campaign of summer-long anti-ELF activities, the Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF held a Memorial Day march and rally at an appropriate spot in Ashland County. About 125 women and children gathered at the county's officially designated mass "emergency" burial site, not to do the traditional Memorial Day bit of "honoring the dead from previous wars" but to call attention to the impending bloodbath now shaping up: This mass burial site was *not* a cemetery but acres and acres of vacant land set aside as a mass grave site for the victims of a future war.

One by one, each woman filed by a coffin-like box shrouded in gray, tearing off a piece of the cloth in an act symbolizing the destruction of fear, war, death and oppression. Underneath was a hope chest, traditionally, of course, a symbol of the home to which women are relegated by society. "But this hope chest," said a spokeswoman, "reflects a new reality that all of us share one home, one future life together on this planet."

While the local media quibbled over whether the grave site had actually been *officially* designated, those who participated in the rally had more urgent questions, such as the link between Project ELF and the threat of nuclear war. "I left the city ten years ago to move out to the country partly because I thought you could survive a nuclear war better," a woman living outside Eau Claire, Wisconsin explained. "I wanted to rent a farm, escape from the madness. But now I find Project ELF..."

A large section of women from Madison were drawn to the protest, including many feminists who have been instrumental in getting the Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF off the ground. Several of them were at the Seneca, New York women's encampment last summer where they became embroiled in the confrontation with reactionaries at nearby Waterloo. They returned to Madison determined to press ahead with plans to take on Project ELF by setting up a peace camp, which they call a "Women's Peace Presence." Originally, the opening of the camp was set for Memorial Day, but it has not been possible thus far to purchase land for the camp, as planned. Some women are exploring alternatives so that this obstacle may be overcome.

About half of the protestors on Memorial Day were women from the small cities and towns of Wisconsin, some of whom have never participated in any demonstration before but were looking for an opportunity to express their outrage. Two students read about the action in their college newspaper and drove 90 miles to be a part of it. And there was

the woman cranberry bog farmer and her two daughters who are practically next door neighbors to ELF. That a good section of the demonstration was drawn from Wisconsin's "North Woods" says something about the extent to which war preparations have shaken even those living in this normally placid backwater region.

The tremendous controversy surrounding ELF was indicated by one woman from the small town of Park Falls whose husband is a Vietnam veteran. She described a split in her community between the VFW-types and the Vietnam vets who, as she put it, "are not the most patriotic group around," and who are opposed to ELF as another link in the chain of war preparations.

#### Project ELF

ELF is a vital and urgent component in the U.S.'s nuclear war plans. Research on ELF began in the late '50s as the U.S. Navy began to grasp that improved communications with deep-water submarines were the key to an invulnerable fleet. Currently, all nuclear-armed subs, including the latest and most lethal Trident/Delta system, are forced to come dangerously close to the surface to receive communications. Various land-based and airborne communications systems reach subs submerged at depths of up to about forty feet, and at slower-than-normal speeds. Here they are vulnerable to detection and attack. The U.S. is hard at work on the technologies necessary for communicating at much lower depths and higher sub speeds, but in the meantime there is need for ELF. The wavelengths transmitted by the ELF

## Opposition To The Nuclear ELF

(Extra Low Frequency) system, though considerably slower and therefore not suitable for extended communications, can reach submarines moving at much lower depths and from three to six times as fast as those positioned for other communications.

The idea is that a "rallying call," or short signal, would direct a fleet of subs to near the surface at predetermined locations for more detailed communications via conventional systems. There are a couple of advantages to this. First, obviously, it would keep nuclear-capable subs consistently hidden until the last possible time period before a strike is to be launched. Second, it would make subs available for communication at all times, and thus speed up communications drastically, compared with present cumbersome systems which require the subs rise for communications at certain intervals. It is the speed of communications which marks ELF as ready-made for first-strike strategies which must rely on efficient timing and synchronization. It is no coincidence that Project ELF is heading for completion just as the first Trident subs are deployed (though the ELF concept predated the Trident/Delta sub, the recent development of the two systems are clearly linked).

While the total size of the Trident fleet has been obscured, two have been launched and there are at least 14 on the drawing boards. Robert Aldridge in *First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War*, notes that the commander of just one of these subs is the third most powerful military man in the world (next to the leaders of the U.S. and the Soviet

Union), for at their fingertips is an explosive force equal to 2,000 Hiroshimas.

#### History of Opposition

Since it was first researched, ELF has developed in fits and starts, with plans being implemented then scrapped or scaled-down, alternate sites being chosen and rejected, funds appropriated and cut off. Its twisted line of development has been dictated by efforts to wind a path around the political opposition to the project, which has been considerable. There have been numerous technical problems as well. But however tortuous its development, ELF has never been derailed, something which shows the deadly earnest intent of the imperialists to get this system on line.

The Navy built the Wisconsin ELF Test Facility at Clam Lake in 1969, then consisting of 28 miles of above-ground antenna. This "experimental" facility has been operational for 15 years, sending signals to submerged subs with what the Navy calls "impressive results." The northern Wisconsin location for ELF was chosen because of the granite bedrock that undergirds the Lake Superior region. The low-conductivity of the rock was considered ideal for transforming the surrounding area into a giant antenna formed by underground cables; also, being buried in the hard rock, this antenna system was thought to have a good chance of surviving a nuclear attack.

Because of its low power, however, the Clam Lake facility was considered inadequate by the Navy. It proposed the construction of "Project Sanguine," a grid of 2,400 miles of underground antenna cable that would crisscross northern Wisconsin. Public outcry over this proposal from area residents — who saw their "North Woods" being transformed into a nuclear sponge — caused the Navy to not only abandon the overly frank name for the project ("sanguine" is a synonym for "bloody") but to choose other sites. First, a Texas location was chosen. Then after more opposition, the Navy settled on the geologically similar Upper Peninsula of Michigan as an alternative site for the now-dubbed "Operation Seafarer."

After much haggling and public controversy, the Navy agreed to reduce the proposed amount of cable at the new Marquette, Michigan site from 130 miles to 56 miles and to situate it above ground. This facility, to be linked electronically with the one in Wisconsin, is to be completed by 1985 under the aegis of "Project ELF." Activists believe that this scaled-down version of ELF will serve as the Pentagon's foot-in-the-door for an expanded project in the future. The latest chapter in the government's careful — but steady — development of the ELF system occurred several months ago when a federal judge ordered a temporary halt to work on the project pending an environmental impact statement. But even the most conservative, lobby-oriented groups opposed to ELF are more than a little cynical about the judge's order, given the history of the project, and the cynicism is, of course, well-founded.

Because of strong evidence linking ELF waves to damage in humans and the surrounding environment, there has been opposition by environmentalists to the Clam Lake facility for years, organized by the lobbying-oriented "Stop Project ELF." But recently this group, along with new organizations that have sprung up, has emphasized and exposed ELF's role in a nuclear first-strike. Citizens Against Trident and ELF (CATE), formed last fall, describes its purpose as carrying out nonviolent civil disobedience "in opposition to this country's emerging quest for a first-strike capability." Last fall a dozen of its supporters were arrested in a peaceful blockade of the plant; all charges were later dropped. CATE has continued to hold monthly vigils at ELF and has called for activities such as "alternative surveying" — pulling up surveyors' stakes and ribbons to hamper the proposed expansion of the Clam Lake test site. The Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF, organized only last fall, is the second group in less than a year formed out of a growing sense of the necessity to act in the face of nuclear war preparations. □

# Out of Bondage

To the RW,

Last month the window display of a local head shop was the subject of anger and struggle over the issue of women's oppression. Just another image of a woman being brutalized, but this one drew angry protest from women in the area who opposed yet another symbol of our degradation.

The female doll was dressed in a T-shirt with each arm chained at the wrist to the opposite wall. She had a whip in her lap and a button that read: "I like men." After several angry comments the button was changed to "Fun not violence." But the doll remained in bondage in the window.

The store owner, a low-life, reactionary slug, was very democratic about it, however. (We all know how democracy works!) He put an opinion ballot in his store so people could vote on whether they wanted it to stay or go.

He put a sign up asking politely that people be good amerikans and refrain from interfering with his democratic right to freedom of expression. Besides, maybe she liked it!

Of course, the supposed opinion of this lifeless doll (i.e., this reactionary) remained more valid than that of the real live women who were outside protesting the display for three days. Their presence didn't bother him, though. In fact, he boasted, the publicity was bringing in more profits. The saddest thing in my opinion was that the bondage display was designed by a female store manager, who stubbornly defended it. This only shows how thoroughly duped some slaves can become. But in light of the Green River murders, the women raped every eight minutes, the continuing daily brutalization of women, this fucker deserved his window... smashed.

Three days of protest didn't change anything. But the following night a group of revolutionaries took action. The next morning Dr. Feelgood's was dressed up with May Day posters and across the window was spray-painted in red the slogan, "Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!"

He changed her appearance right quick. Now she sported a pointed gun in one hand, an amerikan flag in the other, and a T-shirt which read, "I'd rather be killing communists." A new sign read: "\$100 Reward for information...." Now he told the protesters there was no problem. She wasn't defenseless anymore. Macho amerika all the way!

I didn't get to talk to the women (I missed the demo), but later we struggled with some punks who are friends of this reactionary. They were full of contradictions — trying to simultaneously

defend his "right" to promote women's exploitation while denouncing the oppression of women. The struggle exposed those contradictions to them in any case.

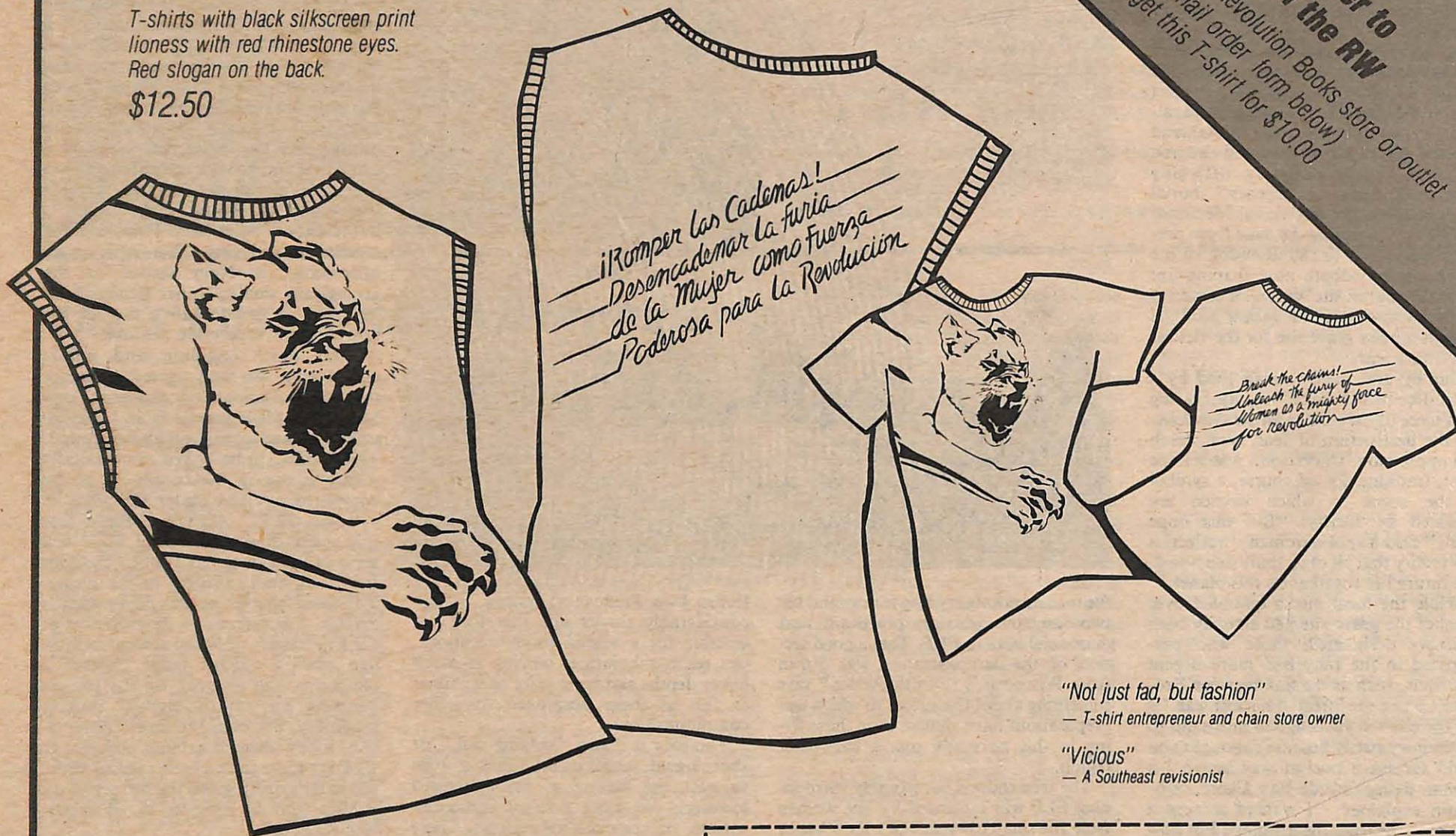
As for that brainless reactionary attempting to instill his sick values on a stuffed toy, he missed the point altogether. I know she'd rather be killing the fascist who had her in chains than the communists who got her out of them!

A Revolutionary Black Feminist  
Seattle, Washington

## Vicious... and fashionable

T-shirts with black silkscreen print  
lioness with red rhinestone eyes.  
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America's Great Salvadoran Hope has begun his second go-round as president of El Salvador in fitting fashion. José Napoleón Duarte announced that, following the trial-by-the-numbers and conviction of five low-level National Guardsmen for the 1980 rape and murder of four U.S. churchwomen, there would be no further inquiry into the case. "If there is a case that I know absolutely, it is the case of the nuns," Duarte said. "I don't need to investigate anything. I know it all." And well he should — having already presided during his previous tenure not only over the incident itself but over more than a year's worth of the ensuing coverup. Even an official U.S. investigation done by a former federal judge concluded that there was a coverup, and this was only referring to high-level officials protecting the five Guardsmen from prosecution. In addition, a former Salvadoran official has charged that the murder was ordered by a colonel in the Salvadoran army and that Colonel Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, then chief of the National Guard and the army colonel's cousin, had hidden this information; Vides Casanova has subsequently been promoted to general and is currently the Salvadoran Minister of Defense under Duarte. (As to the possible involvement of the U.S., disclosures are not forthcoming... if those in the know know what's good for them. But the attitude toward the incident is clear. For example, soon-to-be UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick told a reporter the day after the bodies were discovered: "The nuns were not just nuns. The nuns were also political activists. We ought to be a little more clear about this than we usually are.") But the case is closed. Oh, what a democratic difference a Duarte makes!

Just look at all the good work the Notre Dame University graduate has done in his first two weeks in office — all duly reported in the U.S. press. When 250 mothers of "los desaparecidos" (the disappeared ones) staged one of their regular demonstrations outside the presi-

dent's Presidential Palace, Duarte came out to console them and promised that he would investigate; no reporters bothered to ask the women how many of their loved ones had disappeared under Duarte's previous reign of terror. Another big plus is an appointment of a commission to investigate the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Romero who was murdered in the first month of Duarte's two-year term; everyone is holding their breath for this one. And then there is the removal of two military officers who were actually involved in — can you believe it? — death-squad activity. For such unusual crimes as the ones committed by these officers, an appropriate punishment was required; Duarte firmly ordered them to take comfortable positions abroad. There was some initial concern that the officers might fall behind the latest developments in their area of specialization, but not to worry — at least one of them is coming to the War College in Washington, D.C.

And let us not forget Duarte's newest trailblazing reform — the reorganization of the Ministry of Defense. All of El Salvador's security forces — National Guard, Treasury Police and National Police — are to be put under the control of a new Deputy Minister of Defense, and

separated off from the regular army. Duarte's choice for the new security forces chief: Colonel Reynaldo López Nuila, current head of the National Police. Under López Nuila, the National Police has run a secret soundproof torture chamber in its headquarters and conducted systematic midnight death-squad raids against any suspected critics — even liberal church members. With such credentials, it is no wonder Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams has stated that López Nuila has "a strong commitment to human rights."

It was supposedly on the basis of Duarte's expressed commitment to such vast changes in El Salvador's repressive apparatus that all the liberal U.S. congressmen joined with the Reagan administration in unanimously declaring the new Salvadoran president "quite impressive" — and quickly voting another \$62 million in emergency military funds for El Salvador. Thus, General Vides Casanova is assured of enough equipment to intensify the army's carpet bombing, search-and-destroy missions and peasant massacres, while Colonel López Nuila will have the necessary racks, electrocution devices and hooded outfits to continue his "strong commit-

ment to human rights." Meanwhile, Duarte will undoubtedly keep talking about all the reforms he is bringing to Salvadoran society.

In point of fact, no Salvadoran military officer has ever been formally charged — or even investigated — by the Salvadoran government. Indeed, the outgoing president Alvaro Magaña admitted that it would be almost impossible to make such a move. And Duarte, while he would like to put a stop to death-squad assaults on *some* forces (namely U.S.-backed union officials, his fellow Christian Democrats and certain sections of his social base among the urban middle classes), knows full well that he cannot upset the military... and stay in power. The U.S. desperately needs its neo-colonial repressive apparatus intact — indeed, it needs to be beefed up even further; certainly, no tampering with the puppet troops' "morale" can be tolerated. No, the sad-eyed butcher knows his role quite well — to spout demagoguery and try to prettify and legitimize the U.S.'s imperialist domination over El Salvador.

While the new president may impress U.S. public opinion creators, and a number of the U.S.'s allies and Latin American dependencies as well, it is doubtful that he is getting over too well with the Salvadoran masses. Indeed, Duarte seems to realize he has a problem here, as he used his inaugural speech to criticize those Salvadorans who "have not acted in accord with the dynamic of the armed forces for the defense of democracy, even when the situation has changed dramatically." Oh, perhaps they hadn't noticed.

In the meantime, Duarte will continue his publicized promises to "fight openly to control abuses of authority and the violence of the extremes." And perhaps he has a point. Certainly the practice of El Salvador's security forces must be recognized as not abuses but merely the normal workings of U.S. authority in the oppressed nations. □

## New York March Targets U.S. In Central America

Chanting "Hey, hey, Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam," and to the cries of "Shut it down" and "No business as usual," some 400 people blocked off the half-dozen entrances to the Federal Building in downtown Manhattan, effectively halting traffic in and out of the building for over two hours and thoroughly disrupting business from noon to closing time on Thursday, June 7. The building is the gigantic New York City home of the FBI, CIA, INS, U.S. military branches, Justice Department and a host of other bureaucracies.

But on June 7 the plaza and the sidewalks and streets around the building were filled with supporters of the blockade and interested onlookers as well as the New York City Police, feds and dozens of mostly ignored police traffic barriers. One urbane New Yorker commented as she surveyed the scene with more than a trace of excitement, "This is the closest to the 1960s I've seen down here in a long time." And the New York City media made a similar connection by highlighting the fact that Abbie Hoffman, still on parole, was one of the 350 arrested.

This action, in conjunction with a march of 10,000 two days later, was called by a coalition of movement groups as an emergency protest against U.S. intervention in Central America and secondarily against home-porting the nuclear-equipped USS *Iowa* battleship group in the New York harbor. A broad cross section of people took part in the blockade; punks, Yuppies, the Lawyers Guild, Plowshare activists, artists and others, many from out of town.

The day really began earlier in the morning as Yuppies moved into the nearby Wall Street area handing out "U.S. murderer" leaflets and confronting executive-types, asking them which murder corporation they worked for. At noon the protest converged on the Federal Building with a refreshing spirit and determination to do more than go through a routine civil disobedience ritual. They blocked the doors with several rows of protestors who raised their locked hands over their heads to impede people trying to crawl over them to get in and out of the building. As the cops, who generally acted on "low-key" orders, tried to help drag these zealous

federal "servants" over the blockaders, the intensity of the chants and locked hands increased. The head of the New York City FBI watched as several of his agents got their feet thoroughly entangled in the blockade; he was overheard to tell an underling to steer clear of the scene. Throughout the afternoon, reactions from people who could not get in the building ranged from cursing the demonstrators to those who cheered as they united with the protest.

Finally the police re-routed traffic to one entrance and began arresting at that spot. Some of those arrested left the police bus to rejoin the demonstration. This scene went on throughout the afternoon. Most arrested were charged with misdemeanors and released, though a few were hit with resisting arrest.

Two days later a crowd, reported in the media to be 10,000, took off from the U.N. and marched for an hour through 100-degree heat in midtown Manhattan to the U.S. Army recruiting station at Times Square. The theme of the rally was to indict the Reagan administration for U.S. crimes in Central America. This, like the earlier group, was a very diverse

crowd and the mood ranged from "a jazz festival" to a tense anger. So while official chants mainly singled out Reagan, other chants went up targeting "Uncle Sam," "Reagan and Mondale" and "The whole damn class."

The center of these latter chants and political struggle about them was an ad hoc contingent that grouped around the banner "A World Without Imperialism, Not Imperialist World War." Yuppies, activists in the women's movement, and others gravitated to the banner and took up the chanting with vigor, getting down especially with: "Hang 'em high, hang 'em low, the whole rotten bunch has got to go."

As traffic backed up for blocks, at one point a cabbie leaned on his horn and shouted, "Get those '60s creeps out of the streets." A '60s person who was selling the *RW* shot back that more '60s people had to get in the streets. Then a young guy came over to the cabbie and said, "I wasn't around in the '60s, you going to tell me I shouldn't be here too?" □

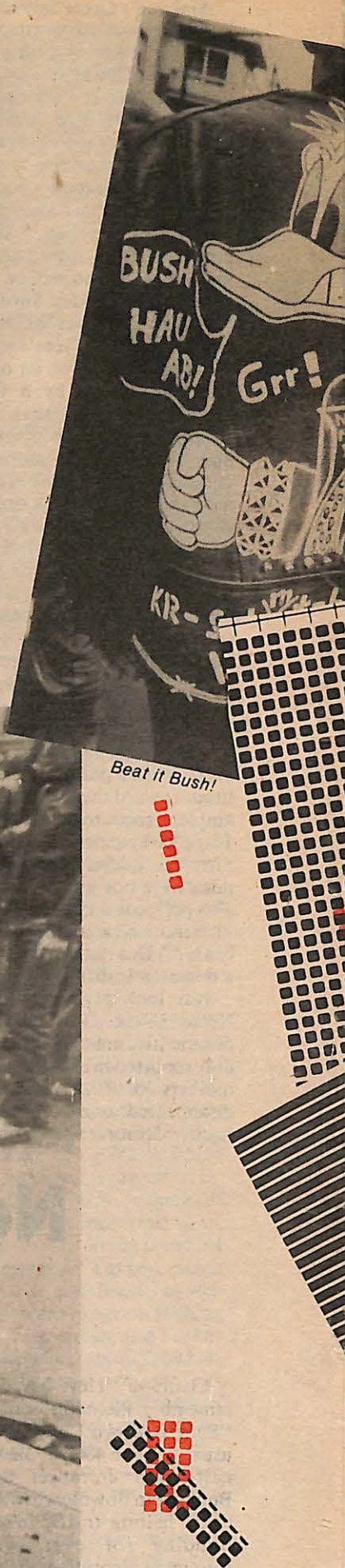
## Mutlangen Again!

When the U.S. Army sneaked the first detachment of Pershing II nuclear missiles into the Mutlangen airfield in the middle of the night last December, the arrogant war planners assumed that all resistance to the deployment would then quickly collapse. How wrong they were. Not only has the vigil of protestors outside the base continued all winter, but in recent weeks protest demonstrations have returned to Mutlangen with a vengeance. On June 11 dozens were arrested at the Bismarck barracks in nearby

Schwäbisch-Gmünd, as hundreds of demonstrators blocked entrances to the housing for the field artillery unit manning the nuclear missile stations at Mutlangen. In all 133 were arrested in four days of protest.

Reports of events in West Germany have been slow in reaching the United States, in part because a nationwide strike of printers has shut down most German newspapers; but as details reach us we shall continue to report on these developments. □





*In West Germany, and more generally in Europe, the word "Krefeld" has become a code word used by some forces to label and attack any moves toward militant and uncompromising resistance to imperialist war preparations. Because Krefeld has come to symbolize "all that should not happen in the peace movement," and is even cited in the U.S., we present the following report on the events which gave rise to this all-purpose scare word. The author was the RW's special correspondent in West Germany during last autumn's antimissile demonstrations.*

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On June 25, 1983, a car caravan carrying U.S. Vice-President George Bush was stoned by antiwar militants in the West German city of Krefeld. In the U.S., the event was a one-day news splash, but in West Germany the "Krefeld incident" became a major issue and a line of demarcation in the German peace movement. There were immediate charges from leaders of West Germany's mainstream peace organizations that those who had taken part in the attack on Bush were hired police provocateurs out to discredit the antiwar movement. Reverberations of this charge appeared in *The Nation* in E.P. Thompson's "Letter to America" of September 24, 1983. Thompson wrote: "It has been apparent, at least since January, that there is an orchestrated

NATO strategy of rolling back the peace movement, on both sides of the Atlantic, by the most careful employment of public relations and media management, by the provocation of dissension and, very probably, by the infiltration of agents and provocateurs...."

"The advance parties have gone ahead, to penetrate the movements and to make plain the way of the missiles. It is very much in the interest of NATO 'intelligence' (i.e., thugs) to provoke little episodes of violence... after all, a police riot is poor copy compared with a brick thrown at the car of Vice-President Bush. "I am asking our American friends to watch with the greatest care, in the next few months, every report of 'violence' in Europe, and to explain to their fellow citizens the role of provocateurs."

The issue is, however, somewhat more complicated than presented by Thompson. The Krefeld incident assumed the dimensions that it did in West Germany because it came to concentrate more deeply underlying issues. On the surface it was a dispute about nonviolence and provocateurs. But as often happens, political differences had come to present themselves in the more mundane clothing of disputes over tactics. The Krefeld dispute in reality represented a fundamental division over the possibility of preventing nuclear war by working within the established social compact, with its concomitant adherence to parliamentarianism and the Western

alliance.

First, what actually happened in Krefeld that it should have raised such a storm?

Ostensibly George Bush came to Krefeld to pay tribute to "300 years of German-American friendship," occasioned by the anniversary of the emigration of thirteen families of pacifist Mennonites from the town of Krefeld to the American colonies. But actually the trip was part of an orchestrated campaign to heighten awareness of the U.S.-West German military alliance. This was not only the 300th anniversary of the start of German emigration to the U.S., but it was, as the *New York Times* aptly called it, "The Year of the Missile," the year that intermediate-range Pershing II ballistic missiles and low-flying cruise missiles were to be deployed in Europe. Nor was Krefeld picked out of a hat to obscenely twist the history of German religious pacifists fleeing military service. Krefeld is also the site of the promulgation of a well-known antiwar declaration called the "Krefeld Appeal," which has now been signed by millions of people in Western Europe.

Bush's visit to Krefeld was openly intended to hype the Western bloc alliance and push the missile deployment, as was West German President Carstens' trip to the U.S. in October (Carstens was met by 15,000 antiwar demonstrators in Philadelphia). The unctuous festivities at Krefeld featured U.S. Dixieland rock

bands, and a parade with the U.S. Air Force band and Disney characters.

Well aware of the character of Bush's "friendship" visit, the various trends of West Germany's antiwar movement prepared to receive him. These trends include, first, what is known as "the spectrum," meaning the mainstream, national peace organizations dominated jointly by the pro-NATO Social Democratic Party (SPD), the pro-Soviet German Communist Party (DKP), the national trade union federation (DGB), and some religious figures. The spectrum insists on rigid adherence to the "minimal consensus": mass, legal, nonviolent demonstrations around the sole demand of no Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Germany. The spectrum enjoys influence out of proportion to its following among antiwar activists through its organizational dominance of key national conferences.

A second trend is made up of the independent, or "autonomous," local peace initiatives. They, too, are committed to nonviolent opposition to the new U.S. missiles, but raise a broader range of antiwar demands. They are more likely to explicitly attack both military blocs, and are generally prepared to engage in direct action (such as blockades), particularly against local symbols of militarism. It was the local initiatives who forced the militant demonstration in Bonn on November 21 over the objections of the spectrum, and who organized the

# The Krefeld Affair

By C. Clark Kissinger

blockade of a U.S. missile facility in Frankfurt in December. The multi-tendency Green Party straddles the politics of both the spectrum and the local initiatives.

A third trend is that of West Germany's rebellious anarchist youth, the *autonomen*. The *autonomen* see themselves as "outlaws" in a society of "good Germans," are not in the least committed to nonviolence, and attack NATO explicitly as an imperialist war alliance. They also have little love for the Soviet Union, but on their wings are the pro-Soviet "anti-imps," influenced by the underground Red Army Faction.

The local peace initiative in Krefeld, supported by the spectrum, had called for a protest rally, but moved it at the request of the police to a point some distance from Bush's actual appearance. Preparing to confront Bush more directly were the *autonomen*. Having eluded police roadblocks on the approaches to Krefeld, the forces of the "Black Bloc" (as the *autonomen* and other anti-NATO groupings are called in the German press) formed up on the street to march on Bush. Many wore motorcycle helmets and black ski masks. They carried banners reading "Fight the NATO War Policy," "War on Imperialist War/Destroy NATO War Propaganda," and other similar slogans. But they never got anywhere near Bush. At 10:20 in the morning they were attacked by a phalanx of club-wielding police as they marched down a sidestreet. When they tried to retreat, they were pursued and clubbed to the ground. Over one hundred were arrested, of which 24 were taken to hospitals by the police. It was all over by

10:35.

Meanwhile, the official program was starting. Vice-President Bush, Chancellor Kohl and President Carstens all discreetly avoided any reference in their remarks to the pacifism of the early Krefeld emigrants. Instead they hailed this beginning of U.S.-German friendship, lauding the Krefeld emigrants for their commitment to "peace, freedom, and human dignity," values which they said are today threatened by the Soviet Union.

When it was over, the Bush party was quickly bundled off into an underground

garage from which his car caravan took off at 1:00 p.m. It was during his departure that the famous stoning took place. As the Bush motorcade zipped through the streets along an unannounced route, dozens of assorted bystanders took the opportunity to throw rocks, paint, pop bottles and anything else portable at the passing convoy. Casualties added up to one broken window on a press bus, one broken window on a police car, one broken windshield wiper, and assorted scratches and dents on ten cars in all.

Ironically, there were no reports of anyone being arrested along the motorcade route for stoning Bush. The total of 138 arrests for the day seem to have been overwhelmingly in the morning, before

and during the police attack on the anti-Bush demonstration.

Meanwhile at the official peace demonstration, 15,000 had gathered in a growing crowd. A mass die-in was staged, as activists sprawled over the ground while simulated sounds of a nuclear attack on Krefeld were played over the sound system. At the following rally, informed of events in town, Gen. Gert Bastian, a parliamentary deputy who has since resigned from the Green Party, denounced the *autonomen* and the stoning of the Bush caravan: "With these people we will have nothing to do." The well-known German author Robert Jungk went even further: "Whoever says 'No More War' must also say 'No More Civil War.' And it is a task of the peace movement to find out who paid the provocateurs of this morning." When a group of *autonomen* tried to take the microphone to explain what had actually happened in the city, they were prevented from doing so by "nonviolent peacekeepers."

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Around the world, the news of Bush's car being stoned in West Germany lit up the sky at least for a brief moment. It was the first such incident since Nelson Rockefeller was run out of several Latin

Continued on page 10



Stoning the motorcade

# The Krefeld Affair

Continued from page 9

American countries by demonstrations in 1969. But in West Germany it provoked a reactionary storm. Chancellor Kohl solemnly pledged that the Bonn government "will not bend to the terror of the street." Petra Kelly, of the conservative wing of the Green Party, made headlines by saying, "They were punks. They had nothing to do with the peace movement. They were punks, that's all."

Citing Krefeld, the spectrum forces, supported by a section of the Green Party leadership, now demanded that the peace movement "distance" itself from the "violence prone" sections of the resistance movement against war preparations. One prominent voice, Rudolf Bahro, expressed it this way: "This kind of hatred in the minorities arises out of their dependent position together with their tendency toward the totalitarian military or police state. Their beloved 'direct disruption actions' are suited only to strengthen the dragon... Do the streetfighters really belong to the peace movement? They look desperately similar to the dominant culture of self-destruction."

Other voices rose just as quickly, if not from such prominent individuals, denouncing the "distancing" tactic and denying the right of anyone to define anyone else out of the antiwar movement. For example, the Linden Independent Initiative in Hanover wrote in a letter to the editor: "The domestic peace, which is supposed to be preserved, is that peace which Kohl, Zimmerman (West German Interior Minister — RW), and so on, need in order to prepare the armaments and therewith war. The civil peace will certainly be broken by their side in the fall. Whoever joins in their 'concern' for domestic peace, pulls the teeth of the peace movement. We invite the distancers to distance themselves from distancing. We ask of the grassroots of the peace movement to bring the necessary pressure to stop the Krefeld distancing-merry-go-round. We demand that the struggle for solidarity within the antiwar movement be pursued." By the end of July a collection of documents presenting the conflicting views on Krefeld and "distancing" was being circulated nationally.

Hardly surprising, the police also put forward the call to "distance" the militant minority that targeted NATO and U.S. military installations in West Germany. One leaflet handed out by the police at a major demonstration in Neu-Ulm on October 22 concluded: "Don't allow violent people to misuse you as protection! Distance yourselves from them not only in words but also physically, putting space between them and you that is recognizable from without! Resist the temptation to stand in solidarity with them; these people aren't serious about securing peace, only about street fighting!"

The police, who are controlled by SPD state governments in the major industrial areas, also attacked from another direction. Two weeks following the Krefeld incident, a meeting of the *autonomen* was held in Wuppertal to sum up the Krefeld events. A half hour into the meeting, police burst through the doors crying "Hands up, Raid!" All 104 people at the

meeting were arrested, all leaflets and literature confiscated, and everyone's belongings searched. Some of those arrested were not released for 15 hours, although no charges were brought against anyone. In 1981 the police had staged a similar mass raid on a youth house in Nuremberg, arresting everyone as a "preventative measure." The Nuremberg raid was treated as a scandal in the national press, with charges that nothing like that had happened since the days of the Gestapo. In the new climate of "distancing," however, there was little published criticism of the Wuppertal raid.

The police also began to make new arrests in connection with Krefeld. Of the 138 arrested on June 25, all but five had been released. But now new people were being arrested throughout July. The effect, one of the defense attorneys told me, was to create a reign of terror over the summer. Everyone wondered who would be next. No one was released on bail, and the trials would not even begin until November. The message was a pointed one to those thinking of participating in the planned autumn demonstrations.

A second event following Krefeld also produced sharply polarized reactions in the German peace movement. On August 3, Frank Schwalbe-Hoth, a Green deputy in the Hessian state parliament, threw blood on a high-ranking U.S. general, crying "Blood for the bloody army!" In an interview I subsequently conducted with him, Schwalbe-Hoth explained his action:

"We wanted to make an action against what we considered a provocation [the inviting of Lt. Gen. Paul Williams to be a guest of honor by the Hessian state government], but we had three conditions. It had to be absolutely nonviolent. Secondly, it had to be a symbolic action. Thirdly, something which was not against the American people, and not against the person of Mr. Paul Williams, but against the uniform and the medals."

To his amazement, Schwalbe-Hoth's action, which reflected the sentiments of many rank-and-file Green and peace activists, provoked a storm of denunciation by the leaders of the peace movement. There even arose a debate over whether throwing one's own blood on another human being violated the principles of nonviolence. Schwalbe-Hoth's supporters were many and they invoked the precedent of the Berrigan brothers in the U.S. By contrast the action was immediately denounced by Gen. Bastian as an act of violence and he again invoked Krefeld. Petra Kelly tried to please everybody by supporting the throwing of blood — but only against objects, not people!

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The movement against the deployment of the new missiles had been building for four years. In December 1979 the NATO ministers, meeting in Brussels, decided to deploy 108 Pershing II missiles and 464 cruise missiles in Western Europe, beginning by the end of 1983. This plan, proposed by the West German Social Democratic government of Helmut Schmidt, had both a military and political



value for the Western bloc. The highly accurate Pershing IIs could be hitting command, control, and communication targets in the Soviet Union within six minutes of a launch, consistent with the U.S. "decapitation" war-fighting strategy. But the spreading around of U.S.-controlled strategic weapons throughout the bloc was also intended to make it impossible for one partner or the other to "sit out" a nuclear exchange. This "risk sharing" nuclear war compact was correctly judged to be a qualitative step toward world war, and antiwar activists from England to Italy began gearing up for an all-out effort to block the scheduled deployment. In West Germany, the looming political battle was dubbed the "*heisse Herbst*," or "hot autumn."

Going into the hot autumn, the West German government had its own plans for defusing and managing the threatened protests and mass civil disobedience. The basic game plan of the government was first to hail the public debate over the stationing of the missiles as something befitting a "free society" in contrast to the "totalitarian" Eastern bloc. Second, there would be a wide range of symbolic protests and nonviolent demonstrations tolerated, again as befitting a "free society." Then, third, the West German parliament would cast its democratic vote and the missiles would be deployed.

From being a threat to government policy, the antimissile protests were to be turned into a testimonial to the "rights and freedoms" of the Western bloc. The terms thus set, enormous pressure was brought to bear on the peace forces to gracefully accept a "democratic" decision to proceed with war preparations. The responsibility would be theirs to "police" their own movement, and thereby hopefully win public support.

What would be intolerable to the government would be the existence of a substantial countercurrent which rejected the stationing *no matter how the decision was made*, and which placed the stopping of the missiles above maintaining the fabric and norms of the existing society. Thus the fourth point of the government game plan was to act with unremitting force against any group that didn't accept the "democratic process" of war preparations, painting them as violence-prone terrorists and pariahs to be excluded from the "legitimate" peace movement. In this, the West German government received no small amount of help from the leaders of the mainstream peace movement.

It was precisely to obfuscate such political realities that a great media campaign was launched over the question of "tactics." And to a large measure the German media was successful in creating the impression that the autumn protest demonstrations would be a "success" if they remained nonviolent, and a "failure" if otherwise. This was in direct opposition to a more logical criterion

which would consider the demonstrations to be a success if they actually stopped the deployment, or barring that, if they forced the war makers to pay a heavy price in political exposure and in the unraveling of the social compact upon which the war planners stood.

Let us not mince words. We are not talking here about abstract concepts of representative democracy or the ethical precepts of nonviolence philosophy. We are talking about an imperialist West Germany whose remarkable economic growth in the wake of WW2 is based upon the ability of German capital to invest freely within the U.S. sphere of hegemony. This vast concentration of wealth with its attendant living standard feeds off investments in Turkey, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Brazil, as well as an industrial *bracero* program sucking labor from Italy, Yugoslavia, and Turkey into the maw of German capital. The harmony of Germany's social compact rests upon this reality. And *this* the leaders of the spectrum are neither prepared nor inclined to challenge (the DKP included).

Even the seemingly radical program emanating from the Greens and many of the local initiatives to pull West Germany out of NATO do not fundamentally challenge this framework. The alternative "vision" which is offered here is one of a neutral, united, nuclear-free Central Europe. Aside from the utter impossibility of such a scheme in the current matrix of global interests, what would this mean? What would it mean to break Central Europe out of the bipolar bloc system, while preserving the existing social system and its relationship to the rest of the world? Should a tripolar configuration for world imperialism be our loftiest aspiration?

Recognition of these fundamental problems led to great debate in the German peace movement, a debate which grew through the autumn and in its aftermath. But within this debate the outlook of the spectrum and many others, with its reliance on electoral politics and strategies of alliance in the national interest with supposedly more rational elements of the ruling circles, could lead only to a politics in which preserving the social compact was to take priority over stopping the actual march toward war.

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The trials of the Krefeld defendants were a showcase of the "democratic values" which Bush, Kohl, and Carstens had hailed back in June. Most Americans are not familiar with the fact that the West German government can simply declare organizations to be illegal or that every publication down to the lowliest leaflet must bear the name and address of the person responsible and is otherwise subject to immediate confiscation. Under the "antiterrorist laws" pushed through by Helmut Schmidt's SPD government in the late '70s, political prisoners can be held in virtual isolation, each lawyer can



represent only one "terrorist" defendant in his lifetime, and distributing letters written from jail by political prisoners or pamphlets from banned organizations is prosecuted under the infamous Section 129a as "making propaganda for a terrorist organization." Under these conditions joint legal defense is prohibited and political support work is criminalized. Other accouterments of jurisprudence, such as trial by jury, are similarly unknown in this particular patch of the "free world." In the courtroom, a police officer sits between the accused "terrorist" and his attorney and they are not allowed to communicate in court.

On November 10 the first trial began, that of Holger Deilke, a 23-year-old student. Holger had been held without bail in "investigative detention" since George Bush's visit in June. The day the trial began, the area around the Krefeld courthouse was guarded by 800 police officers. Cars approaching Krefeld were stopped and searched, people getting off the train at the Krefeld station were frisked. In the court building, special wooden walls had been constructed to separate off a courtroom to be used only for the Krefeld defendant trials. Spectators, supporters of Holger, who wanted to enter the courtroom had to pass through a gauntlet of police, produce identification and be photographed individually.

Holger was being charged with aggravated breach of peace, resisting a police officer, and violation of the assembly law. Specifically, he was charged with wearing a black leather jacket with stones in both inside pockets and wielding a three-foot stick. Photographs produced in court showed him wearing a brown jacket (which turned out to have only one inside pocket), and in no photograph did he have a stick. Accordingly he was found guilty and sentenced to 21 months in prison without parole.

In the course of the trials two real police provocateurs surfaced. Both were "V-men," undercover agents of the Federal Office for the Defense of the Constitution. One even told his whole life story to the German leftist daily *Die Tageszeitung*. No evidence produced so far indicates that either played any significant role at Krefeld or at later demonstrations in the fall. Their sudden public appearance seems far more calculated to lend belated credence to instant analyses made on June 25 that the stoning of Bush was the work of police provocateurs.

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While devoting two full pages of *The Nation* to the dangers of such police provocateurs, E.P. Thompson failed to mention another issue in the German peace movement which became every bit as controversial as Krefeld: the open collaboration of some leaders of the German peace movement with the German police, aimed at identifying, isolating and dispersing anti-imperialist militants in the German movement. Anyone who has

ever been involved in the organization of legal protest demonstrations knows that a certain amount of contact with the police authorities is unavoidable. There are permits and logistics to be worked out, and a certain amount of hassling inevitably goes on. But what happened last fall in Germany went qualitatively beyond this, entailing *political planning* between the police and the leaders of the conservative peace organizations over how best to contain the threatened autumn protests and keep them within the game plan.

These meetings began on October 27, 1982 with a meeting in Stuttgart between police officials and representatives of the BBU (the national environmental protection organization which has been centrally involved in the movements against nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons). The agreed upon topic of these discussions was the possibility of de-escalating the environmental demonstrations. A second meeting began in Stuttgart on March 4, 1983, expanded to include Jo Leinen, a member of both the leading committee of the BBU and the Social Democratic Party. Leinen was to emerge as the principal spokesman for the national coordinating committee for the fall peace actions.

Then on September 23, a major meeting took place between the conservative wing of the antiwar movement and police officials at the Evangelical Academy in Loccum (near Hanover). The official topic for the by-invitation-only meeting was "Conflict Management and Domestic Peace." Present were Jo Leinen of the BBU, Andreas Zumach from the coordinating office for the fall actions, and several others from religious antiwar groups, together with Alfred Stümper, police chief for the state of Baden-Württemberg, Werner Ochs, police chief at Kaiserlautern (site of one of the largest U.S. bases in West Germany), Major General Henning von Ondarza, commander of the 1st Panzer Division of the West German Army, and many others. Seven reporters were selected to "observe" the meeting, but representatives of the grass roots peace organizations were barred.

The whole affair got even smellier with the involvement of U.S. officials in the plans for "conflict management." The first publicity on the conference said that U.S. representatives would take part because of the danger of confrontation between German demonstrators and U.S. personnel during the fall, and one press story said that U.S. Ambassador Arthur Burns had helped arrange the meeting. But when the Loccum affair blew up into a public issue, it was quickly denied that any U.S. representatives would actually be present (although representatives of the Evangelical Academy admitted that they had originally been invited).

This produced a general feeling of outrage across the movement, and soon individuals and local groups were declaring themselves "for" or "against" the Loc-

cum meeting, in the same way lines had been drawn three months before in response to Krefeld. Several groups staged a nonviolent blockade of the Loccum conference. Defenders of the Loccum conference on "conflict management" could only lamely offer the excuse that "the police are not our enemies" and that everything must be done to avoid the threat of violence in the autumn actions.

The issue of secret dealing with the police became so heated that later a group of colorfully costumed activists invaded a Bonn meeting of the national coordinating committee, distributed champagne and chocolate kisses, danced about and left, leaving a note which read: "This morning we have visited the office of the Coordinating Committee (KOA) and permitted ourselves to cut off the private lines between the KOA and the police. Since weeks of debate have not borne fruit, it became necessary to put, herewith, the telephone lines directly out of commission...." The outraged organizers looked around to find that their phone lines had been cut!

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The lines drawn within the movement during the summer over charges of police provocateurs and countercharges of police collaborators were to deepen as the fall actions unfolded. These events became progressively more militant from the spectrum-dominated Action Week of October 15-22, through the use of water cannon in the streets of Bonn during the parliamentary vote on the missiles, to the militant blockades of December which accompanied the actual deployment. The Bonn demonstration, for example, occurred only at the insistence of autonomous local peace initiatives and over the objections of the spectrum who feared that it would become "antiparliamentarian" in tone (it did!). These local groups, together with the *autonomen* and the workers from Turkey, were precisely those who were least affected by the Krefeld bugaboo and the most outraged by the collaboration with the police.

The actual course of events had caused quite a bit of rethinking within the peace movement when — in spite of all the polls showing a large majority of West Germans opposed deployment of the missiles, in spite of all the reasoned arguments and statements by famous people, in spite of all the appeals to conscience (not to mention rather blatant appeals to national interest), and in spite of the "good behavior" of the mainstream of the peace movement — the stationing of the missiles became a reality.

The fact that the Social Democratic Party voted against the deployment was scant consolation, as SPD officials rushed to assure U.S. journalists that their cynical change was made only to undercut the influence of the Greens and keep control of the mainstream of the peace movement. Had they still been in office they would surely have gone through with the deployment which they first proposed.

Thus we must return to a central issue which E.P. Thompson himself raised: "Our peace movements are engaged in one of the sharpest confrontations of our national political lives. We must disabuse

our supporters if they suppose they are confronting only 'the bomb.' The peace movements cannot choose whether or not to be more 'political.' They have challenged the bomb — and behind it they have found the full power of the state. They must go directly into that political confrontation or they must lie down and give up. If they are to reach the bomb, they must also take on a whole state-manipulated and media-endorsed ideology. And the security services."

I agree. But precisely because the stakes are so high and the threat of world war so real, we have to make a sober assessment of the various forces in the field in opposition to the deployment of the new missiles. To be quite frank, most of the leaders of the mainstream peace organizations privately accepted the inevitability of the deployment before the autumn protests even began, and thus gauged their tactics not to stopping the missiles but diverting the better elements in the German antiwar movement into the pathways of passivity and legalism by holding up the specter of violence. Accordingly, the "massive, nonviolent civil disobedience" that had been promised was deliberately scuttled.

It may well have been the case that, barring fundamental political upheaval in Europe, the deployment of the missiles could not have been prevented. But that does not justify a program of acquiescence. And it certainly does not justify a program of collusion. This is not an abstract moral injunction but a *realistic*, practical political assessment which any serious effort in opposition to world war must come to terms with. With a perspective of uncompromising resistance, even with fewer numbers, the leaders in both blocs could have been made to pay a far higher political price for their mad missile race in Europe, in terms of both political exposure and the growth of potentially destabilizing forces in society. A hint of this was seen in Bonn on November 21 when what was to have been a stately parliamentary debate exploded into world-publicized scenes of water cannon and helmeted police battling for control of the streets around the *Bundestag*.

And a final thought on Krefeld: There is a particularly sordid history of those seeking to prove themselves a *loyal* opposition labeling as agent provocateurs others, who are moved to carry their resistance beyond the bounds defined as acceptable by the war makers. To cite one example, during the French colonial war in Algeria, the French Communist Party did backflips trying to prove its loyalty to the République française, thus hoping to win the support of the average chauvinist French voter. To their lasting disgrace, the French communists not only chanted "Algérie française," but labeled young leftists who organized actions in support of the Algerian Revolution as "police provocateurs" whose actions would make easier a rightist military coup.

If George Bush had been stoned by the youth of Soweto, would anyone take seriously cries of police provocateurs? Then why should it be so difficult to understand that youth in Europe are also capable of targeting the political leaders of a system that is propelling them and the world toward a nuclear nightmare? □



## Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

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## Ike's First-Strike Memoirs

Continued from page 3

E. Hull and General J.S. Bradley both argued that any U.S. move outside of Korea had to involve the use of atomic weapons. General Hull even declared that: "... the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff were convinced that they must be used in considerable numbers in order to be truly effective." These NSC notes describe the U.S. military as "most anxious to make use of atomic weapons" outside of Korea since their use would be "highly advantageous from a strictly military point of view." (This "strictly military point of view" also included the argument that after the massive conventional bombing of Korea by the U.S. forces there were no targets of any strategic value left standing inside Korea.)

Such plans continued well after the armistice was signed in Korea in July 1953. In December 1953 an Admiral Radford very calmly called for "a massive atomic air strike that would defeat the Chinese communists in Korea and make them incapable of aggression there or elsewhere in the Far East for a very considerable time." Admiral Radford advocated that the U.S. bomb China from "Shanghai all the way north." A glance at the map of China makes it very clear that Radford was calling for nothing less than the total destruction of socialist China.

And, Radford was far from alone on the NSC as Eisenhower quickly and emphatically agreed with him. According to the December 3, 1953 NSC notes: "The president expressed with great emphasis the opinion that if the Chinese communists attacked us again we should certainly respond by hitting them hard and wherever it would hurt most, including Peiping itself. This, said the president, would mean all-out war against communist China." And later, the same notes show Eisenhower stating that Radford's thinking "... fitted exactly into his thinking, and he could see no other way of treating a renewed communist attack." Newspaper accounts of documents we have not obtained, show that plans for such

attacks on China were discussed at least until 1960.

### Socialist Camp

What was going on here was obviously quite larger than suppressing the national liberation struggle in Korea. Yes, the U.S. was attempting to smash this struggle. But this was very much bound up with a far more significant fact — that is, the fact that the U.S. was gearing up for a new world war against the socialist camp that had emerged out of World War 2. As our party has analyzed, the confrontation between the U.S.-led bloc and the socialist camp was the factor most shaping world events coming off the last world war. What we see in the government documents is a period in which atomic attacks in connection with Korea are part of the calculations about how and when to smash at the allied socialist countries of China and the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

This fact is also confirmed in a document declassified in 1979 (probably for reasons similar to the current disclosures). U.S. Navy Memorandum OP-36/jm was signed on March 18, 1954, reflecting discussions therefore in precisely the same period as the newly released documents. This Memorandum called for a plan to reduce the Soviet Union to "a smoking, radiating ruin at the end of two hours," and included the comment that "no aspect of the morals or long-range effects of such attacks were discussed and no questions on it were asked." A second document, Weapons System Evaluation Group Report No. 12, of February 1955, called for the doubling of nuclear warheads targeted on the Soviet Union and warned that even "this additional allocation cannot prevent the Soviets from launching a strike unless we hit first."

Of course, there were some "objections" to the proposals around the use of nuclear weapons on a large-scale basis at that moment. But even these "objections" — raised in the NSC notes more as thrashing out the best way to confront the socialist camp and attempting to analyze this problem from every possible angle —

go to show what the U.S. rulers had on their minds. For instance, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who definitely favored U.S. use of nuclear weapons in general (and who, in 1954, offered the French the use of U.S. nukes at Dienbienphu), while he favored the use of nuclear weapons within Korea, was a bit uncomfortable about the proposals around China because, he said, of possible Soviet intervention (perhaps he felt the U.S. needed a bit more time to prepare for this event) and a negative reaction from U.S. allies. Eisenhower also warned that the U.S. should "not be blind" to the fears of the U.S. imperialists' European allies since, he cautioned, they feel they will be in the battleground in an atomic war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Among themselves these imperialists are certainly open about their agenda!

The documents also show great concern among NSC members to dispel what they disdainfully term the "taboo" on the use of atomic weapons. During the March 31, 1953 NSC meeting Deane W. Mallott, the president of Cornell University, raised the question about "public hysteria with respect to atomic weapons and the danger of atomic attack." Then, soon enough, Mallott brushed aside his own concern over "public hysteria" during the very same meeting in which he raised it and argued that in spite of it, "we ought to use a couple of atomic weapons in Korea." Eisenhower readily agreed.

Even before then, on March 27, 1953 the NSC had already agreed that "somehow or other the taboo which surrounds the use of atomic weapons would have to be destroyed." And, during the same meeting the notes show that: "While Secretary Dulles admitted that in the present state of world opinion, we could not use an A-bomb, we should make every effort now to dissipate this feeling."

In his introduction to the book *Protest and Survive* Daniel Ellsberg confirms that Eisenhower favored negotiating with U.S. allies to overcome their hesitancy on the use of nuclear weapons and Dulles advocated breaking down the "false distinction" between nuclear weapons and conventional weapons that contributed to the restraints against U.S. use of nuclear

bombs. All this talk about breaking down the "taboos" attached to nuclear war and "shooting off a couple" of the horrible weapons, had everything to do with the fact that the U.S. was actively preparing for an all-out nuclear war and the public as well as its European allies were going to have to be made to face the hard, cold realities of the situation.

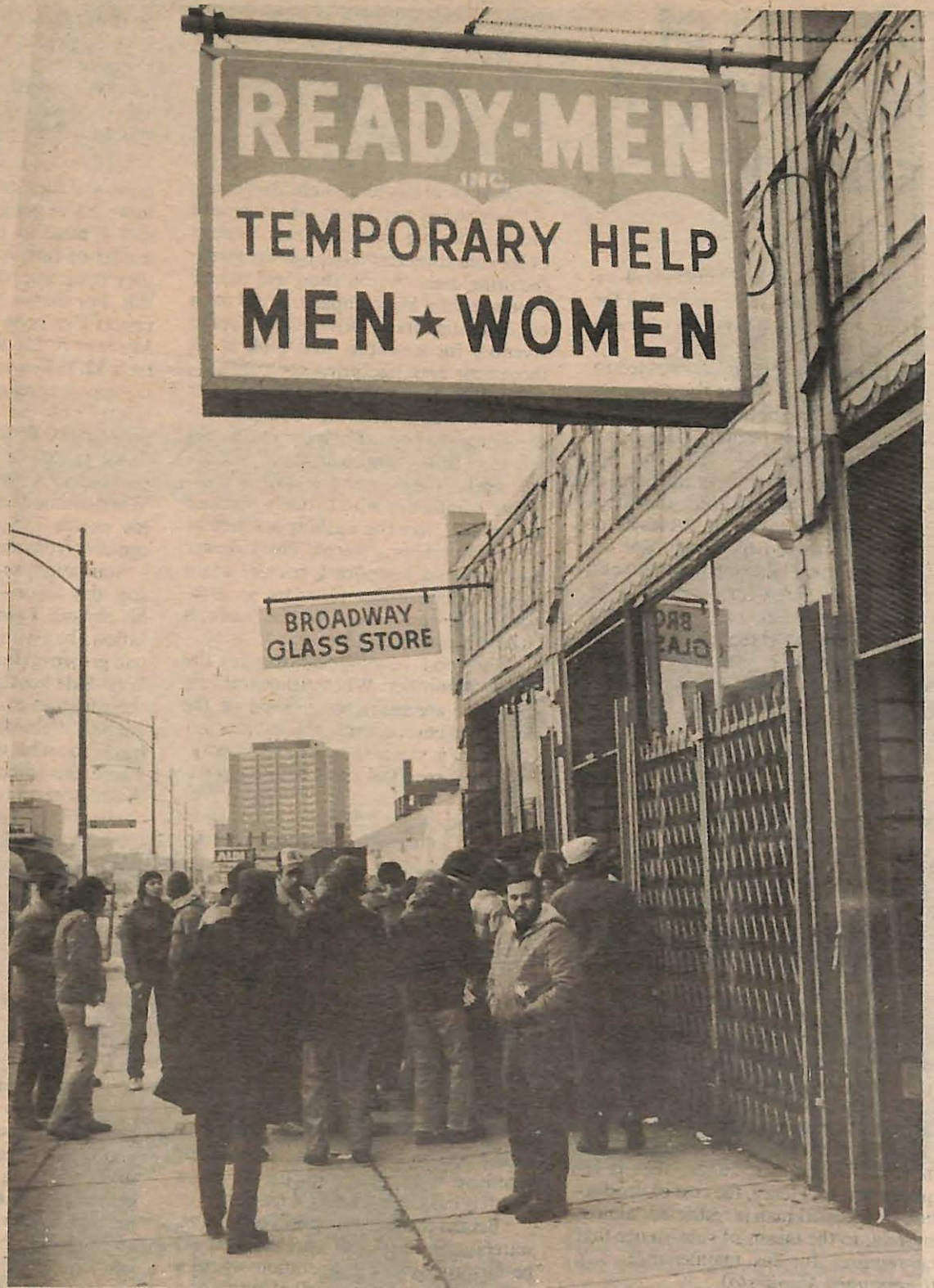
### Nuclear Threats

The fact that Eisenhower advocated the use of nuclear weapons in Korea has been known for sometime now. Eisenhower himself boasted in his memoirs about having threatened the Chinese with nuclear weapons. And there is certainly nothing new in the U.S. actively considering the use of nuclear weapons against national liberation struggles and elsewhere. Strategic analyst Desmond Ball has listed some twenty times in which the U.S. has considered such attacks as a real possibility since 1945 (*International Security*, Winter 1982/1983).

What is new in these documents is that they add a very considerable amount of substance to the picture of the U.S. preparing for and girding their bloc for an all-out war with the Soviet Union and the socialist camp in the mid-1950s (a war which did not come about only because revisionists in the Soviet Union seized power and restored capitalism there, and went on to actually collude with the U.S. on the world scene for a time). What is revealed in the documents are no extemporaneous crisis meetings, but thorough and high-level discussion of the preparations for atomic war and its political implications.

Today, these are documents of much more than historical interest. The U.S. released them with some fanfare, giving the documents to elements of the bourgeois media a week before their formal publication date — the U.S. clearly wants some wide publicity for the material. It can be said that these constitute an historical "demonstration shot" — one aimed at their Soviet rivals and at attempting to break down the current "taboos" about using nuclear weapons, in order to push away the obstacles to fullest pursuit of U.S. interests in the approaching world war. □

# The Life of the "Instant People"



Sean, a 53-year-old proletarian, looked up over his cup of coffee. He had just finished describing his last ten years spent working day labor. One eye twitched angrily, the other just stared, blind from cataracts. "A slave market, that's what it is," he said in a barely audible voice.

Afterwards, this reporter leafed through the phone book. Thirty-five day labor offices are listed in Chicago: Alhelp, All Work, Laborama, Labor World, Handy-Andy — the very names suggest why the term slave market caught on. Get up early enough in the morning and these offices are teeming. Further investigation reveals that literally tens of thousands in this city reply on these one-day jobs, although only about 3,000 a day get sent out. Day laborers report working for similar agencies in other cities across the country.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx describes "a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market." While some in this country have risen above this status, millions have not. Day labor is a particularly sharp and vivid illustration concentrating the conditions of life of a portion of this section of the working class. Rotating from factory to factory, day laborers are literally thrown out of work every day, exposing them to an extremely tenuous existence.

The difficulties, verging on desperation, facing day laborers have often led them to get a bad rap. Often they're described as alcoholics looking for drinking money, riffraff, transients, people with mental problems. A good example of this comes from Ed Pfaff, former president of the Chicago chapter of the American Temporary Service Contractors Association and Chicago manager for Manpower. He put it this way in the *Chicago Sun-Times*: "Here we have a small group

that actually strives for insecurity, and that is a deep-rooted psychological problem that the industry has nothing to do with. These people do not respond to the things we respond to. They aren't looking to do anything with themselves. They work when they want and play when they want." In other words, the hand-to-mouth existence of these people is their own fault. They enjoy it! And "the industry," as Pfaff describes day labor vendors like Manpower and others thriving all over the country, is only performing a service to society: turning the psychological problems of the "instant people" into a "social service" — one which is lucrative and rational for capital.

Who are these people described as "riffraff"? To find out, this reporter decided to work for one of the largest day-labor agencies, with several offices in Chicago. The office opens at 5:30 a.m. and by 5:00 people are lining up in the predawn cold. Some workers in the line bear scars from lost or crushed fingers or broken bones. I ask the guy next to me what he'll do if he can't get work. He talks about a clinic where many people go to sell their blood for \$8 a pint.

The office opens and 100 workers of every nationality crowd together in a small room, anxiously waiting to see if their names are called. Many chain-smoke, their faces filled with anxiety. Looking around the room, one is immediately struck by the proletarian character of the day laborers. Poor whites from Appalachia crowd in next to Native Americans in work uniforms. There are some older workers, their faces and hands etched with years of labor. Women fill a separate room. Most day laborers, however, are in their 20s and 30s. A Latino youth walks in with a huge box blaring salsa... a Native American youth stands with a walkman headphone... Black youth joke back and forth over the dispatcher's voice. About one-third of all day laborers are Black and another third immigrant workers, many undocumented.

The petty power of the dispatcher be-

comes obvious; and he flaunts it. "Regulars" are the first to be called — those who may have as much as 20 years at the same agency working the same job. But even many of them have no money from the day before. Most ask the dispatcher for \$1 or \$2 to buy cigarettes or to have something for lunch. After giving it to them he makes a note; later this will be deducted from their paycheck.

After the regulars, things get more chaotic. The dispatcher simply points to people or calls out someone's name. Favoritism is rampant. Later I hear stories about bribes paid the day before and sexual favors asked of the women. A Black worker talks about a "shit list" he's been placed on because he's considered a troublemaker. Several Mexican workers simply go up and hold a social security card in the dispatcher's face, who impassively ignores them. About half the people never get called; overwhelmingly they are Blacks, immigrants and Native Americans.

This day I get lucky. The dispatcher points at me and says, "You want to work?" I go up and get a slip of paper with the name of the company on it. This is a factory in the suburbs and the bus has already left. I'm supposed to get there by myself. Others are in the same position but a guy volunteers his car so five of us pile in for \$1 each.

The plant is run entirely on a work-force of several hundred day laborers on two or three shifts, supplemented by a skeleton crew of full-time foremen and plant managers. Arriving, all the day laborers crowd into the "cafeteria" — a grungy corner of the plant surrounded on one side by pallets and on the other side by vending machines serving the only lousy food available. A bell rings and I follow a group of day laborers to another part of the plant. Most people have worked here before and go to various job assignments on a series of assembly lines; others of us stand around and soon get put on the line. The work — assembling metal shelving, fold-a-closets and saw tables — is fast-paced and dirty.

On a break I talk to a young Puerto Rican from Humboldt Park. It turns out he is an epileptic. About a year ago, despite filing two appeals, he was cut off SSI, a traditional source of income to epileptics. About the same time he failed to report to a workfare assignment because he was enmeshed in attempts to get SSI back and was disqualified from general assistance as well. He worked 11 hours a day, 7 days a week for a restaurant before getting totally fed up and throwing some plates of food at the cook. Day labor is the only work he could find. So far, he says, he's been lucky. When he starts to feel dizzy he takes some pills and has yet to go into a seizure on the plant floor.

At the end of the day we all gather around in another part of the plant while some guy yells out names and gives us a piece of paper. Back on public transportation to the day-labor office. On the way I talk to Mike, whose mother is a full-blooded Cherokee and whose father is German. At age 11 Mike was put in a state home. He and his friend broke out, stole two bicycles and rode back to Chicago. Five state homes later Mike managed to get out at age 15 and hitchhike to Los Angeles where he worked for the circus, traveling city to city while selling popcorn. Back in Chicago he got a steady job working a punch press in a screw company. Bored to death he went to Kentucky and worked in the coal mines. Here he could have had a steady job drilling coal two miles down but apparently 30 and out was not his highest aspirations. Quitting, he came back to Chicago where, after being provoked, he beat up a cop with a tire iron and was sent to an audi home (youth confinement home) for a month. Getting out, he was forced to work day labor. Mike is 16 years old.

At the office there's another jam of people as we hand in the slip and wait for our checks. I glance at my watch. It's been 12 hours since I arrived in the morning. Finally the check: \$25 but I've already spent \$2 of that for transporta-

Continued on page 14

# The Life of the "Instant People"

Continued from page 13

tion and some more for lunch. Still we have to troop over to the bar known for cashing these things. A beer plus cash and another \$2 is gone.

The vultures have definitely started to feed. "No sooner," states the *Communist Manifesto*, "is the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, and he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc." This hardly stops with these bars (which dot the areas around these day-labor offices and often pay a kickback for the privilege of cashing these checks). Surrounding neighborhoods are filled with "transient hotels" charging exorbitant rents for single rooms so small you can stretch your hands from wall to wall. Rundown apartment buildings with tiny two-room flats often are living quarters for perhaps a dozen immigrants who sleep wall-to-wall in order to afford the rent. Many of these places are either too small or the landlord too cheap to put in a stove; often there is an extra charge for the use of a hotplate to cook. Fast-food chains and restaurants dot the area. The police crawl as thick as the cockroaches.

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"Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of the workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance..." (*Communist Manifesto*)

William Schwartz is the sales manager for Amos Temporary Help Service, Inc., a not-for-profit labor agency started with financial aid from the Catholic church in an attempt to find full-time employment for its workers. In an interview Schwartz described the types of companies employing day labor. He started out talking about seasonal work, companies that produce products for the Christmas and Passover season, for example, that need a workforce during three months of peak season and hire day laborers rather than full-time people.

"I'll name some of the kinds of industries that have traditionally used temporary help," he continued. "Packaging companies, especially contract packagers. These are companies that receive orders from huge corporations like Bristol Myers, Levi Brothers, Sears, to do production work for them under the Sears name. They receive the parts and they do the assembly or the packaging of the products. These companies never know when they are going to receive a big order — it depends on the salesman. So when they do receive a big order they'll use a lot of temporary help until the order gets done. When that product is out the door and there's no more work — 'sorry,' Cyril, for example, out in Niles, is using a contract packager right now because it can't handle the demand for Nutrasweet, the new craze in sweeteners. If you look in the phone book under contract packagers, you'll see hundreds of them. When they receive a big job like that — Cyril doesn't have the machinery or the ability to produce so much and they only planned for a certain demand and that demand exceeds their capacity to produce it — they will contract with other manufacturers that will process and package that material under their name and ship it out. It's these companies that use temporary help quite a bit.

"The metal stamping industry is another, companies that operate huge pneumatic and hydraulic presses to stamp metal parts for the radio industry, the automotive industry, etc. Hirsh uses stamping machines. They take a piece of sheet metal and put it in a die, the die

comes down and forms the part. Once this machine is set up with the die they can run 100,000 pieces before it goes out, so the machine is actually automatic or semi-automatic. All it needs is an operator to put in a part, hit a button and the machine comes down and boom, boom, take the part out, put it aside, put in another piece, hit the button, inspect the first part — all day long. Repetitive work.

"Job shops are shops which receive orders from big manufacturers. Instead of the consumer realm this is in the manufacturing area. A job shop will receive orders from a big company, a job for a big manufacturer. Drive down Grand Avenue, for example, and look at all those little manufacturing companies — ABC Manufacturing Company, Father and Son Manufacturing Company — these are job shops. These are companies that have equipment to do metal processing work. They receive contracts from bigger companies who actually produce the product, like the washing machine or an automobile or a stereo. This industry uses a lot of temporary people, again because their orders fluctuate so drastically and the nature of the work is repetitive and unskilled.

"The food vending industry for the airlines is another. When airline traffic is up people are eating more food on the planes and consequently the in-flight services have at times increased their workforce on a seasonal basis with temporaries....

"Plastics is another industry. A washing machine has a lot of plastic components. Dishwashing racks is a big industry for commercial hotel and educational institutions. Basically the job is tending a machine as big as this office, part of the machine is sucking up little plastic pellets and shooting them into a machine with a die and then the machine closes and forms a part where this machine injects the plastic into a mold. The mold heats it up and after the machine finishes its cycle the worker takes out the piece and sets the machine so it recycles another part, takes a clipper and trims off the little quirks on these pieces and stacks them. This kind of repetitive work continues for 12 hours which is basically tending a machine....

"Besides factories there are restaurants, warehouses. A typical warehouse would be an order-picking operation where a worker would receive a bill of lading or a computerized printout for a company — 300 of this item, 42 of this item and 6 of this item — and he'd go around the warehouse with a little basket and fill the order. He'd then put the order in a staging area in order to be packed — which is another job temporaries do, they pack the material and usually a permanent employee will ship it out — filling out an invoice, etc.

"In restaurants: pot scrubbers, dishwashers, food service people.

"At McCormack Place, moving in a show takes a lot of labor — unpack those crates, move the materials around, help the customers out. It's all unionized work. These day laborers are like on-call roadies, used in rodeo shows."

Much of what Schwartz describes as potential markets for day-labor contractors is the consumer durable sector of the economy. This is one of the mainstays of the Midwest economy. While its topside may consist of large-scale, more capital-intensive factories, employing a relatively stable, higher-paid section of workers, its bottomside is dominated by a large number of smaller subcontractors, "job shops," metal stamping plants, plastics plants, etc., where the conditions of employment are low-paying and back-breaking and whose fit-and-start nature makes them ripe for the employment of temporary help, including day labor. Even some of the mills in this steel producing area, like Ryerson Steel, a steel fabricating plant in southern Chicago, combines a workforce of regular workers making \$16 an hour with day laborers earning minimum wage.

Other areas described by Schwartz are in the service area. Not insignificantly these include McCormack Place, a huge convention center which hosts national trade shows such as housewares, sporting goods and auto, important to Chicago's preeminence as a wholesale and retail center — as well as tourist center — and the Rosemont Horizon, a sports and entertainment complex. Hundreds of day laborers behind the glittering and parasitic tinsel of imperialism.

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Across from me sit two Black day laborers who work out of one of the South Side hiring halls. Before spending three years in prison, Jessie, 28, had worked eight years in shipping and receiving for a textile company and a merchandise company. Since being released two months ago he has worked for Ryerson Steel.

Jessie talks about working on a punch press and then describes his living conditions. "I've got an apartment to pay for and I have to eat," he explains in a matter-of-fact voice. "With the money they're paying you it's impossible to pay this. For the two months I've been out of prison I've been eating one meal a day. My rent is due tomorrow. Right now I have \$2.75 in my pocket." Last week, for no apparent reason, Ryerson wrote "no return" on his ticket and he has sat around the day labor office all week. Jessie is unable to make child support payments, a violation of his parole. Word of this doesn't have to travel far — his parole officer has an office right upstairs from the agency.

Starvation, a return to robbery and prison, day labor — this is how Jessie sees his choices. I recalled a previous conversation I had with a Black day laborer who had grown up in Henry Horner Homes, a West Side housing project. He described the situation of many young men in the ghetto: "Unemployment, jail, pimp, hustle, do what they can to make a dollar. There are some guys I know who are dead: some murdered, some suicides, some killed by the police. Some left Chicago to seek lives elsewhere, saying, 'Hey, I'm going to pull out of the rut I'm in, see if I can start all over somewhere else.' I've seen guys shot, beat up, killed. It's really amazing that through all of that I survived."

"You practically have to crawl to the dispatcher." Taurus, Jessie's partner, an outspoken 21-year-old, brought me back to the present. "If you're not an Uncle Tom," he continued, "then he's going to send you to the roughest jobs. He's going to send you somewhere he knows when you get off you'll be exhausted. And if you're not exhausted then he's going to find something else for you. If I go and get off at 2 in the morning he might tell me 'you be down here at 5:30 a.m., I have another eight-hour job for you.' And if you say 'No, I'm going to go home and get some rest,' you might not get out for a whole month, just because you turned him down."

"I'm out here every day," Taurus continues, "six days a week, sometimes seven. I'll be so exhausted sometimes, I'll be ready to faint right in front of them. I'll have worked 16-20 hours out of the day — I'm talking about including the sitting around and putting in ten hours a day. But if I turn them down then they figure, 'Aw, you don't want to do nothing.' Sometimes I feel like going off in a corner and crying because it hurts so bad to see myself down like this and I can't do anything about it. Every time I take a step up, they kick you down another two steps."

For the past week Taurus, like Jessie, has been unable to get work at the day labor office. Rumor has it that he's on their "shit list." For six days his family of four has lived on eight dollars, eating beans, ham hocks and leg bones — money he got from selling his blood.

While hunger haunts many day laborers, an additional whip hangs over the heads of the large number of undocumented Latinos. On my second day trying to work at day labor I wasn't so lucky. After I wasn't hired I went with David, a 21-year-old undocumented Mexican youth, to the nearby Salvation Army soup kitchen which was filled with other day laborers and many homeless people. Over breakfast David told how he had worked a construction job in Mexico, earning \$10 for a 12-hour day. Figuring anything must be better than that, he came to Chicago where his brother arranged his first job — washing windows high above the streets in the Loop, with no scaffolding, many times holding onto the window frame with one hand while washing with the other.

After six years working in a factory and washing dishes, David thought things were starting to look up. His wife was pregnant and he had become a cook. But then when his wife had the baby she became sick, and anxiously David took off work to visit the hospital, forgetting to call his boss. Boom, he was fired. Without unemployment compensation

because his boss paid his dishwashers under the table, and unable to collect welfare because he was undocumented, David, his wife and baby were soon homeless. For three months this winter they slept in hallways with the baby running a fever before some friends recently allowed them to sleep on the floor of their two-room apartment.

It was these conditions which forced David into the day labor office. "It's too hard living out in the street with a wife and baby, but there are no jobs," he told me. He went on to describe how "they mostly call the Americans first, there's a lot of favoritism. In addition when you go to work you have to know English. If not there will be trouble."

Attempting to play the native-born off against the immigrants is a favorite tactic of these day-labor offices. As the example of David brings out, immigrants in these offices have been driven out of their oppressed countries by the crisis of imperialism and compelled to migrate to the U.S. They are thrown together in a day-labor office with Blacks and Native Americans, who themselves face intense national and cultural oppression, as well as poor whites. There is intense competition among these proletarians for the small number of jobs. This is heightened by the dispatchers. It doesn't take long to see that the "regulars" who work steadily are a higher percentage white while those left without a job are overwhelmingly the immigrants, Blacks and Native Americans. While many immigrants do eventually get sent out, a great many don't and the conditions of employment for those hired are even more tenuous than for others. Last year the INS raided Hirsh, which is Ready-Men's largest client, and arrested 60 immigrant day laborers. The next day hardly any foreign-born came to the day-labor offices.

Compelled into an intense competition for jobs, many are also repelled by it. They stand along the walls, obviously disgusted, refusing to scramble for the dispatcher's attention. Other people purposely continue talking in groups. In another corner young Cubans from the Mariel boatlift loudly and irreverently play cards while the dispatcher calls names, refusing to curry his favor.

"I went to one place called Weber," Billy, a 38-year-old Pottawattomie Indian, told me. "They had a lot of Laotian refugees, Cubans and Mexicans. They were making only \$3.00 an hour and they were regular employees. They had to stay there ten hours. They didn't make any overtime. The company had them by the neck. One guy got his hand crushed in a machine. He couldn't do nothing — he didn't have his papers. He was out a couple of months and came back with his hand still bandaged up. I think Ready-Men just paid his hospital bills but nothing more."

Billy, a Vietnam veteran, has a deep hatred of U.S. imperialism. He thinks that the factors for revolution in the U.S. could develop in the future and expressed a great deal of interest in the *RW*, although politically he identifies with Colonel Kaddafi of Libya.

Billy spoke bitterly about the experience of Native Americans and how they are exploited by day-labor agencies. There are about 30,000 Native Americans in the Chicago area. Nearly all have been driven off their reservations since the Relocation Act of 1955, which promised jobs and making "a big living" in the urban areas in exchange for the government stealing their land. Urban Native Americans are not recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and receive no special allocations, although occasionally some tribal members receive a small per capita check once a year for past land sales — something on the order of \$400. Many Native Americans work in factories, but the unemployment rate is quite high and many are forced into day labor. Ripped off from their land, their culture and any livelihood, many Native Americans, Billy described, say, "I just want to go back home." I say, "What's home?" "Nothing — no jobs. I just want to get back home for a while." They get home and they get real desperate up there too. Day labor exploits this situation. They're pitting us up against the immigrants or refugees. It makes for a desperate situation so when you do get a job, when you do get sent out a couple days a week, they try to make it seem like they're giving you something. It's like dangling an apple in front of a donkey." □

## Gulf

Continued from page 1  
tween the U.S. and Soviet blocs. The Gulf sits within an explosive international tension. One need only survey the last months as an illustration: 007, Grenada, Lebanon, Olympics, Euromissiles and the corresponding Soviet moves, etc. This is a pre-world war period. The so-called equilibrium is such that a decisive advance and strategic gain by one side cannot be tolerated by the other. And the Gulf region — due to its strategic significance to both sides, its location as a concentration point of interbloc rivalry, and perhaps the fact that both sides are indeed “face to face” here — is not only a focus of contention in the general sense, but a flashpoint at which world war could break out.

Robert Tucker, one of the more “far-sighted” U.S. warmonger/writers, is to be thanked for his immeasurable contributions in drawing redlines in the Gulf, among which includes the following from a 1980 article in *Commentary*: “By threatening our position in the Gulf, the Russians would in effect confront us in Europe. Indeed, by threatening our position in the Gulf, the Russians would in effect threaten our position everywhere but this hemisphere... what to Europe is indispensable to its economic life, and to the United States is indispensable to its entire position in the world outside this hemisphere, is indispensable to the Soviet Union as the key to global predominance, predominance.”

No imperialist interests around here anywhere, are there? Look at what Tucker himself is saying: Why is the Gulf “indispensable to the Soviet Union as the key to global predominance”? Because it's the key to *United States* global predominance! (And in this hemisphere? Don't worry, Robert. Even should the Russians seize the Gulf, the U.S. would still have puppet armies, death squads, invasions, coups, bombings, assassinations, etc., to fall back on.) Naturally, Tucker's (and others') visions of “tomorrow's Gulf” are, well, one-sided, since there's only one aggressor — the Soviets. The hordes could certainly move from the West first, and both blocs (and the various imperialist countries within both blocs) need a redivision of the world.

In fact, both sides have been feverishly maneuvering in the Gulf region, particularly after the fall of the Shah in 1979, including arming and encouraging both sides in the Gulf war. And both have made it clear that they will not tolerate any fundamental challenges to their vital interests there: the U.S. by declaring, with the Carter Doctrine, that it would use military force, including nuclear weapons, to defend America's “strategic” interests in the Persian Gulf; the Soviets by repeatedly stating that their 1921 treaty with Iran, giving them the “right” to move troops directly into the country, is still valid and would be invoked in the event of a threat to Soviet security.

Beyond this, both sides have been vigorously building their capabilities to confront each other militarily in the Gulf, as part of a global showdown: the U.S. through principally building up its rapid deployment force, strengthening its direct military ties with various client states in the region, and increasingly projecting naval power into the area; the Soviets through their invasion of Afghanistan, maintaining some 300,000 troops on their southern frontier, as well as their own search for air and naval bases in the Indian Ocean.

This is not a region which can return to “normal,” oppressive enough times for the masses of people in any case, because this is not a world which will be returning to “normal.” As to the ceasefire or future cessation of the war, it is possible that at present Iran and Iraq may be being driven to end the war by their fear of the economic and political consequences of continuing it. (Elsewhere we have spoken to certain compulsions in the opposite direction, which are real.) Yet political upheaval could also be triggered in either or both countries by an end to the fighting.

While news of the internal situation in Iraq is scarce, it is evident that the Iraqi regime has gone to great pains to insulate its population — as much as possible — from the effects of the war, largely with the help of billions in “loans” from the

# Woman in Vancouver Five Trial Sentenced to Life in Prison

The persecution of the Vancouver Five appeared to be coming to a head this month after the completion of an eight-month trial. The Five had been accused of a number of attacks on weapons-producing plants and a porn shop.

On June 4, Ann Brit Hansen — who had been already convicted in a first trial — pleaded guilty to a number of charges which were to have been brought up in still more trials of the Five (it had been hinted that as many as five trials might have been staged). Hansen pleaded guilty to causing an explosion at the cruise missile parts-producing Litton Industries plant in Toronto, of causing an explosion of the Dunsmuir, B.C. Hydro Substation, of fire-bombing the Red Hot Video porn store in North Vancouver, and of other weapons-possession charges.

Early in May, Hansen and two others had been found guilty of charges in the first trial, and before that, on March 16, two defendants, Julie Belmas and Gerry Hannah had pleaded guilty in a plea-bargaining arrangement (but were hit with long prison sentences anyway, twenty and twelve years respectively). In a presencing hearing, Hansen declared:

“The justice system is a system of in-

justice and Parliament is where men create laws to protect big business and the wealthy... I have a moral obligation to do everything possible to stop the nuclear arms race, ban pornography, and protect the earth.”

On June 7, Judge Toy told Hansen: “Your prepared speech leads me to the conclusion that you have not even begun the process of rehabilitation after already serving 17 months in prison... (the Five have been imprisoned without bail since their arrest by Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other combat-equipped police on January 20, 1983 — *RW*). Your philosophy was reaffirmed. There was no renunciation or retraction... You are a menace, a real threat to the Canadian way of life.”

With this reactionary hanging speech, Toy sentenced Hansen to life in prison. A courtroom crowd of about forty supporters then stood and turned their backs on the bench; Hansen produced a ripe tomato and hurled it at the judge, who high-tailed it out of the courtroom. Outside, a crowd of about fifty also demonstrated in support of Hansen and the Five.

In the wake of these events, the Cana-

dian press has been pouring it on thick about the fine job the justice system has done in attacking, hounding, and now imprisoning the Five. From the beginning, the case has been used by the authorities as an occasion for sweeping new repressive actions against the left and women's and antiwar movements generally, launching a series of raids, and waves of slander in the press.

The fact that wiretap evidence was successfully used in this case has been especially applauded recently by the media, in a clear warning to others about the spies, and other undercover agents, who so zealously keep from harm the “Canadian way of life,” and its nuclear weapons and porn shops.

Interviews with Hansen and Belmas have been featured by the bourgeois media recently, giving more play to these women and especially to the fact that the prison bars are being slammed shut on them.

The remaining two defendants, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor, have also pleaded guilty to various charges. Stewart will be sentenced on June 21, and Taylor on June 25. □

## From the Never-Get-Involved Department

Two weeks ago, headlines in the U.S. proudly proclaimed the shooting down of two Iranian jet fighters over the Persian Gulf. The press all labored to assure us how much Saudi Arabia wanted to stay out of the conflict between Iraq and Iran, and how much Saudi Arabia opposed the U.S. playing any direct role in the Gulf, and how Saudi Arabia was pushed beyond endurance when the Iranian plane trespassed into Saudi airspace.

Now comes a new account of the incident in the June 11th issue of *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, an ebullient booster of arms technology and exports:

“Effectiveness of beyond-visual-range, air-to-air missiles was evident when Saudi Arabian fighters destroyed two Iranian/McDonnell Douglas F4 Phantoms June 5 over the Persian Gulf. Two Royal Saudi Air Force/McDonnell Douglas F15s flying combat air patrol from Dhahran scored the aerial victories after being alerted by a USAF/Boeing E-3A airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft that the two F4s were en route to attack a tanker in the Gulf. The Iranian F4s were flying at an altitude of 13,000 feet and dropped to a lower altitude as the aerial engagement

started. The first of the Saudi F15s locked onto an F4 target after receiving a vector from the AWACS and fired a single Raytheon/General Dynamics AIM-7F Sparrow missile. The F4 was destroyed at approximately 180 naut. mi. from the Saudi Ras Tanura oil fields. A few minutes later, the second F15 locked onto an Iranian F4 with its Hughes APG-63 radar and launched a single AIM-7F, shooting it down. A third Iranian F4 in the area broke off before the engagement and was not involved. Both F15s returned to their air base, each still carrying three Sparrow missiles.” □

Gulf states, as well as suppress any anti-government opposition. Yet these efforts themselves are an admission by Iraq's leaders of the war's potentially dangerous side effects. For example, the *Middle East* magazine reports that the Iraqi government had been paying the families of each war victim the equivalent of \$160,000 plus title deeds to a plot of land (today, though, the blood money is running low, considerably depleting these “benefits”). This definitely isn't the action of a government that has firmly united its people behind the war! More fundamentally, these bribes don't change the fact that the Iraqi people have suffered tremendously — with proportionally higher casualties than Iran due to their smaller population — in a reactionary war. Nor do they change the fact that the Iraqi regime is a brutal and reactionary dictatorship, which has stifled its Shi'ite majority and suppressed the minority Kurds. The political impact of settling a war in which the Iraqis went nowhere at tremendous political cost is far from certain, despite all the Western press reports to the effect that Iraq is the picture of stability.

The situation is even more obviously volatile in Iran, where the war has been a political focal point since its inception. But settling the war short of victory will raise explosive political contradictions. How will the government explain the war if Iran is in no stronger a position than it was two years and tens of thousands of casualties ago? What will the regime use to justify its repressive clampdown and economic stagnation and crisis in the

wake of the war? And what would a bloody and futile stalemate do to the already punctured aura of invincibility that surrounds Khomeini in particular? What was once a trump card for the clerics could now easily turn into their undoing.

No doubt those in power in Tehran are nervous over just such possibilities, as the intragovernmental struggle is particularly sharp now. At present there are a number of different factions with their fingers in the state machinery, including different groups within the clergy and varying elements within the armed forces — both of which include elements linked to various imperialist powers. The struggles have encompassed not only the conduct of the war, but the closely related questions of the orientation of the Islamic Republic, and foreign affairs in particular, and just what faction is going to end up with power when Khomeini departs the temporal world.

At present this bourgeois infighting reportedly centers on the conduct of the war, including whether or not to launch a final offensive or negotiate an end to the war. Significantly, for the first time there are reports of widespread opposition to the war from within the ranks of the clergy itself. And that the final offensive has been so long delayed is an indication of how intense these conflicts are. The army in particular doesn't want to see Khomeini strengthened by a victory in the war, or their base of power destroyed by a defeat. Old monarchist elements are not an insignificant force through all this. In the aftermath of the war, on the heels of

the defeat in battle, or with the death of Khomeini these conflicts could jump into the open. At the same time, revolutionary opportunities could “jump into the open.” This is indicated by the already large desertions from the army, and the government's difficulty in “pacifying” Kurdistan, and other signs.

None of this has been lost on the imperialists in either bloc, each of whom are moving for advantage. They are trying to influence the direction things will take with the governments, factions of the governments, military commands, sections of the people, etc. And they are trying to check the moves of their global opponent.

In this light, we can assess the recent statement of the U.S. State Dept. that in the war “A victory by either side is neither militarily achievable nor strategically desirable... because of its destabilizing effect on the region.” This is coming from the U.S. which instigated the war in the first place, and “tilted” toward Iraq while fueling the entire slaughter since! Certainly an Iranian victory would not be “desirable” for the U.S., while an Iraqi victory really hasn't been a question for some time. What stands out, though, is that which is desirable for the U.S.: advancing its own bloodthirsty interests, which it has certainly done throughout the war and is doing so today. On the one hand, they coolly calculate and plan how to fight the Soviets should general war break out in the Gulf. On the other, they cynically discuss a different “destabilizing effect on the region.” □

"The proletarians have  
nothing to lose but their chains.  
They have a world to win."  
Communist Manifesto



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