

WAR ON THE WAR MAKERS

DOCUMENTS AND COMMUNIQUE
FROM THE WEST GERMAN LEFT

BANNED IN WEST GERMANY

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We encourage our readers to write us with comments and criticisms

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INTRODUCTION:

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee is pleased to make available to activists in the U.S. these banned materials from the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement inside the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). We believe that the experience of the movement against imperialist war in West Germany is of great importance to all people who want to build an effective struggle against militarism inside the U.S. The materials in this pamphlet were illegally published in West Germany in defiance of laws prohibiting "advertising for a terrorist group."

Included are:

- documents from the German left examining the June 11, 1982, anti-Reagan/anti-NATO demonstrations in Berlin (which took place the day before the march of 750,000 people in New York calling for a nuclear freeze)
- an analytical paper by Women Against Imperialist War (Hamburg) dealing with the development of the movement in West Germany and that country's role in the war buildup;
- three communiques from the revolutionary armed clandestine movement. (The Red Army Faction (RAF) and other anti-imperialist groups have carried out scores of attacks on U.S. military installations over the past two years.)

These selections have been chosen because they address many of the issues that also confront progressive people in the United States. We live in the heartland of the greatest empire and war machine in modern history. One need only look at the multi-trillion dollar defense budget, plans for nuclear war on earth and in space, and the White House/CIA directed invasion of socialist Nicaragua to grasp the path this country is moving along.

The United States, leader of the imperialist world system, is beset by a permanent and worsening international and domestic crisis. The regionalization of war in Central America and the offensive against revolutionary liberation movements in the Middle East and Africa are a prelude to a more generalized level of warfare in the world. Ultimately this will lead to a new world war. This is the reality that the peace movement must address today.

As war grows, the limitations of the mainstream leadership of the anti-nuke, anti-war organizations are becoming obvious. In the name of building a "broad single issue campaign for a nuclear freeze," this leadership has made a

tacit alliance with the Democratic Party and refuses to challenge the warmaking system as a whole. The issue of nuclear weapons, of U.S. intervention abroad cannot be treated as separate from the white supremacist character of this society and the militarization of the country. Each of these issues stems from the fundamental nature of this country as an empire. Wars, whether conventional or nuclear, are not the result of irrational acts or technological accidents. The imperialist state which commands the armies and directs the missiles must wage war to maintain itself in power.

In response to the reformist direction of the majority of peace and anti-nuclear groups, many people are searching for new and more revolutionary directions and principles. We support people in the anti-nuclear movement who are taking up solidarity with El Salvador and are beginning to address the broader issue of U.S. militarism. This process needs to be advanced and the movement must become more militant, because the clash of imperialism's drive towards war has to be met with greater levels of struggle.

These documents represent the beginnings of a revolutionary alternative to patching up the imperialist system. Dozens of armed attacks by the Red Army Faction (RAF) and other revolutionary organizations have shaken US/NATO military installations over the past couple of years. And thousands of people, working on many fronts, are building a movement to strike at the machinery of war and the warmakers themselves.

We live in a country which not only thrives on war and oppression abroad, but which rests on colonial oppression of nations within its own borders. Millions of Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican and Native American people are facing an unparalleled crisis of survival. They are being forced to bear the brunt and agony of the imperialist crisis at home. As this situation intensifies, colonized people are refusing to accept a present and future existence characterized by increasing exploitation, racist terror and virtual genocide. Today, this growing unrest is producing demonstrations and the beginning of a new round of urban rebellion.

Revolutionary forces are beginning to engage in the early stages of armed struggle to achieve freedom and

national liberation. The armed struggle for Puerto Rican independence and New Afrikan (the Black nation's) independence, the actions of the FALN and the BLA inside the cities of the U.S., exemplify the path to liberation which oppressed people here will increasingly follow. This is why the U.S. government is moving to brand these movements as "terrorist," attempting to destroy them now, before they grow into a force which will shatter the empire in its centers of power.

Solidarity with these liberation movements internationally, and within this country, must become a principle of the anti-war movement if we are to play a role in defeating the system. No struggle for peace, human rights and an end to exploitation can ever succeed if we fail to support these just struggles for independence, self-determination and the building of socialist societies. No empire in history, least of all the U.S., has ever given up its domination of colonized and oppressed people without a violent struggle.

The escalation of U.S. warfare in Central America and other parts of the world will inevitably be met in this country, as it has in West Germany, with armed resistance. The developing anti-war movement should welcome this process. We can see the beginnings of revolutionary action against imperialist war in a number of armed actions that have occurred since the beginning of 1983. In one such action in solidarity with revolutionary movements in Central America, on April 26, the Armed Resistance Unit bombed the Fort Lesley McNair military base in Washington, D.C. This base houses part of the U.S. War College where advisors are trained to go to El Salvador. Their communique stated: "Solidarity [with El Salvador] is growing, but alongside our protest we must build an active resistance to the U.S. war machine....Resistance is not only an act of solidarity — it is the basis for our own revolutionary movement."

We believe this pamphlet can make a contribution to building a revolutionary movement against imperialist war. We encourage you to pass these materials around, talk about them with your friends, and write us with your comments.

—June 1983

Summary of a Brochure by Autonomous and Anti-Imperialist Groups



INTRODUCTION

We have put together this brochure in order to continue the discussion on the demonstration against the NATO summit and on Reagan's visit to Berlin on the 11th of June, 1982. The media propaganda—anarchists, destruction, vandalism—has been picked up now by some of the New Left, who try to justify their disassociation a bit more politically: “without aim” they are saying and: “causing a break with the mass demonstration in Bonn,” or “militancy without perspectives.” In answer to all this we want to put out for discussion our aims and ideas and how we tried to put them into practice in Berlin. These aims and ideas are the result of three months of preparations by anti-imperialist and autonomous militants from West Berlin and West Germany.

It is the aim of this discussion to make the process of ideas, organization and practice understood and examinable to all people who, like us, are confronted with the questions of how we can build up valid resistance against imperialist war. The discussion is important for us so we can learn from our past, our mistakes, and from the possibilities that have become obvious.

The NATO summit and Reagan's visit to London, Paris, Rome, Bonn and Berlin took place in a situation where more and more people have come to realize that “U.S. imperialism has not ceased to be the deadly enemy of mankind.” It has become obvious that imperialist war is no vision of the distant future but is concretely happening now, in Central America as well as in Palestine (the Zionist war of destruction against the Arab and Palestinian revolution). War is also waged against those of us who are organizing resistance in the centers of imperialism, a war involving the strategy of extinction against guerrillas and criminalization: thousands of trials, arrests, jail, conditions of isolation within the prisons and a perfectly computerized apparatus of surveillance, the step-up of infiltrations by the secret services and offensive counter-propaganda, and attempts to split up and co-opt the movements.

There are many of us now who do not wish to be integrated into this system again, who have realized that U.S. imperialism and its imperialist helpers are our enemies. Although we are working hard to hit and smash U.S. imperialism, it has become obvious that we are still

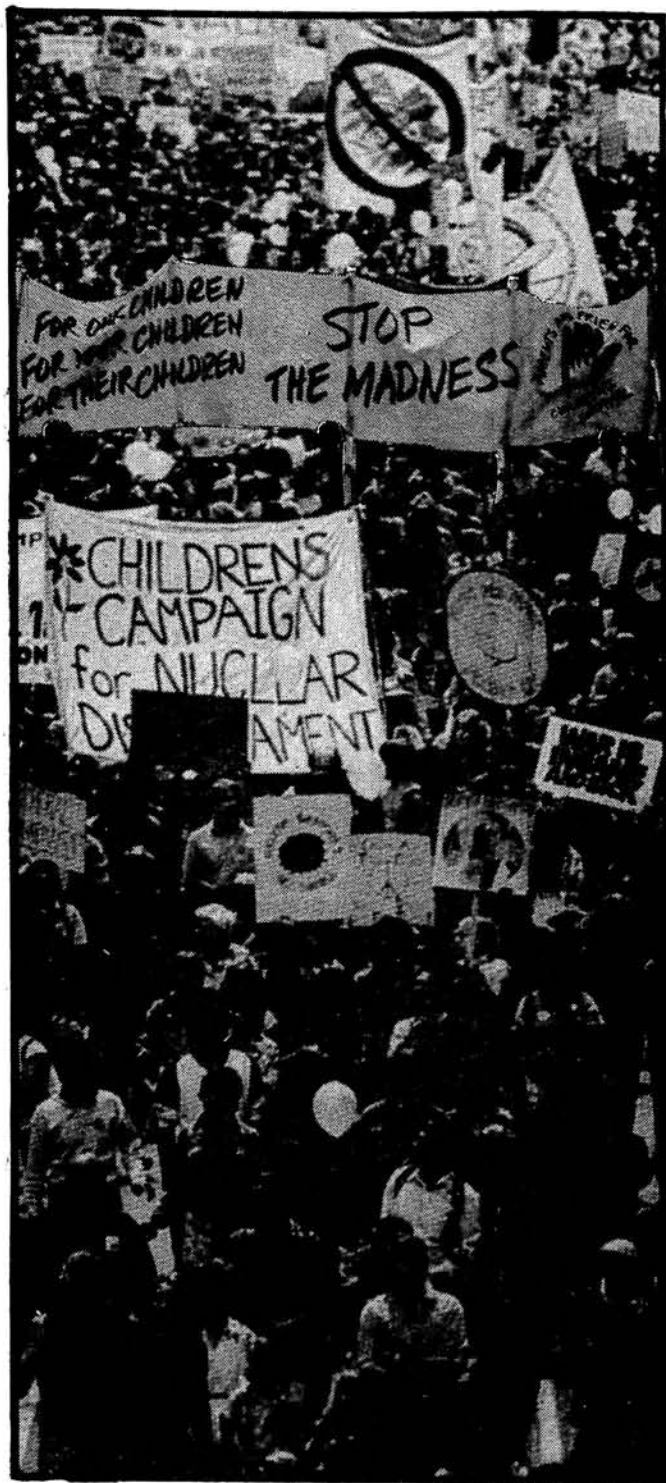
*June 11, 1982. The banner reads, “Draw a clear line between us and the enemy.”

confronted with the situation of being isolated and split off into different movements and/or small groups, without a continuous practice and discussion among ourselves, and without structures that enable us to act collectively.

From the very beginning, the central demonstration in Bonn had a clearly defined aim: the massive protest of many people, groups and organizations—the peace movement—against the NATO summit in Bonn. But in spite of this political aim, the central political demands for “a zone free of nuclear weapons in Europe” and “disarmament East and West” remained a focal point within the mobilization, although the reason for the demonstration—the NATO summit—should have called for a clear political aim: to protest against NATO’s war politics. Thus the organization and the demonstration itself became a sort of peace happening on some lawn on the right hand side of the Rhine River (Bonn itself is on the left side), instead of a powerful demonstration in Bonn itself. This was most assuredly the result of these politically disorienting demands.

They are, for sure, the expression of a very legitimate fear of a nuclear war in Europe. But at the same time, they objectively offer social democratic politics the chance to intervene in the peace movement. Social democracy is trying to use the peace movement for its own purposes by having representatives like Eppler, Gaus and the Social Democratic convention in Hamburg support the demands of the peace movement. Brandt’s advisor Gaus states very clearly what these guys have in mind concerning the demands. The demand would be to “bring Europe back under the protection of total American retaliation (on the Soviet Union) by making a clear commitment to Washington.” Having been reassured of the protection of our “big brother,” a zone without nuclear weapons in Europe could be proposed. But: “Europe would have to be willing to support the protective power, the U.S., even outside NATO; that is, without some sort of formal treaty in the gray zones of the world.” To sum up Gaus’ proposal: the peace movement is to be pacified with the promise of a zone free from nuclear weapons, meaning the promise that a war will not take place here. Thus, the prerequisites for the plundering of the Third World, the “gray zones of the world,” would be established by having inner peace within the centers of imperialism safely secured. The imperialists could then step up their plunder of the Third World through the direct military involvement of Europe.

On the other hand, these demands create the illusion of a “peace” to be protected in Europe, as if there could be a neutral spot in the worldwide confrontation between imperialism and the peoples of the world fighting for liberation; a neutral spot, disregarding the fact that Western Europe, through NATO, is tightly bound to U.S. war planning, disregarding the fact that the FRG, foremost, as the most important U.S. base, is a launching pad for wars against



June 12, 1982. Millions of people from New York...

the Third World and disregarding the fact that the FRG, as a strong imperialist power itself, is actively and in close conjunction with the U.S. taking part in the securing and enlarging of the imperialist regions of power.

The demand for “disarmament East and West” also reflects the doubts many people here are having concerning the desire for peace on the part of members of the Warsaw Pact. This demand conveys the picture of two superpowers who confront each other, armed to the teeth,



... to Bonn, W. Germany demonstrated for a nuclear freeze.

having between them, seemingly neutral, the states of Europe. This demand is hindering the development of a clear political line against NATO and U.S. imperialism that is needed here; and it is totally neglecting history: ever since 1945 the U.S. has been threatening the Soviet Union. The U.S. has been forever expanding its territory, saying it was defending its "vital interests," and the Soviet Union has factually been on the defensive. In this situation the questions we had to ask ourselves were:

- Are we strong enough to drastically change the basic character of this mass demonstration in Bonn which is appealing to the government for change?
- What political significance does Reagan's visit to Berlin have?
- How can we—realistically taking into consideration our numbers and strength—intervene materially in such a way as to come a step closer to our goal of "smashing NATO"?
- That also implied developing further and gathering together all revolutionary groups, organizations, etc. into an organized anti-imperialist movement.

Our decision to demonstrate in Berlin was based on the following thoughts:

(1) We are not able to give the demonstration in Bonn a powerful political dimension surpassing the dimension the protest of hundreds of thousands of people has already had. One basic reason for this was that all decisions concerning the demonstration in Bonn were agreed upon on the level of the functionaries of participating organizations and the "base" of the organizations had no possibility of influencing any of these decisions. We had neither the organizational apparatus to participate on this level nor the desire to push through our political ideas via the politics of power.

We did support the idea, put forward by many groups, of demonstrationstrating on the left bank of the Rhine River (in Bonn itself). This came up shortly before the demonstration on seeing that the alliance organizing the demonstration had agreed to stage the demonstration outside Bonn (as demanded by the Government). To organize a breakthrough with thousands of people to the left bank of the river could only have meant demonstrationstrating for the right to demonstrate where one chooses to; it would not have made clearer our position against imperialist war and NATO.

(2) Reagan's visit to Bonn and his stay in Berlin cannot be separated. Both are attempts to secure the absolute alliance of the FRG and the other members of NATO and to demonstrate the steadfastness of the alliance. The purpose of the NATO summit in Bonn is to concretely coordinate the present wars like, for example, Israel's genocide in Palestine, to organize them politically and to reach decisions that will determine the course of future U.S. war strategy.

Then Reagan, Genscher, Schmidt and Haig will go to Berlin in order to try to gain legitimacy for their politics from the population. They need this legitimacy and—most of all—the active support of the population within the centers of imperialism, because the success of U.S. war strategy is based on the direct participation of all NATO countries in the plundering of countries of the Third

World. That means that all NATO countries have to take over more functions and work within the imperialist division of labor and that the material (financial) participation in U.S. interventions will have to come out of these countries' budgets. The end of "permanent economic growth," the crisis and unemployment force them to win over a large part of the population to support for their plans because they are no longer able to pay for the silence of the majority. The people in the centers of imperialism have to be made aware of the necessity of wars in order to peacefully sacrifice the "social benefits" of the "welfare state" for these wars.

They also need active support from the people who build up the logistic bases here, who organize the supplies, destroy resistance and possibly will have to go to war themselves. It was this active support Reagan and Schmidt had come to Berlin to get, and we were there to prevent this

Our idea was the unity of both actions, in Bonn and Berlin: the right and necessary mass protest against the NATO summit and NATO war politics as well as the direct intervention against its propagandistic preparation

Reagan and Schmidt were going to Berlin because this city has been, since the era of the cold war, declared to be the "showcase of the free west," an "enclave of freedom," and they wanted to build up a situation where they could present to the world public hordes of flag-waving,

celebrating citizens of Berlin, like when Kennedy and Nixon went to Berlin. They wanted to try and erase from the minds of people all over the world the pictures of last year when U.S. Secretary of State Haig had to be driven through hermetically secured streets of a city where everyone out to demonstrate was out to demonstrate *against* him and against U.S. war politics.

(3) It has been a significant experience of all groups that many times our past practice in meetings, demonstrations, pamphlets and discussions ended in the mere proclamation of our aims and ideas. Thus the political discussion often became just talk about aims and opinions, and very seldom was the discussion raised about our concrete practice, practice that brings forth contradictions and change—movement. Practice that those people who we ask in our speeches and pamphlets to take up resistance can look to as examples when trying to reach decisions for themselves.

These are the ideas we concretely had in mind in organizing an anti-imperialist demonstration in Berlin:

- A unified approach against imperialist war, NATO and U.S. imperialism.
- A practical intervention in Berlin not only by making impossible the aims of the imperialists for Berlin that day, but also by using the situation to turn it around into propaganda for our resistance.



Imperialist heads of state, May 1983, most of whom also attended the NATO summit meeting in Berlin which was the target of the June 11, 1982 demonstrations. From left to right, Amintore Fanfani (Italy), Francois Mitterand (France), Margaret Thatcher (Britain), Ronald Reagan, Yasuhiro Nakasone (Japan) and Helmut Kohl (West Germany).

- The organizing of a working relationship among different groups in West Germany and West Berlin in order to break up old structures we had gotten stuck in. To overcome controversies through a common initiative and experience, with the aim of organizing structures and creating conditions for fighting that do not crumble again when the action itself is completed.
- The demonstration was not meant to happen in isolation. We wanted to use the "anti-NATO weeks" that were decided upon at the BAF (Conference of Autonomous Peace Groups) Conference to reach many people, to discuss with individuals and groups the aim of the demonstration and to concretely mobilize against the NATO summit. On the 5th of June, demonstrations—organized on the basis of a broad spectrum of peace and anti-war groups—took place against the NATO summit. They took place the same day the Christian Democrats staged a demonstration in favor of U.S. war politics in Bonn—their attempt at a reactionary mass mobilization.

Both the "anti-NATO weeks" and the demonstrations on the 5th of June (which took place in many cities) were important for us because they were an opportunity to engage in discussion with people and groups that would be going to demonstrate in Bonn on the 10th. They were an opportunity to discuss with them our aims and politics as well as work together with them on practical aspects of the demonstration.

Those were our ideas for a realistic discussion with the peace movement: not to argue against the demonstration in Bonn and most of all not to make propaganda for the fetish of militancy. Bonn and Berlin were to supplement each other in their political gains and would thus lend strength to the fight against U.S. imperialism and NATO.

But we also wanted to demonstrate that we do not see the perspective of resistance limited to mass protest alone. We are out to expand the possibilities, and to try them in practical steps; steps that help us establish an anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement with the slogan: "If we want peace, we have to prepare for the war of liberation."

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT: BREMEN, HAIG, REAGAN

On the sixth of May, 1980, a militant demonstration took place in Bremen against a public pledge of allegiance by young soldiers that was to be staged in the sports stadium by the leaders of the federal army and federal government. Even before the sixth of May, public pledges of allegiance by the military had been taking place in several cities and there had been protest against it, but these protests had resulted in only a little publicity. There are two main reasons why we were able to carry out what

would later engage the media and the federal government for months and what they named the "Bremen riots":

(1) This public pledge of allegiance was not only planned to be a show of propaganda for the federal army, to push forward the militarization of the Federal Republic. One central point in the plan was that, on the sixth of May, the 25th anniversary of Germany's entering NATO was to be celebrated. The preparations for an imperialist war had become more and more obvious, especially during the months before the sixth of May:

- the attack on Iran to "free the hostages"
- the FRG coordinated economic and military "help" for the fascist junta in Turkey in the context of imperialist division of labor
- ratification of the NATO plan to station middle range missiles in Europe.

This is just to recall a few points to illustrate the situation at the time. With a consciousness of the situation, more than 10,000 people went to protest at the sports stadium and clearly expressed their opposition to NATO and the federal army.

(2) On the other hand many of us were determined to obstruct this NATO jubilee. This determination sprang from different causes: for once, many opponents of nuclear power (those belonging to the autonomous anti-nuclear movement) had realized that it is not sufficient to just fight against nuclear power plants, but that one has to direct the fighting against the whole system. Many of us who have our history in the anti-nuclear movement had realized that the fight against nuclear energy and against nuclear weapons belong together. And we had discussed this in our groups. Therefore many of us who have our history in the fight against nuclear power plants took part in the preparations for the demonstration in Bremen and were able to refer to our experiences in Brokdorf and Grohnde. Our determination was also the result of a demonstration in Hamburg in the beginning of 1980, a demonstration against the U.S. intervention in Iran that we were able to organize spontaneously, where the Pan Am Building was attacked with stones and molotov cocktails. Our experience in Bremen was, on the whole, that we are not only victims in the confrontation with the state but that we can also act. Our militancy proved to be an efficient weapon in the political fight, although we were far from using it (militancy) in an organized, politically determined way.

Although the sixth of May was only organized and planned on a regional level (northern Germany) it had an impact on the whole of the FRG. All over the country all the subsequent public pledges of allegiance were attacked and it became obvious that many people in this country are also fighting against militarization and war. Many autonomous and anti-imperialist groups have learned in Bremen

Anti-NATO demonstrators
confront German riot
police.



that it is possible to attack the state on a broad level of mass militancy. But we also learned in Bremen that we will only be successful here if we organize ourselves.

Because of this experience we began to plan and carry out the actions against the NATO autumn maneuvers, planned for September 1980. The national demonstration in Hildesheim (Hildesheim was housing the maneuvers headquarters) was planned and carried out by many groups from many cities in the FRG. But after the demonstration much of what had been built up during the national organizing collapsed again.

In our opinion this is a result of a false understanding of organization. When we organize ourselves, it cannot be only to plan some kind of practical action together, we also have to have political discussions concerning our future strategy.

After the national demonstration in Hildesheim, our development took different turns in different cities.

Whereas, for example, in Berlin the squatters movement was the driving force behind confrontations and actions against the state (and whereas in Frankfurt after some time the movement against the runway west of the Frankfurt airport gathered in breadth and militancy), the structures in Hamburg remained more or less the same. This meant that the several autonomous and anti-imperialist groups came together on various practical actions but there was a lack of continuous political discussion. Only with the hunger strike of about 300 political prisoners was a connection among us in Hamburg re-established, making it possible for the different groups to enter into a political discussion. The different sections of the struggle that up till then had been working more or less indepen-

dently from one another came together here. This coming together did not only include actions together but was based on the beginnings of political understandings common to all of us. Solidarity with the political prisoners and the fight against imperialism also became part of the politics of the squatters movement in Berlin and the anti-nuclear movement in northern Germany. After the murder of Sigurd Debus, for example, opponents of nuclear energy blew up one of the power masts at the nuclear power station in Esensham (near Bremen) and drew clear connections to the hunger strike in their communique.

During the mobilization for the hunger strike, and in the political debates and discussions, it has become obvious that the different social-revolutionary movements in this country have come together with the guerrilla in some vitally important political understandings:

- the fight for self-determination and identity
- the fight against imperialism.

We think that it is important that we see these experiences as the basis for a discussion on how we can become a revolutionary movement here in this country; a movement that combines the beginnings of social revolution here in the center of imperialism with the fight of the guerrilla here and the fight of the liberation movements in the Third World.

On the third of September 1981, a demonstration took place in Berlin against the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to the city. We knew before the demonstration started that we wanted to continue after the rally at the end of the demonstration of 80,000. We wanted to try and reach the city hall of Schöneberg, where Haig was at

the time. Our determination matched what we had in mind. What then happened was the result of preparation and not, like on the sixth of May, of chance and spontaneity. The reaction in the media pointed out what a touchy spot we had attacked. No "Mr. Haig has visited Berlin—a city that loves America!" For the first time the visit of a high U.S. politician in a "befriended country" had been massively disrupted. "Haig in Berlin—blood, flames and ruins." Those were the headlines. Several U.S. newspapers displayed pictures of the militant demonstration on their front pages. The propaganda for "German-American friendship" had been turned to propaganda for our resistance.

We did not foresee the full impact that the demonstration would have. The rulers, on the other hand, realized the touchiness of the situation at once. It was clear to them even before the day of the demonstration that they would not be able to present Haig openly to the public. The demonstration was an attack on the representative of U.S. war policy that had reached its pinnacle in the re-arming of the Duarte regime through massive military help and in Haig saying, "There is something more important than peace." The direct threat the population is exposed to led to the establishment of new structures among us and has led to our political aims being echoed in the peace movement. In this situation the RAF attacked the headquarters of the U.S. Air Force in Ramstein and U.S. General Kroesen. Unlike what happened with other attacks by the RAF, many people now realized that the targets attacked have great importance for the U.S. war strategy. In May 1981, for example, the women's peace groups organized a huge demonstration at the headquarters in Ramstein. The attacks of the RAF have been discussed within the various peace groups and, unlike 1977, there have been few denunciations.

After the demonstration, following the outcry that went through the media, we came to realize that the rulers do not fear our militancy because it results in material damage. They are afraid of us and of everyone who picks up a stone because they know that we are determined to fight and that no dialogue will ever be possible with us again.

We now enclose a newspaper article that is the most important in summing up the dimensions of the demonstration against Haig (not translated). Nowhere else can we find such a clear view of the great success this demonstration has had: with the eyes of the world watching, Haig had to be kept away from the people of Berlin. But not enough: with astonishing openness the article is naming the reasons that made our victory possible.

The "media picture of an isolated Haig" has been brought about by the militant fights in the streets. The militant battles in the streets have smashed the imperialist show of a U.S. representative who would have liked to move about Berlin like a fish in fresh water, as Carter was

able to do as recently as 1978. The article's analysis makes it obvious to everyone that our militancy can be a very sharp weapon in the fight against imperialism if we learn to use it with determination as a means in battle. It is a weapon that we will make useful for class struggle, like any other weapon.

In taking up the confrontation with our opponent, the state, that used all its power to protect Haig, we can orient a lot of people who want to fight against imperialist war. More and more people will realize that protest alone is not enough to change the situation. They will realize this because of their own experience in Bonn on the tenth of June, 1982. Having gone home feeling they accomplished nothing, they feel that a huge peace demonstration that is more like a festival cannot be carried much further, even if more people come next time.

Haig demonstration: although only a few of us went about the Haig demonstration in an organized way, we were able to win a political victory.

Demonstration against Reagan on the 11th of June, 1982: this time we discussed the aims of the demonstration and prepared for it in an organized way.

Despite massive attempts by the state to intimidate people (more on that in other articles) thousands of people came to the Nollendorf Square very determined to see to it that the demonstration would take place.

In the situation on the square many of us forgot our fears and our action was with the knowledge that this attack is justified and right and that it is o.k. to risk something in this context. The very restricted newspaper coverage of the demonstration shows that the pigs would like to cover our resistance with a veil of silence, seeing that they are not able to prevent it. They need peace and quiet in this country in order to use it as a coordinating place for their war planning.

It is our duty to destroy this false peace in order to make it impossible for imperialist wars to start from this country, and in order not to let this country become the battleground for imperialist war.

**PAPER FOR THE DISCUSSION OF NATO
SUMMIT
VISIT OF U.S. PRESIDENT REAGAN ON THE
10TH AND 11TH OF JUNE, 1982
(written before the demonstration)**

For the USA, the FRG is the strategically most important base and the most reliable ally within NATO.

- As a gate—and runway for U.S. intervention in the Third World, most importantly for the Near East and Africa (wartime host nation support program, NATO runway West in Frankfurt, Garlstadt).
- As an anti-communist bulwark against the states of the Warsaw Pact, as a place for, and base for, a war against the Soviet Union.

- As *the* country that, because of its economic and political strength, pushes through NATO politics in Western Europe.

For the first time since the victory of the Vietnamese people, U.S. imperialism is trying to stop the global process of liberation through interventions and genocide. U.S. imperialism is trying to turn the process around so as to regain a strategic offensive.

Liberation movements all over the world are forcing U.S. imperialism into a position it has tried to avoid by all means. It is now forced to engage in counterrevolutionary attacks on three frontlines at the same time:

- against revolutions in countries of the Third World,
- against the countries of the Warsaw Pact (now also in their function as natural allies of the liberation movements),
- against revolutionary struggle in the centers of imperialism.

Inner peace and stability within the FRG is one of the most important prerequisites for the realization of U.S. war politics, and this inner stability has been soundly shaken for some time now. The 6th of May in Bremen, 1980 (militant attack of a sports stadium where young soldiers were to take their oath publicly, with President Carstens and high members of NATO present) was the beginning of a broad mobilization against NATO here in the FRG, a mobilization carried out by anti-imperialist, anti-militarist, anti-war groups and militants. Since then, the anti-war movement, which reaches even into the established political parties, has grown immensely. This development found its clearest expression in the demonstration of 300,000 people in Bonn on the 10th of October. It is not determined yet that the whole of this movement will fall for Social Democratic attempts to integrate it; it is not determined yet that parts of this opposition that has grown out of a fear of war will not develop, out of the confrontations of political struggle, into anti-imperialist resistance.

At the same time we ourselves have learned—most importantly during the hunger strike of the prisoners from the RAF—that it is possible for every one of us to push forward the destruction of imperialism. Through mobilizing against and attacking U.S. imperialism, NATO and the Social Democratic government, we have formed the beginnings of an anti-imperialist movement that is developing its strength together with the liberation movements in the Third World and guerrillas here. It is our experience that we are able to materialize into a political force whenever we fight together with different movements. As for example, during the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Haig last year in Berlin, where we turned the Yankee's propaganda offensive around and hindered them from appearing as "protectors" and "apostles of freedom" in the eyes of the world. When the RAF attacked General Kroesen, one of the U.S.'s leading strategists, two days later, the demon-

stration gained further momentum. In this situation, when the U.S. is turning again to the military destruction of revolutionary struggles worldwide, it has become necessary for it to fully regain the FRG as "quiet hinterland."

By calling for a summit in Bonn, NATO wants to demonstrate strength, and that the FRG is a steadfast part of the alliance. The NATO summit in Bonn has been called for by the U.S. on short notice, in order to push through and guarantee their leading position within the alliance. Most important therein is the aspect of open preparation for war. They want to push it through even against the national (European) interests of the members of the alliance.

The "crisis" in Afghanistan and Poland, and the U.S. politics of intervention have shown that NATO is no longer sufficient as a political instrument of U.S. imperialism. In spite of numerous levels of institutionalized coordination, it is lacking in a unified attitude towards the Soviet Union, liberation movements in the Third World, and concrete measures against inner resistance in the centers of imperialism. The Reagan administration, by transferring the NATO summit to Bonn and by Reagan's visit to Berlin, is demonstrating the roughness and determination that is being used to force the FRG to back up U.S. politics, with or without the Social Democrats.

The summit and the Reagan/Haig visit to Berlin that's connected to it, furthermore are used to lead off a reactionary mass mobilization that is being pushed forward by the Christian Democratic Party and will, for the time being, culminate in demonstrations on the 5th of June in Bonn and Munich. This mobilization for U.S. war politics is so important now because, during the recent worldwide crisis and its material results (unemployment, decreasing standard of living), social democracy's ability to integrate, based on the ideology of social partnership, does not work any more. And it is furthermore not sufficient anymore to just integrate opposition. The pigs need active support for their politics in order to, for example, get the 93,000 reservists that are needed in this country to support the U.S. troops here and to replace them in times of war.

Reagan's visit in Berlin, arranged after massive pressure from the U.S., is planned to make up for the defeat of last year's visit by Haig, by getting loyal, flag-waving people on the streets of Berlin to demonstrate in this "city on the frontline" that the Americans are the "guardians of western civilization" and the "defenders of freedom."

WHY DO WE WANT TO DEMONSTRATE IN BERLIN ON THE 11TH OF JUNE?

We think the demonstration in Bonn on the tenth of June is important because it will be a massive demonstration against the NATO summit. What we do not agree with are the demands and the politics under which most of the groups and organizations are mobilizing for the demon-



Demonstrators hang banners supporting the RAF and calling for "Death to U.S. Imperialism" on the American Cultural Center (Amerikahaus) in Hamburg.

suration. The unified proclamation calling for the demonstration is obviously a compromise based on minimal agreements. The weaknesses of the politics of a broad alliance become obvious by the fact that at no point in the declaration is NATO being attacked openly. Even the demand for stopping the money for the fascist government of Turkey was left out. Even though the event in itself—the NATO summit—is calling for a definition of the demonstration to be against NATO, the proclamation is calling for a "Europe without nuclear weapons" and for "disarmament East and West."

These demands may be the expression of legitimate fear of a possible atomic war in Europe, but objectively they give ground to politics such as that of the Social Democrats who are trying to use the anti-war movement for their aims by having their representatives like Eppler, Gaus and the Hamburg Social Democrats back up these demands. What the Social Democrats have on their minds when they support the movement has been clearly stated by Brandt's advisor Gaus: "It should be demanded to bring Europe again under the protection of total American retaliation by making a clear commitment to Washington. After having restored protection by our 'Big Brother,' one could suggest creating a zone without nuclear weapons in middle Europe. But in order to accomplish this, Europe must be prepared to support the protective power, U.S.A., in the grey zones of the world, outside the NATO countries, without further agreements having to be signed, in

planned and well-aimed agreements between sovereign partners."

The anti-war movement is to be pacified by the offer of a zone without nuclear weapons. That means: the promise that a war is not going to take place here. Thus "inner stability" would be achieved in the centers of imperialism, the condition necessary to guarantee and to escalate plunder in the Third World, the "grey zones," and to do this with the countries of Europe taking part in the plunder directly and militarily.

On the other hand these demands create the illusion of a "peace" to be protected by us, as if there would be a neutral spot in the world-wide confrontation between imperialism and the peoples of the world that are fighting for liberation. And this notwithstanding the fact that Western Europe, through NATO, is part and parcel of U.S. war plans. The FRG, as the most important U.S. base in Europe, is the take-off point for wars against the Third World, and is itself, as a strong imperialist power, actively, and in precise coordination with the U.S., taking part in the securing and enlarging of imperialist regions of power.

It cannot be our aim to "secure peace," meaning the status quo here, because we cannot see peace in this country or anywhere else in the world. We cannot pray for peace, we can only fight against the cause of the open and hidden wars and destroy them, in a fight against the system here and against NATO, because NATO is the major

instrument in the securing of imperialist interests. Our aim is our liberation and that of all people.

If we look at the relative strengths of the revisionist and the militant left in this country, it becomes clear that it will hardly be possible to change the basic character of the Bonn demonstration which is appealing to the government for change. To form our own contingent in order to demonstrate our politics within the demonstration would probably mean that we would go under in the masses of people there. This is a weakness of ours for the time being and we have to look at it realistically. We will not become stronger by making compromises to secure a unity that in reality, looking at our aims, is not there anyway. We will become stronger if we plan our political practice so as to develop our own strength. That means planning the demonstration in Berlin as well as the demonstration at the U.S. airbase in Frankfurt, making the practical preparations for it, regionally and nationally, as political steps that carry us closer to our aim: to smash NATO. Thus, determining our actions ourselves means confronting the illusions still harbored by large parts of the anti-war movement and among ourselves with clear political action, with a clear attack on U.S. imperialism and NATO, together with the liberation movements of the Third World and the guerrillas here. By taking our own cause into our own hands in Frankfurt and in Berlin, we are able, through a unified initiative and experience, to organize ourselves into structures that enable us to act and to create the conditions necessary to fight and to thus become subjects of politics and a political force.

Therefore we want to go to Berlin on the 11th of June to organize an anti-imperialist demonstration with the aim of making impossible the show of propaganda planned by the Yankees.

Toward a Strong Anti-Imperialist Demonstration in Berlin!

BEFORE THE DEMONSTRATION

Our aim was to make the Schmidt and Reagan propaganda show impossible in West Berlin—to turn it into propaganda for our resistance. In this it was important and encouraging for us that all over Western Europe large, sometimes militant demonstrations against U.S. imperialism and U.S. institutions took place at the time of the NATO summit and Reagan's visit to several European capitals.

We had long and intensive discussions on the question of where the demonstration should be, what route to take, and how to best hinder the propaganda show. The question was: do we have to reach the Charlottenburg Castle (where Reagan and Schmidt stayed) in order to express our resistance to the show or will we make the spectacle impossible by attacking—on our way to the castle—what

Reagan and Schmidt stand for: U.S. and NATO institutions?

In favor of the first concept stood the fact that it would be difficult enough to reach the castle, to stage the demonstration in spite of massive police presence, and that we wanted to demonstrate that day because Reagan was in town whereas one can attack U.S. and NATO institutions any day. For the attacks strategy stood the idea that we did not want to limit our fight against U.S.-led imperialism to the symbolic figure of Reagan but also wanted to express our fight by material attacks on the centers and bases of the U.S. military machinery. Nevertheless, we did not want street fighting to prevent us from reaching the castle. The discussion about these questions was one major prerequisite for a strong and unified demonstration. The result of the discussion was that we wanted to fight to get to the castle. Furthermore, if it didn't endanger our aim to reach the castle, we would practically—and from out of the demonstration—express the content of our slogans, "Smash NATO" and "War on Imperialist War" by well-aimed attacks on U.S. and NATO institutions.

The route of the demonstration had been worked out in such a way that it would lead past some 40 institutions that in some way are functioning for NATO war politics, be it on the level of research, armament, politics or propaganda.

The fighting experiences of the squatters' movement during the last two years in Berlin, of militant demonstrations—especially the demonstration against Haig last year—and the structures resulting from this were an important basis for the concrete ideas we developed concerning the demonstration.

The demonstration was from the very beginning a target for massive attacks from the bourgeois media and from the security forces. When people in squatted houses, for example, began displaying banners calling for the demonstration and against Reagan, the police reacted with raids and searches, registering all inhabitants of these houses. As an answer all houses, and a lot of private ones also, began displaying banners and the police had a hard time running around to get the banners down and to paint over slogans on walls. They stopped the raids and searches and had to concentrate on getting most of the banners down and could after awhile just paint over the word "Reagan" on slogans. When the demonstration drew closer, they became more and more hysterical. Cassettes with war-noises were taken away from people, stickers on cars ("Reagan Go Home") painted over or torn down.

The order for these actions was not given by the Berlin Senate or the police of Berlin alone, but worked out at the orders of and in conjunction with the Allied Command in West Berlin.

The whole thing became known as the "war of rags" and shows how nervous the authorities were even before

the demonstration. It also shows to what extent German authorities will go to please the Americans. Some of the banners were not even carrying very militant slogans, just something unpleasant about the president (the president is stupid). It was forbidden to voice something unpleasant about the President of the United States!

The media began with propaganda like this: all peaceful people will peacefully demonstrate in Bonn on the 10th of June, all anarchists and vandals will be going to Berlin; the demonstration in Berlin is being organized by the "legal wing of the RAF" and autonomous groups that are a synonym for the revolutionary cells; the police should prevent militants from western Germany from getting to Berlin. The demonstration should be prohibited. A newspaper in Berlin published a free special edition on the day of Reagan's visit, with a small American flag inside and the headline: the visit of Reagan brings joy to our hearts. Hamburg Secretary for the Interior, Pawlczek, warned everyone to stay away from the demonstration in Berlin because it was being organized by the RAF's legal wing.

One day before the 11th it was finally clear that no demonstration would be allowed in Berlin as long as the president was in town. The police prepared for heavy confrontations (the idea to drive Reagan openly through the streets of Berlin had long been dropped; he would jump about in helicopters, visit the wall—nobody knew when and where—and then go to the castle where a Hollywood scenario had been planned with citizens who were willing to come for a free dinner and thousands of members of the security forces, fire brigades and technical services, ordered to be there in civilian clothes).

Up to 16,000 policemen were present on the 11th. In the hospitals the numbers of doctors working that day were doubled. Allied helicopters flew over Berlin the last day before the demonstration with Allied personnel and German policemen on board. They had contact with policemen standing on the roofs of houses.

A list of 500-800 people had been drawn up. These people were to be arrested before the demonstration. This is legal in Berlin because of the "common law for safety and order". But when the pigs came on the night before the 11th, they found houses empty. Most comrades had preferred to sleep elsewhere. Only 29 people were arrested that day.

So we had to prepare for a situation where the demonstration would be a forbidden one. We would have to fight for it against a massive police contingent. Comrades in western Germany were faced with the problem of having to cross a border: at that time it had become known that the police and secret services were putting together so-called lists of "disturbers", people known to be political activists, and we had to consider the fact that they might be sitting at the border with this list to arrest everyone on it as soon as they entered Berlin. For this we developed the plan

to set up two caravans that would cross the border at the same time at the two main transit ways. The idea was to block the transit roads if they started to arrest people and so to put political pressure on the authorities who are forever accusing the German Democratic Republic of causing slowness in the transit traffic and of not letting people cross the border. In Berlin we were faced with the problem of getting to the demonstration at all with our equipment (helmets, goggles for protection against tear gas, facemasks etc). We had to get to the gathering place without being arrested. Again, we were able to refer to the experiences of other militant demonstrations: nobody should use the subway, everyone should try to get to Nollendorf Square (Nolli) as inconspicuously as possible, in small groups (at the Haig demonstration the pigs had arrested all the comrades from Gottingen before the demonstration—they had met and wanted to go to the gathering place together). Everyone should bring plastic bags, those who did not want to take helmets should carry garbage in them, so as to make it impossible for police to search all plastic bags on the street.

Three contingents had been established for the demonstration to guarantee the presence and protection of the demonstration by militants from the back and front, and comrades were responsible for protecting the side. We had thought a lot about how to get to the Nolli and how to set up the demonstration and fight our way to the castle. We had not thought that the police would actually try to imprison us on Nollendorf Square. But this is what happened.

NOLLENDORF SQUARE ON THE 11TH OF JUNE (REPORT OF A COMRADE)

It was ten o'clock sharp when we passed the police on Bulowstrasse. They were keeping barbed wire ready on their vans. We entered Nollendorf Square. At once it became obvious to us that the police would soon encircle and close the square. We had not taken this possibility into consideration, had only thought how to get *to* the square, not, that we might not be able to get *off* it.

We were still searching for our contingent when the pigs began to close off all streets leading from the Nolli, using barbed wire. It was ten minutes past ten now and about 5,000 people were on the square. Although the situation did not look good at all—we were, so to speak, in a huge prison camp—I suddenly realized that my fear and anxiety about what to expect in the demonstration had gone. This is something I have also experienced in other demonstrations. It was also a good feeling to see that so many people had come to demonstrate, in spite of the media campaign, although the demonstration was forbidden and although everybody knew how important Reagan's visit was for the pigs. In our group we all agreed that we would not be arrested without resistance. To just let ourselves be



Berlin, West Germany, September 1981. Thousands demonstrate against the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

arrested would have meant that the pigs had managed to stifle our will to resist the war politicians from the very beginning.

Most of the people on the square must have felt the same. Everywhere stones were dug up, people organized chains. Suddenly a police van drove up in Macksenstrasse, near the Roland furniture shop, and told us that the demonstration was forbidden and that we would be allowed to leave the square via special "check points" if we would agree to being searched. Of course this was out of the question. Later I learned from people that at first these installations had not existed at all and later on, when they had been installed, people passing there had been beaten up by the police.

At Macksenstrasse, where the police loudspeaker van was standing, the confrontations began. After having forced the pigs to retreat by throwing stones at them we were able to pull aside the barbed wire and to enter the street. The pigs who were now hiding behind their vans had to retreat further, although they tried to advance again from time to time. Unfortunately we did not have any idea if there were many pigs kept in reserve there and so it seemed too risky to venture too far into Macksenstrasse, although at that time there was the chance to break through to Kurfürstenstrasse (later we learned from comrades who had listened to the police radio-communication that at that time no police had been kept in reserve there.)

It was a pity that we did not have a loudspeaker van or

good megaphones. There was no possibility of coordinating all the action on the square. Confrontation now started at all streets leading from the square. For us in Macksenstrasse, there was the danger of the police coming from Bulowstrasse or Einemstrasse and attacking us from the back by driving their vans through groups of people and thus cutting off our way of retreat.

While the police in front of us got reinforcement from water cannons, we started to build barricades in the direction of Bulowstrasse and Einemstrasse by getting the expensive old-style furniture out of Rolands furniture store, piling it up and setting it aflame. But nonetheless, in such a situation of street fighting, everyone to a large extent is responsible for him/herself, keeping an eye on the surroundings, watching out for plainclothesmen, recognizing dangerous situations and retreating in time and calmly.

All the time at the furniture store I did not see that anyone was wounded on our side, although many comrades threw stones while standing far away and thus endangered others. We were able to keep the police away from us all of the time.

After about 1-1/2 hours I began to look around for my group that I had lost in the chaos. There seemed to be considerably less people on the square. Many had obviously managed to get out somehow. I met a group of about 500 people who had assembled at Bulowstrasse to try to break out there and I decided to go with them. The

police had to run from our stones and retreated as far as the next street leading from Bulowstrasse and even police vans standing on the other side of the road (Bulowstrasse is large and divided in the middle by subway tracks and railings) had to retreat so as not to be cut off. Many of us were now able to reach the next street and so to get away from the Nolli, but then police vans driving at high speed and not caring about—or willingly risking—driving into people, forced the rest of us to run back again. Reminders of barricades lay about the street and we ran across them and the vans could not come too close to us. A few seconds were also gained by throwing stones at opening van doors, thus hindering the pigs from getting out. But after a while they got out anyway and began the pursuit on foot. I fell twice but managed to escape by seconds. To fall was a bad experience, but it was good then to be safely back among the comrades. Nevertheless, I now decided to look for my group and to not let myself be deterred again from my search.

After a while we were all together. We decided to organize our retreat from the square. But now 5 or 6 police vans began driving onto the square at high speed. They turned around and drove back again. Many comrades were again forced to run for their lives so as not to be hit. Stones being thrown at the vans perhaps prevented the pigs from getting out but many were badly aimed and flew across the street where our own people were standing. It was much better to pull up the famous Mercedes of a U.S. camera team, turn it over and set it aflame. Thus, and with some more barricades, new attempts by the pigs to get onto the square could be prevented. During these actions our group had been scattered again. After having assembled we decided upon an immediate retreat from the Nolli and began changing helmets and jackets in order to cut down the risk of being—after a possible arrest—identified in photographs. We did not manage a collective retreat and got off the square in different ways, but by late afternoon it was clear that none of our group had been arrested.

Everything considered, we are of the opinion that the pigs did not manage that day to keep our resistance quiet against war planning and oppression. We experienced the opposite: that very many people came in spite of the media campaign and that we were successful in disturbing the peaceful “peace initiative” of Reagan in Berlin. Even though the situation on the Nolli cannot be compared with West Beirut, we wanted to fight well against the attempt to organize mass murder there while hypocritically talking to the people here of peace. That meant to us, from the beginning, that our action against Reagan’s propaganda show in Berlin should convey our will to resist and that we are willing to risk something for this. I think we have conveyed this and that we will in the future be able to build on what we have achieved until we have the strength that is needed to defeat the pigs.

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST AND RESISTANCE

For the first time a multinational meeting of the imperialists met with such broad and heavy reaction: everywhere in Europe and in New York and Tokyo, people took to the streets in thousands against the politics of NATO, against the politics of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, etc. The demonstrations against NATO, the series of attacks on U.S. and NATO institutions all over Europe conveyed that many people are no longer just standing by and letting the imperialist politics of the U.S. and NATO happen; that they will not let themselves—without resistance—be engaged in the war planning of the national and international bourgeoisie; that they—be it on different levels and with different means—are ready to match their protest and resistance against imperialist politics.

SPAIN

6th of June: 15,000 march to the U.S. base 12 kilometers away from Madrid (command of the U.S. forces in Spain). Slogans: No to NATO—military bases out of Spain. 4000 people in Barcelona demonstrate against NATO, against the war budget and against nuclear power plants. Two attacks on the nuclear power plant, Parajes de Saujuan, and against the transformer in Renteria and against two building sites in San Sebastian.

14th of June: bombing attacks on four buildings of the Spanish Ministry of Defense and of the military secret service.

GREAT BRITAIN

6th of June: 250,000 people demonstrate against Reagan’s visit

7th of June: 4000 people in front of the U.S. embassy

8th of June: “Festival for Peace and Freedom” (while Reagan speaks in front of the parliament)

FRANCE

5th of June: demonstration of 20,000 people. Confrontations with the police.

4th: Direct Action attacks office of World Bank and International Monetary Fund

GREECE

23rd of May: demonstration of 30,000 people against U.S. bases, demanded that Greece leave NATO and that the Balkans be free of nuclear weapons. All in all, a march of 22 kilometers to various U.S. military bases.

4th of June: attacks on various American institutions by the “revolutionary struggle of the people.”

JAPAN

400,000 people demonstrate in Tokyo for peace and disarmament and against nuclear weapons. ■

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE

Attack on U.S. Air Force/NATO Headquarters at Ramstein (Red Army Faction (8/31/81))

WAR ON IMPERIALIST WAR!!!

ATTACK THE CENTERS, THE BASES AND THE STRATEGISTS OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY MACHINERY!!

Today we have, with the unit Sigurd Debus, attacked the Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force in Europe in Ramstein.

The U.S. imperialists will not have the peace and quiet to plan and carry out their plans for world power.

They want war.

They want to roll back history to the point before the offensive of liberation movements which pushed back their political and military power worldwide. In order to be able to do this they want to overturn the military balance between the socialist and imperialist states

It is their declared aim to roll back these historical changes and to become, once again, the strongest, all-governing power in the world. That means the direct preparation for a war on all front lines in Europe and the Third World. All the steps they took during the last ten years were taken in order to reach this aim: the beginning of a technological rearmament and the strategic restructuring



U.S. and NATO Air Force Headquarters in Ramstein, West Germany after the RAF bombing. 20 military personnel were wounded.

ing of their war machine that started at the peak of the Viet Nam War; the realization of the NATO long-term program; the neutron bomb; the "fight against international terrorism"; a combined program of counter-guerrilla warfare in

Tires Slashed on U.S. Government Cars in Frankfurt

WAR ON IMPERIALIST WAR!!

Tonight we have cut the tires of 24 U.S. cars in several parts of Frankfurt and spraypainted these cars with the slogans:

Fight the NATO Runway

Yankees Out

Ramstein and Kroesen: An Example

To us this action is part of the fight to chase the U.S. soldiers/occupants out of Europe. We want to make it impossible for them to live among us any longer — and we will not leave them in peace and quiet even if they retreat to their enclaves.

More and more people are getting to the point that they feel and realize that this NATO project cannot be stopped by protests, votes and so on. They realize that the fight has

to be fought on all levels because the aim must be to make the Yankees unable to act. At a time when people out in the woods and at the airport are trying to build up — with many people and militants — a new quality in the resistance against the runway, our action is part of the fighting in the "hinterland."

Che Guevara said:

The war must be brought to every place the enemy is. Bring it into his houses, his areas of entertainment ... You must keep the enemy from finding a minute of rest and peace, a minute outside his barracks and even inside them. You must attack the enemy wherever he is. You must bring him to the point where he feels like a hunted animal, wherever he might go. Thus his morale will dwindle....

We can only agree with this. And we have to figure out how our anger, our hate for the U.S. imperialists and their

GERMAN ARMED MOVEMENT

Western Europe; the piloting of mass murder in El Salvador; and the NATO putsch in Turkey.

The imperialist war of destruction is now returning from the Third World to Europe from whence it started. The people of Europe, in the FRG, are realizing that this development will mean their destruction if it cannot be stopped. They are now getting a direct, physically close concept of what has been reality to people in Asia, Africa and Latin America for hundreds of years: imperialism when you, yourself, are in the position of the oppressed.

Imperialism in itself and as a system means destruction, as long and as far as resistance is not strong enough to stop this class.

Against all the defeatist escape fantasies, of an atomic inferno and against all the helpless pacifist wishes complementing these fantasies, we now say that this monster can be beaten. It can be beaten if we in the center of it can bring our resistance up to the sharpness of the real situation.

If in the offensive fight, we can develop the political and military strategy that will bring the political bases in the center of imperialism down faster than they are able to realize and carry out their plans.

Ramstein: Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force and of NATO Air Force in Europe, largest American airport outside the U.S.A. Ramstein is the base for a nuclear war in Europe. The command for nuclear warfare is stationed here. It is from here that the Pershing II and Cruise missiles are going to be launched. The airplanes equipped with atomic missiles and the AWACS air control planes

take off from here. Here are the relays for the strategic bombers from the U.S. and the gate for troops from the U.S.

Ramstein is the starting base for a war in the Third World.

When the imperialists can no longer feel safe about their interests in the Near East and the Gulf Region, they will send off their machinery of repression from here.

The U.S. military strategy is the strongest force in the politics of the imperialist states. All other means—political, economic, social—are tuned to this strategy. The social development within the countries belonging to NATO are determined by it. This strategy brings this system—imperialist politics on the whole—down to its clearest meaning. It means the creeping death of the 24-hour day in the metropolis, the destruction in the fight for existence, lack of perspectives and alienation.

The dehumanization of work—the tendency, in the process of production, to eliminate people and to substitute machines.

The destruction of conditions for life by the nuclear industry, by pollution and concrete.

The control and straitjacketing of all expressions of life and their repression if they cannot be used by the system.

Develop the resistance against destruction into a frontline for the revolution in Europe!!

Fight the Battle in the Metropolis together with the revolutionaries in the Third World!!

allies can materialize into a political attack. How we can change our anger and our protest into political organization.

We know that it is *not* sufficient to know how the U.S. and its allies are operating, how their apparatus is functioning, how they are using their methods and means — this really isn't going to mobilize anybody to fight.

During this phase of imperialist wars it is necessary to further develop the revolutionary process in the metropolis — because we know that now, during this phase of the U.S. war strategy, the further development of the struggle in the center of the war machine will be of utmost importance. It will decide whether we will be able to make a step ahead in reaching our aim — world revolution — and it will decide if we can, together with the guerrilla and the fighting people in the Third World, win a victory and make fundamental changes in the power structure.

At no time have the possibilities to fashion such a

process in the metropolis been better.

By the economic crises of U.S. capital; by the fact that more and more people in the Third World are rising to fight the Yankees and to throw them out of their countries; and that more and more people here no longer want to be the objects of history — by all this it has become necessary for the U.S.A. and its NATO allies to develop the total of their war machine, the total of their potential of destruction to reestablish their aim: world power.

The FRG is to be the center of this war:

- Here the Runway West is going to be built for the use of the Rapid Deployment Forces on the way to the Near East
- The enlargement of Munich and Hamburg airports were decided within the NATO long-term program

SEE TIRES SLASHED P.18

Assassination Attempt on NATO Commander, U.S. General Kroesen (Red Army Faction (9/29/81))

ATTACK THE CENTERS, THE BASES AND THE STRATEGISTS
OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY MACHINERY!

FIGHT IMPERIALIST WAR WITHIN THE CONTEXT
OF INTERNATIONAL CLASS WARFARE!

Today we have—with the Gudrun Ensslin Unit—attacked the Commanding General of the U.S. Army and of NATO's Middle Europe Section, General Kroesen.

He is one of the U.S. generals who directly hold in their hands the imperialist politics in Western Europe up to the Gulf Region, as he is the one who decides what to do and how to do it in times of confrontation! He determines the use of conventional destruction and he decides when and where neutron bombs are going to be fired. He is commanding the U.S. troops of intervention that are stationed here for their use in the Near East. He and Rogers are the

strategists who are called away to the Pentagon from the frontline in Europe, as happened when a decision was made to intervene in Iran.

He will be one of the American military men who wants to openly command the FRG instead of Schmidt, Genscher, Kohl, Strauss or whoever it might be at a time when resistance seriously shatters the colonial status of this country. For this purpose and time, the data on the left in the FRG have for years been stored in the computers at the U.S. Headquarters in Heidelberg.

He regularly meets with the Federal Attorney to permanently coordinate steps and to directly check on the situation. These meetings, together with reports of the Western European secret services combined within NATO, determine U.S. anti-guerrilla warfare in Western Europe.



The RAF fired on Kroesen in his armored car from a hillside 200 yards away.

TIRES SLASHED FR. P.17

- Nearly all the German hillsides have missiles stored in them.

The people have a strong feeling that this war is going to destroy them — if we can not turn the development with an international struggle. This system is starting to shatter with each and every person who starts to fight, to liberate himself from imperialism and its structures: the psychological war against the minds does not function any longer. The material basis — money — to extinguish every wish for liberation is dwindling.

It is fear that now makes the pigs set up their whole

potential of destruction — their fear of losing their power once and for all:

- Thus they are threatening to destroy the Soviet Union with atomic weapons
- Thus they are saying that they are going to intervene in Nicaragua
- Thus they are blockading Cuba, and so on!

They are trying, on all levels and everywhere, to change the international development into a fascist, repressive system. But they will not succeed! They will be defeated

Kroesen is a frontline general.

Western Europe is no longer the hinterland from where imperialism is waging war—now, with the victories of liberation wars in the Third World—now, with the development of the guerrilla in Western Europe—now that the whole of imperialism is suffering a crisis, Western Europe has become part of the worldwide frontline.

It is the part where they possess everything. But it is also the part that has become vital for the process of liberation on the whole, worldwide line.

The fighting within the metropolis can keep global imperialism in check so that, together with the revolutionaries in the Third World, a new breakthrough can be accomplished. The struggles in the metropolis now are real steps of revolution in the centers themselves, a revolution that for us must be a constantly changing process of developing revolutionary resistance.

Resistance means: attacking the counterrevolutionary attack.

Resistance means: putting one's practice in context with the guerrilla.

The guerrilla, the fight of the prisoners from the guerrilla, and the fight of the anti-imperialist militants are the lines that as a unit form the revolutionary frontline in Western Europe—or are going to form it.

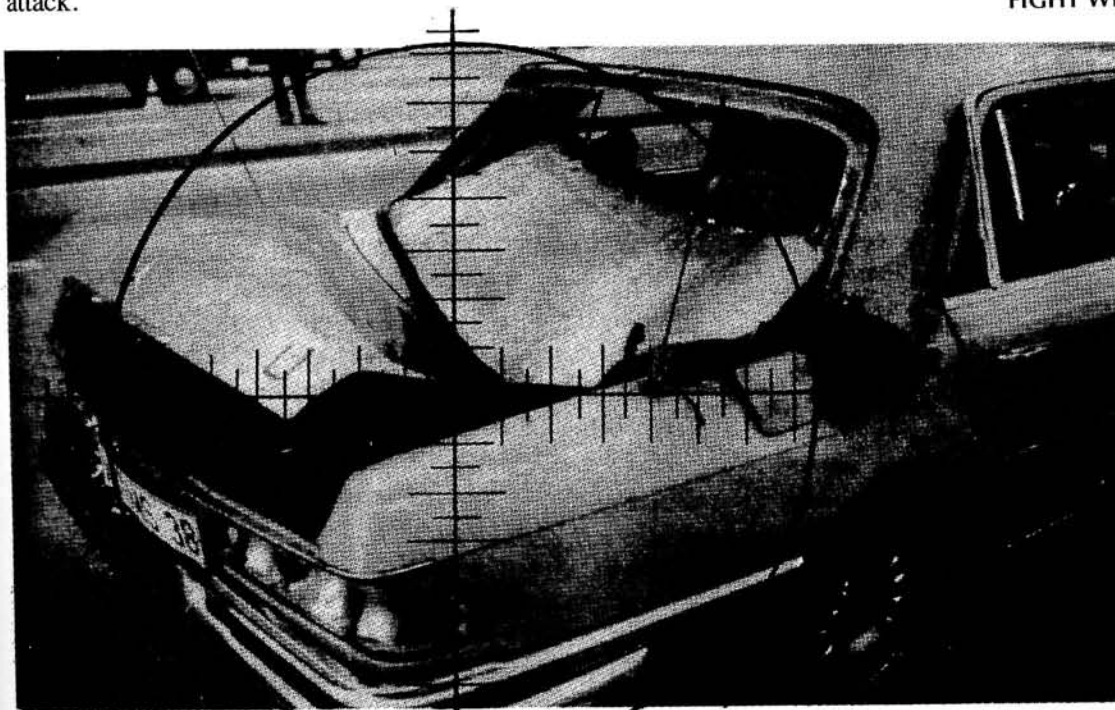
Fight all battles for the conditions of life in all areas as an anti-imperialist fight—that means bringing them into the frontline.

**MAKE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PRISONERS,
AS A CENTRAL POINT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE,
YOUR OWN CAUSE!!**

**SUPPORT THE PRISONERS HERE, IN IRELAND,
TURKEY, ITALY AND SPAIN!!**

**THE WEST EUROPEAN GUERRILLA
IS SHAKING THE CENTER!!**

FIGHT WITH US!



by us, the people whose will to live is stronger and more powerful than their computers, their high-technology apparatus of registration and control, their prisons and their death squads. We can only develop into a power against them if we realize the unity of all struggle.

If we learn from each other.

Thus for us the attacks on Ramstein and Kroesen show the possibility of giving full effect to our actions. It is our aim to develop this revolutionary process, be it in the fight against the runway, within the anti-war movement, together with the prisoners — wherever we are living and fighting.

To say one more thing: actions like this tonight can be done by everybody. We only have to take a look around:

Yankee imperialism does not only manifest itself in its military forts. They have been occupying this country since 1945 and have rebuilt it! The structure of U.S. imperialism, its capital, is present here wherever you look....One must only open one's eyes.

**SMASH NATO — CHASE THE YANKEES —
EVERYWHERE!!**

**FIGHT AGAINST THE NATO RUNWAY
ASSOCIATION IN GROUPS
FOR THE PRISONERS FROM THE RAF
CHANGE PROTEST
INTO REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION
SOLIDARITY WITH THE RAF!!**

War on Imperialist War

—Women Against Imperialist War (Hamburg)

The mistake is believing that there might be someone fighting out of the experience of weakness; but someone who fights, somewhere, at some time knew strength, experienced it himself, otherwise he would not be fighting. —*Guðrun Ensslin*

We, Women Against Imperialist War, are part of the women's movement and the battles that have developed since the militant demonstration against NATO on the 6th of May, 1980, in West Germany. We have had a snout full of being reduced as women to our "natural abilities," namely those of peacemaker, eternal mother and social workers who make peace between incompatible opposites. We are no "Women for Peace" because we see that here and everywhere in the world we cannot conjure up peace and that there will be no peace unless we fight the material causes for war and destroy them.

In this article we want to discuss the theories and the strategies of the peace movement as exemplified in such slogans as "Make Peace Without Weapons" and "West Germany Out Of NATO," which we think to be incorrect and leading in the wrong direction. We think it is senseless to inundate politicians, the same politicians who are helping to prepare for war, with moral appeals. We think it is hopeless to use peaceful protest and civil disobedience to stop the war machinery of imperialism—the war machinery that tries with all its resources to find a way out of the current crisis even at the cost of destroying the entire human race.

It is our aim to discuss the conditions and perspectives of our resistance, which we feel brings us together and strengthens us. When we say "War On Imperialist War!" we mean we have not only the threat of a Third World War before us, but that we must also fight for the overthrow of the system which is already, all over the world, either overtly or covertly waging war against people who resist its power. And we must also fight the so-called "normal" conditions of living, the deadly isolation of people from each other, and a permanent state of war. We as women are confronted with these conditions all the time.

IMPERIALIST WAR IS THE STRATEGY OF THE RULING CLASS TO OVERCOME CRISES

We know from the history of this country that the imperialist system needs wars to maintain its profits. In this century, both the world wars and fascism have shown us that the capitalists are not afraid to use any means necessary to broaden their possibilities of (surplus) accumulation. Inevitably when a crisis of capitalism can not be controlled by normal methods such as increased political repression and economic exploitation (automation, unemployment, reduction of workers' benefits and social welfare programs), the system resorts to military violence. That is how in 1930 the big crisis in Germany and Italy led to fascism and finally to the beginning of World War II. It was in the interest of the leading German capital, which had fallen into a crisis, to destroy the national borders created by the Treaty of Versailles, to regain territory and to expand their capitalist influence through a world war. Fascism, which meant the violent restoration of the "inner peace" in Germany after the years of crisis between 1929 and 1933, was a necessary basis for the planning and the execution of the six years of World War II.

German fascism was crushed by the allied forces in 1945, but by no means did they destroy the conditions that bred fascism. On the contrary, the capitalist class of the victorious powers found new, wider possibilities for expansion.

Although World War II was extremely devastating, both in terms of human lives and destruction of property, out of the rubble capitalism experienced the biggest boom of its history under the direction of the U.S. Thus, the West German welfare state thrived.

The state of West Germany was built up in 1945 by U.S. occupation with the help of the Marshall Plan. The West German state did not make a break with fascism. It con-

tinued with the same relationship to the means of production, the same state apparatus, the same power elite, and the same methods of fighting resistance as fascism. This did not occur in opposition to, but in conjunction with American interests. Under the threat of military repression, the Allied forces occupying West Germany, especially the Americans, put forth their interest in conditions of production that were based on capitalist ownership, in opposition to the majority of the German people.

The threat of military repression against any form of resistance to the politics of the occupying nations was one side of the German restoration; the other side was the regrowth of the economy. Under the guise of humanitarianism for the poor, suffering German people, the European Relief Program, the Marshall Plan which was actually part of the U.S. strategy against the U.S.S.R., was declared in 1947. The Marshall Plan

- guaranteed the expansion of U.S. economic influence in Europe
- was the foundation of the military and political integration of Western Europe into the anti-communist bloc
- facilitated, through the control of the German economy by U.S. capital, the Americanization of European societies, especially West Germany, by American capital, American technology and American consumer culture. Thus the "American Way of Life" was imported as an unquestionable prototype.

Part of the rebuilding that was part of the restoration of capitalist conditions in this society was the destruction of any radical opposition from its very beginning. The elimination of any radical opposition (the German Communist Party, communist trade unions) and the integration of

resistance into the Social Democratic Party were the main objectives, in the years following the "economic wonder," for the installation of a model of democracy, a model in which the theory, the official line, was that all classes more or less took part in the economic growth. Any questioning of the "growthpact" between workers and capitalists was suppressed. And it was fought as being a danger to democracy and the well-being of the people.

The conception of "inner peace" (loyalty of the general population) and the growth of the economy which determined the atmosphere of the 60s and 70s was dependent upon continuous expansion of capital. So the development of a world market was not only an economic, but a political necessity in order to keep the people in the metropolises quiet through increased consumption and a constantly rising standard of living. The development of a world market meant exploitation of the Third World by an international division of labor. Thus, the development of the metropolises took place on the backs of the Third World countries. In the 60s many countries of the Third World began liberation wars against exploitation by multinational corporations dominated by U.S. capital, thus bringing to an end the expansion of imperialism for world power.

IMPERIALISM CAN BE DEFEATED

The victory of the Vietnamese people, who waged a difficult, determined struggle and finally succeeded in getting the Yankees out of their country, was the hope and example for many liberation movements. The major significance of the victory of Viet Nam was the proof that it is possible to fight the monster U.S.—that it is vulnerable and that it is possible to defeat it. In the last ten years liberation movements all over the world have pushed the



Americans back, most recently with the expulsion of the Shah and his clique from Iran.

Every revolutionary struggle for liberation is able to weaken imperialism, which is dependent on natural resources and labor power as well as political stability in the Third World. Most obvious is the Middle East, a region which, because of its rich oil fields and strategic military location, has been declared by the Americans as part of their "vital interests," and which they are ready to defend with all their military means. The impending stationing of new middle-range missiles in Europe, aimed at the USSR, is thus intimately connected to the Third World and to the interests of the imperialist states in preventing revolution. The U.S. hopes to scare the USSR into stopping its support of liberation movements in the Third World, thus clearing the way for undisturbed intervention in the Third World countries when they attempt liberation from imperialism. Inherent in imperialism is the calculated risk of the destruction of all life in Europe, and the nuclear contamination of West Germany.

But imperialism knows its vulnerability; it sees itself on the defensive. The crises are worsening here in Europe, in its centers, as imperialism is no longer able to carry out its plundering wars. The more the crises develop in the centers, the more the resistance grows against this system that is based entirely on destruction, and the more imperialism looks to a military solution for its crisis—it is not only looking for an external military solution, but also an inner military solution against the resistance within the metropolis itself. The military "solution" which has been prepared for by the U.S. and West German imperialists since 1945 and strengthened in the last ten years can be seen in the development of NATO and the history of remilitarization of West Germany, and in the growth in the last ten years of a social democratic government and of repressive measures by the state....

The following short description of the history of NATO makes clear that the American strategists built up and structured West Germany and Europe as the bastion of American imperialist interests. And it also shows the extreme importance of military planning and the buildup of armaments in so-called peace times. One couldn't state this any more clearly than Haig:

Military power is a vital prerequisite for a coherent strategic forming of international relations. Soon after WWII we recognized this connection. We wanted to rebuild and protect Europe with all our available resources—political, military and economic. The results were the methods that led to NATO and the economic recovery of Europe.

INTEGRATION OF THE FRG INTO NATO— THE FIGHT AGAINST THE RESISTANCE

The new German army has not been founded to guarantee the safety of the state of Bonn; rather, the new state has

been founded to be able to build up a new army against the Soviet Union.

Rudolf Augstein, 1955

The decision in the 1950s to set up a West German military contingent was not a decision made by an independent West German government. On the contrary, the creation of the West German army had been decided under the military dictatorship of the occupying forces. The government of the FRG had no other choice but to formally give its consent to this project. There was no real option to rebuild without rearmament. Germany had been given formal sovereignty in 1955 on the condition that it would integrate into NATO. The strength of the troops to be brought up by the FRG had already been decided in 1952 in Lisbon, at a time when the FRG was not yet formally part of NATO. In 1956 the first units were set up, armed with American weapons and under American control. Before that, a West German military contingent had been built up secretly by the American military secret service in connection with the West German secret service. The military part of the Marshall Plan not only included sending American arms and equipment into the FRG until the end of the 1950s, but also building up an infrastructure that was designed according to military interests. For example, no industrial zones were established close to the border with the German Democratic Republic during the phase of reconstruction.

There is another example that clearly shows that the founding of the FRG was closely linked to its integration into NATO: the FRG is by contract bound not to withdraw its military contingent from NATO, as other countries of the alliance have done in the past.

The FRG also consented to not having its own military leadership within the West German army. The existence of such an independent leadership would make possible the existence of a West German army outside the NATO alliance. In the event of war the commanding officer of NATO is also the commanding officer of the West German army.

The fact that the FRG is one solid U.S. base with over 100 U.S. bases on its territory shows that the territory of the FRG is functioning for U.S. interests. Wars against the Third World are planned and carried out from the territory of the FRG.

- During the Viet Nam war, the headquarters in Heidelberg coordinated the flight of the B-52 bombers against the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.
- GI's for the Rapid Deployment Forces are stationed here.
- The runways for the U.S. military transport airplanes are situated in this country. The Americans launched

their intervention in Iran in May 1980 from Ramstein, West Germany. Ramstein and the runway West in Frankfurt are going to be used by the Americans as a launching base when their vital interests are endangered in the Near East.

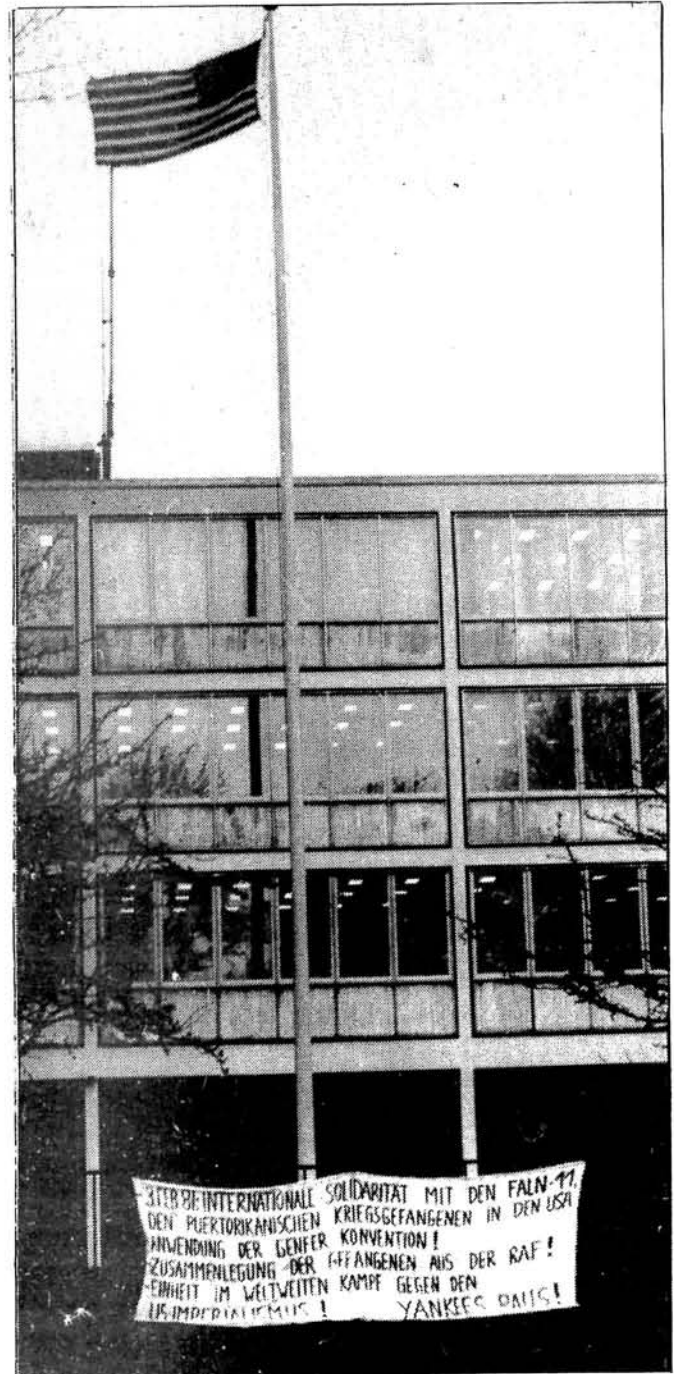
- The NATO long-term program decided on in 1978 called for enlarging the airports in Hamburg, Frankfurt and Munich.

The U.S. bases in the FRG have extraterritorial status. The government of the FRG has no rights in them. As they are institutions of an occupation army, they have their own court system and their own military police. For over 30 years now the Americans have stationed their own criminal police in the FRG and these police, besides their military tasks, also carry out secret service activities, such as the observation of West German citizens. In order to "protect their interests," the U.S. forces act autonomously. That means that they are directly engaged in the fight against resistance in the FRG. For us that means that as our resistance more and more directly targets the U.S., we are going to be confronted not only by the German pigs and the German secret service, but also by American counterinsurgency specialists.

- American anti-guerrilla units that used to be stationed in the Panama Canal Zone are now being used against the resistance in Europe.
- Six American and also German anti-terror specialists were sent to Italy right after the kidnapping of NATO General Dozier by the Red Brigades.
- CIA agents took part in a demonstration of squatters in Berlin in order to study the structure and strategies of different groups.
- Everyone who takes part in actions and demonstrations against NATO and the U.S. has his/her data put into the computer at the Heidelberg headquarters.
- According to the operation plan 101-1, which has been forced upon the members of NATO by Washington, the American Commander-in-Chief in Europe is entitled to undertake his own actions of repression when there is "internal unrest" in the FRG. According to this plan, black lists have been established in all the countries of NATO. These lists contain the names of all the people that are to be arrested by the U.S. military police in time of civil unrest.

THE "SMALL WAR"— COUNTERREVOLUTION

It is not the only task of NATO to plan and carry out strategies for an imperialist attack on the Third World or the Soviet Union. It is also the task of NATO to create and



Banner placed on the U.S. Consulate in Dusseldorf, West Germany, February 1981. It reads: International Solidarity with the FALN-11, Puerto Rican Freedom Fighters in the USA! Observe the Geneva Convention! Association for the RAF Prisoners! Unity in the Worldwide Struggle Against Imperialism! Yankees Out!

to guarantee the conditions for such an attack: the inner stability in the countries within the alliance, the quiet hinterland for imperialist wars of aggression.

Shortly after he came into office, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig described this task as the most important: the fight against "international terrorism."

Concepts for the international fight against resistance are worked out between the U.S.A. and Europe. During the last ten years the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) has been foremost in the establishing and pushing through of projects designed for the fight against and the smashing of resistance in Western Europe. The former chief of the Federal Investigation Bureau (BKA), Herold, built up the BKA and the whole apparatus of the police into a gigantic apparatus for the fight against resistance. His declared aim was to start an offensive against terrorism. Herold once characterized the fight between revolutionary guerrilla movements and the imperialists, with their strategies for defeating resistance, as the "small war" that has pushed into the background the "big war" among states, the global fight among alliances and blocs of powers. Everyone waging resistance in this country is experiencing the "small war," is feeling that the state has declared war on them. It is important for us not to be afraid of such a declaration of war, but to take it up: angrily, with the will to attack, joyously and seriously.

Saying: I do not like this or that, that's protest. Seeing to it that what I do not like does not happen any more, that's resistance. —Ulrike Meinhof

In order to clarify the conditions for the development of our resistance, we have to go back to the history of the FRG and we have to take a close look especially at the time after World War II, when U.S. capital and the U.S. government set the lines for the reconstruction of this country. If we want to become a real power against this state, a power that is able to make it impossible for the U.S. imperialists and their allies to use their war machinery, we have to know the foe we are fighting. We have to know this in order to be victorious.

FRG—JUNIOR PARTNER OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

We have to recognize that the FRG is no sovereign country, that in the phase of the reconstruction this country has been so invaded by U.S. capital that an economic dependency and political cooperation have been established that make it impossible to divide the FRG from the U.S.A. In this the FRG is not just a victim of U.S. interests but, as a strong imperialist power, is itself actively taking part in securing and enlarging the imperialist regions of power.

The FRG is part of the global fight between the proletariat of the world and imperialism. There is a political, mili-

tary, economic and ideological identity of interest with U.S. imperialism and so the FRG is no oppressed nation but one that oppresses other nations. The FRG has been established by the CIA and by U.S. capital as a stronghold against communism and as a strategic base. In this function the FRG today, as part of the states aligned to the U.S.A., is a strategic subcenter for U.S. foreign policy, a policy that is conceived of as the world's home policy. That means that the FRG is the operational base for American capital in this region. The FRG is a leading imperialist power in Western Europe, a power that is organizing Western Europe into a political, military and economic bloc of power. —Quote from the declaration made by Rolf Heiler during his trial in September 1981

The demands being made by a large part of the peace movement neglect this reality. These demands do not exemplify that the FRG, or better, German capital and the ruling class, are part and parcel of transnational capital under the hegemony of the U.S.A. These demands neglect the fact that the FRG is part of NATO and that those in power know that they can only realize their interests together with the Americans. If the German people were to say, "We want to leave NATO!" they would, on one side, be confronted with the interests of their own imperialist ruling class, a ruling class that does not want to leave NATO and that cannot leave NATO. They would also be confronted with the interests of the Americans who did not build up this country for the last 35 years just to give it up again if the German people thus wish.

OUR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE: TO FIGHT IMPERIALISM

In the FRG there is not a question of national liberation, because this country is a leading imperialist power and, as a nation that oppresses other nations, cannot just leave the imperialist war plan, cannot be neutral. The international contradictions, the war between imperialism and the peoples in the Third World fighting for liberation, are gaining in sharpness. At the same time it is becoming obvious that there are only two possibilities in the world: either you are an ally of NATO or you are NATO's enemy. There is no third way in between. Neutrality does not exist. It is not in our interest to keep ourselves out of this conflict, hoping perhaps that then the bombs might not fall on us. It is our aim to smash NATO, to liberate ourselves and all people in the world from imperialism.

We are only able to do this together with all the peoples in the world. It is because of this that we think it a scandal that at the peace demonstration in Bonn on the 10th of October, 1981, the representative of the ANC (African National Congress) who was to speak in the names of numerous liberation movements (PLO, SWAPO, FDR, Polisario, Unidad Popular) was forbidden to speak because the people who had organized the demonstration

were fearing for the good image they had with the federal government and the fascist regime in Israel. The speech that was going to be given exactly states what the situation is now:

Peace for us means the end of everyday oppression, the end of unfair structures, the end of hunger, the ending of the terror of the ruling classes. The liberation movements make up the first rows in the frontline in the fight against the aggressive war-threatening policy of the U.S.A. Our people every day are risking their lives in the fight for peace and justice. They are paying a high price with their blood. The peace movements in the FRG and in Europe and the liberation movements in the Third World have to walk hand in hand.

We, the peace movement, the anti-imperialist movement and the women's movement can learn a lot from the liberation movements for the fight against our common enemy. The liberation movements did not only experience how imperialism defends its total power in the world with murderous brutality. They have also experienced that one can nevertheless defeat this enemy if one does not have any illusions about it, if one declares war on it, if one attacks it materially in a revolutionary war for liberation that has to be fought on all levels, politically and militarily.

Our sisters in the liberation movements are an example for us, because they have won for themselves the means to attack imperialism and to defeat imperialism. They are not out to win "free zones" for themselves as are some women in the women's movement in the metropolis. They are fighting for their freedom within the fight for liberation. The Red Army Fraction (RAF) began taking up armed anti-imperialist struggle in this country ten years ago. In their attacks, like, for example, against the U.S. headquarters in Heidelberg in 1972, they have developed a practice that brings the war of liberation into the metropolis, into the hinterland of imperialism. It is a practice that sees itself in concert with the liberation movements by attacking the common enemy in the "heart of the beast" (Ché Guevara).

When we got together as "Women Against Imperialist War" two years ago, it was very important for us to discuss the politics of the RAF and of the prisoners from the RAF. It was our aim to develop a new political offensive out of the women's movement, a movement most of us came from. An offensive that brings our fight against male violence and male supremacy together with our fight against the state and imperialism. We knew that we did not wish to create for ourselves quiet islands within the system, because doing that would mean not to attack male violence and the state, not to abolish it, but to just bypass it. This is why RAF politics is so important to us: the comrades from the RAF and their politics do not bypass reality, do not bypass imperialist structures of violence, do not bypass alienation. This is because it is a politics that does not lie and deny reality by making compromises, that does not align itself with the system, but takes the perspec-

tive and possibility of liberation from imperialism, our liberation as people, very seriously and fights for it radically. The fact that continuously, for ten years, the RAF has attacked American bases and strategists, as well as the figures representing this state, did not only show us that this state can really be hurt when attacked. Most of all it has shown us the possibility to free ourselves from alienated structures of passivity and fear, to develop a revolutionary identity and power. This possibility is clearly shown by the fact that the RAF does not let the fight be determined by repression. It means that they themselves determine strategic attacks and that they themselves determine when and where the confrontation is going to be.

On the 6th of May, 1980, in Bremen, we ourselves had the experience of wanting the confrontation and of determining it and of thus becoming stronger. We did not only protest the public taking of an oath by soldiers; we also militantly attacked those preparing for war. What was so important about the stones and the molotov cocktails that flew about was that they expressed a new quality of resistance: someone who throws stones does not enter anymore into a dialogue with the rulers, expects nothing from them, determines the confrontation himself, does not want integration. What was new about the resistance in Bremen was that, for the first time, anti-imperialist groups and anti-militarist groups came together and it was the beginning of a broad mobilization against NATO.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RAF PRISONERS' HUNGER STRIKE

The anti-imperialist mobilization was continued during the last hunger strike of the prisoners from the RAF. It was a hunger strike that was aimed at winning the demand for association for many prisoners that have been isolated for years. The anti-imperialist mobilization was continued during the strike and gathered strength because our resistance outside the prisons came together with the fight of the prisoners. In this fight our relationship to the prisoners was no longer one of just support. We felt that it was a fight we were fighting together. In fighting with the prisoners for their association—for their possibility to continue to collectively fight and work within the prisons—we have tackled our own fear of prisons. We have done something in order not to let our perspective and power end before the prison walls. In dealing with our fears, we have realized where our power lies:

When the militant left learns what imperialism had to recognize in its defeats, namely, that its power ends where its violence is feared no longer, they will have solved the whole problem of imperialism's invincibility. —*Hunger strike declaration by the prisoners from the RAF*

The strong mobilization for the hunger strike has forced

the state to make concessions. It was our mistake not to really realize our power. We could not estimate how much the state fears the different movements coming together. We did not really realize how the state has to fight even the beginnings of such a development of unified structures, contexts and perspectives among us. We did not realize this and so we stopped our fight with the ending of the hunger strike. We did not force the state to implement the concessions it had made.

But despite our mistakes we have made during the hunger strike, we have nevertheless learned what is important for our resistance and how to go on. The resistance during the last year here in the FRG has shown the rulers that the time when they could carry out their projects without being hindered is over: the militant fights of the squatters in Berlin, the numerous demonstrations and actions of the peace movement, the demonstration against Haig in Berlin, the determined resistance of the people fighting against the NATO runway in Frankfurt.

What really shook the pigs was that in this situation, where not only in the FRG but in the whole of Europe, resistance against imperialism is developing and coming together, where more and more people realize who the enemy is and that you have to attack it, that in such a situation the RAF attacked the U.S. headquarters in Europe in Ramstein and the NATO high commanding officer, U.S. General Kroesen.

This has shaken the pigs, because the mass resistance against the war preparations and the armed attacks of the guerrilla have come together. The Red Brigades in Italy a

few weeks ago kidnapped NATO General Dozier under the same slogan the RAF had in the attack against Kroesen: War on Imperialist War! The Red Brigades have called for a unified struggle of the Red Brigades, RAF, IRA, and ETA against U.S. imperialism.

TO WANT REVOLUTION IS MORE THAN A PHRASE

We have felt during the last year that to want revolution is more than a phrase, that it is more than just an analysis of imperialism. To want revolution above all means: wanting to change yourself and others, breaking with structures and roles that have been especially forced upon us women. It means realizing that personal and political liberation can only be won together, that personal liberation is the condition necessary for political liberation and vice versa.

The motor for our resistance is the experience that we can overcome our fears, the knowledge and the consciousness that we can change weaknesses into power, that we are no longer just suffering our fate but are subjects of our thinking, acting and feeling. Women's liberation means the fight for self-determination and subjectivity, means turning around the experience we had as women to be at the bottom, defined by weakness, alienated from ourselves. It means turning these experiences around into collective power, by putting our whole self against the rulers, against institutions and institutionalization, against oppression, against chauvinism. It means becoming a real force that is able to do away with imperialist rule and power. ■



Demonstration at Nordstern Prison in support of the RAF Prisoners of War hunger strike. The banners call for: an end to the torture and isolation; association for the POWs in groups of at least 15; and closing the high security unit.

POLITICAL INTERNMENT IN THE FRG

Helga Roos Sentenced to Five Years

Helga Roos is an anti-imperialist political prisoner in West Germany, sentenced to five years in prison in the Spring of 1983. Helga's case has a particular significance because it is a test case for the West German government, and part of a pattern of repressive legal rulings being implemented in all the NATO countries. With the case of Helga Roos, the West German government is attempting to set the legal precedent of holding public supporters of armed struggle responsible for the actions of the underground. The state is trying to establish the political concept of the "legal wing" of the underground — specifically that anyone who supports the Red Army Faction in Germany can be considered part of the RAF and treated as such. This repressive strategy is an effort to counter the growing strength and sophistication of the West German armed movement and the public anti-imperialist movement.

Helga was arrested in October 1981, following the RAF attack on NATO General Kroesen. She was accused of buying a box of chocolate (!) and the tent used by the RAF in the action (see p. 18 for RAF communique). Helga was then sent to Stammheim Prison where she was held under harsh repressive conditions. Four RAF prisoners were assassinated at Stammheim in 1977. Others have been near death as a result of torture and conditions designed to destroy their minds as well as their bodies.

Helga is being treated like most of the political prisoners there. She has been in total isolation since her arrest. She is allowed only one half-hour visit from her sister per month and has no contact with anyone else except the guard who brings her meals. All of her mail is censored and her reading material is limited to two newspapers per week.

Last Fall the Federal Bureau of Prosecution attempted to have Helga declared insane and committed to a mental institution without a trial. The government tried this in 1973 against Ulrike Meinhof and against Siegfried Haag in 1979. Their aim is to portray resistance and struggle against the system as crazy and sick. Psychosurgery was planned for Ulrike Meinhof. Prosecutor Zeis stated in the proceedings against her: "It would be so embarrassing if it turned out that all the people began to follow a mad woman." An international campaign of protest forced the German government to abandon its outrageous plan to commit Helga to a mental institution, as had similar campaigns in support of Ulrike and Siegfried in earlier years.

Helga has been a political activist for many years. She has struggled for anti-imperialism within the women's movement. She has a long history of building public

support for the Red Army Faction and the RAF POWs. She visited and corresponded with some of the RAF prisoners and built support for them during their hunger strike in 1980. The state used Helga's long history of supporting armed struggle and national liberation to try and criminalize her. They have attempted to make an example of Helga to scare people away from revolutionary activity. But the effect of this repression has been just the opposite.

Helga's adherence to revolutionary principles has galvanized widespread support. Supporters packed the courtroom during her trial, despite the strip search of each person before entering. Once inside, supporters were able to disrupt the proceedings, for example, by coughing throughout the reading of the charges. On International Women's Day, hundreds of women from all over the country mobilized to go to Helga's trial, filling the courtroom and demonstrating outside.

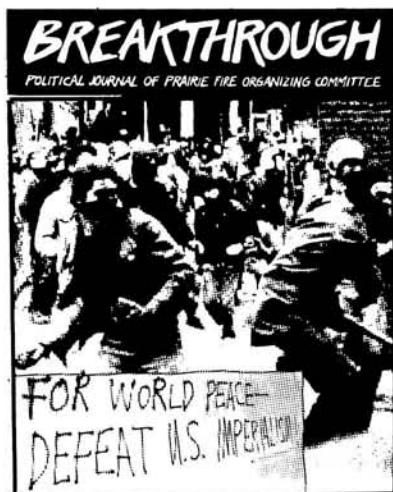
What is happening to Helga Roos in Germany is happening to revolutionaries throughout Europe and in the U.S. Political internment of public activists is part of the growing fascist direction being taken by all the NATO countries. In Germany, hundreds of people have been arrested in the past few years for the "crime" of leafletting or hanging banners that support revolutionary armed struggle.

Here in the U.S. the grand jury is the current repressive tool being used to intern public activists. Over the past few years, dozens of people have gone to jail for refusing to collaborate with federal grand juries investigating the Puerto Rican independence movement and the New Afrikan (Black nation's) independence struggle. On June 7, 1983, five Puerto Rican and Mexicano activists were sentenced to three years in prison for refusing to collaborate with a federal grand jury targetting the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. The government explicitly

stated that they were being interned as an example that people who refuse to talk to the grand jury will be punished. The state is trying to wipe out any distinctions between the public and clandestine movements by falsely claiming that these five public leaders are the leadership of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional). The FALN is an armed clandestine organization fighting inside the U.S. for Puerto Rico's Independence. The U.S. government wants to create a situation where any form of political struggle against the U.S. constitutes criminal activity. Two more Puerto Ricans and two white anti-imperialists are now facing the same charge of criminal contempt of the grand jury.

In another similar case, five New Afrikan (Black) revolutionaries and activists and one white anti-imperialist are currently on trial in New York on conspiracy charges under the RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act. RICO, which was supposedly enacted to prosecute the Mafia, is now being used for the first time against the revolutionary movement. As in Germany, the U.S. government is attempting to criminalize the struggle and destroy public organizations under the guise that they are "legal fronts" for the armed movement.

At this point, Helga is struggling to be taken out of isolation and to be allowed to associate with the women RAF prisoners. People on the outside are organizing support for this demand, as they have in Germany for years. This is a continuous struggle for all the political prisoners. They had won the right to associate in groups of three, but now even those groups of three are being separated. Letters of support can be sent c/o AKAS, Postfach 3021, 4 Dusseldorf, West Germany; and to An den, 5. Strafsenat des OLG Stuttgart, 7000 Stuttgart, West Germany, with a note asking that the letter be forwarded to the appropriate government agency. ■



Breakthrough is an anti-imperialist journal addressing international and domestic issues important to all progressive people.

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