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  Full-color pull-out poster
A Dedication

This May Day, for the second year now, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA joins in acting with our comrades worldwide of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Our unity is expressed in our common, internationalist cause of proletarian revolution, and in the slogans which workers and oppressed in more than fourteen countries will be raising with one voice. One of the four slogans this year of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is "Support the People's War in Peru!" and we — living inside the main imperialist oppressor of the Peruvian people — make a special dedication this May Day.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA dedicates this May First to all the revolutionary people of the world, but most especially to the heroic revolutionary struggle being waged by the people of Peru and the Communist Party of Peru. Today, as the world’s people approach unprecedented and momentous times, the fire that burns high in the Andes lights the way. The revolution in Peru fills the hearts of oppressed and oppressed people the world over with joy and inspiration. This beacon burns ever more brightly after five years of armed struggle against the reactionary regime in Peru and its imperialist backers. Indeed, the armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Peru is the most significant revolutionary struggle being waged in the world today; it is a real material force on the side of all those fighting imperialism and reaction around the world.

At a time when imperialists — both Western- and Soviet-style — go all out to create the illusion that there is no alternative but to live under the rule of one or another such power, the Peruvian workers and peasants put the lie to this. As they stand up by force of arms, the road to a future free of oppression becomes broader and more clear to all who suffer under and hate exploitation. The Communist Party of Peru and the revolution they advance represents the tortuous and only road to humanity’s break from imperialist doom, and embarkment on a bright communist future.

The United States has long been the main imperialist oppressor of the Peruvian people, the main foreign backer of the weight of feudalism there, and the main benefactor of the superexploitation of Peru’s labor and resources. It is thus a quite special responsibility of the U.S. proletariat to support and defend the Peruvian revolution to the utmost. The RCP, USA calls on all revolutionary-minded and progressive people to learn about, spread the word, and politically support the revolution in Peru and its spearhead, the Communist Party of Peru.

As storms gather in the world, the people’s war in Peru looms like an early harbinger of the opportunities for a new high tide of revolutionary struggle internationally — and a call to seize the time.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
May First Message from the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Comrades,

One year ago today the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was released to the working people of the world. In that Declaration genuine revolutionary forces of the world who continue to base themselves on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought made an evaluation of the situation in the world, an appraisal of the tasks facing the revolutionaries and the proletariat of every country, and declared their resolve to work towards an organisational form capable of helping turn the call “Workers of All Countries, Unite!” into a reality.

In that Declaration the gravity of the present situation in the world is clearly described. The imperialists prepare a third world war, with all the horror that would mean for the people of the world. But as the Declaration also pointed out, revolutionary struggle is also on the rise and this revolutionary struggle can prevent an impending world war by sweeping away imperialism and reaction from large parts of the globe and establishing the regime of the proletariat and its allies.

This is no idle wish. Already we have seen very important achievements by our movement in the last year. In particular the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru, sometimes referred to in the press as Sendero Luminoso, have made great advances in carrying forward the people’s war that they initiated in 1980. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is proud to count the Communist Party of Peru in its ranks. In fact, the successes in Peru have been so great that the imperialists were forced to dispatch their holy father — Pope John Paul II — to try to extinguish the flames of the armed struggle. But his Holiness has been no more successful than the planes and bullets, the firing squads and torture chambers.

The armed struggle in Peru is a beacon which from high in the Andes is spreading its light to the four corners of the earth calling on the oppressed and exploited of the world to rise up. It is a symbol that revolutionary struggle and outbreaks of rebellion are again on the upswing in today’s world.

May Day is the day of proletarian internationalism. Although reactionaries attack it and revisionists try to cut the revolutionary heart out of it, May First remains the day in which the workers of all countries take stock of their situation, make their plans for the year ahead, celebrate proletarian internationalism and declare once again their determination to carry their struggle through to the final goal of communism throughout the world.

Comrades, the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement also has described the crisis in the ranks of revolutionaries, ever since the capitalist-roaders in China took power after the death of Mao Tsetung and after Enver Hoxha joined in the attacks on Comrade Mao. This crisis is by no means resolved and we must still battle the capitulationism and demoralisation that are engendered by the imperialists and the revisionists. But our movement is on the rebound. Reports of the death of revolutionary Marxism turned out to be quite unfounded — as is shown by the revolutionary upsurge in Peru.

We are still in a race against time, for our movement still lags seriously behind the developing world situation, the moves towards war and the rise in revolutionary struggle. But we can catch up. Armed with a correct understanding we can move ahead with leaps and bounds.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement must be strengthened. It must be spread to every corner of the world. It must become more and more embedded in the proletariat and the people and all their forms of struggle. As you read these lines there are tens of thousands of people on other continents that are doing the same. Like you they long for a world without exploitation. The direction of history depends to a great degree on them — and you. As long as the exploiting classes run society, misery, oppression and degradation will be the daily lot of the majority of the world’s people and today these same criminals are preparing an even greater crime — a third world war. The world must be ripped out of their clutches.

This May First let us reaffirm the unity of the class-conscious proletarians around the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, around the banner of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

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

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE’S WAR IN PERU!

BREAK THE CHAINS! UNLEASH THE FURY OF WOMEN AS A MIGHTY FORCE FOR REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM! STRENGTHEN THE RANKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!

May 1st, 1985
The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement
Tuesday, April 23, was day 14 of the occupation of the steps of Steven Biko Hall (formerly Sproul Hall) on the UC Berkeley campus, and the plaza in front of the hall was pushing with political life. Red cloth paper still linked together the trees surrounding the plaza; on one side, a drummer pounded out some African rhythms; on another, rallies of a thousand or more had become almost commonplace; large and small knots of political life, from chanted slogans to the shrill chorus of the public speakers who solders of all stripes ranged about; on one side of the plaza, the Berkeley police were clashing with the students, while on the other, a group of high school students were making banners and plans for No Business As Usual Day. A student commented, in a combination of determination, hope, and observation, “Things will never be the same. Never.”

A Chicano student on the steps told the RW: “Last week when it was just getting started and the numbers were beginning to grow, I started coming to the noon rallies. At the first one, I was one of those people who stood way back in the front. On the edge. At the second rally I was sitting on the edge of the group, and by the third I started clapping and getting into the chants. The next day I was up on the steps and camping out— I’ve been here ever since. At first it was just me, but then it was time to take a shower. I’ve been living off of pizza from the plaza place down the street and using the nearby restrooms to do work for the group— coming out as much as possible to be with the people.”

“We have stopped the cops so many times. They tried to take down our banners, we stopped them. They tried to take away our tarp, we stopped them. They tried to take away our bullhorn, we stopped them. They tried to take away our flag, we stopped them. They tried to take away our cameras, we stopped them. When they started throwing tear gas, we stopped them.”

The New York Times referred to the nationwide day of protest as “the latest of numerous indications of a tentative and somewhat limited resurgence of student activism.” This verbal acrobatics of piling qualifier upon qualifier scarcely concealed the grave concern in the ruling circles over the biggest upsurge of campus protest against the U.S. since the U.S. bombing Cambodia more than a decade ago. Previously the Times and other press had mainly restricted their comments to platitudes about how the protesting students really had more in common with the yuppies than the radicals of the 1960s — the kind of coverage which immediately brought to mind Mao Tse-tung’s statement: “To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing.”

Most of the thousands of students taking part in the protests are brand new to political activity, and even many in the forefront were surprised themselves at how quickly and how wildly the protests took off. Many of the students participating in the protests said they just wanted to express their anger and frustration with the authorities to kill the protest with “kind of a body of people.”

“I am getting further behind in my work and other stuff. Before, I was really feeling down. I mean this stuff about yuppies and conservatives on campus, it was really beginning to get me. And when this happened, I was really so happy it happened…”

In a way it was far away, phone buzzed as Berkeley activists connected with students across the country, making plans and getting out the call for the next day, Wednesday, April 24. Students at UC Berkeley, Columbia, Cornell, Rutgers, and UC Santa Cruz had issued a joint “Nationalwide Call for Action and Strikes Against Apartheid for Wednesday, April 24.” In it read in part: “Students across America are taking a stand against apartheid. Ever increasing numbers are rising up against this American empire that help underwrite the apartheid system in South Africa. We stand together in our struggle in solidarity with the twenty-three million blacks of South Africa. We urge our fellow students to join us in the fight against the moral conscience of our nation and the world.” By Wednesday morning, UC Berkeley activists reported that students at sixty campuses were participating in one way or another in the day of action, demanding for the most part that the universities direct their holdings in South Africa. The organizing coalition told the RW that they were getting calls at 4 a.m. Wednesday morning — from students who wanted to do something but who had never done anything like this before; they wanted advice on what to do, how to get the word out.

“...walking a little further onto the campus I saw a big picket line, drums, and a big banner that read, ‘Nations Must Fight Apartheid To Day.’”

On Wednesday morning, anyone entering the Berkeley campus from Telegraph Avenue encountered a big picket line, drums, and a big banner that read, “Nations Must Fight Apartheid To Day.”

“We are firmly committed to the idea that there should be many upsurges on No Business As Usual Day — But No Secret Upsurges. Send us correspondence on all variety of April 29 actions. Don’t forget press clippings and photos (but not photos you don’t want published)."
We recently received an important pamphlet from overseas supporters of the Communist Party of Peru (known in the media as “Shining Path”). While we are not able to 100 percent vouch for its authenticity, every indication is that it is indeed from that Party. Therefore, we are publishing it here for our readers. The full text of this pamphlet will be available in the next issue of this new quarterly international journal, A World To Win. The pamphlet, which appears to have been issued locally in the Ayacucho region of Peru, deals with a number of questions, including the Party’s recent visit there and the long tradition of Peruvian elections. The English translation is ours — Ed.

“Proletarians of all Countries Unite!”

“Struggle and Resist Repudiate The Genocidal Regime’s Elections And Further Develop The Armed Struggle”

When its existence is threatened the ruling class always resorts to violence. As soon as it sees revolution arise it strives to exterminate it by force of arms. . .and the struggle is on! In this struggle in the streets of Santo Domingo. Ventura discusses the latest offensive, as well as the events surrounding the New Government in Santo Domingo. As usual, he takes on the Peruvian government throughout the country. The Andes mountains are the birthplace of the most significant Lenninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on this island nation right in India. “The 800 million people of India have long been among the most significant from Introducing A World to Win

FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE

It’s been almost five years since on May 17, 1980, in the very bowels of your centuries-old insufferable poverty war exploits, you stand firm and unwavering like a burning barricade against the class enemy! The armed struggle is the only alternative to overthrow the old exploiting order and build a new world that would really belong to the people, since the one we have is only of increasing misery and exploitation. This short period, rich in events, with its sinuous road, has left us resounding victories as well as reversals to learn from; and in general the positive aspects weigh heavily and decisively over the rest. More than twenty thousand people have been killed and hundreds of People’s Guerrilla Army made up of thousands of men and women, mainly poor peasants, tempered in more than two years of struggle against the reactionary Armed Forces; and what’s more important, the New Power is being realized in hundreds of People’s Committees exercising state functions, base areas are being formed and the building of a New Peruvian Democratic Republic is under way...

DEVELOP THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The armed struggle was born and planted roots in the fertile vigor of the historically combative Ayacuchan people, here it has achieved its greatest victories and glory from the jaws of death itself! Thus the armed struggle burns thundering and triumphantly against the silence and distortions of the cowardly traitors and the perverse and cynical campaign of the reactionaries; and what was initiated yesterday and burns like a bonfire today in Ayacucho, grows against winds and storms towards the Center, North and South, towards the eyew Howard of the jungle and the edges of our Coast. The liberating fire intensifies and expands and will continue to expand, burning more and more until it contents and the Ayacuchan people will...
LA Meeting Commemorates Damian Garcia, Looks Forward to RCP, USA Tenth Anniversary

On the afternoon of Sunday, April 21, 1985, Damidn Garcia, an AIM supporter and member of the Los Angeles Women's Health Clinics, was shot and killed by the LA Police Department. From Carol Downer and the Federation of Feminist Health Clinics, this is a statement to RCP.USA Tentti Anniversary.

Statement of Carol Downer
To the Son and Wife of Damian Garcia, Friends of the RCP, and Freedom Loving People Everywhere.

From Carol Downer and the Federation of Feminist Health Clinics.

Today, five years since the brutal slaying of Damian Garcia by the Los Angeles Police Department, we gather together to commemorate the strength and dedication of Damian as well as to rededicate ourselves to the cause we hold so dear.

Today, more than ever before, the imperative for oppressed people everywhere to take a stand and be heard is critical.

Damidn Garcia, all the little children like him. They liked the way he showed the films. My dad was the one that came and told me that “Your friend got stabbed”. I think he said my friend got killed. I was upset. I got angry. I remember my grip getting on my concentration on shooting the cue ball — was even heavier. It was like I was going to bust out and go beat up somebody and tear up the world.

Damidn was like a tour to the neighborhood, coming out to educate people and showing films of what’s going on around the world. Educating people in the neighborhood, letting them know what’s going on and letting them make up their own minds about how they want their world to be.

Letting them know how they could understand and make a choice and speak their voice about how they would like the world to be.

If a person remembers you, you are a person. He did. He is a person. A person who was left behind.

As we prepare now for the future, we would ask ourselves, “How could I learn a sense of pride — to give a child a sense of pride to make it on in this world!”

Have you ever heard of Damian Garcia? He stabbed the Texas flag off the Alamo and put up the red flag, which means the blood of the oppressed people. Today I remember reading about people over in other countries working in sawmills for little or nothing. I think a memorial to Damidn will be real nice. Other people can express their feelings too.

— A resident of Pico Aliso Housing East Los Angeles April 1985

Statement from Guatemalan Journalist

Damidn sought liberty. I, as a Guatemalan among the many Central Americans who come from lands of violence, poverty, and persecution, know what it means that Yankee imperialism economically aids the countries of Central America, but the victims are the second least part of the person. He is the least.

If the United States aid goes to the benefit of the high military chiefs and allies of the president, in my country there are people like Damian Garcia who seek to defeat everything the Yankee imperialism can lead in the seizure of power as the danger of world war looms ever greater.

At the close of the rally, the Internationale was sung in Spanish and English, but before this a special banner was unfurled. This banner was made by a group of proletarians together as artists, and was made to commemorate both the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Damian Garcia and the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party. The banner, set on a black background and bordered with red, has the image of Damian on the Alamo with the red flag at his side and the sun behind him, in red, silver, and gold. Below the picture, in sparkling gold letters, is the statement, “Damian Garcia Está Presente,” Damian Garcia is among us.

Statement from Guatemalan Journalist

For fifteen years, our party and its forerunner, the Revolutionary Union, has been fighting against such a historically extreme situation as grips the world today, fraught with danger yet ripe with opportunity. At various times we were ready to accept this challenge and prepared to do so.

We know that a bold statement to make, and may seem especially so to those of you who’ve come from countries where armed struggle is already being waged. But we say that political and ideological line is decisive, and there can be no underestimation of what this party has accomplished: we have confronted the serious setback of the revisionist coup in China and successfully battled to keep on the revolutionary road; we have solved decisive questions and clarified previously uncharted course on the path to revolution in the parasitic countries such as this; we have helped form and are participants of an international movement that has formed the basis for an international communist movement; and this movement is comprised of parties that are now waging the armed struggle or preparing to do so at the earliest possible opportunity.

In the survey of the political situation of Damian Garcia at the rally: “This year marks the tenth anniversary of the founding of our party. And on this occasion we boldly proclaim: We are the force that can lead in the seizure of power as the conditions become ripe, and we are ready to do so.”

In this spirit we are all joined together, intensifying that preparation now. . . .

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Statement from Guatemalan Journalist

You know it is true that the life of Damian Garcia was extraordinary. He was a good person. He is a good teacher. He was never a second-class person, since the economic oppression in (economic) class society.

No better way to sum up the oppression in (economic) class society.

A leaflet to distribute. "For fifteen years, our party and its forerunner, the Revolutionary Union, has been fighting against such a historically extreme situation as grips the world today, fraught with danger yet ripe with opportunity. At various times we were ready to accept this challenge and prepared to do so."

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Chingkangshan Revisited and Now

It was twenty years ago this May that Mao Tsetung returned to climb the Chingkangshan — the Chingkang Mountains. There he wrote "Chingkangshan Revisited" — to the tune of "Shui Tiao Keh Tou," a poem in a lyrical and flowing style, yet bursting with powerful imagery. The poem is as potent and relevant today as it was in 1965, or in 1976 when it was first published.

Chingkangshan is a region of rugged mountains, gorges, and basins between the southern parts of China's Kiangsi and Hunan provinces. In October 1927, Mao led a small guerrilla army of a thousand men and two hundred rifles to this area — this was the beginning of the road of base areas and armed struggle in the countryside for the Chinese Revolution.

Thirty-eight years later, Mao wrote: "Past scenes are transformed, orchids sing, swallows swirl, streams pour everywhere and the road mounts skyward." Through magnificent victories — as well as terrible difficulties — the armed struggle that began in Chingkangshan had liberated China; it was no longer under the weight of imperialism, the burden of semicolonial, semiflawful relations, but served as a beacon light for the oppressed and exploited of the world.

But Mao did not reascend Chingkangshan in May 1965 to sing of contentment with past victories. He knew that the forces of revolution and counterrevolution were heading quickly toward a clash and that all of China would soon be thrown into tempestuous struggle — what came to be known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At stake was nothing less than the question of whether China was going to keep on the high road of socialism and world revolution, or descend into the togs of capitalism and capitalism to imperialism.

As in the early days of the revolutionary war of liberation, the genuine revolutionary forces faced great odds. Back in 1928, the reactionary Kuominhangangshan army of the feudal and comprador bourgeoisie classes attacked Chingkangshan several times in attempts to trample down the under revolutionary shoot: each time the Red Army defeated a military force several times its strength in numbers and firepower at the strategic Huangyangchieh Pass. On the eve of the Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary forces led by Mao were again surrounded — this time within the party leadership itself.

Through openings created by the situation inside China as well as international, the revolutionaries, led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Huo-ping, had seized important positions in leadership, in the process mobilizing and emboldening their revolutionists and backward social base.

The poem "Chingkangshan Revisited" shows Mao's resolve and strategic confidence in the face of such great dangers — and opportunities. Indeed, Mao's revolutionary headquarters was able to break the stronghold of the revisionist siege and unleash the suppressed energy and rage of the masses against the attempts of Liu, Teng & Co. to abort the revolution. The Cultural Revolution shook the foundations of Chinese society and sent shockwaves around the world. It was a revolutionary upsurge unprecedented in history in its scope, depth, and nature — even hundreds, of millions of people rose up to overthrow capitalist-rulers from positions of political power; to struggle against all kinds of backward social relations and ideas; to engage in heated debate over the cardinal questions of state and the world, as well as in culture and other spheres; to read, study, and apply Marxism-Leninism, to change the world. In short, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the highest pinnacle reached by the international proletarian up to this point in history.

On New Year's Day 1965, "Chingkangshan Revisited" — along with "Two Birds: A Dialogue," another poem Mao wrote in 1965 — was published. This was a salvo in Mao's "last great battle" — the struggle against Teng and the revisionist camp who were once again trying to seize state power from the proletariat. As Bob Avakian points out in his book Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, the publication of the poems was "a message to the Chinese people that just as in the period of 1965, there was a great danger of the revisionists taking over and restoring capitalism, and therefore (even though the forms might have to differ in some respects from the start of the Cultural Revolution) there was also a need for a big, all-out struggle to prevent such a reversal."

Because of objective developments and the balance of forces on the world scale and in China, the proletariat suffered a defeat in this particular battle. The revisionists staged a coup in November 1976 and rose to state power. This was not only a blow to the Chinese proletariat but a serious setback to the entire international proletariat. But in defeat, Mao's comrades — Chang Ching and Chang Chunchiao — waged a stirring defense of Mao's revolutionary line and held aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And from the midst of crisis, genuine communists from all countries carried forward this banner and one year ago formed the revolutionary Internationalist Movement, declaring: "The historic mission of the proletariat calls ever more urgently for an early preparation for sudden changes and leaps in developments, particularly at this current conjuncture where national developments are more profoundly affected by developments on a world scale, and where unprecedented prospects for revolution are in the making."

Today, momentous forces are stirring in the world. The contradictions of imperialism have brought the world once again to the brink of world war, this time posing dangers of far, far greater destruction than ever before. At the same time, this unprecedented crisis is bringing to the fore unprecedented possibilities for the forces of revolution to make tremendous leaps in tearing down the old order and surging forward toward a communist world. It is only through revolution in large and/or strategic parts of the planet that such a world war can be prevented, but through the approaching storm the proletariat and oppressed might well have the opportunity to reach even higher pinnacles and reach even closer to our goal of ending all forms of exploitation and oppression. Mao Tsetung said: "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amidst great storms that human society progresses." Mao, in anticipation of the wind and thunder of the Cultural Revolution, wrote a poem full of revolutionary optimism: We, facing even fiercer storms, have much to learn from Mao's outlook and method. His aspiring to "reach for the clouds," his daring to "scale the heights," are not outdated. Mao dreamt big dreams, but they were based on a firm assessment of the real world and the understanding that the road forward is full of twists and turns.

And as Bob Avakian points out in For A Harvest of Dragons, while we must defeat the enemy on the battlefield amid terrible conditions, we must not in the process kneel down to his level — we must not annihilate the fundamental difference between the enemy and ourselves: "We must be able to maintain our firmness of principles but at the same time our flexibility, our materialism and our dialectics, our realism and our romanticism, our sublime sense of purpose and our sense of humor. We must be resolved to never let the enemy at Huangyangchieh, but with a vision of returning amid triumphant song and laughter."
On The Political Economy and the Strategic Stakes

South Africa in Perspective

The apartheid system has its origins in a particular form of settler colonialism and has its shape in the capitalist mode of production. Capitalism in South Africa has developed in a very specific context: it has utilized and transformed the rural African economy and has developed under the protective umbrella of and in close conjunction with imperialist capital. Like the European settlers in the United States, the white settlers in South Africa sought to subjugate the indigenous peoples. But while the whites in North America exterminated the better part of the Native American population, the whites in South Africa sought to subordinate the African peoples. These Europeans were and have remained a small ruling minority. With the discovery of diamonds in the mid-nineteenth century, and later gold, the demand for cheap labor stimulated the large-scale and despotic employment of blacks in the mines. The profits generated by the mining industry laid the basis for subsequent capitalist development and the emergence of a South African capitalist class. Like Israel, South Africa is a strategic bastion—a regional settler-type garrison for Western imperialism. But whereas the Israeli economy lacks practically any independent economic viability—it is largely a military machine dependent on external assistance—South Africa has developed a modern capitalist sector. Yet while the industrial base of the South African economy is similar in many respects to that of developed capitalist countries, and while the white workers enjoy living standards that are comparable with those of Europeans and North American workers, the specific dynamics of capitalist development and the structural division of the working class in South Africa condemn the vast majority of the population to the grinding impoverishment that characterizes the Third World. At the heart of these particularities is apartheid—the systematic superexploitation, oppression, and enslavement of the majority of the indigenous population.

A system of racial segregation has long evolved in South Africa, codified in a body of law dating back to 1913, which has two objectives: to preserve the white monopoly on political power and to provide a reservoir of cheap and coercible labor for industry and agriculture. To these twin ends, the country has been divided territorially. The Land Acts have allotted about 13 percent of the country as "reserves" or "homelands" for the African majority. But these densely populated and impoverished homelands were never intended to sustain the majority of the population. Only by working outside these areas under a migrant labor system—administered by labor brokers who assign workers to specific industries or employers—can the Africans earn enough to provide for themselves and their families. Subsequent legislation has regulated the flow of black labor into the mines and industrial regions: when the contracts of miners are fulfilled, they can be sent back to the reserves; male workers are discouraged from bringing their families with them (many are housed in carefully segregated and police-controlled areas); and of course there is the pass system. Such influx restrictions have not prevented the growth of an urban African underclass. But the territorial principle of segregation has been utilized to effectively deprive blacks of the material and political rights that are enjoyed by the white minority. In fact, any African residing in a city, for whatever length of time and even if born there, remains officially an alien. It is often suggested that South Africa is a society in which ideology has run amok. In other words, the racial restrictions and prohibitions are out of sync with the requirements of modern industrial growth. Or it is sometimes argued that the very imperatives of capitalist industrialization will gobble up apartheid. Such arguments overlook one overriding fact: the extraordinary growth of the South African economy in...
of Imperialism

of Apartheid

of Imperialism

the postwar period not only reared on apartheid but reinforced it. The lives of black people are incomparably worse, the terror they face never more pervasive. Have the practices of U.S. corporations migrated any of this? No, as we shall see, they are accomplices, the more criminal for their honeyed and pious words; and, at this stage of crisis, they play an all-important role in preventing the regime from collapsing. The authoritarian conception of and discrimination against black labor have yielded average rates of return that rank among the highest in the world available to Western capital since the end of World War 2. The modalities of capitalist production are becoming ever more lurking beneath the rhetoric and lies.

Understanding Superexploitation

In the first volume of Capital, Marx constructs his theory of exploitation by drawing the distinction between the value of labor power and the value produced by that labor power when it is set in motion by capital. The benchmark according to which wages are paid is the laborer's necessary consumption fund, that is, the cost of sustaining and reproducing his or her labor power and creating a new generation of proletarians. Yet under specific historical circumstances, the laborer is paid less than below its value, not only for a time and exceptionally but ordinarily and as a rule. Such superexploitation is a predicate of imperialist rule in the colonies and neocolonies.

To see this, one only has to look at the superexploited labor that can be found in the assembly plants set up by U.S. companies on the Mexican side of the US-Mexico border. In the export processing zones of Asia, on the agricultural plantations in Latin America, and in South Africa. What are some of the defining characteristics of the labor process under conditions of superexploitation? First, lower wages, substantially longer working hours, and a significantly higher intensity of work per hour (people work harder) than prevalent for comparable activities in the advanced countries. Second, part of the costs of sustaining and reproducing this capitalist labor wage is often paid by the dependent family system (such as the "informal" economy of the cities or the indigenous system of peasant production) of the peasants, where the "household" labor of women on the reserves, the subsistence economy in the reserves, serves as the cheap labor reserve. In 1981, 1.3 million blacks from the bantustans were working in white areas as migrant laborers under contract. An additional 2,459,000 were commuting from the bantustans on a daily basis. This arrangement presumes a certain level of financial investment in the reserves. Enough must be produced as a necessary supplement to wages so that the subsistence requirement of the migrants and their families can be met, but not so much as to lessen migratory pressure to seek out work. The system known as influx control sees to the exploitation of rural blacks who try to find urban employment, without coming through the officially designated channels.

Two fundamental features of the cheap labor system now come into focus: the tight control exercised over the movement and residence of the black labor force, and the preservation of forms of subsistence economy in the reserves, which enables capital to assess black living standards at a lower level than whites. In point of fact, the family holdings in the reserves are grossly inadequate. The growing squatter has produced a tidal flow out of the reserves. The economic planners have responded in part by dispersing industrial development to new "growth points" away from the existing industrial centers and closer to rural blacks whose job hunger has steadily worsened. Blacks from the reserves who do find urban employment can receive authorization to live in the towns like Soweto, which is outside of Johannesburg. But the high per capita prison population in the world, and of the 130 people hanged in 1980, only one was white.

The racial restrictions and the official violence rest on a definite economic foundation conditioned the profitability of capital in the world today. Apartheid As A Form of Supersuperexploitation

Table 1, based on official South African government statistics, shows the extreme disparity between wages of blacks and whites in South Africa. What, then, is the economic and social basis of cheap migrant labor in the South African economy? In part, it is the administrative control of wage levels, which results in a totally different and lower wage structure for blacks. In part, it is the pressure on the migrant worker: he or she has limited time to find a new job and if fired may never secure gainful employment in the cities again. In part, it is legislation that up until recently forbade unionization among blacks. But all of this interacts with, and is directly linked to, the specific framework of the production and reproduction of labor power. The apartheid labor market in South Africa has access to means of subsistence outside the capitalist sector. More specifically, the indigenous system of peasant production has been transformed into a cheap reserve of labor reproduction. The extended family in the reserves — by caring for the very young and very old, the sick, and the labor during times of rest, by providing education (for which the migrant must pay) — relieves the capitalist sector and the state of some of the expense of carrying out and paying for these functions. Thus the relationship between wages and the cost of production and reproduction of labor power changes: the worker can be paid below the value of labor power. At the same time, the reserves furnish capital with an optimal selection of workers to replenish a brutally driven and rapidly expanding labor force, and the preservation of forms of subsistence economy in the reserves is directly linked to, the specific framework of the production and residence of the black labor force. In point of fact, the family holdings in the reserves are grossly inadequate. The growing squatter has produced a tidal flow out of the reserves. The economic planners have responded in part by dispersing industrial development to new "growth points" away from the existing industrial centers and closer to rural blacks whose job hunger has steadily worsened. Blacks from the reserves who do find urban employment can receive authorization to live in the towns like Soweto, which is outside of Johannesburg. But the high per capita prison population in the world, and of the 130 people hanged in 1980, only one was white.

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Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No. Employed</th>
<th>Average Monthly Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>613,452</td>
<td>$260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>9,581</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>748,700</td>
<td>$320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>316,600</td>
<td>1,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>240,400</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>86,400</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Services

Continued on page 20
He's at it again. The same Reagan who spearheaded resurgent, unapologetic America, who quipped "we begin-bombing in five minutes"... this time the spotlight will be West Germany, and the message will be that "nothing is more unequivocal, more unmistakable: May 8, the fortieth anniversary of the surrender of the Third Reich, will find Ronald Reagan honoring the wars of the German Fatherland. Bitburg is the chosen place, and the presence of forty-nine members of the Waffen-SS among the graves suits the White House just fine. These were all (says Reagan) merely "teddybear that war criminals service," in the closing days of the Third Reich."

They were "victims just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps."

The fact that the SS-types were also the guards and torturers in those death camps is no problem: what could be more virtuous, more honorable than serving one's fatherland. And now that their particular part of the fatherland is on the "right side" — why not honor them? West Germany today certainly needs models for the youth who understand loyal service; and this involves the recognition of "Make my day!" just like the U.S. Marines.

For Ronald Reagan, the Bitburg camp has stirred up within the American political arena, the theme of Reagan is the "German people have very few alive to remember the times." Those old furies are now fortieth anniversaries. After all, the U.S. war crimes powers to be squeamish about embracing the victims in the concentration camps.

The operative point however is not the present. The allies of yesteryear, the Western Europeans must temporarily snub and forced to play a "Vaterland." No, it is to be a nationalist dreams of global warfare, and that the rehabilitation of Hitler's warriors is as calculable as it can be.

There is no peace for West Germany agenerating even its past, or wracked with contradictory summations of its own nationalism and its military urges. The Western alliance needs a West Germany purged of guilt, that dares to dream the nationalist dreams of global warfare, and that can convince its youth to look Eastward eagerly, through the sights of modern weapons.

The theme of this year is "reconciliation." But the term is relative. Throughout Europe this fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II is being seized to hammer home the scorecard of the present. The allies of yesteryear, the USSR, are certainly now candidates for reconciliation — they are now to be clearly marked "enemies."

But why precisely is West Germany in such need of "reconciliation?" Obviously, the U.S. and West Germany have been reconciled in practice a long, long time; their military alliance is now fully fifty years old. What now is to be reconciled with? Certainly not the millions of youth who marched against the Pershings and cruise missiles, or those Germans who barf at the very mention of the hated word "Vaterland." No, it is to be a reconciliation of the Western Germans with their own imperialist past, to wipe the slate clean for German nationalism and militarism, to officially remove the stain from its global ambitions.

What better way to accelerate that process than to have an American Hitler make a pilgrimage to the graves of the "Third Reich?" The ghosts of the past are not to be laid to rest this coming May 8, we are to be reminded in the great cause. This time the crusade is to be fought under NATO banners, but there is not even a way to say "Hail Hitler!" in Germany, and that is "Sieg Heil!"

Revealing Old Verdicts

Writing the Soviets out of the celebration of VE-Day was relatively cut and dry. First, the anniversary of Normandy's invasion was turned into the official victory rally — the Germans were temporarily subdued and forced to keep quiet, while the Soviets simply enjoyed their veterans' privileges since they were not part of the battle. The next major occasion came in connection with April 25, where major plans had once been laid to honor the first meeting of Soviet and American troops at the German Elbe. The U.S. pulled out, using the shooting of its spy, Major Nicholson, as an excuse, and that anniversary passed with Defense Secretary Weinberger growling that the Soviets were "just plain liar" and "not a civilized nation" — unmistakable war talk replacing even tokens recognition of an earlier alliance. As for the Soviet's official commemoration, it is scheduled to coincide with a major meeting of the Warsaw Pact which will renew that treaty for another 20 years. . .hardly a party the U.S. wants to join. One Western diplomat in Moscow said, "there is no plan for an official American delegation to the May 9 parade in Moscow and I would recommend against it.

So much for the Soviet Union — the anniversary of the surrender of the Third Reich, will find Ronald Reagan honoring the Nazis were "just plain liar" and "not a civilized nation" — unmistakable war talk replacing even tokens recognition of an earlier alliance. As for the Soviet's official commemoration, it is scheduled to coincide with a major meeting of the Warsaw Pact which will renew that treaty for another 20 years. . .hardly a party the U.S. wants to join. One Western diplomat in Moscow said, "there is no plan for an official American delegation to the May 9 parade in Moscow and I would recommend against it."

The question of Germany was more complicated from the beginning. Kohl traveled to the U.S. last fall to impress on the American Germans a that a celebration of allied victory and German defeat on May 8 would tremendously dampen the mood on top of that. Kohl has been frankly trying to produce a copycat version of Reaganism on his turf, even coming phrases similar to "feel good about America" to use in his election campaign.

But the heart of West German mental war preparation is to create the official "agony" over the Nazi past, and create an equally official exorcism of Germany's version of the "Vietnam syndrome" — something that could almost be called the "Hitler syndrome." A whole wave of "reconciliation" of the past is being whipped up — to the point that significant sections of the masses are getting totally sick of the constant barrage of West German recollections, miniseries (like the latest TV drama, "Homeland," and books — a virtual nostalgic cottage industry. The sentiment of "never again" is now being made out-of-favor, to be replaced with a tender understanding for the errors of the past, with a sense of continuity with the Fatherland of yesterday, and especially an insistence that German nationalism flourish unfettered by any "guilt" from past genocide.

There has been a full revival of the movement known as German revisionism, the call to redefine the old Ger- man by force of NATO, over the bodies of the Eastern bloc. East Germany has, of course, never been considered a separate nation by the West German im-

Continued from page 10

Bitburg-Or-The-Potomac

On April 20, as the mass march in Washington wound by the black-wall memorial to American war dead, the Vietnam War, Duma Smith, the national coordi- nator of the "4 Days" coalition and a revisionist of the pro-Soviet persuasion, told the marchers to observe a minute of silence for the Americans and the Vietnamese who died in that war.

We would like to pose a challenge to all the leftists who joined in this memorial gesture: could you please provide us with even a shred of difference be-

between this black-walled shrine and the Bitburg cemetery in West Germany? Perhaps you could explain how napalm jelly is different from a gas oven, or how the U.S. tiger cages were an improvement over Hitler's concentration camps. Perhaps it is merely a question of being especially sensitive to the national pre-

Thank you.
Support the People's War in Peru!

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights."
Mao Tsetung
1965
On Thursday afternoon, April 18, U.S. Border Patrol agent Edward D. Cole pulled out his .357 Magnum revolver, crossed, and, taking aim at a group of youths in Tijuana's Colonia Libertad, fired at least three shots across the border into Mexico. One of Cole's bullets found its mark: the back of 18-year-old Humberto Carillo Estrada. According to a resident of Colonia Libertad, who witnessed the shooting, the immigration police were laughing as Humberto lay bleeding on the ground, calling the youths they had just shot a "stupid Mexican.

Edward Cole did not succeed in murdering Humberto, but he certainly tried. Only the lucky chance that La Migra's bullets hadn't hit the fence, a man with a history of brutality that is so infamous that he has earned the nickname "carnero" (bitch) even before this shooting — remained on duty. The Border Patrol has not even bothered with a token suspension from duty while the "investigation" into the shooting is conducted. When the mother of Eduardo and Humberto went to the San Ysidro port of entry to attempt to see Eduardo, who was being held by the Border Patrol, immigration agents told her they didn't know where he was. Only after the Mexican Consul in San Diego intervened was she able to see her son. Officially, the Border Patrol is refusing to comment on the case at all. An assistant supervisor with the Border Patrol even refused to tell the San Diego Tribune what the official policy on agents using their guns was — apparently he preferred to let practice speak for itself.

One anonymous Border Patrol official did tell the L.A. Times that a year ago Cole had been selected as an "in-service training officer" — an instructor of other agents in the techniques of brutality and murder.

"Assesios" — murderers — is what the youths on the Tijuana side of the fence call the Border Patrol, as the shooting continues to uncork the long simmering rage of communities like San Ysidro and Colonia Libertad.

None of this is the least bit out of character for the guardsmen of America's borders. The beating of any and all who fall into the clutches of the Border Patrol is standard operating procedure. When the Revolutionary Worker visited the San Ysidro area, shortly after this shooting, we were told of numerous incidents of Border Patrol beatings. In one case a man running from the immigration police turned around and gave himself up, and the Border Patrol immediately set upon him with nightsticks. In another case residents saw agents chasing a man towards the freeway. When these witnesses got to the freeway the man was dead, run over by a car, and nine Border Patrol cars were on the scene. The agents claimed that the man had run under the freeway and was struck by passing motorists, but the people who told us of this incident suspect it was the Border Patrol that ran the man down. There have been a series of shootings by Border Patrol agents over the past several years. The shooting of unarmed people is not the exception, but the rule. In 1979, Efrén Reyes was shot and killed and Benito Rincón was wounded by Border Patrol agents — both while being handcuffed. That same year a 16-year-old Tijuana youth was shot by an agent from a helicopter. And the shooting of Humberto is hardly the first time when rage has sent rocks flying over the border in La Migra's direction. In fact the animosity between the Border Patrol and the people, particularly the youth, of Colonia Libertad and other neighborhoods near the border, is so great that many agents have been quoted in the last few days as saying that if at all possible they stay a stone's throw away from the fence.

Everything U.S. officials have done since this recent shooting has been calculated to deliver the message that the kind of terror used against the youth of Colonia Libertad is not about to end. Agent Cole — a man with a history of brutality that is so infamous that he has earned the nickname "carnero" (bitch) even before this shooting — remains on duty. The Border Patrol has not even bothered with a token suspension from duty while the "investigation" into the shooting is conducted. When the mother of Eduardo and Humberto went to the San Ysidro port of entry to attempt to see Eduardo, who was being held by the Border Patrol, immigration agents told her they didn't know where he was. Only after the Mexican Consul in San Diego intervened was she able to see her son. Officially, the Border Patrol is refusing to comment on the case at all. An assistant supervisor with the Border Patrol even refused to tell the San Diego Tribune what the official policy on agents using their guns was — apparently he preferred to let practice speak for itself.

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"Assesios" — murderers — is what the youths on the Tijuana side of the fence call the Border Patrol, as the shooting continues to uncork the long simmering rage of communities like San Ysidro and Colonia Libertad.
A newspaper ad offers the chance to play judge: "Rape Trial — People vs. Dotson." It reads, "Guilty or innocent? You decide!" With this intense appeal, the complete trial transcripts of the now-famous case are printed. People are encouraged to buy the case, which features Cathieen Webb and her story.

The case holds a key to the ideological battle between feminists and conservative backsliders that has divided women's liberation from its inception: the debate over women's sexuality. "The woman who cried Rape... the full headlines are screaming," reads the Chicago Tribune. "But is this a case that lies, or a case that must be aggressively pursued in order to prevent women from being oppressed?"

The story begins with the case being launched as a major national cause in 1972. The support for Dotson was overwhelming — the whole world knew I was innocent, Webb claims. The whole world knew that her charge was unfounded or urge her to prosecute, the state's attorney may find. The media has even printed the phone number to call to get Dotson's release, and there is open speculation that he is considering pardoning Dotson because of the "public's questions and doubts.

The Women's Liberation Movement was born in the late 1960s, and it spread like wildfire across the nation. The movement sought to challenge the traditional roles of women in society and to demand equal rights and opportunities for all women. The case of Cathieen Webb was one of the many cases that helped bring attention to the issue of rape and its treatment in the criminal justice system.

The case of Cathieen Webb demonstrates the ideological divide between conservative backsliders and the feminist movement. The case has been studied by anthropologists and historians in an attempt to understand the ideological battle between the two sides. The case of Cathieen Webb is a key example of the ideological battle between conservative backsliders and the feminist movement.
When one looks at the staggering ac-
cumulation of wealth and mis-
under is not that Gaafar el-Nimeiry was
deposed, but that his regime had man-
gaged one of the most brutal, most
disking campaigns of assas-
ination that history has known.

The army was tied down in an
ever-ending cycle of conflict with the
Sudanese People’s Liberation Army in
the south, a war which the military’s
officers recognized as unwinnable,
with demoralization and restiveness
spreading to the ranks. The so-called
“Islamicization” program, pur-
pursued with a vengeance particularly
after the 1970s, had begun to backfire.

The “emergency” declaration, had long
since become a charade, a device by
which the Muslim majority, most of whom saw the
state-ordered apathy of petty
bureaucrats, a society of white
collar orphans of the Sudanese
past, was accompanied by a system
of sadistic repression, was the
tard mark on the face of the
nation. The army was tied down in an
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Sudanese People’s Liberation Army in
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officers recognized as unwinnable,
with demoralization and restiveness
spreading to the ranks. The so-called
“Islamicization” program, pur-
pursued with a vengeance particularly
after the 1970s, had begun to backfire.

Nimeiry had one great trump card:
the Black African population, whose size
had no means with which to even pay the
interest on its loans, much less begin to
convey by the news media hint at the
staggering, heartbreaking enormity of
the situation, yet diligently avoid the
problems of the Sudanese.

Far more damaging to the Sudanese
image were the constant, cleverly
made the rounds in Khartoum:
people who have fallen foul of the harsh
conditions of the Sudanese political
structure is such that crop rotation is ig-
nored by the (largely absentee) pro-
priets, leading to rapid soil •depletion.

Mechanized Farming Corporation to
enjoy the profits of some of the social, economic, and ecological
damage to the country, and the Sudanese
Socialist Party had already attracted the interest of
the imperialist powers. The images
of Sudanese misery found expression in
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priets, leading to rapid soil •depletion.
Victory to the Struggle of the Azanian People for Liberation

The Azanian people are in the midst of an earthshaking spring. Revolutionary armed struggle, not with the goal of a modified or reformed South Africa, but for the liberation of Azania from imperialism, is the only road to freedom for the Azanian people. They are moving in this direction with rocks, sticks, bottles, and fire.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) welcomes and supports the nationwide student strike Wednesday, April 25, 1984. The student strike is an important contribution to the struggle against the apartheid regime and to the worldwide struggle against imperialism.

White-rulled South Africa has always been vital to the existence of U.S. imperialism. And it is a crucial element in the unspeakably criminal plans of the New American Empire, plans that include a nuclear war and emerging from the wreckage once again undisputed plunder. The facts are clear: South Africa is an important enough to come together for by the struggle for South Africa.

In like manner, the students and faculty of the State University of New York at Albany, the chief pillar of U.S.-bloc military domination of southern Africa, continuously being exploited by the plunder of Azania through investments. As the struggle of the Azanian people inspires and awakens U.S. students, the links between the universities and the South African struggle grow.

The day before, the faculty had passed a resolution in support of divestment. The students had met and voted to support the faculty's resolution. "We are black students from Azania, who had been arrested and threatened with a withdrawal of all financial aid. The South African regime is being exploited by the plunder of Azania through investments. As the struggle of the Azanian people inspires and awakens U.S. students, the links between the universities and the South African struggle grow.

The day's activities started off with an outdoor demonstration with 4,000 students, many of whom cut to get some free food. The day then went on to the color of the day to express solidarity with the Azanian people. As the march stepped off a student holding a giant red flag moved in and plan to stay until Cornell moves it. One of the "good Germans" — dissension supressed as world tension moves toward a nuclear holocaust. It was a shaky "calm." The opinionolders were not at all happy about such a "student uprising." Stockings, cyanide pills for use in the event of a nuclear attack — what a negative thing to bring up. But the profound penetration of mass "citizen's arrests" of CIA recruiters, confronting them with their crimes against people worldwide. On many campuses, students have joined a diverse coalition of forces (including the RCYB) in issuing calls for bold actions on April 29, No Business As Usual Day — with the purpose of preventing the government from launching World War III no matter what it takes.

As strains of "Beat Street Breakdown" floated through the rotunda, about 200 protesters prepared to march out until May 1, the date when the governor plans to make new appointments to the university board. At about 2:00 p.m., the students turned out to be the "Inhumanities Library." Here, students again began to drag people out of the building and into waiting buses, as the crowd of 200,000 students surged through the campus. In all, 310 people were arrested.

At the rally, over $300 was collected for the students who were arrested.
Continued from page 10

perious, but increasingly the Old Prus- 
ian provinces (which have been Polish 
territory since World War II) are being 
Ioming openly claimed by West German im-
patrialism. In this recent development on this 
front, Chancellor Kohl is scheduled to 
address the deliberations of the so-called 
"Vereinigtes Schlesien" (the transnational 
ethnic German refugees that lived in 
Old Reich when the Yalta agreement gave 
these regions to Poland. These organiza-
tions have been left furtive and disper-
sions (now thanks to government fund-
ing) and not allowed to have representatives in the East. Kohl first whipped up a stir last year 
when he became the first chancellor in four 
years to visit the eastern provinces, then 
the heads of NATO, plus Japan, will be in 
the historic spring. The annual World Sum-
mit of Western-bloc chieftains was mov-
ed for Spring 1986. In other developments, Franz Joseph 
Strass, the No. 2 leader in Kohl’s ruling 
coalition, gives an idea of how this same 
policy is being handled: "The 20th century 
our Future — in a Europe of Free Pop-
ularism — and so NATO must cherish 
the era of the Holocaust into a secular 
religion for those who want to leave East Germany, even if 
consider the date of May 8 is known: "And the Germans, how far have 
we come since "zero hour"? One could say 
that those who have nothing to do with the 
East German experience should be counted among 
the winners of the war and without doubt 
that it is the majority of the population of the 
Western bloc who has reason to feel good when the West German 
embraces the Easterners coming with the war refugees? When all those 
who want to leave East Germany, even if it is only for a few years, will be 
that these allies can prepare for their next 
outlet?" No one would have imagined 
how thin the ice was we were 
gliding on. History comes through so 
quickly. People understand 
what it means when you honor the SS. 
What can be clearer than that both war 
criminals and "Good Germans" are the 
nobodies of the hour. And in the 
framework of 1985, it is clear that the 
crimes now being plotted will make 
Hitler’s seem like child’s play.

On the Question of So-Called "National nihilism"

You Can’t Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag

Plowshares, Encore!

The early morning hours of April 18 
brought a Plowshares No. 11 action 
that the Trident II, D-5 missiles at 
Quonset Point, Rhode Island. Six people 
got inside General Dynamics Electric 
Boat factory, pointed blood, and 
handled three missile tubes for ten 
minutes before being arrested by police. 
The six are at present charged with 
furtive and two, and mismeandor, and 
are being held in prison in lieu of $14,000 
Bonds. Among the group is George 
Bouasy, the Vietnamese who also took 
part in the 1982 Trident IX Plowshares 
action at General Dynamics’ huge Tri-
dest sub plant in Groton, Connecticut. 
This latest Plowshares protest comes 
three months after two Kansas Plowshares 
defendants were sentenced to eighteen 
years. In fact, the six called their 
"Trident II Pruning Hooks," follow-
in the Kansas Plowshares activists who 
first used "pruning hooks" to toll their 
justification of a Minuteman missile 
Silence. Once again, the government has 
found that the Plowshares protest has not 
been stopped by intensified repression.
Indeed, every outrage of their war prepara-
tions only provides more opportunities 
for exposure and resistance. □
Continued from page 9

development. The contradictions within this foundation and the increasingly mass and organized character of the population have jolted a system that many thought was impermeable. The declining productivity of the reserve has contributed to upward pressure on wages and accelerated the urbanization process. Struggles have erupted against rural impoverishment and urban control. And the youth, particularly in the townships, have played a vanguard role in defending their authority at every level and in every sphere of society. But why the stakes are so high only becomes clear when the apartheid system is seen in a larger, global perspective.

II. APARTHEID AND IMPERIALIST EXPANSION SINCE 1945

By the 1970s, multinational corporations owned 40 percent of South Africa’s manufacturing industry. One offshoot of this growth in domestic product over the past two decades has been attributed to foreign capital. In 1983, the value of U.S. direct investment was put at $2.2 billion. America accounts for about 20 percent of total foreign direct investment in South Africa. The British and West Germany (see Chart B). But it is in the growth and technologically advanced sectors; it controls about 40 percent of the oil market, 33 percent of the telephones, and 70 percent of the computer market.

The big surge in multinational manufacturing investments came in the 1960s and 1970s. Two British banks, Barclays and Standard, are the principal investors in manufacturing in South Africa — their domestic affiliates controlled about half of the assets of the two largest transnational banks by the 1970s, the U.S. Citibank had emerged as the fourth largest foreign bank in South Africa. The foreign banks have played a critical role in channeling international and domestic capital into South Africa’s “growth machine,” and these banks have mobilized international credits for the apartheid regime during its most perilous moments. Furthermore, given South Africa’s position as the world’s preeminent gold producer, the banks have also been major actors in South Africa’s international gold dealings.

As foreign investments can immediately be made at the “core” and “periphery” of the economy, it is possible to discern that foreign investment in South Africa. To begin with, South Africa has become the most important market for American products. A 1983 survey suggested the rate of return in mining was 25 percent against 18 percent in manufacturing. Investments in the mining sector are marked by a high degree of collaboration with South African capital, both white and black. Anglo-American, which is itself a transnational corporation, and by considerable internationalization of its domestic mining capital. Fourth, these investments from the periphery have had an important strategic dimension, linked to the expansion of defense and the Western bloc. And, finally, the U.S., though not the dominant investor, has emerged as the imperialist cheetah in South Africa.

Laying the Foundations

In viewing developments in the South African economy, it is possible to discern three phases: the first, from the accession to government of the Nationalist Party in 1948 and continuing through the Sharpeville killings of 1960, is marked by the systematic exploitation and enforcement of a system of racial segregation suited to the requirements of modern capitalist growth, and the provision of the necessary infrastructure and heavy industrial investment to spur capital expansion. The second period, dating from the aftermath of Sharpeville and continuing up to the mid-1970s, is that of the “miracle” of the South African “miracle.” Organized resistance to apartheid was temporarily drowned in blood and the instruments of repression perfected further, foreign capital flowed massively into the country, and capital-intensive existing industries have seen theawful interplay of different capital sectors. South Africa’s rate of growth in the 1960s was exceeded only by that of Japan. After a mid-term, dating from the mid- and late-1970s to the present, is marked by capital expenditures and trade conflict generated by the structural conditions of cheap labor wage — all internationalized by the world economic crisis and mounting tensions between the U.S. and Soviet imperialism. This rivalry which has found sharp expression in southern Africa.

The immediate postwar years in South Africa saw a boom based largely on developments within gold, and in which the British were the principal beneficiaries. More important, the 1950s set a somewhat atypical pattern of South Africa’s economic development. The migrant labor system of cheap African labor, and the bassementality, was put in place. In fact, this system of labor relations were taken as the courage and facilitate investment in manufacturing. Central to the process was the role of state planning and state investment. Targets for annual production were set and a highly integrated network of state corporations created a modern industrial infrastructure, with large-scale investment in mining and steel, power generation, oil and petrochemicals, and railroad and harbor development. From the beginning, this “parastatal” structure was heavily dominated by foreign capital, particularly South African capital, and it was the banks that provided most of the capital. A UN-commissioned study pointed out in 1979:

"[The South African] government has seen the need to the "social contract" and push the British into a subordinate position. What followed was an incredible in- flow of foreign capital. Substantial American and Canadian investments have gone into the mining and processing of South Africa’s non-gold minerals. At the same time, American and European capital entered the high-growth, capital-intensive, and technologically advanced sectors, including chemicals, machine, auto, and computers. In general, U.S. investments in South Africa have been more concentrated in manufacturing than those of Britain, and there have been taken over the form of direct ownership and control, although for political and economic reasons this has not happened recently (see Chart C).

Foreign capital has thus played the critical role in the development of South Africa’s economy. It has not only pushed forward the strategic and industrial sectors of South African capitalism, but also provided the links between manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. Moreover, the repressive capabilities of the regime are very much a function of foreign capital. As a UN-commissioned study pointed out in 1979:

"A crucial element in the South African economy is the expanded capacity to transport: military equipment and personnel rapidly at low cost over widespread geographical areas. Large bodies of the limited numbers of white troops need to be able to shift rapidly from one potential trouble spot to another. Transnational corporate investment in South Africa has been made in the most modern transport industry on the continent.

In addition, the sheer magnitude of foreign investment, including timely loans, has cushioned the regime, freeing up resources for an awesome military machine (ARMSCOR), the public-sector arms manufacturer, is now the third largest corporation in South Africa. To be sure, the foreign capital in the growing enterprises, sometimes in consortia, collaborated with the parasitals and mining finance houses to mold South Africa into a leading regional bloc. Some of the essential inter-relationships between the regime and foreign capital can be gleaned from Chart D.

By now the reader should have some sense of the Western bloc’s monstrous economic role in South Africa. But the implications for imperialist accumulation deserve fuller examination. International capital has, on the one hand, been able to profitably tap South Africa’s mineral resources, and, on the other, been able to sustain high rates of return in capital-intensive sectors and operations in that country. South Africa has figured prominently in the postwar expansion of Western capital. Let’s begin with the question of minerals.

On The Economic Policy of Apartheid
The Minerals Connection

Table 2 highlights South Africa's share of the world total for twelve selected minerals. Southern Africa is a veritable storehouse of these metals. Consider the case of chromium (sometimes called chrome). It is used in hardened steel, and materials of chromium are used in armor plate for ships, tanks, safety and cutting edges of high-speed machine tools. The average jet engine contains 5000 pounds of the metal. Europe and Japan have no domestic sources of chromium, and U.S. import reliance amounts to about 80 percent of domestic consumption. Now Table 3 shows what percentage of total U.S. consumption of chromium and four other strategic metals is met by imports from South Africa. The numbers speak for themselves. But import dependency is not the only issue here. Fabulous profits have been reaped in the mining, smelting, and refining of these resources. From the 1960s to 1976, the average wage of black workers employed by Union Carbide in South Africa was 25 percent below British prices. At the same time, the local privileged races earned on an average 60 percent above the average wage of black workers employed in the construction industry earned on an average 60 percent above the average wage of black workers employed in the local electricity corporation, has charged black mine laborers monopoly wages to African employees have been a direct cost of such raw materials investments and so pass on benefits in the form of lower input costs to other capitals using these materials. Furthermore, one of the specific features of the postwar alliance evident in the early years of World War 2 has been the highly integrated economic character. Thus, West Germany and Japan, both heavily dependent on imported raw materials, oriented economic development to a new spatial configuration of capital that included, importantly, wider access to Third World raw materials (Japan obtains about 50 percent of its total raw materials from South Africa and Zimbabwe). Cheap raw materials were an essential ingredient of the postwar boom.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>U.S. IMPORT DEPENDENCY, SELECTED CRITICAL METALS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Share of Imports from South Africa (% of total imports (rank as supplier)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antimony</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ores and Concentrates-20 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chromite-46 (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chrome-52 (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Manganese</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORE-9 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferromanganese-36 (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Platinum</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vanadium</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>54 (1)</td>
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General Motors and the South African Internals

The National Key Points Act empowers the Minister of Defense to declare any place or area a National Key Point, and requires the owner to provide security in cooperation with the South African Defense Force. General Motors produces several GM models and a range of locally manufactured components, such as radiators, engines, batteries, shock absorbers, springs, and sheet metal parts. It also produces locomotives for use by the South African Government's Harbours and Railways Corporation. Because of its strategic importance to the nationalized operation of the South African military, GM has been designated by the South African regime as a national key point industry. In 1978, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility published a severe critique of GM's involvement in South Africa, the Detroit GM office. GM's South African affiliate explains the significance of its key point status.

"Industries or services designated as National Key Points... will be accorded protection through the notion of the Citizen-based, profit-mandate system... (while personnel) are encouraged by authorities to join a local commando unit."

"The 'GM Commando' would assume guarding responsibility for the GM plants and would fall under the control of the local military authority for the duration of the emergency. It is envisaged... that plant personnel could be engaged in a composite function, i.e., part normal work and part guard duty in such situations."

"Compulsory military service is applicable only to white male citizens. The concept of utilizing plant personnel in a dual function is related to the fact that key skills, technical and managerial expertise are concentrated in the same production group from which defense requirements must be drawn."

In other words, the relative scarcity of skilled whites compels GM's top personnel to double as "commandos" in defense of strategic property.

The story is etched, in part, deep in the veins of the South African mines, if not in the veins of the black mine workers.

Profiting from Apartheid

The systematic deprivation of black living standards, as part of a system of forced wage labor, has direct and indirect effects on profitability in a way that is perhaps clearest in the manufacturing sector, where the U.S. has the bulk of its investments. To be sure, manufacturing capital has sought to avail itself of lower wages, a factor of obvious importance to labor-intensive operations. But firms and societies benefit from sophisticated technologies and capital-intensive machinery and equipment derive important benefits from cheap labor (even when they do not directly employ it). The state corporations have sold basic inputs to foreign enterprises at or below cost. ISCOR, the state steel corporation, has sold cold rolled steel at 25 percent below British prices. And low wages to black workers employed in the iron and steel industry are a major reason it has been possible to hold prices down or keep them at internationally competitive levels: the average monthly wages of black workers in South Africa were less than a quarter of those of whites employed in the industry. ESCOM, the state electricity corporation, has charged lower rates to industry and mining than to private consumers. Here, too, low wages to African employees have been a significant factor. In 1982, blacks in the construction industry earned an average of $450 a month, 18 percent of what whites in the industry did; in the electrical industry blacks earned 26 percent of what whites did. Interestingly, both NCC and ISCOR have secured substantial loans from American banks in the 1970s.

Thus, even where individual firms employ a largely skilled white labor force (receiving relatively high wages) or where firms have offered token upgrading and equal pay to blacks it is the Sullivan Principle (of which more later), they benefit from the fact that low-wage African labor reduces the costs of local infrastructure and inputs (as well as some foodstuffs originating from a highly developed agriculture, which also makes use of cheap labor). Further, corporate taxes can also be held down, since the state corporations receive a significant social investment for the black majority. At the same time, the local privileged races enjoy an insurmountable standard of living. Foreign investment is undertaken and dominated by the largest and most strategic units of capital of the imperial economies. The profitability and stimulating effects of this investment, particularly in the Third World, contribute vitally to the reproduction of international economic power and the theme and thesis of America in Decline. One concrete example: investments in the South African transport sector were arranged by the Ford Motor Company for theme and thesis of America in Decline. Continued on page 22

South Africa's export difficulties are development in Africa — then we see that linked with the very logic and structure of concentrated in South Africa — a capita! on the continent of Africa are overall imperialist domination of the con...

The second major cause of the economic slowdown concerns foreign investment. The private sector has not been gaining as much foreign capital over the last few years. Actually, net foreign investment in South Africa's private companies fell by $360 million between 1976 and 1978. That capital inflows began to taper off in 1976 has rather obvious significance. Soweto is erupting and the global crisis is taking its toll on capital exports. Investments in South Africa now bear a greater risk premium and international capital has less freedom to structure globally. Nevertheless, South Africa has managed to secure very low interest payments on international borrowings. But, as we shall see, South Africa is a decided and increasingly strategic case.

Imperialism thrives on superexploitation internationally. And its economic network is overlaid by a vast structure of international capital has less freedom to restruc...
result, however, has been the further disciplining of its client collaborators and homeland schemes, and an unprecedented wave of strikes, protests, and violent rebellions.

The Geopolitical Context

The growing crisis and instability within South Africa must be seen against the canvas of its geopolitical importance to the Western alliance's preparations for war against the Soviet-led imperialist bloc. The region's mineral resources are part of the lifeline of the imperialist countries, the West cannot lose control over them. Further, huge quantities of Persian Gulf oil travel around the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of South Africa on the way to Europe and the Americas. The South Atlantic seas lanes are of immense economic and military importance. The Soviets have been building up their naval presence; the Western Alliance used the Falklands War to test and improve its naval capabilities. South Africa is not only a gendarme for Western interests in Africa — as was made evident in Angola and Mozambique — but a vital quartermaster as well.

Africa is not only a gendarme for all Western interests in Africa — as was made evident in Angola and Mozambique — but a vital quartermaster as well.

An important new book by the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

IF THERE'S GOING TO BE A WORLD WAR, THIS BOOK SAYS HOW.

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

Avakian surveys the contemporary social and political terrain to reveal how and under what circumstances U.S. imperialism might be brought down. He makes this such a compelling study by not merely its insights into revolutionary strategy but its insistence that these issues be viewed in the larger setting of the historical advance toward, and the problems attendant to, the achievement of socialism and communism.

Avakian casts his analytical gaze on the photographes of the movements of the 1960s, the recent assaults on the death of Leninist-Lenin military theory and experience, the enslaving essence of modern democracy, the role of the people. Only the people. The people. The people. The people.

Avakian articulates a Marxism for which revolution cannot be a halfway affair: A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror? is not airy inspiration and example as to what it means to conduct business as usual, DEATH TO APARTHEID! DEATH TO ALL FORMS OF IMPERIALIST DEATH TO IMPERIALISM!

NOTES

1. Data from American Committee on Africa, South Africa Fact Sheet, January 1984.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
6. Ibid., p. 113.
7. Ibid., p. 131; South Africa 1984 (official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa, Johannes-
burg, 1983), Table 20, p. 485.
10. Data from South Africa Fact Sheet.
12. The Economist, 25 March 1985, p. 81; “An important new book by the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

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May First Slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

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

Support the People’s War in Peru!

Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism! Strengthen the Ranks of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!