

TO WIN 們獲得的將是全世界 **МИР ВБИГРАТЬ**

1985/3

A WORLD

KAZANILAGAK DUNYA काल्प सारा विश्व

**SOUTH AFRICA
SUMMONED
BY REVOLUTION**



PERU

Message
from
the PCP

UN MONDO DA **جہانی برای فتح**

UN MONDO DA

South Africa

How much longer can South Africa stand? The ruling class is increasingly left with nothing but force to rely on, while never have the masses been so unafraid to die for liberation. From a number of angles, this situation is dissected and the challenges it presents analysed. What will it take to kill this monster?

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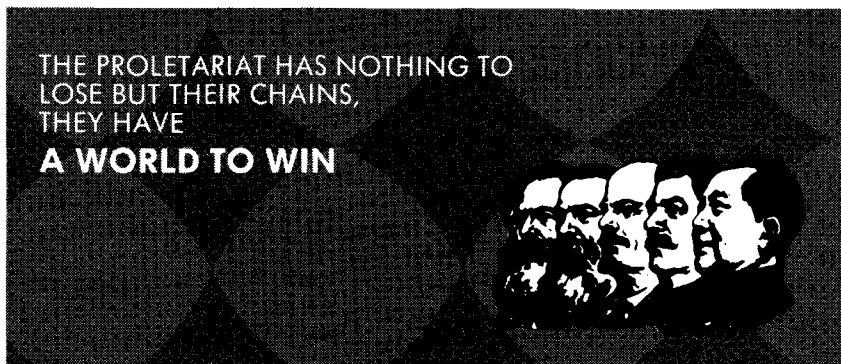
Peru

As the Peruvian counterrevolution prepares to install a new chief executive executioner, the PCP carries out an election boycott and unleashes new military blows against the regime. A new pamphlet by the PCP Central Committee, the most important document from the PCP in the last three years, analyzes how things stand with the revolution and the counterrevolution. An historic May 1 message from the PCP to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement declares to the world the internationalist content and aims of this revolution. Page 52

Reggae



“What is it about Jamaica, the times, the world, that gave us reggae music?” A sweeping examination of the soil from which this rebel music arose. Page 74



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STEP FORWARD!

A World to Win cannot accomplish its tasks without the active support of its readers. Letters, articles and criticism are needed and welcome. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced. In addition there are many other needs that you can help to fulfill:

Translation. *A World to Win* must be regularly published in as many languages as possible. This requires a large number of translators to take part in the network of the various language editions. Those potential translators who are not directly in touch with the language edition they are interested in should contact our London office. (If you are interested in putting out an edition in a language other than those *A World to Win* currently appears in, please contact us.)

Distribution. *A World to Win* must be made widely available in as many countries of the world as possible. This means that activists must develop multifaceted and creative methods for distributing it according to the conditions in their country as well as utilising regular commercial channels where possible. Local initiatives should be written up and communicated to us so that they can be centrally coordinated and summed up; we can also provide suggestions and materials to those who step forward to take up this essential work.

Art Work. *A World to Win* needs the assistance of artists engaged in the revolutionary movement. Drawings, cartoons, paintings and other art work should be sent to us. In particular, it is necessary that we receive clippings and original photographs from all around the world.

Funds. The price charged for *A World to Win* does not begin to cover the full expenses of putting it out. We are therefore reliant on the financial contributions of those who understand the importance of the continued publication of this magazine and those who undertake responsibility for raising funds. Send pledges and donation cheques made out to "A World to Win" directly to our London office.

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***A World to Win* Advertising**

Unlike most periodicals, *A World to Win* will not rely on advertising for its financing. Nevertheless, future issues of *A World to Win* will accept advertising that its editors feel is not in conflict with the overall aims and purposes of the journal. In particular we are encouraging revolutionary political parties and organisations, progressive periodicals, mass organisations, etc. to use purchased advertisements in *A World to Win*. Rates are available upon request.

TO WIN 們獲得的將是全世界 МИР БЫИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

के लिए सारा विश्व KAZANILACAK DÜNYA

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

—The Communist Manifesto 1848

You have in your hands the third issue of *A World to Win*, a new quarterly dedicated to an "old" idea: the proletariat of all countries faces the task of wrenching the world away from those who currently dominate, distort, and even threaten to destroy large parts of it; that those who up until now have been the victims of history must become its masters; that exploitation, oppression, and class-divided society, far from being the natural order of things, stand as the barrier to the further advance of humanity.

An "old" idea certainly, and one for which millions of martyrs have given their lives on battle fronts all over the world since Marx and Engels issued their famous call. But an idea which has lost none of its vitality or urgent necessity and continues to correspond to the reality of the contemporary world.

A World to Win contributes to the revolutionary process by providing analysis and commentary on vital developments in the world and in the revolutionary movement. It gives no quarter to imperialism and reaction, and its exposure will aim at East and West alike. *A World to Win* will not remain aloof from the key struggle to rebuild the unity of the exploited and oppressed the world over, to overcome the crisis in the international communist movement which came to a head following the reactionary coup d'etat in China after Mao's death, and to create the political expression of this unity, a Communist International of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In this sense *A World to Win* has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12, 1982, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world. *A World to Win* reports on the development of this movement and on its participating parties and organisations and will strive to assist this movement in becoming a more powerful force throughout the world.

But *A World to Win* is not an official organ of the RIM and its pages are open to all those on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction. It is a journal which reflects the growing unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces, but which recognises that for such unity to grow stronger, vigorous debate and struggle will be necessary. It is a journal of combat against those condescending saviours who, masquerading in the name of "socialism" or "communism," betray the aspirations of the oppressed and try to suppress their struggle (or turn it into a battering ram to replace one clique of exploiters by another), but which knows that opportunism cannot merely be denounced; it must be dissected, analysed and exposed.

A World to Win boldly proclaims its heritage and its ideology: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are the great leaders of the world proletarian revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought remains our tool for analysing and changing the world. But *A World to Win* will never rest content to simply reclaim the glorious moments of our movement or to simply analyse mistakes of the past—however important both these tasks are. Developments in the world constantly pose new problems demanding new analyses, new debates, and, above all, new solutions. *A World to Win* strives to be the indispensable tool for all those engaged in proletarian revolution.

A World to Win is currently published in several languages and plans call for it to be published in many more in the near future. Its network of contributors stretch over all six continents, and what *A World to Win* lacks in financial means, official distribution channels, and technique are more than compensated by its greatest asset—the active and enthusiastic collaboration of men and women engaged in revolutionary combat in all its forms, be it in the guerrilla zones in Peru, the struggle to develop the mass movements against imperialist war preparations in the West and direct them against the system itself, or the efforts to take advantage of the developing revolutionary situation in India and prepare to launch a People's War that could reverberate throughout the world.

A World to Win has nothing to rely upon except the masses: and so we call upon class conscious workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals—all those throughout the world who refuse to accept the old order and are contributing to building the new—to step forward and help sharpen and wield this new weapon.

جهانی برای فتح UN MONDO DA GUADAGNARE

MONDE A GAGNER UN MONDO QUE GANNAR PERE

SOUTH AFRICA

BY

The ripping sound of the rotting canvas of apartheid is unmistakable. And so is the sight of the oppressed straining to break free not just of the bloody clutches of white minority rule, but of the chokehold of imperialism as well. From urban ghettos to rural townships a revolutionary explosion of the black masses has spread across South Africa that is as righteous and long-time coming as it is furious. Like a wounded beast, the regime has struck back with a vicious arrogance, killing and wounding hundreds, and arresting many more during the same period.

Rebels everywhere are eyeing these upsurges eagerly. They are a taste to the oppressor of what is in store for him, not just from the crevices of the badly eroding facade of his fortress in South Africa, but more and more from the masses in tinderboxes of his making worldwide. The crisis in South Africa is deep and thoroughgoing. It is a situation ablaze with prospects for revolution, one in which people are looking for ways and means to fight, from the tools of resistance to the political and theoretical weapons needed to make revolution. And from behind this canvas you can hear the accelerating pitch of further battle in preparation. Both sides are looking around, fixing their sights, and all forces, including those running panic-stricken in between, are sizing up their strength and organisation, and testing out their leaders. Who and what road will take the masses forward to demolish the intolerable oppression of apartheid and its imperialist grip on the Azanian people...or, who can smother the fires and generate smoke to choke or confuse the masses, and above all slow down the "alarming" speed of events challenging the old order.

What South African President P.W. Botha has warned is a "dramatic escalation of the revolutionary climate" is for the proletariat and oppressed worldwide truly a fine development.

A Political Crisis Unfolds

Over the last year the Azanian masses and the apartheid authorities have faced off in a growing number of clashes, over everything from the higher cost of living to police murders and repression to the host of paltry reforms polishing the terms of white domination. But as the bullets of the state have brought down victim after scores of unarmed victims, gradually a picture has emerged of a situation much more acute than at the time of previous major rebellions against the South African government. The shifting political and economic workings of South Africa 1985 translate to deepening crisis in both arenas.

A subjugated population straining to migrate to the relatively better potential for survival in urban areas is colliding head on with the necessity and the limits of naked political control to keep those areas as white as possible. The government's resort to their forcible removal has this time around—at Crossroads in this past February—provided a glimpse of a higher level of organised struggle and determination to resist the enemy's tanks and bulldozers. The rapid sequence of events in February and March, including especially the regime's replay of the Sharpeville massacre in Uitenhage, brutally escalated a process already set in motion through the long series of back and forth incidents over the year: each funeral of victims from the last political protest became the next round of battle with the regime.



Defiance has become the order of the day for the masses. Each time they set foot in the street, they know someone, or dozens, are likely to be killed. The only thing the ruling class can hold out in return is even greater terror. Certainly these developments are fundamentally rooted in the savage weight of decades of the most bitter national oppression and imperialist domination, lifetimes of suppressed rage multiplied geometrically and thrown against the backdrop of economic crisis and a particular chain of events over the past year. It is in this light that the *political* crisis this has generated, and in short why these upsurges are posing the most serious challenge to apar-

SUMMONED REVOLUTION



Street fighting at Crossroads, late February 1985.

theid's system of rule, becomes clearer. But as we will see later, this is laced up with the crisis of the imperialist system overall, in which South Africa plays no minor political role.

The Momentum...

The South African government had already begun to launch a halfhearted campaign to clean up its image to the outside world by early and mid-1984, passing a few petty domestic reforms and making some diplomatic safaris that ruptured with the past twenty years of *official* isolation. The newly incarnated "moderates" (President Pieter Botha and Prime Minister P.W. Botha) now running the government

had been photographed shaking the hands of imperialist leaders on their seven-nation tour of Europe, although a similar tour of Africa brought few such opportunities with black heads of state.

By the time elections were announced for August 1984 for a new three-chamber parliament with one chamber each for whites, Indians, and coloureds (as people of mixed ancestry are officially classified), the word "reform" had become synonymous with provocation. In a country where 4.8 million whites rule nearly 23 million blacks, and needless to say, where the issue of the right of blacks to vote was not even on the agenda, the effort was

transparent. Black students organised a series of school boycotts and protests, which spread rapidly. The elections backfired, boycotted by more than 80% of Coloureds and Indians. During election week, hundreds of thousands of black and coloured students boycotted classes, and when the new, meaningless constitution was adopted in early September, townships in a number of states rebelled.

By August 1984 and in the following months, the social seams of South Africa were bursting in nearly all spheres of society: the schools, mines, black towns and some rural areas. The townships around the cities—particularly the industrial

areas around Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape Province—erupted daily. When the government announced increases in bus fare, water, electricity and rent, the state of Transvaal blew up, and by mid-September, 45 youth had been killed in clashes with the South African police. Forty thousand people came out to their funerals, and from there it spread to Soweto, Crossroads, Evaton and other townships. Boycotts became so widespread that the schools were practically shut down.

In mid-October, the South African army was called in. Seven thousand soldiers alongside police combed through the townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Boipatong. A half dozen municipal black councillors administering the townships on behalf of the apartheid regime were killed in anger by the masses in December, and dozens of others began resigning. Their homes and businesses became targets of political rage. In some cases local administrators backed down off the rent hikes. Miners' unions which until then had confined their strikes to strictly economic issues carried out major one-day strikes in solidarity with funeral protests. The black trade unions pulled off their first action against the government, a two-day general strike in November. On the regime's side, when killing dozens, massive arrests and the banning of indoor and outdoor political meetings didn't stop the explosion from building, heavier repression was brought down.

Economic Crunch and Whips of the State

South Africa is facing its deepest economic crisis since apartheid was instituted, largely a function of the dropping price of gold and other key exports, along with reduced foreign investment over the past few years, which has required bigger loans from abroad. (See accompanying article in this issue.) In a country where some of the highest profits in the world could be made, exactly because of the apartheid system, the effects of the crisis weigh heavily on a black population already driven down, living in conditions that contrast grotesquely on every front with

those of whites. Unemployment has reached at least 30% among blacks.

Underlying this is the system of political control over the black population, based on the premise that blacks are not citizens, in fact that they have no political rights at all. This is enforced in a set of modern leg irons called pass laws, which determine where black people can work and live, and are the justification for countless "identity" checks and arrests. One of the major functions of the pass laws is to keep blacks out of the cities unless they have a permit to work there. A whole administrative structure referred to as the "homelands policy" has carved up the country into townships outside the cities and ten bantustans (see map) in the more outlying areas. Together with the pass laws, this structure, backed up by open armed terror, exists to rigorously control the black masses. Entrances and exits to townships and bantustans are guarded by police fortresses surrounded by three-metre high fences, barbed wire and sandbagged barricades.

To contain the flow of blacks to the cities and rid themselves of unwieldy urban sprawls it can't easily control, the government has driven millions of blacks out of the cities and into the barren land allocated to them in bantustans, which take up only 13% of the land, and the worst land at that. But millions of blacks keep pushing back towards the cities to try to make a living, to escape the overpopulated, drought-stricken, economically depressed reservations. Huge make-shift settlements around the cities have mushroomed despite the arrests and deportations of those caught in these "influx control" checks. Outside Durban, for example, the squatter population is estimated at 1,440,000, that is, *double* the population of the city itself. In these squatters camps, there are no sewers, and running water and electricity are scarce. Shelters are most often of corrugated metal, scraps of whatever might serve to make a wall.

Because the very existence of these squatters towns is illegal, they have become both centres of resistance and special targets by the regime. Armed with bulldozers, tear gas and

clubs, it has repeatedly demolished them, burning anything in sight that could be used to rebuild a dwelling. One resident told how he dismantles his house nearly *every day* to keep the authorities from destroying it. "If I don't take it down and they come that day, they seize it and burn it. At 3 or 4 in the afternoon, we build it again, always before nightfall."

Crossroads and the Further Upsurges

The wave of rebellion that had been picking up speed since September 1984 started to crest in the squatters town of Crossroads near Cape Town in February 1985, exactly over this explosive situation. The government had been threatening for a long time to tear down the shacks of this town (literally an intersection of two roads originally) which houses nearly 100,000 people and forcibly move them out to the bantustans and to a new township sitting on a sand dune some 45 miles from the city of Cape Town. When word came that the eviction preparations were underway, the people of Crossroads stayed home from work and school for two days to defend the camp, throwing up barricades and attacking government vehicles and anyone or thing they suspected might be approaching to move them out. In the end, police sealed off the area and more than a dozen blacks lay dead and 150 injured from the battle. The government temporarily backed down from its eviction plans.

Shortly afterwards, in the township of Katlehong, near Johannesburg, thousands fought with police after residents organised themselves to protest a rent hike. In the Orange Free State, long a stronghold of the Afrikaners (the descendants of the original Dutch-speaking white colonisers) where blacks had tended to be isolated from the rebellions in the cities, 3,000 youth took on the South African police. But a major turning point came on March 21st, when the spectre of the Sharpeville Massacre was resurrected with bloody ferocity in the industrial town of Uitenhage, near Langa township. In 1960, police had fired on peaceful anti-passbook protests in Sharpeville, murdering some 80 people, woun-

ding hundreds and gaoling dozens of leaders.

The 25th anniversary of this massacre became a calculated reminder of what is on the line in South Africa, stunning world public opinion and raising the ante all around. Police, who had prepared for this annual event because of the recent unrest, attacked the 4,000-strong commemorative march and funeral procession for victims killed in rebellions in early March as it tried to cross into the white suburbs just outside the city of Port Elizabeth. Forty-six new corpses lay in the streets. The people struck back with whatever was at hand, some fighting with spears and machetes against the guns and whips of the highly militarised state.

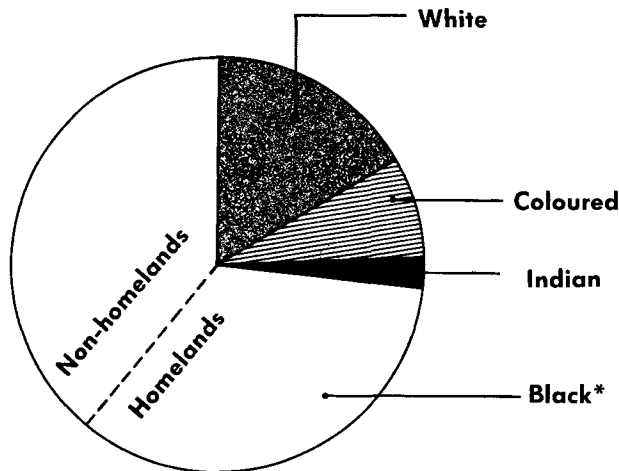
The masses reacted swiftly and bitterly as townships all over Azania blew up, concentrated around the Port Elizabeth area, but stretching to the Cape Province and to the Kimberly diamond mining area in the Orange Free State. The government responded with more repression, pulling out the army to guard white areas, ordering private doctors to refuse to treat wounded blacks so they could be arrested if they went to a hospital, conducting house to house searches and in some cases carrying out summary executions of Azanian activists on the streets. The government tried to ban the organised funeral protest on March 24th, but could not, and in the Uitenhage area, more than 35,000 marched, openly defying the armed forces.

In fact the masses stepped up the delivery of some immediate punishment of their own, striking out at targets they could get their hands on since they were unable to reach the white culprits of the ruling class directly. A number of black collaborators with the regime, particularly local administrators and black police, were killed, sometimes set on fire in the streets. This particular act has greatly alarmed those who are supposed to be doing the intimidating.

It is this picture of the masses no longer willing to accept the daily life of apartheid, breaking out in new and broader dimensions, drawing people from all sections of the black population into the struggle, that has

POPULATION BREAKDOWN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Blacks	22,803,688	72.8%
Whites	4,822,745	15.4%
Coloureds	2,803,174	9.0%
Indians	873,000	2.8%
Total 31,302,607		



***Official figures show the black population living in homelands and non-homeland areas (largely townships around the main South African cities) to be about 53% to 47%, but the actual ratio is probably closer to 35% to 65% because of the rapid shifting towards urban areas.**

provoked discussion on all sides of the potential for civil war in South Africa. For 1985, not surprisingly, has revealed a different situation and higher level of struggle than at the time of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, or during the round of revolts in Soweto and other places in 1977 (which targetted the compulsory teaching of Afrikaans in the black schools). And for the ruling class clamping down in frenzied alarm to try to stop the movement as before, it is also no longer 1960. This greatest of political crises yet furiously staring at them is linked closely with the apartheid regime's political role in relation to the larger imperialist interests they are a pillar for, imperialists whose crisis worldwide is spinning towards a much bigger political confrontation that they also must prepare for—world war with their Soviet social-imperialist rivals. It is worth taking a closer look at South Africa's importance to Western imperialism to see why reining in this political instability is as crucial as it is difficult.

Apartheid's Strategic Role

The history of South Africa is a history of African struggle against foreign domination and national oppression, a reflection of its continuous occupation for centuries by a series of invading colonialist fortune seekers, starting with the Dutch settlers and continuing under British colonial rule. In other African countries, the colonial empires have evolved into some form of neo-colonialism to pursue the same basic social relations. The historical development of South Africa as a settler state with a substantial white population has been somewhat different. Although different classes have developed to some degree among each of the three officially defined "races," the country's defining feature is white rule, in which the white population as a whole makes up a social base (and provides the gunmen) for the indirect domination of the country by imperialism, especially British and U.S. interests. The elaborate and insane system of racial classification concocted in order to

justify and disguise this situation defines Africans as blacks in order to bolster the notion that the descendants of the white colonisers are equally African and thus have an equal claim to this piece of Africa, as though the fact that white settler rule has lasted a long time somehow changes its character.

The national oppression of the vast majority of the population is the source of the privileged position of the whites, of the tremendous super-profits extracted from Azania's workers which has been an important source of sustenance for the imperialist system worldwide, and of the misery of the vast masses of the Azanian people whether they labour in the mines and factories or starve slowly in the countryside while white farmers monopolise the best land.

Thus apartheid is the invention of the *modern* slavemaster, refined by a host of western imperialist architects as recently as the mid-1900s, who while easily qualifying as social neanderthals in most every respect, were quite conscious that their barbaric laws backed up by an armed white minority were simply the most efficacious route to superexploitation. That is to say, they are not merely blind racists uninitiated to the ways of the civilised world: their system of apartheid is a feature and a prop of their imperialist civilisation, serving in particular to maintain their position of domination within it. Its logic is their logic.

It is principally foreign capital that has developed the South African economy and financed apartheid's highly militarised repressive apparatus and all of its government bodies, from the Army, Navy and Air Force to its costly state administration. Its police and torture specialists were trained by the best U.S. and Israeli academies, and its arsenal has been stocked with the most modern weapons from the latest arms shows in France, West Germany, the U.S. and around the imperialist world.

South Africa represents not just abundant profits for the imperialist countries which have considerable trade dealings there or invest in its private sector (mainly banking, mining and manufacturing) and state corporations (arms industry, iron and steel, electricity and nuclear

power, chemicals, transportation, oil and coal).

Beyond the extremely lucrative economic holdings that the apartheid system has ensured, there are larger interests and bigger plans for the Western imperialist bloc at stake. In the face of the biggest economic crisis in South Africa in 50 years, and the social instability a system like apartheid inevitably engenders, the compulsion to pursue what has become risky business in South Africa only highlights the greater imperative: the strategic position and the role this client state plays in the deadly contention between imperialist blocs East and West.

As preparations towards world war escalate, this southern flank has indeed a crucial part in them, from several angles. The list of industries pumped by foreign investment along with the rich supply of key resources and minerals figure heavily in this war machine. South Africa is basically the only place the Western bloc can extract a number of these minerals necessary for waging both conventional and nuclear war. In addition, control of the shipping lanes around the Cape of Good Hope, where South Africa strategically sits, means control of supplies and materiel to the surrounding states in the southern African peninsula. This is already a major question since the Soviet Union has control of Angola, with Cuban troops stationed there, as well as significant influence in Mozambique. Further, nearly 80% of oil and 70% of raw materials used by NATO countries of Western Europe pass through these sea lanes. The other route from the Middle Eastern oil fields to Western Europe, the highly vulnerable Suez Canal, is incapable of handling larger supertankers.

In this situation, South Africa has willingly complied with its Western-imperialist assigned responsibilities. For instance, although South Africa has no public agreements with NATO, the port facilities at its Simonstown naval base—originally constructed by the British before World War II and totally renovated in 1975 to become one of the most advanced facilities in the southern hemisphere—are available, when needed, to "any country in the free

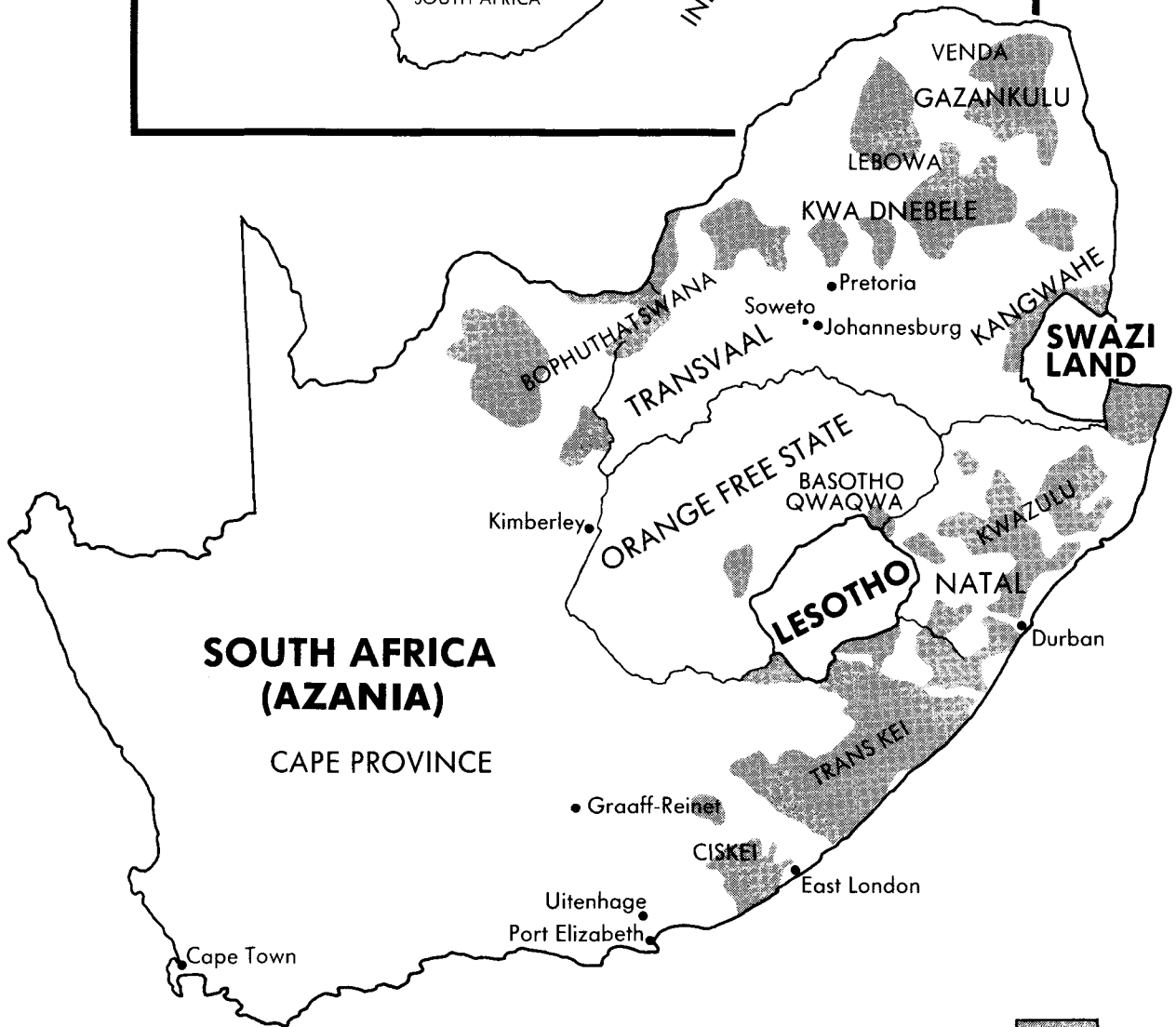
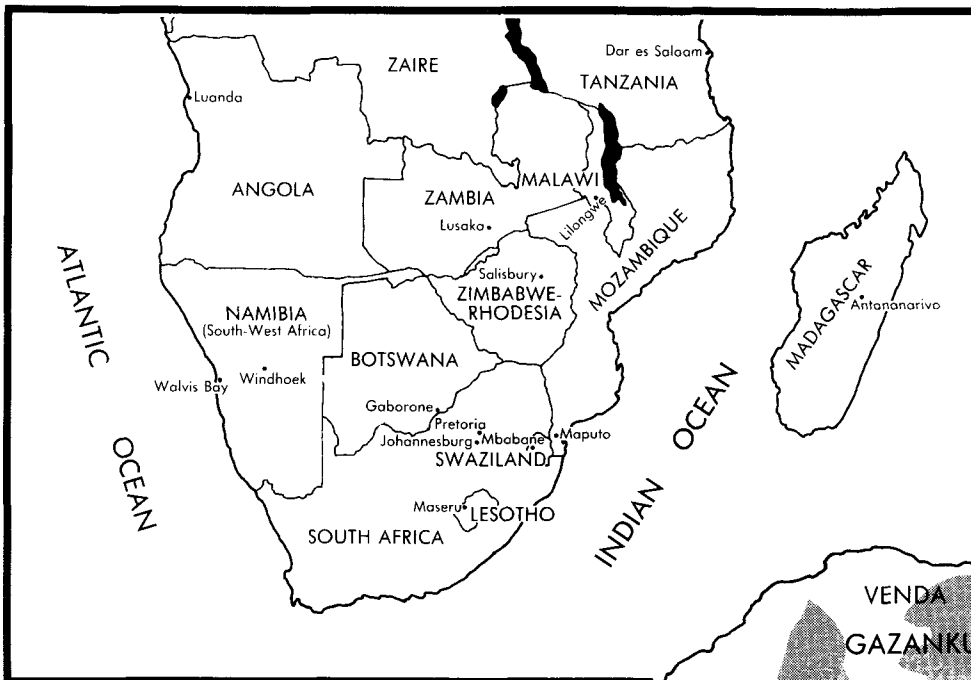
world," as Botha recently put it. The intelligence complex at Silvermine is also being modernised and equipped to monitor and control the sea and airspace from the South Pole to the Tropic of Cancer. It will have the capacity to carry out surveillance of more than 50 countries.

The Familiar Clash of East and West To describe South Africa as a *regional* gendarme captures only one of its military duties. It is important to the whole Western-bloc strategy of waging and winning nuclear war. Plans have long been (secretly) underway to integrate it into the design and strategy of the NATO alliance, through the creation of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) along with Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil.

This role for South Africa has sharpened up since the mid-1970s when the Soviet Union gained a solid foothold in Angola and important influence in Mozambique after Portuguese colonialism limped out of Africa in the period when the U.S. was still feeling the effects of its crushing defeat in Vietnam. Shortly afterwards, Ethiopia fell to Soviet control as well. In each of these countries, the reins of power were taken up by bourgeois forces which degenerated into neo-colonial formations, failing to break economically with Western imperialism while to a greater or lesser degree falling under the political and military sway of the Soviet bloc as well. In this period the Soviets also gained important influence in the liberation struggle in Namibia (South-West Africa), which is occupied by neighboring South Africa.

Although by any stretch of the (imperialist) imagination South Africa is worth coveting in the global conflict shaping up, Soviet jockeying with the U.S. so far has been centred primarily on Mozambique, Namibia and Angola. The U.S. and South Africa have extensive ties with the economies of these countries, but the Soviets have been able to acquire military and political power that has enabled them to use these countries as springboards for extensive manoeuvring.

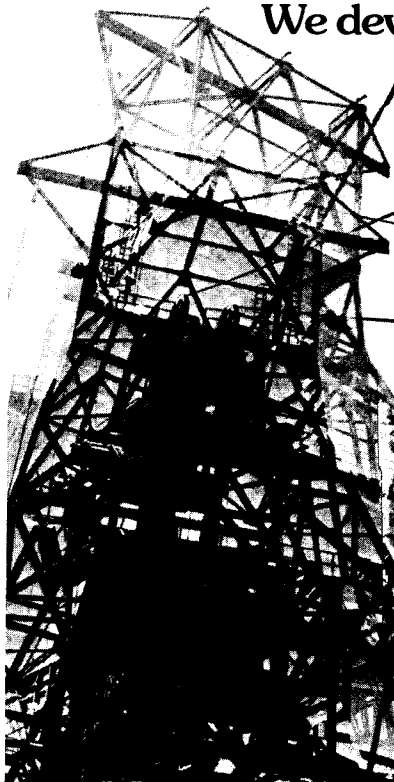
Inter-imperialist rivalry heated up




Homelands

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We develop the best
in both.



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Heads of NATO countries meet in South

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Electricity supply commission.



in southern Africa with the invasion of Angola by South Africa in 1981, and the subsequent period of offensive by the U.S. which needed to pull together an alliance between the apartheid government and various pro-U.S. neocolonies in the region. A series of gangster diplomatic alliances forced on South Africa's neighbors were in turn used to bolster the apartheid regime's legitimacy. This is partially what lay behind the U.S.-instigated accords in Lusaka, Zambia between South Africa and Angola in February, 1984 and the Nkomati agreement between South Africa and Mozambique one month later.

Under the terms of these agreements South Africa was to implement a ceasefire with the Angolan government and gradually withdraw its forces from Angola. In Mozambique, it was to stop its support for right-wing guerrillas attacking Samora Machel's FRELIMO government, while increasing its economic "aid" to that country, including the enlargement of Mozambique's ports to handle the rising volume of South African imports. In return, the pro-Soviet Angolan ruling party, the MPLA (and



Africa to discuss "Meaningful Reform of Apartheid Today."

Cubans) agreed to stop the Namibian guerrillas of SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organisation) from operating out of neighbouring Angola. Mozambique pledged to cut off aid and sanctuary to the pro-Soviet African National Congress (ANC), a South African organisation operating partly out of Mozambique's territory.

These accords also definitely put the Soviets on the defensive and along with the heightening of contradictions internationally added to the internal destabilisation within already crisis-ridden Mozambique and Angola, in fact jeopardising the Soviets' position in the former.

The social-imperialists were not giving up, however. While MPLA troops were sent to make an ugly spectacle of themselves patrolling the country's southern border jointly with South African troops, they remained adamant about the continued presence of 25,000 Cuban combat troops in Angola until South Africa gives up its occupation of Namibia. These Cuban troops are supposedly to guarantee Angola's security against South Africa, yet have actively avoided directly engaging the South African army units

which have repeatedly raided Angolan territory.

Although some of the guerrilla groups bought and sold in these deals may not have liked it, they could not object too strenuously since they have staked their own political futures on that of the two imperialist blocs on a world scale. As for the black regimes which signed these accords as well as other "frontline" states which have made similar arrangements with South Africa, it seems that like the Soviets themselves they are not capable of envisioning and waging a war to the death against the apartheid regime. Instead they use their need to build up their own forces as an excuse for strategic capitulation to South Africa's continued existence, which is the only possible price for any long-term peaceful coexistence between the black "frontline" regimes and South Africa.

This suits the Soviet strategy in the area rather well, since its orientation at the moment is not to mount a decisive challenge to U.S.-bloc control of the region, through agreements or through force of arms, but to gain influence there precisely on the basis of their ability to control

the revolutionary masses through pro-Soviet organisations such as ANC and SWAPO which the Soviets have helped build up. They are pushing for some sort of "historic compromise" power-sharing agreement in Namibia while digging in and holding onto what they've got in the other countries, including maintaining the ANC as a sort of a pro-Soviet outpost (and bargaining chip) behind South African lines. Even if this requires some concessions, it is a decision based on viewing the situation from their strategic position in the region as a whole, not just in individual countries. For the bottom line is, even if they can't replace the U.S. as the dominant imperialist power in the region, they must position themselves so as to be able to significantly interfere with their rivals' ability to use South Africa (and eventually the region) as a giant and key military headquarters for waging world war, while manoeuvring to some day be in a position to seize control of the region as a result of an overall change in the balance of forces in the world.

Hardly shocking anyone, the South African government never even pretended to withdraw its forces from Angola, while continuing to provide arms and help step up the work of its puppet guerrillas in Mozambique. But on April 15th, 1985, more than a year after extracting these agreements from Angola, they once again announced their intention to pull out of Angola, openly seeking the withdrawal of Cuban troops from that country in return.

While South Africa may be forced to retreat from Angola during this period of internal upheaval and related international pressures on South Africa's imperialist mentors, any such withdrawal can only be temporary. South Africa itself declined to "rule out a re-occupation of Angolan territory." The bombing raids into Botswana and Lesotho shortly afterwards, supposedly to rout out ANC strongholds there, illustrate their intentions clearly.

Alternatives : Of Limp Carrots and Stouter Sticks

The apartheid regime and the bourgeoisies of the Western bloc which



Sharpeville, 1985.

stand behind it (those “backstage diplomats,” as the British press likes to call them) are in very deep trouble in South Africa. The heat being generated by the masses in South Africa, which has in turn inspired militant protest in the imperialist countries, has thrust an uncomfortable international spotlight on the ugly imperialist plantation down in southern Africa. While Botha and Company alternately wince from this bright light and thumb their noses, the Western imperialist bourgeoisies behind them can be seen in small huddles throughout the hemisphere racking their brains, consulting their counterinsurgency specialists and scanning their computer systems for a solution to this disturbing turn of events.

The sickening chorus of adjectives emanating from these imperialist ruling circles abroad in shrill harmony has undoubtedly already converted many to the anti-apartheid movements. Tragic ! shudders British Prime Minister Maggie Thatcher...Abhorrent ! shrieks U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz...Long live the struggle ! cries French “Socialist” Prime Minister Laurent Fabius. But beyond this expected demagogic display of shock over the injustices suddenly discovered “down there,” the main password put into circulation by the imperialists is *reform*.

While this is mainly a response to the upsurges of the Azanian people, the renewed support for the Azanian revolutionary struggle abroad, particularly in the U.S. as well as throughout the world, is also casting an accusing light on their own direct role in keeping apartheid afloat.

Thus the sudden clamour for “overdue, meaningful reforms” from the Western bourgeoisies, themselves up to their armpits in complicity and blood, are to divert the spotlight back to southern Africa. The short-lived flurry of threats coming from the imperialist capitals of levying economic sanctions “to bring Pretoria out of the Stone Age,” etc. never had any such aim. Of course the Western imperialists could cripple South Africa virtually overnight, if they wanted to violate their own interests at the same time. If South Africa were in the Eastern bloc, well then the world might witness a serious embargo, freezing diplomatic ties, and so on until the proper response came. Instead, the British press, for instance, argues that “the real pressure to change is to be made in the sports arena, right on the rugby field where it really hurts....”

To accommodate their partners’ demands for a facelift, the Botha government is trying, for the moment, to change its image to the outside world. They have admitted

to a few “excesses” by their police and proposed some legislative reforms. On the same day it announced the “intended” withdrawal of troops from Angola, the regime threw out the laws forbidding interracial marriage in South Africa. This sudden overturning of the notorious “Immorality Acts” would send the average observer of South Africa’s obscene behavior on every front into hysterics, if it weren’t for the sobering and degrading premise that underlies apartheid : the inequality of the “races.” Hypocrisy doesn’t get close to describing the perverse logic behind this : the courts have dropped a few pending “criminal” cases against people whose marriages have crossed the forbidden colour bar. But the bars themselves still stand. Internal Affairs Minister F.W. deKlerk reassured parliament that “facilities for the different races and residential areas would remain segregated.”

Thatcher and Reagan began applauding these “hopeful signs.” That is the point, after all. The rapid plastic surgery being performed on apartheid is of course precisely to enable the regime to keep things running just the way they are, to cement the Western alliance further, and get on with business as usual.

As ugly as it is, the sight of the South African ruling class dressed only in machine guns and the smal-



Botha's "Law and Order."

lest of fig leaves is both highly instructive and a tremendous spur to further exposure and revolt for the masses. It is in this light that the scrambling has begun in earnest for qualified demagogues, turncoats and sleeping pill vendors.

Job Openings in the Black Opposition

"The dilemma for the Government is acute, to say the least," wrote the London *Financial Times*. "Out there lies a great majority, hungry for meaningful reform which will improve their lives. But how can it find black leaders with real authority to accompany it along the path of reform without losing control of the speed and direction of change and without provoking a possibly violent white reaction?...Indeed, do such black leaders exist, or have they already been frightened off by the fate of black councillors and others who have become victims of violence against so-called 'sell-outs'?"

A rhetorical question, but as in any complex heightening of social contradictions, forces step forward to represent the interests of every class, and there are always those who offer peaceful routes ensuring nothing fundamental will change when conditions are ripening and the political mood is volatile.

One such person much in the news and being jetted around to different

banquet tables is the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu, who comes from the small black middle class forces the South African government has been halfheartedly building up.

Tutu was recently awarded the Nobel Western imperialist peace prize for his continued appeals for non-violence, patience and faith on the part of the Azanian masses. Like most of the forces of the bourgeois opposition, he has embraced the "one-man, one vote" formulation as a way to reform apartheid instead of violently overthrowing it. "We must not proceed too rapidly," Tutu has declared, or "the white minority might lose *its* identity." ! Perhaps white passbooks could do the trick?

In August 1983 Tutu and the head of the Dutch Reform Church, Reverend Allan Boesak, founded the bourgeois opposition alliance called the United Democratic Front (UDF). When the U.S. (as if to underscore their political crisis in South Africa) dispatched none other than the bourgeois liberal senator Teddy Kennedy in December 1984, it was Tutu and Boesak who officially invited him. One of the main reasons for the Kennedy visit was to bolster forces within the UDF and its social base in general (which also includes some petit bourgeois whites, coloured and Indian groups, a long list of perso-

nalities in the clergy and business leaders such as Harry Oppenheimer, a "liberal" capitalist in his own right).

The abysmal failure of Kennedy's crucial departure speech in Soweto—where hundreds of demonstrators chanted "Reject Kennedy, Reject Imperialism," literally driving him out of the country—also dampened Kennedy's message that there are really strong allies in Washington that will help straighten out apartheid. This series of actions was organised by the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which has been active in the current upsurges.

Some within the bourgeoisie prefer less "radical" figures, and promote instead Chief Buthelezi of the Zulus, who is head of the one-million strong *Inkatha* organisation in Kwazulu Homeland. The London *Financial Times* characterised him as a "fierce but reasoned critic of apartheid," who "recognises white fears of being swamped by a one-man, one-vote system, and advocates a form of federalism...with built-in guarantees for minorities, including the white minority." (As if whites have any legitimate interests at all as whites.) His refusal to declare Kwazulu an "independent" bantustan, and thus deprive six million people of their South African citizenship, has won him some credibility among the masses, though he is at the same time hated for his role in organising migrant workers to attack the school boycotts back in 1977 in Soweto.

The ANC

Another force, the African National Congress, operates under the highly inaccurate title of national liberation organisation granted it by the Organisation of African Unity. Although long dependent on Soviet support and promotion, the ANC has also become somewhat attractive to some Western imperialist liberals looking for cosmetic experts. Kennedy, for example, met with ANC president Oliver Tambo in Lusaka, Zambia after being taunted out of South Africa.

Formed back in 1912 as a reformist vehicle to improve blacks' condition within the structure of existing

society, since the mid-1950s the ANC has been run by the largely white and thoroughly revisionist South African Communist Party (SACP), which has long denied that Azania needed national liberation and instead sought to insure some continued role for whites as whites in South Africa. The ANC and the SACP crystallised their non-violent, non-revolutionary programme in a document called the Freedom Charter in 1955, still the heart of their political line. The stated goals of this "charterism," as it's referred to by Azanian revolutionaries today, are the right to vote for blacks and the nationalisation of minerals and key sectors of the economy "by the people," with the strategic outlook that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

The ANC formed an armed wing in 1961 after it was banned in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. Its armed efforts over the past 20 years have been "marked by restraint," as a very generous writer for the unofficial U.S. State Department magazine *Foreign Affairs* described it. The ANC has limited its "armed struggle" to sporadic, mainly individual acts of sabotage against buildings, railways and power lines. The ANC even prides itself on being responsible for a total of only 22 casualties, including hardly any whites, in a five-year period until early 1983, which saw a limited ANC offensive in retaliation for South African government raids against ANC houses in Maseru, Lesotho. This is testimony to the fact that the ANC does not seek to develop the armed struggle of the Azanian masses themselves to seize political power, and does not seek step by step confrontations with the reactionary armed forces to build up the people's armed forces, but only employs violence to pressure the apartheid regime to negotiate. Even at this recent height of its military activity, the ANC's military line has continued to reflect its counterrevolutionary political goals.

From 1965 until fairly recently the ANC virtually ceased to exist outside of Soviet promotional activities and various diplomatic circles. During this period it was overshadowed by

a group of revolutionary nationalists who had split off from ANC back in 1959. In opposition to the reformism of the Freedom Charter, this organisation, called the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), called for liberation of the Azanian nation. It denounced the Soviet Union and was associated with then-revolutionary China.

While accepting Chinese revolutionary military aid, and for a time waging struggle independent of both imperialist blocs, the PAC never took up Mao's political and ideological line and thus proved incapable of providing consistent leadership to Azania's national and democratic revolution. It also seems to have been unable to surmount a series of splits that took place in the 1970s, although some forces which came out of the PAC were later very active in the Black Consciousness Movement and the Soweto revolts when the murder of BCM leader Steve Biko became a symbol carrying forward the struggle.

Revolution is Summoning South Africa

The structures of apartheid are being strained everywhere, and in a few places, the rotting floor boards are being punched through. The revolutionary situation that exists in South Africa is more apparent than ever today. Forces on all sides with various political lines and interests know it and are responding accordingly.

White rule is being shaken. Yet the only way for South Africa to continue to play its strategic and economic role for Western imperialism is for white minority rule to stay right where it is and be reinforced. The U.S. and British bourgeoisies as much as admit this outright. The reform train has no tracks; it's going nowhere because it has nowhere to go. More white minority rule means more repression. For the bourgeoisies, it means blood will run, the blood of the masses.

Another element in South Africa's calculations is the reaction of its white social base, which is a factor not totally under its control. However, this is generally used to pretend the government is somewhere to the "left" of its untamed nazi cowboys

at large in South Africa, as in the incredible announcement in June by the white "extreme right" that it intended to form its own separate "White Republic" (a white republic within a white republic?) based in the city of Orange. A hardly veiled threat by the South African rulers to any overzealous reformers that too much too fast might indeed bring worse violence.

This does not cut away from the fact that the ruling class is very worried and quite aware of the social dynamite it is piling up under it. From the mouths of the British press: "It is impossible to ignore the increasing radicalisation of township blacks, and especially students, trade unionists and the young. Religion and black nationalism may be the dominant ideological strands in black politics, but the Marxist ideas of socialism and Lenin's ideas of the role of the organised *avant-garde* are falling on fertile ground among the young."

This touches the heart of the matter. For the bastion of reaction, of imperialist domination and national oppression in South Africa, must be shattered—now, or later. And if that will become possible has a lot to do with whether a revolutionary party wielding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is fought for. South Africa represents an important flank in the proletariat's worldwide advance, and a revolutionary breakthrough there would certainly quicken the pace of struggle around the world, standing as a tremendous impetus and inspiration to the oppressed to wage similar warfare. No wafers or preachers will bring this about. Revolutionary leadership is at the top of the list on the summons being issued today in South Africa. □

Azanian Revolutionaries— Link Up with the RIM!

Azania has erupted. The reactionary white settler regime ruling South Africa today is increasingly on politically rocky ground, with few options ahead aside from still greater repression. How much longer until a revolution really *is* in the making, until conscious forces fully emerge and analyse the revolutionary situation and class relations there as part of firmly seizing hold of the opportunity at hand...this is a question that revolutionaries and communists worldwide are asking as they watch with anticipation and joy another pillar of imperialism under serious assault. The revolutionary stirrings in South Africa represent a very welcome development for the proletariat and one to support wholeheartedly. However, they are also cause for soberly assessing the strengths and weaknesses of our class, the international proletariat, in the class struggle raging there.

The conditions are ripe for fanning the flames of rebellion in this struggle for national liberation. Although tearing down South Africa is long overdue, now both the regime's political crisis and the struggle by the masses contributing to it are assuming broader and deeper dimensions than past upsurges. But more, much more is required. In particular, conscious forces must step forward to form a vanguard party, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which can fully grasp and act upon the social contradictions unraveling, train the advanced political elements surging forward, and lead the armed struggle against the enemy towards the seizure of political power—on behalf of the international proletariat.

The revolutionary masses are capable of making giant forward strides in the quickened tempo and politically charged climate of battle. But to lead this in a revolutionary direction and not to a mur-

derous setback, which the wolves of reaction already show signs of preparing, the guiding political forces must seek to replace the partial truths gained so far with the revolutionary science, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And in particular, the development of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement can be of immeasurable assistance in this. Many of the elements needed to forge a correct line in each country to lead a revolution to victory already exist in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*. The key lines of demarcation and critical summation of experience it delineates are crucial to being able to formulate a specific analysis and programme to guide the Azanian revolution through twists and turns to victory.

Mao's statement that the correctness of ideological and political line determines everything was not a moral injunction. And neither is the urgency to embrace the revolutionary line forged by the RIM and apply it to conditions in South Africa crying out for revolution.

As the *Declaration* warns, "history demonstrates the bankruptcy of an 'anti-imperialist front' (or similar 'revolutionary front') which is not led by a Marxist-Leninist party, even when such a front or forces within it adopt a 'Marxist' (actually pseudo-Marxist) colouration. While such revolutionary formations have led heroic struggles and even delivered powerful blows to the imperialists they have been proven to be ideologically and organisationally incapable of resisting imperialist and bourgeois influences. Even where such forces have seized power they have been incapable of carrying through a thorough-going revolutionary transformation of society and end up, sooner or later,

being overthrown by the imperialists or themselves becoming a new reactionary ruling power in league with imperialists."

Who is going to lead the armed struggle for political power in South Africa, and on what basis? Does anyone expect those forces seeking to reform apartheid to launch a serious armed struggle? The revisionists of the African National Congress are also unlikely to launch an armed struggle to the death against the apartheid regime, because they lack strategic confidence in the ability of the Azanian masses to thoroughly defeat the white settler regime which is backed to the hilt by Western imperialism. These revisionists are guided by interests and goals which can only be hindered by unleashing the revolutionary war of the masses required.

Only a party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can lead the uncompromising, protracted struggle necessary to smash white rule and carry out a national and democratic revolution to free Azania of imperialism and its local props as part of the international proletariat's advance on a world scale.

This is not cause for alarm or demoralisation, but on the contrary, for picking up the tools and linking up with the organised revolutionary forces which can aid this decisive process of forging revolutionary leadership. A correct political line merging with the ripe revolutionary conditions that exist today in South Africa could unleash extremely rapid developments. Whether a new stage in the struggle will be born in the tempest challenging the outmoded order in South Africa or whether this upsurge becomes a bloody and tragic loss for the world's people, another bitter lesson for the international proletariat, is a very pressing question. □

The Political Economy of

Gold miner



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The purpose of this essay is twofold. First, to demonstrate that the apartheid system, far from being anachronistic or irrational, is an historically constituted form of superexploitation that is functional from the standpoint of capital accumulation, and that for this and strategic reasons the United States and other Western imperialists have a critical interest in the maintenance of white minority rule in South Africa. Second, to make plain that whatever the permutations of superexploitation and neocolonialism in South Africa, the salvation of the black masses lies in the destruction of the South African state and all forms of imperialist rule. To carry forward this kind of analysis, it is necessary to introduce concepts with which some readers may be unfamiliar and to integrate a great deal of data.

The apartheid system has its *origins* in a particular form of settler colonialism and has its *logic* 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 in-

Apartheid

digenous peoples. But while the whites in North America exterminated the better part of the Native American population, the whites in South Africa did not wipe out 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 battlement—a regional settler-type gendarme 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 European 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, op-

pression, 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 bureaus which 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 most minimal civil and political

rights. 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 synch 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 overarching fact: the extraordinary growth of the South African economy in the postwar period not only rested 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 mitigated 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 conscription 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 superexploitation are the real issue 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 rearing a new generation of proletarians. Yet under specific historical circumstances, it becomes possible to pay labor power *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 U.S.-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 prevail for comparable activities in the advanced countries. *Second*, part of the costs of sustaining and reproducing this capitalist wage labor is often borne by pre- or non-capitalist relations of production, such as the "informal" economy of the cities (or shantytowns) and, especially, the rural sectors, where the "household" labor of women plays a pivotal role. *Third*, the workforce is often subject to extreme extra-economic coercion—be it hired thugs of latifundistas, tightly controlled labor compounds, or repressive legislation—which enhances the appropriation of surplus value. It must be emphasized that these are not residual features of the labor process but elements that profoundly condition the profitability of capital in the world today.

Apartheid As a Form of Superexploitation

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

Table 1
EMPLOYMENT AND AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

<i>Mining, May 1983</i>	<i>No. Employed</i>	<i>Av. Monthly Wage</i>
African	613,452	\$ 260
White	78,020	1,395
Coloured	9,581	430
Indian	659	690
<i>Manufacturing</i>		
African	748,700	\$ 320
White	316,600	1,290
Coloured	240,800	365
Indian	86,400	460

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Central Statistical Services*

Table 2
SOUTH AFRICA'S RESERVES OF SELECTED MINERALS
(percentage of world reserves)

<i>Mineral commodity</i>	<i>World</i>	
	<i>Rank</i>	<i>%</i>
Manganese ore	1	81
Platinum group metals	1	72
Gold	1	49
Chrome ore	1	58
Vanadium	2	29
Andalusite, sillimanite	1	38
Fluorspar	1	34
Vermiculite	2	28
Diamond	2	22
Uranium	2	16*
Zirconium	2	11
Coal	2	10
Phosphate	3	9
Antimony	3	7

*excluding COMECON countries

Source: *Republic of South Africa Yearbook, 1984*

Table 3
RATE OF RETURN ON TOTAL BOOK VALUE, U.S. FIRMS' DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN MINING AND SMELTING, 1953-72 (percentages)

	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Latin America and the Caribbean</i>	<i>South Africa</i>
1953-57	8.3	10.4	25.7
1958-62	5.9	14.5	20.8
1963-67	9.9	19.9	43.3
1968-72	5.3	12.8	31.6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, various issues

Table 4
RATES OF RETURN ON U.S. MANUFACTURING OPERATIONS
(in percent)

	1967	1974	1980
Canada	8.0	14.1	10.3
Europe	9.5	13.2	13.7
South Africa	16.2	17.1	31.3

Accounting procedures between years not strictly comparable.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, various issues

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 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 migrant laborer 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 reservoir of labor reproduction.

The extended family in the reserves—by caring for the very young and very old, the sick, and the laborer during times of rest, by providing education (for which Africans must pay) to the young—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 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 exhausted labor force (labor turnover has been quite high in South African industry, and the life expectancy for black men is 55 years). The household and subsistence labor of

women on the reserves is an important pillar of this subsidy to capital.

In 1981, 1.3 million blacks from the bantustans were working in white areas as migrant laborers under contract. An additional 745,000 were commuting from the bantustans on a daily basis. This arrangement presumes a certain level of production 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 expulsion 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 squalor 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 townships like Soweto, which is outside of Johannesburg. In these overcrowded townships, single men may live in state-owned barracks—the continuing construc-

tion of these so-called hostels is an indication of the regime’s commitment to the migrancy system. The state subsidizes substandard housing, while other costs of sustaining the workforce are thrown back onto the reserves.

The apartheid system is enforced by the most savage means. Since 1960, the South African government has removed 3,500,000 Africans, Coloured, and Indians from white to designated areas. At least one million more Africans have been forcibly relocated within the bantustans. A further 1,700,000 people are under threat of removal. All Africans over the age of 16 are required to be fingerprinted and carry a pass book at all times. A series of laws outlaw public gatherings and resistance organizations, provide for indefinite detention without trial and random police searches. South Africa has the highest per capita prison population in the world, and of the 130 people hanged in 1980, only one was white.¹

The racial restrictions and the official violence rest on a definite economic foundation. The contradictions within this foundation and the increasingly mass and organized resistance to apartheid have jolted a system that many thought was impregnable. The declining productive capacity of the reserves has contributed to upward pressure on wages and accelerated the urbanisation process. Struggles have erupted against rural impoverishment and urban control. And the youth, particularly in the townships, have played a vanguard role in defying 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 about 40 percent of South Africa’s manufacturing industry. One third of the 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 the total foreign direct investment, trailing both Britain and West Germany (see Chart A). But it is strong in the growth and technologically advanced sectors: it controls about 40 percent of the oil market, 33 percent of the car market, and 70 percent of the computer market.² The big surge in multinational manufacturing investments came in the 1960s and 1970s. Two British banks, Barclays and Standard, are the largest foreign banks operating in South Africa—their domestic affiliates controlled about half of the assets of the twenty largest South African banks. But 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.³

A few observations can immediately be made about the scope and character of foreign investment in South Africa. To begin with, South Africa has been a major outlet for investible capital in the postwar period. Fully 60 percent of the U.S.'s total investment in Africa is concentrated in South Africa. Second, these investments have been highly profitable. A 1983 survey suggested the rate of return in mining was 25 percent against 14 percent in the rest of the world, 18 percent against 13 percent in manufacturing. Third, these investments are marked by a high degree of collaboration with South African capital, both local banks and firms like Anglo-American, which is itself a transnational corporation, and by considerable interpenetration between units of foreign capital. Fourth, these investments from the outset have had an important strategic dimension, linked to the expansion and defense of the Western alliance. And, finally, the U.S., though not the dominant investor, has emerged

as the imperialist chieftain in South Africa. Let's take a closer look at this involvement and put it in historical perspective.

Laying the Foundations

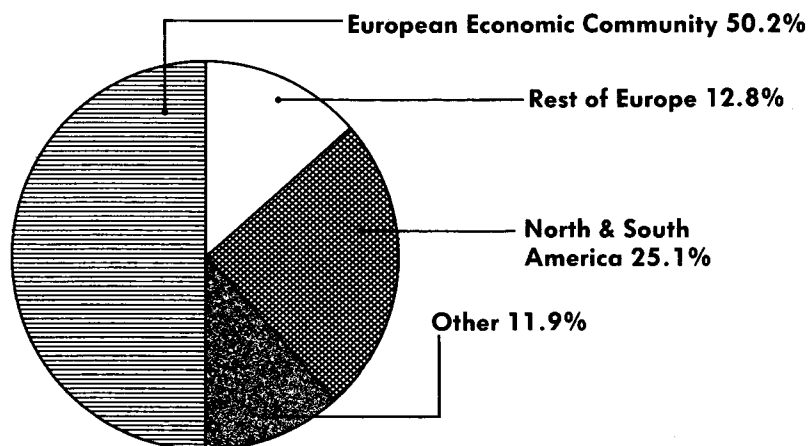
In viewing developments in the South African economy, it is possible to discern three distinct periods. The first, dating from the accession to government of the Nationalist Party in 1948 and continuing through the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, is marked by the systematic elaboration and enforcement 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 Soweto in 1975-76, is the period 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 industrial development saw the increasing interpenetration of different capitalist sectors. South Africa's rate of growth in the 1960s was exceeded only by that of Japan. The third period, dating from the mid- and late-1970s to the present, is marked by economic contradictions and social conflict generated by the structural conditions of cheap wage labor—all interpenetrated by the world economic crisis and mounting tensions between the U.S.- and Soviet-led imperialist blocs, 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 uranium and in which the British were the principal beneficiaries. More important, the 1950s set the basic patterns for South Africa's economic development. The migrant labor system of cheap African labor, and its superstructural overlay, was put in place. And on this basis, a series of initiatives were taken to encourage and facilitate investment in manufacturing. Central to the pro-

cess 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 investments in iron and steel, power generation, oils and petrochemicals, and railway and harbor development. From the beginning, this "parastatal" structure was heavily penetrated by foreign capital, particularly loan capital and principally from official lending institutions. In 1951, a consortium of U.S. banks extended a \$10 million credit to the railways and \$30 million to the state electrical utility. The World Bank loaned South Africa some \$200 million in the 1950s for similar endeavors. The purpose of these loans and public capital outlays was to induce investment by providing low-cost industrial and infrastructural inputs. The imposition of apartheid would provide low-cost labor.

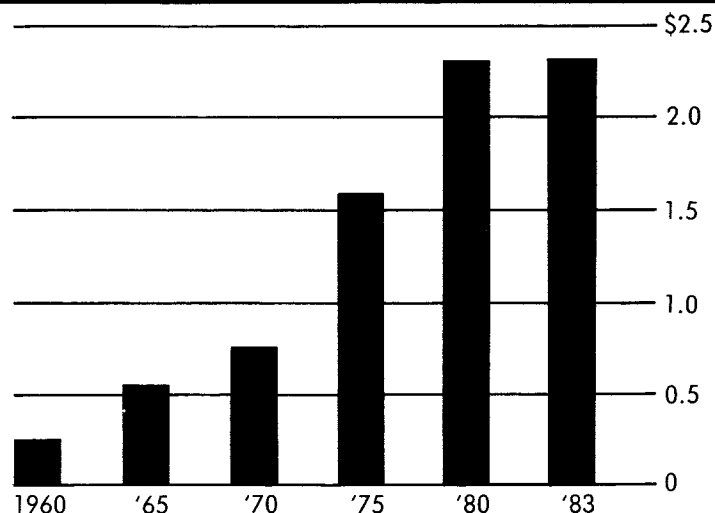
The South African "miracle" of the 1960s and early 1970s was appropriately inaugurated by Sharpeville. Fittingly, a year before Sharpeville, Chase and Citibank led a consortium which extended \$40 million of revolving credits to the regime; while in the immediate wake of the bloodbath, Chase made a much-publicised loan of \$10 million, and soon joined a consortium to lend the regime \$150 million. American bankers saw the chance to get on the "inside track" and push the British into a subordinate position. What followed was an incredible inflow of foreign capital. Substantial American and Canadian investments went 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, electrical machinery, auto, and computers. In general, U.S. investments in South Africa have been more concentrated in manufacturing than those of Britain, and have more often taken the form of direct ownership and control, although for political and economic reasons this has changed recently.

Chart A
FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
 Origin of foreign investment, 1983



Source, *The Economist*, 30 March, 1985

Chart B
U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
 (in billions of dollars)



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, various issues

Chart C
FOREIGN CAPITAL AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME IN THE 1970s

South African Government	State Corporations	"Privately" Held Corporations
Administration	ARMSCOR (military)	Anglo-American Corporation, plus six other mining finance houses
Police	ISCOR (iron and steel)	Multinational corporations: 40 percent of South African manufacturing
Army	ESCOM (electricity and nuclear)	Multinational corporate banks: 60 percent of 20 largest South African banks
Airforce	SENTRACHEM (chemicals)	
Navy	SAH&RR (harbors and railways)	
	SASOL (oil from coal)	
	NATREF (state oil refinery)	
	IDC (state development corporation)	
	Etc.	

Foreign capital has thus played the critical role in the development and configuration of the South African economy. It has not only pushed forward the strategic and technologically sophisticated sectors but also provided the linkages 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 minority regime's military planning 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... has helped build up the most modern transport industry on the continent."⁴

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 sum up, foreign capital, "sometimes in competition, sometimes in consortia, collaborated with the parastatals and mining finance houses to mold South Africa into an increasingly dominant regional subcenter."⁵

By now the reader should have some sense of the Western bloc's enormous economic role in South Africa. But the implications for im-

perialist 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.

The Minerals Connection

Table 2 highlights South Africa's share of the total world reserves of selected minerals. South Africa is a veritable storehouse of strategic metals. Consider the case of chromium (sometimes called chrome). It is used to harden steel, and mixtures of chromium are used in armor plate for ships, tanks, safes, and the 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 90 percent of domestic consumption. South Africa is the number one supplier of chromium and other major strategic minerals: antimony (which strengthens lead), manganese (important industrial metal which removes impurities and strengthens steel), platinum (valuable heavy metal which resists heat and is used to speed up chemical reactions), and vanadium (which resists attacks by chemicals and whose alloys do not rust, also conducts heat rapidly and can be used to toughen other metals).

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 through the mid-1970s, U.S. investments in mining and smelting grew rapidly. In the 1968-73 period, this investment grew at an annual rate of 15 percent, compared to 5 percent for the rest of Africa. Table 3 provides some explanation for the robustness of this growth in the expansionary phase of the postwar spiral. Rates of return ranged between 20 and 43 percent over a twenty-year period. In the mid-1970s, Union Carbide opened a chrome refinery in South

Africa. In 1976, all but about 10 percent of Union Carbide's African workers earned less than a minimum health and decent living standard for a typical South African family. In 1976, mineworkers in the United States were earning on average almost six times the average wage of black workers employed by Union Carbide in South Africa.⁶

Capital is always eager to exploit cost advantages. And in the postwar period, the increased demand for raw materials, given the exhaustion of domestic supplies and new industrial requirements, heightened the search for mineral resources, while advances in international transport rendered overseas investment even more profitable. On the foundation of superexploitation, it was possible for a time to obtain high profits from such raw materials investments *and* to 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 erected on the ashes of World War 2 is its 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 chrome from South Africa and Zimbabwe). Cheap raw materials were an essential ingredient of the postwar boom. The story is etched, in part, deep in the veins of the South African mines, if not in the veins of the black mine laborers.

Profiting From Apartheid

The systematic depression of black living standards, as part of a system of coerced 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 low wages, a factor of obvious importance to labor-intensive operations. But firms and sectors marked by sophisticated technologies and capital-intensive machinery and equipment derive important benefits

from cheap black labor (even when they do not directly employ it). The state corporations have sold basic inputs to foreign enterprise at or below cost. ISCOR, the state steel corporation, has sold cold rolled steel at 25 percent below British prices. And low wages for 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 1976 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 on an average monthly basis, 18 percent of what whites in the industry did; in the electrical industry blacks earned 26 percent of what whites did.⁷ Interestingly, both ISCOR and ESCOM received 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 *à la* the Sullivan Principles (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 does not undertake any significant social investment for the black majority. At the same time, the local privileged white minority constitute a substantial domestic market for durable goods.

Foreign investment is undertaken and dominated by the largest and most strategic units of capital of the imperialist economies. The profitability and stimulating effects of this investment, particularly in the Third World, contribute vitally to the reproduction of internationalised capital. This is a major theme and thesis of *America in Decline*.* One concrete example: in-

vestments in the South African transport sector were the leading edge of foreign capital's manufacturing expansion in the country in the 1960s and 1970s, and the ability of this investment to lower their total, worldwide costs facilitated their competitive expansion in Europe and North America in that period.

Table 4 compares rates of return on U.S. manufacturing operations in Europe, Canada, and Latin America with the performance of its manufacturing investments in South Africa. And these figures understate both the true level of U.S. investment, since some U.S. capital is invested in South Africa through the firms of the United Kingdom, France, and West Germany in which U.S. capital participates, and the true level of profits, since U.S. overseas firms have devised all manner of accounting practices to under-report profits. Although GM, GE, Mobil, and IBM are trumpeting their new found sense of brotherhood, apartheid is the real music to which they dance. The problem is they've never been in deeper trouble.

III. CRISIS AND THE STRATEGIC DIMENSION.

Economic Slowdown

South Africa is in the throes of the most serious economic crisis since the 1930s. The regime also faces, in the tempest of the black masses, the most serious challenge to its existence. These are hardly unrelated facts, although one must be careful not to reduce them to one another. The economy grew by only 3 percent a year between 1978 and 1984; there was an actual decline in gross domestic product in 1982-83, and economic growth is likely to fall this year. At the level of external economic linkages, there are two major causes of the slowdown. The first involves the country's export position. Exports account for about 25 percent of gross domestic product, and gold accounts for almost one-half of the country's exports.⁸ South Africa was able to ride out some of the storms of the global crisis of the mid-1970s by taking advantage of skyrocketing gold prices.

But the price of gold has plummeted over the past four years, as have the prices of other export commodities, mostly minerals. This is a principal contributing factor to the country's current 14 percent rate of inflation. At the same time, South Africa depends heavily on the rest of Africa as a market for intermediate and advanced goods: over one-half of its chemical exports and about three-quarters of its machinery and equipment manufacture exports were sold to the rest of Africa at various times of the 1970s. But the crisis gripping the continent has dried up many of these markets. Now if we stop to think about the role of cheap and brutally treated black labor in the South African mining industry and the relationship between the system of apartheid and the fact that the most advanced operations of foreign capital on the continent of Africa are concentrated in South Africa—a phenomenon which, in the context of overall imperialist domination of the continent, has contributed to imbalanced development in Africa—then we see that South Africa's export difficulties are linked with the very logic and structure of the South African economy.

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 1984. That capital inflows begin 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 restructure globally. Nevertheless, South Africa has managed to preserve a net surplus of capital inflows. This is mainly because the government and nationalised industries have dramatically increased their international borrowings. But, as we shall see, these loans have a decidedly and increasingly strategic cast.

Imperialism thrives on superexploitation internationally. And its economic network is overlaid by a



vast structure of military, administrative, and financial control. This is perversely apparent in South Africa, and increasingly costly. State spending is about 25 percent of gross domestic product. The state must spend on white farmers and civil servants to maintain its social base; over one-third of the white workers are employed by the state. It must cocoon and prop up certain industries for economic and strategic reasons. And it organises immense military force. By 1978, South Africa had an army of 55,000

regulars and 130,000 reserves, equipped with 362 planes, 91 helicopters, 170 tanks, and 1600 armored cars. The defense budget for 1984-85 was twice its level of only four years ago.⁹ One of the contradictions of the apartheid system is that in the past period it has grown more difficult to increase the inflow of capital and raise the rate of exploitation to a level commensurate with the needs of holding the entire enterprise together. Which brings us to the conditions of those upon whom that enterprise rests.

Crisis and the Black Masses

The combined effects of capital-intensive development and the current recession have produced an unemployment rate among black people admitted to be in the range of 30 percent. It is probably higher, since official statistics do not adequately capture the employment status of black women. Only about a third of the black population actually lives in the bantustans; and of those who do, only about one-tenth can eke out a living from the land. Figures for black income in the bantustans declared independent are not available (although it is known that they contributed 2.3 percent of South Africa's total gross domestic product in 1980). But for the bantustans not declared independent by 1980, 5,163,150 people had no measurable income. The infant mortality rates for blacks in some rural areas are among the highest anywhere in the Third World. Malnutrition has grown even more acute in the countryside due to the severe drought. In the cities, where the majority of the black population lives, the estimated percentages of black households with incomes below the Household Subsistence level were: Johannesburg, 62 percent; Pretoria, 58 percent; Durban, 65 percent; Port Elizabeth, 70 percent. In real terms, Africans' wages are decreasing.¹⁰

To really get at the contradictions of the apartheid system of cheap and coercible labor would require fuller investigation and analysis. But this much can be said. As a result of declining productive capacity and deteriorating social conditions, increasing numbers of blacks have

been pushed out of the reserves, forced to lead a shadowy and desperate existence in the urban areas. Yet the institutional and economic arrangements that have been discussed in this article remain at the foundation of the South African economy.

It has been necessary to "modernise" this system of superexploitation—limited attempts have been made to upgrade the skills levels of black workers, to expand education, and to increase mobility. But such changes *remain within the framework of apartheid*. This is not a matter of irrationality or stubbornness but of things turning into their opposite: one of the safest investments in the world is now rated as one of the riskiest; a highly profitable system is now bursting at the seams. The regime is making a show of concessions while mainly tightening up and clamping down. It must reinforce restrictive measures that limit black numbers in the urban areas in order to safeguard its rule and deflect the demand for majority rule in a unitary state. The result, however, has been the further discrediting of its tribal 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 lifeblood 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 sea 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 of Western interests in Africa—as was made evident in Angola and Mozambique—but a

vital quartermaster as well. By the early 1970s, South Africa could manufacture a wide range of explosives, ammunition, small arms, napalm bombs, guided missiles, aircraft, radios, mine detectors, and other classified electronic equipment. This had been made possible through licensing agreements with Western firms, while the auto plants in South Africa can be rapidly converted over for military production. Further, the Americans, French, and West Germans all played parts in helping develop various aspects of South Africa's nuclear capability. South Africa is intended to function both as an economic rear and forward staging area for military operations in a global confrontation between the two imperialist blocs.

And so the West has sought to bolster the regime even, and especially, in the face of mass resistance and mounting economic difficulties. U.S. support for the regime is as predictable as it is obscene. Five months after Soweto, when the gold price was falling precipitously, South Africa asked the International Monetary Fund for a new loan. Not only did that loan go through, but during 1976 and 1977, when the regime was facing protest and pressure, South Africa received more money from the IMF than any other country except Britain and Mexico. And "the IMF loans, as it happened, almost exactly corresponded to the increase in South Africa's arms spending during that time."¹¹ What is called "constructive engagement" and what has come to be known as the Sullivan Principles (governing employment and pay practices of American firms in South Africa) are but the latest efforts to fortify and prettify the regime. On their own terms, the European Community and Sullivan measures to desegregate are pitiful: less than one in three British companies have desegregated their lavatories, and only .007 percent of blacks working for U.S. signatory companies hold jobs that involve supervision of whites (yes, the decimal point is in the right place).¹² Through torture, economic assistance, and deception, the West is trying to prevent South

(Continued to page 88)



Crossroads.

Interview with Azanian Revolutionaries

"Growing Up in Azania Means You're Always Angry"

Following is the edited text of a recent interview with four Azanian revolutionary activists temporarily living abroad.—AWTW

Q: For almost a year now Azania (South Africa) has been the scene of tremendous upheaval; Western imperialism's apartheid "fortress" has been under siege and severely shaken. What does the situation look like in Azania today?

J.: I would see the current situation as being the weak point for the regime because I see oppression being two-fold. First of all, it is psychological, and there is the brute physical force of the state. When the government loses that hold, that psychological hold on the people, it is very weak. Like for instance, if you take the period after the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist

Congress (PAC) in the early 1960s, you had a state of fear at home, where people were scared even to talk about what they would call politics let alone mention the letters ANC, PAC, POQO—which was the military arm of the PAC. So with that kind of state, or with that kind of hold on the people, it ensured the continuation of oppression. But when you lose that kind of psychological hold over the people

and all you have to maintain power is the physical force, I think that is when the state is most vulnerable. I see the situation at home being at that state right now. People have been made psychologically conscious and they are psychologically ready to fight the government. That is why I would say that at this stage the South African government is vulnerable to civil war, to a successful revolt.

Q: How does this breakdown of the government's psychological hold over the Azanian people manifest itself today?

J.: The clearest examples are the uprisings all over the country. These are not only happening in certain areas that one might see as the "politicised" areas like Soweto, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. These are urban areas where people have more of a political and international outlook, places where there are generally more intellectuals. These are areas one would see as being the areas with a political flow of conversation and action. But when you have very remote and little areas around the country responding to the oppression without necessarily having had people come to address them and what not, then the hold is clearly broken. People are responding spontaneously. There have been attempts to coordinate the action but a lot of the action is just local effort. So when people are rising up all over the country like that—although not in unison so far—that is a manifestation of the hold breaking.

Q: Can you provide some examples of this mood change among the Azanian people?

R.: One good example is a conversation I recently had with my mother. I knew that she was conscious about our political situation but never did I actually hear her say that there were amongst us sell-outs and collaborators—those town councillors and people who work for the government in the townships—and that it is not brutality between blacks and blacks but that it was between those who are conscious among us and those working with the system, eliminating those working with the system. It came as a surprise to me. We never spent too

much time talking about these things at home because she was not always there—either she would be at work or I would be at school and when we were both home we were tired and rarely talked. Also my mother was in a trade union but there was never really any outward activity as such on her part—I mean our parents would encourage us in certain things but they did not engage in that much outward activity themselves. I think that the students and the activities of the students have had an effect on our parents—not only are the students ready to fight but they are influencing the parents.

Can This Upsurge Be Stopped?

Q: Is the open defiance of the government by the Azanian masses a new development?

H.: I wouldn't exactly call it something new because it has been going on for a while. I'll take it back to 1976, when the funerals started to be really political funerals. I remember that for a while you had funerals of key political figures and they were never really made that political. You had exceptional cases that were funerals of leaders, known leaders like the funeral of Steve Biko and the funeral of Sobukwe in Graaf-Reinet. It was a given that those funerals had to be political events. But the funerals of other political figures, maybe even people who had been known to have been imprisoned in Robben Island, the families always tried to make the funerals just funerals and leave the philosophy out. From 1976, '77, '78 and onwards, funerals have really been transformed into political funerals. The government used to go in after the funerals and arrest individuals—maybe those who had spoken during the funeral and a few others who had just attended the funeral—in order to intimidate the people so that you didn't have that many attending the funerals. But right now the people are prepared to go out in large numbers, you have many thousands attending those funerals. It is an expression of the defiance of the people and the level of their defiance. And to a certain extent it is a sign of the weakness of the regime. The Boers do come in and shoot and arrest people at the

funerals, that is a fact. But when the going gets rough, the Boers get out of town. I remember in 1976, around August—you know the unrest started in Soweto around June 16, and then in July in the Western Cape and then mushroomed all around the country. In Port Elizabeth it began around August and I remember that for two days you could say that the townships were almost virtually liberated in the sense that the police were afraid and unable to come into the townships....

J.: So far everything said has been overwhelmingly on the side of depicting the country as bordering on civil war. But there are other difficulties that should not be forgotten. Although the psychological hold over the people might have been broken, the South African state will still concentrate on using its brutal physical force. And with that, they might be able, if the people cannot challenge it sufficiently, to hold the line and might even be able to not just hold it back but to actually go back to a state of intimidation of the people again. That might be possible. For instance if you look at the 1950s, the people were mobilised and organised by the various organisations. You had the campaigns all over the country—the Defiance Campaigns, the Women's Campaign of 1956 and so on. But when the government clamped down in the early '60s they were successful in causing the lull that there was after 1963 with the arrest of the leaders and the banning of organisations. I don't know if they can be back to that kind of thing now. Today it is not only a concentration of a few intellectuals as it was in the 1960s—that is what the organisations seemed to be at the time, a few doctor so and so's in the leadership. The rebellions today do seem to be much broader based. I don't know if the government can do what it did in the past, but that might be a possibility....

H.: I would like to comment on this point. As successful as the government was in the '60s, when they again clamped down on the people's organisation in the '70s, there was not the same kind of lull. When the 1977 bannings occurred

the first thing people did was organise again. The rebellions that are occurring today have been simmering since the 1970s. There were many areas where rebellions occurred but were not reported. I'm also sure that today there are many areas where the situation is very, very serious, where the contradictions with the system are very sharp, but there are no reports on what is going on there. There has been a lot of revolutionary activity that has gone on since 1976. Between 1976 and 1978 there was a period of confrontation with the government, continuous confrontation. At this time they might try, in fact they have tried banning meetings and gatherings—and they might even try banning organisations again—but I think that at this time they will not be able to suppress the people and their determination. The question of preparation is important. As much as the people have conquered fear and the situation is ready for engaging in a full scale confrontation, there also has to be preparation. The people have to be armed because we don't need people to be sacrificed in suicide missions. The people need to have more than just stones. There must be preparation.

"Hippos" No Longer Intimidating

Q: What kind of actions has the government taken to suppress the current upheavals?

P.: One thing is that now that they have used the army the only thing really left for them to fall back on is help from outside the country—for instance bringing in the U.S....The greatest influence on this generation, I would say, has been the South African Students Organisation, SASO, an early Black Consciousness organisation. In the 1960s they arrested and killed the leadership of the organisations and continued like this up until the 1976 uprisings. After 1976 nothing they could do, none of the brute force they could use, was able to stop the people. It's not that the government did not do what they did before, it's that they could no longer contain the struggle and revolutionary fervor of the people. The people can no longer be intimidated by the power of the state. Even with continued deten-

tions and killings, it is an instrument they can no longer use as a threat over the people.

R.: It used to be that "hippo"—an armored car that is called a hippo and is just as huge; it probably looks more like a German tank—was the state symbol of fear. But as was mentioned earlier, people reached a point where they no longer feared that. In terms of the force they use, I just wanted to bring out how many people don't have a concept of what the state does. In the '60s, after the leadership had been arrested, every time there was a court case you knew that at the end of it some people were going to be killed. In 1976 most people who had been shot would be picked up in open trucks. In the trucks there would be people who were alive thrown in with dead people and people whose bodies had been mutilated. The trucks would take the people, dead and alive, to the police stations and dump them. If you were alive and did not scream and yell there was no way you would be picked up, and I am actually sure that there were people who were buried alive.

Growing Up Angry

Q: What is "daily life" in South Africa?

H.: ...Daily life means seeing your parents helpless when their children are being chased by the police in and out. It means seeing your door kicked in at early hours of the morning, seeing your kids picked up and beaten in front of you, seeing your parents being abused and called names—your mother being called bitch and your father called this and that and assaulted. That is daily life? Daily life means seeing all these Western capitalist countries using all this rhetoric about freedom and free enterprise and all this nonsense when they are conniving in our oppression under the name of fighting oppression and communism....

R.: ...Growing up in that society is knowing that maybe your mother won't come home because when she came home there was a police van at the station and people were being asked to show their passbook. Growing up in that society means that if your mother is picked up at the bus station or the train station

you have no way of finding out what happened to her until three days or a week when you will either hear a neighbor say that your mother has been picked up or hear from someone just released from jail that they actually saw your mother in prison....This is growing up in that system—your parents are never sure that when you leave in the morning you will be back at night. When you're growing up if you crave to go to the zoo, you cannot. Today they want the world to believe that barriers have fallen down, now blacks can go to the zoo. But there is still the Group Areas Act and if you are black you can't be in Johannesburg after hours and if you are you have to have that pass again. But even having the pass is not enough because the police have to open the pass to find out if you are allowed to be in that area of Johannesburg according to section 10-1A. Section 10-1A says that you are in Johannesburg because your parents sell their labour in Johannesburg, you were born in Johannesburg, or you are in Johannesburg because you yourself are selling your labor. Otherwise you cannot be in Johannesburg. It is not enough to just have a pass, if that pass does not have that stamp you will find your way into a van that will take you someplace else. So the Group Areas Act covers you while you are in white areas. Growing up in that system is knowing that you are not free, that you are not settled in your own country. There is no piece of land that you can call your own. There is nowhere you can feel that you belong except where they decide you belong—on the reservation. Growing up in Azania means knowing that if you are white that somehow you are superior, you are intelligent, you have the right to everything in life—in fact, you can make decisions for blacks because they cannot make their own decisions. Growing up in Azania, especially during the times where you have reached a height of consciousness and know that something is wrong, means that you are angry all the time. You cannot contain your anger because everyday you are reminded that someone else is running your life, that someone else is sending you off to the mines

to dig for gold and diamonds and there is no return for you or your family and your people. So you are this volcano that is ready to erupt.

Townships and Cities

Q: Much of the upheaval in South Africa today has been centred in the urban townships. Can you describe what these townships look like?

J.: Under the Group Areas Act each city in South Africa is supposed to be divided up into an area for whites, an area for Africans, an area for Coloureds and an area for Indians....Most of the physical division of the people was developed in the 1940s and '50s. This is when you had the physical separation of people who until then had often been living together. This process of separation is also what is going on with the relocations. I know that in the '60s in the place where my grandmother lived there were mixtures of people, Africans and Coloureds, and they were broken up and moved. This is the general picture. Physically even the houses in the different townships are different. Just by looking at them you see the steps of legal status of the people. If you go to the white areas you have some of the most beautiful mansions. They do have houses for poor whites and they have the same kind of uniformity that you see in our townships, but they are much bigger than anything you will find in the townships. In the Indian and Coloured areas you will find smaller houses but they still have greater facilities than the African townships, things like water systems and electricity....

R.: I want to add something about how the cities are set up. The structure of the cities is such that the rich whites live the farthest away from everybody else. These are the suburbs and then there are the downtown areas and the shopping areas. Poor whites live around these areas. Then you have a distance of about eight miles from the downtown and this is where the Indians live. About five to eight miles away from the city is where the Coloureds live—also separate from the Indians. Furthest away are the Africans. African townships, which are not cities because only whites can

live in cities, are 15 to 20 miles away from the cities and those rich areas. Another feature in the townships that we need to mention are those houses where the elite live. What happens is that when outsiders, especially Americans, when they go to Azania they always go to this part of the township. To paint a picture of how the township actually is, we need to say that before you get into what we call the boondocks, or the centre of the township, you will find those elite. Most of them have been in professions like teaching, nursing. These are the ones who have been able to take the four room matchbox and add on rooms to it. So these households look much nicer. In Johannesburg, every Wednesday there are bus tours where foreigners are taken on tours of Soweto and are shown these houses. The strange thing about these houses is that they are built along main roadways. So when you are a foreigner or a tourist, you tend to see those since you stick to the main roads....

Another feature is that in every township, when you enter the township there is a police station, a beer hall and a gas station. None of these are ever owned by us. The whites own them and they find Africans to manage them. So when you walk in there you get the impression that these beer halls and gas stations are owned by the blacks. Away from the beer halls and the gas stations are what are called hostels. This is where they house migrant workers. They are migrant in the sense that they have just come into the townships. Those of us who have lived in the township came into the township as migrant workers but the tendency is that you live in the township, you have kids there, and then because you have lived in the township for X number of years you are qualified to stay in there. This makes you different from the current surge of people who are moving in. It feels like you are settled but you are not, because the passbook—which Africans carry, no one else but Africans carry a passbook—states that you are born of migrant parents who came to the township to sell their labour and have been there for ten years, and since you have been there you have

sold your labour to some white employer. So your status seems sort of permanent but it never is. Now there is supposed to be discussion in the Botha regime about making people who live in the township more permanent and making laws that say you can lease a house for 99 years and stupid things like that. But none of this changes the basic physical separation.

Beer Halls, Gas Stations and Police Stations

J.: ...I wanted to talk about one other aspect of the townships aside from the police station, that is, the beer halls. First of all, these are used to generate revenue for the townships. It is like the ghettos in the U.S. where there are so many liquor stores. The conditions of the masses are exploited even more. It is just the same in the townships in South Africa. One other feature you'll find in the townships is that around every corner there is a church. So you have the police station, the church and the beer halls. In riot situations people burn up these places and the first structure that the government will rebuild is the beer hall. They will even put up a temporary structure before the beer hall is rebuilt. They have even hijacked this certain brew—a home brew that is popular in the townships—they have hijacked it and made it even more dangerous to drink. It might take them years to rebuild us another post office or to rebuild us any other valuable structure, but they always start with the beer hall. It keeps people away from rationality and promotes things like alcoholism and so forth. These beer halls are used and owned by the municipalities. I think that they have now been given over to these town councillors. They use it to generate revenue....

R.: ...Another thing that I really want to pick up on is the hostels, those structures that house migrant labourers. Before, hostels used to just house male labourers. But now recently you find hostels, especially in an area called Diepkloof in Soweto, where you find female labourers who live in these hostels. The conditions there are so bad, they are worse than prison. You find that maybe 4 to 8 women are housed in

a room, an 8 by 15 room where they will have stacks and stacks of beds. This is what they sleep in at night, and then they will have lockers in a separate room. The locker is where you put your clothes, your toiletry and everything else that is personal. The living condition itself is so inhuman—it is hard to make a relationship as it is with strangers—but the situation in which they live makes life even harder. First of all, they actually never live in there except over weekends when the boss is “nice” enough to have given the women a day off. They wake up in the morning and go to work and, like it was said before, housing in the township is more a place where you put your head after a long day’s work. Another thing I want to highlight is that the hostels, even though they are in the townships, are structured in such a way that they are farthest away from the township itself physically. Secondly, the system makes it such that the people in the townships feel that those people who live in the hostels do not belong in the township...

Q: People from Azania always refer to “township life.” You all grew up in various townships—what was it like being a youth there?

P: You found things to do. Most of my friends were from my area, I didn’t know many people from other parts of the township. Most of my friends were workers, I was the only student in my group of friends. The biggest thing in Soweto was soccer, people looked forward to Saturday and Sunday to watch soccer matches. Another thing about South African youth is that there is a great curiosity about other places. You would spend time reading about other places and talking about other places. It is important to say again that alcohol becomes a major outlet for entertainment in the South African township. There is very little else to do for entertainment. Violence is another part of township life. In part it comes from alcohol. But mainly it comes from the oppression itself, having so many people in a clamped-down area. South African youth become very politicised. You belong to groups like a dance club, a karate club or a civic group and they are all actually

political groups, or they are often political groups.

Getting Socialised

J.: You get socialised to your situation as a black person very early. You are black and because of that you live in this township. There are certain things you are told from a very young age—you cannot sit there, that’s a white man’s place and you can’t go in there, that’s a white man’s place—you are told these things by your own mother even before the white man tells you. So from a very young age you become aware of the political situation. I mean to the extent that you don’t even say anything to a white kid that goes by. You are even scared at some stages, a white kid could slap you and the first thing that strikes your mind is that if I slap him back I will be arrested. You will feel that way as a five-year-old...

R.: I just remembered something very strange, well it is strange now but I remember it used to be fun. On Saturdays we would go to town to do the weekly grocery shopping. There was this one store we used to go to—the OK Bazaars—a chain store. We used to get a kick out of going into the supermarket and buying a lot of tin stuff and packing the tin stuff in such a way that the corners of the carrier bags would be all tin. When you walked downtown you would target a white coming in the opposite direction and you position your bag in such a way that you would hit the white person on the ankle and you would go on without looking back.

Q: What kind of relationship exists between the different African, Coloured and Indian townships? Do you find a situation where the various townships participate in the rebellions and support one another?

R.: That kind of stuff goes on, especially now. Remember when I was talking about the physical separation of the people and how the Coloureds were closer to the Africans than the Indians or the whites. So there is, between these two, that freely going in and out of each others’ townships. But again, the structures, you have to see what the structures do. Coloureds have Coloured schools in their Coloured



townships. Africans have African schools in their African townships. So there is really no reason for you to go to the other place. Sporting events bring us together. There is this one stadium, Orlando Stadium, where people would go for soccer matches. The one difficulty I found was between Indians and Africans. The only reason an African goes to the Indian township is to go to the movies, or to go to the stores because most Indians are merchants. They have it somewhat better, they

(Continued to page 86)

PCP Salutes the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

To the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Comrades,

Our fervent and militant greetings to you, and through you to all the members of the Movement, on this occasion of the first anniversary of the founding of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the celebration, today, of the day of the international proletariat, both truly festivals of combat for the communists, the class, the revolutionaries and oppressed of the world.

The world situation increasingly reveals the existence of an unevenly developing revolutionary situation. The oppressed and exploited cry out for a radical and real transformation; in short, as Lenin taught us, those on the bottom refuse to go on living in the old way and those on the top can no longer rule in the old way. Thus the main trend is revolution, because only revolution can resolve the basic problems the world faces today. It is with this perspective and its contradictions that we evaluate the class struggle internationally: profound and persistent imperialist crisis aggravating still more the hunger, ignorance, misery, oppression and massacres suffered by the masses of people, especially in the oppressed nations; intensified collusion and struggle between the imperialists, who, to maintain their rule and especially to settle the dispute for world hegemony between Yankee imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, in collusion with native reactionary cliques, unleash wars which are unjust, against the masses of people, anti-national and counterrevolutionary; sinister war preparations with plans and strategic and conventional weapons to carry out a third world

war which threatens humanity with a new, even more murderous disaster, while the backward areas of the globe are turned into an arena of war full of unending daily slaughter; and along with all this a reactionary, decadent bourgeois ideological offensive unleashed hand in hand with a growing, systematic persecution, distortion and negation of Marxism, whose most sinister expression is revisionism which takes aim directly at the ideology of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. But amidst the destructive collapse of imperialism, a collapse involving a long historical process, the exploited masses are arising, the working class with its great historical mission, the oppressed nations in a powerful liberation movement, the revolutionaries, the communist parties faithful to the class and to Marxism, parties which amidst the storm continue marching resolutely towards the great goal of communism.

This is the panorama within which the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is rising up, unfurling the three great banners—Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, taking the far-reaching step of uniting the communist fighters, parties and organisations faithful to great Marxism and the proletariat, taking up the task of regrouping the world ranks of the communists, the internationalists, the ranks of those who with their firm adherence to the unfading motto “Workers of all countries, unite” were and are ready to serve the world revolution, to unite those who reject and combat the slimy revisionism of the Gorbachevs, the Dengs, the Hoxhas and their followers, and uphold, defend and apply Marxism, especially its third stage, Mao Tsetung, today’s touchstone in the struggle between

Marxism and revisionism, to unite those whose reason for existence is that communism may shine around the globe, who are for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for revolutionary violence, to unite those who are for the organised international unity of the communists to fight as a class which has one single general and universal interest.

This is the great task which the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is taking up and carrying out and to which our Party adheres, certain of the importance and necessity of this task and ready, today as before, to fulfill the obligations demanded by proletarian internationalism. Today the PCP is finishing off five years of people’s war. Through the course of these five years it has carried out around 25,000 armed actions, in whose forge it has formed a People’s Guerrilla Army which is the backbone of the base areas of the New State Power, of the New Democracy which is making its way amongst our people. The difficulty of this struggle is concisely expressed by its cost of 10,000 fallen in combat or “disappeared.” Nevertheless, despite the intensification of this genocide being carried out by the reactionary armed forces, during the last year our work has expanded into new zones, as well as persisting in the zones where we began, so that we are carrying out the orientation of “stoke the bonfire, spread the flames, develop the struggle of the masses principally as an armed struggle, and let the repression spur us onward.” In this way the people’s war in our country continues to blaze defiantly, expanding, spreading its roots and preparing for newer and higher tasks, guided always by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, battling for the emancipa-

tion of our people for the purpose of and at the service of the world revolution. Thus we are contributing and will contribute to the tasks of the RIM, more and more willing and able to aid in every possible way our glorious common cause: the emancipation of the proletariat and communism prevailing throughout the earth.

Comrades, the Communist Party of Peru is part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and feels honoured to be so, honoured to serve in such a far-reaching and historic vanguard battle, as well as to have the comrades in arms found in our Movement's ranks; and furthermore, the Party feels fortified and augmented by the repeated expressions of support, of proletarian internationalism, which it receives from the very outstanding fraternal communist parties and organisations, and very especially from the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to which we extend our revolutionary gratitude for its constant encouragement and support. All this, comrades, increases our proletarian internationalist responsibility and our unshakeable commitment to the world revolution and its concrete form today, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Today as around the world we celebrate May 1st, the day of the international proletariat, we feel our forces strengthened by the powerful workers and peoples movement which once again is beginning to shake the globe with the thundering class struggle which the communists, under the leadership of the Movement, are fighting to lead forward with the unfading banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao. This reaffirms our commitment and our road as part of the irrepressible march of humanity through revolution towards communism.

Long Live May 1st!

Develop the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

**Central Committee,
Communist Party of Peru
May, 1985** □

Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* was adopted in March 1984 by the delegates and observers at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The following are the participating parties and organisations of the RIM:

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

NOTE

The Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has made the following announcements:

1) A new organisation has arisen as a result of a merger between the Organising Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India and the Leading Committee, Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India. The new organisation is called Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India. It is a participating party of the RIM.

2) The Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist), known in Bengali as the Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal (M-L) or the BSD(M-L), has been accepted as a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Available in the following languages (partial list): Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannada, Malayalam, Nepali, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish. 1£ plus 50 p handling. For more information write the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement at the following address:

BCM RIM
London, WC1N 3XX
U.K.

Never Forget the Lessons of Vietnam

A WORLD TO WIN 1985/3

This April marked the tenth anniversary of a great event in human history—the utter defeat of U.S. imperialism at the hands of the peoples of Indochina. Much has been written about this momentous anniversary, especially in the press of the United States for whom the Vietnam war, and especially its outcome, remain a giant nightmare.

Few who were politically conscious at the time can forget the last exhilarating moments of that conflict when the U.S. ambassador mounted the helicopter, clutching the bloody American flag that had flown over the embassy, while thousands of reactionaries—collaborators with the U.S. army of aggression, torturers, drug dealers and brothel owners—scurried in panic as the revolutionary army closed in on all sides. Nothing can ever erase the victory that was won by the masses of people on the battlefields of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, against the most heavily armed military force ever to swagger on the planet earth.

A few facts are worth recalling. At the height of the war *500,000 U.S. soldiers* were arrayed against the people of Vietnam. Over *one million* people were killed in Vietnam alone. More bombs were dropped by the U.S. on North Vietnam than had been used by *both sides during all of World War 2*. The napalm, the concentration camps, the whole villages massacred. Yet despite all this U.S. imperialism was decisively defeated.

All over the world attention was focused on the people's war. Revolutionaries everywhere, including the revolutionary communist forces of the time, came to the defense of the Vietnamese people's just struggle. The flames of Vietnam proved contagious as revolutionary struggle sparked off in first one, then another corner of the world.

The fact that Vietnam incarnated the hopes of revolutionaries made the disappointment all the more bitter. Even before the victory was complete the fruits of victory were

rotting and eventually they were stolen from the people. The Soviet Union was to replace the U.S. as the real master of Indochina—complete with its own neo-colonial war, this time waged by the Vietnamese army against the people of Cambodia.

The problem was that the leadership of that struggle, the Vietnam Workers Party, was not led by a strong Marxist-Leninist line. When Mao Tsetung led the great ideological struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, a polemic that began drawing in all the world's revolutionaries with the publication in 1963 of the famous polemics of the Communist Party of China against Khrushchevite revisionism, the Vietnamese Party sought out an illusory, centrist path. It called the great struggle "divisive," and for the sake of an unprincipled "unity" between Marxists and revisionists called upon the Marxist-Leninists to abandon the struggle against modern revisionism. Pragmatism and nationalism were substituted for pro-



U.S. and lackeys flock to leave Vietnam at end of war.

letarian internationalism. Later, the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution then raging in China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung were never really understood and upheld by the VWP. Having refused to draw a clear line between Marxism and revisionism, the Vietnamese party also refused to recognise that, as Mao said, “the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.” Imperialist predators were prettified as “socialists.” This line had extremely bad consequences not only for the struggle in Indochina but in the international communist movement as a whole.

The results of this is that once military victory over the U.S. imperialists was achieved the leadership of the VWP was neither able nor inclined to mobilise the masses of people to begin to build a new Vietnam based on self-reliance, let alone begin the long march toward a genuine communist world free of class division.

Thus Vietnam, besides being an outstanding example and proof of the ability to wage revolutionary war against imperialism, is also a tragic example of the kind referred to in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, which says “the revolutionary masses in these countries have waged heroic struggles, including wars of national liberation, which have not led to the establishment of political power by the proletariat and its allies but where the fruits of the victories have been picked by new exploiters usually in league with one or another imperialist power(s).”

Today the world situation is even more complex than it was at the beginning of the Vietnam War. As the *Declaration* puts it: “The current intensification of world contradictions while bringing forth further possibilities for these movements (in the oppressed countries) also places new obstacles and new tasks before them.” If the refusal to recognise the character of the Soviet Union had

the tragic consequences in Vietnam with which we are all familiar, with regard to those forces in today’s world who have rediscovered socialism in the USSR or who believe that Soviet aid is justified—even necessary—in the face of a U.S. imperialist “main enemy,” one can only repeat the words of Karl Marx: first time tragedy, second time farce.

Today the situation really is more and more favourable for the launching of revolutionary warfare in many countries in the world.

The twin lessons—the possibility of waging revolutionary warfare against imperialism and the necessity that the revolution be led by a genuine party upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought—are extremely important in the light of the conditions today in the world, ten years after the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. □

Message to TKP/ML

MESSAGE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY/MARXIST-LENINIST ON THE OCCASION OF THE 12TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ITS FOUNDER, IBRAHIM KAYPAKKAYA

Dear Comrades,

Twelve years ago Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya was the victim of a cowardly assassination while in the custody of the reactionary Turkish regime. At the time of his death Comrade Kaypakkaya was only 24 years old, yet he had already made great contributions to the development of the revolutionary movement in Turkey. His death was a serious loss to the proletariat in Turkey and to the international communist movement which was deprived of a leader and teacher who was making important contributions in practice as well as theory to the proletarian revolution.

The strength of the proletarian line of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya is illustrated by the fact that today,

twelve years after his death, thousands of revolutionary communists from Turkey, certainly, but from many other countries as well, continue to revere his memory and learn from his teachings.

The question of upholding Ibrahim Kaypakkaya's contribution to the revolution in Turkey is of no mere historical or academic interest—it is very much connected to life and death questions for the advance of the proletarian revolution.

Ibrahim Kaypakkaya's brief but extremely rich life was integrally connected to the world-wide struggle taking place in the 1960s between revolutionary Marxism and counter-revolutionary revisionism on a world scale. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and inspired to a large degree by the Cultural Revolution that Comrade Mao Tsetung had initiated, revolutionaries throughout the world launched a fierce struggle against revisionism on the ideological, political and organisational fronts. In most cases this meant a rupture with the

old revisionist parties, which had long abandoned even the pretense of revolution, and the creation of new revolutionary parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

In Turkey, it was Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya who led this process in all its aspects. He developed a lucid and devastating critique of revisionism on a whole series of fronts and, furthermore, took the lead in putting this political line into practice—specifically by initiating the first serious attempt to launch a genuine People's War in the history of Turkey. Ibrahim Kaypakkaya was the most thorough and ardent defender in Turkey of the line of Comrade Mao Tsetung and was quick to grasp the world-historic importance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the development of the science of Marxism-Leninism carried out by Mao Tsetung.

For all these reasons Ibrahim Kaypakkaya has always been, in death as well as life, the target of all sorts of enemies of the revolution.

Those who oppose the development of the revolution have found it necessary to attack the line of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, either directly or shamefacedly. On the other hand, the further advance of the revolution in Turkey has been shown to be directly linked to the defense of the line of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. Some who, because of the high prestige of Comrade Kaypakkaya, hypocritically claim to defend his legacy while criticising "shortcomings," such as the self-proclaimed "Bolsheviks" and other renegades, have actually launched an all-out assault on the line of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya.

The current sorry state of affairs of these "Bolsheviks" is a clear warning to all of where this line leads.

It is certainly true that the first experiences of the rupture with revisionism and the launching of the people's armed struggle for power could only have been and were accompanied by weaknesses and shortcomings. But such is true of all new and correct things. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* puts it:

"In the 1960s and early 1970s Marxist-Leninist forces in a great many countries, under the influence of the Cultural Revolution in China and as part of the general worldwide revolutionary upsurge, joined with sections of masses in waging armed revolutionary warfare. In a number of countries the Marxist-Leninist forces were able to rally considerable sections of the population to the revolutionary banner and maintain the Marxist-Leninist party and armed forces of the masses despite the savage counter-revolutionary repression. It was inevitable that these early attempts at building new, Marxist-Leninist parties and the launching of armed struggle would be marked by a certain primitiveness and that ideological and political weaknesses would manifest themselves, and it is, of course, not surprising that the imperialists and revisionists would seize upon these errors and weaknesses to condemn the revolutionaries as 'ultra-leftists' or worse. Nevertheless these experiences must, in general, be upheld as an important part of the legacy of the

Marxist-Leninist movement which helped lay the basis for further advances." Such an attitude and approach is the only correct one to summing up the great contributions of Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya.

Comrades, today the revolutionary movement of all countries is confronted with a world situation fraught with both great danger and great opportunities. The danger of world war is menacing but the development of the revolutionary struggle is also on the rise again. This puts a great burden on the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces to rise to meet the challenges and opportunities of the current period and fulfill their responsibilities.

In Turkey the fascist regime continues a reign of terror over the masses of people and the revolutionary forces. The followers of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, continues to be hunted and pursued and large numbers of comrades have been martyred or imprisoned. Nevertheless the fascist rule is far from solid. Indeed, their terror is a response to their isolation from the masses. The situation in the region, despite the existence of reactionary regimes everywhere, is increasingly favourable for the people's struggle for liberation. The reactionary regime can and will be defeated! Continuing forward along the path charted by Ibrahim Kaypakkaya is essential to bringing about this long-awaited victory.

Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya did not live to see the great advance and great victory for the world proletariat that is represented by the creation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, together with other Maoist forces, are the inheritors of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung, and the formation of this Movement is a precious fruit of the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people throughout the world. The experience of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of Turkey, of the struggle of Ibrahim and of his successors, is reflected, along with the struggle in different corners of the world, in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist*

Movement to which the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist is a signatory.

Today, in a way unknown for a long time, the revolutionary proletariat is able to develop its ideological, political and organisational unity. Of course, as the *Declaration* points out, the crisis of the international communist movement is not yet resolved. Nevertheless the corner has been turned and the process of further disintegration and collapse has been replaced with one of higher unity and the growth of the revolutionary forces.

This is particularly evidenced by the rapid and inspiring development of the armed revolutionary struggle in Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru, which proudly proclaims its participation in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Supporting and learning from this important revolutionary struggle is an important task for the revolutionary communists of all countries.

Comrades, the most important way of honouring the memory of Comrade Kaypakkaya is by persevering and advancing along the revolutionary road. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the basic compass which charts the road ahead. It is this basic orientation that is embodied by the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*. By persevering on this path, strengthening the unity of the proletariat on a world scale as well as its contingents in each country, by striving to correctly assimilate the lessons of the past, we can march ahead victoriously!

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF IBRAHIM KAYPAKKAYA!

LONG LIVE THE CRIMSON PATH OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, STALIN AND MAO!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement □

TKP/ML Seizes the Air Waves

8 P.M. News

'BREAK

A WORLD TO WIN 1985/3

On May 17, 1985 as many as one million television viewers in Istanbul heard a highly unusual message coming over the very air waves of the fascist regime. As the evening news was being shown the soundtrack was replaced by the following message. — AWTW

Attention ! Attention !
The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist is calling on you....

This is the Voice of Partizan....
Attention ! Attention !
This is the Voice of Partizan....
TKP/ML is calling on you....

Workers, whom they want to silence through suppression, savagery and brutality; poor peasants, whom they want to frighten through fascist operations with commando bayonets and landlords' whips,

Patriotic intellectuals,
Youth,
Revolutionary friends,
Comrades!

Once again we are commemorating May 18th...May 18th 1985 is the twelfth anniversary of the death of the communist leader of the

working class and oppressed people of Turkey, the founder of our party, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, in the torture chambers of fascism. Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya dedicated his whole life and energy to the liberation of the proletariat and oppressed people, to the struggle for people's democratic revolution, socialism and the lofty cause of communism. He displayed the utmost sacrifice in this direction, and while he was right in the middle of this honourable struggle, wounded he fell captive to the enemy on January 29th, 1973 in Dersim. Comrade Kaypakkaya carried on his dedication to communism and the cause of the people in the torture chambers of the fascist dictatorship. He did not give in, and beat fascism right where it is supposed to be strongest.

He is the burning heart under torture, the unbowing head in the dungeons.

He is the red spirit of rebellion in the gallows, the bloody traps, the massacres.

He is the daring that stands up against the unbridled attacks of imperialism, feudalism and exploitation.

He is the communist con-

sciousness that illuminates our path in the dark.

He is our unsilenceable voice. It is with his voice that we loudly shout: "Hard but lofty days of struggle are lying before us. Let us leap into this sea of class struggle with our whole existence!"

"In this struggle, let us have infinite confidence in our working class, our self-sacrificing and suffering peasantry, our heroic youth!"

LONG LIVE THE BRIGHT ROAD OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, STALIN AND MAO TSETUNG!

LONG LIVE THE LABOURING PEOPLE OF TURKEY OF ALL NATIONALITIES!"

Labourers:

The democracy game staged by the September 12 [1980—AWTW] fascist junta, through such hypocritical measures as the constitution, the general and local elections, is a total farce. These are the masks put on the bloody faces of the pro-American gang of generals. Only the outfits have changed.

The speeches like "we've passed

to democracy” as soon as the government of the pro-American enemy of the people, Ozal, came to power—what can they disguise? Everything is out in the open. The wheel of exploitation is turning all the more brutally with the daily price hikes. The loyalty of the fascist comprador-boss-landlord state to imperialism and its International Monetary Fund are an increasingly heavy burden on the backs of the labourers. Torture machines are working continuously. The fascist offense is continuing at full speed through military operations. The national oppression of the Kurdish nation and the minorities is becoming increasingly unbridled; the Kurdish poor peasants in Dersim are being sent into exile. They want no voice raised against oppression and exploitation. Wherever revolution stirs, they attack with tens of thousands of army troops to destroy it. But their strength does not and will not suffice to accomplish that. Workers, peasants, youth, patriotic intellectuals don’t accept slavery. The freedom fighters in the dungeons do not drop the revolutionary flag of rebellion in the face of the utmost brutality. They refuse the laws of repentance, all kinds of traps and hypocrisy; they refuse surrender and demoralisation. Except for a handful of traitors they are using for their bloody aims, they are and will remain unsuccessful....

Labourers,

TKP/ML, which has not dropped the flag of rebellion against oppression and exploitation, is calling on you.

The only way to overthrow the fascist dictatorship is to liquidate imperialism and feudalism through people’s war, to establish people’s democratic dictatorship and without stopping, to move on to communism. The only thing that the ruling class parties, like the Democratic Left Party, SODEP, The True Road Party and “TKP”—a lackey of Russian social-imperialism—want is a fascist dictatorship under parliamentary disguise in which they will have a few rights.

None of these parties are opposed to the essence of the present order. The fight among them is a fight among self-interests. Stand up

against the trends that tail behind and beg democracy from DSP and SODEP which pose as democratic alternatives to the government, that try to make the masses abandon the revolutionary alternative. Here is the call of TKP/ML: Neither the junta, nor the fascist dictatorship with a parliamentary mask—the only way is the People’s Democratic Revolution.

Labourers of Turkey of all nationalities!

We have a common enemy. Gather under the battle-tested red flag of the working class against the common enemy. Stand up against the national oppression practiced against the oppressed Kurdish nation and other minorities. Defend the unconditional right of the Kurdish nation to establish a separate state.

The imperialists are preparing to hurl the world into the flames of a new war of division to serve their interests. The Turkish state, lackey of imperialism, is making plans to waste the lives of our people in the interests of NATO led by the USA. Just like they did in Korea in the past, they will drag you to death for the interests of the imperialists. Stand up against the murderous moves of the two imperialist blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Raise the struggle for revolution, in the ranks of the TKP/ML, against imperialist war.

Strengthen the ranks of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, of which our party is a part.

Revolutionary Friends, Comrades,

The experience of the September 12 coup has once again confirmed the correctness of our Party programme. Practice has shown that without protracted armed people’s war, which incorporates surrounding the cities from the countryside and seizing political power piece by piece, it is not possible to achieve liberation. Practice has also shown that without following the shining path of Mao Tsetung, emancipation is only an illusion. This is being proved by the People’s War carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, and it will be proved time and again. And practice

has also shown that those who dream of an easy revolution through parliamentary, peaceful means will be greatly disappointed. We have harder days ahead of us. We should be prepared for them and accept the terms of the fight. Those who are waiting for comfortable times to get into the struggle are only dreaming. Legal, hollow, clumsy organising will lead to nowhere. For revolution, it is necessary to take up the fundamental weapons of: the militant, fighting and iron-disciplined party armed with Marxism-Leninism and organised on an illegal basis; the people’s army under the party’s leadership, which will grow and develop—from small to large and from simple to complex—in the course of armed struggle; and the revolutionary united front of the people which rises up based on the worker-peasant alliance and represents the unity of all revolutionary classes and strata. In our country, no revolutionary force which does not follow the road of armed struggle has a chance for success. Today, opportunism, for whom fascism only consists of Evren’s junta, is trying once again to pin the opposition of the people to the tail of the bourgeoisie. Our people saw and got to know the parties disguised as democratic, populist and leftist in the period before September 12.

The only genuine alternative to the system is people’s democratic power under the leadership of the TKP/ML. The claims of the fascist generals, that we’re destroyed and done away with, are totally empty. They cannot destroy us unless they destroy the people of which we are a part.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!

LONG LIVE OUR PARTY, TKP/ML!

LONG LIVE OUR ARMY, TIKKO!

STRENGTHEN, JOIN AND SUPPORT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY/MARXIST-LENINIST AND TIKKO UNDER ITS LEADERSHIP!

LONG LIVE PEOPLE’S WAR! □

Excerpts:

Ibrahim Kaypakkaya On Armed Struggle

The following text is excerpted from a lengthy polemic written by Ibrahim Kaypakkaya entitled *The Roots and Development of Our Differences with Shafak Revisionism: General Criticism of the TIİKP*. In April 1972 Comrade Kaypakkaya led the genuine Marxist-Leninists in splitting with the TIİKP (Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey) and in forming the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist. In June 1972 the polemic, *The Roots of our Differences...* was completed.

An official report of the Turkish National Intelligence Organisation (MIT) in 1973 made the following remarks which serve as an excellent introduction: "Within the communist movement in Turkey the ideas of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya are the most dangerous. The views he presents in his writings and the methods of struggle he advocates are, we can say without hesitation, the application of revolutionary communism to Turkey."

Ibrahim Kaypakkaya was martyred on May 18, 1973 in Diyarbakir prison.

These excerpts are translated from the collection of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya published by Ocak Yayinlari, Istanbul, 1979.



The Organisational Policy of the Shafak Revisionists is to Organise the Workers and Peasants into Study Groups.

The legal study sessions which, in the past, were conducted around the journal, have been started this time in a semi-legal fashion among the workers and peasants. By having the workers and peasants organised in study groups, they attempt to train intellectuals severed from class struggle. Besides the fact that study groups cannot be organs of armed struggle, they don't possess the capacity to survive the suppression that would increase with the launching of the armed struggle. Consequently the fear that these groups will dissolve has continuously hindered the armed struggle....Criticising this backward policy on getting organised, the Marxist-Leninists advocated the following: The link that should be grasped in organising forces is to organise guerrilla units under the leadership of the party. All other groups and cells should be taken up within the context of the guerrilla activity and in a manner that can support and further develop it. And everyone should be organised in accordance with the needs of the movement and his/her own skills and always around specific tasks. Organisation where everyone does every task and which is not based on a division of labour is contradictory to Leninist principles of organisation. Such organisations are good for nothing but raising an awful din. Hence, study groups, besides their lethargic and pacifist character, have this particularity as well: "On the other hand, they will also perform practical tasks when our revolutionary struggle makes it necessary."

Confronted with these criticisms, the Shafak revisionists manoeuvred to write: "Names such as 'reading groups' and 'study groups' must be abandoned. Because such appellations could prompt backward thinking"! And the name "study group" was replaced by the name of "peasant committee." These bourgeois gentlemen think that by changing the name of a thing one can change its nature—instead of changing the essence, change the form. This has been the policy followed by the Shafak revisionists since the very beginning.

As for certain members of this revisionist clique, they make the following statement, with the mechanical thinking typical of the bourgeoisie:

"First, study groups should be established; those who take part in these groups must grasp Marxism-Leninism in general outline, gain experience against the police, be tested in these groups and only after all this, those considered as worthy must be organised in guerrilla groups."

Breath-taking indeed! Whichever way you look at it...an absurd theory. Were one to comply with this theory, it would be necessary to restrain all those peasants who are full of hatred for the class enemy from head to toe and who want to join the armed struggle under the leadership and discipline of the party, by saying, "No, first learn Marxism-Leninism and gain experience against the police." If hundreds of thousands of peasants, who don't know how to read and write and are benumbed by feudalism, want to take up arms against the landlords and the central authority, it will be necessary to disarm them, to slap them in the face a few times for their audacity(!) and then to grab their collar and drag them to study groups. The reactionary nature of the above theory is quite clear. Moreover, by way of peaceful study group work, very few peasants will have been trained even after years. And since some of them will be dropping out, only a very few will remain to join the guerrilla groups. What is this, if not rendering the armed struggle impossible? If this is not standing in the way of peasants who want to take up arms, soothing their anger, blunting their hatred and pacifying them, what is it then?

Besides, it cannot be said that a person who is successful and appears good in the study group would definitely be useful in the armed struggle. That is, testing through study groups is not a correct testing method. Furthermore, in study groups, in general, literate, well-to-do peasants, educated elements, teachers, etc., come forward; poor peasants tend to be unsuccessful.

Because we reject this rightist, bureaucratic, sluggish and pacifist organisational policy, they claim that we say, "there is no need for revolutionary mass work." Thus we come to learn that what they understand by *revolutionary mass work* is to engage in intellectual gabble, divorced from class struggle, with the well-to-do peasants and those with education. Yes, for such revolutionary mass work(!), we say, there is no need....

Are "peasant committees" party committees, organs of armed struggle, reading groups, newspaper distribution groups? It is not clear. As can be seen, the revisionists with a snap of the finger solve all of the problems of organisation among the peasants by means of "peasant committees"!

It goes to show that the Shafak revisionists are complete ignoramuses when it comes to how to organise the peasants. They show complete incompetence about this most important problem of our revolution and are in a pitiful state.

The policy of the Marxist-Leninists on getting organised among the peasants is clear: Organise a party committee in every village. Again in every village, organise armed contingents, namely peasant militia, from the ranks of revolutionary poor peasants, connected to the party or not, who continue to engage in production. Organise from the ranks of those connected to the party or otherwise special task units and cells tied to the village party committee. In addition, organise professional guerrilla units connected to the regional party committee independent of the village structure. The purpose of all this organisational work is to build the party and the people's armed forces among agricultural workers and poor peasants. This party building will not take place peacefully but in the course of armed struggle. And the key link for the party organisation to grasp in organising the peasants is to organise guerrilla units and village militia. Organs of peasant power are a completely different matter and not a question of the day.

In order to launch the armed struggle, the Shafak revisionists make it a prerequisite to be organised on a countrywide scale and to be in a position to command all the masses.

We have previously pointed out that gentleman B. Y., one of the gang leaders of the revisionist clique, had already perverted the meaning of a "strong party," one of the preconditions put forward by Comrade Mao Tsetung for the survival of red base areas, into "a party organised on a country-wide scale." Since the bourgeois leadership considered the conditions required for the existence of red power to be one and the same as the conditions required for the launching of the armed struggle, it erected the above-mentioned perversion as a barrier in the face of the desire to launch the armed struggle....

The latest document of this rightist, pacifist thinking, which postpones the launching of the armed struggle for years, is the piece entitled, "On the Question of Establishing Red Political Power."

In order to justify this rightist and pacifist approach, it is packed with a load of nonsensical and distorted formulations and contradictions. It is said that:

“The development of the revolutionary movement on a country-wide scale”.... “Comrade Mao Tsetung points out that the ability of the red political power to survive depends on the country-wide development of the revolutionary movement, too....

“What we particularly stress here is the question of the development of the revolution on a country-wide basis. Certain friends had the illusion that by dispersing the communist movement and through carrying out the work in a few villages, as if disappearing into rat holes, the revolution could be achieved. However, it is imperative that a political movement exists that can make itself heard throughout the country. This can only be the political party of the proletariat.... To negate the party is to negate the necessity of uniting the struggle on a country-wide scale and of directing it towards a single target. They imagine that the people will spontaneously follow the armed struggle initiated by a few isolated intellectuals.... The existence of the revolutionary movement on a country-wide scale does not mean that it takes up work in every part of the country, or that it devotes equal attention to every region. But it means that as a political party it demonstrates its existence to and makes itself felt by the people of the whole country and that it sets out to establish revolutionary state power on a country-wide scale. For instance, a peasant movement which is not supported by the struggle in the cities is doomed to be suppressed. Or, for instance, a peasant rebellion in the Eastern region cannot preserve its red political power if it is not supported by the struggles of the Aegean and Chukurova peasants and by the movement of our working class in our main industrial cities, under the leadership of a proletarian party. Because only a revolutionary movement that develops on a country-wide basis can tear apart and weaken the reactionary state power and its main strength, the army....

“As a conclusion it can be said that red political power can be established and maintained, not by a struggle waged on a positional basis but by a struggle unified and conducted on a country-wide scale by a party of the proletariat.”

In this writing:

1 - “The development of the *revolutionary situation* (my emphasis) on a country-wide scale,” which is put forward by Comrade Mao Tsetung as a precondition for the “existence of the red base areas,” has been consciously distorted as “the development of the *revolutionary movement* (my emphasis) on a country-wide scale.

2 - By distorting it one more time, the phrase “*the development of the revolutionary movement on a country-wide scale*” has been turned into “the communist party being organised on a country-wide basis.” As is known, the concept “revolutionary movement” includes the spontaneously developing mass actions and the political movements of other classes among the ranks of the people as well, in addition to those of the proletariat.

3 - On the subject of “being organised on a country-wide basis,” a number of contradictory views are put forward. An absurd position has been invented, that “being organised on a country-wide scale” does not mean to “take up work in every part of the country,” but “to demonstrate its existence to and make itself felt by the people of the whole country” and “*to set out to establish the revolutionary state power on a country-wide scale*” (my emphasis). Besides, in the examples given, the idea of being in fact organised in every part of the country has been expressed by “being organised on a country-wide scale.”

4 - “To be organised on a country-wide scale and to be in a position to command all the masses” has been put forward as a precondition both for launching the armed struggle and for the existence of red base areas. Thus Comrade Mao Tsetung’s teaching on “why is it red political power can continue

to exist” has been once again perverted. All these distortions and absurd and concocted theories riddled with contradictions have one purpose: to try to justify, by relying(!) on Comrade Mao Tsetung, the rightist view that “the armed struggle cannot be launched without being organised on a country-wide scale.” Since Comrade Mao Tsetung says that unless the communist party is organised on a country-wide scale the red base areas cannot exist(!), and since the preconditions for the existence of the red base areas and for launching the armed struggle are identical(!), then it is clear that the armed struggle cannot be launched without the communist party being organised on a country-wide scale(!). This is the logic. What Comrade Mao Tsetung says, however, is totally different: “whether it is possible for the people’s political power in small areas to last depends on whether the nationwide revolutionary situation continues to develop.”

“To negate the party is to negate the necessity of uniting the struggle on a country-wide scale and of directing it towards a single target.” Through this sentence, it is revealed that they consider that country-wide organisation is inherent in the concept of the party. “Uniting the struggle on a country-wide scale” is only possible by having country-wide organisation and thus commanding the masses; if the negation of the party is the negation of this, then the very concept of the party is meant to include having achieved country-wide organisation and thus commanding the masses. This view is at least as absurd as the above-mentioned theory, because this view negates the fact that it is through a relatively long process of struggle that the party will expand to every corner of the country and be in a situation to command the masses....

In the article, it is said that “they imagine that the people will spontaneously follow the armed struggle initiated by a few isolated intellectuals.” What is the issue that our revisionist gentlemen are discussing here? Is it not the launching of the armed struggle? Yes indeed, the people will not spontaneously follow the armed struggle launched by a few isolated intellectuals. Neither is it correct that those who launch the armed struggle be isolated and stand as a few intellectuals. But this is not what really concerns our revisionist gentlemen. They posit the weakest of the contending arguments, caricature it a bit, and thus try to justify their warped theory. And as can be seen from the sentence, this is how they let the question of the “launching of the armed struggle” be the subject of discussion.

In the article, it is said that “a peasant movement which is not supported by the struggle in the cities is doomed to be suppressed.” What is meant by “a peasant movement”? Certainly it is the armed peasant struggle. In that case, *unless it is organised in the cities and in a situation to command the masses*, “a peasant movement,” that is, the armed struggle of the peasantry, “is doomed to be suppressed.” “Doomed to be suppressed,” that is, since it would be stupidity to engage in a movement the outcome of which is evident before its start—then there should not be a “peasant movement” and/or an effort to create such a movement *before we are organised in the cities and in a situation to command the masses*.

The article claims that “for instance, a peasant rebellion in the Eastern region cannot preserve its red political power if it is not supported by the struggles of the Aegean and Chukurov peasants and by the movement of our working class in the main industrial cities under the leadership of a proletarian party.” The meaning of this characteristically ambiguous statement of opportunism is the following:

1 - The revisionists envision “a peasant movement,” i.e., “the armed peasant

struggle,” to be only a wholesale peasant rebellion.

2 - They envision that an armed peasant rebellion will immediately lead to red political power and *preserve* it.

3 - And, therefore, in order to have a peasant rebellion lead to and preserve red political power, they make it a precondition that it be supported by the struggles of the peasants in the other regions and by the workers’ struggle led by their party in the main industrial cities. “Because only a revolutionary movement that develops on a country-wide basis can tear apart and weaken the reactionary state power and its main strength, the army.”

For the emergence of a red base area, the revisionists do not deem it necessary to have protracted guerrilla activity developing from small to large, from weak to strong, and from simple to complex; within this activity to build up the people’s army step by step, to develop the guerrilla units towards regular army units; and to transform guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare. In fact, they don’t even think about this. They require a full-scale peasant rebellion for the emergence of a red base area in that region. And for such a rebellion to lead to and preserve a red base area, *it is necessary to be organised in the other rural regions and in the main industrial cities of the country and to be in a position to be able to command the masses in all these places(!)*; otherwise, a “peasant rebellion” in a single region “cannot preserve its red political power”(!). Therefore, beware—the peasants should not attempt to rebel and we should not try to organise such a rebellion either, etc.

On the other hand, the party is necessary to launch the armed struggle. As for the party itself, it is something that unites “the struggle on a country-wide scale” and directs it “towards a single target.” Therefore, without the existence of a party “unifying the struggle on a country-wide scale and directing it towards a single target,” the armed struggle cannot be launched. This is what the writer is saying in his opportunist style.

The Shafak revisionists negate the fact that the party, in its founding years and for a relatively long period after that, cannot get organised on a country-wide scale and consequently cannot unite the struggle throughout the country, that, in our conditions, it will achieve this only during the process of armed struggle and that, nonetheless, in the period prior to achieving this, it can launch the armed struggle in advanced rural regions....

After advocating the rightist and pacifist thesis both verbally and in writing for a long period, the revisionist leadership started to look for an escape in the face of attacks from the Marxist-Leninists....

In reality, the revisionists have not changed their views. The rag that they published to criticise us is the proof of this. In this rag, they claim that we are in favour of waging a “positional” (they mean to say “regional”) struggle. This is what they say: “Since the ruling classes will mobilise all their forces there and *this can not be broken up by struggles in other places and cities, it will lead to the annihilation of the struggle being waged*” (my emphasis). First of all, we are *not in favour* of a regional struggle—the conditions we face necessitate such a struggle. Because today it is not possible to be organised in every corner of the country and also because it is more harmful than useful to disperse our forces in places where the revolution cannot develop early on, we advocate that, to the extent that our capacity permits, we get organised in those regions where the revolution will develop earlier and engage in the armed struggle. And we explained all this many times. To be organised on a country-wide scale would certainly have a positive effect on the development of the armed struggle. In



Turkish woman weaving rug

turn, the fact that our organisation has not yet expanded on a country-wide basis certainly will have a negative effect on the development of the armed struggle. However, contrary to what our revisionists claim, the launching of the armed struggle prior to achieving country-wide organisation would not inescapably lead to the annihilation of our forces. Provided that a correct policy is adopted, even when our organisation is very limited it can engage in the armed struggle and expand, diversify and strengthen itself and our forces through the process of the armed struggle. A reliable organisation can be created in this manner. Getting organised on the basis of peaceful struggle is a hollow organisation. Even if such an organisation were to embrace the whole country, it would not be able to lead the struggle of the people, to carry out the armed struggle, and in a period of rising white terror, it would collapse like a house of cards....

In order to launch the armed struggle, the Shafak revisionists demand that the prairie be dry.

“Before the advanced section of the basic worker-peasant masses are prepared for the armed struggle and before the idea of the armed struggle gains a certain popularity among the masses, the armed struggle cannot be started, even if directed against correct targets. For the spark to start a prairie fire, the prairie must be dry.”

There is no room for forced interpretation or repudiation. In order to launch the armed struggle, our gentlemen demand that the prairie be dried. This is yet another theory invented for the purpose of postponing the armed struggle for years.

Against this rightist theory, the Marxist-Leninists upheld the following: The prairie must be set ablaze from those regions (we are not saying a region) which are dry. That is, in those regions where the conditions are favourable, the armed struggle must be launched and launched immediately. Those regions of the prairie which are not yet dry will be scorched by the fire of the armed struggle

raging in other regions. And as our organisation grows bigger and stronger, it will extend into those regions and undertake the armed struggle there. To first wait for the whole prairie to dry up is defective thinking. It does not comply with the truth that “the revolution will develop unevenly.” Moreover, the armed struggle will be a hundred, a thousand times more effective than the work conducted through peaceful propaganda and education. Both Comrade Lenin and Comrade Mao Tsetung repeatedly pointed to how the armed struggle brings about leaps in the consciousness of the masses....

The Shafak revisionists’ line is not a “Revolutionary Mass Line” but a line that hinders revolution.

The Shafak revisionists adapt themselves not to the people of the advanced regions but to those of the backward regions. Suppose that today in certain regions of Turkey the peasants are ready for the armed struggle, and in some others they are not yet ready for this. The revisionists’ concept of mass line deems it necessary that they go along with the backward region and break away from the advanced region. This is yet another conclusion that the theory of drying the prairie arrives at. And in the regions where the peasants show impatience to take up arms, they lag behind the advanced peasants and adapt themselves to the backward elements. To hinder the peasants ready for the armed struggle with the logic of “first learn Marxism-Leninism, then you can join the armed struggle” will certainly lead to distancing oneself from these forces and, in the end, falling back to the level of the backward elements. In a rural region, we observed with our own eyes how the revisionists obstructed the advanced peasants. These traitorous bourgeois gentlemen were left behind by the peasants because they stood in the way of those peasants who wanted to immediately annihilate their class enemies.

Such a mass line is, of course, not revolutionary but a hindrance to revolution. A revolutionary mass line is: among the various regions, unite with the people of the most advanced region, raise the level of the intermediate regions and win over the backward regions. As for the most advanced region, unite there with the most advanced elements, raise the level of the intermediate and try to win over the backward. That is: always be at the head of the most advanced but do not sever ties with the masses behind them; pull them forward. As for what the Shafak revisionists do, it is the following: adapt themselves to the most backward elements of the most backward regions and, for those advancing forward, trip them up and push them backwards.

In the article 40 of the Draft Programme the following is put forward: “By defending *all* the immediate demands and needs aimed at improving the living conditions of the people, gaining democratic rights and forcing the retreat of imperialism, our movement....”

It is clear that this understanding would *under certain circumstances* lead one into the deepest hole of reformism. If tomorrow, in order to strangle the armed struggle of the peasants, the reactionaries initiate the implementation of a partial land reform, Shafak revisionism will support them. Such a thing would be a step backward taken by imperialism—in order not to be dislodged from all of its positions. It would bring partial improvement of living conditions. It has been observed many times that the ruling class, without touching the foundations of the system, have undertaken partial readjustments when they consider their power in danger. In our history, most of the peasant rebellions have been suppressed in this manner. Today the fascist martial law regime parades around with the slogan of “land reform” and might very well distribute a bit of land too, in order to protect itself from even greater dangers. A reactionary

regime coasting in the wake of Soviet social-imperialism could do even more than that. Contrary to being impossible, these are quite plausible things...under conditions and in places where the masses take up the gun to overthrow the current system itself, it would be a straight-out reformist and reactionary stand to hide behind such pompous slogans as “defending immediate demands and needs.” That would be nothing but sticking a finger-full of honey to the lips of the people in order to soothe their anger and would be on the same level as those reactionaries who want to save all of the beehives. Further, in times and places where the conditions are favourable for mass uprisings of workers in the cities and for taking up arms, etc., it is again rank reactionary charlatanism to tell the workers tales of “immediate demands.” It is tantamount to appearing in front of slaves who have grasped the evil of the slave system and are in motion to tear it down and saying “your living conditions must be improved.” A conscious worker, pushing such overly-knowledgeable charlatans aside with the back of his hand, would say, “hey you, clear out of our way.”

Immediate demands cannot be defended or supported *under all circumstances*. Marxist-Leninists defend and support immediate demands on the condition that they are tightly integrated with our political demands and with our revolutionary agitation among the masses, and that they never be put to the forefront replacing our revolutionary slogans....Not “under all circumstances” as our revisionist reformist traitors do.

Again in article 40 of the Draft Programme, it is said that, “by defending all immediate demands and needs, our movement mobilises masses for struggle, raises their consciousness and tries to win them over to the ranks of the armed struggle.”

The sophistry that the consciousness of the masses is raised by defending “immediate demands and needs” is, in Comrade Lenin’s words, “an old song,” a song of Economism. The lyrics of this song belong to the late Russian economists who appeared at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century but who were finished off by Comrade Lenin’s antidote, *What is to be Done?* Our friends(!) once again peddle an adaptation of that song in the market. What a pity! Their efforts are in vain! For these are no longer worth a nickel. Defending “the immediate demands and needs” of the masses in order to mobilise them for struggle, to raise their consciousness and to win them over to armed struggle, is indeed Economism’s theory of “imparting consciousness stage by stage.” A cruder version of this theory had been upheld by the revisionists in the past: “In our view, the masses’ acquiring consciousness occurs stage by stage.” (PDA, Proletarian Revolutionary Line and Some Erroneous Tendencies.)

Not to be unfair, we should point out that the Economists held that they would raise the consciousness of the masses by defending only economic demands, namely “concrete demands.” Our revisionists claim to raise the consciousness of the masses by defending “immediate demands and needs” whose scope is somewhat wider than “economic demands.” However, they themselves are not aware of the difference of scope between the two either, and in many places they use these two concepts interchangeably.

The consciousness of the masses develops by defending neither “immediate demands and needs” nor “concrete demands.” Consciousness can be imparted to the masses only through exposing all of political reality and conducting comprehensive exposure campaigns that cover every aspect and arena of social life.

In *What is to be Done?*, Comrade Lenin thrashes the Economist theory of developing consciousness by stages from pillar to post, and, after pointing out that the theory of raising consciousness by stages reflects an opportunist stand, goes on to say that: "Why is it that the Russian workers as yet display little revolutionary activity in connection with the brutal way in which the police maltreat the people, in connection with the persecution of the religious sects, with the flogging of the peasantry, with the outrageous censorship, the torture of soldiers, the persecution of the most innocent cultural undertakings, etc.? Is it because the 'economic struggle' does not 'stimulate' them to this, because such activity does not 'promise palpable results,' because it produces little that is 'positive'? (In other words, is it because the struggle for immediate demands does not raise consciousness to this level?—I.K.) No. To advocate such views, we repeat, is merely to lay the blame where it does not belong, to blame the masses of the workers for one's own philistinism (which is also Bernsteinism).... But the Social-Democratic worker, the revolutionary worker (and the number of such workers is growing) will indignantly reject all this talk about fighting for demands 'promising palpable results,' etc., because he will understand that this is only a variation of the old song about adding a kopek to the ruble."

Further on Lenin gives the following answer to these economist gentlemen, in the words of a conscious worker: "The 'activity' you want to stimulate among us workers, by advancing concrete demands promising palpable results, we are already displaying and in our everyday, petty trade union work we put forward these concrete demands, very often without any assistance whatever from the intellectuals. But *such* activity is not enough for us; we are not children to be fed on the thin gruel of 'economic' politics alone; we want to know everything that others know, we want to learn the details of *all* aspects of political life and to take part *actively* in every single political event. In order that we may do this, the intellectuals must talk to us less of what we already know, and tell us more about what we do not yet know and what we can never learn from our factory and 'economic' experience, that is, you must give us political knowledge, etc." (*What is to be Done?*, Lenin)

The Shafak revisionists pit the political struggle against the armed struggle. Under the flag of "political struggle" they reject the armed forms of the political struggle. They reject armed propaganda and agitation.

Because we uphold that the key link to be grasped in organising the peasantry should be guerrilla units, and all other types of groups and cells must be taken up and handled in order to serve the needs of the armed struggle and develop it in the very process of waging it, they accuse us of rejecting the political struggle. They say we have a purely military outlook.

"According to them, since our people have already grasped the political and ideological aspects of the problem, the issue has been settled and now the whole problem is the military movement."

This nonsense that is being attributed to us has never been advocated anywhere. Since the revisionists draw this conclusion from our statement that the armed struggle must be the principal form of struggle, they reveal the fact that they consider the armed struggle as excluding the political struggle. They expose the fact that they consider the armed struggle and the political struggle to be things that contradict each other.

The "purely military" outlook is the outlook of those who fight for the sake

of fighting. We want to wage warfare to accomplish the political tasks of the revolution. We uphold the armed struggle in order to create the people's army in the countryside under the leadership of the party, to establish the people's power through step by step tearing apart the regional and central authority. This is the way Comrade Mao Tsetung puts it: "Some people ridicule us as advocates of the 'omnipotence of war.' Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense, we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed." ("Problems of War and Strategy," Mao Tsetung)

One wonders whether a "purely military" outlook prevails here too? Aren't these gentlemen aware of the fact that the armed struggle, that is, warfare, is a form of the political struggle? Armed struggle is not the only form of political struggle but it is *a* form of it, nonetheless. "War is the continuation of politics by other means" and "since ancient times there has never been a war that did not have a political character." (Mao Tsetung) These are ABC's of Marxism-Leninism.

From our demand that the armed struggle should be principal, the Shafak revisionists again draw the conclusion that we reject agitation and propaganda work among the masses. Evidently they think that armed struggle contradicts agitation and propaganda. No, bourgeois gentlemen! Armed struggle does not contradict agitation and propaganda work, they are the opposite of each other. Mao Tsetung had this to say about that point: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organising the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organisations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organise them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power." ("On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," Mao Tsetung)

In our country too, the guerrilla units which will form the embryo of the people's army will not rest content with just fighting. At the same time they will have important tasks such as conducting agitation and propaganda among the masses, organising them and arming them. Since these gentlemen consider political struggle the opposite of armed struggle and political struggle to be a purely publishing house activity, they accuse us of rejecting political work, rejecting agitation and propaganda and mass work. In reality, they themselves recognise only the peaceful forms of agitation and propaganda and of the political struggle. They reject the armed forms of the political struggle and agitation and propaganda. □

U.S.A.:

"No Business As Usual"

April 29th, 1985 was No Business As Usual Day in the U.S. It was an important outpouring of mass resistance to the major powers' drive towards world war, an effort to seize the initiative now to heighten the struggle of the masses to prevent it. In cities and towns across the U.S., thousands of people from varying classes and strata with differing political views united to take up the Call To Act To Prevent World War 3.

This Call said, in part: "Crisis follows crisis in a spiral that cannot go on without resulting in the gravest of consequences. Such an extraordinary situation requires an extraordinary response....Only the independent action of millions stepping onto the stage of history to resist can realistically speak to the enormity that looms before us...."

"They won't listen to reason,
They won't be bound by votes
The governments must be stopped
From launching World War 3,
No matter what it takes!"

There were mass street actions as well as events on over 25 college campuses. "Ground zero" actions in major cities gathered together hundreds at hubs of social life and activity to disrupt business as usual in innumerable creative ways. Hundreds of people sat in in front of the gates of Atlanta's Fort McPherson, a major military base also known as the Pentagon of the South. "Five Minutes" crews (as in Reagan's "joke," "We begin bombing in five

minutes") enacted the realities of nuclear war on the streets of Chicago, New York City, Washington, Houston and others. These actions were marked by the participation and often predominance of teenaged youth.

Feminists in a number of cities called for their own actions at "right to life" (anti-abortion movement) centres and armed forces recruiting offices. An internationalist peace camp was set up for the day in downtown Cleveland.

In San Francisco, the day began with an attempted quarantine of Treasure Island, a naval headquarters located in the middle of a major bridge connecting the cities in the area. Although short of complete success, the action snarled traffic for over an hour as cars stalled and tires and stuffed radiation suits were dumped in the roadway. It ended with a major disruption of the downtown area as demonstrators took to the streets, stopping traffic, "dying-in," calling for "mass evacuations" of stores, buses and cable cars, and generally leading the police on a chase through the streets for hours.

Beyond the street actions were the numerous means found by a broad range of people—including religious people, teachers and professors, artists, ecologists, anti-nuke activists, feminists and nationalists from among the oppressed nationalities in the U.S.—to express the political thrust of the Call To Act and to make April 29 a day of No Business As Usual. This was of great

significance in the context of the necessity for the proletariat and the advanced masses to broadly influence the political programme and direction the middle forces in society take up, so as to create the most favourable conditions for mounting a revolutionary struggle that can prevent world war.

While small, there were some important actions on the part of proletarians who joined the mass street actions, hung banners, did graffiti (some raising the slogan "World Revolution, Not World War") and called for "mass inductions" and marches on armed forces recruiting stations. In this aspect, as well as in other aspects of building a united front action on NBAU Day, the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. played an important role.

This past year has seen the unleashing of an unprecedented wave of patriotism, ugly chauvinism and reaction in the U.S. Integral to this ideological preparation have been the efforts of the bourgeoisie to manufacture, hype up and strictly enforce (particularly through its media) an *overall* image of social peace and prosperity, of a U.S. standing tall and united, monolithic and invincible. It is an act of desperate theatre which underlines the acute necessity they have for the masses to submit to their rule as well as their essential weakness and vulnerability going into war.

It is not yet the case that there is open or widespread rebellion in the U.S. But the cracks in the facade are beginning to appear. Developing

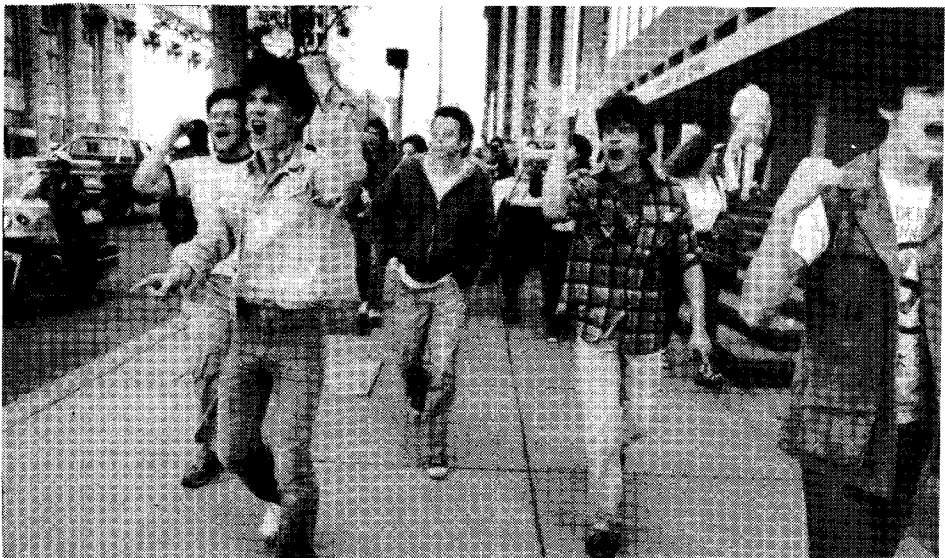


among certain sections of the masses, particularly the youth and women, there is an element of active refusal, of determined opposition to the U.S. imperialists' political programme for the 1980s. The recent upsurge of sit-ins, building takeovers and strikes on college campuses across the U.S. in opposition to apartheid in South Africa indicated the explosiveness of the situation. The more the ruling class actually succeeds in creating the image of America as strong, smiling and philistine—and ready to unleash unlimited violence for the sake of empire—the more disgusted some elements become and the more they begin revolting.

April 29 was a major rupture from the "dissent as usual" protest which seeks to define and confine resistance within the limits of what the bourgeoisie finds acceptable and often even necessary in order to channel mass anger and upheaval in directions which never fundamentally challenge their rule. In fact such "business as usual" protests can be used as yet another excuse to fight and die to save the empire—"for the right to dissent." The objective line of demarcation between those who propose independent historical action *against* the governments and those who would appeal to and "reason" with the governments to change their policies was underlined by another set of major demonstrations April 20th "lobbying" (pressuring) Congress.

As the menace of world war looms large, it is a major advance of great potential significance that thousands of people are taking action aimed squarely at the U.S. ruling class, and that the various political programmes of the day are manifesting themselves as distinct actions involving sections of the people.

Looked at in their totality, the April 29 actions not only sharply raised and forced many to confront the real and pressing threat of world war and the urgent necessity to act, they also concentrated the strategic confidence of the masses, especially the youth, to meet the governments head on and defeat them, "no matter what it takes." □



**PUEBLO PERUANO
¡NO VOTAR!
¡VIVA LA GUERRA POPULAR!**

PCP



A WORLD TO WIN 1985/3

“Peruvian People! Don't Vote! Long Live People's War!” Painting done in Peruvian prison.

PCP Central Committee:

Don't Vote, Step Up Guerrilla Warfare to Seize Political Power for the People!

By the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP)

“Strengthen the People’s Committees, develop the base areas and advance the New Democratic People’s Republic”—PCP

“All reactionaries try to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughters and think that the more people they kill the more they will weaken the revolution. But, despite their wishes, facts show that the more people they kill, the stronger the revolution becomes and the closer the reactionaries come to their doom. This is an irrefutable law.”—Chairman Mao

I. The General Crisis of Peruvian Society

Contemporary Peruvian society is in a general crisis. This society which arose at the end of the nineteenth century is gravely and incurably sick; it can be transformed only through armed struggle, and this is what the Communist Party of Peru has been leading the people in doing. There is no other solution.

Contemporary Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in which bureaucrat capitalism is developing. It is a belated capitalism tied to the interests of the landowners; as a result, it doesn’t in any way seek to destroy semi-feudalism,

but rather, at most, to evolve it. Most importantly, it is a capitalism completely subjugated by imperialism, in our case mainly Yankee imperialism, and therefore does not develop the potentially great productive forces of our country, but rather squanders them, fetters them or destroys them, and in no way develops a national economy but on the contrary is completely at the service of imperialism’s increasing exploitation, and completely opposed to the national interests, the interests of the vast majority, and even the basic and most urgent needs of the masses of our people.

The modern Peruvian economy

was born defective and is sick in its very roots. It arose tied to the worn-out semi-feudal system, which despite the much-touted agrarian laws, deceitfully called "agrarian reform," continues to exist and to brand the country from its deepest foundations to its most elaborated ideas. The question of the land remains a giant problem, in essence; it is the motor of the class struggle of the peasantry, especially the poor peasants who make up the great majority. But furthermore, this economy arose subjugated by imperialism, capitalism's final stage masterfully characterised as monopolistic, parasitic and moribund. Imperialism, while consenting to our political independence as long as that serves its interests, controls the entire Peruvian economy: our natural resources, exports, industry, banking and finance. In short, it sucks our people's blood, devours the energies of our nation in formation and today in particular squeezes us by means of our foreign debt, as it also does to other oppressed nations. As a result, the modern economy, bureaucrat capitalism, is tied from its very birth to the unburied corpse of semi-feudalism and subjugated by dying capitalism which increasingly lives off the blood of the oppressed, obtained by exploitation guaranteed by the force of its arms and those of its flunkies, while dispute takes place amidst incessant crisis and contention for world domination waged principally by the two superpowers, the United States and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. In conclusion, we are experiencing a general crisis of Peruvian society and this crisis means the crisis of bureaucrat capitalism which has entered its final stage, thus bringing to full maturity the conditions for the revolution's development and triumph, because the general crisis suffered by the old society grips it overall and in each of its aspects.

This is our reality. This is the foundation on which Peruvian society rests and the material roots of our problems and our people's misfortunes. And this is the social system which the ruling classes and their Yankee imperialist master enjoy the use of and defend at gun-

point, through their landlord-bureaucrat State based upon their reactionary armed forces, relentlessly exercising their class dictatorship (of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners), whether through a de facto military government, of which we've had many, for example, Velasco and Morales Bermudez¹, just to cite the most recent, or through elected, so-called constitutional governments, like the present Belaunde government.

Thus the governments of Peru, whether civilian or military, elected or not, are no more than cliques which take turns exercising dictatorship over the people, over the proletariat, peasantry, petit bourgeoisie and even over the national or medium bourgeoisie itself, on behalf of the big bourgeoisie (especially, today, big bankers), of the landowners (manifested especially through the authority of local feudal tyrants to exercise political power in the countryside), on behalf of the ruling classes and Yankee imperialism and completely against the interests of the people and the nation. This requires no further historical discussion nor examples, since the proof is before our eyes: the current government of Belaunde and his gang, an elected government, chosen at the polls by the "sacred" electoral system, has done more than any other government to sell out the country to imperialism and has sunk Peruvian society into the greatest crisis of its modern history. It has plunged the people into the most insatiable hunger and has persecuted, jailed, tortured and murdered them, and even carried out massacres and genocide, because the people, with the Communist Party, have dared to rise up in arms, unfurling the banner "It is Right to Rebel," the inalienable right of every people plunged into exploitation and oppression, the irrevocable right of every people and every class which refuses to be slaves.

This is the reality of the country, of Peruvian society and of the function of the rotating governments, and so it will be until we overthrow the reigning order by force of arms through people's war. World history and our own have proved it and today it stands before our very eyes:

the reactionary government of Belaunde and his sinister gang with its policies of starvation and genocide will go down in history as the government of starvation and genocide.

II. To Vote Is To Endorse the Social System and Choose Another, Even More Starvation-Ridden and Genocidal Government

Under what conditions are the new general elections taking place?

Economically, everyone agrees that the country is undergoing what is at least its greatest crisis in the last hundred years²; furthermore, the outlook for the future is bleak. It will take almost until the year 2000 before the country will be able to once again attain the economic levels of 1976; in other words, a quarter of a century of this country's much-praised economic development will have been lost. But the problem goes further than that. Since World War 2 the country has regularly undergone a crisis in the second half of every decade and each new crisis is worse than the preceding one. The next crisis is already underway. The reactionary economists themselves paint the coming years black. What's more, the foreign debt and the country's inability to pay even the interest make it impossible to count on foreign capital, which is always presented as something wonderful, while at the same time internal savings are falling, industrial production is in a recession, agriculture is in crisis, the prices of our exports will continue declining, foreign markets are shrinking, etc. In sum, a dark future in which there is no real solution in sight, much less one that can satisfy the growing basic needs of the masses, which are more unfulfilled every day, a future which offers only more unemployment, a longer work day just to survive, lower wages and salaries, less rights and more cutbacks of benefits and gains. Thus outworn Peruvian society offers only bleak economic perspectives and greater exploitation and oppression.

Politically: The 1979 constitution, like all those of its type, takes back every right it guarantees, and doesn't even satisfy the various factions in the reactionary camp, much

Proletarios de todos los países, uníos

**¡NO VOTAR! SINO,
¡GENERALIZAR
LA GUERRA DE GUERRILLAS
PARA CONQUISTAR
EL PODER PARA EL PUEBLO!**

COMITE CENTRAL
PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU

less the people. The question of modifying it is and will continue to be a field of contention. But besides allowing for the direct participation of the armed forces and police in every aspect of social life, strengthening their predominance, building up the powers of the Executive while organising the most police-ridden and repressive system in our history, and despite their filthy rhetoric, the current constitution is in bloodier and more violent contradiction with our reality than any other in our history, as shown by its so-called "right to life" and the sinister genocide carried out by the armed forces in the Ayacucho region, shamelessly, with impunity, and led by Belaunde himself.

How are the sacred bourgeois-democratic institutions working? The parliament abdicated its legislative functions on behalf of the Executive; the judiciary is incapable of trying the thousands of people who have been indicted, and even more incapable of complying with its own laws—it approves and protects the plan to wipe out prisoners of war in the concentration camps known as "El Fronton" and the secret camps in Totos, "Los Cabitos," the Huanta stadium, etc., with the complicity of the Public Ministry. The Executive has become the real legislative power, with the country's basic laws in the hands of greasy bureaucrats and imperialist-trained and advised technocrats,

with super-ministers who do what they want like the aristocrats of old, using their wide and increased repressive powers daily, from clubs, bombs and bullets to decreeing a state of emergency even to deal with a strike, and of course the state of siege whose application has been so demanded. Finally, the reactionary armed forces and police have fully shown their hatred of the people and the brutality that is the main characteristic of their actions, as well as their clear "authorisation" to commit any outrage, even murder, against the sons and daughters of the people. And the Armed Forces, who continue calling themselves "guardians" of society (as though the Peruvian people were made up solely of children), are as experienced in being defeated by foreigners as they are in using their guns to drown our unarmed people in blood. Today they even more obviously express the interests of the ruling classes they defend and all the class hatred contained in their intervention against the victorious armed struggle, while their leadership, the Joint Command, the National Defense Council and its head Belaunde himself, in their impotent and desperate fervour, trying vainly to distance the masses from the armed revolution, have found no solution but the monstrous and infamous genocide which has unmasked before our people and the world their sinister antiguerrilla actions, their fraudulent Peruvian democracy and Belaunde himself, that phony democrat and cunning demagogue.

Presiding over these bleak perspectives are worn-out and reactionary institutions which survive only through the force of inertia and of arms that uphold them, increasingly spilling and bathing in the incendiary blood of the unarmed and cruelly oppressed people who have already begun to say, Enough! and who believe less and less in the old State and expect less and less from the government. In conclusion, discredit, disorder and chaos, and corruption and the most shameless cynicism corrode the landowner-bureaucrat State. Its government is the object of renewed and frivolous contention, with verbal skirmishes

and sometimes real clashes, between a handful of demagogues with ill-concealed interests and unbridled ambitions like Alva Orlandini, Bedoya Reyes, Morales Bermudez and Alan García, the candidates, respectively, of Popular Action, the Democratic Convergence, the Democratic Front of National Unity and APRA, all well-known defenders of the reigning order, and among them the slimy and obliging Barrantes Lingán, that phony Mariáteguist and real and faithful defender of the ruling system, the representative of the so-called United Left hatched up by its leaders as the most unbridled expression in this country of the old electoral opportunist road, of parliamentary cretinism.

But the rotten legacy does not end there. The class struggle of our people has gone over to developing as an armed struggle against the old social order, the old State and its reactionary armed forces and police, a revolutionary war which has now been going on for almost five years, including two years of combat against the old armed forces themselves, and this historic fact has radically changed conditions, has shown how by means of arms the worn-out system can be overthrown piece by piece and a new State power for the people, the oppressed, created. This new and irreversible process will continue unfolding more and more as the Peruvian State's main problem, since it is that State's negation and destruction, and the Peruvian State must more and more concentrate on attacking this process to defend the exploiting classes and their imperialist master, while ever greater numbers of the people, of the masses, especially the peasantry, will continue to join the peasant war now being waged. As Lenin said, hunger itself leaves them no choice: "In the West, tens of millions of people are suffering the torments of hunger. This is exactly what makes the social revolution inevitable, since it arises not from programmes but rather from the fact that tens of millions of people are saying, 'Before living in hunger, we would rather die for revolution.'"

The question should be asked: what is the meaning of these elec-



"Long live the Fifth Anniversary of ILA '80!" (the PCP's April 1980 Central Committee meeting which approved the plan and gave the signal to initiate the Armed Struggle.) Woodcut done in a Peruvian prison.

tions? Do the people need to go to the polls? Is voting in the people's interests? Looking at the experience of Peru, what revolutionary transformation have the people ever won through elections or parliament? Every gain has been a product of the people's struggle, snatched from the enemy, and it is on the basis of such deeds that these laws have come about. Either the law has limited these gains from the very start or else there has been a process of restricting and annulling them. The development of labour legislation is an example of this. The same also applies to the winning of political rights. All this is said, of course, without even mentioning the seizure of political power, since for a revolutionary political power can be won only through revolutionary violence, which in Peru simply means armed struggle from the countryside to the city. But let's ask ourselves, furthermore, what have been the real benefits for the people from participating in the Constituent Assembly and the 1980 General Elections? The former served simply to carry out the third restructuring of the reactionary Peruvian state in this century, with results already exposed, while the latter simply gave rise to the Belaunde government, which is one of the worst betrayers of the fatherland in our history, a government which has plunged the people into the darkest and most cruel hunger and genocide.

And furthermore, given these perspectives, what can the people, the masses, expect from participating in the 1985 general elections, since simply and concretely, to vote is to endorse the social system and elect another government to impose yet more hunger and genocide! To vote is to help the landowner-bureaucrat State replace, according to its own laws and on its own terms, the authorities who exercise its class dictatorship over the people, in order to maintain the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of society within which bureaucrat capitalism is developing, for the benefit of the ruling classes and their main master, Yankee imperialism. To vote is to help establish a government that will cause even greater

starvation, because that's what's demanded by the necessities and class character of the State of which it is a part. To vote is to help install an even more genocidal government, because this too is determined by the old State's necessity to defend its decrepit society in the face of the developing people's struggle and especially the surging armed struggle whose rifles are tearing down the old and building the new: the forms of New Political Power, of the New Society, based upon the people rising up in arms.

The people cannot serve their exploiters and oppressors, they cannot help them solve their problems, they cannot endorse their social system, nor still less help elect yet another government which will cause more starvation and carry out more genocide, because this road does not serve the people's interests. The only fitting response today is NOT TO VOTE! This is the only response in the interests of the people to the genocidal, hunger-producing and reactionary State's elections.

III. Step Up the Guerrilla War to Seize Political Power for the People!

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party, a communist party rebuilt in the fight against revisionism, including within its own ranks, a party of a new type to seize political power for the proletariat and the people, assumed its role of carrying out revolutionary violence with the initiation of the armed struggle on the 17th of May 1980¹, and with this the protracted process of the class struggle of the Peruvian proletariat and people has taken a qualitative leap: the continuing political struggle went over to revolutionary warfare, with armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the revolutionary armed forces as the main form of organisation. In this way our party cast off the dead weight of more than 50 years and overcame the shameful and rotten electoralism imposed upon the masses, and began to write the people's real liberation with dynamite and lead, together, from the beginning of the armed struggle, with the masses of people, especially peasants, masses who have always supported the most heroic actions of

the Peruvian revolution and who do so more than ever now that the armed struggle has concretised their centuries-old hopes into an inextinguishable blaze.

As Chairman Mao says, "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 when the people rise up to seize political power, right away it uses violence to suppress the revolutionary people." Or, as said in the second quotation at the beginning, "All reactionaries try to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughters..."

The Peruvian State, the old State, has acted according to these laws. First it used its police forces, the GC, GR, PIP, and its special corps: *Sinchis*, the self-proclaimed "Llapan Atic," *Dircote*, etc.⁴. They carried out their usual persecution, torture, imprisonment and murder with the cruelty and brutality that is their essence. They went over to patrols, searches and incursions in the countryside and the city, especially the former, carrying out the reactionary rule "steal all, burn all and kill all." At the height of their actions these forces carried out three operations, in January and October 1981 and March 1982, highly touted and exaggerated in the press, which despite the leadership and support of the armed forces ended in resounding failure, suffering humiliating defeats at the hands of the revolutionary armed forces, as even their own reactionary press admitted. Thus the police were used as cannon fodder and guinea pigs because of the contradictions within the reactionary camp.

The armed forces of the Peruvian state did not enter directly until the end of 1982, despite the clamour demanding their participation in the antiguerrilla struggle, because Belaunde opposed it, fearing that the military would use its intervention to carry out a coup or take over little by little. So that they would all be equally responsible, all three armed forces, the Army, Navy and Air Force, came in together, although the first two were the main forces. None of them wanted to be alone in suffering the discredit that

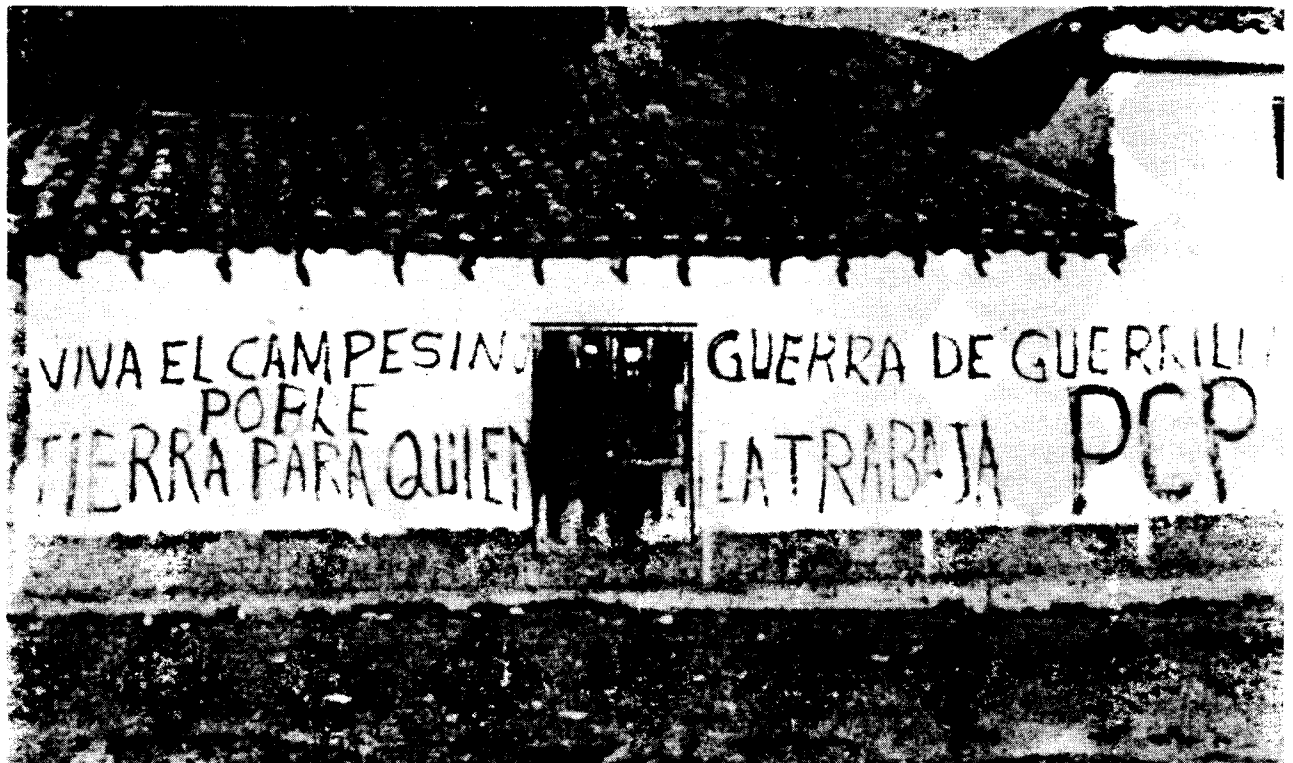
their counterrevolutionary work would inevitably bring about. But from the beginning these self-proclaimed "tutelary institutions of the fatherland" used vigilante bands (made up of traditional feudal authorities, lesser feudal authorities and their henchmen), and acted themselves under cover of such forces, including disguising themselves as peasants or Civil Guards, committing atrocities and massacres in a vain attempt to separate us from the masses. They committed innumerable cowardly and cunning massacres such as those in Huambo, Huaychao, Iquicha, Sacsamarca, etc., including the massacre of the reporters⁵, all actions approved by the National Security Council with the explicit authorisation and congratulations of Belaunde himself. But with the failure of their evil plans due to the resounding blows of the revolutionary forces and because of necessities arising from the November 1983 municipal elections, the Armed Forces began generalised slaughter. In less than two months the bodies of more than 800

brutally murdered people appeared in the area around the city of Ayacucho. The "disappearances"—foul and unpunished murders—began.

July 1984 saw important measures adopted by the State, although they were not made public, which is in itself another violation of their legal system. The Armed Forces Joint Command was given the right to intervene any and every place in the country to fight the guerrillas, to establish, at will, emergency zones and political-military commands to carry out their orders. Thus the whole country is under the Joint Command and the Executive gives the Armed Forces carte blanche to act as they so loyally know how. This is so-called Peruvian democracy today. Under this authority they are carrying out new plans: first scorched-earth thrusts and then, under pressure and the threat of death, the concentration of sections of the masses, to make it look as if there were a struggle among the masses themselves going on, when what they are really doing is simply imitating the "strategic

hamlets" of Vietnam or, taking a closer model, the "peasant organisations" formed in Guatemala under Yankee advisors. The struggle has become much more intense and widespread, especially in the countryside where the Armed Forces have to confront a real peasant war led by the Communist Party, and their ridiculous plans to separate the guerrillas from the masses are failing despite their sinister genocide. They cannot claim victory; recently the Minister of War himself spoke of the necessity of enough time and patience to fight the guerrillas, and of the urgency of more powerful measures and the support of all Peruvians in this. This is a candid confession of the difficulties they've encountered in fighting against an armed struggle that is guided by the principles of people's war. These difficulties of the reaction found expression even in the concerns of the Pope in Ayacucho, in that papal mass meeting mainly of soldiers and policemen, preceded by more than a month of intense persecution and round-ups. After blessing the murderers' arms, consecrating the

"Long Live the Poor Peasants. Land to the Tiller. Guerrilla Warfare."



infamous mass graves, sanctifying the counterrevolutionary war by blessing the genocidal armed forces and police, especially their blood-thirsty chiefs, exculpating and even supporting the Belaunde government, calling upon it to annihilate us expeditiously, in a high-sounding voice the Pope warned us to change course, to abandon the revolution, in particular to submit ourselves to the established order and betray the people. We replied to this warning immediately and firmly on February 4th with the massive blackout that plunged Lima and the whole central region of the country into darkness.

What has the armed struggle accomplished in almost five years? Nineteen-eighty could be defined as the year of getting started, 1981 and 1982 as the beginning of the development of guerrilla warfare and of the formation of the first People's Committees, the initial forms of the new State power, and from then through today the struggle has been centred on re-establishment and counter-reestablishment, that is, counter-revolutionary war to destroy the New State Power and revolutionary war to defend it, develop it and

strengthen it, destroying the old worn-out and reactionary political power more and more, bit by bit. In these nearly five years we have carried out more than 20,000 actions (up to the beginning of 1985); the party has grown in membership many times over and enjoys prestige as never before, within Peru and abroad; we have built a People's Guerrilla Army of several thousand fighters; and most importantly, hundreds of People's Committees have been formed and we are fighting to develop the base areas and advance towards the formation of a New Democratic People's Republic. In other words, a New State Power has arisen and is developing by carrying out real state functions.

In synthesis, the Communist Party of Peru is leading a successful and growing armed struggle guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the only real communist ideology, an armed struggle to carry out a democratic revolution, guided by Chairman Mao's New Democracy, aimed at breaking imperialist domination, destroying the persisting feudal landowner property relations and confiscating the pro-

perty of bureaucrat capital, an armed struggle which serves the world revolution and enjoys proletarian internationalist support, especially from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement of which our party is a part. We rely on the masses of people in this country who support us, especially the poor peasants, and we do not submit ourselves nor will we ever submit ourselves to either superpower or any power, because we unreservedly support revolution, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the guiding thought which is the application of Marxism to our conditions. Today, our immediate goal is: Step up the guerrilla war to seize State power for the people!

Long Live the Armed Struggle!
Don't Vote!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!
Eternal glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

**Central Committee,
Communist Party of Peru**
February 1985

Footnotes

1. General Velasco Alvarado, leader of the self-proclaimed "revolutionary" military junta which overthrew Belaunde in 1968. General Morales Bermudez, who led the 1975 "coup within the coup" which overthrew Velasco, and which in turn gave way to a new civilian government headed by Belaunde in 1980.
2. Since Peru was declared bankrupt in 1879 and subsequently defeated and dismembered by Chile in the War of the Pacific.
3. The day before the national elections which brought Belaunde back into office. Although the date of the PCP's first armed action, an

attack on the polling station in the village of Cuschi in Ayacucho, is often given as 18 May, PCP had chosen the symbolism of launching it on the day before the elections to make clear their complete opposition to the entire electoral arena.

4. Peru's police corps : the paramilitary Civil Guard which patrols the rural area and the Republican Guard which is supposed to guard public buildings, prisons and borders ; the regular urban detectives ; two brigades of counter-insurgency troops modeled after the U.S. Green Berets (this in addition to armed forces units used for this purpose) ; and lastly the "antiterrorist" police.

5. Eight reporters murdered in January 1983 near the village of Uchuraccy in Ayacucho. Despite the efforts of a government-appointed investigating committee headed by novelist Mario Vargas Llosa to throw the blame for this murder directly or indirectly on the PCP, recent court testimony has shown that the commission's report deliberately falsified evidence and that, in fact, the reporters were murdered by a government-organised vigilante squad, led by a former army officer. The international press which gave the Vargas Llosa report a great deal of publicity has blacked out these latest developments. □

Expand and Strengthen the Movement to Support the Revolution in Peru

The following statement was forwarded to *A World to Win* by the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.—AWTW

The March 1984 Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations called on the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed peoples to support the People's War being waged under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru. Since this call was adopted, important work to build support for this vital struggle has been carried out by the participating parties and organisations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, together with other revolutionary forces.

But the level of support built up to now, while extremely important, is not adequate to fulfill our internationalist responsibilities. Further steps must be taken, and urgently so. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* puts it: "internationalism is not simply the support rendered of the proletariat in one country to another but, more importantly, a reflection of the fact that the proletariat is a single class worldwide with a single class interest, faces a world system of imperialism, and has the task of liberating all of humanity."

The People's War in Peru is the sharpest expression in the world today of this struggle "to liberate all of humanity." Thus the genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries are

duty bound to make support for this revolution an integral part of their own revolutionary work.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its participating parties and organisations has a particularly important responsibility in building support for the struggle led by the Communist Party of Peru which is a participating party in our movement. Everywhere the parties and organisations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement are active they should take up the tasks of building a solid base of support for the Peruvian revolution.

Despite a worldwide media campaign of hysterical slander joined in by the revisionist "left" around the world, the enthusiasm of the class conscious workers to support the Peruvian revolution is irrepressible. The advance of the armed struggle itself and the deep support of the masses of people in Peru that it relies upon, together with the work of revolutionaries outside Peru, has made it impossible for the reactionaries, try as they will, to completely suppress the real nature of the struggle. The truth has already been glimpsed by millions around the world who are beginning to see behind the frantic attacks of the enemy. The Peruvian people are standing up, under the leadership of a genuine vanguard party guided by the beacon of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, as part of the world revolutionary movement.

While building support for the Peruvian revolution is an *on-going* task for all the genuine revolu-

tionary forces, it is also correct and necessary that this on going work be punctuated by periods of more intense and concentrated effort. For all these reasons, the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is calling for a coordinated, International Campaign to Support the Revolution in Peru. This campaign should involve not only the participating parties and organisations of the RIM but should draw in all revolutionary and progressive forces who wish to unite to support the Peruvian revolution under the leadership of the PCP. We are hereby extending the hand of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to all such forces, both in countries where there are presently RIM organisations, and elsewhere. Although the exact timing and duration of the campaign will have to be decided in every country by the participating parties and organisations of the RIM along with other forces, in general the campaign should begin in October and finish on January 1, 1986.

Support the Revolution in Peru!

All those who are interested in participating in the International Campaign to Support the Peruvian Revolution should contact participating parties and organisations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in their country or, where this is not possible, write directly to the Information Bureau of the RIM in London at the following address:
BCM RIM, London WC1N 3XX,
U.K. □

Peru Support Sprouts Everywhere

"There is no room for doubt: in its struggle Sendero Luminoso enjoys growing international support." Thus wailed *Oiga*, Peru's leading newsweekly, in one of a recent series of major articles. "It is no accident that this propaganda campaign has been stepped up, in an organised way, since the middle of last year.... The explanation for this is to be found in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* issued in March 1984."

For once, this Peruvian pro-government mouthpiece spoke the truth. But it was quite a change of tune.

From the start of the armed struggle in Peru in 1980 until only recently, the Peruvian authorities used as one weapon in their arsenal of lies (along with their other arsenal) the charge that the PCP was "completely isolated" from the worldwide revolutionary movement and that its outlook was "nationalistic." This went along with their habit of only referring to the PCP as "Sendero Luminoso," "Shining Path," as if it were some kind of sect and not a communist party at all. But in the last year the Peruvian reactionary press began to run screaming headlines about the "Sendero's International Connections," or what they've called the

"Senderista International." These "reports" have been replete with all kinds of fanciful articles about various imaginary RIM meetings and other concoctions.

Late last year the Peruvian government denounced Britain for harboring a "centre for internationalist terrorism," apparently referring to support for the PCP being built there, a charge sparked among other things by activities of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its Information Bureau in London. This past 21 May, in a Lima press conference given in the waning days of his term in office, President Belaunde blasted support for the PCP in Paris and New York.

Not very coincidentally, the day before *Oiga* had published the results of its "investigation" into the Peruvian revolution support movement in the U.S. (an "investigation" based mainly on public activities and leaflets). Rhetorically the magazine demanded to know if the U.S. government is too preoccupied with Central America to arrest people in the U.S. for carrying out such activities, "at least for disturbing the peace or hostile actions against (Peruvian) government representatives." Then, after repeating the Peruvian government's lie that the

PCP is receiving money and arms from abroad—without the slightest evidence or claim that such evidence exists—*Oiga* concludes that "The struggle against Sendero and other seditious organisations can no longer be confined to the national level. It must take place on the international level." In a previous issue, *Oiga* had even presented a world map filled with spots to show how the contagion of support for the revolution in Peru is spreading.

Various reports about the impact that this international support for the revolution in Peru is having among the revolutionary masses there can be considered confirmed by this public squirming by Peru's ruling classes. Of course like all attacks by the enemy, this has two aspects: it should be taken as congratulations on a job well begun, and in that sense as a call to step up and strengthen support work, but is also, as usual, a lie, in that support activities for the revolution in Peru have already broken out on a far wider scale than these reactionaries have indicated.

Delhi, India, on October 8th, 1984 was the scene of a mass rally near the Peruvian embassy to denounce the Peruvian government and declare solidarity with the revolution in Peru. About 200 peo-

The Italian Campaign...

The following is taken from information submitted by the Committee for International Support to the Struggle of Oppressed Peoples, formed in November 1984 by the Communist Collective of Agit/Prop; the Communist Committee of Trento; the Proletarian Communist Organisation, Marxist-Leninist; and supporters of the Union of Iranian Communists who live in Italy. — AWTW

Seven cities, covering nearly the whole length of Italy, were hit by a national tour in support of the Peruvian revolution in February 1985. The Committee for International Support had decided to take it up for two reasons. First, in order to break the press blackout which in Italy, as elsewhere, has meant that little is known about the revolution in Peru among the broad masses of people, while various other struggles in the oppressed countries have become well known due to the efforts or designs of various reactionary forces who seek to use them for their own ends. Second, to underline the particular character of this war, an armed struggle led by a communist party (the Communist Party of Peru—PCP) guided by the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung, a war to build a New Democratic state as the first and necessary step towards socialism. There is no other ongoing people's war like it in today's world.

To the accompaniment of a flurry

of posters, leaflets and documents on Peru translated into Italian, the tour began in Taranto, an industrial city on the "heel" of southern Italy. The building of this meeting had been concentrated principally among the workers at the giant Italsider steel complex, as well as among high school students.

The next meeting was at the university in Bari, a commercial centre on the Adriatic coast to the north of Taranto. Students from a number of organisations against repression took part. A particularly sharp theme of the discussion that followed was on the differences between the PCP and other organisations in Peru which have taken up armed struggle recently and the PCP's conception of building a united front.

In Perugia, in central Italy, the meeting took place at a university famous for its large number of students from all over the world, which allowed for a broad discussion and comparison of experiences between Peru and other liberation struggles. Students from Eritrea, where there is a national liberation war being waged against the Ethiopian government, played a prominent part in the discussion.

The meeting in Bologna was particularly significant because this city has been a stronghold of the revisionist Communist Party of Italy and allied organisations which run the city council, while the rest of the political movement has long been

dominated by anarchists and the *Autonomia* movement. In other words, it is a city where Maoists have faced hard going for a long time, unlike some other places where the pro-Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought forces of the sixties and seventies were able to win wider influence. In this sense, the meeting there represented an offensive by the RIM forces, who found themselves debating with the pro-Soviets and others on the difference between the strategy of protracted people's war in the oppressed countries and armed insurrection in the imperialist countries, and the unity of these two types of revolutions as part of the world proletarian revolution.

The University of Padova, in the north, was gripped by an intense climate of repression, including police interrogation of some of the organisers of the Peru meeting and other people in the city. There had been a series of arrests aimed at an organisation against political repression in Italy. Not only was the meeting held there despite police efforts to stop it—efforts that took place in nearly every city and which differed in Padova only in degree—but also there was an appearance on a local radio talk show, despite strong opposition from some "leftist" forces, which led to a long and lively on-the-air discussion about the Peruvian revolution in which all kinds of callers participated, many very enthusiastic in

ple from Faridabad, Panipat, Punjab and Delhi as well as Nepalis who live in India and Afghan refugees marched to the site past the U.S., Soviet and Afghan embassies, where they took the opportunity to chant slogans against both sets of imperialist butchers and denounce Soviet crimes against the people of Afghanistan as well. The demonstration, organised by the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, was addressed by speakers from the Nepal Com-

munist Party (Mashal); *Communist Worker*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Centre, India (Marxist-Leninist); Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist); Revolutionary Communist Party, India; and the Afghan Students Association.

Also, in Punjab, 800 people from all walks of life, including proletarians, peasants and intellectuals, signed a petition demanding the immediate release of Laura Padilla,

also known as comrade Meche, who is being held by the Peruvian authorities on charges of being an important member of the PCP. Many of those who signed could not write; they signed with their fingerprints.

In Paris, ongoing activities by the Comité Sol-Peru included a week of activities during the first week of October 1984 in celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the PCP.

A very significant mass meeting



Meeting in Bologna, Italy

ference between this and the armed struggles now going on in Central America? How is an armed struggle launched? What has this one accomplished? What does the PCP think of Pol Pot, liberation theology, European imperialism, the United Left in Peru? What is going on with women in this revolution? What does the PCP mean by the term "Maoism?" Who is Comrade Gonzalo and what is meant by the term "guiding thought"? What's the PCP's position on the elections?

The Committee for International Support to the Struggle of Oppressed Peoples which had organised this tour met afterwards to sum it up. Despite some shortcomings, they judged it a resounding success, above all because of its broadness, which had made it possible to mobilise many local groups and forces on a national scale, with real international significance, in order to support the revolution in Peru. It had been able to explain the PCP's ideological and political line, in confrontation with that of other forces, including from other armed struggles in the oppressed countries, and in this way launch a real revolutionary countercurrent in the Italian political scene after several years of difficult going for the forces that follow Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

This Support Committee plans more actions around the revolution in Peru and other campaigns. □

their support for the revolution in Peru.

The meeting in Trento was met by a strike of high school students in the city in support of the revolution in Peru. There has been nothing like this anywhere in Italy for a long time. About 400 high school students took part in the meeting in a local movie theatre, where they sang a song written by one of them in honor of the PCP. This was recorded so that somehow it could be sent to the revolutionary prisoners of war in Peru's El Fronton prison island. The support for this meeting involved the broadest political forces of any of the meetings of this tour.

The Torino meeting was especially important because of the

participation of a large number of employed and laid-off workers from the city's giant FIAT auto complex. The meeting involved some serious discussion about questions of revolutionary strategy, and as in several others, a discussion that strongly emphasised the role of women in Peru's armed struggle and the revolutionary significance of that.

A list of the most common questions that came up in this tour gives some of the flavour of the broadness and depth demanded by those who came to listen, discuss and debate. They include: What is "Sendero Luminoso" and who leads it? What relations does it have with Russia, China and Albania? What's the history of the PCP? What's the dif-

took place that week in Rome as well, attended by a rich mixture of veteran revolutionaries from a wide variety of local collectives in cities up and down Italy as well as some younger people, including activists from the *Autonomia* movement. This event, sponsored by the three participating organisations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in Italy, was the first held under their auspices in the capital city, and in turn served as the prelude to an extremely successful

nationwide speaking tour (see accompanying report).

On 26 January, a similarly successful mass meeting took place in London, which also created a bit of stir on the political scene. Here too it was apparent that the revolutionary armed struggle in Peru has given heart to quite a few people who once considered themselves active Maoists, as well as bringing forth new forces. A broad array of people participated, including people from other European countries,

India, Iran and elsewhere. It was organised by the Nottingham Communist Group, supporters of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) and individual RIM supporters.

On Peru's election day, April 14, as Peruvian residents in the UK were due to file into the Peruvian embassy in London to cast their compulsory ballot, RIM supporters held a picket line and distributed copies of a PCP leaflet calling for a boycott to those entering the building and passers-by.



"SOON MILLIONS OF PEASANTS WILL RISE LIKE A MIGHTY STORM . . . ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES AND COMRADES WILL BE PUT TO THE TEST BEFORE THE PEASANTS AND WILL HAVE TO CHOOSE WHICH SIDE THEY WILL TAKE".

Agosto-84

Mao Tsetung

Quechua, "Let Us Rise Up Together"

Local people from Peru's loyal opposition, the "United Left," were completely scandalised at such disrespect for Peru's death squad "democracy" in "democratic" Britain which has profited so well from the oppression of nations. Also going more than a little berserk were the official embassy officials, who mounted a veritable forest of cameras in their windows to record all those responsible for such deeds.

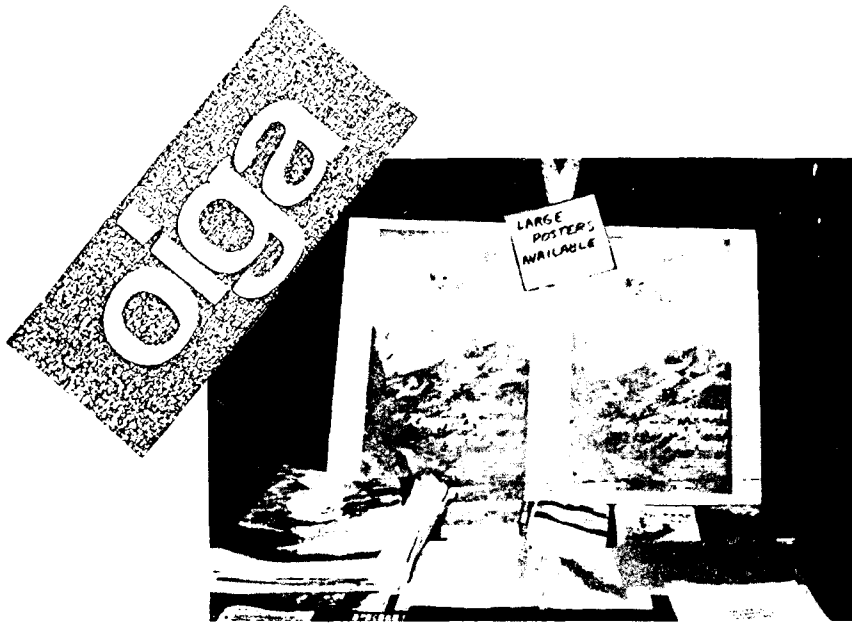
This same kind of leafletting and picketing in front of the Peruvian embassy in conjunction with the PCP boycott also took place in Stockholm, where there are many Peruvians and other Latin Americans exiles. Several weeks later, on May 1st, about a hundred people gathered around enormous banners in support of the PCP and the RIM, forming a contingent in

the traditional May Day labour parade. Parade officials, linked to Sweden's ruling Social Democratic Party, sent in thugs to stop the contingent. But it drew enough support from other participants and onlookers to repulse the attack and continue marching.

In the U.S., on May Day the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru held a "night in solidarity with the revolution in Peru" in the San Francisco Women's Building. Representatives of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA; the (Azanian) Black Consciousness Movement, U.S. Region; and the General Union of Patriotic and Democratic Afgans addressed the 200 or so participants, who also gave an enthusiastic reception to poems and songs in support of the revolution in Peru. The RCP,

USA dedicated the May Day activities it led in areas across the U.S. 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."

The same day, in front of the Peruvian embassy in New York, about 30 people picketed and gave out leaflets in support of the revolution in Peru. A representative of the Haitian International Revolutionary Group proclaimed, "Our comrades in Peru are in the forefront of the international struggle and we are looking to them, not only we here, but throughout the world. The imperialists, they dream of crushing that struggle. We, the people, do not want that struggle to be crushed; we want that spark to light up the entire world."



EN INGLÉS y castellano se venden y distribuyen afiches cuyo tema es: ¡Apoyar la guerra popular en el Perú!

SENDERO EN NUEVA YORK

COMO en las principales capitales europeas, también en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica viene reanunciándose una activa campaña de propaganda y de captación de fondos en favor de la lucha armada que desarrolla en el Perú la organización terrorista Sendero Luminoso.

La campaña se ha venido desplegando, sistemáticamente, desde mediados del año pasado en Estados Unidos. Comenzó en Boston, cuando un grupo de activistas colocó un letrero en la puerta del Consulado peruano. En el letrero pudo leerse el texto siguiente: "Contra la diplomacia burocrática... Sendero no perdona".

A partir de esa primera acción, los diplomáticos peruanos acreditados en

USA han recibido constantes llamadas telefónicas y mensajes escritos amenazadores.

Pero, en los últimos meses, la ofensiva de intimidación y de propaganda senderista se ha intensificado, incluyéndose en los operativos manifestaciones callejeras frente a los locales de nuestras sedes diplomáticas. Encapuchados, cubiertos sus rostros con pasamontañas, senderistas y sus aliados norteamericanos de extrema izquierda han efectuado protestas callejeras contra el gobierno democrático del Perú y en pro de la subversión en nuestro país.

Las autoridades norteamericanas, al parecer sólo preocupadas por el problema más cercano que tienen con Nicaragua y Cuba en Centroamérica, han mira-

do hasta hoy con indiferencia esa campaña y no han detenido a ninguna persona, ni siquiera por alterar el orden público; bastar a los representantes de un gobierno o de un país con el que guardan cordiales relaciones diplomáticas y de amistad.

Hace dos semanas, nuevamente en Boston, se produjo una manifestación. Y diez días atrás, en plena tercera avenida de Nueva York, los propagandistas de Sendero realizaron una protesta frente al Consulado General del Perú. Esta última manifestación fue puntual y oportunamente registrada por las cámaras de televisión y llegó a transmitirse en el Canal 2 de Lima. ¿Quién tuvo tan excepcional "olfato periodístico" para ex-

(Pasa a la página siguiente)

OIGA, 20 de Mayo de 1985

29

Committees to Support the Revolution in Peru have also been formed in the Dominican Republic and in three cities in Spain, where a great many people have come to follow the news from Peru and a variety of forums on the subject have been held. In Colombia, Spain, New Zealand, Denmark and other countries, leaflets and newspaper articles in the revolutionary press have helped rattle the walls of silence and slanders with which the imperialists and their various flunkies have attempted to contain the revolution in Peru.

These events have revealed a little of the potential. All kinds of people have stepped forward to support the revolution in Peru, with varying views and viewpoints, impelled to take action by the sentiments and outright demands of revolutionary-

minded masses of people themselves. Apparently something really revolutionary, a struggle not subordinated to some bourgeois end or power but instead determined to win real liberation and push forward the world-wide proletarian revolution until classes and class society are abolished all over the earth, an armed struggle carried out by the masses themselves, guided by the most revolutionary of ideologies, pushing forward vigorously and irresistibly—apparently a great many people have found this revolutionary war led by the PCP to be a ray of light in today's world and have proved their willingness to welcome it with broad and abundant support.

The revolutionary people's war being led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) has greatly

stimulated the world revolution, giving heart to old and new revolutionary forces and oppressed people everywhere. It has greatly increased the prestige of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and aided the regroupment of the world's genuine Marxists. Now the increasing support for the revolution in Peru has begun to have an impact on the political situation in its own right.

It is against this backdrop that the effectiveness of the efforts launched so far have to be judged. As one Londoner remarked about the Peruvian government's sputterings about support in Britain, "Thanks for the encouragement, but really there's rather a lot to be done yet." □

Peru's New President of Counterrevolution

Peru has had its elections and the elections have had the desired result: a new face has been chosen to preside over the armed counter-revolution.

Well over 100,000 troops and police poured into the streets of the cities and towns April 14th—one for every 80 registered voters who faced harassment and even the possibility of death if they failed to obtain an official mark in their voter's book and an official stain on their voting finger. The democratic whirling of helicopters filled the skies of Lima, Ayacucho and other cities, while armoured cars and tanks kept "democracy" safe down below.

What kind of democracy is this? Lenin once wrote that the rule of capital, which often clothes itself with the sham of bourgeois democracy in the imperialist countries, stands naked in the countries oppressed by imperialism. Here in Peru, which after all was supposed to be a big success story for democracy in the backyard of U.S. imperialism, 29 of Peru's 153 provinces—the central mountain areas where the revolution is strongest—are now emergency zones under direct military rule. In these provinces Peru's constitution and all pretense of rights have been formally suspended. In the rest of the country, since July 1984 the military has enjoyed legal authority, given to them by the duly elected

civilian president, to set up more emergency zones wherever it wants and to direct the police and other repressive forces involved in the anti-guerrilla struggle.

In fact, the constitution itself, written in 1979 under the tutelage of the armed forces, declares the armed forces to be the ultimate arbiter of the country's destiny. This is a formal declaration of the reality made clear by Peru's history of repeated armed forces coups and even clearer by the last five years in which the counterrevolutionary war against the guerrillas has increasingly taken on the character of a war against a broad section of the people, especially in the mountain countryside as well as the shantytowns of the big cities.

The revolutionary forces report that the number of those killed in combat or made to "disappear" in the secret mass executions that have become a hallmark of the Peruvian armed forces has reached 10,000. In the department of Ayacucho, the historic centre of the revolutionary armed struggle, 1% of the population is said to have been killed since the armed forces occupied the region at the end of 1982, according to the International Movement of Catholic Jurists.

The armed forces cannot be said to have acted against Peru's "democracy," however. Their mass roundups, death squads, torture,

rape, mass executions and systematic efforts to rid whole areas of the countryside of their inhabitants have all been discussed, decided and wholly blessed by the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government and all the appropriate government organs. Other participants in this general orgy of democratic approval have included the U.S., the "socialist" governments of France and Spain, as well as the ruling Socialists and Christian Democrats of Italy, and of course the Pope, along with Peru's "United Left" opposition and its admirers in many countries, and last but not least, Fidel Castro.

Election Boycott and Offensive

Two months before the elections the Communist Party of Peru (PCP, called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path by the press) put out the slogan, "Don't Vote—Step Up Guerrilla Warfare to Seize Power for the People." The purpose of the boycott was to oppose electoral illusions with a clear conception of what Peru's problem is and how to solve it, to wage a political campaign against the elections to increase support for and participation in the guerrilla war. In some areas where it is particularly strong among the masses, the PCP did try to stop the elections; in many others where it was not actually able to prevent the elections from taking place it



The Marx quote at the bottom of the cartoon says: “the oppressed are authorised to decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to represent and repress the people in parliament.”



This cartoon, entitled “1985 Elections Carnival,” was widely circulated as a leaflet by the PCP during the year before the elections. Pictured are: 1) Uncle Sam, 2) the Soviet bear,

3) outgoing president Belaunde, 4) APRA’s Alan Garcia, 5) the United Left’s Alfonso Barrantes, seated beside other candidates 6) Armed Forces head Julian Julia 7) “criminal

front,” a play on the term “national front”, 8) the Army, 9) Marines, 10) Air Force, 11) Peruvian Investigations Police (detectives) 12) Civil Guard (rural police), 13) Republican Guard (of prisons, borders, public buildings, 15) “cannon fodder,” Armed Forces controlled vigilante gangs

16) Jesus Oropesa, National Agrarian Confederation leader burned alive by police, 17) Huancayo United Left Mayor Munoz, killed by the government, according to his local supporters quoted in the Peruvian press. This contradicts the government’s claim—widely quoted by pro-United Left types abroad—that the PCP was responsible, 18) the national flag, turned into the white flag of capitulation, 19) the government’s new banners, 20) children killed in a government-organised massacre.

unleashed military blows to inflict damage on the enemy.

In two widely circulated pamphlets, one addressed to the people of Ayacucho (see *A World To Win* No. 2) and the other signed directly by the Party's Central Committee (see this issue), through wall posters and handbills particularly aimed at peasants who are often illiterate, and through spoken agitation carried out in the countryside, the villages, on buses temporarily seized by the guerrillas and in the urban shantytowns, the PCP exposed the underlying nature of the Peruvian society which these elections were meant to preserve: a society dominated by imperialist capital, semi-feudal landowners and bureaucrat capitalism tied to both of these pillars of the reactionary order.

On election day, two polling stations in affluent areas of Lima were bombed and the Aviation Ministry attacked. Telephone exchanges were reported bombed in Huancayo and Huanta, in the department of Ayacucho.

On April 20th, six days after the elections, six electric power pylons on the eastern outskirts of Lima were blown up, plunging the city in total darkness while the hills above the city were lit up with the now-familiar bonfires forming the shape of a hammer and sickle.

Major attacks were reportedly launched in the mining area of Pasco during the first week of May, prompting the authorities to announce that the PCP was beginning to mount an offensive. Despite the roundup and detention of 10,000 people in Lima May 9th, the official residences of the ambassadors of the U.S., the USSR and China were attacked. (The PCP has denounced the current Chinese regime for betraying Mao's line, overthrowing the revolution and imposing a new reactionary dictatorship.) A week later an important paper factory was burned down. Major clashes between guerrillas and the army were also reported that week in Trujillo, in northern Peru.

These revolutionary military activities have continued in the months since the elections. On June 8th Lima and six other major cities were blacked out simultaneously. The

spectacular series of attacks on key power pylons demonstrated the government's increasingly embarrassing inability to control large areas of the countryside through which these power lines pass, especially in the mountains. That night a parked car filled with dynamite blew up in front of the presidential palace in the centre of Lima, producing panic among the swarms of police and other security forces stationed there. Two of them were reported shot and wounded in the course of the evening's confused events. The car was later reported to have been stolen from Peru's Attorney General. In the darkness, dynamite is said to have resounded in explosions at the Ministry of Defense, the court building the PCP has labeled the "Palace of Injustice," the embassy of Argentina (whose chief of state was at that moment conferring with President Belaunde in the presidential palace), and once again, the U.S. embassy.

There are no accurate figures available at this writing on the extent of the election boycott itself. There have been complaints from election officials quoted in the press which indicate that up to 18% of the ballots cast were blank or spoiled (for instance, marked with revolutionary slogans). There are no reliable figures available at all on how many people abstained from voting, although even the most pro-government estimates have not dared put this figure at less than 20%, and other equally unconfirmed estimates run at over twice that. There have been as yet unconfirmed reports that the government was unable to hold elections in hundreds of villages in the central and south-central mountains and some urban areas.

It is revealing, however, that Leonor Zamora, the mayor of Ayacucho, long a bitter enemy of the PCP and the revolution, announced that she would spoil her ballot "in solidarity with the strong current in the emergency zone." In other words, nobody else was going to vote and she wouldn't either. Of course, her complaint was not that the elections themselves were a reactionary farce—she violently opposed the PCP's boycott in 1983

when she was running for mayor—but "there is no security for the voters, the elections should be cancelled." In essence, this was a call for more military presence—more "security"—while at the same time, as an exercise in shameless demagoguery, a kind of anti-election campaign stunt to further her own political career, her gesture gives a glimpse of the strength of the election boycott.

"Chronicle of an Election Foretold"

Long before these elections the PCP had predicted that the regime's strategy would be to declare the holding of any elections at all a victory for the government and a sign of the weakness of the guerrillas. This is just what happened. On the morning of election day, a spokesman for the U.S. government pronounced the holding of elections itself the real victory while expressing apparently genuine unconcern about the outcome. This judgment was duly repeated throughout the ranks of the legions of foreign and domestic reporters.

For instance, much fuss has been made about the fact that an election station was placed on the campus of the University of San Marcos, despite the omnipresence of PCP anti-election slogans on the walls of the university. But if the government's ability to put a polling booth in an area in the middle of the capital city, for at least a few hours, amidst an all-out display of military strength—if this is a question, then how strong can the government really be?

Much is also made of the fact that for the first time since World War II one Peruvian civilian regime was about to be followed by another, without a military interregnum. It seems that this is supposed to mean that the country's armed forces have undergone some change of heart or that the U.S. under Reagan has repudiated the brutally open military means that up to now have periodically reinforced U.S. domination. In fact, the desperation with which they grasped at the straw of a scheduled polling shows how much they needed some new faces to shore up the counterrevolution,

both to renew the increasingly tattered banner of "democracy" waving over the regime's concentration camps now infamous the world over, and to get rid of a president whose isolation was dramatically illustrated when his party could barely muster 5% of the votes in the April elections, obviously lacking the confidence even of Peru's propertied classes.

A Lima newspaper entitled its election coverage, "Chronicle of an Election Foretold," a play on the title of the best-selling Gabriel García Márquez novel, *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*, in which a whole town becomes reduced to mere spectators to the unfolding of a murder announced long in advance. Well over a year ago, the "opinion polls" and the opinion-makers (such as often-quoted unnamed U.S. State Department "analysts") had announced the inevitability of the election's outcome.

Nevertheless, it took seven weeks of counting before the figures came out acceptably and Alan García of the APRA party was declared the winner, despite the inconvenient fact that he failed to meet the constitutional requirement of winning over 50% of the votes (he was reported to have won 45%). To make García's victory possible, the runner-up candidate, Alfonso Barrantes of the United Left coalition, who'd been reported to win 21%, withdrew from the race. The Electoral Commission announced that its reasons for dispensing with the legally-required run-off elections were two-fold: to avoid "wasting money," and to avoid giving the guerrillas "a new occasion to show their violent hostility to all popular consultations." Or, as García warned in the face of the Belaunde-controlled Congress' initial reluctance to change the election rules and allow the Electoral Commission declare him the winner, "Let's not shake up democracy too much."

What else can this be considered except a confession about the fragility of the whole political structure and the need to move on quickly before the whole charade collapsed in the face of the revolutionary armed struggle and its political and ideological strength?

APRA's "Modern" Servility

García's APRA party is well-suited for the role it is being called upon to play. It has proven its ability to combine "nationalist" demagoguery with pro-imperialist and reactionary politics, a style in vogue in several Latin American countries lately, including Venezuela (whose ruling party is linked to APRA) as well as Argentina and Colombia. Such a fashion suits U.S. imperialism's present needs well right now. It is a kind of nationalism characterised by such thin tricks as the Venezuelan government's "independent" declaration of an economic austerity programme the equal of any imposed by the International Monetary Fund, then turning around and "refusing to negotiate" with the IMF. This is one particular trick which García may well imitate, according to a *New York Times* article written to reassure confused American bankers who exhibited unfounded jitters around García's election.

APRA was founded in 1924 under the influence of the bourgeois Mexican revolution and the then-bourgeois revolutionary Kuomintang in China, although unlike the KMT at that time, the APRA has always been violently anti-communist. More recently, it became a member of the Socialist International. Today APRA is affiliated with the "socialist" governments of Spain and France whose loyalty to the U.S. bloc is incontestable. (In fact, García, who at age 36 is said to be bringing about a "modernisation"—that is, Europeanisation—of Peruvian politics, was trained in Madrid and Paris.)

The much-publicised talk about the possibility of the elections resulting in a coup was based to some extent, on the fact that the armed forces had launched several coups, most recently in 1962, to keep APRA out of office. It was this 1962 coup which after an interval of military rule brought Belaunde to power for the first time, the next year.

However, in 1968 the Armed Forces turned around, threw Belaunde out, and proceeded to steal—that is, to implement—APRA's historic programme of na-

tionalisation of foreign enterprises. This led many Apristas, along with much of the so-called left today united behind Barrantes, to provide the new government with many of its cadre. APRA's alliance with the military and its increasingly indispensable role for the ruling class was symbolised by the fact that APRA brokered the military's reinstatement of civilian politics and helped engineer a civilian stamp of approval on the new armed forces-inspired constitution 12 years later. Belaunde returned to office in 1980 as a consequence of this move.

Without trying to summarise the evolution of the relations between APRA, Belaunde and the armed forces themselves, this history certainly makes it clear that in Peru it has always been the armed forces whose vote counts.

APRA once enjoyed something of a "populist" reputation as a party whose offices were always open to a man looking for work or even just a free haircut. This has a lot to do with its efforts to build up a political machine in better-off, more capitalistically-developed areas of the country and among somewhat better-off strata, both through extensive patronage and its demands for nationalisation. The other side of the coin is that it never won any significant support in the countryside. When the nationalisation of U.S. oil companies and other enterprises was finally carried out in 1968 by the military, it did not in any way lighten U.S. imperialist domination of Peru—which has tremendously increased according to any objective economic standard—nor even much effect the particular financial interests involved, such as the Rockefeller interests, which continue to rake off superprofits through loan capital instead of direct industrial investments.

Robbed of much real point in demanding more nationalisations—although he did—García's call for a "nationalist, democratic and popular government" rested upon one main programmatic promise: that he would stand up to the "foreign banks that profit from our misery" by forcing them to accept a limitation on Peru's payments of its

foreign debts to no more than 20% of the amount brought in by the sale of exports.

Peru's \$13.5 billion debt to imperialist governments and banks is a consequence and reflection of its enslavement to foreign finance capital. This debt has jumped by 50% in the last five years, while the country has plunged deeper and deeper into economic disaster. Now theoretically Peru is supposed to pay 80% of its export earnings to the U.S. and other imperialist governments and banks. But for almost a year it hasn't been able to pay a single cent. For all practical purposes the country is bankrupt. García's proposal could only be welcomed by any realistic imperialist.

Gold-Medal Revisionism

APRA's partner in this passionless election drama was the United Left candidate, Lima mayor Alfonso Barrantes, who easily matched APRA in the vagueness of his rhetoric and the viciousness of its intentions. His campaign slogan, "against imperialist exploitation, for defense of life and the fatherland" came down to demanding that Peru declare a total moratorium on debt payments—in other words, making a slogan of the status quo under Belaunde. This, from a "socialist" whose coalition includes pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese revisionist and pro-Albanian parties, in other words, nearly the entire legal "left" of Peru, and which in turn has been much touted as an example to follow by opportunism of various stripes all over the world!

Of course both candidates were alike in their attitude towards that revolution and the party leading it, since they were in agreement on continuing Peru's subjugation in the first place. No one was shocked that García, in a "surprise" visit to Ayacucho (made a "surprise" allegedly for security reasons, which relieved him of having to explain why few came out to welcome him) confined his criticisms to "small-time corrupt judges and bad policemen" without *mentioning* the armed forces who have directly carried out the bulk of the bloodbath and who are legally in charge of all the other forces involved. What did

surprise a couple of people is that Barrantes, that "socialist," also never mentioned the armed forces during his campaign, not even uttering the hypocritical wishes for a more constitutional counterrevolutionary war sometimes expressed by others in his coalition. Instead Barrantes seemed to compete with García in presenting himself as an implacable foe of the PCP and the revolution it is leading.

The question of the counterrevolutionary actions of the armed forces, like the question of Peru's subjugation itself, was simply covered over by a conspiracy of silence entered into by these two self-styled "leftists" carrying out an election campaign while the armed forces were carrying out the most bloody carnage in Peru's history.

A Peruvian liberal writing in the Spanish press cried out in amazement when García went so far as to say that Amnesty International's documented charges of what it called "human rights violations" by the Peruvian armed forces "remained to be proven"—a stand that, as the columnist pointed out, not even the most pro-government press in Lima had dared take—while Barrantes didn't even take García up on this unbelievable assertion. And these men were supposed to be rivals!

One could conclude, as some people charitably disposed towards the Garcías and Barrantes of this world have done, that they avoided the subject out of fear that the armed forces would otherwise block their way into office. But there is more at stake here than personal opportunism. The whole election charade these men were partners in had no other purpose than to politically and ideologically strengthen the counterrevolution and its murderous efforts.

Without a Barrantes, García's inevitable election just wouldn't have been the same. The political aims of the counterrevolution required the participation of this counterrevolutionary "revolutionary" in order to play out the electoral farce to the fullest. To enhance it, some masks were necessary. When the United Left released its presidential programme it suppressed the section

detailing how it proposed to deal with the armed struggle—all the better to rope in the gullible. But Barrantes, like García, appeared before the armed forces' "school of higher studies," in other words, its political command, to explain his programme. The scholarly generals pronounced themselves fully satisfied. The Navy—the Navy that includes the Marines, the Navy whose actions in the mountains have given birth to the new word among the peasants for strategic hamlets—"navalisation"—awarded Barrantes a medal just before the elections.

The bottom line for Peru's ruling classes and their armed forces was expressed by Armed Forces head and Minister of War General Julian Julia, who said that no matter which party won, "there is no possibility of a military veto. A United Left government would be a great experience to go through, and as for the APRA, our differences with them are past history."

Julian also said, "For us the communist danger is represented only by Sendero Luminoso and not by the United Left. The eventual triumph of the United Left would not mean any danger because its Marxism is developed within the framework of the democratic institutions." The armed forces, of course, are Peru's most important "democratic institution."

The differences between APRA and the United Left are perhaps best explained by García, who told a news agency that he and his "good friend" Barrantes actually shared the APRA programme. Recalling that Barrantes was once an APRA member, García remarked that the real problem with the United Left is that Barrantes does not have control over all the forces within his coalition. This later point seems to have been a slap at the pro-Soviet forces and other elements whose main difference with the APRA is a preference for Soviet imperialism over the U.S.-bloc variety.

Blessings Expected and Otherwise

In the weeks before he assumed office, García did everything possible to make clear what to expect from his government. He made his pilgrimages: to Spain, to discuss

possible Spanish-government support for his proposed "reduced" IMF payments; to Italy, for similar talks with the Italian government and to receive, from the Pope, the same blessing the Pope had just given Belaunde; to France, which owns 35% of Peru's foreign debt, where he "just went to buy some books." After that García was to head to the U.S. for the ultimate blessing.

But the strangest benediction came from Fidel Castro. In an interview in the Madrid newspaper *El Pais*, given in January 1985—three months before the Peru elections—Castro delivered a Latin American foreign policy lecture to the U.S., advising it not to push its weight around too much, or else "a social outbreak could occur in Latin America, where there are large masses of peasants, workers, students, intellectuals and middle strata in an increasingly desperate situation. One would have to be blind not to see that....Look at Peru: what will Alan García find when he receives the presidential sash? An insupportable economic situation, insoluble social problems and guerrillas in the mountains. Nobody can explain the increasing activity of these guerrillas because nobody knows very well what Sendero Luminoso thinks, what it is and what it wants."

Castro can read and knows very well what the PCP thinks of all forms of revisionism, Castro-type included. The PCP has made it plain to all who care to know that it is leading a revolution to liberate Peru from imperialism and serve the world revolution and not to follow Castro in trading one imperialist master for another. Perhaps here Castro is following a policy noted before among some pro-Soviet forces, of on the one hand attacking and defaming the PCP and on the other leaving the door open to try to seek some advantage by dressing up as possible allies of the revolution. But with this offer of sympathy and understanding to Peru's future chief executive executioner, faced with what is apparently the most horrible thing Castro can imagine, "Sendero Luminoso," Castro is certainly making a contribution to clarifying



"Long live the First Anniversary of the Ayacucho Prison Breakout! Long Live the Guerrilla War! Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!"

pro-Soviet revisionism's position in relation to the Peruvian (and all other) revolution.

First Bloody Measures

"My government will have the authority and the energy to combat terrorism," García proclaimed as he prepared to wrap the presidential sash around his belly, "it will be us or them." At the same time he announced the first measures he intended to carry out upon taking office July 28th.

First, the return to his post of General Huaman, "political-military commander" of the area Belaunde had put under military rule, until Belaunde replaced him. Huaman, politically linked to APRA and the United Left, had been fired for publically complaining that "military means are not enough" to crush the revolution. Apparently he thinks that with the elections and García in its arsenal, the armed forces can do better now, although he will find that the "emergency zone" has more than doubled since he last commanded it, due to the successes of the PCP's offensives of the last year.

Huaman's civilian fan club is fond of pointing out that he speaks Quechua and comes from Huanta, a province in the northern part of the department of Ayacucho. He's even referred to abroad as a sort of "people's general." A lawyer for a peasant organisation, however, has been quoted as saying it would be better to compare him with Pizarro—the *conquistador* who led in subjugating Peru's Indians and wiping out eight million.

Under Huaman's command, during the first six months of 1984, when he was in charge of all administrative and military matters in the emergency zone, the Marines set up their notorious concentration camp in a Huanta sports stadium, organised paramilitary death squads and carried out large-scale search and destroy operations which resulted in the depopulation of entire areas of the province. It was toward the end of his command that the first of a series of mass graves of the armed forces' victims were uncovered in Huanta.

In addition, according to

Amnesty International, which studied information available to them about the 600 "suspected guerrillas" that the armed forces under Huaman's command *reported* killed in the emergency zone during those six months, "a great many" of the dead "were killed after surrendering or being captured," and as for the rest, "a great number had nothing to do with the guerrillas." So when Huaman says "military means are not enough," he apparently does not mean that any drop of blood should be spared. He simply means that in any war, no matter how counterrevolutionary, the reactionaries' military efforts must always be accompanied by efforts to win the "hearts and minds" of their victims and others.

Secondly, García announced, members of the police and armed forces accused of "violating the rights of man" would be brought to court—sent to the same courts that have so far failed to take any steps against any of them no matter how flagrant the evidence and admissions, and sent by the same man who declared that any such accusations of the "rights of man" "remained to be proven."

Target: Fronton

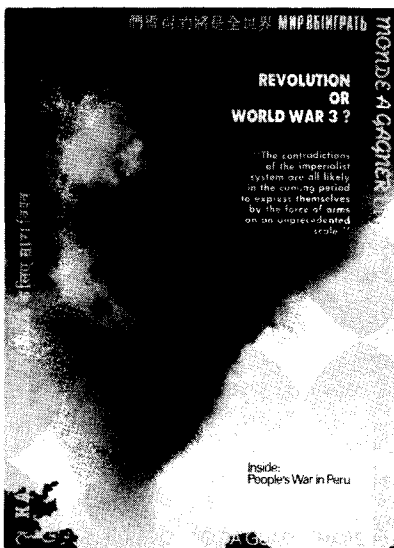
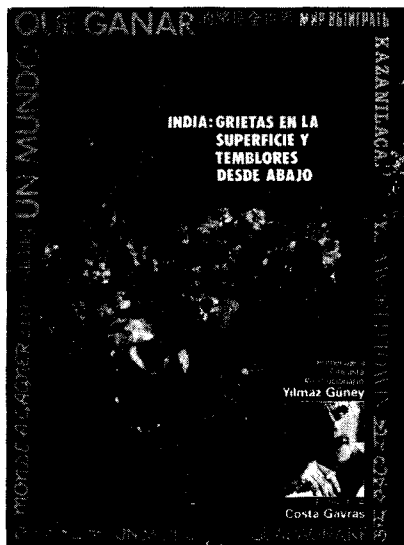
Lastly, the Fronton island prison near Lima has become an embarrassment to the government because of the intense and determined political activities of the nearly 400 suspected revolutionaries kept there. In April 1982, after the PCP began carrying out its "jailbreak policy," most notably in the taking of the departmental jail in Ayacucho, Belaunde had suspected revolutionaries from jails all over the country concentrated in this closed-down island dungeon. Later, this government policy turned into its opposite, because despite vengeful conditions imposed by the government, such as cutting off water for drinking, cooking and sanitation, the murder of six of the prisoners and the shooting and wounding of 30 more, and countless other attacks, the revolutionaries became even more dauntless, treating the prison as a place to train politically, ideologically and physically for future combat.

Now García has announced that he will carry out a policy proposed under Belaunde, to remove the revolutionaries from Fronton and scatter them in other prisons around the country. This plan has been denounced in a letter smuggled out of Fronton. Such a move might well involve serious clashes with the prisoners, just as the removal of the prisoners to Fronton from other prisons in the first place was accompanied by beatings, assaults and the shooting of one prisoner. The plan's purpose, the prisoners say, is to isolate them and make it easier for them to be selectively killed or "disappeared." Belaunde was not able to carry out this plan that García is now promising to fulfill. But after all, being able to do more to try to smash the revolution is what this "reformer" was chosen for.

García and his government may think that the elections and dumping Belaunde has won them some authority, but they have some problems to solve—problems for which they have no real solution. And as far as the armed forces being the arbiter of the country's destiny, to do that they have to win the war. Just who will arbitrate Peru's destiny—its long-time oppressors, with all their tricks and guns, or the armed masses of people, led by the proletariat and its party—is a question that will be settled on the field of battle. □

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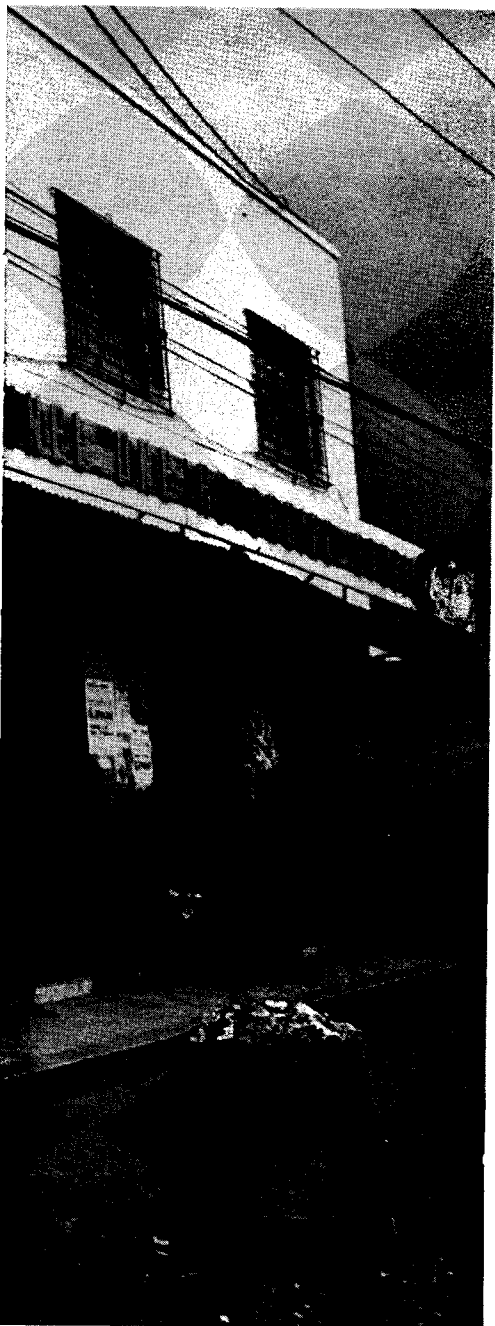
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Kingston



Reggae: Jamaica's Rebel Music

By Rita Forest*

"On the day that Bob Marley died I was buying vegetables in the market town of Kasr El Kebir in northern Morocco. Kasr El Kebir was a great city with running water and streetlights when London and Paris were muddy villages. Moroccans tend not to check for any form of western music, vastly preferring the odes of the late great Om Kalthoum or the latest pop singer from Cairo or Beirut. But young Moroccans love Bob Marley, the only form of non-Arabic music I ever saw country Moroccans willingly dance to. That afternoon in Kasr El Kebir, Bob Marley banners in Arabic were strung across the main street. . . ." (Stephen Davis, *Reggae International*, 1982).

Reggae, a music barely 20 years old, has penetrated remote deserts in Mali, is played by aborigines in Australia, has hit the top ten in countries all over Europe, and has influenced musicians on every continent. When these sounds get carried around the planet to places where there are only batteries to power the rare tape player, it is certain that a very deep chord has been struck among the masses.

Jamaica, the Caribbean island

from which this burst forth, has been described as a "very small connection that's glowing red-hot" between "two extremely heavy cultures"—Africa and North America. But reggae (and its predecessors, ska and rock-steady) came sparking off that red-hot wire at a *particular moment*—a time in the mid-1960s when Jamaica was in the throes of a mass migration from the countryside to the city. These people, driven from the green hills into the hellish tangle of Kingston shantytowns, created reggae music.

This same jolting disruption of a centuries-old way of life has also shaped the existence of many millions of people in cities around the world today. And the best of reggae, which righteously confronted the horror that is "modern" life for the masses in these citadels, quickly found an international audience of youth overripe to climb to some higher heights:

*Rita Forest is a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A., and an activist in the cultural sphere. This article has been slightly edited for publication in *AWTW*.

“Burning and a-lootin’ tonight
 Burning all pollution tonight
 Burning all illusions tonight.”

“Burning’ and Lootin’” — The
 Wailers

By any calculation reggae has been a huge musical explosion comparable in some ways to the birth of rock n’ roll in the U.S. Kingston, for example, has grown to be the largest producer of singles per capita of any city in the world—and almost all of it reggae.

What was it about Jamaica, the times, the world, that gave us this music?

In Michael Thelwell’s novel *The Harder They Come*, adapted from the film of the same name, Ivan, a Kingston “rude boy” (ghetto youth in and around the Jamaican music scene) tries to visit his family’s home in the mountains after several years of living in the city. “Nothing was familiar.... Bush-bush full up everywhere. But...dis couldn’t the right place after all? Right down dere should be the tin roof. You mean say bush-bush grow up, cover it?...”

“There was no evidence of the passage of his generations, the ancestors whose intelligence, industry and skill had created a self-sufficient homestead here. None—at all....”

His grandmother who had raised him up there had died several years earlier; his mother was back down in Kingston working at starvation pay as a washerwoman; his uncles were long gone off the land and had met their ends all over the globe. One died in World War 2 fighting for the British; another went to cut cane in Cuba and was never heard from again; another was serving a life sentence in the Kingston penitentiary for killing his wife....

“Ah shoulda did stay an’ tek care of de place, he thought. The worst insult that people has was sneering, ‘Cho, you no come from nowhe’.... He wanted to go get a machete, to cut a path to the graves and clear the bush away. But...what de raas is de use... What’s the fucken use? He felt empty, and frightened, futile, miserable, and very alone. He would never, he swore, come back ever.”

He continued down the road to

the former home of Maas’ Nattie, the man who’d raised him like a father, and discovered that two American tourists had taken over the backyard and were lazily smoking ganja and sunbathing, stark naked. Ivan watched while one of them tried to milk a male goat, then jumped on his motorbike in disgust and sped away over the mountains and through the foothills choked with bauxite dust, back down to Kingston. From that moment on, he refused to look back, and with nothing to lose, he shot cops and sang his way to fame and notoriety. He was an outlaw, and a fearless hero to those being ground up in this new urban “promised land”—a concrete jungle where you couldn’t even find a clean glass of water, let alone a day’s work.

1962: Jamaican “Independence”

In the late 1950s, the Jamaican countryside was getting ripped apart by U.S. capital more intensively than almost any other Caribbean island. They took over from the British plantation-style rule after discovering bauxite there during World War 2. Major U.S. and Canadian aluminium companies appropriated huge areas of land from the peasants and left gaping strip-mined valleys of the burning red dirt all through the Jamaican hills. More people were forced off the land with the stagnation of the British sugar plantations, as well as the growth of tourism. They flocked to Kingston to survive, pitching tin shacks on a reclaimed garbage dump in the harbour. There were a few jobs on the docks and in some new U.S. plants, but for most the pickings were slim and many kept going. In the 1950s and 1960s, one-eighth of the population emigrated. (Today only 2 1/2 of the 4 million Jamaicans in the world actually live on the island.)

As Jamaica lurched from British crown colony to U.S. neo-colony, the island’s local bourgeoisie got a lift as they hitched themselves to this new capital and the freshly-stirred waves of nationalism that surged up off the “independence” celebration in 1962. They had a new style of rule, and a greater freedom and necessity to promote and especially to try to gain control of a “national”

culture.

As it happened, a musical storm of such gigantic proportions and deep roots among the oppressed was growing up from below that it would spin out of their grasp. . . .

There is more than symbolic significance to the story of the son of a white Jamaican ruling class family who was born in the U.S., graduated from Harvard (and not Britain’s Oxford) in the late 1950s, and returned home to Jamaica to do anthropological work among the peasants, investigating folk practices such as *obeah* and musical traditions associated with Pukkumina religion. He soon moved to Kingston, set up a small recording company to document this culture, then turned his attention to the music scene in the West Kingston ghettos and became one of Jamaica’s first record producers. This young music entrepreneur was none other than the current Jamaican prime minister and man-on-the scene for U.S. imperialism, Edward Seaga.

When he entered politics in 1959, Seaga secured a constituency in one of the toughest new ghettos in West Kingston with his music credentials, and introduced guns onto the street along with systematic gangster-style violence to force “loyalty” among this very angry and volatile section of the population. He also put to full use his earlier study of peasant religious practices and superstitions in his political rallies and slogans. This is the man, head of the Jamaican Labour Party, who came to be known internationally as CIAga for his mafiosa-style services and overall political assistance to the U.S. bourgeoisie—which has continually manoeuvred for a tighter hold on its backyard island—and who was publicly denounced for running guns for the CIA into Jamaica in the late 1960s. Exactly how much his early career was sculpted along these lines with outside interests is not entirely clear.

For the next two decades and continuing today Seaga and all rival bourgeois politicians, particularly the up and coming “socialist” leader of the People’s National Party, Michael Manley, would be forced to deal in the currency of the “sufferah,” the sufferers in the city—and

reggae would figure large in this.

The Rise of Reggae

The first strains of the new music arose as transistor radios cropped up on the streets of Kingston and the rude boys started popping their fingers to the tunes of Fats Domino, Brook Benton, the Drifters and other rhythm and blues singers who were being blasted out from U.S. radio stations in nearby New Orleans and Miami. At the time, the locally-produced music scene was relatively barren, at least compared to Trinidad's calypso or the Latin beats of the Spanish-speaking islands. For the youth, an evening's entertainment was provided by the roving disc jockeys (DJs) holding court from trucks stacked with monster speakers: the "sound system" dance. Competition among these legendary figures was ferocious, each DJ vying for the attention of the crowd who demanded the hottest and newest releases from the U.S. When, in the early 1960s, this pop music became slick and soft and their audience required something new and tougher, DJs like Coxsone Dodd and Duke Reid opened recording studios, and by 1963 a new *Jamaican* sound was in the air. Ska was a brassy, jumpy blend of rhythm and blues, jazz riffs, rock n' roll, mento (a calypso-influenced Jamaican folk music), gospel, Latin and big band horns, and the African beat of the Rastafarian burru drummers. The originators of this sound included the Skatallites, made up of the cream of Jamaica's jazz men who had grown tired of answering tourists' requests for "Yellow Bird" and bastardised calypso on the hotel circuit. Beginning in 1963, an historic collaboration took place in Coxsone's Studio One between the Skatallites and the Wailers, who were one of the expert harmony groups then springing up in the government yards (housing projects) among the toughest youth in Kingston. The astonishing music that issued from these sessions would soon put the new generation of rude boys like Ivan on the stage for the first time.

"Jail house keeps empty/
Rudie gets healthy

Baton sticks get shorter/
Rudie gets taller
...Can't fight against the youth/
Cause it's wrong

Prediction:

Them people a-going wild
Dem a rude rude people...
What has been hidden
From the 'wise' and the polluted
Will be revealed

In the heat of the summer sun

Oh Rudie, be wise..."

"Jailhouse," also called "Rudie"—
The Wailers

Rarely has a song so captured the brooding and insolent confidence of youth coming of age in an uninhabitable place which is itself "new," but already a virtual bomb-site. The musical response at the end of each line came like a threat and a statement of fact—sung in the sweetest of harmonies.

This type of thing was not at all what the local bourgeoisie had in mind for their "post-Independence" Jamaican culture, and all along the way they tried to redirect it—with Seaga often as pointman. At first the Skatallites were ridiculed for playing "bongo" music, but as early as 1964, Seaga, as Minister of Development, tried to take over ska, introducing it at the New York World's Fair with a hand-picked delegation of musicians, passing over the universally-acknowledged rude boy originators. These youth had lately become even more outlawed because of their association with Rastafarian (and ganja-smoking) musicians who were neither respectable nor willing to be hired thugs for either of the two major Jamaican political parties. The official policy on these unruly "seeds": "Kill it, before they grow..." as one famous song would put it.

But in the next few years, as ska slowed down into the "rock steady" style and finally around 1967-68 to reggae, the music became thoroughly dominated by the rude boys. The music took over the sound system dances and jukeboxes, selling huge numbers of singles—but all the while it was almost completely banned from the radio. The national culture was definitely splitting in two, with polite society (to say nothing of the tourist board!) properly

horrified at these rebels wearing their hair in thick "natty" dreadlocks (long, tight curls) who were also beginning to gain a little notoriety internationally as well.

The country was further polarising in all ways. By 1969, Jamaica was listed as having the most unequal distribution of income of any country in the world—truly a "black man's hell in a white man's paradise," as reggae artist Gregory Isaacs would sing it.

Huge numbers of youth, with no jobs, no future and in most cases, no way to ever get off the island, were being bombarded with American goods, culture and enticements via the English-speaking media and relatives returning from abroad. Reggae came like a blast of fresh fury blown back in the face of U.S. imperialism. It was another stunning example of the fact that for all its efforts to forcibly recruit the world to the American way, those people they oppress are just as likely to take such U.S. exports and transform them in their own manner. In the case of reggae, they were beaming back a fierce new music which turned the beat from abroad on its head.

Browsing through bins of old reggae singles, you come across a common graphic theme—a clenched fist in several variations—with label names to match: "Voice of the People," "Bullet," "Wail 'M Soul 'M," "Tit for Tat," "Hungry Town," "Clinch." The upheavals of the world were starting to make themselves felt in Jamaica in brutal ways. The influence of the Black Liberation Movement in the United States also arrived in Kingston where many people found it decidedly unforeign. The Wailers wore their hair in Afros back in the late 1960s before growing dreadlocks, and their "Soul Revolution" album featured them decked out in guerrilla gear resembling uniforms worn by the Black Panther Party at the time.

While reggae, like any musical form, has also produced its share of insipid love songs and boring pop remakes throughout its history, what is striking is that most of the best reggae musicians have always considered themselves "warriors against Babylon," as they refer to the oppressor's system. And the sound of

the music has from the beginning attracted the ears of thousands of youth like Ivan who know from torturous experience that there is no going back to "simpler times." And most wouldn't want to anyhow.¹

So the stage was set for the rise of reggae in Jamaica—including the fact that Kingston had developed economically to the point it could support an embryonic record industry, an unlikely eventuality in neighboring Haiti, or the Dominican Republic at that time.

But another ingredient was added into this new musical mix.

The Rastafarians

"...Cause I feel like
Bombing a church
Now that you know
The preacher is lying.
So who's gonna stay at home
When the freedom fighters
Are fightin'?"

"Talking Blues"—Bob Marley

Most reggae musicians hold to the Rastafarian world view. This militant turning of Christianity upside down has had its own odd results—clearly not all of them negative. Right at the moment when Seaga and Manley & Co. had hoped to gather the masses around in a respectable congregation of "freed" colonial subjects content with the new terms of their enslavement, boom! up pops natty dread who wants none of it. Most significantly, the Rastas had no patience for Christian promises of the good life when you're dead and gone. If the times were "dread," the possibility of overthrowing the whole order was also alive in the world, if presently out of reach—and this new creed demanded black redemption here on earth. Africa, the scene of recent struggles against imperialism, was where it was to be found—quite logical for a people stolen from that continent as slaves and stranded on an island which was becoming increasingly intermeshed with the world, but on the most savage terms. They were confronting the violent intrusion of capitalist relations into peasant society which Marx described 100 years earlier:

"In our days everything seems pregnant with its contrary. Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labour, we behold starving and overworking it. The newfangled sources of wealth, by some strange wierd spell, are turned into sources of want. The victories of art seem bought by loss of character. At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men or to his own infamy."—Karl Marx, "Speech at the Anniversary of the *People's Paper*"

"Rastaman first bring civilisation on ya..." goes a reggae tune called the "History of Captivity" by Carlton Jackson. So it seemed to many in the jungle of Kingston whose history consisted of centuries of slavery, colonial rule and neo-colonial "modernisation"—all of it bearing the stamp of approval of the Christian preacher so gruesomely depicted in *The Harder They Come*.

But, as has happened before in history when an oppressed people mount the stage, preparing to overthrow much that has been held sacred, the pull to at least make peace with your god sometimes becomes irresistible. Rastafarianism considers itself a religion of liberation, doing battle against both real and "spiritual" chains, but relying on much of the mysticism and non-scientific explanations that bind one's origin and to some degree one's destiny to a Creator and his emissaries on the planet earth. In this case, the Christian enforcer of imperialism was replaced by a god and tradition from Africa, complete with a neo-colonial lackey, Haile Selassie.² Rastas also held closely to the Bible which was often the only book Jamaicans owned and read, and many of its precepts have gone unquestioned, becoming mingled with African traditions "from ancience" in an attempt to explain and resist the assaults of this modern world. Coupled with this is the tendency to incorporate and extol the widespread smoking of ganja into Rastafarianism (whose mysticism finds a variety of interpretations

within the reggae scene).

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, has compared the Rastafarian movement to that of the Jewish people at the time "Revelations" was written (around 60 A.D.). This New Testament book, often quoted by Rastas, predicted the destruction of the Roman Empire and "reflected the position of the Jewish people...in that period...a people sorely oppressed by but in many ways marginal to the Empire." He adds that the Rastafarian movement today "to a significant degree finds its basis among sections of society that have been reduced to a largely marginal existence by the workings of imperialism—particularly peasants driven off the land in Jamaica into the cities, or even into other countries such as imperial Britain or the United States, finding themselves in a declassed or semi-declassed situation. That, however, is not the whole picture, because for one thing in a period like the immediate one, where in most countries and on a world scale the forces of the proletarian revolution are still weak and still recovering from recent and devastating defeats (above all the loss of socialist China), more than a few oppressed proletarians will be drawn toward movements like the Rastafarians." (From "Provolutions," *Revolutionary Worker*, October 28, 1983)

The "semi-declassed," or semi-proletarian sector is quite vast in Jamaica because, as in many oppressed countries, the development of the proletariat has been severely stunted by imperialism, confined largely to miners and workers in the tourist industry or government—many of whom are *relatively* well off. Both of the national bourgeois political parties were strong in the miners' unions, for instance, while the more radical Rastafarian movement grew up among these landless peasants forced to hustle in the city—very tough people with nothing to lose, not even a plot of yams, but (partly because of their conditions of life) still fettered with superstitions and practices of an earlier time. This has meant that while most have some understand-

ding that it is the tentacles of imperialism which are choking off their lives, many have come to the conclusion that bringing down this monster can only be done with the help of a force *outside* this world.

This contradictory position has led on the one hand to the creation of songs like the following which mockingly puncture Christian illusions that affect the outlook and struggle of the oppressed:

“Well they tell me of a pie up in the sky
 Waiting for me when I die.
 But between the day you’re born
 and when you die
 They never seem to hear you
 when you cry.
 So as sure as the sun will shine
 I’m gonna get my share now,
 what’s mine
 And then the harder they come
 The harder they fall,
 one and all.
 Cos I’d rather be a free man
 In my grave
 Than living as a puppet
 or a slave.”

— Jimmy Cliff

Yet, the pull of feudalism weighs heavily, and nowhere more brutally than in the “sacred” sphere of relations between men and women. The Rastafarians generally uphold peasant customs regarding the woman as childbearer and obedient mate. In Kingston, less than one quarter of the mothers are legally married, but pressures are so intense in the ghetto that a whole vocabulary has sprung up to describe the most common familial relations: “baby-mother” or “baby-father” referring to the parent. And conversation is littered with expressions like “He bred her,” “He control her,” “He rule her” to describe “normal” love relations.

Among Rastafarians these practices are only modified with attempts to sequester the woman further, “honouring” her as a “queen” while maintaining hegemony in the household. The enraging twist here is that this reaction to the degradation of urban capitalist society ends up being yet another excuse to tighten the chains on women, this



Bob Marley

time in the name of "African tradition." And even some of the best reggae groups put these byzantine sentiments embarrassingly to music:

"She's my queen/
I'm her King man
...I a warrior
with my comforter
Behold how good
and pleasant it is
She'll stand by me
Birds of a feather
We worship Jah together...
Sitting on a throne of gold."
"Throne of Gold"—Steel Pulse

The kicker comes when the "ministers of the western shitstems" as Peter Tosh describes them, are said to "design it that the woman see herself as the dominant figure" when it's the Rastaman that is the rightful "king of the jungle." Ironically, these Old Testament dictums circulating among the oppressed only serve to keep those rulers in power, and once again go to prove Marx's comment: "Everything that exists has this much worth, that it will perish."

Politics and Religion

"Fighting spiritual wickedness
In this concrete wilderness...
It's not my intention to be a warrior
But constant aggravation make I
man rude.
That's why I'm a warrior,
Reggae warrior...Rasta warrior"
"Reggae Warrior"—Pablo Moses

By many estimates, over a million people, almost half the population of Jamaica, attended the funeral of Bob Marley in 1981. On his deathbed, Marley was given the Order of Merit (Jamaican version of knighthood), and Prime Minister Seaga presided over the funeral of this man who five years earlier his own Jamaican Labour Party had, it is widely believed, tried to murder.³

It seems that great contradictions are in store for a ruling class when an artist rises to world renown status and remains at the same time a sworn enemy (or even serious critic) of their rule. They have on their hands what they would like to claim as a national treasure, and so they

cannot indiscriminately or blatantly snuff them out without suffering great political damage. Yet the strength of the art makes the protest of the artist all the more compelling to the masses.

This situation is full of contradictions for the oppressed as well, particularly in these times when throughout the world revolutionary leadership is lagging behind what is needed, and people have come to look towards the most radical public figures around for some direction. These have often been artists, in part, ironically, because the bourgeoisie is forced at times to watch its step with them. But the problem here lies in the fact that artists are simply not equipped to lead the revolutionary movement, at least not *as artists*. The demand that they do so only undermines the process by which actual revolutionary leadership is developed, and simultaneously tends to drag down their art to the level of tedious pedagogy: people need real propaganda and agitation on the political problems of the world, and instead get an article set to music.

While all art is political because all artists, like everyone else, have a political worldview, and will by necessity bring this to their creations, art fulfills a different human requirement than political education. Confusion on this question has reigned for decades, partly due to revisionist dictates that the artist function as educator and leader. Marley understood this contradiction a bit better: "These songs, people understand them, or they cyann (can't) understand them, but ya have fe sing them just the same. Ya really have fe sing them. What the people want is the *beauties*, mon."

Reggae won its place in the hearts and minds of people on the strength of the "beauties," but in the volatile Jamaican political scene of the 1970s where the masses were courted by demagogic "socialists" and the more open U.S. lackeys, both of whom ultimately maintained neo-colonial rule through naked force, people increasingly looked to reggae artists as their political representatives.

This situation was further complicated by the fact that a great many

reggae musicians, as Rastafarians, are also widely looked to as *spiritual* leaders, and their music as spreading the message of "Jah" to people cast out of their African homeland.

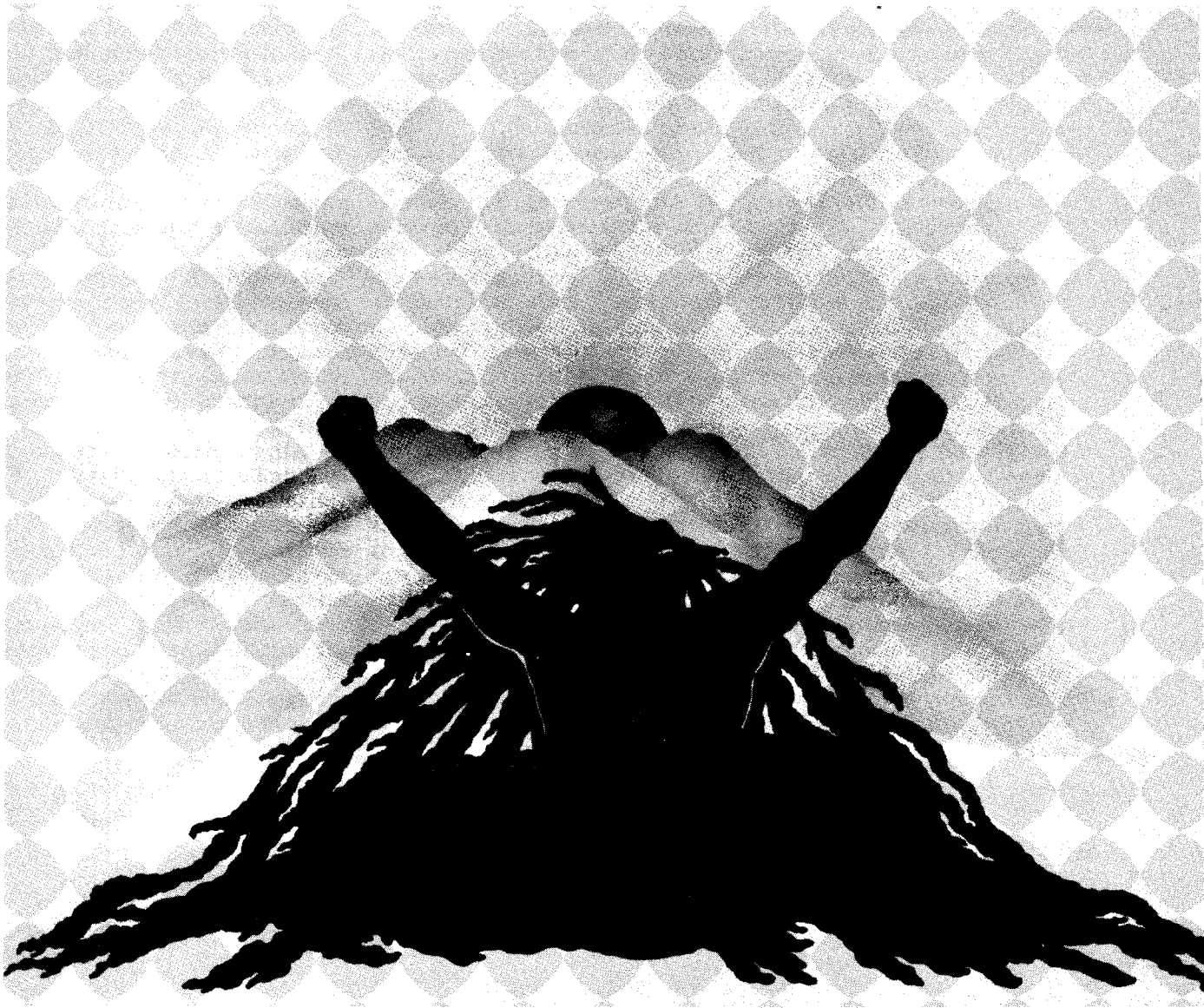
"Cause the wicked carried us away
in captivity
Require from us a song,
But how can we sing
King Alfa's song*
In a strange land?"
"Rivers of Babylon"—The Melodians

(*King Alfa led an army against Nebechadnezzar, the ruler of Babylon.)

As Peter Tosh often puts it: "The singers and players of instruments are the only true prophets in this time." This confluence of contradictions raises the ante on these musicians, making their art and lives the subject of intense scrutiny among the Jamaican masses who demand much from individuals they consider political and spiritual guides. But the contradiction cuts both ways. Under pressure to "lead a movement," or at least be "more" than an artist, many of these musicians have nonetheless created soaring works of art.

How can this be? Marley was once asked if "Dem Belly Full" was a tract on starvation and wealth. He answered, no, not exactly. "...Food might be in your belly but there's more to life than just filling it." The very strivings of many reggae musicians for something higher than more food in the belly, even if those aspirations take religious form, have propelled the best of reggae into a realm beyond the pedestrian "protest music" which typically complains and "educates"...and never takes you higher.

This spiritual outlook also tends to veer away from some of the narrowness of the Pan Africanist vision among many Rastafarians. Although this philosophy has chiefly been one of *black* redemption, taking as its legacy the Garvey back-to-Africa movement in the 1920s as well as the African liberation struggles of the 1960s, this sentiment of reggae band Big Youth is widespread: "It's a peoples' music.



I just deal with no one people. I deal with people throughout the earth.” With this philosophy, Jamaican nationalism carries even less weight: “We like Jamaica, but Jamaica is spoiled as far the Rastaman is concerned...when we check out the system here we see death. And Rastaman seh, life.” (Bob Marley)

But if the sights of many reggae musicians go beyond the “fussing and fighting” of Jamaican bourgeois politicking, they still figure large in the class struggle there exactly because they command battalions among the masses on the basis of their political and spiritual authority. This has made life as a

reggae artist extremely hazardous. While it often appears that they can “chant down Babylon” with impunity (especially if they can be harnessed to someone’s political campaign as, for example in 1972 when Manley used the song “Better Mus Come” by artist Delroy Wilson), further down the road they could be found rotting in General Penitentiary or dead in a ditch. The international music press does not usually find it “newsworthy,” but many, many reggae artists have been beaten nearly to death by the cops, spent time in jail or had their records banned from the radio as subversive. Within the last few years at

least a dozen have died under suspicious if not murderous circumstances. And despite rhetoric to the contrary, Manley’s “socialist” regime from 1972 to 1980 provided no safe haven. Bob Marley in 1978: “These things are heavier than anyone can understand. People that are not involved don’t know it...” and “A man look at me and say, ‘Bob, you need protection.’ Can you tell me what that means...I am walking on the streets and a big politician going to call me and tell me say I need protection. Now *they* run the country and they call me and tell me and say, ‘Bob, you need protection.’”

"We're Bubbling Up on the Top 100, Just Like a Mighty Dread"

There is something to be learned from the course which reggae took within the U.S. market. On the face of it, the promotion of someone like Marley or Peter Tosh might be the last thing one would expect from the corporate tycoons in 1976. This was, after all, the "height" of the lull, politically speaking, in the U.S. No mass movement was propelling such characters onto the stage as had been true in the late 1960s.

Yet this was exactly when major promotion of reggae acts first occurred in the U.S. Island Records, who had first signed Bob Marley (and the Wailers) back in 1972, began in 1976 to throw the tens of thousands of dollars into the backing of *Rastaman Vibration* which was needed to get it played and to push reggae off the ground. It was also around this time that the U.S. media giant, Columbia Broadcast Systems (CBS) did its first significant promotion of reggae with Peter Tosh's *Equal Rights*. And Virgin Records, a recent split-off from the Island label based in Great

Britain, went down to Jamaica in 1976 with fists full of money and signed a number of acts to try to get the edge over Island which always had the lion's share of the reggae market internationally.⁴

Virgin meanwhile hooked up huge direct sales of certain reggae records to Africa—sending, for example, hundreds of thousands of copies of a U-Roy album to Nigeria. This strengthened their capital base tremendously (which, according to most accounts, had originated with South African money). But when several West African countries closed their borders to record imports in 1978 to stem the flow of currency, Virgin abruptly phased out reggae, using the profits amassed from this "fad" to move into mainstream rock. (Ironically, the reggae-influenced group, Culture Club, is their latest gold mine.) Bootleg reggae albums continued to sell in massive numbers throughout Africa.

Royalties due to artists from that period of killer contracts have been systematically denied, and in the late 1970s it was not uncommon to see

Virgin's New York offices besieged by furious dreadlocked musicians demanding what was due them. The Mighty Diamonds, for example, whose 1976 *Right Time* album sold in the hundreds of thousands throughout the world, were told by Virgin that their royalties had all gone to "expenses" and instead have recently been sent a *bill* by the company!

Meanwhile, the American press was hailing reggae as the next big sound, and after years of being confined to a kind of cult following (mainly on college radio, in the West Indian communities, and wherever the film *The Harder They Come* played), reggae broke through to land on big radio playlists.

Explanations for this surprising turn of events are complex. It is often noted that the pop music scene internationally at that moment was dead in the water, dominated by tired stadium rock acts—and anyone with ears had them to the ground for something new, including the music industry. Simultaneously, developments in Jamaica had given rise to



Bob Marley's record factory

the unusual appearance of more than one first-rate musician. Reggae had started attracting the attention of artists like the Black American Stevie Wonder who celebrated and borrowed from Marley, and others like British rock singer Eric Clapton who had their own style of "borrowing," taking Marley's songs and cashing in on hygienic versions. (Amazingly, Clapton's version of the song by Bob Marley, "I Shot the Sheriff," received much heavier radio play than Marley's original, even in *Jamaica*—one of the many tactics used there to keep Marley's influence in check.) Quite significantly, the punk movement which blasted out of England beginning in 1976 made common cause with the spirit of reggae, eventually even creating a music which was a wild kind of hybrid of the two—the "ska" sound of the mixed Jamaican and white "2-tone" bands like Selector and English Beat.

Of course, the U.S. bourgeoisie as a whole could hardly have been happy with the dominant reggae artists of the mid-1970s, "chanting down Babylon" to such an infectious beat. But it seems they may have been temporarily prevented from clamping down⁵ on the music in the interests of maintaining illusions of American pluralism in the arts, with the U.S. playing host to world cultures and democratic aspirations. They were, however, assisted in holding reggae in check in a less obvious way by a junior set of cops in the U.S. cultural scene—namely Black radio, which was largely owned and operated by powerful members of the Black bourgeoisie in the U.S.

Black Radio Blockade

A peculiar situation arose as "white" multi-national corporations like Island Records and CBS, which had a product and a potential market, came head to head with Black bourgeois forces who had no intention of seeing their market invaded by unruly foreigners singing about "blackman's redemption" and "It takes a revolution to make a solution..." At the time it was popularly believed that Island was simply racist and ignorant about marketing anything but white rock. Racist they

were, undoubtedly, in the true corporate tradition, but rarely has that overridden the compulsion to pull a profit—at least not for long. Profitability was certainly the reason they produced such incendiary music in the first place, and why they actually did make significant, though largely unsuccessful, efforts to break into the U.S. Black youth audience which buys vast numbers of records and often sets trends that cross over to the even more profitable Top 40 mainstream.

People like Percy Sutton, who ran the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation controlling major Black radio in New York and other cities formed one major obstacle. Sutton's upward social climb was part of the U.S. ruling class effort to bolster the Black bourgeoisie in choking off the Black liberation movement of the late 1960s. The strata he became part of was marked by a profoundly conservative and provincial all-American outlook, who saw Pan-Africanism, for example, as a means to exploit African goods and markets (a principal source of Sutton's personal fortune). Their greater political interests lay in directing the attention of the Black masses in the U.S. to the most narrow of individual concerns, all in the name of "taking care of business *for real*, forget the violent pipe-dreams of the '60s." They were naturally in a relatively better position to deliver this message than the bourgeoisie as a whole, who were happy to see them take on the job.

This brand of Black nationalism was not compatible with much of Kingston reggae, to say the least, and the Black playlists, discos and media were not opened to this music, which was labelled "white," "unintelligible," "undanceable," "jungle music." It got so bad that, of all the major national U.S. publications, including *Time* and *Newsweek*, the only magazine which never wrote a word about Bob Marley was *Ebony*—the quasi-official voice of the Black bourgeoisie. (This, even after interviewing Marley extensively in their offices.)

The blockade was penetrated slightly in the late 1970s when Marley and others were climbing up the pop music charts, and the record

companies were pumping massive promotional money to the stations. The pressure from below also began to mount, as some determined popularisers helped to make the power of this music felt through concert promotions, smaller radio airplay, and almost hand-to-hand record distribution. The artists, too, tried to connect with Black audiences, playing, for example, Harlem's Apollo Theatre, one of the main venues for Black music in New York City, when they could have easily filled an arena downtown instead.

However, the Black bourgeoisie's opposition to reggae cannot be said to be the main reason for its failure to "cross over," or take root among a Black audience in the U.S.. For one thing, most everyone in the U.S., Black or white, had grown up listening to popular music not characterised by the underlying rhythmic "beat" found in reggae and similar sounds. Then too, the atmosphere of upward social mobility that was promoted off the widespread confusion and disillusionment over the results of the movements of the 1960s affected how some Blacks received the rebel spirit of the music. Added to this was the historic antagonism and competition among West Indians and Blacks in the U.S., based on earlier years of migration by more upper class West Indians who often filled "Black" positions in universities, opened small shops, etc.

Rat Race

*"Dem a go tired see me face
Can't get me outa the race."*

—Bob Marley

Reggae's chance at the U.S. mainstream was also relatively short-lived. The big promotional money which had been supporting Marley (and was *de rigueur* for any major rock act) was cut off by Island around 1978. (After this, Marley put his own money into U.S. promotion, especially trying to batter down the doors to Black radio.) Other reggae groups with Island got an even worse deal. All the reasons for this are cloudy, and Island executives are not talking, but strictly on the business level, they may have been wary of

overextending themselves in this music whose U.S. market was seriously (if artificially) circumscribed. And the musicians themselves were not easily "manageable" commodities. Marley, for instance, had refused to continue the U.S. leg of his *Exodus* tour in the summer of 1977 after his toe had been diagnosed as cancerous and he was having trouble even walking on it. Island had urged him to have it cut off so he could continue to do the promotional tour. Marley is also one of the few people on the planet to have turned down an interview with U.S. television "superstar" Barbara Walters.

By 1978, Virgin Records had virtually finished producing reggae, and the other major companies did not sign many new acts after that, even though great music was still coming out of Kingston and Great Britain, and the audience overall was growing. New small companies like *Schanachie* and *Alligator* stepped into the gap, as well as the more established independent labels in Britain, but their distribution couldn't begin to reach the potential audience.

Simultaneously in Britain, reggae hits had mysteriously stopped making it up the pop charts even though they were selling like crazy in the stores. This was particularly suspicious in a country where reggae had been widely popular for over a decade among proletarian youth of all nationalities who listened to it on neighborhood jukeboxes. This rather blatant purging (which would eventually hurt reggae sales significantly) came right on the heels of the 1981 riots in Brixton and other cities in England that were marked by the serious collaboration between the white punks and West Indians.

In 1980, any breaks that might have existed from the vantage point of the U.S. bourgeoisie for the music to be promoted were closed up. All seductive overtures to Manley had been called to a halt when they couldn't wean him of the Soviet bloc sufficiently to swallow a very bitter IMF austerity deal. Classic CIA destabilisation tactics were used to put him out of office, while 600 youths were murdered in the streets by the rival Manley/Seaga parties. When Reagan became U.S. president in

January 1981, his first foreign visiting head of state was Edward Seaga. Jamaica was from then on to become the "showcase of democracy" in the Caribbean, with U.S. gunships to back it up. It was now "safe" to "come back to Jamaica," the TV ads crooned to the tourists. And it was time to show the unruly elements in this backyard of the U.S. just who was running the show.

In the spring of 1981, Bob Marley died of cancer.

The truth behind his death has never been satisfactorily revealed, but it is beyond doubt that having him out of the way was advantageous to all bourgeois interests concerned, including both Jamaican parties. Eight years of Manley had not made the route of pallid reforms, backed by a "heavy manners" police state under Cuban or Soviet auspices, any more attractive to many politically awakened people—including Rastafarians and Marley. And no amount of sugar-coated bullets or outright intimidation had been able to soften him up—his music at the end was as strong as ever. In fact, it is significant that most of the major musicians remained "warriors against Babylon"; reggae had yet to produce a renegade on the order of Bob Dylan, the U.S. singer of the 1960s who deserted the revolutionary camp.

In some ways, the shock of Marley's death put reggae on people's minds internationally more than ever. Sales went up temporarily, but even after that very few record contracts with new artists were signed. Increasingly, Island has sat back and gotten fat on posthumous Marley releases. And currently, their only other reggae projects are re-releases, compilations and live albums of established artists like Gregory Isaacs and Steel Pulse. One of their top executives recently revealed, "We're not putting any more money into promoting reggae—the music sells itself." (A quote which *Musican* magazine edited out of its interview with him, for "space reasons," the author was told.) They've fired the people who were capable of finding, developing and marketing new acts, and apparently their current strategy is to put out old reggae very

cheaply, turn a profit without doing anything for the music—and move on to the next big sound. So reggae, which had always been Island's financial bulwark used to support the much more expensive rock acts, continues to be milked for that purpose.

In Kingston, though reggae still has a shockingly difficult time (and increasingly so) getting on radio playlists jammed with American and British pop, it is no longer on the fringe of things. It has become big business, a regular "national product" on the order of bauxite, tourism and ganja—and has attracted numerous uninspired producers and con-men chasing fortunes. Not that rip-offs are anything new in Kingston reggae business, nor that the outlaw artists who originally put reggae on the map are out of the race. But as competing paths develop in the music and as the audience broadens out, the powers-that-be have been compelled to increase their influence within this scene as well.

Other developments have also worked to temporarily dampen the situation. In Kingston, live concerts have always been a rarity because it was too expensive and there were no proper facilities. The music met its audience in the sound system dances, and in recent years the "DJ style" (artists toasting—rapping—and singing over recorded tracks) has come to be a very popular form itself. The events of the day, the motions in the dance, the comical strivings among the masses to ape foreign ways...are all talked about over a version of a traditional reggae rhythm track. Those artists who can do this with style have become the new stars with the dance hall crowd, and Jamaican producers, who are often dreads operating on a shoe string, have happily turned to the inexpensive productions involved in this kind of music.

This dance hall style rises directly from the masses in Kingston, and DJs and singers make it or break it by way of the live (and at times brutal) response from the audience. This music is also rather hard-going for most non-Jamaicans since it generally relies on rapid-fire patois for its punch. It has gone almost unmarked in the U.S. with some exceptions

like Yellowman and Eek-a-Mouse who, a couple of years ago, took to competing for lewd lyrics (called "slackness" by Jamaicans) and got plenty of airplay from Kingston to New York.

Some observers look to the work of the "dub poets" as the inheritors of the "Marley tradition," but these radical poets who set their words to music have rarely risen to the artistry of the reggae masters, largely because they tend to take on the "mission" of spiritual and political leaders in the most literal fashion, giving lessons not art. And unfortunately, some of their fans and critics actually demand this of them. Said one of Mutabaruka: "One danger I see is that he is...considered an entertainer. He is not, he is a revolutionary." Since when are these mutually exclusive?

One insidious imperialist contribution to the entire scene has been what can only be described as the systematic introduction of hard drugs into Jamaica. In recent years, heroine and cocaine have appeared on the streets of Kingston, not unlike the situation in the wake of the Black people's rebellions in Harlem and Watts in the U.S. in the 1960s. This had taken its toll on reggae; certain "hangers-on" in the business are

known to have hooked more than one musician on cocaine and other hard drugs. The results are all too evident in the music, as well as the violent incidents that accompany all big-money drug dealings.

The Root Is There

"You can cut down the tree,
But you'll never,
You'll never succeed,
Cause—The root is there.
And you cannot get rid of
All of I and I now..."
"The Root is There"—Mighty
Diamonds

While the reggae runnings have been rough in the last few years, closing the book on this music is manifestly absurd. In 1898 G. Plekhanov, when he was still a Marxist, commented:

"A given trend in art may remain without any remarkable expression if an unfavourable combination of circumstances carries away, one after another, several talented people who might have given it expression. But the premature death of such talented people can prevent the artistic expression of this trend only if it is too shallow to produce new

talent. However, the depth of any given trend in literature and art is determined by its importance for the class or stratum whose tastes it expresses, and by the social role played by that class or stratum; here too, in the last analysis, everything depends upon the course of social development and on the relation of social forces."

"The Role of the Individual
in History"

Certainly the last has not been heard from the "sufferahs" in Jamaica whose tastes this music continues to express. Nor from the rebels from Japan to Poland who have taken this music as their own. It is a sure bet that Marley and the rest of the reggae greats, the "creation rockers," will find their way into the hearts and cassette players of the Ivans of the world, right on through to when the "right time" really does come... "If a egg, natty inna de red.*" □

* "Natty Dread" by Bob Marley, from a folk proverb meaning: If it is an egg, natty is in the yolk, at the centre of the storm. Eggs in Jamaica are fertilised—and red.

1. The amazing sounds created by Jamaica's intrepid "dub" engineers have also raised world standards for studio production...this, in a city where the water or power might be cut off any time of the day or night.

2. Selassie, a spiritual figure for the Rastas had a certain historical appeal because in addition to being the first Black head of state in the twentieth century, he resisted Mussolini's invasion, making Ethiopia one of the last African countries to succumb to imperialism. He was also originally promoted by Marcus Garvey's early Pan Africanist movement, which formed part of the roots of Rastafarianism. After the African colonies were yanked away from Italy at the end of World War 2, however, this "Lion of Judah" ruled his Black "subjects" for the greater U.S. imperialist empire with a brutal and bloody hand. Before his death, Garvey, too denounced him as a Black slavemaster.

3. Biographies of Marley make a variety of speculations as to who conducted the shoot-out at the Marley compound in 1976, and why. But all evidence from inside sources indicates that JLP thugs actually carried out the dirty work in retaliation for Bob's planned

participation in what was considered a pro-Manley concert. They may well have had the tacit approval of Manley forces who would also ultimately benefit from getting this irrepressible rebel out of the way (the gunmen were never apprehended by Manley's police for instance). And the U.S. bourgeoisie also appears to have had its fangs in this, one indication being the fact that Carl Colby, son of CIA director William Colby, showed up as a "cameraman" at the retreat Bob was secreted to by the Manley government after the shooting.

4. Virgin's reggae ventures present in microcosm the international financial and political thicket which reggae artists were required to penetrate in order to be heard beyond the rather small market of Kingston. After signing many groups at bargain basement rates, Virgin proceeded to promote only a handful, hoping to find a hitmaker like Marley or Cliff, and shelved most of the others. This strategy brought the company quick profits on the big acts and starved out some of the best groups to keep the competition from making money on them, and to keep a stranglehold on the development of the scene. According to some

observers, this rather anarchic flood of foreign capital, doled out by people with little understanding or genuine interest in the music, also resulted in Jamaican producers withholding some of the best music from their studios just to keep it out of the hands of these grubbing soul brokers. ("They want shit, give them shit.")

5. This is not to imply that reggae artists were not subject to inordinate harassment, having their concerts mysteriously sabotaged, or while just walking the streets of Brooklyn and the Bronx in New York City. Peter Tosh was once arrested in Miami customs for impersonating Peter Tosh! Nor does it counter-indicate CIA participation in such harassment in Jamaica itself. Bob Marley appears to have been under constant CIA surveillance for years...just minutes before he was to play a major concert at Madison Square Garden in NYC, an invading army of undercover agents cleared his dressing room of his entire entourage and interrogated him alone on some murder supposedly committed by dreadlocked masked men the night before. □

(Continued from page 29)

have suburbs. But I would be failing if I said that Indians didn't mix with Africans, particularly today where in AZAPO (the Azanian People's Organisation—*AWTW*), for instance, you will find Coloureds and Indians and Africans in the organisation. Soyes, boundaries are broken.

J.: ...It was the Black Consciousness Movement that as a matter of policy put all of these groups of people together and said that you are the oppressed people, you are all oppressed, you are black. Hence the use of the word black in Azania, which meant that you were not African or Coloured or Indian, but that all of these groups are bound together by their blackness and that their exploitation largely stems from their blackness. It was then, after Black Consciousness, that you saw a lot of cooperation. In 1976 there was a lot of cooperation between the different groups of people. Coloured schools would rise up in solidarity. There were even meetings conducted together and that goes on right up to now.

Forms of Control

Q: How much control does the government actually have over the townships and how do they exercise it?

R.: It used to be that the whites ran the townships directly, the guy at the top would be white and so you would see these white faces in the municipality. After 1976 it changed because the first targets in the uprisings were those whites who were serving in the townships. People's anger was so much that they took it out on the one white presence that they saw. After 1976 the whites came back into the townships but the ones who came in were under heavy guard. These whites were given compensation salary for serving in the townships. But as the resistance continued the system realised that they could not do it this way. So now in terms of running the townships they have those black councilmen. They too are under heavy guard because the people have realised that they have to remove those people physically too. It used to be that the control came from the police sta-

tions. Again, the person at the top is white, is a Boer. He uses the blacks that serve under him. The way the police station is positioned the system can still have whites running it because they are out there overlooking the township so that their presence is distant in that form. But more recently control is through the army. What the system has done is go to these reservations and pick out its police force and the people to serve in the army from there. They are playing on what they call differences. They will go to Bophuthatswana and come back with Tswana-speaking people to bring them to Soweto. I think there is something I missed saying about Soweto. The government is trying to say that we Xhosa see ourselves as different from the Zulu, from the Tswana, from the Vendas. It is not true in Soweto. For one thing, most of our parents are mixed. For example my mother is Sutu, my father is Xhosa. Our neighbors, the wife is Xhosa and the husband is Zulu. So people don't really see themselves as such—in tribal terms or nationalities—except in the reservations. So, the army and police in the townships are made of people from the reservations, a group of people that can say we come from this group and these others are the enemy or we don't have anything in common with them. But then again, the system has found some problems because the same people that are in the army have at certain stages said NO, we are killing our own people. This is another thing that you will never find reported in the newspapers.

J.: Another way they control things is the separation, the actual distance between townships themselves and between the townships and the downtown areas. It is very difficult in most of the townships to walk to the downtown area. It is quite some distance. So it is not only the force inside but also the fact that the townships are almost like some kind of island. We are away from everything, even the industrial areas, although we are close enough to the industrial areas to get all of the fumes and toxins....So whenever there is a rebellion, whatever people do they

will do on whatever white face is seen in the township. People will attack white-associated business trucks, like a bakery truck. If there is none of that around and it is known that so and so's business is actually a white-owned business and only black-managed or is a shared business, then that becomes a target. People vent their anger in the townships. It is very difficult to go outside the townships in these situations because you will be intercepted by the police miles away from anywhere.

Peasants and Labour Reserves

Q: The South African government states that one of the most worrisome aspects of the current upheaval is that it has spread to the rural areas. What's the significance of this?

R.: First I'll talk about the difference in the living conditions in the rural areas and the urban areas. Most people who live in the rural areas live on some white man's farm. The whole family works for this farmer. The families in the rural areas are isolated. In Soweto we are all bunched together, so whatever affects Orlando East as a township affects Dube as a township. So in Soweto the reaction of the people and the townships is more spontaneous or quicker to come about as opposed to the rural areas. In the rural areas dependency is even more than the urban areas. The parents will work on this farm so it depends on the *baas*, the boss, whether or not they will eat. Most of the time they don't get a wage but get wages in kind, they will get food, clothing and so on. So yes, it must shake the country and shake the government to know that the resistance has come to the rural areas....

J.: Life in the rural areas is two-fold. That was just one aspect of the rural area where you have white farms. The other part of the rural area—way out in the Transkei, the Ciskei and some of the other reservations—is where people live on land and plant what they eat. They attempt to sustain themselves from planting. My grandmother used to have a small plot in these areas. You still have this kind of life in South Africa. And this is the

source of poverty in these homelands because you will have this land which is barren and very unproductive. Where in the past these people might have been able to sustain themselves, today they just can not. Their land is unproductive. The people living on the farms are tilling on the white man's land and it is very fertile. In the barren rural areas, you still have the old colonial setting, you have in the same area the church, the police station, the white man's big shop, the school and so on—all in the same area, in the middle of this area. Every now and again at this central place you have the contractors coming in to contract the people out to Johannesburg and the mines or wherever....So in these rural areas you have people trying to till the land and being unsuccessful and starving in the process, and then you have people waiting to become migrant labourers. You also have others escaping out to the urban areas on their own to form those squatter camps. The government is worried about the rebellions spreading to these areas because first, they are spreading. They are not confined to five or six areas around Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. Usually the government just sends out its army and police to those urban areas. And they have other areas to contend with too—they have to be in Angola, they have to be in Namibia and they have to guard the borders. So the rebellion spreading out means that the government has to spread out also, they won't be able to concentrate in just the usual areas where they have other forms of control like informers and town councils. Also, in these rural areas it is much bushier than in the townships and the government would have to deal with this terrain if they were to go in and out. Which also means that if guerrilla war were to intensify people could hide in those areas without the government being able to successfully track them down. So spreading out of the unrest means a spreading out of the terrain they would have to deal with.

Q: The bantustans are one of the pillars of the apartheid system. What are they, and what are the conditions faced by people there?

J.: They are the barren areas where people live in peasant-like conditions. These are areas that the government has collected and put together as the homelands. They are ruled by brutal regimes—the Sebes, the Matanzimas and so on. In some ways they are more repressive than their master the South African government. They can just blatantly beat up people. I remember in 1980 when we had a student walkout in the Ciskei. In Port Elizabeth, when the walkout occurred the chairman and the vice chairman of the organisation leading the walkout were detained. But in Ciskei all of the people in the walkout were arrested and brutally beaten. The government has put up these brutal puppet governments to maintain their control there. The bantustans are just reserves for cheap labour which can be dipped into whenever it is needed. It also helps to keep the cost of production down because should people strike for better wages or conditions, the government can just put them on buses and dump them into these areas. At the same time they can just ship some of those eager to work in the bantustans back to the city to replace the striking workers. The government has called these reservations "independent nations." Why? Partly because it answers international criticism—in this day and age you have a government that has no franchise for the majority of people it controls. Now the government can claim that we vote, we have our own Prime Ministers and this or that. The government divides our country into white South Africa and other nations. The ethnic groups that we have are supposed to be nations, they call them nations. Therefore those homelands are supposed to be nation-states in themselves. The productive and industrial parts of South Africa are what the government says is white South Africa. They claim that this has a basis in history, that when the whites first came to South Africa the Africans were just coming down from the north and these homelands are where they established themselves. Their ideological justification for imposing separate development is that they want people to supposedly develop

at their own pace. This is how they justify the existence of the homelands policy.

Role of Urban Youth

Q: Can you talk some about the role of Azanian youth in the struggle?

J.: This role of youth in the struggle goes back beyond even the '60s in Azania. Even the ANC was catapulted into the actions they took by the formation of ANC Youth League. The youth got frustrated with the ANC at the time, in the '40s, and they formed the Youth League. Its members included people like Robert Sobukwe, Anton Lembede and Nelson Mandela. The ANC has been around since 1912, but it was only in the '40s, under the impact of the Youth League, that it started to be more active. Youth also played an important role in breaking with the ANC and in the formation of the PAC. With the banning of the two organisations in 1960 you find the youth in the late '60s in the forefront of the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement. You had people like Steve Biko in the early '70s again beginning political action. Some of the things that the BCM did was the celebration of the victories in Mozambique and Angola. In the '60s we were totally deprived of any political information. Our parents wouldn't talk at all about politics. You had this reign of fear. So I was thinking that this contributed to the activity, because here you had people who could see that they were oppressed and yet it was difficult for them to talk about it or even to understand. At least our parents understood that they didn't want to talk about it and they didn't want to be active because they had suffered in the early '60s, a lot of people were arrested. People were sold out back then, they had high hopes, they really expected liberation in the mid-'50s and early '60s. They had high hopes and big disappointments. So at least to them there could be an understanding about why they were inactive. But the youth didn't have all that information, all they knew was oppression. So that made for even more anger which was an incentive to organise and mobilise the youth. It was such that when they burst into

action in 1976, they never stopped.

Women : Urban and Rural

Q: What kind of things do Azanian women face?

R.: An Azanian woman who is in an urban area is there most of the time because she is married. The law is such that as far as your husband is concerned you are a child. The house that you live in is under your husband's name. There are things that you cannot just do independently as a woman. The laws are structured to ensure this. For example, when you get married, your passbook is taken and changed to name your husband as your guardian. If you lose your husband, if he dies, then the woman loses her right to the house. This remains true even though the government today is trying to say things have changed, that women can now buy houses. But this has been the standing law....

J.: In the urban areas you find women just traditionally holding these very menial jobs, mostly domestic servants. For instance, the position of a teacher is not traditionally the job of a woman. Look at even the language people use, when they talk about teachers they say a teacher and a "lady" teacher. If you are a woman you are a "lady" teacher, not just a teacher. But mostly the jobs for women are domestic servants, cleaning houses,

taking care of kids and so on. In fact that is why they allowed women to be in the urban areas—to take care of their houses because that is a serious job and the Azanian woman becomes the housewife of the house. Back in the rural areas you find that with the man going away on these contracts, it is the woman that is left to deal with that difficult soil and try to keep the family eating, whatever family is left back there. It is the woman who tills the land, it is women who do all these things. My grandmother used to do this. They have to take care of the children, they have to be doctors, they have to do everything. They have to feed the kids, educate them. And also, when men are out on these contracts, after the passage of time some of these men will just break their marriages. I mean sometimes if a man has been in Johannesburg for six years he will just stop sending that check at the end of the month. In some cases you know somebody in the township who is sitting there nicely married and you hear that he left a wife and family back in the homeland where he used to be. That happens a lot of times. And lately the government has begun to realise that women can do other things too, and of course can be paid very cheaply. When I left, a lot of women were beginning to be employed in jobs like running gas stations and other jobs not re-

quiring great physical strength. They have also begun hiring women as drivers. Even though the man and the woman can do the same job, they pay women far, far less than they do the man.

R.: As to the woman in the rural areas again, you get to see your husband once a year when he is away on contract labour. You see your husband when he gets that leave from the mines.... But the worst thing for women is that every time your husband comes home from the mine he leaves you, when he goes back to the mine, he leaves you pregnant. The system actually determines when you can bear children. I don't blame this on the male as such because, as we mentioned earlier, to try and sell their labour the men always have to leave the reservations because there is no work there. So they get back and they have raised a certain amount of money so that they can get married—the men traditionally pay the dowry. So after they have done that they want to make sure that they will at least come home and find their wife there. The one way they do it is to get the wife pregnant everytime they come home.... □

(Continued from page 24)
Africa from exploding.

IV. CONCLUSION

This article has argued that the economic, political, and social control exercised over the black majority of South Africa flow from a specific model of capitalist accumulation, which is inextricably bound up with the interests and imperatives of imperialist capital. The abolition of apartheid requires nothing less than the complete and total destruction of the South African state and its economic foundation; to end subjugation, imperialist rule must be shattered.

DEATH TO APARTHEID!
DEATH TO ALL FORMS OF

IMPERIALIST RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA! DEATH TO IMPERIALISM!

Footnotes

1. Data from American Committee on Africa, *South Africa Fact Sheet*, January 1984.
2. "America and South Africa," *The Economist*, 30 March 1985.
3. See United Nation Centre Against Apartheid, *Transnational Corporations and the South African Military-Industrial Complex*, September 1979, PP, 45-48.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
5. Ann Seidman and Neva Makgetla, *Outposts of Monopoly Capitalism* (London: Zed Press, 1980), p. 177. This work has been a valuable source in the preparation of this article.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 138; *South Africa 1984* (official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa, Johannesburg, 1983), Table 20, p. 485.
8. *The Economist*, 23 March 1985, p. 81; *The*

- Economist*, 28 July, 1984, p. 55.
9. *The Economist*, 28 July, 1984, p. 56.
10. Data from *South Africa Fact Sheet*.
11. Anthony Sampson, *The Money Lenders* (New York: Viking, 1981), p. 170.
12. *The Economist*, 23 March 1985, p. 81; "At a Crossroads in South Africa," *New York Times*, 6 November 1983.

**America in Decline: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution, in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s*, by Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon (Chicago: Banner Press, 1984). □