



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

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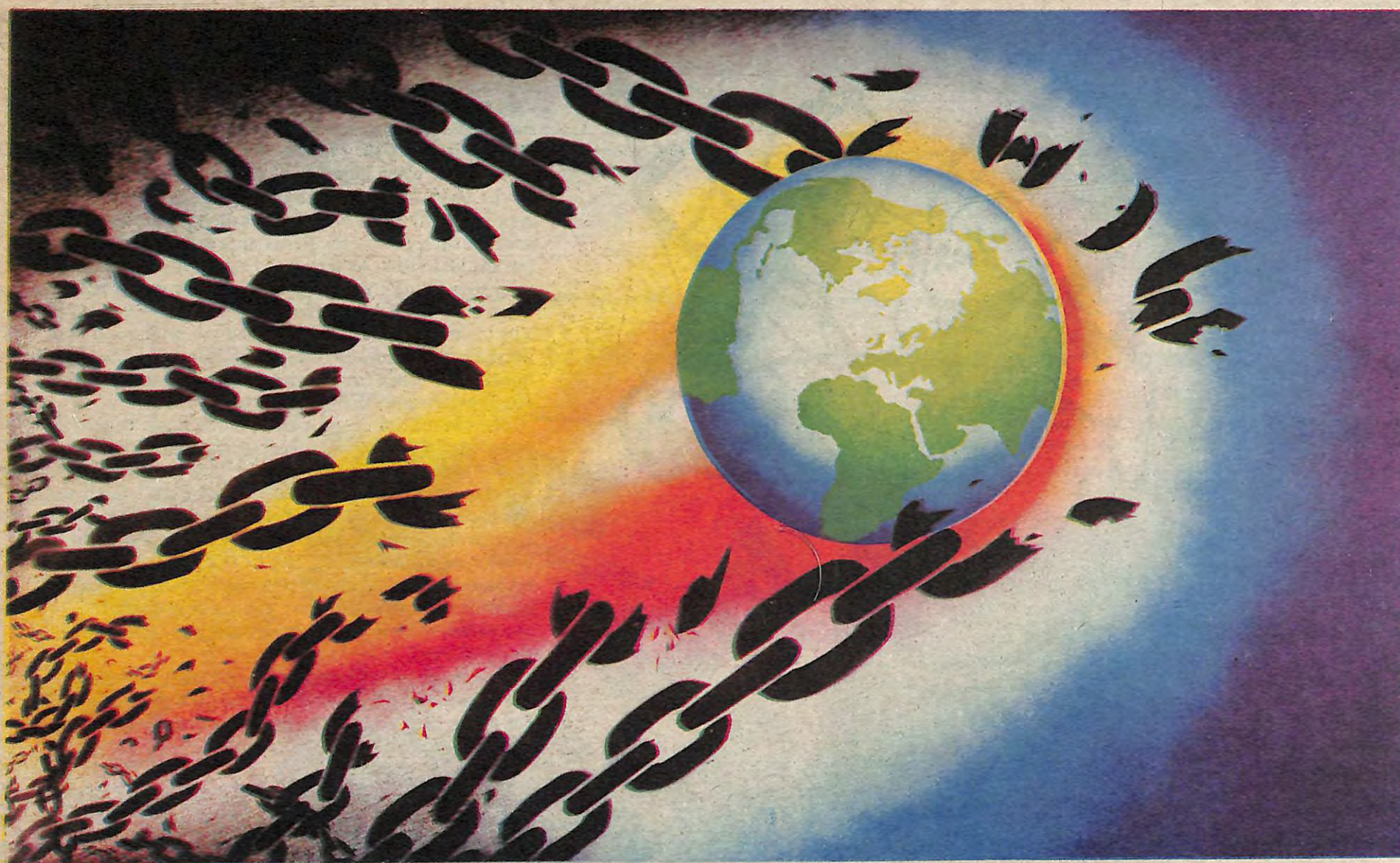
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Special May 1, 1985 Edition

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MAY 1st INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY



Graphic from poster "Hail the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!" May 1984

Inside This Special Issue:

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- **On the Political Economy of Apartheid and the Strategic Stakes of Imperialism**
- **Support the People's War in Peru!:
Full-color pull-out poster**

A Dedication

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

perialist oppressor of the Peruvian people — make a special dedication this May Day:

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

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

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

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

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



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May First Message from the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!

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

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

May 1st, 1985

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Students Hold National Day of Protest Against Apartheid

A Real Spring Break!

Tuesday, April 23, was day 14 of the occupation of the steps of Steven Biko Hall (formerly Sproul Hall) on the UC Berkeley campus, and the plaza in front of the hall was pulsing with political life: red crêpe paper still linked together the trees surrounding the plaza; on one side, a drummer pounded out some African rhythms; noonday rallies of a thousand or more had become almost commonplace; large and small knots of political debate, leafleting, newspaper sellers of all stripes ranged about; on one side of the plaza, banners and posters for the struggle against the apartheid system and for divestment of university funds were being made; on another, a group of high school students were making banners and plans for No Business As Usual Day. A student commented, in a combination of determination, hope, and observation, "Things will never be the same. Never."

A Chicana student on the steps told the *RW*: "Last week when it was just getting started and the numbers were beginning to grow, I started coming to the noon rallies. At the first one, I was one of those people who stood way in the back, on the edge. At the second rally I was now sitting on the edge of the group, and by the third I started clapping and getting into the chants. The next day I was up on the steps and camping out — I've been here ever since. I've gone home twice to take a shower. I have been living off of pizza from the pizza place down the street and eating oranges they have been supplying — doing work for the group — coming out here as much as possible to be with the people...."

"We have stopped the cops so many times. They tried to take down our banners, we stopped them. They tried to take away our tarp, we stopped them. They tried to take our bullhorn, we stopped them. They have very few victories. We are winning. This is our territory, and we make the rules here. That kind of feeling is what is really keeping me here...."

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

In a room not far away, phone lines buzzed as Berkeley activists connected with students across the country, making plans and getting out the call for the next day, Wednesday, April 24. Students at UC Berkeley, Columbia, Cornell, Rutgers, and UC Santa Cruz had issued a

joint "Nationwide Call for Action and Strikes Against Apartheid for Wednesday, April 24." It read in part: "Students across America are taking a stand against apartheid. Ever increasing numbers are rising up against the American institutions that help underwrite the apartheid system in South Africa.... We stand together in our struggle in solidarity with the twenty-three million blacks of South Africa. We urge our fellow students to join us in awakening the moral conscience of our nation and the world." By Wednesday morning, UC Berkeley activists reported that students at sixty campuses were participating in one way or another in the day of action, demanding for the most part that the universities divest their holdings in South Africa. One organizer told the *RW* that he was getting calls at 4 a.m. Wednesday morning — from students who wanted to do something but who had never done anything like this before; they wanted advice on what to do, on what demands to raise.

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

Most of the thousands of students taking part in the protests are brand new to political activity, and even many in the forefront were surprised themselves at the broad support and participation on the campuses as well as taken aback at the response of the authorities. The students have also taken the ruling class by surprise. Just a few months ago, the bourgeois press gloated over Reagan's popularity on the campuses. The burst of student antiapartheid protests, following the revolutionary upsurge in South Africa which punctured the carefully crafted Reagan "invincibility," has broken through the cracks in the U.S. imperialist armor and is hitting at a big sore spot.

By Wednesday night, reports were

starting to come in to the Berkeley students from across the country of what had transpired during the day. Berkeley activists told the *RW* of these actions in the western part of the country:

- At UCLA, 250 students took an administration building at 4:30 a.m. on April 24. They were still holding it on Thursday, and had raised the same demands at UC Berkeley.
- At UC Santa Barbara, 1400 students attended a noon rally, and at 2:15 p.m. 150 students took an administration building. Eighty people were then arrested.
- UC Santa Cruz — A sit-in had already been in progress for a number of days at UCSC on the steps of the library; on Wednesday, 3000 people rallied at noon, and a teach-in went on all day.
- UC Davis — 2100 rallied at noon and marched to an administration building where a petition was delivered. There was then a sit-in at the chancellor's office, where twenty-six people were arrested.
- Stanford — 1000 rallied at noon, and 500 sat in at an administration building; Wednesday evening they were deciding whether to stay the night. The Stanford Student Senate also passed a resolution condemning apartheid and supporting amnesty for all arrested in antiapartheid protests.
- Other campuses in California that held actions include San Francisco State, where a strike was called and about 800 students held a noon rally, San Jose State, Hastings College of Law, California State University at Hayward, Fresno State, Cal State Humboldt, and UC San Diego.

On Wednesday morning, anyone entering the Berkeley campus from Telegraph Avenue encountered a big picket line, drums, and a big banner declaring, "National Student Strike Today." Walking a little further onto the campus into Steven Biko Plaza, Biko Hall was covered with banners, including, "Steven Biko Lives," "South Africa — Azania Will Be Free," "Day 15," "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!" and "We Students of Berkeley High Say: No! To Apartheid." For a few hours in the morning, a teach-in went on in the middle of the plaza on divestment; on another side of the plaza, students were painting picket signs like, "Don't Let Schooling Interfere With Your Education." A little off to another side, TAs were offering tutoring in various classes for students who didn't want to go to

class.

Around noon, the crowd grew larger and larger, until over 4000 people gathered in the plaza. Some new banners appeared, some of them carried by delegations joining the rally: "UC Faculty For Full Divestment," "Conservation and Resource Studies Against Apartheid," "WAAC — Willard Anti-Apartheid Coalition" (Willard is a junior high school less than a mile from the campus). One of the chants taken up was "UC, USA Out of South Africa." Shortly after the rally started, about 400 people from the Graduate Theological Union marched into the plaza to loud cheers during a speech by Robert McAfee Brown, noted theologian from the GTU.

After a fairly brief rally, the whole crowd went over to Harmon Gym, where a mass public meeting on divestment with nine of the UC regents present was scheduled for the next four hours. This meeting had been one of the original demands of the protest. The meeting was praised outlandishly in the local media as "historic" and "a major victory in itself." It was certainly an attempt by the administration and higher political authorities to kill the protest with "kindness" and "reasonableness." An attempt, it should be added, that was industriously and eagerly assisted by the various pro-Soviet revisionists and League of Revolutionary Struggle-type revisionist political forces that have maneuvered their way into influence in the protests and have fought tooth and nail for capitulationist lines from the beginning. Such attacks with sugar-coated bullets are the other side of attacks by the brute forces of the state, and they show that the antiapartheid protests are hitting a raw nerve.

A new level in the official "reasonableness" and "openness" that has enveloped the protest (at least in the week or so since Berkeley exploded when the chancellor ordered the mass arrest of over 130 protestors) was a statement later in the day on Wednesday by California Governor George Deukmejian. Deukmejian, a conservative Republican and close supporter of Reagan, announced at a press conference that he not only had no objection to campus protests "as long as they remain peaceful," but that he might even support the divestment of UC funds. It would seem that there is no end to the line of foxes eagerly volunteering to guard chicken coops.

The *RW* also received reports of other antiapartheid actions on Wednesday, April 24 at campuses in the Midwest and the East Coast.

- In one of the largest demonstrations that the University of Wisconsin at Madison has seen in recent years, 1500 students poured into the streets in solidarity with the struggle of the Azanian people. As the march took over the streets of downtown Madison, the African students in the crowd raised the

Continued on page 18

Attention Readers!

We are firmly committed to the idea that there should be many upsurges on No Business As Usual Day — But No Secret Upsurges. Send us correspondence on all variety of April 29 actions. Don't forget press clippings and photos (but not photos you don't want published).

Send correspondence to: *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL. 60654



Next Week: Read the Revolutionary Worker for full coverage of No Business As Usual Day!

“Proletarians of all Countries Unite!”

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

We recently received an important pamphlet from overseas supporters of the Communist Party of Peru (known in the media as “Shining Path”). While we are not able to 100 percent vouch for its authenticity, every indication is that it is indeed from that Party. Therefore, we are now making excerpts from it available to our readers. The full text of this pamphlet will be available in the next issue of the new quarterly international journal, *A World To Win*. The pamphlet, which appears to have been issued locally in the Ayacucho region of Peru, deals with a number of questions, including the Pope’s recent visit there and the recent Peruvian elections. The English translation is ours — Ed.

“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.”

Chairman Mao Tsetung

Ayacuchan people!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU salutes you and pays homage today, when you are rewriting glorious war exploits, you stand firm and unwavering like a heroic bastion of the armed struggle, the peasant war which is shaking the reactionary Peruvian state to its very foundations.

FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE

It’s been almost five years since on May 17, 1980, in the very bowels of your centuries-old insufferable poverty and burning rebelliousness, concrete hopes were raised defiantly in an embracing fire: the armed struggle. A handful of our nation’s sons and daughters, blood of your own blood, dared to take up arms to overthrow the old exploiting order and build a new world that would really belong to the people, since the one we have is only of increasing misery and exploitation.

This short period, rich in events, with its sinuous road, has left us resounding victories as well as reversals to learn from; and in general the positive aspects weigh heavily and decisively over the rest: More than twenty thousand actions, from simple armed engagements to excellent and developed guerrilla actions; our Party has grown in size many times over; a People’s Guerrilla Army made up of thousands of men and women, mainly poor peasants, tempered in more than two years of strug-

gle against the reactionary Armed Forces; and what’s more important, the New Power is being realized in hundreds of People’s Committees exercising state functions, base areas are being formed and the building of a New People’s Democratic Republic is under way.

Thus everything is coming from the barrel of the gun, the new and the popular is arising from the armed struggle, destroying the old and reactionary. And let’s make it clear that our major advances have come precisely in the two years in which the Armed Forces of the old and rotten Peruvian State have been directly involved.

REPRESSION, GENOCIDE AND ELECTIONS

Due to its class nature — a bureaucratic-landlord dictatorship dominated mainly by Yankee imperialism — the state has responded to the armed struggle with police persecution and repression, faithful to the dark policy of “stealing everything, burning everything and killing everything.” And added to this, the detentions, tortures, punishments, annihilations and assassinations, they began feeding on our people, filling concentration camps with your sons and daughters and spilling their blood in torrents. But this can never and will never break us, and the concentration camps were transformed into illuminating trenches of war, and for every one fallen hundreds rose, strengthening the struggle to form People’s Committees, the very bases of the New Power...

... Could an Ayacuchan vote in the next elections? No! To do so would be the same as endorsing the misery and genocide, the bloodbath imposed in Ayacucho; furthermore, it would mean helping to institute a new demagogic government whose true class character compels it to more starvations and more genocides.

Ayacuchan people! Father, mother, wife, brother, sister, son, daughter, family of the valient ones assassinated and disappeared, could you vote? Do you want to again assassinate your loved ones? Do you want to help assassinate others? No!! No you can not, the blood of the dead would boil in your soul and their bodies would turn over in your mind, because you yourself would be killing them and raising the deadly knife to spill the blood of your own sons and daughters! No, in Peru and even more so in Ayacucho, it’s better not to vote; let the reactionaries solve their own problems, let them draw up their apocalyptic horseman’s plans of hunger and genocide. It’s their problem, not ours. We can’t vote!! We can not betray!!; and the Ayacuchan people have never been traitors.

DEVELOP THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The armed struggle was born and planted roots in the fertile vigor of the historically combative Ayacuchan

people; here it has achieved its greatest victories and glory from the jaws of death itself. Thus the armed struggle burns thundering and triumphantly against the silence and distortions of the cowardly traitors and the perverse and cynical campaign of the reactionaries; and what was initiated yesterday and burns like a bonfire today in Ayacucho, grows against winds and storms towards the Center, North and South, towards the eyebrow of the jungle and the edges of our Coast. The liberating fire intensifies and expands and will continue to expand, burning more and more until it turns the peasant war lead by the Party into the invincible people’s war that we learn from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism guiding thought.

People of Ayacucho! Peasant, proletarian, worker, woman, Ayacuchan youth! Remember, there are only two powers on Earth: the reactionary armed force and the disorganized people; but our people are disorganized no longer, today it’s a people that increasingly becomes militarily organized through its own revolutionary war, and through this its invincibility will become more real because it links itself to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the only true, great science on Earth and proven weapon of transformation, because it has a Communist Party that guides it, because it relies on the masses, mainly the peasantry, and because, furthermore, it counts on international revolutionary support, especially from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

And, comrade, militant, Ayacuchan brother and sister, you know all of this! Because you have seen it and see it every day with your very eyes and you live it in your own participation. You are, therefore, a witness to Peru and the world! And you, like no other people, here and now, have shed so much warm and generous blood; and because your mind, your will, your feelings cry out on the face of our country and the Earth: Except for state power, everything is an illusion!

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF AYACUCHO!

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!
STRUGGLE AND RESIST, REPUDIATE THE GENOCIDAL REGIME’S ELECTIONS AND DEVELOP THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU, BASES
February, 1985

NEW REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST QUARTERLY

In the First Issue...

When the Andes Roar

The Andes mountains are the birthplace of the most significant revolutionary struggle in the world today — the People’s War being led by the Communist Party of Peru, sometimes referred to as *Sendero Luminoso*. Today this struggle is quickly developing in scope and breadth as the “armed battalions of the poor” take on the Peruvian government throughout the country. “When the Andes Roar” examines the latest offensive, as well as the history and aims, of the Peruvian guerrillas.

Surface Cracks and the Tremors from the Depths

“If you’re talking about world revolution, you’re talking about India.” The 800 million people of India have long been among the most victimised of the imperialist system. The question is when, not if, these “wretched of the earth” will arise.

Two Days of Popular Upsurge

Wilberto Ventura, leader of the Revolutionary Communist Union (Dominican Republic), analyses the recent mass explosion in the streets of Santo Domingo. Ventura discusses the perspective of establishing a party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on this island nation right in Yankee imperialism’s “back yard.”

Homage To Yilmaz Güney

● A Look at Yol with Costa Gavras ● An Autobiographical Sketch ● Güney on “the language of art” ● We Lost Yilmaz Güney ● “He symbolised rebellion”—an interview with Nihat Behram

And More...

from *Introducing A World to Win*

“... *A World to Win* has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement announced on March 12, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world... *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.”

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TO WIN 們獲得的將是全世界 **МИР ВБИГРАТЬ** **MONDE A GAGNER**

A WORLD **INDO QUE GANAR** **एक दुनिया जीतना**

INDIA: SURFACE CRACKS AND THE TREMORS FROM THE DEPTHS

Homage to Revolutionary Filmmaker **Yilmaz Güney**

Interview with **Costa Gavras**

GUADAGNARE **جهانی برای فتح** **UN MOND**

LA Meeting Commemorates Damián García, Looks Forward to RCP,USA Tenth Anniversary

On the afternoon of Sunday, April 21, proletarians and others in Los Angeles commemorated the fifth anniversary of the political assassination of Comrade Damián García with a rally held in Damián García Park. The rally site was decorated with the flag of the Revolutionary Communist Party, with colorful banners depicting Damián on top of the walls of the Alamo, and with red flags. Many in the crowd of about 100 attending the rally, composed primarily of proletarian immigrants from Central America, wore red roses in commemoration of Damián.

The rally itself was a testament to the impact of Damián's life and example. Statements were read from a Central American proletarian, a Guatemalan journalist, a Native American activist, from a staff member of the Los Angeles Women's Health Center, and a resident of the Pico Aliso housing project where Damián was murdered. Hayden Fisher, who was one of the revolutionaries who seized the Alamo along with Damián, and who was wounded in the same attack that took Damián's life, and Carol García, Damián's wife, both addressed the

crowd. A special leaflet, with the article "Damián García Está Presente" from *RW* No. 301 and the photo of Damián standing atop the Alamo's walls with the red flag flying, was widely distributed throughout the park and the surrounding neighborhood, as many in the crowd stepped forward to take bundles of the leaflet to distribute.

The significance of commemorating and carrying forward the example of Damián García stands forth all the more clearly in today's world situation, as the danger of world war looms ever greater and the opportunities to seize the future out of imperialism's grip present themselves with ever more urgency. Damián García was a revolutionary communist, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, who, in his bold action at the Alamo, in the historic battle to build Revolutionary May First, and in his whole life, wholeheartedly took up the task of organizing and politically training the forces that must stand in the forefront of the millions who will erupt into action in a time of revolutionary crisis.

The significance of all this was stressed by a spokesperson for the Revolutionary

Communist Party at the rally: "This year marks the tenth anniversary of the founding of our party. And on this occasion we boldly proclaim: We are the *force* that can lead in the seizure of power as the conditions become ripe, and we are ready and prepared to do so.

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

"For fifteen years, our party and its forerunner, the Revolutionary Union, has been preparing for just such an historically extreme situation as grips the world today, fraught with danger yet ripe with revolutionary opportunity. We have been accelerating that preparation in recent years, and we are urgently intensifying that preparation now...."

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

From a Central American Proletarian Presented to Carole García

I feel deeply the loss of such a great political model for our society and especially on the occasion of the commemoration of his death. I grieve with the people. And I will be yet another spark to destroy imperialism all over the world. □

Statement of Carol Downer

To the Son and Wife of Damián García, Friends of the RCP, and Freedom-Loving People Everywhere:

From Carol Downer and the Federation of Feminist Health Clinics!

Today, five years since the brutal slaying of Damián García by the Los Angeles Police Department, we gather together to commemorate the strength and dedication of Damián as well as to rededicate ourselves to the future he lived and died for. Today, more, rather than less than five years ago, the imperative for oppressed people everywhere to take a stand and be heard is critical.

Support and best wishes,
From all the staff of the Feminist Women's Health Clinics

Statement on the Fifth Anniversary of the Political Assassination of Damián García

Ho!

Greetings to all life on earth. The Red nations of the western hemisphere stand in solidarity and honor the memory of Comrade Damián García on this fifth anniversary of his assassination by U.S. imperialist forces.

Today the danger to all land and life is more dangerous than ever. The need to stand against all imperialists and stand with true revolutionaries, with the people of Peru, is more necessary than ever. In order for the crimes against humanity like the murder of Damián to be ended, the forces of all imperialism need to be smashed so the people of the earth can be free.

Damián shall live forever in the struggles of all peoples. We honor his name best by No Business As Usual on April 29 and Long Live the First of May.

Forward to revolution and liberation of all nations from all imperialists!

Ho. All my relations
AIM supporter

Statement by Resident of Pico Aliso

Damián — all the little children liked him. They liked the way he showed the films. My dad was the one that came and told me that "Your friend got stabbed." I think he said my friend got killed. I was up shooting pool. I got angry. I remember my grip getting on my concentration on shooting the cue ball — was even heavier. It was like I was going to bust out and go beat up somebody and tear up the world. Damián was like a tutor to the neighborhood, coming out to educate people and showing films of what's going on around the world. Educating people in the neighborhood, letting them know what's going on and letting them make up their own minds about how they want their world to be. Letting them know they could stand up and make a choice and speak their voice about how they would like the world to be. He was a good person. He is a good person. If a person remembers you, you're not dead... I could still follow in his steps by doing the things he was doing... Thirty years from now, it's supposed to be the future, and I would ask myself, "How could I learn a sense of pride — to give a child a sense of pride to make it on in this world?"...

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

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

Statement from Guatemalan Journalist

Damián sought liberty. I, as a Guatemalan among the many Central Americans who come fleeing from violence, poverty, and persecution, know positively that Yankee imperialism economically aids the countries of Central America, but the victims are the second-class people, since the economic aid goes to the benefit of the high military chiefs and allies of the presidents. In my country there are people like Damián García who seek to defeat everything the Yankees do, because with armaments there will be no solution. We, of the middle class, want food, peace, and tranquility. We do not seek violence. Lamentably,

Yankee imperialism is always in the way. Damián García was right. And on this memorable date let us all unite with one hand to seek the liberty that Damián wanted. We have two roads — either we go with the Yankees or we stay with the Revolutionary Communist Party. The choice is yours. Let us reflect and be aware of those fourteen million dollars that Mr. President wants to continue annihilating the countries of Central America, with that aid he will give for Nicaragua. The whole world knows very well that we are heading towards a third world war. That is why it is necessary to prepare a revolution like that which is about to happen in Central America and other countries of the world. That revolution is needed on a world scale so that we achieve the objective that Damián sought. Damián is still alive. As a Guatemalan I do not know the history of the fall of the Yankee flag from the Alamo, from there came the death of the great Damián. It was not gang members that killed him. It was a very well premeditated plan to try to stop revolution. That is why all those who are listening to the different messages, let us follow the road of Damián.

April 18, 1985
□

NEW FROM BANNER PRESS

OF PRIMEVAL STEPS AND FUTURE LEAPS

An Essay on the Emergence of Human Beings, the Source of Women's Oppression, and the Road to Emancipation

by Ardea Skybreak

A major contribution to the debate over the origins of human behavior and, specifically, the subjugation of women.

"An excellent critique of the aquatic theory of human evolution, and an equally cogent demolition of sociobiological views. An extra bonus is the long overdue acknowledgement of Frederick Engels's prescient views on the evolution of humanity."

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"Very important is the emphasis on the interaction of human culture and biology. Skybreak takes on the simplistic models of the sociobiologists and genetic determinations and shows how human evolution and behavior are much more complicated and interesting."

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Co-editor of *Woman's Nature*

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Author of *Feminism and Sexual Equality: Crisis in Liberal America*

"She makes an excellent exposition of the view that sexual differentiation of status, role, and power are built on small asymmetries in biology as, for example, the division of reproductive labor, in societies where the development of a surplus gives rise to a general class structure. No better theory has yet been advanced than this general view that we owe originally to Engels, and I found Ardea Skybreak's book a very thoughtful and persuasive exposition of that view."

R.C. Lewontin
Harvard University
Co-author of *Not In Our Genes*



Chingkangshan Revisited

—to the tune of "Shui Tiao Keh Tou"

May 1965

*I have long aspired to reach for the clouds,
Again I come from afar
To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt.
Past scenes are transformed,
Orioles sing, swallows swirl,
Streams purl everywhere
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.*

*Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.*

Chingkangshan Revisited Then and Now

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

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

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

But Mao did not reascend Chingkangshan in May 1965 to sing of contentment with past victories. He knew that the forces of revolution and counterrevolution were heading quickly toward a clash and that all of China would soon be thrown into tempestuous struggle — what came to be known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At stake was nothing less than the question of whether China was going to keep on the high road of socialism and world revolution, or descend into the bogs of capitalism and capitulation to imperialism. As in the early days of the revolutionary war of liberation, the genuine revolutionary forces faced great odds. Back in 1928, the reactionary Kuomin-

tang army of the feudal and comprador bourgeois classes attacked Chingkangshan several times in attempts to trample down the tender revolutionary shoot; each time the Red Army defeated a military force several times its strength in numbers and firepower at the strategic Huangyangchieh Pass. On the eve of the Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary forces led by Mao were again surrounded — this time within the party leadership itself.

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

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

On New Year's Day 1976, "Chingkangshan Revisited" — along with "Two Birds: A Dialogue," another poem Mao

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

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

Today, momentous forces are stirring in the world. The contradictions of imperialism have brought the world once again to the brink of world war, this time posing dangers of far, far greater destruc-

tion than ever before. At the same time, this unprecedented crisis is bringing to the fore unprecedented possibilities for the forces of revolution to make tremendous leaps in tearing down the old order and surging forward toward a communist world. It is only through revolution in large and/or strategic parts of the planet that such a world war can be prevented, but through the approaching storm the proletariat and oppressed might well have the opportunity to reach even higher pinnacles and reach ever closer to our goal of ending all forms of exploitation and oppression. Mao Tsetung said: "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amidst great storms that human society progresses."

Mao, in anticipation of the wind and thunder of the Cultural Revolution, wrote a poem full of revolutionary optimism. We, facing even fiercer storms, have much to learn from Mao's outlook and method. His aspiring to "reach for the clouds," his daring "to scale the heights," are not bravado. Mao dreamt big dreams, but they were based on a firm assessment of the real world and the understanding that the road forward is full of twists and turns.

And as Bob Avakian points out in *For A Harvest of Dragons*, while we must defeat the enemy on the battlefield amidst terrible destruction, we must not in the process kneel down to his level — we must not annihilate the fundamental difference between the enemy and ourselves: "We must be able to maintain our firmness of principles but at the same time our flexibility, our materialism and our dialectics, our realism and our romanticism, our solemn sense of purpose and our sense of humor." We must be resolved to meet the enemy at Huangyangchieh, but with a vision of returning "amid triumphant song and laughter." □

On The Political Economy and the Strategic Stakes

The extraordinary uprisings in South Africa have focused attention not only on the brutality of the apartheid system but on the economic role of the U.S. in that country as well. By any yardstick, U.S. financial involvement is staggering: \$2.5 billion worth of direct investment, \$3.9 billion worth of bank loans, \$7.6 billion worth of shares in South African companies, and U.S. exports to South Africa in 1983 totaling \$2 billion (see Chart A). Total foreign investment by the West in South Africa now stands at about \$25 billion.

Can anyone seriously believe that investors are unmindful of the pass system and torture chambers in South Africa? More incredible, can anyone seriously believe that the U.S. and Western imperialists have pumped billions of dollars of capital into that country, have shared nuclear technology with it, and licensed the production of weapons systems by the South African defense industry in order to create the economic foundations for a just social order? But wait, just as one is about to vomit up the last morsel of credulity, Jesse Jackson comes along to indict the U.S. for "legitimizing" and "lending its prestige" to apartheid. Prestige? Unintentionally, he's got a point: the "prestige" of the million and more murdered by U.S. imperialism in Indochina; the "prestige" of the torture squads it trains in Latin America; the "prestige" of Union Carbide in India. Legitimize? Lest we forget, as recently as 1967, racial intermarriage was a crime in Virginia. And today the infant mortality rate for Blacks in parts of Chicago and the Bronx has more in common with thirty Third World countries than with the rest of the United States. U.S. im-

perialism and apartheid deserve each other... indeed they require each other.

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. But, as should (hopefully) become apparent, only on this basis can we begin to appreciate just how crucial the struggle of the Azanian masses is to the international proletariat and just how threatening it is to imperialism and all its ideological retainers.

working class in South Africa condemn the vast majority of the population to the grinding impoverishment that characterizes the Third World. At the heart of these particularities is apartheid — the systematic superexploitation, oppression, and enslavement of the majority of the indigenous population.

A system of racial segregation has long evolved in South Africa, codified in a body of law dating back to 1913, which has two objectives: to preserve the white monopoly on political power and to provide a reservoir of cheap and coercible labor for industry and agriculture. To these twin ends, the country has been divided territorially. The Land Acts have allotted about 13 percent of the country as "reserves" or "homelands" for the African majority. But these densely populated and impoverished homelands were never intended to sustain the majority of the population. Only by working outside these areas under a migrant labor system — administered by labor 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

I. APARTHEID AND CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

South Africa in Perspective

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 indigenous 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 battleground — 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



Crossroads

of Apartheid of Imperialism

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 pro-

foundly 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 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 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.



Black workers sort diamonds at sealed conveyor belt — with built-in gloves — as armed guard watches every move.

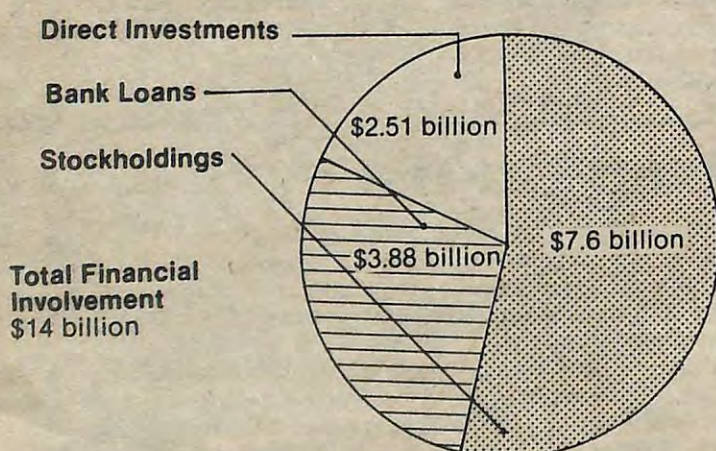
Two fundamental features of the cheap labor system now come into focus: the tight control exercised over the movement and residence of the black labor force, and the preservation of forms of subsistence economy in the reserves, which enables capital to assess black living standards at a lower level than 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 construction of these so-called hostels is 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. Continued on page 20

Chart A
U.S. FINANCIAL INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1982



Sources: Survey of Current Business, United States Federal Reserve Bank; Nation, September 3-10, 1983

Table 1
EMPLOYMENT AND AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES
IN SOUTH AFRICA

	Mining, May 1983	No. Employed	Av Monthly Wage
African		613,452	\$ 260
White		78,020	1,395
Coloured		9,581	430
Indian		659	690
Manufacturing			
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

He's at it again. The same Reagan who spearheaded resurgent, unapologetic America, who quipped "we begin bombing in five minutes"... this time the spotlight will be West Germany, and the message will be sharp, clear, and unmistakable: May 8, the fortieth anniversary of the surrender of the Third Reich, will find Ronald Reagan honoring the warriors of the German *Vaterland*. Bitburg is the chosen place, and the presence of forty-nine members of the Waffen-SS among the graves suits the White House just fine. These were all (says Reagan) merely "teenagers that were conscripted... into military service in the closing days of the Third Reich." They were "victims just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps." The fact that the SS-types were also the guards and torturers in these death camps is no problem: what could be more virtuous, more honorable than serving one's fatherland. And now that their *particular* part of the fatherland is on the "right side" — why not honor them? West Germany today certainly needs models for the youth who understand loyal service; and certainly the SS understood the emotions of "Make my day!" Just like the U.S. Marines.

For months, the Reagan camp has resisted even a token visit to a death camp during the commemorations, saying this would offend the Germans and "reawaken the memories... and the passions of the times." Those old furies are supposedly forgotten, said Reagan, since "the German people have very few alive that remember even the war." (Note: 20 percent of the present population, fully 12 million, were 20 or older in 1945.) An administration official explained, "The President was not hot to go to a camp. You know he is a cheerful politician. He does not like to grovel in a grisly scene like Dachau." But the ambiance at a military cemetery complete with SS-troopers is suitably upbeat for Reagan. Precisely. This is not the time for the Western powers to be squeamish about embracing atrocities and war criminals.

We think it is quite fitting for Reagan to honor Hitler's legions. Let him measure himself against any highwater mark for reaction and genocide — he will not be found lacking. This American president who calls the death-squad Contras his brothers, who embraces nuclear genocide with zest, who finds the South African murder of unarmed crowds a justified exercise of "law and order" — why should he not honor the Nazis? He is a fitting representative of U.S. imperialism, and this is quite a fitting, indeed necessary, step to take for the bloc he leads.

Why shouldn't Reagan act magnanimously toward the war criminals of 40 years ago? After all, the U.S. war crimes of WW2, the firebombings of Dresden and Hamburg, the nuking of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were never considered war crimes in the first place. Why shouldn't the U.S. imperialists be allowed to first condemn, and then graciously "forgive," the war crimes of the losers, and their *former* adversaries. As Reagan said at one point, "After all, we won, and they're there (in the ground, dead)."

The operative point however is not merely that it is fitting, and revealing, that Reagan should honor the loyal foot soldiers of Nazism — but that it is a compelling political necessity at this point.

No Mistake

In the whole frenzied controversy Bitburg has stirred up within the American political arena, the theme of Reagan critics is that this has been a "mistake," "a blunder," a "gaffe," the product of insensitivity and historical naiveté on the part of Reagan. It is nothing of the kind. NATO think-tanks have insisted for years that Western Europeans must prepare to fight the coming war under the banner of their own nations, and in their own imperialist interests. With special focus on West Germany, a full and



Travels of An American Hitler

painstaking year has gone into the planning for this season of commemorations, and the rehabilitation of Hitler's warriors is as calculating as it can be.

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

The theme of this year is "reconciliation." But the term is relative. Throughout Europe this fortieth anniversary of the end of World War 2 is being seized to hammer home the scorecard of the present. The allies of yesteryear, the USSR, are certainly *not* candidates for reconciliation — they are now to be clearly marked "enemy."

But why precisely is West Germany in such need of "reconciliation"? Obviously, the U.S. and West Germany have been reconciled in practice a long, long time ago; their military alliance is now fully 35 years old. What *now* is to be reconciled with? Certainly not the millions of youth who march against the Pershings and cruise missiles, or those Germans who barf at the very mention of the hated word "Vaterland." No, it is to be a reconciliation of the West Germans with their own imperialist past, to wipe the slate clean for German nationalism and militarism, to officially remove the stain from its global ambitions.

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

Reversing Old Verdicts

Writing the Soviets out of the celebrations of VE-Day was relatively cut and dry. First, the anniversary of Normandy's invasion was turned into the official victory rally — the Germans were temporarily snubbed and forced to play losers, while the Soviets were simply ex-

cluded since they were not part of the battle. The next major occasion came in connection with April 25, where major plans had once been laid to honor the first meeting of Soviet and American troops at the German Elbe. The U.S. pulled out, using the shooting of its spy, Major Nicholson, as an excuse, and that anniversary passed with Defense Secretary Weinberger growling that the Soviets were "just plain liars" and "not a civilized nation" — unmistakable war talk replacing even token recognition of an earlier alliance. As for the Soviet's official commemoration, it is scheduled to coincide with a major meeting of the Warsaw Pact which will renew that treaty for another 20 years... hardly a party the U.S. wants to join. One Western diplomat in Moscow said, "there is no plan for an official American delegation to the May 9 parade in Moscow and I would recommend against it."

So much for the Soviet Union — the former ally.

The question of Germany was more complicated from the beginning. Kohl traveled to the U.S. last fall to impress on the receptive Americans that a celebration of allied victory and German defeat on May 8 would tremendously dampen war preparations within the Federal Republic.

Certainly such preparation is needed, in fact, a virtual forced march of public opinion is required. A recent Gallup poll survey of seventeen countries found that the West Germans suffered the most national malaise, ranking below such coun-

tries as Argentina (which is wrapped up in a deep ideological and political crisis and also suffers from an 800 percent inflation rate on top of that). Kohl has been frantically trying to produce a copycat wave of Reaganism on his turf, even coining phrases similar to "feel good about America" to use in his election campaign.

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

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

Continued from page 19

Bitburg-On-The-Potomac

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

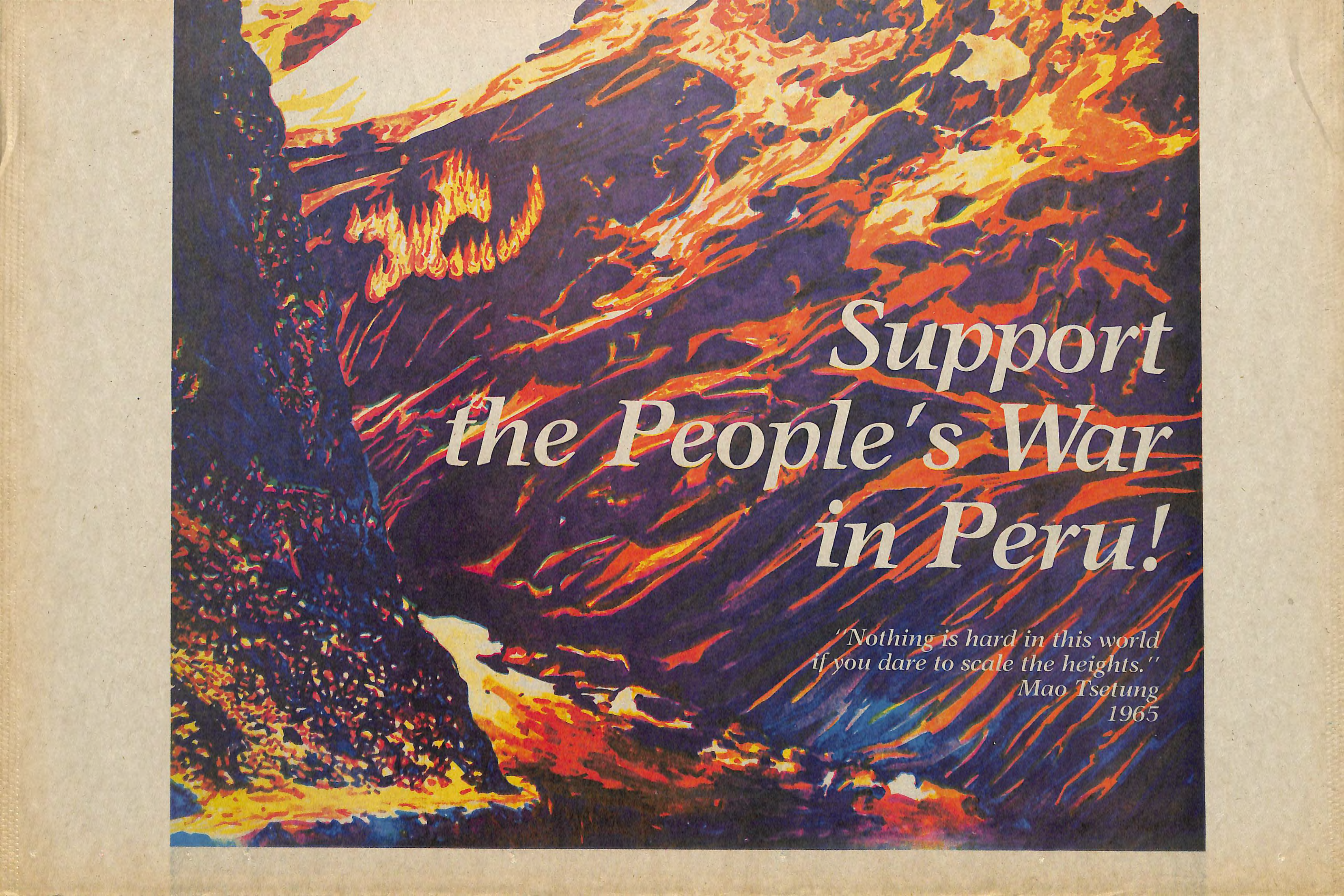
We would like to pose a challenge to all the leftists who joined in this memorial gesture: could you please provide us with even a shred of difference between this black-walled shrine and the Bitburg cemetery in West Germany?

Perhaps you could explain how napalm jelly is different from a gas oven; or how the U.S. tiger cages were an improvement over Hitler's concentration camps. Perhaps it is merely a question of being especially sensitive to the national prejudices of your particular "Fatherland." If so, could you kindly explain that as well?

Thank you.

PULL OUT AND POST





*Support
the People's War
in Peru!*

*"Nothing is hard in this world
if you dare to scale the heights."*

*Mao Tsetung
1965*

On Thursday afternoon, April 18, U.S. Border Patrol agent Edward D. Cole pulled out his .357 magnum revolver, crouched, and, taking aim at a group of youths in Tijuana's Colonia Libertad, fired at least three shots across the border into Mexico. One of Cole's bullets found its mark: the back of 18-year-old Humberto Carrillo Estrada. According to a resident of Colonia Libertad who witnessed the shooting, the immigration police were laughing as Humberto lay bleeding on the ground, calling the youth they had just shot a "stupid Mexican."

Edward Cole did not succeed in murdering Humberto, but he certainly tried. Only the lucky chance that La Migra's bullet happened to strike one of Humberto's ribs saved his life. "If the rib hadn't deflected the bullet," a spokesman at the hospital where Humberto was treated said, "it would have gone straight to his heart, sideways." While the two Border Patrol agents stood laughing at their victim, making absolutely no effort to get aid for Humberto, another Colonia Libertad resident, Francisco Corona Cardenas, picked up Humberto, carried him across the border, and demanded that medical attention be given to Humberto. "Animals, dogs," is how Humberto described La Migra's thugs as he recounted his story, pointing out the bullet hole and blood spots to any press who came by the scene. According to witnesses, it was only after San Diego police arrived on the scene that medical aid was finally called.

Humberto's "crime" was that he and other youth demanded that the Border Patrol stop beating his older brother, Eduardo Carillo Estrada. According to one account, Eduardo had crossed the border some time earlier and had bought a hamburger at a hamburger stand in San Ysidro. As Eduardo was returning home he was spotted by Border Patrol agents. Eduardo began to run towards the fence. A Border Patrol helicopter closed in, almost touching the ground as it attempted to corner Eduardo. Evading the helicopter, Eduardo began to climb the fence back into Mexico. Then a Border Patrol agent pulled him off the fence, grabbed Eduardo by the neck and began beating him. A crowd, which included Humberto, gathered on the other side of the fence, yelling at the agents and demanding they stop beating Eduardo. The Border Patrol's response was brutally direct: Edward Cole pulled out his gun and started shooting across the border. And when they managed to critically wound a 13-year-old youth they laughed about it. While Humberto was taken to a hospital, the Border Patrol arrested Eduardo and grabbed two other teenagers and arrested them as well. One witness told a reporter that one of the others grabbed, a teenage girl, was beaten unconscious before she was taken away. According to witnesses, it was after the shooting that the youths let loose with a barrage of rocks, yelling and screaming in rage, which continued until Mexican

police arrived on the scene.

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

saying that if at all possible they stay a stone's throw away from the fence.

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

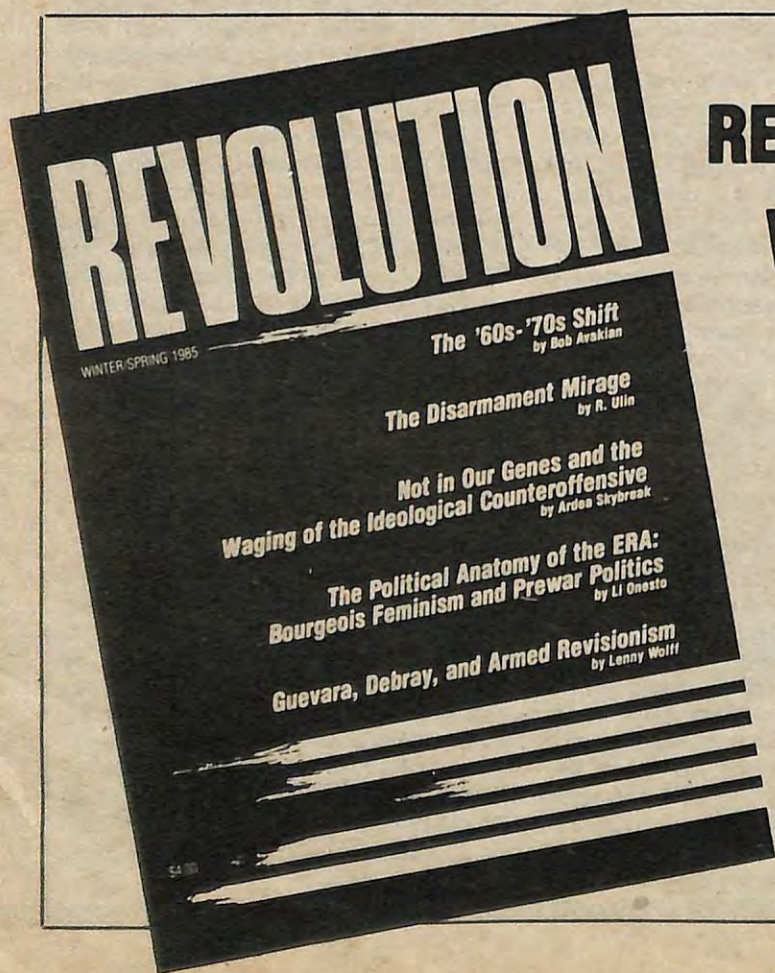
"Asesinos" — murderers — is what the youth on the Tijuana side of the fence call the Border Patrol, as the shooting continues to uncork the long-simmering rage of communities like San Ysidro and Colonia Libertad. □

Bullets Across The Border



On the border.

RWIOR photo



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The Case of Cathleen Webb

On Sacrificial Lambs and the Gods of Rape

A newspaper ad offers the chance to play judge: "Rape Trial — People vs. Dotson" it reads. "Guilty or innocent? You decide." For only \$49.00 you can get the complete trial transcripts of the now famous 1979 trial. *People* magazine features Cathleen Webb's own story — "The Woman who cried Rape. . . the full heartrending story behind her courtroom lies that sent an 'innocent' man to prison." And only days after Gary Dotson is sent back to prison, six members of the Guardian Angels (including their national leader, Curtis Sliwa) begin a hunger strike on behalf of Dotson and tens of thousands of signatures on petitions are offered up as proof that public outcry demands Dotson be freed.

By now the story of Cathleen Webb has been told and retold; from her original accusation that Gary Dotson raped her in 1977 to her recent confession that she had made the whole thing up because she feared she was pregnant after having sex with her boyfriend. Front-page news, talk shows, and daily updates have taken the gullible through every twist and turn of the Webb/Dotson case in what they call the journalistic pursuit of justice. But what is truly revealed by this incident, from beginning to end, is hardly the rocky road of a judicial system trying to "right a wrong." Rather what we have here is a stark picture of social relations in this country — the very ones that spawn rape and violence against women to begin with — and the blatant promotion of the very mentality that upholds this ugliness.

Behind the Recantation

In perhaps one of the most exposing statements in this case, Webb's own attorney John McLario said he has "offered" Webb as a "sacrificial lamb" because of the problems she has caused the state and Dotson. And indeed, one has to admit that the religious symbolism here is quite appropriate. In Webb's own words it was god himself who brought her to recant her rape story; that she was basically being "obedient to God's commandments." Right here is a sharp indication of what values have pushed "bornagain" Cathleen into the media spotlight as "the woman who falsely cried rape." Her recantation itself has all the marks of the conservative, religious right; humble servitude to god (and husband), as well as strict oppressive sexual morality. Webb put it this way at the end of the *People* magazine story: "I have also had to suffer consequences. The whole world now knows that I was promiscuous. The whole world knows I was a liar."

What could be a more perfect story to be launched as a major national cause célèbre? First (according to Webb) she told a story of rape to hide the "sin" of premarital sex. But even her story is revealing — that she was so fraught with guilt from sleeping with her boyfriend and fearful of the consequences from her foster parents that she resorted to self-mutilation in an attempt to make it appear that she had been raped. Her lies then put an "innocent man" in jail, but then after finding god (and the proper role of wife and mother), Webb then decides she must come forward and confess; first to god and then to the public, and take her punishment.

What stands out here is that whether or not Webb is now telling the truth, her whole recantation is stamped with the ideology behind women's oppression and the case is being spotlighted exactly for this reason. If in fact Webb's present story is true, this too is quite an indictment of the kinds of social relations and morals that are put on teenage girls — such that guilt and fear after having sex would lead her to do what she did. What did she fear from the wrath of her foster parents that would compel her to cut herself with broken glass because she might be carrying a child? What op-

pressive social relations does this story reveal? No media loudmouth has asked that question.

Springboarding off Webb's story and the "facts" of the case, the media has continued a vicious trajectory — one that not only upholds Webb's "noble religious moralism," but even more pointedly does this in order to attack women in general and put *them* on the defensive on the issue of rape.

Standing Reality on Its Head

In the very beginning the *Chicago Tribune* took the lead in setting the terms of allowable debate surrounding the case. Have the rights of rape victims been emphasized at the expense of the rights of the accused? Is equal protection offered to the accused rapist? These are some of the questions raised in a March 31 article. Lorna Propes is then quoted as saying: "In the last several years, all of the media attention given to rape has been given to victims' rights. But in all this, some real concerns about the validity of eyewitness identifications and witnesses' stories have been overlooked. There should be an equal concern with protecting the rights of the accused." And whose voice of authority, one might ask, is being invoked here? Why, none other than a lawyer who was recently voted in a Chicago judge's poll to be the attorney they would most recommend to *defend* a rapist!!

The selective posing of such questions, as well as the emphasis on certain facts of the case (for example, some coverage hardly even attempts to deal with the evidence contradicting Webb's current account of what happened) is intended exactly to twist and distort the reality of what rape means for women in this country. By implication, people are being told that Cathleen Webb simply proves that a lot of alleged "victims" of rape are in fact *victimizers* of hapless men who can easily wind up behind bars at the whim of a deceitful, lying, and panic-stricken woman. One more example — people are supposed to nod like robots — of the way the courts let women "cry wolf" in rape cases. The conclusion of such coverage (only barely kept between the lines) is that now the law must get tougher on rape victims. More than they already are, women who are raped should be *further* grilled in court on their sexual history, all the sordid details of the sexual assault should be further dragged into public view, and the *woman* herself should in general be put on trial and considered guilty until she can prove herself innocent of having invited the sexual assault or of having fabricated the whole thing to begin with.

Carl T. Rowan's recent editorial was only one of the more blatant comments to this effect. He said, "More than a few men have gone to prison because of out-and-out frameups by some woman scorned, some woman who got caught in adultery and screamed 'rape,' or because the man in a fit of passion decided on the basis of 'body language' that a woman's no really meant yes."

All this is simply standing reality on its head. Contrary to the media image of legions of two-faced, duplicitous women virtually holding men hostage with rape charges, the total number of rapes in this country would actually form the base of a huge pyramid compared to the number of convicted rapists, which would consist of a tiny percentage at the apex. According to FBI uniform crime reports, only about two in ten rapes is even reported to authorities. A similar study conducted recently by the Justice Department estimates that 1.5 million rapes or attempted rapes took place between 1973 and 1982, but only about half the women even reported the crime. (This estimate of half of all rapes reported is considered very high by rape crisis counselors.)

Further, if a woman does decide to prosecute, the state's attorney may find her charge unfounded or urge her to reduce the charge. "It's common to tell a

woman to charge battery, not sexual assault," said a Chicago YWCA rape counselor. "They tell her she can't prove sexual assault because no one will believe her. Usually, a woman's word is not enough, even with medical and police reports to back her up. If the case does go to trial, the conviction rate is low. Judges are reluctant to convict men of rape."

The publicity of the Webb case has intensified this oppressive situation for women who are raped and decide to prosecute. One Chicago area rape counselor told the *Tribune*, "My big fear is that this will set the rape education movement back ten years." Added her co-worker, "It's a terrible time to be a rape victim." The Webb case is also already having an impact in the courtroom. For example, in one recent Chicago rape trial the defense lawyer invoked the Webb/Dotson case to tell the jury point blank that women lie about rape: "Saying so doesn't make it so. We had a woman in this county who claimed to have been raped and a man went to jail." Earlier in the trial this same attorney also brought up Webb's name to remind the jury that "victims sometimes lie."

Women who are the victims of rape are perhaps the most acutely aware of the hostility towards them that has been fomented in the fallout from the Webb case. "I am angry at that woman (Webb) for raising doubts about the credibility of victims' testimony," a rape victim who is going to court next month to testify against her assailant told the *Tribune*. "... She has hurt me and any other woman in the future who will go to court with a rape case. Every policeman, every state's attorney, every juror on a case like this will think of this and wonder, 'Is this one telling the truth or lying?'"

According to a rape counselor, commenting on the effects of the Webb/Dotson case, it is teenage rape victims who are likely to suffer the most. "The myth is that teens lie about rape in order to cover up their sexual activity," she said. "That is precisely what Webb says she did. We have such a hard time getting fair treatment for teenage victims in the system. That is the group that will suffer the most due to this case."

Then, two weeks ago, Judge Richard Samuels (who had originally sentenced Dotson to prison) ruled that the defense had failed to prove that Webb lied (when she said Dotson kidnapped and raped her) and sent Dotson back to jail. The ruling cited the law's distrust of recanted testimony, contradictions between Webb's present story and scientific evidence, as well as discrepancies between Dotson's testimony and that of his alibi witness.

The demeanor of Cathleen Webb on the ABC *Nightline* show right after this verdict came down — stunned, vacant eyes, and barely able to speak — indeed told a tale of a lamb gone to the slaughter — she had carried out "the Lord's word" and she was slapped down by the judge. Now she was twice a liar and either way the case cut, the media have themselves a "genuine duplicitous woman" and a field day. The support for Dotson has been even more riled up in the wake of this recent twist in the case, with now more ammunition in the service of the argument that the legal system itself is complicit in "victimizing rape suspects," and being soft on rape victims. This line of thinking is being unleashed even as the State's Attorney's office appears, at this point, to be aggressively pursuing the case in order to prove that Webb is lying now and that her original 1977 story is true.

But no one has asked the question: if Cathleen Webb's recantation is not true, what ideology has prompted her to come forward and deny that she was raped? In the service of what "god" has she sacrificed herself in order to put all women on the altar? And what teachings would say that putting a rapist in prison was a sin, for which the woman must suf-

fer public humiliation again? Ronald Reagan and Jerry Falwell and the FBI might know the answer to that question.

More Yellow Ribbons

Another effect of the whole Dotson/Webb case has been to unleash the most backward, male-chauvinist mentality. The press made a point of reporting, film and all, how Dotson who had been freed on bond pending the hearing, was welcomed home with yellow ribbons, reminiscent of the welcome given the hostages returning from Iran. In this way, innocent or not, Dotson as an accused rapist has been made a new American hero and this has had the effect of emboldening not only those who think women lie about rape, but also those who think there's nothing wrong with rape to begin with!

One woman, getting on a bus the evening of Judge Samuels' verdict to send Dotson back to jail, was verbally assaulted by one drunk old man who slurred, "That man was innocent. . . All you fuckin' pussies are walkin' around here with your fuckin' pussies hangin' out. I'll show you what I can do, and I'm a 60-year-old man, all you assholes. . . ." And this is undoubtedly only one example of the antiwoman sentiment that has been unleashed — from the pornography-loving, three-piece-suited businessman to the outright rapist, and every misogynist in between.

Since Judge Samuels' decision, the media has also taken it upon themselves to help orchestrate a "Free Dotson" movement, with the Chicago *Sun-Times* even printing the phone number to call to obtain petitions. Dotson's uncle claims that 1,600 volunteers combing the suburbs are responsible for the tens of thousands of signatures on petitions that were presented to Governor James Thompson for an executive pardon. Thompson has played his part well as the cool-headed guy, saying, "I follow the law, the evidence, and my own conscience," vowing he will not be swayed by public opinion. Informally, however, Thompson has hinted to the press that he will do everything he can to speed Dotson's release, and there is open speculation that he is considering pardoning Dotson because of the "public's questioning of justice."

Volunteers have come forth, including the faculty of a Chicago law school, to help Dotson. And the *New York Times* has cast doubt on the legal opinion rendered by initiating a debate over how the law views recanted testimony. Cathleen Webb has vowed to continue to fight for Dotson's release, even if it means she has to go to jail for perjury, and has urged all Christians to pray for him.

The whole way this case has been played and covered has been pointed at reversing the verdicts passed by the women's liberation movement that rape is not caused or provoked — much less fabricated — by women, but is an act of violence integral to the oppression of women in society. With the Webb case women are being once again told to "put up and shut up" and at the same time their would-be attackers are being unleashed.

Not only is a woman raped every seven minutes in this country, but a woman is battered every 18 seconds, making it the major cause of injury to women (exceeding even automobile accidents!); marital rape is estimated to occur in one in seven marriages and 40 percent of all women who are murdered die at the hands of their male partners. Far from wiping out this reality, the attack against women being launched with the Dotson case reveals even more how integral the oppression of women is to the system of imperialism. □

When one looks at the staggering accumulation of crisis in the Sudan, the real wonder is not that Gafaar el-Nimeiry was deposed, but that his regime had managed to stay on top for as long as it did. An adroit tactician who had used, then discarded, every possible base of domestic political support, Nimeiry had in the final months become a "dictator without a system," in the words of one opposition leader. The government apparatus, subjected to increasingly more frequent shakeups in personnel, was in shambles. The army was tied down in an expensive and hopeless war against the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in the south — a war which the military's own officers recognized as unwinnable, with demoralization and restiveness spreading throughout the ranks. And Nimeiry's "Islamization" program, pursued with a vengeance particularly following the September 1983 "state of emergency" declaration, had long since become a liability even amongst Sudan's Muslim majority, most of whom saw the state-ordered amputations of petty thieves — even as open corruption in high business and government circles continued unabated — as a perverse abomination.

Intertwined with growing political instability has been an economy tottering on virtual collapse. Sudan's foreign debt now stands at close to \$10 billion. By the standards of such debtor nations as Brazil and Mexico, this may seem a "small," or more manageable, sum. The true magnitude of the problem can be seen, however, when this figure is arrayed against the actual size of the Sudanese economy, one of the world's poorest. Sudan's annual gross domestic product runs at about \$4.7 billion, or about \$250 per person. With growing need for foreign supplies of food and oil, coupled with falling export earnings, Sudan's trade deficit has mushroomed; it simply has no means with which to even pay the interest on its loans, much less begin to settle accounts on the principal. In this country, such figures and categories might seem abstract, but there is nothing abstract about the impact of such a situation on Third World nations. The cumulative effects of long- and short-term debt wreak havoc throughout the economy, creating severe dislocations and hardships in daily life. With Sudan's severe foreign exchange shortage, cargo ships refuse to unload badly needed imports until payment is made; even where cargo is unloaded, much of it remains at the dock at Port Sudan, where hundreds of trucks are routinely backed up, lacking sufficient gasoline to transport goods to distribution centers. In January, the rationed allotment of gasoline to private motorists was cut to two gallons a week, and taxi drivers in Khartoum found they could make more money selling their fuel on the black market than by using it — an example, in microcosm, of the pervasive disfunction throughout the economy. Meanwhile, development programs involving foreign investment have come to a virtual standstill, while the International Monetary Fund and the United States demand the imposition of further "austerity" measures.

Towering over all these problems, and magnifying them at every turn, is the situation in Sudan's countryside. Hardest hit have been the 3-4 million Sudanese peasant cultivators and pastoral nomads who can no longer survive on their traditional lands, while shortages and skyrocketing prices for sorghum and other food staples affect virtually everyone. From the stricken areas of Kordofan, and further points west, the stream of refugees has become a flood, with tens of thousands moving towards the outskirts of Omdurman, Khartoum, and the Gezira area, in search of food and water. In the Red Sea Hills in the northeast, the entire Beja tribe, numbering an estimated 750,000, is threatened with extinction. The starkness of their condition can be seen as fiercely independent nomads come down from the hills, congregating by the sides of roads and begging passing trucks for water from their radiators; already, large numbers of children are said to have perished.

Adding to this picture are the estimated one million refugees — from Ethiopia (mostly Tigre and Eritrea), Chad, and Uganda — who have already streamed into Sudan. The situation is especially serious in the east, where new camps spring up virtually overnight, quickly

swelling to populations of 10,000-20,000 within a matter of days. While the situation in many of these camps has been described as being even worse than anything in Ethiopia, an estimated one million more refugees, knowing only that life where they had been has become impossible, are even now making their way towards Sudan's borders.

Sudan's famine, like that elsewhere through Africa, has only recently attracted broad attention in the Western countries, where it has elicited genuine concern and anger, as well as supremely cynical political maneuvering on the part of the imperialist powers. The images conveyed by the news media hint at the staggering, heartbreaking enormity of the situation, yet diligently avoid the reasons why. In fact, the problem is not so sudden as its recent "discovery" by the media, and Western governments, might suggest. The confluence of social and ecological factors which have brought millions to the brink of death was set in motion long before. Nor is the famine primarily to be understood as a "natural" disaster, affecting

claims made by the U.S. government, which openly gloated over the Ethiopian famine as a demonstration of the failure of Soviet-styled "socialism" in the Third World. (The point here, of course, is not in any way to cover over the deeds of Ethiopia's ruling clique, nor their Soviet mentors, particularly in their savage campaign against those Eritrean and Tigrean peoples who have been hardest hit by the famine. Surely the last thing they deserve is to stand accused of adhering to a genuinely communist "political philosophy"!)

Even as Nimeiry and the U.S. thus attempted to parlay Ethiopia's misery into a few mangy points on the political scoreboard (with Washington reportedly using its food aid to Ethiopia partly as leverage in trying to get the Mengistu regime to curtail its support for the SPLA forces in Sudan's south), Sudan's own mounting crisis had become so wide-scale Nimeiry could no longer get around it. In late November, the government finally admitted to the existence of Sudan's famine, and Nimeiry put out the call for international assistance to assist "our

the bank providing sufficient loan capital to individual speculators so as to have bought up nearly all the sorghum produced in the Kordofan province's central area during the 1983-84 season. The grain was then stored, until prices climbed high enough for the assorted speculators to step in and make their "killing."

Vulturistic financial speculation such as this is only part of the story however. Especially since the late 1960's Sudan has embarked on a vigorous expansion of mechanized farming schemes, especially in the central rainlands of Sudan. The high profitability of mechanized farming — carried out on large plots (usually 1000 feddans, or about 1,250 acres) leased to private investors by the government — had already attracted the interest of Sudan's urban merchants and traditional tribal leaders (gaining access to such lands as a form of patronage from the state). In 1968, the World Bank set up the Mechanized Farming Corporation to supervise the expansion of these projects. Plot size was raised to 1500 feddans to maximize tractor efficiency, and this form of agriculture spread rapidly. What it basically has amounted to is a kind of agricultural stripmining — the profit structure is such that crop rotation is ignored by the (largely absentee) proprietors, leading to rapid soil depletion. Confronted with the inevitable fall in productivity after a few years of such cultivation, the typical investor (80 percent of whom are now urban merchants, with many of the rest civil service or military pensioners) moves on to clear new lands. The social consequences have been disastrous, with pastoral nomads (perhaps numbering 25 percent of Sudan's population) finding their traditional lands increasingly encroached upon, forcing them to operate within more limited, and less desirable, areas. With farm machinery capable of clearing 1500 feddans a day, paying scant attention to the dividing lines separating traditional grazing land from cultivated areas, the area available to grazing had declined by 1984 to only about 30 percent of its original size. Pastoralist activity, not surprisingly, has become more ecologically destructive, with more and more livestock concentrated in smaller areas. The overall ecological impact has been a disaster — the massive clearing of brush and scrub-forest areas unleashes wind and rain erosion. And, due to a process some scientists have come to call "biogeophysical feedback," the overall decline in humidity has in turn reacted back adversely upon rainfall patterns. Thus the process of "desertification," the encroachment of desert areas at a rate of ten kilometers a year, feeds upon itself in a cumulative fashion.*

Nimeiry, of course, has fallen; the rain has not followed suit. Of all the signposts of crisis in Sudan, the drought and famine are the most impervious to cosmetic alteration; they are the inexorable consequence of social and economic forces, none of which have been challenged by the "preemptive" April 6 coup which deposed Nimeiry. That this is so has been a source of monumental relief to the United States, for which Sudan is a major chunk of geopolitical real estate. As one U.S. official in Cairo exulted, following the takeover by General Siwar el-Dahab, this was a "status quo coup, not along the lines of Liberia or Ghana, where you had a bunch of sergeants or second lieutenants taking over. There is a lot of relief. These are respectable people." Undoubtedly: the very same "respectable" elements of the Sudanese establishment which have spearheaded the disaster, and will continue to jealously guard their position at the expense of millions. Such is their "political philosophy," a "philosophy" behind which stands the American imperium. Said a State Department spokesman, "We have had a close relationship with the Sudan based on a convergence of enduring national interests. We expect that this relationship will continue." So long as it does, so too will millions in the Sudan continue to pay a horrible price. □

*This represents an extremely truncated summary of some of the social, economic, and ecological forces at work. Excellent accounts of Sudan's agricultural crisis can be found in Fatima Babiker Mahmoud's *The Sudanese Bourgeoisie: Vanguard of Development?* (Zed Books, 1984), and Jay O'Brien's "Sudan: An Arab Breadbasket?" (*MERIP Reports*, September 1981).

Under Sudan's Coup

"backward" peoples whose primitive technology and social organization have left them ill-equipped to deal with the cruel hand of fate. In fact, as can be seen in the case of Sudan, it has been the penetration of capitalist relations into the countryside which has caused so much ecological destruction and human misery. And regarding technology, in large part the current crisis is attributable to the profligate misuse of that symbol of twentieth century modernity, mechanized farming.

Throughout most of 1984, Nimeiry refused to even acknowledge that Sudan had any such problems. Instead, he (along with the United States) sought to reap political dividends by focusing attention on the mounting starvation within Ethiopia. While millions within Sudan were facing the onset of starvation themselves, they were fed a continuous diet of political propaganda, as Nimeiry castigated the "political philosophy" of the Soviet-supported, ostensibly "Marxist," Ethiopian leaders, who "could not feed their own people." In so doing, of course, Nimeiry was mimicking similar

people who have fallen foul of the harsh circumstances of life and its transient misery.... Meanwhile, a growing Sudanese conviction found expression in a joke making the rounds in Khartoum: "the rain sent Nimeiry a message, saying 'I will fall if you do.'"

What, then, of the "harsh circumstances of life" which have fallen on Sudan? And what might these tell us of the "political philosophy" of Sudan's comprador bourgeoisie and the imperialist powers?

In 1979, the average price of sorghum (the primary grain crop in this part of Africa, and the staple of the Sudanese diet) was 10 Sudanese pounds per sack, or about \$7.70. By 1981, this price had jumped to 40 Sudanese pounds. In 1984, this price leapt fourfold again, from 53 to 200 Sudanese pounds; in some parts of the country it was running as much as 280 Sudanese pounds per sack.

This catastrophic price hike has been laid, in part, to the machinations of financial speculators — with the Feisal Islamic Bank singled out for particular attention. The story is a familiar one, with

This is the text of a leaflet put out nationally by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) on April 24:

Victory to the Struggle of the Azanian People for Liberation

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

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) welcomes and supports the nationwide student strike Wednesday, April 24. This action is an important contribution to the struggle against the apartheid regime and to the worldwide struggle against oppression.

White-ruled South Africa has always been vital to the existence of U.S. imperialism. And it is a crucial element in the unspeakably criminal plans of the new American Dream, plans predicated on smashing their rival Soviet social-imperialists in a nuclear war and emerging from the wreckage once again undisputed plunderers of the world. South Africa is the main source of several strategic minerals used in production of nuclear weapons — minerals mined under subhuman conditions, literally at the point of a gun. The South African army is the chief pillar of U.S.-bloc military domination of southern Africa, continuously waging terrorist attacks throughout the region. South Africa occupies a critical geopolitical position, controlling the only sea route from Europe to East Asia except for the vulnerable Suez Canal.

As "respected institutions," the universities have played a significant role in apologizing for the apartheid regime — including through their policies of openly sharing in the plunder of Azania through investments. As the struggle of the Azanian people inspires and awakens U.S. students, the links between the universities and apartheid have been exposed. And in turn, the intensifying struggle on U.S. campuses further cracks the facade of "resurgent America."

The happy-face university, so celebrated in the media, fits right in with a nation of "good Germans" — dissension suppressed as world tension moves toward a nuclear holocaust. It was a shaky "calm." The opinion molders were not at all happy when Brown University students held a "suicide referendum." Stocking cyanide pills for use in the event of a nuclear attack — what a negative thing to bring up in "upbeat America"! The referendum spread. And on a number of campuses, students made mass "citizen's arrests" of CIA recruiters, confronting them with their crimes against people worldwide. On many campuses, students have joined a diverse coalition of forces (including the RCYB) in issuing calls for bold actions on April 29, No Business As Usual Day — with the purpose of preventing the governments from launching World War 3 no matter what it takes.

If many of those entering the struggle against apartheid believe that the universities, and the U.S. in general, need to "live up to the ideals they were founded on" — we are confident that in the course of the battle they will quickly realize that oppression and plunder *are* the ideals this society was founded on and lives by. Why is it that the U.S.A. — a country that claims a patent on democracy and human rights — has a policy of "constructive engagement" with a government which denies even the right to vote, the right to a home... the most minimal token rights to the people it rules? How could the President of the United States go on TV and glibly blame the black people for the massacre of protesters that took place during a march commemorating the original Sharpeville Massacre?! And why is it that the university systems of the U.S., supposedly havens for enlightenment, invest their funds in South Africa — not only openly sharing in the plunder of Azania, but providing a moral endorsement of the regime in the process?

Our answer — and it may upset some people but it's true, and we challenge anyone to prove it's not — is that the very image of democracy and human rights that the United States holds up to the world is in essence nothing but some vacant privileges for a section of its population — privileges that are based on and can't exist without the Bothas, the Pinochets, the Belaúndes, and the Marcoses of the world. Imperialism was born on the enslavement of African people, and the "American Dream" was built in the coffee plantations and tin mines of South America and sweatshops of Asia.

Revolution is the only solution to the daily horror of the vast majority of people on this planet. And revolution is the only thing that will prevent the world war that the imperialist blocs, headed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are preparing to fight. The just struggle of the Azanian people is a dynamic component in the world revolution — an inspiration and a call.

**DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM! DOWN WITH APARTHEID!
VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE FOR
LIBERATION!**

**DOWN WITH NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM THE Union of South Africa
TO THE United States of America!**

Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade
P.O. Box 30735
Terminal Annex
Los Angeles, CA 90060

BREAK

Continued from page 4

heartfelt cry, "What do we want? Freedom! When do we want it? Now!" "Freedom now! Freedom now!" echoed off the buildings as the entire march picked up the chant.

The day's activities started off with an outdoor teach-in attended by 400 students, many of whom cut class to get some real education. Red was chosen as the color of the day to express solidarity with the Azanian people. As the march stepped off a student holding a giant red flag moved to lead it; hundreds wore arm bands.

As the University of Wisconsin claims to have divested itself of investments in companies doing business with South Africa, the target of the demonstration was the state capitol building. The 1500 students marched right into the rotunda to present their demands that the state immediately divest itself of investments in South Africa and that Gov. Earl meet with them. Two hundred students surged into the governor's conference room and occupied it, forcing postponement of a meeting he was to head, while the rest occupied the rotunda downstairs.

To the cheers of the students, a priest addressing the crowd said, "Sometimes things happen in the world that are important enough to come together for by putting aside other things such as work and school that become less important."

As strains of "Beat Street Breakdown" floated through the rotunda, about 200 protesters prepared to camp out until May 1, the date when the governor plans to make new appointments to an advisory board overseeing the state's international investments. Rather than confront the students and risk escalating the protest, the authorities for the time being chose to "allow" the students to continue their occupation.

- At Oberlin campus in Ohio, 350 students gathered for a noontime rally and then marched to an administration building where 250 staged a one-hour sit-in. The day before, the faculty had passed a resolution in support of divestment.

- At Tufts University in Boston, about 150 students marched to the university president's office and took it over. The students have renamed the administration building Robben Island, after the prison in South Africa. The students kept up the occupation all day Thursday. The

campus security surrounded the building and did not let anyone or any food into the building. There were 120 students inside the building and 300 outside, rallying all day.

At Harvard, about 50 students took over the Harvard Corporation offices for five hours. Some 150 students rallied at M.I.T. and marched to the university president's house. A study-in on South Africa was held at Boston University.

- Twenty students occupied the business office of the State University of New York at Albany. At Colgate University, 150 students staged a sit-in. Over 650 arrests had taken place, as the protests entered the fifth day. There was a rally of 200 people at Brown University, where a week ago students waged a strike on the issue of racism at the university, with links being drawn to the apartheid regime. Over 1000 students boycotted classes. Other actions took place at Syracuse University, Princeton, Rutgers, Wesleyan, the University of Louisville in Kentucky, Louisiana State, Southern University, and Penn State.

- At Columbia University in New York there was a rally called by graduate and professional students with approximately 300 people marching from the student blockade to Low Library where university president Michael Sovern's office is located. Half an hour before the rally began, students received word that two black students from Azania, who had participated in an earlier two-week fast and who have been charged by the South African regime with treason for their activities at Columbia, have been threatened with a cutoff of their financial sponsorship by the Institute of International Education. For one of the students it could mean that monthly living expenses of approximately \$650 would be cut off. At the rally, over \$300 was collected for this student. For the other student, the situation is even more serious. He is threatened with a withdrawal of all financial assistance, including tuition, which could lead to a termination of his school visa and an opening to possible deportation proceedings back to South Africa, where he would face jail or death. On Thursday, April 25, Columbia students concluded their three-week blockade and removed the chains from the doors.

- On Thursday, April 18 — the sixteenth anniversary of the 1969 takeover of the student union building by Black students — the Cornell University campus erupted

in mass protests against apartheid. Inspired by the Columbia and Berkeley blockades, a group of about thirty students gathered at the center of the campus for a march to Day Hall, the administration building, to demand that the university divest. They carried an effigy of Samuel H. Johnson, a Cornell trustee and chairman of Johnson Wax, a company with extensive interests in South Africa. Among the marchers were NBAU activists who had called for a student strike at the school on April 29. The march grew to over 200 people and entered Day Hall, where the students staged a sit-in.

One organizer described the protesters as being composed of "jocks, hippies, punks, and computer geeks." Debate and controversy raged over the situation in South Africa. Teach-ins on apartheid were held, and a South African student who is also an NBAU activist gave a history of the struggle against the apartheid regime. When ordered to leave, most of the protesters refused. In the largest mass arrest in Cornell history, 144 students and a few "non-Cornellians" (high school students and punks from Ithaca) were arrested by campus security.

By the next day, the word of the arrests spread on campus, angering even more students as well as many faculty members. While condemning the sit-in, the university made an offer to negotiate — which was promptly refused by the protesters. At noon, about 100 students marched through the campus, disrupting classes along the way. Students again took over Day Hall, which was renamed "Biko Hall" (popularly known as "Biko Hall East" — Berkeley's Sproul Hall is "Biko Hall West"). A banner reading "Strike April 29 — No Business As Usual Day" was hung over the doorway.

On Monday the university raised the stakes and announced that any student arrested three times would be suspended from school. But this again backfired, as 211 were arrested in another sit-in. The scene was repeated on Tuesday with 117 arrests, this time including 13 professors.

Meanwhile, other creative forms of drawing new students into the protest and stepping it up had been devised. Some students constructed a "Shantytown" behind Biko Hall in a main crossing area of the campus. The Shantytown is made up of shacks built of cardboard boxes, nails, scrap wood, discarded floor tiles, garbage bags, and tarpaper, much like the ones that millions of black Azanians are forced to live in. Some students have moved in and plan to stay until Cornell

divests. One of the "houses" has been turned into an information center dubbed the "Inhumanities Library." Here students can find out the latest news about the protests, examine press coverage, and exchange information and ideas. It has been a scene of intense debate, both about the direction forward of the movement itself, as well as between activists and other students who disagree with their actions. More than a few have become involved in the protests as a result of the Shantytown.

In preparation for the nationwide boycott of classes on Wednesday, leaflets and flyers against apartheid were in phone booths, bathrooms, cafeterias, and on telephone poles. Spraypainted slogans were all over the campus, including on statues and inside campus buildings. Red armbands could be seen everywhere.

When students were again occupying Biko Hall on Wednesday, a group of students announced that Reverend Sullivan — the author of the infamous Sullivan Principles — had agreed to negotiate with the university. Though this turned out to be untrue, debate began to rage among the students. Some argued that this was a victory and that they should negotiate, while others saw this as backing down from their original demand and stand of no negotiations.

As the 5 p.m. deadline for arrests approached, hundreds of people were inside and outside Biko Hall. At 5:30 security began to drag people out of the building and into waiting buses, as the crowd of about 500 outside chanted, "What do we want? Divestment! When do we want it? Now!" As security began to move the loaded buses toward the processing center, a crowd of about fifty people began mobile blockades in an attempt to slow the buses and disrupt the arrests. A few youths were heard chanting, "Let's go revolutionary crazy!" and a number of them had "No Business As Usual — April 29" stickers on their clothes. After two and a half hours, 361 people were arrested, bringing the total number of arrests at Cornell up to that day to 1,083.

Back at Berkeley, a timely message from Mao Tsetung appeared on a banner hung on the wall of Harmon Gym during the Wednesday meeting: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself."

That banner now hangs on the wall of Steven Biko Hall; it is certain that it will continue to be quite relevant. □

American Hitler

Continued from page 10

perialists, but increasingly the old Prussian provinces (which have been Polish territory for forty full years) are now being openly claimed by West German imperialism.

In just one recent development on this front, Chancellor Kohl is scheduled to address the annual convention of the "Vertriebene aus Schlesia" — the ultrareactionary ethnic German refugees that left the far-eastern provinces of the old Reich when the Yalta agreement gave those regions to Poland. These organizations have been kept alive for two generations now (thanks to government funding) to stoke the embers of war with the East. Kohl first whipped up a stir last year when he became the first chancellor in fourteen years to address these reactionary slugs. This year's engagement caused an even greater stir when it was announced that the slogan of the convention was "Forty Years of Banishment — Silesia Remains Ours." (Silesia is now Poland's coal-producing region.) Kohl milked the attention by announcing he could not speak unless that slogan was changed. Of course it was then rewritten (after all, the head of this organization is a parliamentary delegate of Kohl's own party). The new slogan will be "Forty Years of Banishment, Silesia Remains Our Future — in a Europe of Free Peoples!" No *revanchism* here! No hint of war with the East! And so the speech will go ahead.

In other developments, Franz Joseph Strauss, the No. 2 leader in Kohl's ruling party and current president of Bavaria, will make a speech in Munich on April 28 and lay a wreath at the grave of the unknown soldier. Then up in the Bavarian Alps of his province, about 1000 veterans of the Waffen-SS "Death's Head" tank division, the *Liebestandete Adolf Hitler*, will hold meetings and rallies at the spa resort of Nesselwang from May 3 to May 13.

An excerpt from an essay in *Spiegel*, written by its publisher Rudolf Augstein himself, gives an idea of how this same *revanchism* has spread far from its former lair on the right fringe of West German politics: Remember this is from a *left-liberal* essay attempting to grapple with the contradictory sentiments of "Zero Day" or "Capitulation Day," as May 8 is known:

"And the Germans, how far have we come since 'zero hour'? One could say that those who have nothing to do with East Germany could be counted among the winners of the war and without doubt that it is the majority of the population of the Federal Republic. But is it possible for one to feel good when the West German embassies in the Eastern countries are bursting with refugees? When all those who want to leave East Germany, even if it is only for material reasons, must be bought free? ... Can one be happy when we West Germans are not sovereign enough to go to the same Olympic games at which Great Britain and France were represented? When we ourselves cannot decide what and to whom we can export? When over questions of our security we cannot decide for ourselves? When through an artificial ideology we must remain divided from the Germans in East Germany because over there the system cannot withstand purely economic competition and must therefore with walls, barbed wire and all sorts of maneuvers prevent the normal exchange between orderly countries? ... It's true that Europe and with it the German Reich was liberated from an unspeakable rule of terror. But only part of Europe, and only a part of the German Reich... let them celebrate because they won the war. We'll look on and not celebrate, just as we didn't in Normandy."

This then is the state generally called "German sensibilities," which the Western imperialists must cultivate and fan; spreading the sense that the end of World War 2 was not a "liberation" of Germany, as the myth goes, but the date of its division, and that there is major work to do aimed at the East. These are the views that are deemed *healthy*, in sharp contrast to the moods of anti-

patriotism, even national nihilism, that have infected sections of the population. Calls to the national banner have now twice brought the Germans ruin and defeat. The last time left an entire generation of young men slaughtered and the entire country in rubble. The call for Fatherland and glory is viewed with deep suspicion, especially by today's youth who were brought up in a defeated imperialism — and so NATO must cherish any new currents that promise at least the hope of forging a new, and effective, call to wage a new world war "for the *Vaterland*."

Those who believe that Reagan's Bitburg plans were an error, a miscalculation, totally miss how carefully this has been planned. In October the plans for a joint U.S.-German commemoration of May 8 had been cemented. By January it was clear that this would not be a concentration camp junket, but a joint honoring of the war dead. A Reagan aide claimed that the Germans had made it clear "with body language" that they disliked the idea of a visit to Dachau. But actually they have been far more explicit. An *RW* correspondent in West Germany sent us a copy of an internal West German memo which read: "An event with the American President in a concentration camp would no doubt, especially in the American press, be the outstanding happening of the President's visit. We have no interest in the one-sided picture that such a visit would present."

Even the "socialists" like SPD leader Willy Brandt chimed in. Brandt is quoted by *Spiegel* saying: "a joint concentration camp visit by Kohl and Reagan would once again raise worldwide the collective guilt of all Germans regardless of how they stood in relation to the National Socialist state, and independent of which generation they belong to."

So the whole Western bloc united to plan a sharply different statement on the historic spring. The annual World Summit of Western-bloc chieftains was moved up from June to the beginning of May, smack in the middle of all the "Capitulation Day" events in West Germany. The heads of NATO, plus Japan, will be in Bonn for a week; the whole war bloc honoring Germany while they plot their next global moves toward the next war. And the capper is then going to be Reagan deliberately honoring the loyal soldiers of the Third Reich at Bitburg.

A Reactionary Tempest

Naturally all this has whipped up a predictable tempest within the American political arena. Like a many-headed Hydra of reaction, all the various actors have howled and brayed over the Bitburg ceremony, pumping their various venoms into the air. The Zionists have been in the forefront with their quite hypocritical anguish — the "absolute satanic evil" of Nazism has become a secular religion for them, since they have ghoulishly twisted the horror of the Nazi death camps into a kind of moral blank check for Zionism's

Plowshares, Encore!

The early morning hours of April 18 brought a Plowshares No. 13 action against the Trident II, D-5 missiles at Quonset Point, Rhode Island. Six people got inside General Dynamics Electric Boat facility, poured blood, and hammered on three missile tubes for ten minutes before being seized by security. The six are at present charged with one felony and two misdemeanors, and are being held in lieu of \$18,000 bond. Among the group is George Veasey, the Vietnam vet who also took part in the 1982 Trident IX Plowshares action at General Dynamics' huge Tri-

dent sub plant in Groton, Connecticut.

This latest Plowshares protest comes less than one month after two Kansas Plowshare defendants were sentenced to eighteen years. In fact, the six called their protest "Trident II Pruning Hooks," following the Kansas Plowshare activists who first used "pruning hooks" to title their jackhammering of a Minuteman missile silo. Once again, the government has found that the Plowshares protests have not been stopped by intensified repression. Indeed, every outrage of their war preparations only provides more opportunities for exposure and resistance. □

own gruesome atrocities against the Palestinian people in the present. Similarly, the crusty veterans' organizations balked — these were killers of *American* lives Reagan considers honoring.

It has become a virtual orgy of reaction — with Reagan tearfully agreeing to "add a concentration camp" to his May itinerary to "balance the program" — while not budging an inch on his honoring of the German soldiers. Ludicrous remarks pour from the liberals about Reagan's naiveté — in their eyes a good-natured American has once again "bent over backwards" to accommodate a loyal ally, and gotten into a pickle. There are even claims that Mike Deaver was sick with a kidney infection when he first went to Bitburg in February, and "overlooked" the SS graves because of a snowfall!

But the fact remains clear that all this was quite consciously anticipated. As early as February 10, the *Chicago Sun-Times* noted that "President Reagan will have to use all his skills to reconcile cruel history with the present during his visit to Bonn in May. ... He is said to be determined to have West Germany play a part in the anniversary. ... Reagan's briefing book for this trip will have to be a masterpiece balancing diplomacy and history." Later that same week, a White House aide said the political problems were like being "caught between a rock and a hard place" but that Reagan remained "not interested in looking backwards or rekindling the hatreds of that era."

The point is clear that the various loyalists of U.S. imperialism will simply have to get used to new verdicts passed on the Third Reich. West Germany is just too central to Western war strategy to avoid this turn: the resurrection of a long-retired German *revanchism* is past due; it is a key weapon for whipping up a German version of the "Reagan phenomenon," a resurgent, unapologetic Germany ready for war.

Naturally, there are no principles to lead even the Holocaust Memorial Committee to break with the administration. SS or no SS, they did not resign, and their chairman Elie Wiesel did not refuse his Congressional medal. One member of the committee explained, "We still have a

president whose basic instincts are good," while Wiesel told a teary Reagan before the national cameras that "We were always on the same side, on the side of justice, always on the side of memory. ..." The Zionist Mayor of Jerusalem used a speech in Munich to call for acceptance of the Bitburg plans as they now stand, now that the Bergen-Belsen death camp has appeared on the list.

"Never Again" will remain as a Zionist slogan justifying any and all atrocities in the Middle East — and at the same time, the West will accept dropping that "Never Again" in West Germany so that these allies can prepare for their next Eastern campaign.

Thin Ice

The verdict among the masses of people will not be nearly as forgiving. It is already far more problematic for the Western imperialists. A senior official in Bonn whined: "No one could have imagined how thin the ice was we were gliding on. History comes through so easily, so quickly." People understand what it means when you honor the SS. What can be clearer than that both war criminals and "Good Germans" are the models of the hour. And in the framework of 1985, it is clear that the crimes now being plotted will make Hitler's seem like child's play.

Already there are signs that these moves are calling forward massive protest in West Germany. Our correspondent reports that forces ranging from the Greens, the pacifists, from religious groups all the way to the Autonomes, other anti-imperialist and revolutionary youth, and the class-conscious proletarians from Turkey are calling for a national demonstration in Bonn on the final day of the Western bloc's war-summit conference. The authorities are threatening to ban all demonstrations anywhere near the site, but there are many determined to go right up into the hideous face of Hitler's modern successors. Just who and what will dominate the headlines on VE-Day is far from settled. □

On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

YOU CAN'T BEAT THE ENEMY WHILE RAISING HIS FLAG

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On The Political Economy of Apartheid

Continued from page 9
 dation. 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 urbanization process. Strug-

gles 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 total foreign direct investment, trailing both Britain and West Germany (see Chart B). 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

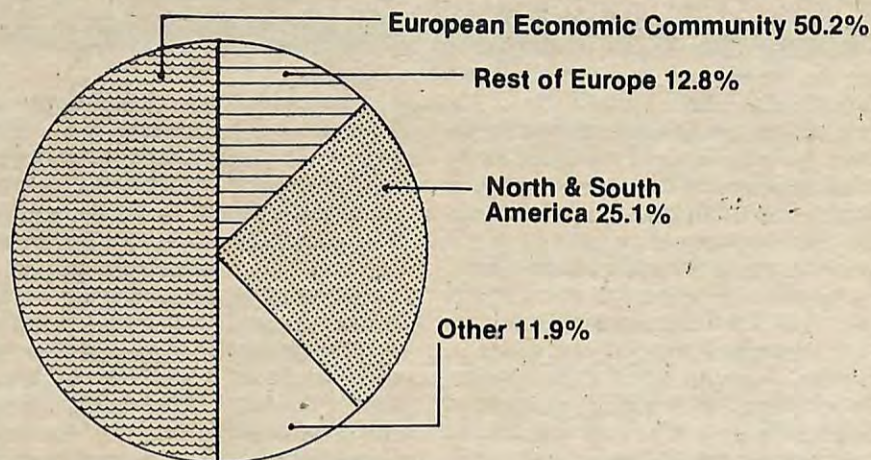
In viewing developments in the South African economy, it is possible to discern three distinct periods. The first, dating from the accession to government of the Nationalist Party in 1948 and continuing through the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, is marked by the systematic elaboration and enforcement 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 develop-

ment 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 process was the role of state planning and state investment. Targets for annual production were set and a highly integrated network of state corporations created a modern industrial infrastructure, with large-scale 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-publicized 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

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



Source: *The Economist*, 30 March, 1985

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



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

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 (see Chart C).

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 Some of the essential interrelationships between the regime and foreign capital can be gleaned from Chart D.

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

Chart D
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.	

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

Mineral commodity	World	
	Rank	%
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

The Minerals Connection

Table 2 highlights South Africa's share of the total world reserves of selected minerals. Southern 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. Now Table 3 shows what percentage of total U.S. consumption of chromium and four other strategic metals is met by imports from South Africa. The numbers speak for themselves.

But import dependency is not the only issue here. Fabulous profits have been reaped in the mining, smelting, and refining of these resources. From the 1960s 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 4 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.

Table 3
U.S. IMPORT DEPENDENCY, SELECTED CRITICAL METALS

	Net Import Reliance	Share of Imports from South Africa, % of total imports (rank as supplier)
Antimony <small>A bluish-white brittle metal used to harden and strengthen lead; also used in some electric cables and batteries.</small>	53	Ores and Concentrate-20 (2) Oxide-46 (1)
Chromium <small>Hard and brittle, chromium is 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.</small>	91	Chromite-40 (1) Ferrochromite-62 (1)
Manganese <small>One of the most important metals used in industry; removes impurities from and strengthens steel. Manganese oxide is used in dry-cell batteries and manganese sulfate is an important part of fertilizers.</small>	97	Ore-9 (3) Ferromanganese-38 (1)
Platinum <small>More valuable than gold, one of the heaviest substances known. The metal resists heat and chemicals and is often used as a catalyst to speed up chemical reactions.</small>	87	53 (1)
Vanadium <small>Resists attack by chemicals and its alloys do not rust. Also used to toughen steel and other metals and can be used at very high temperatures; also conducts heat rapidly.</small>	35	54 (1)

Source: U.S. Bureau of Mines, Mineral Commodity Summary, 1981 and 1984

General Motors and the South African Generals

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

"industries or services designated as National Key Points... will be accorded protection in emergencies through the medium of the Citizen Force Commando system... (white personnel) are encouraged by authorities to join a local commando unit."

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

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

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

The story is etched, in part, deep in the veins of the South African mines, if not in the veins of the black mine 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 internationalized capital. This is a major theme and thesis of *America in Decline*.^{*} One concrete example: investments in the South African transport sector were the

Continued on page 22

^{*}*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).

Table 4
RATE OF RETURN ON TOTAL BOOK VALUE, U.S. FIRMS' DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN MINING AND SMELTING, 1953-72 (percentages)

	Canada	Latin America and the Caribbean	South Africa
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

On The Political Economy of Apartheid

Continued from page 21

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 5 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 underreport 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 nationalized 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 organizes immense military force. By 1978, South Africa had an army of 55,000 regulars and 130,000 reserves, equipped with 362 combat 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-

Apartheid and the Spirit of Laissez-Faire: Straight from the Pig's Mouth

"We believe it would endanger the free world if every large American bank deprived developing countries of the opportunity for economic growth."

—Chase Manhattan Bank, following its much-publicized loan to South Africa after the Sharpeville Massacre.

"[I don't think] it's any of their goddamn business... how South Africans run themselves."

—Henry Ford, commenting on Episcopal Church efforts to get GM to leave South Africa.

"The facts of the matter are that we do not and cannot control the actions of our customers, and it would be grossly misleading to espouse a policy that we cannot enforce."

—The Chairman of IBM, responding in 1977 to antiapartheid criticism of IBM.

"South Africa is a good example of what can be achieved economically... It does not expropriate or nationalize foreign controlled enterprises. It respects the sanctity of contracts. 'Profit' is not a dirty word."

—William Simon, former U.S. Treasury Secretary and organizer of the 1984 Olympics in a 1977 paid advertisement from the South African government in *Business Week*.

Table 5
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

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 "modernize" 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

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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 for 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 has 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."¹ 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 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.

This article will appear in print during the week of No Business As Usual Day. Nowhere is the business of imperialism clearer than in South Africa. And the black people of South Africa during the past few weeks have provided both inspiration and example as to what it means not to conduct business as usual. **DEATH TO APARTHEID! DEATH TO ALL FORMS OF IMPERIALIST RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA! DEATH TO IMPERIALISM!** □

NOTES

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.

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