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Journal of Marxist Thought & Analysis

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A Memorable Publishing Event

Editorial Comment 1

Gus Hall

On Mass Movements 3

Henry Winston

The "Internal Colony" Fallacy 11

Daniel Rubin

The Fight Against Inflation and Unemployment 21

Hyman Lumer

The Palestinian Question and the Middle
East Conflict 32

IDEAS IN OUR TIME

Herbert Aptheker

Senile Capitalism, Racism and Slavery 49

COMMUNICATIONS

Paul Cassidy

A Comment on Shakespeare 54

BOOK REVIEWS

Tony Monteiro

Neo-Colonialism in Africa 59

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A Memorable Publishing Event

This month is witness to a memorable event: the appearance of the first volume of a 50-volume edition of the *Collected Works* of Marx Engels in English.* This monumental publishing task is being undertaken jointly by Lawrence and Wishart in England, International Publishers in this country and Progress Publishers in the Soviet Union. The 50 volumes will be divided into three main groups. The first will contain the philosophical, historical, economic, political and other works presented in chronological order. The second will consist of Marx's *Capital* and all writings connected with it, including particularly his voluminous Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58, better known under the title *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Okonomie*. The third will contain the letters of Marx and Engels starting from 1844, when they first began their collaboration. When it is finished, this edition will constitute the most nearly complete collection of the writings of Marx and Engels in existence.

This undertaking is long overdue. Among other things it will make available many of their works which have not hitherto been translated into English, and will republish for the first time many of their works originally written in English but now available only as collectors' items. The work of Marxist political leaders, teachers, theoreticians, scholars and others in this country has long been hampered by the unavailability of these writings in English. Moreover, part of what has been available has been fragmented and incomplete. The appearance of this English edition will at last put an end to this situation.

In addition, the growing interest in Marxism has brought with it the growth of a crop of pseudo-Marxists bent on misusing Marx, and concurrently there has begun to appear a flood of English translations of works by Marx issued by commercial publishing houses. These are in the main translations of dubious merit, accompanied by introductions and commentaries of little or no merit. And it is noteworthy that the translations are mainly confined to Marx, skipping over Engels. This is in keeping with the tendencies in these circles to separate Engels from Marx, to try to make it appear that their ideas were in conflict. This new edition will go far toward putting an end to this situation. It will provide authoritative translations which can be counterposed to the others. And it will bring out fully the true relations between these two founders of scientific socialism. Concerning

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Volume I, *Karl Marx: 1835-1843*, International Publishers, New York, 1975, \$7.50.

this the introduction to the series, appearing in the first volume states:

Theirs was a unique collaboration in theoretical work and in revolutionary leadership. While the leading role in it certainly belongs to Marx, the partnership was so close, many important writings having been undertaken under their joint authorship and the greater part of the work of each from the beginning of their friendship in 1844 to Marx's death in 1883 having been discussed with each other, that their works must of necessity be collected together. (P. xiii.)

The fruits of this unique collaboration constitute a contribution of immeasurable import to human thought, to history and social development. The influence of these two giants on the course of world history is unequalled. Their *Collected Works* will be an instrument of inestimable value for all Communists, for all who fight for a better world—for socialism. Everyone should begin to acquire the series now, starting with Volume 1. The cost promises to be reasonable. Volume 1, a cloth-bound book of more than 800 pages, sells for \$7.50—about half the price that would be charged by any of the standard commercial publishing houses.

We greet the appearance of this first volume and look forward eagerly to the appearance of subsequent volumes.

(Continued from p. 58)

Haven't we produced progressive and even class conscious art work in the 20th century? Art which reflects our changing world and points our way toward a revolution in social life? No U.S. playwright has rivaled Shakespeare's talent, but that will come. We have produced and must encourage art and theater that advances beyond Shakespeare's humanism. The literature of DuBois, early Steinbeck, Mike Gold, Lloyd Brown, Phil Bonosky, early Richard Wright and some of Jack London; the plays of early Lillian Hellman and early Odets, of Lorraine Hansbury and Ted Ward all reflect, with different degrees of talent, depth and consistency,

this radical trend. The current upsurge in Black and Latin theater of collective struggle, radical "guerilla theater" and efforts of Communists to continue on a higher level the radical tradition in the arts that McCarthyism interrupted . . . all these efforts must be studied and emulated.

So it's one thing to salvage the humanist classics from the distortion of our bourgeoisie and use them to the fullest, especially a giant like Shakespeare. But it's another to set the Bard up as the last word on his or our changing world, or to play down the need for Marxism, working class humanism, to direct our creative as well as political work.

On Mass Movements

The main section of the Resolution is on mass movements. This is an important section because this is where our general concepts meet their acid test. This is where our policies meet reality. It is here that our general concepts—our united front approach, whether we are a vanguard, the struggle on two fronts, questions of sectarianism, opportunism, whether we are a factor in developing class consciousness and socialist consciousness—all meet the test of life.

Before going into specifics we should take note of some trends within all of the mass movements:

1. Generally the crisis has upgraded the economic issues.
2. The economic issues cut across and affect the majority of the people. While the crisis affects the poorest the most, it does affect most of the population. This has widened the base of mass movements.
3. There is a trend in the struggles of the working class, the struggles of the victims of racism, the poor, the elderly and the youth, of coming together into a unified single stream of struggle. This is of great political significance. It is creating a new base for unity. The economic issues have become a new unifying factor.

For example, as the economic self-interests are more clearly seen within a unified struggle a better atmosphere is created for the struggle against racism. The struggle against racism becomes more clearly a self-interest necessity for all those involved in struggle. And as long as the unified movement places special emphasis on the needs of those who suffer from special racist oppression there will be less need for special forms in the same areas of struggle.

4. Among all the currents the overall trend is for the struggle to impart a more identifiable political side to the movements.

5. Possibly the most important of all the developments is that all of the movements are developing a closer tie to the working-class sector. In this we are beginning to see more sharply the historic and leading role of the working class.

6. When we speak about mass trends in this period we are now speaking about millions, and in many cases about trends that move the majority of the people.

These trends are important guidelines for struggle. They are positive trends. Our task is to develop them further.

*This is an excerpt from a report introducing the Draft Political Resolution of the upcoming XXI Convention of the CPUSA at the December 7-9 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPUSA.

Movement for Political Independence

The weaknesses in the movement for political independence stem from Right opportunist assessments. The lack of initiative, the lack of effort in creating bases of political independence, rest on the erroneous analysis that most if not all people think along the lines of the lesser of two evils, that because they are trapped by the concept of the lesser evil, most are tied to the Democratic Party, that most if not all do not dare to become part of an electoral coalition that is politically independent.

These are incorrect assessments. They have become even more incorrect since our last convention. All public opinion polls prove this conclusively. The largest single body of voters consider themselves independents. Even the ultra-Right elements with their demagogic use of the sentiments for political independence are proof of the incorrectness of these assessments.

We have a situation developing in the U.S. in which the ruling class will have the two old parties with an ultra-Right fake independent movement on one side and a liberal fake independent movement on the other. In fact, New York already has this. Therefore, perhaps we need to probe this question further.

What is the hangup? On the one hand all polls show that the biggest single sector in the political spectrum is the independent voter and this sector keeps growing and growing. But though this is the biggest sector, it is also the least organized along electoral lines. Because it is not organized it cannot properly assess its own strength and therefore is not able to draw on its own capital. It is not able to take initiatives. It can only react; it can support or not support initiatives by others. It remains a bigger and bigger tail wagged by an ever smaller dog. It is independence that does not know its own strength. Without organization it cannot decide on program or candidates. To one extent or another this problem exists in every sector of the independent movement.

The message from the mini-convention in Kansas City is that there is a crisis of the AFL-CIO electoral policy based on class collaboration. It is a declining influence on the rank and file of the trade unions and on the workers generally. There is a deep split in the top ranks. The crisis that emerged during the 1972 elections has become deeper. Meany and Barkan want to make deals with the more reactionary machines like Daley's in Chicago. The Democratic politicians know that is a dead-end street, and so Meany and Barkan are treated with the contempt they deserve.

They are isolated in the world trade union movement. They are becoming more and more isolated on the domestic political scene.

What we are witnessing is the bankruptcy of an old party. The Meanys are cornered by their own policies of class collaboration. As long as they are against breaking out of the two-party straitjacket they have no place to go. And the politicians know this. Their dilemma opens the doors wide toward political independence. This should become the basis for rank-and-file initiatives everywhere. Meany's dilemma can become the rank and file's opportunity for class political independence.

The Black voters continually express an independent position, especially in electing Black candidates. But they are also tied to the section of the Black community that still operates and runs for office through the Democratic Party. This independence is continuously expressed by the Black members of Congress.

There is the same kind of development in the Chicano and Puerto Rican communities.

The liberals are equally pulled in two directions.

Therefore, the question is how to keep this total independent sector united while moving it towards more complete independence. This is the real challenge of this moment. We have to consider a number of possible steps to help achieve this.

Should we not consider projecting a new political alliance along the following lines?

1. An alliance that has a program based on the concept of reforms that reduce corporate profits, monopoly political power and the size and influence of the military complex.

2. An alliance that can, especially in its initial stages, be the balance of power. In most elections this is not difficult. Balance-of-power politics is needed to influence the over-all character of the election.

3. An alliance that can, from a position of the balance of power, deal with candidates and parties.

4. An alliance that may or may not run its own candidates.

5. An alliance whose candidates may or may not, depending on the specific situation, run its candidates as independents or in any column it pleases.

6. An alliance that may or may not petition for its own column on the ballot.

7. An alliance of the 3 Ps—People's Political Power.

If there had been such an alliance in New York during the last elections it could have run its own candidates. It could have supported many candidates including Ramsey Clark, Sidney Von Luther, Jesse

Gray, Shirley Chisholm, Bella Abzug, as well as other Black and Puerto Rican candidates.

As such an alliance establishes itself as the balance of power it can move to establish itself as the people's power. Such an alliance should be flexible enough to bridge the gap between those independents who are as yet in the Democratic Party's orbit and those who have already freed themselves from it.

It seems to me we must consider some such intermediary form, one that will prepare the groundwork, develop the cadre—an alliance that can, at the proper moment, become the base for a new political party.

From this viewpoint the Emergency Conference on Economic Alternatives and the conference called by Congressman John Conyers were of great significance. They prove that the pre-conditions are present for the launching of such alliances. The Emergency Conference on Economic Alternatives has drafted a Bill of Rights that is very much on the level of such an alliance of political independence. There are a number of other conferences and initiatives that move in the direction of political independence.

We must be ready to give our ideas and support to all serious initiatives in this direction. But in doing so we must not close our eyes to what are divisive initiatives. There are some "Left"-liberals who seem to be in the business of organizing counter-movements. The Trotskyites are always ready to organize their telephone-booth counter-movements. Such counter-movements inevitably make their appearance right after a united movement has emerged. They therefore play a divisive role.

We are for united movements in which all serious forces are welcome. We are not for counter-movements. It is clear that the enemy does not want united mass movements. They are especially against movements in which Communists participate. They are for divisive counter-movements. People in the Left, therefore, should not lend their names to initiatives that may sound all right but in fact are divisive counter-movements.

Next, there are some lessons we must draw from the Communist campaigns. These prove the correctness and the historic significance of our fight to run Communist candidates. We are becoming more and more accepted as a legitimate element on the electoral scene. Each election adds to this development. There is a steady growth in the Communist vote. We must not permit any letup in running Communist candidates. But there are some new lessons we must learn from these campaigns.

First, the most successful campaigns are those in which the Com-

Communist candidates are associated with broader forces either by having the support of broader committees or by an association with non-Party candidates. The most successful candidates are those who have some local background.

Therefore, should we not give greater attention to electoral alliances where Communists can share slates with non-Communists? It is obvious that these alliances would be more in the nature of Left alliances. A question one hears very often is, "Why can't you and some of the others on the Left get together and run common candidates?" Therefore, we should boldly take initiatives in setting up electoral alliances in which Communists would run as Communists, but as part of an alliance and in the name of the alliance, either as a ticket or a party.

From our experience it is clear that many voters would like to vote Communist if they were not asked to do so by voting directly for a Communist ticket.

This approach is in no way in contradiction to the struggle to get Communists elected to office. As a matter of fact, this tactical approach makes the possibilities of electing Communists to public office a reality.

Finally, on the electoral question, we must keep the historic necessity of a new mass political party always alive. We must combine our agitation and education concerning the nature of the two old parties with the need for a new party, a new party with a different class base.

In general, this is a period when ideas that have been dormant for a long time can burst into flames. We need to keep the pilot light under the idea of a new political party always burning. This means constant probing, constant education and agitation about the need for a new mass people's party.

United Front

There is a key question that does not get enough attention in the resolution. It is the over-all question of our united front policy. Although it is implicit in every section, we need to place greater emphasis on it. I think many of our young comrades who did not live through the period of the 7th Congress of the Communist International—and older comrades who have forgotten—need help on this question.

The concept of the united front and united action are the same thing. United front is but a form of united struggle. There is a need for a united front, for unity, only because there is a need to do something about problems facing the people, only because there is a need

for an organized movement, an organized struggle.

In most instances the basic weakness of not fighting for a united front policy is in fact a weakness of not fighting for a policy of struggle is a reflection of Right opportunist influences, which in life result in isolation and sectarianism. In the matter of united front and united front action we do not have the problem of which comes first—the chicken or the egg—because the concept of united front is a response to a decision to organize a struggle.

Lenin, in simple terms, spoke about the prerequisites for mass work, for being able to fight for a united front policy. He spelled it out as follows:

“Living in the *midst* of the people.”

(And he underlined the word “midst.”)

“Knowing the people’s *mood*.”

(And he underlined the word “mood.”)

“Knowing *everything*.”

(And he underlined the word “everything.”)

“Understanding the people, having the right approach, winning the *absolute trust of the people*.”

(And he underlined the word “absolute.”)

“The leaders must not lose touch with the people they lead, the vanguard must not lost touch with the entire army.” (Quoted in *Biography of Lenin*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 469.)

So, to emphasize the need for a united front policy means, in the first place, to emphasize the need for action, for struggle, for movement, for organization.

The Elections in USW District 31

There is a tendency to downgrade our achievements in our work in the trade union field. There is a lack of appreciation of the role of the organized rank-and-file groups and of the fact that Communists now are an important factor in just about every rank-and-file group or caucus in existence. To demonstrate this I should like to analyze briefly a recent important example.

We have been an important factor in the struggles that have taken place in District 31 of the steelworkers’ union, which includes the big steel complex of the Gary and South Chicago areas. We are and have been a part of the coalition that just recently defeated the Abel-establishment candidate for district director.

In spite of the fact that Abel and the steel corporations threw in everything they had—Watergate-like dirty tricks, red-baiting, piles of money, hundreds of full-time campaigners—the rank and file-supported

candidate, Sadlowski, won by a vote of about 40,000 to 20,000. In analyzing this historic victory some of our comrades concentrated only on the weaknesses. They were cautious and negative because, as some said, "Abel had also shown promise before being elected to his present post."

What are some of the facts about this historic development? District 31 is the largest district in the steel union, covering some 125,000 steelworkers. This district has been run by a gang that was set up by John L. Lewis, and in most ways it has been a most reactionary, undemocratic machine, politically tied to the corrupt Daley machine in Chicago.

The 40,000 steelworkers who under these circumstances voted for Sadlowski had to reach certain conclusions. What were they? This is the most crucial question as far as we are concerned.

1. They rejected the open class collaborationist policies of Abel and his candidate.

2. In spite of the weaknesses of Sadlowski and the extreme demagoguery of the Abel forces, the majority of Black steelworkers decided that the election of Sadlowski, even with the weaknesses, would improve the struggle against racism.

3. The 40,000 steelworkers who voted for Sadlowski rejected the campaign slander and red-baiting.

4. They voted for a man who had publicly taken a correct position against the war of aggression in Vietnam.

5. They voted for the right to strike over grievances.

6. They voted for democratic reforms, for rank-and-file control of the union.

In the course of the campaign these workers organized a number of rank-and-file groups. They read 15-20,000 copies of a special edition of the TUAD organ *Labor Today* and they received a number of extra bundles of our *Daily World*. They read press stories about interviews with Communist candidates in Chicago and Indiana and interviews with Claude Lightfoot.

They were influenced by and had close relations with the rank and file movement in the coal industry. And finally, they were influenced by the years of concerted effort by the Party in these areas.

This victory is the first real breakthrough of the rank-and-file movement in steel. It lays the basis for the defeat of the class-collaborationist policies in the steel union. Why do some comrades who were themselves involved in this victory tend to see only the negatives? This is a very important question, because it reflects an obstacle to our mass work in general.

To begin with, one tends to see only the negatives in a victory like that in District 31 if he or she is blinded or hindered by sectarian standards, by measuring developments with unrealistic, sectarian yardsticks. The Saldowski campaign was not a Left campaign. But the Left elements, including Communists, were the most decisive factors in the campaign.

The main factor in the campaign is not the man, Sadlowski. Rather it is what happened to the 40,000 steelworkers in the course of the campaign. The 40,000 are obviously not all on the Left. But they are willing to work with the Left or moving toward it. In voting for Sadlowski they instinctively or consciously leaned toward and supported class-struggle trade unionism. Many of them instinctively—and a growing section consciously—rejected racism and red-baiting.

The challenge to us is to master the art of leadership of the 40,000s on the levels on which they operate in all situations, that is, on the level of the rank-and-file groups. We must learn to swim in the pools of 40,000s without drowning or getting lost in the depths.

In all this it is necessary to swim in the lead. It is necessary to associate with those who are swimming faster and with those on the Left who already know the goals, the currents, the sharp turns and the source of the flow. We must do this, but never in isolation from the 40,000 and from the other thousands who voted incorrectly or did not vote at all. This is what Lenin meant when he spoke about “living in the midst of people” and “winning the absolute trust of people” and when he said that “leaders must not lose touch with the people they lead” and “the vanguard must not lose touch with the entire army.”

From this viewpoint the District 31 election was an historic victory. It is this approach, this analysis of mass moods that separates us from the phony “Left” groups.

In saying all this, the question must be asked: are there going to be some problems with the coalition and with Sadlowski? From past experience I would say without hesitation that there are going to be problems. The question is: how serious will these problems be? This depends largely on how well we contribute leadership to the 40,000.

Obviously, one of the first areas in which we will be called upon to give leadership is in taking what is positive, building on the experience of the campaign and using it to raise the struggle against racism to a higher level, both in the mills and in the union. We have to show the 40,000 that the full benefits of their victory can become a reality only if there is unity, and unity can be achieved only through a renewed struggle against racism.

The "Internal Colony" Fallacy

That the present situation in this country demands a mass people's party is beyond question. Formation of such a party must become a top-priority concern of all seeking a way out of the monopoly-imposed crisis of existence for the working class and especially the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian minorities—in fact, a crisis so all-pervasive it encompasses not only the working masses but every social stratum outside monopoly's ranks.

The current situation demands unity around a program that will unleash the potential for struggle of every possible anti-monopoly current—multiple and varied in class and social character—to speed formation of a mass people's party as an alternative to monopoly's two-party system. Past or present differences must not be allowed to become an obstacle to unity around such an anti-monopoly program.

Within this context a document entitled "An Open Letter to Activists and Organizers of the Present and Past on the Need for a Mass Party of the People" has been issued by a group called the National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People. Among the members of the group, mostly professionals, are Arthur Kinoy of the National Lawyers Guild and leaders or members of a variety of other organizations, including the New American Movement.

Regretfully, the perspective offered by the "Open Letter" (it includes no program) does not correspond to the necessity for a unifying strategy and policies for a mass alternative to monopoly's two parties of racism and reaction. The 18-page "Open Letter" is an abridgement of a much longer document by Arthur Kinoy; although modified in some respects from the original, it retains its key features.

It is really unfortunate that after months of discussion by the National Interim Committee of a document in which Kinoy warns the U.S. Left against "imported models," the "Open Letter" takes its ideological direction from an "imported model" of French origin, derived especially, as we shall see, from Roger Garaudy's writings. Not only does this "imported model" fail to run in an anti-monopoly direction in the U.S.; it had already been rejected by the working class in the country of its origin. . . .

* This is an excerpt from a report given at the December 7-9 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPUSA. The report has been published in its entirety by New Outlook Publishers under the title *A Critique of New Theories on the Working Class, Liberation Movements and Social Strata*.

Black People and Class Differentiation

With reference to Black liberation, unlike Garaudy the "Open Letter" does not de-emphasize the oppression of Black people in general. On the other hand, the "Open Letter" does reflect Garaudy's influence in its failure to deal specifically with the triple "overexploitation" of Black workers, and in its treatment of Black liberation without regard to class differentiation—in fact, it does not make a single reference to Black workers as such. For example: "The party of the people"—i.e., a party representing a new "historical bloc" based on the "expanding nature of the working class"—must be "a party in which Black people participate fully in the initial organizing, the thinking, the planning and development—that is a party in which Black people take a leadership role." (P. 8.)

But a strategy for Black liberation—as well as a strategy for building a mass alternative to monopoly's two parties—must first of all recognize the special role of Black workers within the Black liberation movement as a whole, and in the general class struggle of the multiracial working class. In this respect, the "Open Letter" parallels Garaudy's assignment of non-working-class strata to the working class, while minimizing the decisive role of the basic production workers.

Despite the divisiveness of racism, the objective historical process is merging Black workers with the general class struggle. But, contrary to the impression given by the "Open Letter" of a merger of the Black people as a whole with an "expanding working class," the Black liberation movement as such does not and will not merge with the working class. To advance the idea of such a merger can be of assistance only to those who would ideologically disarm the Black workers, and divert them from their dual historic role of participating fully and leading equally in the general class struggle, while leading the Black liberation movement. To convey the impression that the Black people as a whole merge into the working class obscures in particular the responsibility of white workers in building an alliance between the multiracial working class, the Black liberation movement and all the oppressed as central to the antimonopoly struggle.

The "Internal Colony" Theory

While the "Open Letter" bypasses the special role of Black workers within the multiracial working class and the Black liberation movement, it embraces a current and seriously misleading concept that defines the Black condition in the U.S. as that of an "internal colony":

. . . a fundamental conflict is built into the very heart of U.S. capitalist society—an internal contradiction between imperialist country and oppressed colony which in most other capitalist countries exists only as an external contradiction. The embedding of this colonial contradiction within the heart of the most powerful capitalist system in the world has extraordinary importance. When the dynamics of the upsurge to complete the struggle for Black liberation and the unfulfilled democratic revolution of the internal colony merges with the power of working class struggles against capitalism, as Blacks increasingly participate in and give leadership to workplace conflicts, an insight into the special and particular features of the history of this country opens up. This insight constitutes a unique key to shaking the foundations of capitalist rule. (Pp. 8-9.)

It is a fact that the "Open Letter" does not mention a single burning demand of the Black people or a single issue around which Black people, and particularly Black workers, are fighting. This truly astounding omission can be traced directly to the "internal colony" theory, which gives rise to a separatist strategy and goals leading away from the struggle against racism and superexploitation—thus contradicting the objective historical processes of the class struggle and the Black liberation movement, and the demands at the center of Black liberation and working class struggles.

The "unique key" to a Black liberation strategy does not lie in an "internal colony" theory—which conceals instead of explaining the Black condition in the U.S. This condition is, as we shall see, very different from that of a colony—which in no degree lessens the oppression and exploitation of Black people, but does call for a liberation strategy "unique" as against that which applies in the case of a colony.

The "Open Letter" speaks of the "dynamics of the upsurge" of Black liberation as the "internal colony merges with the power of working-class struggles." In reality, however, the orientation of the "internal colony" theory—corresponding as it does to the condition of oppressed colonial majorities beyond U.S. borders and not to conditions in the U.S.—contradicts instead of "merges" with the "dynamics" of the Black liberation movement and the multiracial working-class struggles. Thus the document offers a perspective counter to the requirements of the struggle against racism and super-exploitation in the "workplaces" of this country.

There is a built-in contradiction between the document's rhetoric about a Black liberation movement that "merges" with "workplace conflicts" and its "internal colony" concept—which leads away from

the concerns of millions of Black and other workers in the nation's "workplaces." For example, auto "workplaces" in Detroit, Lordstown, Tarrytown, etc., are shutting down, temporarily or otherwise. Tens of thousands of Black as well as non-Black workers are being catapulted into the swelling tide of unemployment—at a time when even a weekly paycheck does not provide escape from the disaster of monopoly-enforced inflation.

Now one must ask: Will the Black workers' fight for jobs be directed within the so-called "colonies"—*i.e.*, ghettos—scattered across the country? Can Blacks find a solution to their triple oppression—as workers, as a people, and racially—within these alleged "colonies" scattered across the country? Or is the solution to be found through rejection of the "internal colony" theory and the adoption of a strategy recognizing the inalienable rights of Black people and the realities of Black liberation?

The unemployed Black auto workers are not looking for jobs in the ghetto, where they do not exist. Their demands are aimed at those who control the jobs. Their fight, unlike that of the masses in a colony, is not against an *external* oppressor and exploiter; it is against the racist monopolists controlling *this* country's economy.

Even the total of all oppressed minorities in this country (the Black people plus the Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian and Native American peoples) does not constitute a majority, as do the oppressed in a colony. In the United States the "colony" idea conflicts with the "dynamics" of struggle; here the interests and struggles of *all* the oppressed and exploited "merge" into a common battle against an *internal* enemy, monopoly capital.

Yet the "Open Letter," in total disregard of the reality of the "dynamics" of Black liberation in the U.S., insists that policies stemming from the "internal colony" concept are the "unique key to shaking the foundations of capitalist rule." The document states, for instance:

Since the problems created by the special oppression of Black people are unique and distinct, the party will recognize the need for and respect the *autonomy* of separate Black political organizations and nationalist groups working specifically for the emancipation of Black people from domination. Thus, the party will under no circumstances attempt to *compete* with, *dictate* to, or *superimpose*, an outside perspective on such groups. The party will specifically fully support both the right to and the profound impact of strategies for self-determination of Black people. Acting in support of these initiatives the party will develop the closest possible

alliances and working relationships with Black political organizations. (P. 9. Emphasis added.)

Through its promotion of the "internal colony" concept the "Open Letter," ironically, would "superimpose" upon the Black liberation movement an "outside" strategy of "self-determination" that applies to Asian, African and Latin American countries—but *not* to the struggle for Black liberation *within* the U.S. To "superimpose" such an "outside" perspective on the Black liberation movement is to divert from the "unique key" to liberation of all oppressed and exploited in the U.S.

By adopting this "outside" orientation, the "Open Letter" pursues a course tantamount to "competing with"—in fact, "dictating" *against*—the objective direction in which the Black liberation movement in particular and the class struggle in general are moving.

The "Open Letter" proffers support to those "initiatives" corresponding to its "internal colony" perspective. But such "initiatives" are in fact separatist detours counter to the direction of Black liberation. Such "initiatives" divert from the initiatives corresponding to—and the strategy accelerating—the objective process of struggle against class and racial oppression in the United States.

The "Open Letter" speaks abstractly of "workplace conflicts." But the policies arising from its "internal colony" theory contradict the actual fight being waged by the Black people as a whole and especially Black workers—in the "workplace" and beyond—for an end to racism and oppression. By dwelling on a concept of "self-determination" applicable to colonially oppressed majorities in African, Asian and Latin American countries with separate economies dominated by external oppressors, the "Open Letter" advances not a strategy of liberation, but one of defeat for a Black minority fighting for liberation—not within a separate economy, but throughout the total economy of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

Decoding the "Code" Words

A really regrettable feature of the "Open Letter" is its use of anti-Communist "code" words to "superimpose" on the struggles of the oppressed in the U.S. a strategy unrelated to reality in this country. One such "code" word (and a particularly notorious one) is "outside," readily translated into "Communist" by any reader having even the slightest familiarity with the language of the mass media. (Was this red-baiting in anticipation of the fact that the Communists would enter into the discussion and take issue with the unscientific "internal

colony" theory and its harmful consequences?)

The divisive implication that an analysis based on Marxist-Leninist principles is an "outside perspective" should be left to the racist ruling class. But, and again ironically, the "Open Letter" shows anew that not only anti-Communists but also those who, regrettably, fail to resist anti-Communist ideology invariably counter a Marxist-Leninist perspective in the only way possible: with "outside"—i.e., bourgeois-influenced policies; policies arising outside of and against the interests of the working class and the oppressed, and objectively serving the *outside* interests of the monopolist oppressors. The policies arising from the "internal colony" concept unfortunately fall into this category.

Far from providing insight into the character of Black oppression in the United States, the "outside" colony analogy—by transplanting concepts applicable to African, Asian and Latin American countries—obscures the special features of the development of the Black liberation struggle in the U.S.

A colony is a *separate* society, having a *separate* economy within a common territory. In freeing itself from domination originating from the *separate* economy of its imperialist oppressor, a colony opens the way toward taking control of its own resources, economy and future.

The superexploitation of a colony, therefore, arises from its domination by a *separate* "mother country." But the racist ruling classes superexploitation of Black people in the U.S.—first as unpaid, then as underpaid labor—has never taken place within two separate societies. This is the difference between the Black condition in this country and a colony.

Even during the period when U.S. economic and political power was divided and shared between the slave owners and the rising capitalist class, two separate, independent societies did not exist. The slavocracy could survive as a separate class, only so long as chattel slavery served the accumulation and expansion of capital in non-slave areas of the economy. The economy in the chattel slavery areas and that in the "free" labor areas were never fully separate; on the contrary, they were interconnected and interdependent, each evolving within an interrelated process of capital accumulation based on the unpaid labor of Black slaves and cheap labor of white workers.

Today, when the U.S. economy continues to be ever more completely consolidated under the control of state monopoly capital, it becomes increasingly apparent that the triple oppression of Black people has not evolved within a separate, detachable "internal colony"

—but that the reality of an historic process has locked Black people and the other oppressed minorities, along with the white masses, into the single society of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

A "Versatile" Theory

A corollary to the crisis of capitalism is the crisis of anti-Communism. This crisis is evident, for example, in monopoly's desperate and escalating attempts to counter scientific socialism, the Marxist-Leninist analysis of class and national liberation, with other, more "revolutionary" theories. Unlike Marxism-Leninism, such theories are so versatile they can be adapted for use by the ruling-class as well as radical circles.

One theory in this category is the "internal colony" idea which turned up, for instance, in the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, popularly known as the Kerner Report. As handled by the Kerner Commission, appointed by President Johnson following the 1967 ghetto upsurges, the super-radical "internal colony" concept becomes a "warning" that the country is divided into two and this alleged condition may become permanent:

To continue present policies is to make permanent the division of our country into two societies; one Negro and poor, located in the central cities; the other predominantly white and affluent, located in the suburbs and outlying areas. (*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Bantam Books, New York, 1968, P. 483.)

The similarity between this view and that of the radical adherents of the "internal colony" theory is only too evident. Whether described as "two societies" by ruling-class circles or an "internal colony" by radicals, the theory of separate societies within this country serves to disguise the special character of the segregation and triple oppression of Black people, which takes place not within a separate society, but within the *same* society, the *same* economic system, controlled by the *same* racist monopolists dominating the lives of the masses of this country—Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and white.

Not only does the "Open Letter" ignore the contradiction between its "internal colony" theory and the absence of a basis for a separate, viable economy within a common territory where self-determination for Black people in the U.S. could be achieved. It also fails to link the question of "self-determination" for the "internal colony" to the all-important matter of state power.

The slogan of self-determination applies to countries in Africa, Asia

and Latin America because separate state power can be achieved within the territory of a former colony such as Guinea-Bissau, or in Angola, Mozambique, etc. But state power cannot be attained in the U.S. ghettos or any other separatist or artificially conceived form. Nor can Black people alone bring about a change in control of U.S. state power. The power of state monopoly capitalism, which controls this entire country, can be broken only by the power of a nationwide antimonopoly coalition, with the multiracial working class as its foundation and leadership.

The "internal colony" theory fosters the idea that Blacks alone—without the alliance of all those whose interests lie in opposition to monopoly—can advance separately against the class that owns the decisive sectors of the economy and, through this ownership, exercises control over the total economy, in and out of the ghetto. But it is impossible for any single section of the oppressed and exploited—even the exploited majority of white workers—effectively to take on even a single major corporation in the fight to improve conditions.

When workers take on even one major corporation, they are met with the collective power of monopoly—backed up by government—against their demands. This is the reality of state monopoly capitalism whose consolidated power is decisive in the lives of the working masses, whatever their color or origin. If no stratum of the workers—not even the white majority—can effectively challenge even one corporate monopoly, how can the Black minority take on the collective power of all the monopolists—state monopoly capitalism?

But the "Open Letter" through its promotion of the "internal colony" idea would have all segments of the working class, as well as the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian minorities as a whole, reject a strategy of collective opposition to the collective power of state monopoly capitalism.

When the conditions for separate economic development do not exist, "self-determination" is a fantasy. The reality facing Black people in the U.S. is how to break monopoly's control of state power, which it maintains with its prime weapons of racism and anti-Communism. The "internal colony" idea must be seen for what it is: a concept that diverts from the basic question of forging a powerful antimonopoly coalition in this country. If the multiracial masses were to accept this concept advanced by the "Open Letter," they would be left without a strategy of unification to oppose the unified strategy of monopoly.

A Revealing Contrast

If one contrasts the status of the colony of Puerto Rico with that

of Black people in U.S., the differences are revealing. However, the "Open Letter" conceals rather than makes clear these differences:

Puerto Rico and the plight of the Puerto Rican people pose an especially sharp challenge at this moment in history. Puerto Rico provides a classic example of an external colony. . . . [In the U.S.], in a context of intolerable working conditions, Puerto Ricans suffer double oppression, as refugees from an occupied nation and as members of the working class. As with the internal Black colony, this dual oppression points to a tremendous revolutionary potential. . . . (P. 11.)

It is true that the extra oppression of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the U.S. represents a special revolutionary potential within the working class. It is also true that the Black Americans and the people in the Puerto Rican colony experience some of the same features of oppression.

However, by describing the Black condition in the United States as an "internal Black colony," the "Open Letter" obscures the profoundly different situation of the Black liberation movement in the U.S. from that of the Puerto Rican independence movement in the struggle against U.S. imperialist oppression. Consequently, it doesn't make the vital distinction between a strategy for the liberation of Black, Puerto Rican and other oppressed minorities in the U.S., and one for Puerto Rican independence.

The people of Puerto Rico occupy a territory in which they are not only a majority but—apart from a handful of agents of U.S. imperialism—the *entire* population. Although Puerto Rico's economy is now dominated by U.S. imperialism, it is—as was Cuba's—detachable from the U.S. economy. And—as in the Cuban struggle that opened the way for liberation—the first demand of Puerto Ricans is for political independence. This is the starting point of the Puerto Rican strategy to break out of the grip of U.S. imperialism and establish control of the Puerto Rican government and economy.

Puerto Rican bourgeois nationalists, however, counterpose to the demand for independence the fantasy of Puerto Ricans *jointly* determining their future with U.S. imperialism within the "Commonwealth"—*i.e.*, colony.

Any formula for so-called joint control of Puerto Rico is a sham. The Puerto Rican liberation movement is not demanding joint control or participation in the U.S. economy in any form; it is out to end "joint" control of the Puerto Rican economy.

By contrast, the Black liberation movement—representing a minority

in the multiracial U.S. population—demands equality in determining the economic and political life of the U.S. But the monopolists use everything from discrimination to assassination to prevent Black people from “jointly” determining the policies of this country.

Of course, the goal of the U.S. oppressed and exploited is not to become the “partners” of U.S. monopoly capital. The job of the masses of the people, whatever their race or origin, is—under the leadership of the working class—to end monopoly control of the country. This fight cannot be carried on by the Black minority alone. Only the unity of all the oppressed and exploited can win *joint control* of the economy by the people.

It is ironic that U.S. imperialism—which uses its economic and military power to oppose self-determination for African, Asian and Latin American countries with economies separate to at least some degree—encourages the fantasy of “self-determination” for Black people without a common territory or separate economy in the U.S.

The strategy of the liberation movements of Puerto Rico and other countries outside the U.S. is to break the links binding their economies to imperialism. But a liberating strategy for Black people in the U.S. does not call for a break with the U.S. economy. Instead, such a strategy must aim at ending the exclusion of Blacks from full participation in the U.S. economy. The goal here is for complete equality within the total economy.

The “internal colony” theory leads away from this strategy. In effect, it tells Black workers to give up the struggle against the monopolists who exploit them at the point of production, and instead to fall in behind those who advocate the fantasy of Black capitalism, of “self-determination” in the ghettos.

The Fight Against Inflation and Unemployment

The soaring cost of the necessities of life and the rapidly mounting unemployment are giving rise not only to moods of mass anger and fear for the future but also to growing struggles for a way out. In recent months the focus of the rising tide of struggle has been the organization of the simultaneous protest actions held in 39 cities on November 16. Around these actions coalition movements have developed that are now coming together in a national coalition. These coalitions are of a very broad character, involving a significant sector of labor and the Black community as well as nearly all other sections of the anti-monopoly forces. The Communist Party shared with many of these forces in stimulating this movement.

While there were other actions on these issues, this particular movement is of such central importance in this arena of struggle that it merits special study and assessment. That assessment can only be made against the background of what is happening in the economy and of the mass reactions to the economic situation which preceded this one.

As the draft resolution in preparation for the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party states, the capitalist world is in a profound economic crisis of inflation and overproduction which is both cyclical in nature and an expression of longer-range developments in this new stage of the general crisis of capitalism. For years prices have been rising at an increasing rate. Food prices are now going up at an annual rate of 15 per cent, and even bourgeois economists see no relief within the next year. For the past year and especially in recent months, this has been accompanied by growing mass layoffs. According to official figures the rate of unemployment has reached 6½ per cent, and a rate of 8 per cent in the near future is predicted. Workers have suffered a big loss in real income. And especially hard-hit by both inflation and unemployment have been the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian peoples.

Prior to the November 16 actions there had been many spontaneous local actions such as the picketing of supermarkets. There also took place the massive meat boycott and the truckers' strike against high

*This is a slightly abridged text of a report to the December 7-9 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPUSA.

gasoline prices. And more recently powerful protests had developed against approval by government regulatory agencies of utility rate increases. But despite the great anger of millions of working people, the protests had been only sporadic. Masses of people were not convinced that social protest could get results, and they were also influenced to some extent by ruling-class promises that the problems would soon go away and that the situation was well in hand. In these spontaneous actions, moreover, it was often unclear what were the causes and who was the enemy. Blame was placed on a variety of sources, ranging from farmers in general to Soviet grain purchases. Only partially and temporarily did they focus on the giant monopolies and their government and hardly at all on the military budget.

Today, as a result of the November 16 actions and the coalitions built around them, a new situation exists. There is now a national, visible, ongoing, broad mass movement of struggle against both inflation and unemployment, with local coalitions in some 35 cities.

A Broad Sponsorship

Of very great, even historic importance is the prominent role of labor. Labor leaders and activists participated in various capacities ranging from national or local endorsers to speakers and active organizers and leaders. Of the 250 or more labor officials and rank-and-file leaders involved, more than 100 were local union presidents and almost two-score were regional directors, international representatives and other officials above the local level, including international vice presidents of the AFSCME and the United Farm Workers and the president of the National Education Association. Many union locals officially sponsored the actions or took part in other ways. Especially well represented were UE, IUE, UAW, UMW, Amalgamated Meatcutters, AFSCME, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, ILWU, United Farm Workers. Also involved were the American Federation of Teachers, IAM, IBEW and many others.

In Portland, Maine, Pittsburgh, Springfield, Massachusetts and Detroit, central labor union speakers were scheduled. United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller sent Joseph Yablonski to replace him as a speaker in Philadelphia when the miners' strike prevented his presence. In a number of cities important trade union leaders are part of the top operative leadership. These include Portland, Maine, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Newark, Chicago, San Antonio, Seattle and others.

Likewise of very great significance was the role of Black leaders. Among the trade unionists involved, many are Black. Many Black religious figures were among the top two or three active leaders in

their localities, such as Rev. Marshall Sheppard in Philadelphia, Rev. Buster Soaries of Operation Push in Newark and Rev. Cecil Williams in San Francisco. Black women leaders of welfare rights or similar community groups played a major role in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Seattle, Milwaukee and Detroit. Black public officials were prominent among the endorsers and speakers, including Representatives Conyers, Dellums and Mitchell, Mayor Hatcher of Gary, Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, New York Commissioner of Human Rights Eleanor Holmes Norton and many state legislators and members of city councils. In New York, State Senator Sidney Van Luther, who is also a leading trade unionist, has been one of the top leaders in the New York Coalition and is now a leading figure nationally.

Several NAACP and Urban League city directors were endorsers or speakers. So, too, was Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women. In virtually every city coalition the top core of active leaders included both labor and Black personalities.

The role of Chicano trade union and community leaders was outstanding in San Antonio. It was also noteworthy in Denver and Tucson and present in Los Angeles and San Francisco. In New York some important advances were made in involving endorsers and speakers from the Puerto Rican community.

Next to labor and the Black community, religious figures formed the largest category of participants. Among the Black clergymen was the president of the National Council of Churches, Dr. W. Sterling Carey, who spoke at the rally in New York and took part in other ways. A number of others associated with the National Council were involved. A score of Catholic clergymen participated, including five parish priests in North Carolina, as well as nearly every white Christian denomination. Only one rabbi took part; however, it appears that not much effort went into mobilizing Jewish religious leaders.

Some senior citizens' leaders were actively involved, especially in New York, Philadelphia, Seattle and Miami Beach, where the demonstration was organized by the Council of Senior Citizens. Women were also an important sector of the participants. In addition to the Black women mentioned above, there were other trade union women, also women identified with the women's liberation movement such as Gloria Steinem. There were peace leaders from WILPF and Women Strike for Peace, women leaders of all kinds of neighborhood and consumer groups, and women public officials. In New York the newly-formed progressive women's organization, Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), played an important role. Jane Benedict, head of one of the biggest housing movements in the country, was an initiator.

Many other kinds of groups were involved—neighborhood improvement, tenant, consumer, peace, etc. Progressive Jewish groups took part. And while youth participation was relatively weak, there was some involvement of high school and college student governments, of the National Student Association and of YMCAs and YWCAs. The Young Workers Liberation League played a role.

Support from political sources included, in addition to the important role of Black public officials already mentioned, endorsements by Representatives Abzug and Rosenthal of New York and by many white state legislators and city council members in a dozen states. Mayor Hatcher of Gary issued a public proclamation making November 16 a day of protest, as did Percy Sutton in Manhattan, Donald Manes in Queens and Mayor Guida in New Haven. In Gary the mass protest meeting was held in the City Hall Chambers and the City Council called for a march on Washington, D. C. In Philadelphia the City Council unanimously voted to support November 16 and called on Congress and the President to roll back prices. In New York, during the last week before the demonstration, politicians were insisting that their names not be left off the lists. Half the New York City Council and most of the city's members of the State Senate and Assembly endorsed the demonstration.

The rallies themselves received a tremendous amount of news coverage everywhere, generally highly favorable. News stories and broadcasts stressed the seriousness of the problems faced by the people and the fact that visible protest actions had begun which would undoubtedly grow much larger. In New York every radio news program on November 16 and 17 covered it, and every TV news program did so starting after the action began. Some made it the lead story. Some broadcasters commented, as did speakers at many of the rallies, on the unusual coalition of forces represented. In New York every speaker remarked that it was good to see labor, Black, Puerto Rican, religious, peace, women's and senior citizens' groups working together, because they have been too long divided. They stressed the need for such unity to fight the monopolies, which are at the root of inflation and unemployment. When Jane Benedict, a white mass leader, castigated the racist hoodlumism in South Boston and sharply attacked racism as the major source of division among the people in the face of monopoly capital, she received the biggest ovation of the day. And among those applauding most vigorously were white senior citizens who had come in by bus from outlying senior citizen centers.

At every rally the main themes were the fight against the monopolies, the call for a reduction of military spending, demands for a rollback of prices with no wage controls, and government provision

of jobs for all unemployed at union wages. Emphasis was placed on the need to reject racism and to strive for unity if these demands are to be achieved. At these rallies a national petition drive was launched on these issues as well as drives on local issues.

The presence of the Party and the YWLL was felt at the various actions in one way or another. In some cases, as in Portland, Maine, where one of the broadest coalitions was built, there was a leading YWLL speaker. In other cases there were well-known Communists who spoke in their capacity as mass leaders. In San Francisco the Party district chairman Albert J. Lima was introduced, and in New York Victoria Missick of the YWLL and myself as a leading Communist were among those introduced as endorsers of the call. Most important is the fact that public representatives of the Party or the Party as such participated with the many other forces in the coalitions around the country.

Papers were distributed at virtually all the actions on November 16. About 30,000 additional copies were taken for this purpose. In New York 15,000 copies of the *Daily World*, 1,300 copies of the Gus Hall pamphlet on detente and a large number of copies of the *Young Worker* were distributed. There were few of the leftist sects present, and then only on the fringes, while the Party played a significant role among the mass forces present.

A New Vehicle of Struggle

The importance of these developments may be summarized in the following points:

1. An avenue for mass public protest has been provided. November 16 has thus become an example and a stimulus for mass struggle on the most burning issues of the living conditions of the working people—soaring prices and unemployment.

2. An ongoing national movement of mass struggle has been launched on these issues for the first time, a movement which has the potential of rapid growth and of stimulation of many more actions and movements.

3. Through their visibility, their national scope and their involvement of organizations and individuals of considerable stature among the masses, the demonstrations made a significant contribution toward overcoming a widespread feeling that nothing useful can be done about the problems. Through the mass media, perhaps 20 million people became aware of the actions and sympathized with them. The idea was planted that there were significant forces who thought it meaningful to protest and that they should therefore also consider it.

4. The kind of people's anti-monopoly coalition that is developing

on these issues is of strategic importance. Old relationships are being unfrozen and new alliances of a progressive character are being forged. Some rapid changes of thinking are taking place. Most crucial are the big advances in involving labor in a major way and in some areas as the leading force. There is also the participation of Black forces as a leading factor and in growing association with the labor forces. And there exists the potential for much greater progress in these areas. In the present period, these issues are the key link in the building of the democratic anti-monopoly coalition.

5. A major element of clarity is being provided and is widely taking hold. The focus is being placed on monopoly capital and its price-fixing and artificial shortages, on its callous layoffs and plant closings, all in the pursuit of unconscionable profits. It is being placed on the immense volume of arms spending. And it is being placed on compelling the federal and other levels of government to undertake the measures necessary to remove the burden of the crisis from the backs of the working class and the middle strata.

6. Much is being contributed to clarity on the need for class and anti-monopoly people's unity and rejection of monopoly's main weapons: racism and anti-Communism. There is growing understanding that such unity requires recognition of the special impact of inflation and unemployment on the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed peoples as a matter of mutual self-interest among all working people. This movement is thus a major avenue of advancement of the struggle against racism, of turning the ruling-class attempt to use the economic situation to divide the working people into its opposite.

7. Next to the struggle at the point of production over the division of the values the workers create, this is now the most fundamental arena of economic struggle. It is also an important arena of the struggle for peace and detente, since it is largely through the impact of the huge military budget on prices, jobs and spending for the people's needs that major sections of the working class are coming to see the necessity for substantially cutting military spending.

8. This is a movement which, unlike many other movements and organizations in the economic field, stresses mass action and organization, especially at the grass-roots level.

9. It is a movement that promotes mass clarity by rejecting ruling-class answers and diversions. It rejects calls for wage controls, for "sacrifice," for cuts in government expenditures on social welfare. It rejects the false assertions that the Arab peoples, the Soviet Union, the Black people, or the Mexican and other immigrants are responsible.

10. It also rejects the diversionary ultra-left opposition to building a

broad coalition of anti-monopoly forces. It rejects all efforts to substitute these sects for the masses and to make adherence to socialism (that is, their own distorted versions of it) a condition for unity of action.

11. It combines the struggles to protect the masses from the impact of both inflation and unemployment and thus makes it more difficult for the ruling class to pit the forces involved in these struggles against one another. Furthermore, it is concerned with measures to relieve the *impact* on the people and avoids the trap of seeking to make the capitalist economy work better, which is the line of the Meany class-collaborationist labor leadership.

12. The Communist Party played a role, together with the many non-Communist forces, in initiating this movement and in helping to assure the kind of content indicated above. Our contacts and relationships were greatly extended. A big step forward was taken in establishing our legality in the eyes of the masses in the area of economic struggles and relations with trade unions—an area in which this has been particularly difficult because of ruling-class sensitivity on these points and because of the role of its Meany-type henchmen. We were able to build on what had already been achieved in the movements for peace, for restoration of democracy in Chile, for the freedom of Angela Davis, against political and racist repression, and to move into some important new areas of Party legality and relationships with other forces.

There is, it is true, an ongoing struggle to develop each of these aspects and first steps much further. And there are difficulties. But it is difficult to overstate the case for the importance of this struggle and of what has already been accomplished. The major problems have been underestimation of the issues and of what could be achieved.

One of the main problems in the work of the many forces striving to build the November 16 actions was a tendency to rely on spontaneity. The bulk of the attendance at the bigger demonstrations came in organized groups, not singly. And given the history of such demonstrations, this should not surprise us. In New York the bulk of the people were brought by the feeder marches of the Queens Consumer Action Coalition, the Chelsea community organization and WREE, and by the Senior Citizens and Park Slope buses.

Comrades who distributed the leaflets with the ten suggestions to President Ford report that these got the best response they ever experienced. People formed lines at supermarkets to sign petitions that were used to help build the November 16 actions. But the wrong conclusion was drawn from this. It was thought that these people felt

the importance of a demonstration strongly enough to induce them to go on their own to a demonstration in the city center, often for the first time in recent years and in some cases perhaps in their lives. But this was not so.

In one community a week's work filled a bus from among working-class, Black and other contacts, some of whom were signed up at tables on the street. Some comrades said that with another week of work they could have filled two or three buses, whereas without buses they would probably have brought only about ten people.

While some union leaders who endorsed the actions would not have been too happy to see their membership turn out *en masse*, there were others who did want a turnout. But they did not know how to get it and we did not supply any know-how or ideas. In New York the Fur and Leather Joint Board, Brewery Drivers Local 46, Painters Local 848, AFSCME Local 371, Furniture Workers Local 76, Bakery Workers Local 3, TWU Local 101 and AFSCME District Council 1707 (social service workers) all supported the demonstration and encouraged their members to attend. In one union the paper gave it a big splash, attendance was urged at every meeting and leaflets were given out by the leadership at places of work. But only a few of its 10,000 members came. What was missing was such methods as person-by-person check on Saturday morning, assembly at the union hall, etc. The individual workers were left to come on their own from every corner of the city.

Since November 16 there has been much activity by the coalitions in various places, such as picketing supermarkets, participation in hearings and circulation of the petitions. In Gary the U.S. Steel local was gotten to endorse the main demands of the coalition. There is also the work of many forces, which is meeting with success, to establish for the first time a very broad national coalition of a loose character.

Ideological Questions of the Movement

Within such a developing mass movement reflecting many tendencies, we can expect the appearance of differences on political and ideological issues to one extent or another. These include the following:

1. There is reluctance on the part of some about holding a projected national mass mobilization in Washington, D. C. and San Francisco this spring, on the grounds that national actions divert energy from grass-roots building. There is a tendency to pose neighborhood actions against city and national actions on the one hand, and not enough concern and attention to helping to build at the grass-roots level on the other.

Both features are indispensable to success—national actions, demands

and organization, and neighborhood, shop and local union actions, demands and organization. Without both approaches there will be neither overall nor grass-roots mass movements. A neighborhood organization working alone, separated from national actions, demands and organization will die out because it will not succeed in convincing the people that mass social action is worthwhile. They will soon sense that not much of a lasting character can be won in such isolation. Nor can an exclusive focus on the national aspects appear realistic to them. Each is therefore a condition for the other and for building a growing, grass roots-based mass movement. As the economic situation worsens, more and more people will focus their attention on Washington as the only source of significant change. But these people are brought into organized struggle where they live and work, by their friends, neighbors and co-workers.

2. There is reluctance to recognize the special problems of inflation and unemployment faced by Black and other specially oppressed peoples, problems that arise as expressions of racism. There is a tendency to avoid the question of racism entirely on the grounds that this will be divisive and will prevent the winning over of white workers. This comes chiefly from white middle-class elements. But it is, of course, clear that no serious progress can be made toward building a successful mass movement without striving for Black-white unity, and that this is possible only on the basis of recognizing the fight against racism as a central question.

3. There has been resistance, among labor groups as well as others, to urging price controls, which alone are capable of holding prices down provided that there is proper enforcing procedure. Such a demand, it is felt, cannot be won without getting wage controls as well. The Kansas City mini-convention of the Democratic Party found that there is widespread pressure for price controls and against wage controls; consequently, the convention modified its prior position and maneuvered to make wage controls more palatable, calling for price rollback, wage catchup and more equitable enforcement. This issue cannot be avoided by silence on both price and wage controls. The sensitivity of the pro-monopoly politicians of the Democratic Party on this issue shows that it is possible to have price controls without wage controls, which are inherently inequitable and would be used to the hilt by the monopolies against the working class.

4. A strong tendency exists, among our people and others, to lose the focus of the coalition on the issues of inflation and unemployment by adding every possible issue affecting the economy and people's lives, including even issues affecting a host of world trouble spots. Some of the issues raised do not belong at all, and even those most

closely related, such as the reduction of arms budgets, have to be dealt with strictly from the standpoint of their bearing on inflation and unemployment if the focus is not to be lost. We do not favor efforts to build one all-embracing coalition at this stage. This coalition should not try to substitute for the peace, labor, Black liberation and other movements discussed in our draft resolution, although such movements can and must be part of this coalition on these particular issues and the coalition can find ways of supporting their efforts on other issues.

5. Within certain intellectual circles particularly, there is a tendency to push the question of expertise to a point where it begins to contradict the idea of mass struggle. Research and expertise with respect to the causes of particular situations or details of demands and proposed legislation have their place within a people's anti-monopoly movement. At the same time, monopoly capital also buys expertise and uses it in part to confuse the picture and to argue that only the experts can know what to do. But it is not possible for the masses who must spend their time working to scrounge out a living to master all these details, nor is it necessary. Their experience sets a good basis, with the help of the conscious forces, to draw the conclusions needed for mass action. Detailed knowledge is very valuable and necessary but mass slogans for demonstrations, marches and petitions are of a different character and are intended for a different role, and the two should not be confused.

6. There are tendencies in two directions with respect to the numerous organizations and movements now springing up on the issues of inflation and unemployment, many of them stimulated by the November 16 actions. One is to question the need for a separate movement or organization and instead to seek merger with some of the broader organizational structures or else with some of the narrowest formations, in which the "Left" sects play a big role. And in the category of sects I include the New American Movement and Kinoy and his supporters.

Some of the broader organizations limit themselves to legislative activity and participation in hearings, and some tend to be confused as to who the enemy is. The narrow sectarian groups project distorted forms of socialism and reject the idea of involving a significant section of the labor movement but seek instead to involve the masses of workers directly under their own banners, leading to their isolation from the workers.

The other tendency is to look upon this movement as having the sole franchise in this area of struggle and to look with automatic hostility on all outside initiatives that do not flow directly into their

own channels.

We support the idea of fighting to build this movement as a distinct entity because it has the unique features described earlier. But we also feel that it should have a flexible and cooperative attitude toward others that have any breadth and are heading in a basically positive, anti-monopoly direction.

There are attempts by the ruling class and the Ford Administration to give the appearance of heading a mass movement. For example, the call by President Ford, the supermarket giants and the New York City Administration for switching from sugar. There are even signs of the Beame Administration in New York encouraging the formation of an organization under its control to combat inflation. And of course the ruling class also works the "Left" side of the anti-Communist track on these issues and sometimes ensnares good forces. But there are also positive initiatives such as the Emergency Conference on Economic Alternatives and the call for a mass jobs protest in Washington, D. C. and other cities on January 15 initiated by Operation PUSH.

When we began our own activity, inflation was the main problem and we treated unemployment as important but subordinate. But as unemployment grew we shifted the stress, and now it is clear that unemployment should receive fully equal weight.

At the same time, we should not think that this coalition will be the only avenue for action on unemployment. Trade union locals and the whole trade union movement must be encouraged to take up this struggle themselves in a big way. While the coalition must fight for a program for the jobless and while it may help to build organizations of the unemployed, additional avenues need to be examined for building such organizations, perhaps on the order of the unemployed councils of the thirties.

Now that November 16 is past, there is a danger of our forces returning to their prior pursuits and losing the thrust which has been developed on these issues. But far from permitting this, we must work to bring the whole Party, and especially all the Party clubs, into ongoing activities in every shop, union and neighborhood, bringing to them both a broad united front approach and the visibility of the Party as an active organizing force on these vital questions. We need to restore such forms of public Party action as street-corner meetings.

This is the central path today for building the anti-monopoly coalition and for building our Party.

The Palestinian Question and the Middle East Conflict

It is now well over a year since the October war, which led to a pronounced alteration of the balance of forces in the Middle East. The ceasefire agreement and the disengagement agreements which followed gave hope that the conflict might at long last be on the road to solution. But then the process bogged down. The stalemate was renewed and today there exists a serious danger of the outbreak of a new war, threatening world peace. It is important to understand why this state of affairs persists, especially in the light of one major development during the past year which has contributed greatly toward bringing matters to a head.

Specifically, the Palestine question has been catapulted into the center of the stage as the central issue in the Middle East conflict, without whose resolution the achievement of a durable peace is impossible. With this has come the widespread acceptance of the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Yasir Arafat, as the one legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people. These developments were climaxed by the decisions of the Arab summit conference in Rabat at the close of October, and especially by the actions of the UN General Assembly in mid-November. We propose in the following pages to deal with the significance and consequences of these developments.

The UN Actions

On October 14, 1974 the UN General Assembly decided to put the Palestine question on its agenda as a separate point and to invite the PLO to participate as the representative of the Palestinian Arab people. The vote was 105 in favor to 4 opposed, with 20 abstentions. The 4 opposing votes were those of Israel, the United States, Bolivia and Costa Rica.

This vote registered, first, there is almost universal recognition of the central role which the solution of the Palestine question—fulfillment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs—plays in the resolution of the Middle East conflict. It registered, second, that there is almost universal recognition that the authentic representative—the *only* authentic representative—of the Palestinian Arabs is the PLO.

Almost universal recognition. For Israel and the United States, stand-

ing virtually alone, repudiated the action of the General Assembly *in toto*; they were, in fact, enraged by it. In anticipation of the opening of the UN debate on November 13, a Zionist-sponsored protest demonstration was held in New York on November 4. Israeli and Zionist leaders, political and labor figures and others who spoke spared no words in their denunciations of the UN, which was accused of abandoning the principles on which it was founded by giving a platform to "terrorists" and "murderers." The Jewish Defense League, in its characteristic fascist manner, publicly threatened the assassination of Arafat.

To its great disgrace the *Morning Freiheit* joined in the hue and cry. An editorial published on November 6, headed "An Historic Demonstration at the UN against Terror," stated: "It was a demonstration against admitting into the UN the leaders of the PLO headed by Yasir Arafat, which continues its terror against Israeli civilians and is bent on destroying Israel as a Jewish state."

Such was the lynching bee organized against the PLO—and against the UN General Assembly. But it was not the UN whose behavior was disgraceful. On the contrary, it was the Israeli leaders and their supporters, the organizers of the demonstration, who deserve condemnation. For this was not a demonstration against terrorism, against the destruction of the State of Israel. It was, as we shall show, a demonstration against the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs and against the Arab states which uphold these rights. It was a chauvinist, anti-Arab demonstration.

There were a few relatively sober voices in Jewish circles—but only a few. At the demonstration an organization called *Breira*, whose sponsors are largely Zionist, and which challenges the Zionist establishment on certain questions, distributed a leaflet saying that "it is precisely because of our concern for Israel that we question whether the 'Rally Against Terror' . . . has reflected a reasoned consideration by American Jews of Israel's best interests." The leaflet notes that peace and Israel's future hinge on "affirming the legitimate human and national aspirations of the Palestinian people, with whom the Israelis must eventually find a way to live." It calls upon the Israeli government to affirm "its willingness to talk to the full range of Palestinian leadership."

Also, in striking contrast to the *Morning Freiheit* and its supporters, the United Jewish People's Order of Canada, a progressive organization, greeted the invitation of the PLO to the UN as a step toward peace, stating: "Many available facts demonstrate that the decision . . . is not a decision directed against Israel. It is in fact in the interest of peace in the Middle East, a peace without which there is no future

for Israel." (*Canadian Tribune*, November 13, 1974.)

It is such groups which recognize the real significance of the UN's action.

Arafat's Speech

Arafat's presentation of the PLO position before the General Assembly, as expected, held little comfort for the Zionist zealots and their supporters. He castigated Zionism and its aggression. He branded it as an instrument of imperialism, of settler colonialism at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs. The General Assembly in 1947, he charged, "partitioned what it had no right to divide—an indivisible homeland." The State of Israel, he said, proceeded to occupy 81 per cent of Palestine, uprooting a million Arabs and replacing them with Jewish settlers and settlements. And herein, he concluded, lie the roots of the Palestine question.

Driven from their own land, denied their national rights, the Palestinian Arab people, Arafat declared, had always dreamed of return. Compelled to resort to armed struggle, they gave birth in the PLO to a movement which crystallized and matured "and grew enough to accommodate political and social struggle in addition to armed struggle." He upheld the legitimacy of the PLO as the authentic representative of the Palestinian Arab people and spoke, as its leader, of his hope and dream "that I should return with my people out of exile, there in Palestine to live in justice, equality and fraternity . . . in one democratic state where Christian, Jew and Moslem live in justice and equality."

Arafat rejected the label of "terrorist." We must distinguish, he said, between the revolutionary and the terrorist. One who fights in a just cause "cannot possibly be called terrorist." On the contrary, he contended, it is the Zionists who are guilty of terrorism, of the killing and injury of untold numbers of Arab civilians over the years of Israel's existence.

Such is the essence of Arafat's plea to the UN. There are parts of it with which we are in distinct disagreement, and we shall speak of these. But it is *basically* an appeal for the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, for their right to self-determination, which must be supported without qualification. Needless to say, however, in Israeli government circles and among Zionists and their supporters in this country, the speech evoked only the harshest criticism and the severest condemnation.

The General Assembly concluded the discussion by adopting two resolutions. The first, approved 89-8 with 37 abstentions, affirmed the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination,

to national independence and sovereignty, also "the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted." The second, adopted 95-17 with 19 abstentions, conferred observer status in the General Assembly on the PLO.

The appearance of the PLO at the UN and the adoption of these resolutions, following upon the unanimous recognition of the PLO by the Arab summit conference at Rabat, represent a great victory for the cause of Palestinian Arab liberation and a turning point in the Middle East conflict. They also demonstrate the new character of the UN and its independence from the U.S. domination of the past.

For the Rabin government the alternatives are now more sharply posed than ever: either negotiate in Geneva with the Arab states and the PLO or precipitate another war. In the face of this, Rabin and others have stated most emphatically that under no circumstances will they recognize or negotiate with the PLO. Information Minister Aharon Yariv, who had earlier made a slight gesture toward the PLO, declared that the only place he and Arafat would meet would be on the battlefield. And Yosef Tekoah, speaking at the UN, avowed that: "Israel will not permit the establishment of a PLO authority in any part of Palestine. The PLO will not be forced on the Palestinian Arabs. It will not be tolerated by the Jews of Israel."

What are the arguments of the Israeli leaders against acceptance of the PLO? It is worth examining them in some detail.

Palestine and Jordan

"The Palestinian Arabs already have a state." It is, in the words of Tekoah in his UN speech, "the Palestinian Arab state of Jordan." Says Tekoah:

Geographically and ethnically Jordan is Palestine. Historically both the West and East Banks of the Jordan River are parts of the Land of Israel or Palestine under the British Mandate until Jordan and then Israel became independent. . . .

Indeed, the vast majority of Palestinian refugees never left Palestine but moved, as a result of the 1948 and 1967 wars, from one part of the country to another.

But this is, first of all, a crude piece of sophistry. The "independence" of Jordan to which Tekoah refers begins with the action of Britain in 1922 of separating Transjordan from the Palestine Mandate, of which it had been a part, and setting it up as a separate mandate. This action the Zionists strongly protested at the time, contending that Transjordan was part of the territory promised by the Balfour Declaration as a Jewish homeland. In 1946 Britain relinquished the mandate

over Transjordan and it became an independent kingdom. Now it is fashionable in certain Zionist circles to refer to this as the actual partition of Palestine, establishing Transjordan (later Jordan) as the Palestinian Arab state, and to claim that the partition was completed with the subsequent establishment of the state of Israel. Therefore, it is argued, there are no grounds for a "second partition" and the creation of a "third Palestinian state."

This is an out-and-out fraud, designed to conceal reality and cloak annexationism. When the British in 1947 announced their intention to give up the Palestine Mandate, this did not include Transjordan. And when the UN took up the "Palestine question" that year, this also did not include Transjordan. It was this remaining territory, *exclusive of Transjordan*, which the UN partitioned into Jewish and Arab states. This, then, was *the* Palestinian Arab state, created by the UN together with Israel and having no less legitimacy than the latter. And *this* was the partition which the Jewish Agency accepted.

As we know, the Arab state never saw the light of day. The territories allotted to it were absorbed by the warring states, the major part by Israel, the West Bank by Jordan, the Gaza Strip by Egypt. It is on a part of these territories—specifically the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—that it is now proposed to set up an independent Palestinian Arab state. This the Palestinian Arab people have every right to do, and spurious arguments that they have already "chosen" the "Palestinian Arab state of Jordan" are intended only to deny them the right of self-determination.

Furthermore, Tekoah's hypocritical assertion that most Palestinian refugees have merely moved from one part of Palestine to another serves only to cover up the fact that the Arab populations of the Palestinian Arab territories taken over by Israel in 1948 have been reduced to the status of refugees who for more than a quarter of a century have not been permitted to return to their homes which, as Arafat charged, have been turned over to Jewish settlers. Added to these are the large number of refugees who fled the West Bank in 1967 and who also are not permitted to return.

The fact that the Palestinian Arabs rejected partition in 1947 does not deprive them of their national rights. Nor does the Israeli government have the right to exercise self-determination on their behalf by assigning them to Jordan.

Who Represents the Palestinians?

"The PLO speaks for no one but itself." According to Tekoah: "The PLO did not emerge from within the Palestinian community. It is not representative of the Palestinian community. It is a creation of the

Arab governments themselves . . . as an instrument for waging terror against Israel."

Rabbi Israel Miller, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and a notorious anti-Soviet "crusader," states in a letter to the *New York Times* (October 20, 1974):

Out of an estimated two million Palestinians, more than 60 per cent are citizens of Jordan. Who gave the PLO the right to represent them? Not King Hussein, who stoutly insists that he speaks for his Palestinian citizens. Who gave the PLO the right to represent the others? Not the Palestinians who live in refugee camps in Lebanon or who have built new lives for themselves in Syria, in Kuwait, in Saudi Arabia; the PLO has never won an election, nor even held one. It is the UN itself that by its craven surrender to political expediency conferred authority on the PLO to represent the Palestinians.

But on the very same day on which Tekoah held forth, there were mass demonstrations of students and schoolchildren in Nablus in the West Bank in support of the PLO, and the Nablus shopkeepers staged a general strike. These were followed by similar actions in other West Bank areas including East Jerusalem. The demonstrations were dispersed by club-wielding Israeli police. In the course of these attacks a teenage girl was killed, scores were wounded and there were more than 50 arrests. The occupation authorities also deported five public figures to the East Bank, among them the well-known scholar Dr. Hanna Nasser, president of Bir Zeit College, charging them with inciting demonstrations and being members of hostile organizations. (See the *New York Times*, November 14, 17, 19, 22, 1974.)

Such actions did not begin on November 13, however; they have been carried on for some time in the face of mass arrests, torture and brutal repression by the Israeli occupiers. In a series of articles in the leading French newspaper *Le Monde*, (March 8-11, 1974), its Middle East editor Eric Rouleau writes:

In the weeks that followed the [October] war, the disorders, demonstrations and attacks (including one that took the life of the military governor of Nablus, Col. Segev) were bitterly repressed by more "preventive" arrests, the December 10 expulsion to Jordan of ten prominent individuals, and the dynamiting of houses belonging to "suspects." The authorities have not, however, been able to check the nationalist movement, which has taken an unprecedented jump since the October war.

The most characteristic development in this area is *the nearly unanimous support for the Palestine Liberation Organization*. One after the other, the Muslim Council of Jerusalem, the representatives of the established organizations, most of the mayors and "notables" (many of whom were supposed to be loyal partisans of King Hussein) said that from now on they would consider Yasir Arafat's *fedayeen* movement as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." (Emphasis added.)

Clearly, there can be little doubt as to who speaks for the Arab people of the West Bank—and, for that matter, of the Gaza Strip. And unfortunately for the wishful thinking of Rabbi Miller, in the summit meeting in Rabat King Hussein acknowledged that not he but the PLO speaks for the Palestinian Arabs, in the East Bank as well as the West Bank, and withdrew in its favor. Nor is there any doubt about the support of the 200,000 and more Palestinian Arabs in Lebanon for the PLO; indeed, this is what underlies the ceaseless attacks on refugee camps in Lebanon by the Israeli military forces.

In short, it is the PLO and the PLO alone which represents the Palestinian Arabs. There is no other authentic representative—not Hussein and certainly not the handful of Arab collaborators in the West Bank on whom the Israeli rulers pin their hopes of establishing a puppet government. It is the recognition of this cardinal fact that accounts for the acceptance of the PLO by all 20 Arab states and by a host of other governments—indeed, by the 105 states which voted to invite the PLO to the UN General Assembly. And it is this cardinal fact which the Israeli ruling circles and their supporters are seeking—in vain—to obliterate.

The Palestinian State and Israel

"The central objective of the PLO is the destruction of the State of Israel." It is contended that this is the real meaning of the call for a unitary Palestinian state in which Jews, Christians and Moslems live in equality, and that the demand to establish a Palestinian authority on all territories relinquished by Israel is admittedly only a first step toward this goal. In the words of Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, speaking before the UN, it is impossible to recognize and negotiate with the PLO because "they aspire to liquidate a member state of the UNO."

To be sure, the proposal for a single Palestinian state is not one which we can accept. As the Israeli Arab Communist leader Emile Touma puts it:

Revolutionary forces all over the world, the Communist Party of Israel among them, regard this program both as unprincipled, because it negates the right of the Jewish people in this country to self-determination, and as impractical under the present conditions in the world and in the region. Moreover, not only do the countries of the world recognize Israel and subscribe to its right of sovereign existence, but the Arab countries in their Algerian summit implied recognition of Israel in deciding to attend the Geneva Conference and reach a durable peace with Israel. ("The Palestine Question: Heart of the Middle East Conflict," *Jewish Affairs*, March-April 1974.)

In short, no solution of the Middle East conflict is possible which is not based on full recognition of the right to self-determination of *both* the Palestinian Arab and Israeli peoples.

But the position of the Rabin regime is, first of all, divorced from reality. PLO policy is dealt with as if it were eternally fixed and unchangeable. Israeli spokesmen habitually quote PLO statements and documents of 1968 or even earlier as evidence of the PLO's stand today, despite the fact that there has been a pronounced shift in its position in recent years toward greater political realism. A decisive step in this process was the decision of the PLO's leading body, the Palestine National Council, at its meeting last June, to seek inclusion in the Geneva negotiations. This action constitutes an abandonment of previous calls for the establishment of a single Palestinian state through armed force and a *de facto* recognition of the existence of Israel. For one does not negotiate with a state whose right to existence one repudiates. In fact, those extremist groups which *do* demand the destruction of Israel, led by George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, have rejected *all* negotiations and have withdrawn from the PLO.

What is it proposed to negotiate? The establishment of an independent Palestinian Arab state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, *existing side by side with Israel on the basis of a negotiated agreement*. From this it would follow that if a unified Palestinian state is eventually to materialize, it would do so as a binational state, as a *voluntary* union based on friendship and equality of the two peoples. This is in fact the direction in which the thinking of Arafat and other PLO leaders has been moving, as is indicated by a number of recent statements. Illustrative is the following declaration by Said Hamamini, PLO representative in London:

We are well aware of the fact that a state in partnership can be

constructed only if and when the two parties genuinely want it and are prepared to work for it. Past decades of enmity do not provide a good ground for an immediate realization of a state in partnership.

I believe that the first step towards that should be a mutual recognition between the two respective parties. The Israeli Jews and the Palestinian Arabs should recognize one another as peoples with all the rights to which a people is entitled. This recognition should be followed by the realization of the Palestinian Arab entity through a Palestinian state, a fully-fledged member-state of the United Nations. (London *Times*, December 17, 1973.)

True, Arafat in his UN speech did not explicitly recognize the right of existence of Israel. True, he continued to call for a single Palestinian state as the ultimate goal. But although there is no change of *formal* position there is little doubt as to the direction in which Arafat and other PLO leaders are moving. The important thing is that future Palestinian-Israeli relations are *subject to negotiation*—provided that the Rabin government is willing to negotiate. And the fact that the PLO makes an unacceptable demand cannot be made a pretext for not negotiating. As Meir Vilner, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, puts it:

First of all, if any program which is unacceptable to one side should prevent negotiations with the other, then the Israeli government and the Israeli Knesset are entirely unfit for any negotiations. The Knesset adopted, almost unanimously (with the opposition of the MKs of the Communist Party of Israel) a resolution which states that “the historical right of the Jewish people to Eretz Israel (the entire historic Palestine—Ed.) is indisputable.”

Thereby the Knesset determined that it is their aim to take possession of the whole country, that they want to liquidate the right of a people whose right to an independent state was recognized as long ago as November 29, 1947 by the UN General Assembly.

Moreover, the nationalists and annexationists have a short memory: When the Jewish Agency was recognized as the representative of the Jewish population of the country, before the establishment of the State of Israel, what was its political program? This was the Biltmore Program adopted by the Zionist organizations in their congress, headed by David Ben-Gurion, in the Biltmore Hotel in New York, and stating as its aim “to turn Eretz Israel (the whole of Palestine) into a Jewish state.”

In spite of this, the UN recognized the Jewish Agency as the representative of the Jewish population. (*Information Bulletin*, CPI, Mid-October 1974.)

Vilner argues—and correctly—that “if today the realistic forces within the Palestinian national movement are strengthening,” if they “are ready to take the road toward establishing a Palestinian national authority not in place of Israel but at her side . . . and if they are ready to participate in the peace conference in Geneva,” then far from rejecting negotiations, “Israeli statesmen with any sense of realism and political understanding ought to welcome this.”

And finally, it must be noted that even if the PLO concept of a unitary Palestinian state is rejected, the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state in the West Bank and the Gaza strip is no more than a first step toward the solution of the problem of self-determination. Such a state, with its small, divided territory and meager economic resources, has serious problems of economic viability to cope with. Second, the establishment of such a state leaves unresolved the future of the rest of the Palestinian population—in the East Bank, in Lebanon, in Israel and elsewhere. And most important, it leaves the problem of the refugees yet to be resolved on the basis of their right to return to their homes or receive compensation for their property. The process of self-determination would therefore have to continue beyond this initial step, within the framework of the coexistence of the Palestinian Arab state and the State of Israel.

Who Are the Terrorists?

“The PLO is a gang of terrorists and murderers.” Not only is every hijacking, every terrorist act anywhere in the world attributed to the PLO, but the responsibility is laid specifically at the door of Al Fatah and of Arafat himself. Says Tekoah concerning Arafat: “This is . . . the man who continues to serve as commander of Fatah-Black September, the gangster who received \$5 million from President Qaddafi of Libya as a prize for the slaughter of Israeli sportsmen at the Olympic Games, the criminal who personally directed the murder of diplomats in Khartoum.” With such people, it is maintained, one can have no traffic whatever.

But these allegations are made without the slightest substantiation. They are simply reiterated endlessly as if they were self-evident truths, despite the repeated statements of Arafat rejecting hijackings and such actions as those at Munich and Khartoum as methods of struggle. And they continue in the face of the PLO’s arrest of 26 Palestinians allegedly involved in the recent hijacking of a British jetliner in which a German businessman was murdered and its demand for custody of the four hijackers, to be brought with the others to public trial.

Nor is it correct to label Arafat and his associates “terrorists” and

"murderers" on the grounds of the guerrilla attacks in several localities in Israel during the past number of months. To be sure, acts of individual terror directed against innocent civilians cannot be condoned, whatever their motivation and regardless of who takes responsibility for them. Such acts do grave damage to the very cause in whose name they are committed and they must be unequivocally condemned. In fact, they have been repeatedly denounced by the Communist parties of Israel and the Arab states.

However, it must be recognized, first, that the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for their national rights is a just struggle, one which they have every right to wage by all legitimate means, including armed force. All pertinent questions must be judged within this context. Second, terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians have in the main been conducted by extremist groups outside the PLO or at odds with the main PLO groups supporting Arafat. Moreover, there is good reason to suspect that on more than one occasion they have been outright provocations. And the Israeli authorities, at Maalot and elsewhere, have themselves displayed a readiness to sacrifice the lives of Israeli women and children for the sake of building up the "terrorist" scare.

Finally, if acts of terrorism can be offered as a reason for refusing to negotiate, then the Palestinian Arabs have far more justification for refusing than does the Israeli government. This government is guilty of almost daily bombings and shellings of villages and refugee camps in Lebanon with infinitely greater numbers of civilian casualties than in all the attacks on Israeli territory taken together. It is guilty of armed incursions into Lebanese territory with the blowing up of houses and the illegal taking of prisoners. It is guilty of officially ordered assassinations of guerrilla leaders on Lebanese territory and of an officially ordered hijacking of a Lebanese plane. It is guilty of the use of napalm against Arab civilian populations and of the bombings of factories and schools in Egypt with hundreds of civilian deaths. It has committed all these crimes, moreover, not in the name of national liberation but in a drive to annex Arab territories and to wipe out the Palestinian Arab liberation movement.

To sum up, what is involved is recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and of the existence of a national liberation movement which is accepted by the Palestinian people as its representative. This does not mean acceptance of the entire program of the PLO. And agreement to negotiate with the PLO does not mean commitment to accept its program in advance, any more than the PLO's willingness to negotiate obligates it to accept the program of the Israeli government. It is this essential fact which

is being obscured—and we think deliberately.

A Pretext for Annexation

“Terrorism” is but a *pretext* for refusing to negotiate with the PLO, just as is the allegation that the PLO seeks the destruction of Israel. The real reason for the self-righteous insistence that there can be no relations with the PLO is the Israeli government’s aim of annexing all or most of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as other occupied territories. Though there has been a change in government, this expansionist aim has never been given up, nor has the illusion that it can be attained through military force.

The process of creeping annexation continues without letup. A master plan for the Golan Heights has been announced, calling for the establishment of five new agricultural settlements and a sizeable town within the next ten years. (*Jerusalem Post*, November 10, 1974.) In addition, existing settlements are being fortified as part of a regional defense system. On the Mediterranean coast just south of the Gaza Strip, construction is under way of the Israeli settlement of Yamit, whose initial settlers will be Soviet and U.S. immigrants. (*Jerusalem Post*, November 8, 1974). And in the West Bank the sale of land to Israeli purchasers and the process of settlement goes on without fanfare, while Jerusalem has already been converted to a virtual Jewish fortress by surrounding it with a ring of apartment buildings and other structures on adjacent West Bank territory.

Despite its protestations that it wishes to negotiate the return of West Bank territory with Hussein, it is clear that the Rabin government has no serious intention of evacuating the West Bank. It has sought instead, with Kissinger’s help, to press Hussein into acceptance of an arrangement in which Israeli control is retained. Thus, Hussein is reported in the *New York Times* (October 31, 1974) to have told the Rabat conference that in his discussions with Kissinger he was asked to accept the idea of re-establishment of Jordanian civil administration in parts of the West Bank while continuing Israeli military control, and of maintaining a series of Israeli settlements along the Jordan River as a “security border.” Hussein described these proposals as “humiliating.”

Rabin and his cohorts no longer speak of negotiating peace but speak instead of “territorial concessions” in return for a state of “non-belligerency.” By this they mean the return of some pieces of territory in exchange for agreement by the Arab states concerned to accept the permanent retention by Israel of the remaining territories—in essence a freezing of the *status quo* with some minor changes. Toward

this end they have maneuvered, with the diligent assistance of Kissinger, to put off the Geneva negotiations endlessly and instead to institute separate, "step-by-step" negotiations with each Arab state.

Now the issue of PLO participation in Geneva has become a particularly convenient pretext for refusal to agree to renewal of the negotiations. Thus, the *New York Times* (December 12, 1974) reports: "Foreign Minister Yigal Allon of Israel said today that his country would use its veto to prevent the Palestine Liberation Organization from taking part in the Geneva conference on the Middle East if it ever is reconvened."

Israel and the U.S.

This persistent adherence of the Israeli ruling circles to their policy of aggression and expansion has led to a growing dependence on U.S. imperialism and especially on U.S. arms. Since the October war, Congress has voted to supply Israel with some \$2.8 billion worth of armaments, more than half of it in grants or credits. With this, Israel has become more and more closely tied to U.S. policy in the Middle East. That policy continues to be based on doing everything possible to maintain Israeli military superiority; however, the changed relationship of forces in the Middle East, and in particular the changed relationship between the oil monopolies and the oil-producing countries, has led to U.S. pressure on the Israeli government to make some limited concessions to the Arab states.

Like the Rabin government Kissinger hoped through his shuttle diplomacy to bring about some partial solutions which would leave the *status quo* basically unchanged. He relied especially on the hope of bringing Sadat under U.S. influence and arriving at a separate agreement with Egypt. His bilateral negotiations scored some initial successes in the form of the disengagement agreements and won him the reputation of a "miracle worker." But this was achieved by ignoring the key issues of Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs, which have now come to the center of the stage and have compelled him to confront them.

The pressures on Sadat for Arab unity proved to be greater than the State Department's blandishments and this emerged very sharply in the Rabat summit conference. Not only did the conference act unanimously to "affirm the rights of the Palestinian people to establish an independent national authority, under Palestine Liberation Organization leadership, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any liberated Palestinian territory." It also voted unanimously to "invite Jordan, Egypt, Syria and the Palestine Liberation

Organization to work out a formula governing their relations in the light of these decisions and in order to implement them." This invitation, which was accepted, calls for concerted action by the four as parties to the Geneva negotiations. It means that negotiations are to be conducted with the Arab states jointly and with the inclusion of the PLO. And it means that negotiations must be based on full implementation of Resolution 242 and assurance of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

These actions were a severe blow not only to the Israeli ruling circles but also to Kissinger's schemes. And to this blow was added the impact of the recognition of the PLO by the UN General Assembly soon afterward. They are still maneuvering, of course, for a separate partial agreement with Sadat. But their hopes of accomplishing this have been seriously diminished. The upshot is that the Palestine question can no longer be filed away for future reference; it must be tackled now. The period of "equilibrium," of endless stalemate, is over. The Rabin government is confronted with the necessity to negotiate seriously with Egypt, Syria, Jordan *and the PLO*. The only alternative is to pave the way to a new war—a war which could all too easily reach catastrophic proportions.

But the Rabin government is evidently prepared, for the sake of its bankrupt policy, to plunge Israel, the Middle East, perhaps the whole world, into such a war. Real peace with the Arabs, it is said, is impossible. The Arab states are motivated only by an insane desire to destroy Israel and their support of the PLO proves it beyond doubt. And the UN action only offers further proof that the whole world is against Israel. Her one friend is the United States. Therefore there is no alternative but war. Whether in six months or a year, war is imminent. Thus the Israeli people, still reeling under the blows of the October war and facing the prospects of economic disaster, are being told to prepare for a new and much worse bloodbath. More, there is growing talk of pre-emptive war. And in mid-November a wave of tension and foreboding was set off by a partial mobilization of Israeli reserves. The situation is an explosive one.

An immediate outbreak of hostilities between Israel and Syria has been averted by Syria's agreement to accept the presence of the UN forces for another six months, achieved through the intervention of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. But this, in Waldheim's view, is a one-time concession which will not be renewed without further Israeli withdrawals. Waldheim is convinced that a new war may well break out by next spring or early summer unless there is serious progress in negotiations. (*New York Times*, November 29, 1974.)

The same sense of doom pervades U.S. government circles. Lawrence Mosher, writing from Washington in the *National Observer* of December 7, 1974, reports, "We can see no indication that American diplomacy can cope with what's now happening in the Middle East," an informed U.S. official admits. "Events are galloping ahead too fast. No one here knows what to do. No sober analyst would predict anything else but another war, most probably within six months."

The Real Roadblock to Peace

But the roadblock to peace and the danger of a new war do not stem from the policies of the Arab states or the PLO. The Arab states have made very clear their readiness to recognize the existence of Israel as a sovereign state and to negotiate peace with her if she withdraws from the conquered territories and acknowledges the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. The insistence of Israeli leaders that this only cloaks the aim of destroying Israel is without foundation. Even observers favorably inclined toward the Israeli government have maintained that the existence of Israel is not the issue. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco, in his speech at the celebration of Israel's 25th anniversary in Washington, D.C. on May 7, 1973, said: "Since 1967, while there are still Arab voices calling for the disappearance of Israel, there are many others in the Arab world who now perceive their national interest as compatible with the existence of a sovereign Israel, though within the former armistice lines. I believe that for most Arabs, Israel's existence is no longer the principal issue, and this idea is a major positive element in the Middle East today."

The well-known journalist Georgie Anne Geyer, writing in *The Progressive* of August 1973, states: "What most observers have missed is the fact that, since the 1967 war, what is at stake is no longer the existence of Israel. The major Arab states are now willing to accept and recognize this, and Israel's military power is such that there is no question of its hegemony in the area. (This was, of course, before the October war—H.L.) What is at stake now is Israel's conquests. . . ." And she adds: "The United States is now in the position of defending these conquests." In so doing, it is sowing hatred for itself in the Middle East and the seeds of endless war.

We repeat: the charges of Israel's leaders that the Arab states are plotting to destroy Israel, using the proposed Palestinian Arab state as their spearhead, are without foundation. They are but a cloak for the Israeli government's own annexationist designs.

The existence of Israel has in fact never really been the issue. The real source of conflict has always been the aggressive policies of

Israel's rulers and their alliances with imperialist powers against the national liberation struggles of the Arab peoples. It is, as Ms. Geyer says, Israel's conquests and the U.S. defense of these conquests that lie at the root of today's war danger.

Nor is the Soviet Union in any way a threat to Israel's existence. The Soviet government has at all times pursued a firm, principled policy in the Middle East. It has joined with the Arab states in insisting on full Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories as a necessary condition for peace and has opposed all maneuvering for "partial solutions" which leave matters basically unchanged. It has recognized the PLO as the authentic representative of the Palestinian Arab people and has fully upheld the justness of their cause. Its influence in the Arab world is built on solid foundations.

At the same time, however, while condemning Israeli government policies, the Soviet Union has gone out of its way to make it clear that it defends Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state. This is spelled out in Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's speech to the current session of the UN General Assembly in these words:

Certain persons try to present the Soviet Union's position as a one-sided stand which meets only the interests of the Arab states. Yes, we support and will continue supporting the Arabs' lawful demands. But it would be wrong to see in our position only this aspect of the matter. When we strive to insure that lands acquired by force should not become a premium to the aggressor, this demand by its meaning goes beyond the limits of the Middle East. It reflects intolerance to aggression in general. So, this is a matter of major international principle, a matter of consistency of policy.

Moreover, the Soviet Union is in favor of Israel existing and developing as an independent sovereign state. We have declared this many times and reiterate it again. The progress in the Middle East settlement, a real, not an illusory one, will create preconditions for the development of the Soviet Union's relations with all states in the Middle East, Israel included. (*Pravda*, September 25, 1974.)

There is a sure road to a lasting peace in the Middle East—the only road. It lies in the speedy resumption of the Geneva negotiations, with the inclusion of the PLO, as the Arab states and the Soviet Union have demanded. It lies in the full implementation of the cease-fire resolution and in respecting the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. It lies in the fulfillment by the United States of its responsibility, as one of the sponsors of that resolution, for the as-

surance of its implementation and an end to the present maneuvering to prevent it.

What is required is the abandonment by the Israeli ruling circles of their present suicidal path. It is the path of those who learn nothing, who persist in following a policy whose utter bankruptcy is becoming increasingly apparent to all sensible people, a policy which leads only to sure disaster for the Israeli people.

But in its efforts to peddle this policy to the Israeli people the Rabin regime is finding fewer and fewer takers as the people increasingly feel its effects on their own backs. There are rising movements for a change of policy, movements which are creating growing dissensions and divisions within the main political parties—and these movements will continue to grow and to become more unified and more vocal.

In the United States, too, voices of questioning and dissent continue to mount in spite of all efforts by the leading forces of Zionism to contain them. What is essential is to give organized expression to them, to develop them into effective instruments of pressure on the U.S. government to change its own Middle East policy and so to compel the Israeli government to change its path.

While the clouds of war in the Middle East have grown darker, the possibilities of avoiding war and safeguarding world peace have in fact been strengthened by recent developments if these are properly utilized.

Of key importance is the advancement of U.S.-Soviet detente and coordination of the efforts of the two governments. It was joint action which made the cease-fire agreement possible; it is joint action which will assure its being carried out. The joint Soviet-U.S. statement at Vladivostok, in stressing the importance of the Geneva Conference and the need for its speediest resumption, contributes to this. But it is here in the United States that the struggle must be waged to bring to fruition the cooperation of the two countries toward this end.

IDEAS IN OUR TIME

HERBERT APTHEKER

Senile Capitalism, Racism and Slavery

In the United States we are in the midst of an intense campaign to overwhelm the white population with the poison of racism. Other kinds of chauvinisms are being spread with considerable energy—notably hatred of Jews, of Arabs, of Italians, of Puerto Ricans, of Irish, of the so-called Indian—but as befits the nation's history and the numbers and centrality of the Black people, it is the traditional racism directed against them which is being spread with a boldness and energy unknown since the days of the First World War.

It is a campaign that stretches from Boston to Forest Hills, from reviving *Birth of a Nation* ("for educational purposes"), to national screening—and, soon, if not stopped, national televising—of *Gone With the Wind*; from Stanley Elkins' revival of the "Sambo" myth, used today as a text in a thousand colleges, to Styron's *Confessions* honored with a Pulitzer Prize and still displayed in ten thousand bookstores, to the colossal fanfare for the Fogel-Engerman monstrosity, *Time on the Cross*, now being heralded as "the truth at last" about slavery on campuses throughout the country.

The latest entry into this campaign is by one who is a veteran in the effort—Eugene D. Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll; The World the Slaves Made* that Pantheon has just issued. Lavish reviews tell the unwary that is "A Stunning New View," as the headline to George M. Frederickson's notice of the book reads in the *Chicago Daily News* (November 9). (Mr. Frederickson is a professor at Northwestern University.) And what is the stunning new view? It is that the system of slavery in the United States was a paternalistic one; that under it, given the inspiration of their religion, the slaves were able to forge a viable life and culture of their own, that for this to happen they needed only to accept slavery and that they did accept it—wisely and nobly and with Christian dignity.

What is "new" about this view—not to say "stunning"? It is the view of U.B. Phillips—whose resuscitation from the garbage heap of historiography was one of Genovese's main concentrations for years, and whose work on slavery Genovese has held to be the best available

—despite its being—as he put it—unfortunately marred by racism!

In the history of humanity, all peoples have been slaves. The very word in English derives from Slavic, and of course anyone who thinks for a moment knows that slavery existed in Rome and Greece and Egypt and China and Persia and India; that it existed in South America. The Angles and Saxons and Scots and Celts were slaves for various centuries and white Europeans were enslaved by Arabic peoples in the Iberian peninsula and in North Africa.

Slavery was a stage in history and prevailed for periods of time everywhere, from Africa to India to China to Ireland to Mexico. There is no civilization of which any records exist in which there is no evidence of enslavement. But I believe that it is only in the United States that it is insisted that the slaves loved their enslavement, or accepted their enslavement; that the system was patriarchal and that the slaves were not so much victims as they were beneficiaries of a harmonious kind of community.

This is the heart of the Dixiecratic myth; the basic justification of slavery in the United States is that it was not really slavery—it was a peculiar institution and just as the word “slave” does not appear in the Constitution, it was not to appear in polite conversation—one spoke of *servant* or *my people* or of *them*. This reminds me of Madison Avenue’s desperate efforts to find some word other than capitalism to describe the system existing in the United States—free enterprise, private enterprise, people’s capitalism—anything but the stark and naked *capitalism*.

The point of all this was that what existed here was not really slavery *because of the character of the slaves*; that is, since our so-called slaves were African-derived people, when one held them in so-called slavery, their condition was not actually slavery but was rather that condition in which—because of their nature—they had to be held. This is why in this country and, I think, only in this country, so-called scholarship has been chewing on this bone for one hundred years. Contemporaries of slavery were more frank; they said repeatedly that if our slaves were not what they are—meaning Black people—of course we could not justify it and we would not try to justify it. But, they added, the point is that our slaves are what they are—or what we say they are—and they are meant to be slaves, they are fit only to be slaves and if we did not take care of them they would become extinct. It is because the racism that justified slavery persists that the stench from it still prevails, and this is why that old bone is still chewed over by the Fogels and Engermans and Genoveses of today as it was by the Phillipses and Fitzhughs of yesteryears.

Frederickson, in the review of the Genovese book cited earlier,

states that "the hottest subject" in American historical writing "is Afro-American slavery." He continues that "the trend a few years ago was to restore the abolitionist view of slavery as unmitigated horror and dehumanization, at the expense of the 'moon-and-magnolias' image of kindly masters and contented bondsmen." But, Frederickson continues, "there was really no possibility of reconciling an assumption of unrelieved brutality with the belief that black slaves passed on a viable and dignified heritage to their descendants." Why was there no such possibility? Because, Professor Frederickson answers:

If the slave was dehumanized, the argument for the cultural inferiority of blacks was strengthened. If blacks were able to preserve their human dignity under conditions of servitude, then those conditions could not have been as bad as the abolitionists and their modern followers have contended.

We repeat that all peoples have been slaves, but it is only of the Afro-American people that the kind of absurd dilemma posed by Professor Frederickson is offered. But let us turn to the argument itself.

First, it is gross caricature to describe the Abolitionists' depiction of slavery as "unmitigated horror and dehumanization." It was horrible all right and the effort was at dehumanization, in accordance with the insistence that the slaves were not fully human; but the insistence was false and the dehumanization was never accomplished and this was affirmed by the Abolitionists—so many of whom were themselves of course Black people, though one would never guess this from Frederickson's prose. Douglass came out of slavery; Tubman came out of slavery; Bibb, too; Garnet, too; Truth, too; and so did Cato of Stono and Gabriel of Richmond and Vesey of Charleston and Turner of Southampton. The thousands who succeeded in flight came out of slavery; the thousands who lived as maroons in every swamp and fastness of the South came out of slavery. The Black people *came out of slavery*. That is the point; they endured and they persisted. Slavery did not consume them; it tempered them. Oppression does not simply victimize; it may purify, it may harden, it may strengthen, if there is resistance to it, and what is the history of humanity except the record of oppression *and* resistance to it. Fire may consume or it may temper, depending upon what is being passed through the flame. If it is paper, it is gone; if it is steel, it is hardened.

The Black slaves in this country did indeed "pass on a viable and dignified heritage to their descendants." It is a heritage of perseverance, of endurance and of resistance and that is why those descendants now persist and endure and resist—and shake this country from

one end of it to the other.

Frederickson's "dilemma" is as old as ruling-class historiography and ethics. It is one that assumes the debasement of the oppressed and ignores the real debasement of the oppressor.

I was reminded of this in reading a superb biography of George Eliot—by Gordon S. Haight (Oxford University Press, New York, 1968). He reports that George Eliot reviewed Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Dred*, in an 1856 British publication, and in it thought she detected a "weakness in its idealization of the Negro." For, she went on, "If the Negroes are really so good, slavery has answered as moral discipline"; hence, George Eliot concluded, Mrs. Stowe's one-sided view ignores "the most terribly tragic element in the relation of the two races—the Nemesis lurking in the vices of the oppressed."

Frederickson is saying the same thing; and dominant history writing, dominant thinking in the social sciences, says the same thing. Such thinking and writing see the poor as being not only without wealth but also without merit and see the rich as both having wealth and having merit—as the dual meanings of the words significantly convey.

The "vices of the oppressed" indeed! What are they compared to the vices of the oppressors—to the vice of oppression. There is vice, if anywhere.

One must add that this is a strange attitude for one like George Eliot who thought of herself as a Christian; for was it not Christ and his mother who were not fit for a room in the hotel; and was it not that carpenter and "rabble-rouser," that opponent of enslavement, that leader of the slaves and the insulted who was therefore crucified? Are we to understand that it is he and those who then followed him who manifest the "vices of the oppressed"?

Let us move from ancient Rome to slaveholding Virginia and from the cross of Christ to the gallows of Nat Turner. It is 1831, Turner and his followers have rebelled against slavery and have been crushed. He is jailed; he is convicted; his comrades have been hung. He is to be hung the next day. A court-appointed investigator wants Nat Turner to admit that what he did was wrong; they want it from his own mouth so that they themselves will feel relieved and so that they may use his words to persuade the slaves that what he did was wrong for he, himself, says so. This then is the scene; a cell in Virginia in 1831. A Black man just thirty years old, wounded, convicted, facing death. One hand chained to the cement wall. Here comes Mr. Gray, the court-appointed white emissary of the slaveowners. He tells Turner he is to die the next day; the uprising was crushed; all is failure. He urges Turner to admit error. What does Turner do? Filled

as he is with "the vices of the oppressed" this slave rises from his cot, extends his one free arm to his side, looks the master's minion in the eye, and answers him: "Was not Christ crucified?"

That is perhaps the single most dramatic moment in the history of the United States; some day that moment will be fully captured by an artist and put upon a stage before an audience educated so that it can understand that moment—and it will bring down the house.

Thomas Jefferson—a Virginia slaveholder, after all—knew the truth here. In his *Notes on Virginia*, written early in the 1780s, he noted that "the whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other . . . The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

Jefferson believed, as he wrote in this same source, that in the struggle between master and slave "The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." And in 1800, when faced with the reality of the uprising of slaves led in Virginia by the 22-year old Gabriel, slave of Prosser, Jefferson wrote to Governor James Monroe that "the world knows who is right and who is wrong in this affair."

Yes, the world knew in 1800 and the world knows in 1974. From the oppressed comes the greatest virtue of all: the indomitable will to be free.

Here lies the motor force of all history and the common denominator of all peoples. Certainly, not least among these peoples and not less passionate in their devotion to this supreme purpose are the Black people of the United States.

November 24, 1974

NOTICE TO READERS

Political Affairs welcomes communications from its readers. In order to be considered for publication, communications **must** contain the name and address of the author; anonymous submissions cannot be accepted. The author's name will be withheld from publication on request.

—The Editors

COMMUNICATIONS

PAUL CASSIDY

A Comment on Shakespeare

The late Sidney Finkelstein's intelligent and very readable book, *Who Needs Shakespeare?* and its review by Leon Baya (*Political Affairs*, March 1974) defend Shakespeare against various bourgeois misinterpretations. Finkelstein rescues the realist, social-humanist core of the playwright's work from its bourgeois obscurers. However, the conclusion that "Shakespeare's art can help us strive toward that desirable goal" (socialism), as Baya states and Finkelstein implies, needs to be examined.

According to Finkelstein, Shakespeare "educates us in the relish of life, the stature to which human beings can rise through struggle, in the ability and courage to face, grasp and talk about the entire range of their social life." (P. 257.)

True, but to me this doesn't distinguish Shakespeare's art even from the TV serials "Medical Center" or "The Waltons," or even from such diverse plays as "Oklahoma," "Waiting for Lefty," "River Niger," "Raisin in the Sun," etc.

Shakespeare was an advanced humanist *for his time*. Marxism is the most profound and practical humanism for our time. For Marxism to animate our creative

and critical writing, and to help develop the working-class partisanship that is one ingredient for a revolutionary culture, we should discuss some questions Comrade Finkelstein raised.

1. Part of Shakespeare's power comes from his profound understanding of the people around him, who were of course the same *and* different from people in the U.S. today. But *how* deeply did Shakespeare understand his own turbulent times?

One problem with analyzing Finkelstein is that he ignored other Marxist criticism; from A. A. Smirnov's Soviet classic *Marxist Interpretation of Shakespeare* (Critics Group Series #2, 1936) to International Publisher's *Shakespeare in a Changing World* (1964). Marxists agree that Shakespeare lived during the breaking up of feudalism and the growing up of capitalism. Feudal values were challenged by the new spirit. During the Elizabethan height of the English Renaissance, London theater enjoyed relative freedom from feudal-religious and bourgeois Puritan restrictions. It was a time when the class forces of the bourgeois democratic revolution weren't fully crystalized, when theatrical performers and audiences had

broken from the Church but had not yet been stifled by private, high-class indoor theaters.

Marxists agree that Shakespeare was able to reflect much of this conflict between "old" and "new." Humanist values of kindness, honesty, the basic dignity of people, service to others, etc. shine through his work. His perspective wasn't tied to (and therefore confused and compromised by) the "narrow" interests of the nobility, court or rising "incipient" bourgeoisie.

But Smirnov emphasizes that Shakespeare's plays are infused with the secular Renaissance spirit of his larger-than-life, passionate, fully individualized, newly liberated characters, who symbolically represent the psychological changes that emerging capitalism created. In other words:

Shakespeare was the humanist ideologist of the bourgeoisie, the exponent of the program advanced by them when, in the name of humanity, they first challenged the feudal order, but which they later disavowed. This enabled Shakespeare to subject his class to keen and profound criticism, a criticism motivated by a definite, though not clearly formulated ideal. His strong sense of concrete reality deterred him from creating a utopia, yet he possessed utopian ideals . . .

At a later stage of bourgeois development, Shakespeare became a threat to that class which had given him birth. The bourgeoisie has never been able to understand or accept the revolutionary elements in Shakespeare's work, because [it] immeasurably transcends the narrow confines of bourgeois vision. . . ." (Smirnov, last page.)

I think this is a balanced estimate, and it points to some of the limitations in the "Bard's" humanism. So how would a modern Marxist playwright treat Elizabethan England differently from Shakespeare?

Class relations on the feudal manor or in the growing towns are little understood through Shakespeare's plays. The process Marx later analyzed as "primitive accumulation of capital" was seen only in its barest outlines. This included the forced pauperization of thousands of peasants, private and state ventures in competition for a colonial empire, continuous oppression of the Irish, Scottish and Welsh peoples, etc.

Take Finkelstein's analysis of "Merchant of Venice" cited in Baya's review. Shakespeare shows human values distorted by commercial greed: "this decadence . . . of Venice lies in its money-grubbing mentality," writes Finkelstein (p. 59). He also quotes from "Romeo and Juliet" to make the same point: "There is thy gold, worse poison to men's souls." But was "gold" itself, or a "money-grubbing mentality" the cause of decadence in Venetian (or English) merchant circles? Or was a profit *system* the cause of such a "mentality"? For me, "Merchant" ends with the commercial *system* unchallenged morally; only the "greedy" merchants cause social decadence. Baya claims the play "exposes" capitalism, but that only happens if class contradictions and exploitation are revealed. (The treatment of Shylock the Jew shows that

Shakespeare was influenced to some degree by anti-Semitism, as Finkelstein implies.)

Another problem is Shakespeare's portrayal of "common folk": peasants, yeomen, artisans, etc. He had sympathy for them, and a certain respect, but they are on the fringes of his plays, passive politically and dull in comparison with the high-born heroes and heroines. It's true, as Finkelstein points out, that the masses in Elizabethan times were unschooled and unorganized in production and politics, but *our* view is that those productive laborers create society and make history even if they couldn't do it *consciously* until scientific socialism became a force. Our point of view starts from identification with the masses, not only sympathy; though, as Finkelstein points out, their interests overlapped with those of the rising bourgeoisie during those times.

Then there is the analysis of "tragedy." In *Hamlet* a student-humanist-prince struggles for justice and revenge in a corrupt ruling court. Finkelstein concludes: "Hamlet achieves his goal; he removes a murderer and evildoer from the throne" (p. 126). Finkelstein mentions, almost as an afterthought, that Hamlet is killed along with some other good (and some bad) people, that toward the end of the play Hamlet resigns himself to death, and that another feudal prince ends up on "Denmark's" throne without any hint that the feudal system will or should change. Finkelstein presents Hamlet's humanism as effective. But Robert Weimann

(*Preserve and Create*, Humanities Press, 1974) calls Hamlet's humanism "utopian"; and when Hamlet tries to put utopian values into practice, we end up with a "tragedy."

Certainly Hamlet's *struggle* affirms human values, but Shakespeare couldn't see any way to put these values into practice effectively; the odds were too great against it in Hamlet's court and Shakespeare's England. But I think a Marxist playwright of today would indicate that the corrupt government which Hamlet attacks, could only be "cleaned out" (to be put crudely) when the masses take it over. This isn't to argue that Shakespeare should have seen past the Elizabethan court, past bourgeois democracy, to socialism; but since we've experienced that process, *our insight* (through hindsight) is deepened.

How fully did Shakespeare understand the oppression of women in his times? Many of his women characters are fully and positively presented, though not nearly so grandly as the men. But there's no hint as to *why* women were second class citizens, even as Queen Elizabeth ruled England.

2. What is a Marxist approach to the reproduction of Shakespeare's plays? Bertolt Brecht digested and adapted ideas, plots or whole plays from Shakespeare with success. But suppose we want to reproduce the plays more faithfully to the written texts?

Society, attitudes and word meanings have changed greatly from Elizabethan England to present-day U.S.A. To be me-

chanically "faithful" to a 400 years old text may be to recreate a play whose meaning as a whole is completely different from the original production. It even takes special schooling and study today to understand the "old" English that illiterate poor people in Shakespeare's audience could understand. Of course knowledge of the Elizabethan context helps us, but it's futile to try and transplant the "Elizabethan consciousness" (of which class?) into our heads for 3 hours in a theater.

Shakespeare has been recreated "faithfully" as a museum piece to show the "way things were"; or "colloquially" as a modern dress play about present-day life (Papp's Hamlet as hippy). Weimann argues that we must "Draw attention to both the unity and contradiction of the past world of the art work and the present world of its reception." (P. 41.) "Any Shakesperian interpretation has to come to terms with the tension between historical values and modern evaluations." (P. 45.) (Weimann then presents several examples of recent GDR productions of *Hamlet*.)

For instance, Finkelstein claims that "Othello is not a play that relates to the racist practices of today" (p. 159) because racism didn't exist in Shakespeare's England. This may be true of *that* time, although G.M. Matthews disputes that claim (*Shakespeare in a Changing World*). But the further point is that *no* modern U.S. audience can see a play about a Black foreigner, fighting for love and dignity in an all white and often hostile world, without

seeing some implications for the current struggle against racism. Sir Lawrence Olivier, in his recent film version of "Othello," interpreted the part in a way that encouraged current racist myths. How would I direct that play? I don't know, but Paul Robeson's interpretation of 30 years ago (which I've read about) would be a place to start working.

How would we begin to translate "Taming of the Shrew"? In that play, a man-suitor tames a woman-shrew and they are married; happily it seems. "Kiss me Kate" was a popular and maybe sexist "modernized" version, showing the "timeless battle of the sexes," but I heard about a recent GDR production which sounded fascinating. Shakespeare's text was cut slightly, but the limited opportunities for women in feudal times were stressed in a historical context added by the company. Petruchio's "taming" of Kate was less a light-hearted romp, than a brutal "breaking" of her spirit. Kate's battle was a desperate one in a situation stacked against her. The (unstated) implication of this production was apparently that the oppression of women pressured them into domestic "slavery" which also made truly equal man-woman relationships of love almost impossible.

Finkelstein repeats that Shakespeare "raised questions his society couldn't answer." But so do all utopian idealists, including religious ones. Another way of putting it, however, is that in the Bard's plays it's tragically "impossible" to put humanist ideals

into practice. But in our world, with the working class and its allies increasingly able to build a society ruled by humanist ideals, what effect does the "Tragic World View" have? And how close is it to existentialism, cynicism, and other defeatist "isms"?

Today, no matter how heroic an individual is, alone and isolated he or she cannot make *society* more human. Obviously we need united, conscious mass action. The liberated *bourgeois* individualism of the Renaissance has turned into suicidal despair, and a barrier to human development. How do we include this perspective in current re-productions of the plays?

(Some would-be "radicals" are paralyzed by the contradictions in Shakespeare's work; in a recent infantile "review" of Finkelstein's book, Irwin Silber of the *Guardian* can't decide whether or not we need Shakespeare, or any progressive art of the last 3000 years. Fortunately, few of us are waiting for Silber to make up his mind.)

3. We need to encourage and strive for an art and theater that entertains us and clarifies our reality of class contradiction, rebellion, personal/political searching, and developing class consciousness. I think the *main* (not the only) task we face as Marxist creative workers is to build a progressive grassroots and revolutionary working-class culture, to join with working and oppressed people in struggle, study and work, and to encourage art work which begins to reflect the movement of our class.

According to Finkelstein, under

capitalism alienation is pervasive in the arts and in all society. "Capitalism has produced a plethora of the most debased art in history" Finkelstein argues (p. 242), and illustrates with quotes from John Updike and T.S. Eliot. But alienation can be resisted through trade union, revolutionary and (in culture) creative or "scientific" organization. Finkelstein briefly traces "humanist" resistance to alienation in art, from Shakespeare to Verdi, Charles Dickens and Tolstoy. But in capitalist society, the *best* that writers can do is to produce "works of relative integrity and taste . . . [which] reflect the realities of decay of society and a detestation of its degradations, even when they portray them as unchangeable." (P. 243.)

The best *we* can do is to portray reality as *unchangeable*? To imitate, for instance, Arthur Miller or Joseph Heller?

Finkelstein points to the class struggle in social life and to the progressive and revolutionary struggles world-wide and in the U.S., but then ignores their past and potential reflections in art. "Most striking in the 20th century has been the spread of alienation in the arts." (P. 252.) But what about socialist art, which is dealing with a reality we haven't begun to experience? What about 20th century art and theater of liberation from Asia, Africa and Latin America? What about the class conscious work from the European capitalist countries (such as Brecht's)?

And what about the U.S.?
(Continued on p. 2)

BOOK REVIEWS

TONY MONTEIRO

Neo-Colonialism in Africa

Neocolonialism is the strategic policy of world imperialism geared to preserving colonial exploitation and plunder under circumstances of the general crisis of capitalism and the all-sided world-wide advance of the anti-imperialist forces. It is the main form of imperialism's attempt to retard the movement towards social progress and full sovereignty on the part of formerly colonial nations. In essence neo-colonialism preserves the elemental features of imperialism as defined by Lenin: the export of capital and the search for sources of raw material. However, neocolonialism develops new forms of the export of capital, including increasing the role of bank capital in the process of capitalist penetration of the "Third World." This latter feature reflects the growing position of bank capital in capitalist society generally at its monopoly stages.

Neocolonialism is part of the global strategy for the preservation of capitalism. It therefore has meaning not merely to the formerly colonized peoples, but to all who oppose capitalism and imperialism. Because of the central

role that U.S. imperialism plays in the world imperialist strategy for preserving capitalism, because it has developed to a greater degree the forms of neocolonial oppression, and because it is the dominant military power in the imperialist world, the recent book by Stewart Smith, *U.S. Neo-Colonialism in Africa** has great significance at this time.

Africa is abundant in minerals and raw materials that are strategic to advanced industrial production. As Smith states:

U.S. monopolies, not surprisingly, have shown a prime interest in the continent which provides more than one-half of the capitalist world's mineral exports (1968): leading in gold, diamonds, cobalt and chrome, and important in manganese, copper, vanadium, uranium and asbestos. The United States, for its part, imported from Africa in the same year a significant proportion of its iron and ferroalloy ores—manganese 56 per cent, chromite 39 per cent, cobalt 27 per cent and iron ore 7 per cent; non-ferrous metals—antimony 29 per cent, copper 9 per cent; and also, among other commodities, rubber 15 per cent, fibers 10 per cent, oil 9 per cent. (P. 51.)

Clearly, Henry Winston is justified when he says in his forward to the book that Africa is

* Stewart Smith, *U.S. Neo-Colonialism in Africa*, International Publishers, New York, 1974, cloth \$8.00, paper \$2.95.

"one of the main foci of struggle between the forces of national liberation and imperialism." This vast continent, rich in cultural diversity as well as in endowment of mineral resources, geographically touches base with the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. It borders on both Europe and the Middle East. Here is a continent that has strategic geopolitical and other significance to both the imperialist and the anti-imperialist forces. Its transformation into an anti-imperialist zone of peace and social progress would constitute a major advance for progressive humanity.

Smith's book is a Marxist-Leninist study of the role of U.S. monopoly corporations and the U.S. government in the effort to perpetuate imperialist oppression in Africa, to reverse the historic gains made by the African peoples against imperialism and colonialism. This book is also valuable in that it elucidates the laws and regularities of imperialist penetration of emerging nations generally. By placing the study of neocolonialism in Africa within the context of international developments Smith demonstrates both its politico-economic and politico-military characteristics.

Smith opposes the thesis that neocolonialism is solely an economic phenomenon and points out that the dialectical unity of political, economic, military and ideological factors is fundamental to understanding neocolonialism. This is the case because of the strategic relationship of neocolonialism to global imperialist policy, which involves not only in-

vestments and their protection, but transforming the newly freed nations into reserves of imperialist military policy.

It involves creating an intelligentsia which is pro-capitalist and anti-Communist, and in the end bringing the new nations into the struggle between the two systems on the side of imperialism. For instance, Monrovia, in Liberia, is a base for U.S. naval forces. In Eritrea, which is occupied by Ethiopia, there are tracking stations that in 1967 monitored air strikes against Egypt for the Israeli air force.

U.S. neocolonialism has served historically, as Smith indicates, both to preserve colonialism generally in Africa and to advance the interests of U.S. monopoly capital against its imperialist competitors. Thus, U.S. neocolonialism in Africa is an expression not only of the need of imperialism of colonies but also of the redivision of Africa after World War II in line with the new realities of U.S. political, economic and military domination in the capitalist world. In addition it manifests the incompatibility of classical colonialism with the new world relationship of forces. Smith places it in these words:

... from the earliest postwar years, the global ambitions of U.S. imperialism to keep world capitalism intact under its increased domination paralleled the efforts of its European allies to prevent the collapse of their African colonial empires. (P. 22.)

Smith further states:

... during the transitional years of

the late 1950's, although the U.S. political strategy, aimed at slowing up or halting the further advance of the national liberation movement in Africa, showed a preference for the neocolonialist approach, which would conceal its conflict of interests with the already independent states, it had no intention of discontinuing its policy of support for the remaining minor—but extremely important—segment of colonialism in Africa. (P. 31.)

Smith makes a special contribution in demonstrating the magnitude and organic links of U.S. investments in Africa. Beginning with the southern part of Africa, he shows the interrelationship of U.S. capital investment in South Africa, especially in mining of gold, uranium and diamonds, to investments in Zambian copper, Rhodesian chrome, diamonds in Namibia and oil in Angola. South Africa is the financial base of world imperialism in Africa. The extent of U.S. mining investment in South Africa is demonstrated by the vast holdings of the Charles W. Engelhard enterprises. Smith says that these interests alone "control nearly 15 per cent of the country's gold production and 20 per cent of uranium. . . . Engelhard fabricates all of the U.S. platinum supply. . . ." (P. 61.)

The link between the U.S. government and imperialist investment is demonstrated by Smith when he points out that the investment banking firm of Dillon Read and Co., headed by former Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, has financed Engelhard enterprises and has handled all

bond flotations for the South African government. The industrial-financial base that has been established in South Africa, representing British, U.S. and South African interests, controls copper mining in Zambia.

However, there is a new and dynamic feature of U.S. capital investment in South Africa that is today overshadowing investments in mining. In his article "U.S. Imperialism in South Africa," Hyman Lumer indicates: "Unlike the British investments, which are concentrated in mining, U.S. investments are increasingly centered in manufacturing, whose share has risen from 34 per cent in 1959 to 51 per cent in 1971." (*Political Affairs*, July 1973.) He goes on to quote Ruth First, who states, "United States investment is concentrated in key sectors of the economy and United States corporations play a critical role in the sectors which are the prime contributors to heavy industrialization, long range growth, technological development and military capability." Auto, electronics, oil refining, computers, steel and rubber production have become decisive for U.S. investment. Thus, it is U.S. investment that is fundamental to the industrialization of South Africa and to its militarization, and it is the United States imperialists who are becoming most basic to the maintenance of fascism and apartheid in South Africa.

An important aspect of neocolonialism is the interimperialist struggle for the redivision of Africa. In the former Belgian Congo (now Zaire) a fight took

place between U.S. and Belgian monopolists over control of Katanga copper and the strategic uranium deposits. It entailed a political struggle to secure dominant influence in the Zaire government. In this struggle U.S. imperialism eventually won out, particularly when the Zaire government nationalized the holdings of Union Miniere du Haut Katanga. This followed on the earlier unsuccessful efforts of Belgian imperialism to utilize Moissaye Tshombe for the establishment of a secessionist state in Katanga.

In Mozambique we encounter the trend toward formation of joint investment consortia by several imperialist powers, as in the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam. Here investors from West Germany, Britain, France, the United States and South Africa are involved. In such instances U.S. imperialism utilizes both neocolonialism and classical colonialism to penetrate new areas for investment.

In West Africa U.S. capital has a traditional base. In Liberia, rubber plantations have provided a base for the Firestone and Good-year rubber companies. Since World War II this penetration has extended to high-quality iron ore, of which Liberia is the third-largest producer in the world. An early postwar corporation was the Liberian Mining Co., in which a leading role was played by Edward Stettinius, a former secretary of state. However, as Smith indicates: "Growing needs for iron ore resulted in the formation of the largest single mining monopoly in Africa, Liberian

American-Swedish Minerals Co. (LAMCO), a \$300 million joint investment. . . ."

In this situation the Liberian government receives a diminishing portion of the profit, since the dividends are based upon artificially low world prices. Hence Bethlehem Steel, which is both an investor in LAMCO and a purchaser of iron ore, benefits enormously from the low world price of the ore and the high price of its steel. In such cases as Liberian iron ore the neocolonialist instruments of world price-fixing for raw materials and exceptional tax benefits for foreign capital greatly increases the profit margins of foreign investors while diminishing the share of the producer nation.

In Nigeria U.S. investment has been attracted to the rich oil reserves in the eastern region. Control of oil involved both a struggle against the national interests of the Nigerian people and a struggle against the oil interests of Britain and France. The imperialist powers attempted to resolve their problems by deepening the conflict which emerged in June 1967 from the attempt to separate the eastern region and to establish the state of Biafra. The U.S. officially supported the federal government, seeking to curry favor with Lagos as against France and Britain, while unofficially encouraging the secessionists. The United States remains the second largest investor in Nigerian oil. In the North African region we find the greatest volume of U.S. investment in Africa. Here are located the rich

oil-producing nations of Africa. Moreover, U.S. investment in North Africa is directly related to its investment in petroleum in the Middle East and is an important factor in U.S. strategic policy towards the Arab world. Smith says of this area:

Having achieved a dominant position in Mideast foreign investment in the decade following the war—the United States wholly owns the Arabian-American Oil Co. (ARAMCO) in Saudi Arabia, whereas Britain's stake is primarily (the United States—secondarily) in Iraq and the Persian Gulf—U.S. monopolies extended westward in North Africa after the Suez crisis of 1956. In the decade to 1967, U.S. monopolies gained overwhelming control (about 9/10) of Libya's cheaply produced, high-quality, extremely profitable oil, increasing their interests about 18-fold to constitute one-fifth of the total U.S. investment in Africa, and rising to one-fourth by 1970. . . . (P. 73.)

Smith notes that U.S. investors also have concessions in the Sinai Peninsula, in the area of the Gulf of Suez and in the Western Desert in Egypt.

U.S. neocolonialism also utilizes the weapons of "aid," trade and monetary arrangements. Of the U.S. foreign "aid" program Smith states that "U.S. foreign aid on the whole reflects in microcosm, more graphically than any other single sphere, the political economic composite of U.S. foreign policy. . . ." (P. 75.) Here the imperialist cold-war essence of U.S. policy is demonstrated by its emphasis on the military component of "aid" in the first place,

but also by the fact that "aid" serves to facilitate imperialist penetration in mining and extraction and to discourage industrialization. More U.S. aid is geared to tying the new nations to the U.S. market, requiring as a rule that the aid be used to purchase only commodities produced in the U.S.

The World Bank, the International Agency for Development and the International Finance Corporation (the latter two are agencies of the World Bank) are instrumentalities of multi-lateral "aid." Through them the role of bank capital in neocolonialism is made evident. The World Bank reflects the dominant financial position of U.S. imperialism *vis-a-vis* her rivals, and also manifests the common interest of all the imperialist powers in the continued exploitation of the new states. World Bank loans and credits serve to strengthen the private as against the public economic sector in the new nations. In fact, World Bank "investigators" usually require that as a condition of granting a loan or credit the money go to the private sector. These loans and credits establish a base for world capitalism in the new nations and bind them to the financial and banking interests of the capitalist countries. The consequence is the continued subordination of the new states to imperialism and the accumulation of debt obligations that bleed them. In fact, the service charges alone are a burden and consume an ever increasing portion of their wealth. Added to this burden is the increasing

inability of these states to liquidate the debt as a result of diminishing income as world prices for their commodities drop. The trend towards non-equivalent trade relations deepens and this adds to the financial crisis of the new nations.

More, because their national currencies are linked to the capitalist currencies, the new states suffer a disproportionate share of the financial crisis of the capitalist world. This is reflected in the repeated devaluations of their currencies. The International Monetary Fund imposes conditions for loans upon the new states that force devaluation and encourage inflation. The accumulated financial contradictions of the leading capitalist countries are unloaded upon the developing countries. It is they who suffer the harshest consequences of the imperialist monetary disarray.

Smith concludes with an analysis of the events surrounding the Israeli aggression in the Middle East and North Africa in 1967. He points to the fact that since the late fifties U.S. monopolies have received one-third of their overseas profits from the North African-Middle East complex. In his presentation of the Middle East situation, Smith demonstrates the predatory, pro-imperialist character of Zionism. He shows that it is a politico-ideological movement directed against the progressive might of the peoples of the Middle East and of the northern and southern parts of Africa. And he shows that Israel and South Africa, which are bound to-

gether by intimate ties, act as the northern and southern flanks of world imperialism against the African peoples. This illustrates that imperialist policy in relation to Africa is part of a global strategy embracing the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic.

This section of the book in itself constitutes an integral study. Smith outlines the development of imperialist policy in the Middle East from 1948 through the 1956 aggression of Israel, France and Britain against Egypt to the 1967 war. With regard to the aggressive nature of that war, he notes that "Since the mid-sixties and especially since February 1966, when the Left wing of the Baath party came to power in Syria, both Israel and Washington began concentrating greater efforts on an Israeli military buildup." (P. 193.) He goes on to say: "Israel's blitzkrieg launched against the UAR and Syria, as well as Jordan, on June 5, 1967, was its second major war of aggression in a little more than a decade." (P. 195.)

Egypt, deeply involved in solving economic problems, was in no way preparing for launching a war; however, she was "impelled to make a series of moves designed to lessen [Israel's] threat against Syria. Thus the UAR request for the removal of the UN Emergency Force on May 18 and the closure of the Gulf of Aqaba on May 24." (*Ibid.*)

With the launching of the attack by Israel, U.S. imperialism was permitted to appear uninvolved and even to disassociate

itself from the attack. But Smith presents a considerable body of evidence indicating the collusion between the U.S. and Israel. The continued arms buildup in Israel after 1967, almost fully financed by the United States, and the continuation and settlement of Arab lands and dispossession of Palestinian Arabs, point not only to Israel's continued aggressive posture but also to the decisive role of U.S. imperialism in maintaining Israel as a gendarme state. This U.S. support is directed against the Arab liberation movement and particularly against the progressive Arab states. It is racist and neocolonialist, seeking to undermine Arab liberation.

Since 1967, with the growing unity of anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East and Africa and with their growing ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, a new relationship of forces has emerged in this part of the world. Zionism and imperialism have become increasingly isolated. In the October 1973 war to regain their land the Arab states manifested a new military strength. And new diplomatic successes have been scored, including the UN recognition of the PLO and the pressure on

Israel to participate in the Geneva peace talks with the PLO's inclusion.

Smith has made an important scholarly contribution to the work of anti-imperialist fighters throughout the world, and especially in the United States. He exposes the aggressive imperialist role of the United States. More, his demonstration of the blatantly racist nature of U.S. imperialism in Africa will serve the anti-racists of the United States in their battles.

The publication of this book very appropriately came on the eve of the historic 29th session of the UN General Assembly. In this session important gains were made against U.S. imperialism, and the racist state of South Africa was suspended from the General Assembly. Also, the veto by three imperialist powers of the Security Council resolution to expel South Africa from the UN exposed and further isolated imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular.

The book is an important instrument in the struggle for the full liquidation of imperialism and racism in Africa and for the fulfillment of the second stage of the African liberation struggle.

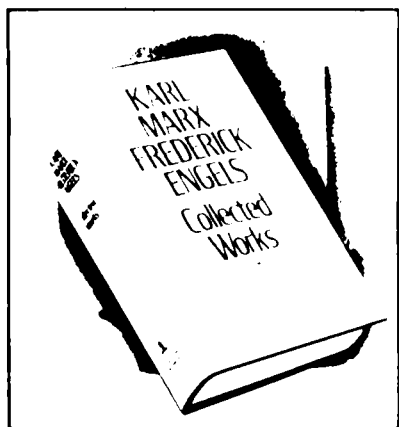
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