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HAPPY BIRTHDAY, GUS!

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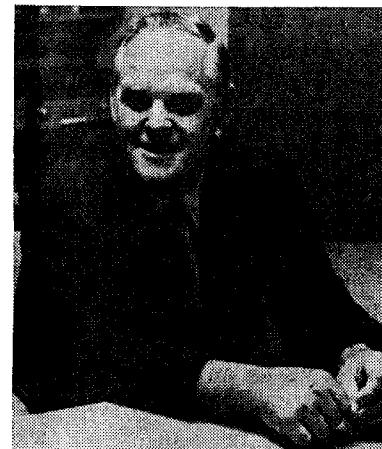
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Happy Birthday, Gus!



"Born in a snow-swamped log cabin in Minnesota of poor parents. Educated in the school of hard knocks. A hard-muscled lumberjack at the age of 16. A Navy machinist's mate who inspired his fellows to ever greater efforts against the Japanese in World War II. A simple man whose two children are his pride and joy. A roaring, laughing man who is at home on the baseball diamond as well as in the union hall. A man to bend elbows with at the corner bar."

That is how a *New York Times* writer once described Gus Hall, whose sixtieth birthday is being celebrated this month. But that only begins to tell the story. His full stature emerges only in the light of his outstanding role as a Communist, as a leader of the Communist Party of the United States and, since December 1959, its general secretary.

Since his early youth Gus Hall's life has been single-mindedly devoted to the struggles of the working people of our country. Throughout all these years he has stood in the forefront of the workers' battles for economic advancement, of the fight for Black liberation, of the struggles for peace and socialism. It was in these struggles that his great talents as a leader of the working class and the American people matured and flowered. It was in the course of these struggles that he gained preeminence as a Marxist-Leninist and achieved the standing of one of the foremost leaders of the Communist movement, not only in this country but on a world scale.

The son of a Minnesota iron miner who became a charter member of the Communist Party, Gus plunged early into the class struggle. He worked as a lumber-jack, as a construction worker, as a steelworker and at many other jobs. He took part in the struggles for union organization and in the unemployed movement of the thirties. As a steel organizer in Ohio he helped to found the United

Steelworkers of America.

Of his role in steel, Anton Krchmarek writes in the *Daily World*: "It took men of heroic quality to organize the steel industry, We remember 1932 and the first attempts at organization. Gus Hall led the first strike in the industry in that year in the Republic Steel plant since 1919. For this he was fired and blacklisted. But he went on with the work and played a decisive role in forming the steel union in Ohio. A key issue on which Gus made a lasting contribution was his relentless struggle for black and white unity, for the rights of black workers in the mill and in the union. Then and now."

He left this union work to become a Party organizer at \$20 a week. But in all the succeeding years as a Party leader he firmly retained his ties with the working class. Indeed, this has been one of his most outstanding qualities and an example to others.

Today, in view of the new upsurge of labor in the United States, Gus Hall's sixtieth birthday celebration comes as an event of exceptional significance. In the words of Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party, this celebration "is to be a major political event which will dramatize in a new way the indispensability of our Party and the necessity of building it into a mass party."

"On the international scene," Comrade Winston added, "many Communist and Workers Parties are taking note of the role of our Party and the leadership given to it by Comrade Gus Hall in the fight against U.S. imperialism and in its defense of peace, democracy, Black liberation and socialism."

There will be many birthday affairs and tributes to Gus in different parts of the country. But we know that the tribute which he himself would most appreciate will be the redoubling of our efforts to build the Communist Party to which his life has been devoted and successfully to carry out its policies.

The staff of *Political Affairs*, which has profited so greatly from his leadership as well as from his many contributions as a writer, is proud to join with the great multitude of his other comrades and friends in greeting Comrade Gus Hall on his birthday and wishing him many more years of activity in the revolutionary struggles of this period. We know that is all he would wish for himself.

To this brief tribute we shall have more to add in our November issue.

Crisis of Petty-Bourgeois Radicalism

As the molecules in steel becomes agitated it results in a red hot metal. Through this process the steel becomes tempered and purified. As the metal heats up bubbles appear on the surface, and in short order many of them disappear.

Social and political movements in a sense develop in similar ways. When the social molecules become agitated it results in mass upheavals, the waves of radicalization. Class contradictions and relations sharpen up. This propels the revolutionary process. It results in new levels of mass class and socialist consciousness. There is a speedy growth of movements and organizations. They also become tempered and purified in the struggle. Such is the path of revolutionary development.

A Product of Frustration

But such moments also give birth to momentary political "bubbles." As in steel, many of them also come and go. Some are serious movements that reflect momentary issues. They disappear when the issues are resolved. But others turn into petty-bourgeois radical expressions—petty-bourgeois reflections of the issues and the problems of the moment.

Such movements are especially a phenomenon in periods when great numbers—new waves—of people move into action. Like all sectors, the petty-bourgeois strata tend to reflect their class position when they react to the issues of the class struggle. They develop moments of great militancy. At such moments they are a source of inspiration and militancy to other sectors, including the working class. But they tend to go for short-term tactics. When this does not result in victories, for some the militancy, the enthusiasm, turns into petty-bourgeois radicalism. It is necessary to make a sharp distinction between the healthy militancy and determination expressed by non-working class sectors and the concepts of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Petty-bourgeois radicalism is a by-product of a sense of frustration.

When concepts based on unreality are bounced back by reality it results in frustration.

A secondary cause for the frustration is the occurrence of oppor-

tunist, passive tendencies and problems in the ranks of other sectors, including the working class.

The concepts, the ideas, motivating petty-bourgeois radicalism are not necessarily wrong in the abstract. Those who follow wrong concepts, in most cases, are dedicated and sincere individuals. The concepts are wrong when they do not reflect the specific reality of the moment. Therefore, the more determined such individuals are, the more damaging they can be. Good intentions and even good ideas are not enough. One of the key ingredients in a revolutionary struggle is *people in mass*. People do not respond to commands or to exhortations. They do not respond to ideas—even good ideas—if they do not see their self-interests involved in these ideas.

The inner laws of capitalism, the laws of exploitation, the inherent drive for profit, the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private appropriation of its products are all factors that force the victims *in mass* more and more to see their self-interests related to the more basic and revolutionary ideas. Policies and tactics, to be successful, must be related to this objective process. A revolutionary force must take full advantage of each new situation presented by this process. Only then can it become a revolutionary force propelling events. Tactics must be synchronized to each stage of this development.

The very essence of capitalism is class exploitation. It is exploitation of people, again *in mass*. The essence of any struggle is the class struggle. The central moving force is the exploited class—the working class.

Concepts of struggle not based on the above reality will sooner or later come into conflict with it. The advocates of petty-bourgeois radicalism try to by-pass this reality. They believe they can avoid the necessary and unavoidable consistent and sustained work, the work of organizing, educating, mobilizing and leading *people in mass*, of leading people on the level of their understanding, of their own self-interest, and in this sense reflecting the objective processes leading to a revolutionary struggle against capitalism. For this they seek to substitute radical rhetoric with general slogans, or advanced actions that have no relationship to struggles to which the masses do respond. Thus when the concepts based on unreality meet the reality of class struggle they bounce back. If such tactics are further pursued they become an obstacle to struggle. They become a destructive and divisive force. Organized groups which pursue such policies not only tend to move away from the working class but they reject mass concepts of struggle altogether.

The relationships between the objective processes and the tactics

of struggle are not simple. It is an intricate process. The lines are not clean-cut and even that which is negative, in the long run, can have momentary positive influences. It is not always easy to draw the line between passivity that is motivated by opportunistic considerations and a judgment that is based on a correct, necessary tactical consideration. And it is not easy always to see the line between a militancy that is necessary to propel the struggle to new heights, or a necessary advanced position or action by a more limited force, and ill-advised actions that alienate and separate the advanced force from its mass base.

Petty-bourgeois radicalism as a concept is now in a serious crisis. Masses have moved to new levels of political consciousness and to higher forms of struggle. Generally, petty-bourgeois radical concepts go into a crisis when working-class concepts of struggle are on the ascendancy.

An Old Problem

Petty-bourgeois radicalism is not a new phenomenon. It has emerged as a problem throughout the history of the world revolutionary movement. Petty-bourgeois radicalism has had a historic run in the recent period. The wave has touched most of the non-socialist world.

A special brand of petty-bourgeois radicalism made deep inroads and influenced the policies of the leading cadre of the Communist Party of China. Throughout its history the Maoist influence has been a petty-bourgeois radical influence. In its basic essence the cultural revolution was propelled by a mass petty-bourgeois radical sweep. This is a special brand of petty-bourgeois radicalism because it takes place in a country that is building socialism. It is a special brand because the leading core of the leadership used it as an instrument in the struggle to stay in power. It is a special brand because in China it was woven into a pattern with bourgeois nationalism. Mao's policies have always been and are today based on mobilizing the non-working class sections. It was the destruction of the organizations and policies based on the working class that were the main objectives of the cultural revolution.

The Debray theories of revolution were an extension of these petty-bourgeois radical concepts. All variations of petty-bourgeois radicalism come into conflict with the class approach to struggle. They reject the class struggle as the vehicle for social progress. They reflect the individualism, the lack of class identification of petty-bourgeois elements generally. They reject policies and tactics that are based on mobilizing the working class—the one class history has

designated as a basic contingent in the struggle for social progress. In fact, petty-bourgeois radicalism rejects the role of the one revolutionary class in society.

Thus the very premise of petty-bourgeois radicalism is that it is impossible to win the working class in the struggle against capitalism. From this it follows that mass concepts of struggle are not possible, necessary or realistic. This leads to actions based on small elite groups—or to individual action. Because this concept is not concerned with winning over masses, it promotes and condones actions that alienate masses. There is an inner logic to this path. Specific actions are taken because there is a lack of confidence in mass—in class—actions. These ill-considered actions result in widening the gap between the petty-bourgeois radical movements and the masses. This widening gap then becomes “proof” that you cannot win masses and therefore the line of conduct of these movements is justified. Each step leads to a further isolation. This is the inner logic of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

This has been the path of world Trotskyism, the classical movement of petty-bourgeois radicalism. It had its genesis with Trotsky's rejection of the working class as a basic revolutionary force. He also substituted radical-sounding rhetoric for the class struggle. Trotskyism has remained a worldwide petty-bourgeois radical current. It remains a negative, a divisive, a disruptive current. Because of its basically incorrect position it is not surprising that in the very center of its work has been the attack, the slander, against a country where the working class is in power—the Soviet Union.

When the working class either takes other paths of struggle or when it does not move because of the influences of opportunism, petty-bourgeois radicalism becomes a more serious problem. This also has its inner logic which results in such radicalism becoming an obstacle to mobilizing and moving the working class.

Crisis and Decline

As in the U.S., the world wave of petty-bourgeois radicalism is now also in a crisis and in the declining phase of the present cycle. It is a world crisis of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Its policies have come up against the realities of the class struggle. Masses have gained new experiences in the fires of the class struggle. They are now rejecting petty-bourgeois concepts as divisive and impractical.

The problems in the struggle against these concepts arise because they seem radical and revolutionary. For many these people appear as the militants. Most of the people who are influenced by such ideas honestly believe they are the most revolutionary. But when such

policies fail—when they do not result in revolutionary victories, those who honestly believe in them face a dilemma. They can go one of three ways. Some give up the struggle. They use many excuses, but in essence they accept the status quo. They move into positions of opportunism. Others, in frustration, move into isolation by accepting the path of anarchism. This path destroys cadre as a meaningful revolutionary force. But most, however, draw the correct conclusions. They move into struggles and movements based on mass concepts. They draw the necessary conclusions that one's revolutionariness can be measured only in the framework of moving masses into struggle.

It is impossible to struggle against the incorrect concepts of petty-bourgeois radicalism without a consistent and sharp struggle against the forever present influences of Right opportunism. The pressures towards Right opportunism are the most consistent in any capitalist country. They remain the chief danger to the revolutionary movement in the broad mass organizations of the people and the working class. It is impossible to conduct a successful fight against petty-bourgeois radicalism unless there is a consistent, successful fight against the influence of Right opportunism.

Like all political currents, petty-bourgeois radicalism finds expression in the form of specific groups. But like all political currents it also has influences in most people's and working-class organizations.

In this past period in the United States we have witnessed the appearance of numerous petty-bourgeois radical sects. They are all now, to one degree or another, feeling the effects of the crisis of petty-bourgeois radicalism. These groups include the various varieties of Trotskyism. They include the groups that emerged as a result of the continuous splits of the original forces in the Students for a Democratic Society. They include those that emerged because of the disintegration and the splitting of the Progressive Labor group.

In rejecting petty-bourgeois radicalism we do not need to reject or ignore the positive contributions many of these groups have made. We need not condemn individuals when we reject the concepts of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

Even in their best moments they view their work with the working class as that of missionaries. They all tend to be anti-Communist and even more specifically, anti-Soviet. On these basic class matters they join hands with the Right opportunists. This factor exposes the more basic opportunistic side of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Everyone knows it is easier to be a radical and even a “revolutionary” as long as you are anti-Communist. They enemy is never too disturbed by the most radical speeches of anyone who remains ideologically

tied to capitalism by means of anti-Communism. In this sense petty-bourgeois radicalism does a very special favor to capitalism because it covers its anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism with "Left" radical phrases.

For a number of years Mao Tse-tung gave the world's petty-bourgeois radical groups a lift. These groups turned to Mao because his thought is the most rounded form of petty-bourgeois radicalism. That it also has its anti-working class and rabidly anti-Soviet features, of course, is no surprise.

But the most important factor of petty-bourgeois radicalism today, including its Maoist features, is that it is in crisis and in the declining phase of its cycle the world over as well as in the United States. The easy catch-all slogans have turned into empty rhetoric. Much of the motion has turned into "bubbles" that are now disappearing.

When the hothouse schemes of instant revolution meet reality they burst like balloons. When this happens petty-bourgeois radicalism blames its failures on the working class. In their frustration many of these sects turn to anarchism, which is only another form of petty-bourgeois radicalism. This is, in fact, one of the features of the present crisis of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

Petty-bourgeois radicalism as a concept rejects the basic class nature of society and the class struggle as a pivotal element in the fight for progress. It rejects the role of mass movements because it does not see its basic ingredient—the work class. A class approach to struggle is of necessity a mass approach. The petty-bourgeois radical rhetoric is a sanctuary for those who have given up the possibilities of leading masses, and in the first place the working-class masses, in struggle. It is a way of keeping a radical image when in fact one has retreated and given up the struggle.

The Story of SDS

The SDS had its birth in the ideological chambers of the Socialist Party. Its present crisis can be clearly traced to the petty-bourgeois radical views that it inherited from the parent body. This is not to negate in any way or detract from the positive contributions of the tens of thousands of young people who have come into the struggle and into the Communist Party through the activities of the SDS. This organization went through many stages of development. It moved from its open anti-working class position to accepting the role of the workers. But even then it saw that role only in relation to the SDS being the "missionary" enlightening the people called "workers." The SDS never did understand the role of masses as the key factor in struggle.

Because they did not understand the class struggle they tended to reject all concepts of unity, including a unified front of the forces opposing capitalism. This comes from the very nature of petty-bourgeois existence. These sectors do not see themselves as being exploited or oppressed as a class. They do not react to oppression as a class. Unity, a unified front, are *class-mass* concepts. The SDS, even in its best days, rejected these concepts and tended to organize their own actions, asking others to "join them" or "support them." When they could not have their way they very often boycotted many important mass actions against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Under pressure they constantly slipped into anti-Communist positions. Petty-bourgeois radicalism by its very nature—its class essence being, as it is, that of a group between two basic classes—cannot for long sustain a united organization. Its concept of "participatory democracy" was, in a way, a recognition of this fact. As the working-class upsurge has developed and the class concepts of struggle have moved into the forefront, petty-bourgeois radicalism has been in a crisis. The opportunistic essence of petty-bourgeois radicalism has also been evident in the policies of accepting racism. This has been justified by statements like, "We will fight for black-white unity when we have socialism." For white Americans not to fight racism at *all* times is racism.

Most who took part in the SDS and the actions that it organized have drawn the correct conclusions. These forces have tended to reject the petty-bourgeois radical concepts. But some, as we know, have moved into channels of anarchism and individual actions. When one is convinced that mass struggles will not achieve results, anarchistic actions seem a realistic way out. Fictitious "communiqués from the underground" threatening violence are infantile. Acts of individual terror at a moment when mass actions and movements are possible and necessary, are actions in the service of reaction. They are damaging to the revolutionary movement. These "communiqués from the underground" and other threats of violence become the most convenient cover for acts of violence by police provocateurs, by enemy agents. Police agents blow up buildings—but the blame is placed on the "Left radical movement." The fictitious "communiqués from the underground" threatening violence become the canopies under which the enemy conspires to create new Reichstag fire situations.

Another of the petty-bourgeois radical groups now in crisis is the group called Progressive Labor. It got a start as a splinter from the New York City Communist Party. When the Supreme Court upheld the McCarran Act and said the Communist Party was ordered to

register its members, finances and officers, a small group in the Party panicked. The Party overwhelmingly decided to stand up and fight. This splinter group was a part of those who fought for a policy of liquidating the Communist Party. They called for its dissolution.

When the Party rejected this they set up their own little group. But right from the beginning it was stamped with their opportunism. Their liquidationist, opportunistic tendency continued in their own organization. They tried to hide and by-pass the anti-Communist barrage from the enemy behind a name that said nothing about socialism or communism. Opportunism has been their hallmark. Now life has caught up with their brand of petty-bourgeois radicalism. It has remained a sect becoming ever more isolated—and now the sect has split asunder.

The basically opportunistic approach of Progressive Labor led it along the path of rabid anti-Sovietism. This is opportunism because it is a concession to the central ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism. This same opportunism has led Progressive Labor to compromise with the struggle against racism under radical phrases and even in the name of the working class. It has followed a policy of accommodation and conciliation with racism. Because of its racist and white chauvinist practices the Black and Puerto Rican members have either been expelled or have left the group.

The various Trotskyite sects continue as of old. They continue their splitting tactics in our mass movements, as is clearly shown in their latest efforts to set up a peace movement under their control. Momentarily some of these groups have made some gains. They are carefully covering up their real Trotskyite policies. But the Trotskyite sects are also in a crisis. They are also isolated. Their splitting tactics in all movements flow from their basic petty-bourgeois radical essence. Working-class consciousness leads to concepts of class unity. It leads to rejecting tactics that lead to disunity. Petty-bourgeois radicalism does not see the concept of class or mass struggles. From this it follows that it does not see the need for class unity. It reflects the individualism of its class nature.

Petty-bourgeois radicalism is a political trend. It is this political trend that is in a crisis. Militant currents, radical trends, the revolutionary process—these are not in a crisis. They are features of the mass upheavals. Marxism-Leninism is not in a crisis. It is the growing, the most consistent revolutionary current. It is not in a crisis because it reflects and is changing reality. It is the revolutionary current.

JOHN PITTMAN

Laos: Testing Ground of the Nixon Doctrine

In Vientiane on September 19, 1970 a representative of the Lao Patriotic Front (Neo Lao Haksat) waited in vain for the Royal Laotian Government headed by Premier Souvanna Phouma to designate a representative to discuss the Front's proposals for ending hostilities and settling the Lao problem. But the premier had flown to Paris, purportedly for "a medical checkup," and thence to the United States, where he was billed to attend the 25th regular session of the United Nations General Assembly and to confer again with U.S. government officials. The "medical checkup" explanation failed to convince the representative of the Patriotic Front. According to the Vientiane correspondent of United Press International, the Front's spokesman characterized Souvanna Phouma's departure as another move by the premier to delay negotiations on restoring peace to Laos.

In the half-year since the issuance on March 6, 1970 of its proposals, the Patriotic Front had met evasion after evasion from the Vientiane administration, including one outright rejection on April 1. The proposals were but a restatement of provisions of the 1954 Geneva Ceasefire Agreements on Indochina that concerned Laos, and of the provisions of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. The United States government had pledged to respect the former and, together with 13 other states, had signed the latter.

What the Patriotic Front Proposed

The main point of the Front's proposals called for the neutralization of Laos under a tripartite coalition government of national union. In order to realize this, the Front, in accordance with the actual situation in Laos, proposed a cessation of hostilities to permit the convocation of a consultative political conference "composed of representatives of all Lao parties concerned." The conference would set up a provisional coalition government, which would hold "free and democratic elections" to constitute a National Assembly and a democratic government of national union. This government would respect the throne, defend the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos, and would follow a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. Unification of Laos would be achieved

through consultations between the Lao parties on the principle of equality and national concord, with each party refraining from discrimination and reprisals against persons who had collaborated with another party.

The statement of the Front emphasized that "the Lao problem must be settled among the Lao parties concerned. To create conditions for the Lao parties concerned to meet, the United States must, as an immediate step, stop escalating the war, and stop completely the bombing of Lao territory without posing any condition."

The proposals were reasonable, framed to meet the actual situation in Laos, and offering an opportunity for negotiating an end to hostilities that have ravaged the country for a quarter of a century. Except for the insistence on immediate de-escalation of the U.S. aggression and unconditional cessation of bombing by the United States, the proposals contained nothing that had not already been agreed on at the two Geneva conferences.

Nor was Souvanna Phouma's evasive response unprecedented. His avoidance of a meeting with the Front further delineated the premier's political impotence, his isolation from both the war-weary Lao peoples and the neutralist stratum that had formed his social base, and his abject subservience to U.S. imperialism which now almost completely dominates the Royal Lao Government, maintains and directs the government's armed forces, and controls the economy of that part of Laos under Vientiane's administration.

Washington's opposition to any Lao coalition government including representatives of the Neo Lao Haksat was also a foregone conclusion. The numerous coups, assassinations, and instances of blackmail and bribery that have been engineered by agencies of the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson governments in an attempt to nullify the Geneva accords and destroy the Pathet Lao have been recorded in gory and sordid detail by official and unofficial sources, and by writers defending U.S. policy as well as those opposed. A departure from the precedent established by his predecessors was not to be expected from the government of President Nixon, whose lifelong advocacy of virulent anti-Communism had been rewarded by his elevation to the highest office in the U.S. government. Besides, the Nixon government had already demonstrated its antipathy to any coalition including Communists. It had manipulated the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique's dread of such a prospect so as to preclude a political settlement at the Paris peace negotiations. Likewise, the invasion of Cambodia on April 30, 1970 had registered the Nixon government's unwillingness longer to tolerate any manifestation of genuine neutrality

by an Indochina state.

Of more far-reaching significance are other implications of the Washington-Vientiane rejection of the Lao Patriotic Front's initiative. While turning a deaf ear to the proposals for a peaceful solution of the Lao conflict, President Nixon escalated the war in Laos and issued new declarations of his peaceful intentions. Thereby he brought into focus the new political and military tactics set forth in his self-styled "Nixon Doctrine," by which his administration hopes to realize the long-range aims of U.S. imperialism in Asia and other Third World areas. At the same time, the Neo Lao Haksat's initiative, emanating from the Front's new positions of strength in Laos and in the international arena as well, underscores the limitations of U.S. neo-colonialism as updated by the Nixon administration and points to the inevitability of its defeat.

The Nixon Doctrine

President Nixon chose the U.S. colony of Guam as the site from which to issue his promises of peace and freedom to the peoples of Asia. Guam, converted after its seizure into a U.S. military base for the seizure of other Asian territories, was a stop-over point in the President's Asian tour in July, 1969. Actually, the President merely stated the tactical political and economic measures his administration was already using in Asia and other developing countries. But zealous administration propagandists hailed the statement as the announcement of new and profound policy changes including non-intervention in Asian affairs and the gradual withdrawal of U.S. military forces stationed there. This was a deliberate distortion of his remarks, but instead of correcting it for the American people, President Nixon took pains to foster it at home, while dispatching Vice President Agnew to make his meaning clear to Asian governing circles.

As clarified by Agnew, as well as by Nixon himself, there would be no change from the policy of intervention and aggression in pursuit of the basic economic, political and strategic goals of the U.S. monopolies. What was being changed was the method of carrying out this policy. The old methods had been too crude, too visible, and too costly in tax-dollars and American lives. They had given rise to an unprecedented anti-war movement in the United States and a powerful movement against U.S. imperialism throughout the world. They had distorted the American economy and threatened the stability of the dollar. These and other political and economic obstacles were road-blocks in the path of U.S. imperialism.

In essence, the "new" tactics announced by Nixon were not new at all, but were improvisations of old colonialist practices adapted to Asian conditions and facilitated by innovations in military technology. The main "new" method entailed a greater utilization of native troops for ground combat operations in the developing countries. But this idea had been projected by John Foster Dulles in the early 1950s under the label of using "Asians to fight Asians." Moreover, the old colonial powers had used the method extensively. French imperialism employed Senegalese and other Africans in wars against the Arabs and the Indochina peoples. British imperialism used the Sikhs for subjecting peoples of India. Even the Caesars used "barbarians" to conquer other "barbarians."

The Nixon adaptation of this old colonialist method was rationalized as Washington's program for helping the Asian puppet regimes of U.S. imperialism to help themselves. It involved the maintenance of such regimes under the obligation of supplying manpower in response to U.S. demands; the training, equipment and provisioning of these forces and their deployment under U.S. direction; their utilization for so-called "counterinsurgency" operations not only in their own countries, but wherever the Pentagon considered they were needed; and their rapid deployment by means of new equipment, such as the C-5A aircraft at the disposal of the U.S. Military Airlift Command.

Far from withdrawing U.S. military forces from Asia, the Nixon program involved the creation of a new system of bases, relocating and rehabilitating old ones as well as establishing new ones, where elite U.S. forces would be stationed to take care of "emergencies." In addition, the improved means of rapid transport would enable U.S. shock forces stationed in the United States to be dispatched to any "trouble spot," a method already proven in March, 1969, when 2,700 soldiers were transported from the U.S. east coast to South Korea.

Naturally, such tactics would require the continued channeling of U.S. tax dollars into the funding of aggression. But "aid" and military assistance would be apportioned with greater care, and this process also would be streamlined to economize on such items as the training, equipment and feeding of native soldiers, already far less expensive than the same costs for American soldiers. In addition, methods of warfare would be employed to deprive guerrilla forces of their social base in the countryside. This would be accomplished by herding the peasant population into areas where it could be controlled with a minimum military force.

These and other methods were implicit in the program of tactics

outlined by President Nixon at Guam. Naturally he refrained from spelling out the implications of his program in detail, particularly the military details. But the overriding political motive of the program was transparent: the new tactics would enable U.S. imperialism to continue its interventionist policies in Asia at less cost in American lives and tax-dollars, Nixon and his advisers believed. As Ambassador Bunker is reported to have remarked in Saigon, referring to Nixon's plan for "Vietnamizing" the war, in essence the Nixon Doctrine amounted to a program for "changing the color of the casualties."

An Old Story

What Nixon did not disclose was that this co-called "new" program had long been in operation under earlier administrations, in part if not as a whole. On June 17, 1969, a few weeks before Nixon's statement at Guam, representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties assembled at Moscow had defined and characterized the tactics embodied in the Nixon Doctrine. The Communist and Workers' Parties' representatives had said:

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system, on the one hand, and, on the other, uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit them through the export of capital, unequal terms of trade; the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid; and pressure by international financial organizations. . . .

Through military-political blocs, military bases in foreign countries, economic pressure and trade blockades, imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organizations with financial and political support and intensifies political repression. It resorts to armed intervention, savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail. (*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, pp. 12-13.)

The Communist and Workers' Parties' representatives took note of "SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called Security Treaty between the United States and Japan" and "the virtual occupation of the South-western Pacific and the Indian Ocean by U.S. armed forces," and declared that "this entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national liberation movement, as well as against the neutral and non-aligned states in this area." (*Ibid.*, p. 15.)

Actually, U.S. imperialism had launched its aggression in Indochina with some of these tactics. It remained, however, for the Nixon administration to give them a comprehensive try-out in South Vietnam and Laos.

U.S. imperialism began its intervention in Laos as early as 1950, when President Truman increased U.S. military assistance to the French imperialists and in September, 1951 obtained the signature of the Lao puppet regime to a treaty of "economic cooperation." This proved to be the foot in the door that, by the time of Nixon's election to the White House, amounted to approximately \$2 billion in "aid," the bulk of which was funneled into classified military expenditures. The cream of the funds designated for "technical" or "economic" projects was siphoned off by the compradore and feudal strata, the functionaries and tribal chiefs whom Washington hoped to forge into a social base for support of its policies. The bill for this huge sum, which amounted to \$50 per capita per year, was paid of course by the U.S. taxpayers. But it purchased for Washington exclusive control over Lao foreign trade, banking and finance; a client administration totally dependent on U.S. support and thereby obligated to obey Washington's orders; and armed forces whose arms, equipment, food and pay were supplied by the United States, hence were subject to U.S. direction and utilization.

The methods and tactics of U.S. "special warfare," the technical name given counter-revolutionary operations, were also in operation even under the French, who used money and arms supplied by the U.S. to build up a mercenary army. In the 1960s, however, as the people's resistance to U.S. imperialism grew in strength and numbers, Washington began systematically to increase the size of its mercenary force, utilizing the French method of recruiting from the minority peoples in Laos, but also employing Thai, South Vietnamese, Filipino, remnants of Chiang Kai-shek troops and Japanese in counter-insurgency operations. By 1968, mercenaries were estimated to number 70,000.

The "special forces" were used mainly for offensive operations

against the liberated areas of Laos, with the capture of villagers and their concentration in so-called "refugee centers" and "prosperity zones" a major part of their function. Other tasks assigned to them included sabotage, assassination of Pathet Lao functionaries, and the destruction of all people's establishments in the liberated areas.

Bombing of the liberated areas was also being carried out throughout the entire period of U.S. intervention, and was intensified in mid-1964 along with a step-up in special warfare operations.

New Features

With the election of Nixon, however, both a quantitative and qualitative change occurred in aggressive operations of the United States. All forms of aggression were increased, while the forms of violence used by the U.S. were so unprecedentedly ferocious in character that a new word—"biocide," the attempted destruction of the entire population of a country—was invented to describe it.

The step-up in the bombings of liberated areas of Laos began in November and December of 1968, after the election of Nixon and the halt to bombing North Vietnam. In those months, the bombing was escalated several times, and B-52s were being used in northeastern Laos. By May, 1970 the bombings had averaged 900 sorties a day in the dry season. The Plain of Jars was the target of round-the-clock bombing by B-52s, using every type of bomb. Formerly, communications were the main target of U.S. bombers. Under Nixon, towns, villages, cultivated fields, and groupings of people became targets. Already virtually the entire population of the liberated areas—from one to one-and-a-half million people—has been made homeless and forced to live and work in caves and tunnels, or in villages deep in the jungles.

"Special warfare" operations have sharply increased during the Nixon Administration. The mercenary troops were increased to 147 battalions, 84 battalions of which are so-called "Green Beret" forces, organized in compact mobile groups and elite units trained and led by U.S. military personnel. New supplies of arms for these special forces include M-16 rifles, M-79 machine guns, 155mm cannon, helicopters, small tanks and communication equipment. Under the Johnson Administration, small numbers of Thai troops were used. Nixon brought in 5,000 in August, 1969, another 1,000 in March, 1970, and has incorporated 5,000 more in the special forces used to infiltrate the liberated areas, and has brought in Saigon puppet troops as well.

The Nixon administration increased the annual "aid" handout to \$300 million, approximately half of which is allocated for strengthen-

ing the Green Beret forces. Escalation of the aggression has been accompanied by the escalation of its costs. Vientiane authorities claim approximately 600,000 people, a fifth of the country's estimated three million population, have been herded into "refugee centers" and "prosperity zones," where about 3,000 USAID personnel are employed to feed them, set up schools and hospitals, and operate animal breeding and agricultural stations. United States personnel in Laos now includes 2,100 Embassy officials and employees, 2,000 Airforce "advisers" and personnel, 2,000 trainers and advisers for the special forces, 200 employes of the CIA's Air America and Air Continental, and since mid-1969 approximately 1,200 U.S. Green Beret officers. To this must be added the costs of special psychological warfare, and the costs of the bombings which Neo Lao Haksat spokesmen estimate to amount to \$1 billion a year.

Thus, when Nixon set forth the "new" tactics of U.S. imperialism at Guam in July, 1969, he was outlining measures his administration had already put into effect. Laos, together with South Vietnam, had already become a testing ground of the Nixon Doctrine. But eight months later, in his March 5, 1970 statement on Laos, the U.S. President blandly denied any violation by his administration of the Geneva accords, any casualties among U.S. personnel in Laos, any bombings of Laos territory except those intended to "interdict" the alleged flow of North Vietnamese supplies and armed forces down the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail, and other flights "requested" by the Vientiane puppet regime. These assertions were in keeping with his political aim of claiming to de-escalate the war while actually escalating it, and of reducing the cost of intervention in American lives and tax-dollars by using Asians to fight Asians on the ground. Aggression made cheap and easy, but still aggression—more destructive, more savage, and as the consequences show, more predestined for defeat.

Bankrupt Policy

When the Lao Patriotic Front on March 6, 1970 submitted their proposals for ending hostilities and negotiating a peaceful settlement of the Lao conflict, they had already proved the bankruptcy of the tactics of the Nixon Doctrine. They had recaptured the Plain of Jars, forced evacuation of large numbers of mercenary troops and supplies from the Long Cheng base, put approximately 30,000 troops of the special forces out of action, and had shot down the 1,300th U.S. plane. They had extended their control over two-thirds of the country's area, inhabited by half the population, and had set up their committee system of people's administration in 638 of the country's 1,078 villages

and 8,620 of its 13,063 hamlets. In the areas nominally under control of the Vientiane administration, parallel organizations of the Neo Lao Haksat assumed increasing administrative responsibility, causing dismay to the compradore and feudal strata and producing rifts among the four political groups in the Vientiane regime.

Pursuing democratic policies, the Neo Lao Haksat had developed a national consciousness and patriotism among the numerous minorities and ethnic groups, in contrast to the U.S.-Vientiane policy of playing off the tribal groups against one another, and had established equal status and conditions for women. A program of comprehensive social reform, which included a three-year plan for economic development begun in 1968, had restored handicrafts, constructed shops and factories in caves and tunnels, organized the exchange of provincial products through a network of state stores, and—despite the bombing and terror raids by special force units—increased the productivity of the cultivable land and the output of necessary goods for the armed forces and the civilian population. A network of schools, hospitals and cultural establishments had been set up. Illiteracy had been totally eliminated in 310 villages, and the population of the liberated areas had grown habituated to drinking only boiled water, to the use of mosquito nets, and to observing the rules of the "Three Cleans Movement"—to maintain cleanliness in food, dress and living conditions.

These accomplishments, made in the course of a bitter life-and-death struggle against U.S. imperialism and the compradore-feudal strata, expose the limitations of Washington's neo-colonialist tactics and U.S. imperialism's unrealizable aims in Indochina and Southeast Asia. Neo-colonialism can buy quislings; it cannot win the masses. It can install and fund repressive regimes; it cannot forestall or destroy resistance, and particularly not when the people's resistance is led by a disciplined, battle-tested and dedicated leadership, armed with a program of progressive non-capitalist development, and receiving the political and moral support of world anti-imperialist forces in conditions of a favorable relationship of world forces. The achievements of the Lao people's national democratic revolution already reverberate far beyond the borders of Laos, influencing the duration and outcome of the struggle for all Indochina, and because of Indochina's significance for the liberation of the peoples of all Southeast Asia and other countries of the Third World, also helping to guarantee the victory of the world revolutionary process now remaking the globe.

Black Power to People's and Working-Class Power*

Since the publication of this book almost two years ago, a number of new developments have taken place which require a fresh analysis. Basically the propositions discussed in previous chapters remain valid. But the format on which the struggles are currently being waged is in the process of changes which can lift the whole struggle for Black liberation and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in all respects to a higher level of development.

The New Trends

Indeed, many of the propositions already discussed as necessary to advance the struggle to a higher level are now in the process of becoming major trends. These changes are reflected both in the country in general and the Black community. We shall examine them against the backdrop of what we said previously. One of the central propositions we placed was stated in the concluding paragraph in Chapter 8, which said:

In the final analysis capitalism is the source of an imperialist foreign policy, a fascist danger, a sick society and Black oppression. These common problems will increasingly pull diverse forces together against a common foe. The process will take place as each learns that there can be no real progress except in the united struggle.

At the time these words were written great struggles were being waged in the country. They took place almost in isolation from each other. The situation assumed alarming proportions, so much so that this author, on behalf of the CPUSA in December 1967, wrote:

It has been historical, as well as current, experience that a coalescence of struggles of black and white at the grass roots level is the main prerequisite for social advance in our country. Yet, at a time when the nation faces unprecedented problems such as war and peace, the growth of a fascist danger and new economic difficulties, to many people black and white unity has become a dirty word.

*The following is the first half of a new concluding chapter of the book *Ghetto Rebellion to Black Liberation*, prepared for a forthcoming Russian edition of the book. The concluding half will appear in the November issue.

Germes of disunity of a cancerous nature are circulating in the body of the American people and unless radical surgery is performed many of the vital organs will be lost if not the entire body. (*Black Power and Liberation: A Communist View*, New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1967, p.3.)

What has taken place since is in the direction of greater unity of the pro-democratic masses, black and white. There are still many problems which tend to disunite the people along the color line. But the overall direction is away from divisive influences.

These new trends emanate from a continuing crisis of a war program, the fascist danger and a deteriorating economy. These problems which were noted in previous chapters have been greatly aggravated, and it is becoming increasingly clear that there can be no relief except in the common struggle of the various movements of the people.

In this respect "Black Power" as a concept is more and more being viewed as a basic component of "People's Power," and both in turn require working-class power.

The practicability of these concepts is seen in the ever widening area of struggle by almost every social layer in U.S. society.

Of key importance has been the tremendous growth of the American peace movement, a greater awareness of dangers of a fascist police state, upsurges in the ranks of labor which are directed against the Nixon Administration, the bosses and the misleaders of labor, and above all, new trends in the Black liberation movement which strike at the heart of capitalism as a system. All these varying movements are heading in the direction of confrontation with the whole power structure and for changes that go to the very heart of the system.

This is especially true of the movement for peace, which is beginning to take on a revolutionary character. This development is vital for closing the ranks of the people and has supreme importance in the battle for Black liberation.

In 1954, after the Supreme Court wrote its decision on school desegregation the Black liberation movement broke with gradualism, that is, with minor reforms as the immediate goal, and began placing demands of a fundamental character, demands that went to the heart of the whole system of Black oppression. To classify this development, most social and political analyses refer to the Black movement as a civil rights revolution, the Black revolt, etc., etc. Indeed, the Negro liberation movement for the last fifteen years step by step has been developing all the characteristics of a revolutionary force.

While this process was taking place in the Black movement, most other social protest activities, mainly white-led, remained in the stage

of gradualism concentrating on minor reforms as the end goal.

Some of the sharp cleavages between black and white, clashes which extended to labor, peace, liberal and radical circles, were engendered by the disparity in the aims and objectives of these forces. It was a situation in which most Black people wanted to go further in making changes in the system and most white people, while seeking change, had not arrived at this stage of development and dragged their feet, so to speak.

The Growth of a Revolutionary Peace Movement

Today, the struggle for peace is developing a revolutionary force among white Americans and is thereby narrowing the gap between the advanced forces of white and black people. The peace movement has undergone changes as the realities of the struggle pressed upon the participants. The development of the peace movement along these lines has proceeded through a historical process.

In the early stages of the cold war and the resulting hot wars the imperialist rulers of the United States were able to carry the great majority of the people in support of their policies. The propaganda machinery of U.S. capitalism projected a picture of the world as being in great danger of becoming a vast slave camp, thereby affecting the security and survival of the American nation. "Save the world from the horrors of Communism" became the catchword masking every act of American imperialism and its foreign policy.

Since the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, foreign policy in almost every instance has created conditions which in the final analysis have enabled the peoples of the world and the United States to grasp better the role of the United States in today's world.

The following events helped unmask the rulers of America and lay the basis for the growth of the American peace movement as a revolutionary force:

1. The Korean War, in which the inability of United States imperialism, although supported by 23 other nations, to subdue a small colonial people, graphically portrayed the new relationship of the forces in the world.

This war also revealed the reactionary role of United States imperialism as the main police force bolstering up the old system of colonialism and the denial of the right of self-determination to opcratic pretensions.

2. The continued oppression of Black America, which became a backdrop for the world to measure U.S. imperialism's so-called democratic pretensions.

3. The Soviet peace initiatives in the latter part of the 1950's and

the Khrushchev visit to the United States, which helped to open the eyes of many Americans to the lies they had been told about the Soviet Union.

4. The reactionary role of the United States government in the United Nations on almost all issues of peace and freedom coming before that body.

5. The U-2 incident, the flight of Powers over Soviet territory at a time when a peace conference was in the making, and the fact that the President was unaware of what was taking place, which revealed the sinister forces operating in the government—the military-industrial complex.

6. The election of John F. Kennedy in 1960 on a platform calling for a more positive program in the world, and the Bay of Pigs fiasco which followed in Cuba.

7. The missile confrontation in Cuba, which historians will no doubt record as a turning point in peace sentiment in the United States. This was the event which, above all others, showed that as between the USSR and the United States the chief force promoting a war program leading to the possible destruction of the whole world was the United States. The Soviet Union proved in this crisis that when a showdown was in the offing it represented a sane policy, and that the war maniacs were in the Pentagon, the CIA and our government generally.

8. The assassination of President Kennedy, with strong indications that the reason behind it was that he had begun to seek a more peaceful path in foreign relations.

All of these events, coupled with a number of domestic problems arising out of a war economy, tied the question of the fight for peace into almost every aspect of American life.

Formerly the ideologists of U.S. imperialism were able to tie the affluence of the American people to the policies of U.S. capitalism and war production. But during the last decade the cancerous character of the war economy has undermined this position. For what has been revealed is a situation unique in history. We have an affluent society existing alongside the most terrible forms of deprivation, starvation and misery. Almost all areas—housing, health, jobs, taxes, deterioration of the cities—have been severely affected.

Thus an aggressive imperialist war policy combined with insecurity for well over one-third of the nation has made the issue of peace a vital force for social change, for radical measures, for a deeper inspection of the whole system of capitalism. The foregoing has served to produce one of the greatest movements for peace in the history of the world.

With the exception of the Russian Revolution, history offers no greater example of a people challenging their government in war time.

The peace movement, taken in its totality, embraces the broadest sections of the American people. It includes many diverse elements, among them pro-imperialist forces who are opposed to the war in Indochina but support a war policy in the Middle East and various forms of racism at home.

But what is of special significance is the fact that the broader forces, including these pro-imperialist elements, operate under the pressure of one of the broadest anti-imperialist movements this country has ever seen. It is the initiative of this movement which is determining the direction of events.

The militancy and determination of the youth in their resistance to war has all but made a shambles of the whole draft system. The pressure became so great that the U.S. Supreme Court was compelled to legalize moral resistance to serving in the armed forces. This situation was created by the direct actions of tens of thousands of American youth. Also, for the first time there is large-scale resistance to the war inside the armed forces.

Thus peace, which was one of the main slogans of the October Revolution of 1917, is today the locomotive pulling the cars of radical change in the United States.

With the peace movement increasingly assuming a more revolutionary character, the Black liberation forces no longer constitute the sole group struggling for basic and fundamental changes. However, the growth of a vital peace movement in the country has not kept pace with the aims and aspirations of Black people in their struggle for freedom. As a consequence there have been strains and stresses which have retarded the full potential of Black participation in the fight for peace. But there are now discernable trends which are changing the situation.

The Black community, no less than the white people, is opposed to the war program of U.S. imperialism. It is constantly growing more aware of the inflation and increasing taxes due to war and the further deterioration of ghetto life. Its growing opposition to war has been shown in many ways. But it does not come to the surface in the same proportion as that of white Americans in the massive demonstrations which have rocked the nation in recent years. However, despite these weaknesses Black people have made major contributions to the peace movement.

Several years ago the leaders of all the organizations on the Left and Center in the civil rights movement under the leadership of the late Dr. Martin Luther King joined with white peace forces to con-

duct some of the greatest demonstrations in U.S. history. The refusal to fight in Vietnam was sparked by a trio who came to be known as the Fordham three. It included one Black and one Puerto Rican youth. The struggle against the draft was dramatized and accelerated by the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, Muhammad Ali, himself a Black man.

During this period the struggle against the draft was also greatly advanced by Black youth on college campuses in the South, who took up the slogan "Hell no, we won't go!"

Through these and other developments the stage was set for Black people to play a leading role in the evolving peace movement. But for a number of reasons this potential was not realized.

When the peace movement, that is, the white radical section, failed to associate demands for ending the war in Vietnam with demands supporting the day-to-day problems confronting Black people the ground was laid for some Black leaders to begin leaving the peace movement.

Some of them expressed a feeling that the peace movement had as its priority the ending of the war in Vietnam and was not concerned about the domestic problems of Black people. In substance, they said that the war in Vietnam could end but that the problems of Black people would still remain unless something was done about them now, not later. And since the peace movement had the war as its priority, Black people had to occupy themselves with Black freedom as their priority.

Both of these tendencies were harmful to the struggle to end the war in Vietnam and to Black liberation. Today a fresh look at these interrelated problems is being taken by both peace and Black liberation forces.

In mid-1970 the leaders of one of the radical sectors of the peace movement came together with the S.C.L.C., the organization led by the late Dr. King, and discussed mutual problems. This sector of the peace movement at this writing is in the process of restructuring the movement programmatically and in the leadership levels to assure broader Black participation in future actions.

At a later date, the New Mobe, a peace center, came together with the S.C.L.C., the Welfare League (an organization of Black welfare mothers) and others to form a new strategy center seeking to build a new coalition which will unite all aspects of domestic problems with those of foreign policy.

If these efforts are successful, the groundwork will be laid to merge two of the greatest revolutionary currents in present-day America.

The Threat of a Police State

Another current which is causing a closer inspection of the whole system of capitalism and is thereby a generator of revolutionary energy is the fight to keep the U.S. from becoming a police state.

In Chapter 7 we pointed out how trends toward fascism have been manifested in previous periods.

But today we face a peril which is far more dangerous than in the period known as the McCarthy era.

U.S. Communists, in assessing the situation, warn against tendencies to view fascism as either already established or imminent. But at the same time we take note of a series of trends and efforts in this direction. And we also take into account that the danger of sudden leaps toward a fascist police state is inherent in the present situation.

This analysis is important because it lays the basis for avoiding extremes of panic, fatalism and complacency. It is also important inasmuch as the former is already in evidence among some forces on the American Left. This, in large part, is the rationale behind moods of desperation expressed in some youth and student circles, both black and white.

If the CPUSA takes a more sober view it is born out of experience, costly experience.

At the beginning of the McCarthy period we concluded that fascism was imminent. In our endeavor to safeguard the organization, to permit it to function under any and all conditions we adopted a number of measures which seriously affected the capacity of the Party to fight back. We took the major part of the organization underground and concentrated almost our total energies upon defense work. The Party led the fight against McCarthyism in all its forms—against the Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran Act and other repressive measures—and made many valuable contributions. But these could have been even greater, especially in initiatives of struggle of an offensive character, around the economic needs of the people and the fight for peace and Black liberation. Indeed, it was part of the strategy of the enemy to keep us on the defensive.

In the face of unprecedented forms of brutality, of resistance in the power structure to the smallest concessions, some forces on the Left have adopted a posture of rhetoric and advocacy of tactics of struggle which do not relieve the misery but help to compound it.

These harmful tendencies arise not only out of an incorrect assessment of the situation but also out of a lack of faith in the people. These people fail to understand that there are times when their rhetoric and methods of struggle alienate—"turn off"—the very forces

which are required to put an end to the fascist danger.

A good example of this is what has happened to the most outstanding student organization on the college campuses of America, the Students for a Democratic Society. For several years this organization was one of the most potent social protest movements on the American scene. It came to see the necessity for the destruction of capitalism. Moreover it based itself on Marxism, even though with great confusion. Notwithstanding this fact, it was far out in advance of the American people. But this was not the factor which has caused the influence of SDS to wane. Its inability to see clearly the present situation and the path ahead led to inner strife which resulted in splitting the organization into warring factions. In addition, the tactics pursued by the Weatherman faction have alienated many people of good will whose support is imperative if America is to bar the path to fascism. There are also similar signs of disarray in the Black Panther Party, which we shall discuss later.

Thus a correct assessment of the situation, an appreciation for methods of struggle which lead to the involvement of broad masses, and an understanding of the nature of the struggle on the ideological front, are basic requirements to meet the problems posed by the present day pro-fascist offensive.

What characterizes the new fascist wave in the United States? In what way does it contribute to the creation of a revolutionary force? Finally, what must be done not only to curb it but to prevent future developments along this line?

As was pointed out in Chapter 7:

The drive of the big corporations for world domination has been accompanied by continuous waves of pro-fascist reaction on the home front. The American people have succeeded in blunting some of the worst edges of this drive, but the danger continues to mount.

The main forms that the fascist development took in previous periods were to set up the legal machinery to undermine the United States Constitution, to sharpen racism and legal and extra-legal attacks upon Black citizens, thus deepening the split along the color line, to undermine the opposition politically and to destroy completely the most advanced force in opposition, the Communist Party.

These features were portrayed in a previous chapter. And now after some important advances of the progressive forces we confront a new fascist thrust which not only combines all the features of the past but has added another weapon to its arsenal, namely, organized violence of a legal and extra-legal character.

Throughout the decade of the sixties, especially since the assassina-

tion of President Kennedy in 1963, we have witnessed an unprecedented wave of assassinations. In previous periods the main method of getting rid of the opposition was to throw them in jail, to deprive people of the means of livelihood, or to deport those of foreign origin. And while these methods still exist, today people's leaders are also gunned down in outright gangster style. In most cases, the real perpetrators of these crimes have remained hidden in the background, while their dupes are paraded as insane killers.

In addition to violence which comes from behind the scenes, the machinery of the state increasingly comes into the open as a terroristic force. It is the terror of state-monopoly capitalism.

This fact is borne out by the penetration of the governmental apparatus on all levels by pro-fascist elements. It is compounded by the fact that the relationship between the executive branch of government and the industrial-military complex is closer than ever as the heavy hand of the Nixon-Agnew Administration hangs over the nation like the sword of Damocles.

The police apparatuses in most major cities are run by the most reactionary racist forces. In most cases they operate as a semi-independent force and wield such powers that many so-called liberal mayors are afraid to tackle them head on. But while these apparatuses operate independently of local authority there can be no doubt that their actions are completely in accord with those forces nationally who would lead America down the path to fascism. The violence of these police apparatuses against the people constitutes one of the main new elements in the growth of the fascist menace.

The chief victims of open government terror have been the Black ghettos. Almost without exception the explosions there in the last five years have been caused by policemen murdering unarmed Black youth. *All over America militant Black youth are hounded down and murdered.*

This policy of extermination of the opposition is a close parallel to what happened to the Jews in Nazi Germany. The genocidal treatment of Black people in general and youth in particular is accompanied by other sinister methods to destroy the fighting capacity of a people. There is much evidence that the police apparatus works in league with dope pushers. The situation of the dope traffic in some cities has reached alarming proportions. A doctor recently estimated that one out of three people in Harlem is affected in one way or another by the dope traffic. This means roughly three hundred thousand people. Many children are born with the effects of dope already in their bodies.

Thus, as part of the wave of violence that grips America, genocide

for Black Americans is on the order of the day. This is an important new feature of the present situation.

In the early stage of the usage of violence, aside from political assassinations, the Black community received the brunt of the attack. But, as was the case in Germany, "the bell also tolls for thee." A pattern of repression for Blacks was established which has spilled over to affect all democratic forces in the United States.

This trend came to the surface at the National Democratic Party Convention in 1968. Mayor Daley of Chicago showed in clear terms what is in the offing for all Americans who dissent. When his police brutally beat down unarmed youth, women and children in the streets of Chicago, the degree to which fascist-like insanity possesses these reactionary forces was clear. Also, the physical attacks on newspaper, radio and television reporters and photographers set the stage for Spiro Agnew, who later opened up a vicious attack on the news media which do not conform with his views.

All delegates at the Convention were under some form of police surveillance.

In mid-1970 the nation and the world were shocked by the use of the National Guard to shoot down in cold blood unarmed white students. These murders of white students followed on the murders of Black students in Orangeburg, South Carolina a few years earlier, as well as upon the whole centuries-long history of the wholesale killing of Black people. And they were immediately followed, in turn, by the murders of Black students in the states of Georgia and Mississippi. Thus, what has been a history of attacks on Black youth has widened to include whites as well.

But the depth of the attack on the people is also creating a counterforce. Progressive people's movements are beginning to discern that some fundamental changes are required to put an end to those fascist-like attacks. Increasingly, people are concluding that violence is an inherent part of capitalist society in decay, of a racist-led warfare state.

And so the struggle to keep democratic channels open, to bar the path to a fascist America, to blot out violence as a feature of our society, merges with the fight for peace as a revolutionary current. This, too, is closing the gap which existed heretofore between the Black revolution and progressive white Americans.

(To be continued)

The Need for a National Defense Organization

In his report to a recent meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, General Secretary Gus Hall warned of new dangers arising out of the Nixon Administration's invasion of Cambodia. He warned further that though the erosion of the democratic process had long been in the making, the President's action, taken without consulting either the Congress or even all members of his Cabinet, was a qualitatively new step in this direction. He spoke of a nation in crisis, of a constitutional crisis. He elaborated on how the stepped-up repression was designed to silence the millions who oppose the war, and who demand that war expenditures be diverted to the war against poverty at home.

However, his main thrust was the new and higher level of struggle of millions on the march to stop Nixon. He stated that given proper leadership the democratic and radical forces are powerful enough to prevail. *Everything I saw on a recent tour of the United States verifies this estimate.*

Two Americas

Going across the country was like experiencing two Americas; everywhere one sees the crisis of the cities, the moral and physical degeneration of this society; the massive oppression of the poor, especially of racial minorities. The Black people receive the main brunt of the attack. The wanton murder of Black people, especially militants, has become commonplace. The American Indians who daily feel the whiplash of oppression are also singled out for special attack. Their brutal and callous treatment is a national scandal. So also is the stepped-up attack upon the Chicano and Puerto Rican peoples. Even this is not the full extent of repression. To be non-white, to be a youth, especially with long hair, to be a fighter on the picket line for your fellow-worker, to be intellectually inclined in a know-nothing environment, to be humanistic—all are suspect and subject to police surveillance.

The jails are full of Black prisoners. In California, where Black people are 8 per cent of the population, they constitute 42 per cent

of the jail population. In Chicago there were 1400 prisoners languishing in the Cook County jail, of whom 90 per cent were awaiting trial and unable to provide bail. Of those charged with felonies, only 5 per cent will go to trial; the others will plead guilty to a lesser charge on advice of a public defender to whom this is usually a matter of routine. There is also the court-appointed lawyer who is paid so much per head, who all too frequently succumbs to the temptation of making more money by handling more cases per week, so he, too, gets his clients to "cop a plea." Besides, he is often beholden to a judge who may have bought *his* job. This is one reason why the Soledad case, which so glaringly exposes prison conditions, is of national importance.

With respect to the Communist Party, there are danger signs. These exist not alone in the attempt to indict Arnold Johnson, a Party leader, for contempt of Congress for his refusal to appear before the House Internal Security Committee, or in the moves of the Subversive Activities Control Board to cite as Communist front organizations the New York Center for Marxist Education and the Young Workers Liberation League. Attempts are being made in some quarters to tag the Party with being the behind-the-scenes perpetrator of the counter-violence now so widespread. This is the meaning of the public campaign to find Angela Davis guilty without trial. Putting her on the ten most wanted list of the F.B.I. is tantamount to giving the police license to gun her down to prevent a trial. These attempts are not alone intended to rekindle the McCarthyite weapon of red-baiting. They are also intended to implicate the Communist Party in the bloody San Rafael courtroom incident. This is the stuff from which frame-ups are made. *We must not ignore it.*

A bi-annual report of the California State Senate Subversive Activities Committee was made public just days prior to the San Rafael event. Its main thesis is that the Communist Party, which everyone thought was dead, has quietly infiltrated all the New Left organizations, especially the Panthers. And as members of New Left organizations become dissatisfied, they join the Communist Party.

The report goes on to say that we Communists let the Panthers and other militants do the violent work while we sit safely behind the scenes as advisors. Its whole tenor is that we are the ones behind today's violence. The report itself is a provocation. *We would do well to heed the warning and prepare for any eventuality.* After all, the forces of repression know, as we do, that Communists are the only ones in the world who have overthrown capitalism, and this is not speculation.

I believe that the attack upon the Panthers and other militants has two objectives. One is to crush their movements in the bud because capitalism realizes that, in view of mass discontent among the people, the potential of any challenging force is to be viewed with concern. Second, they would like now, before any major drive is made against our Party, to crush any potential allies we might have.

It is within this framework that we must see the significance of the threat to indict Arnold Johnson. Should he be indicted, all possible forces must be mobilized for his defense.

The other America I witnessed is made up of people's forces of all races and creeds, organized into numberless defense committees and fighting back bravely with all they have. Yet, with it all, most victims are unknown and get no defense at all.

Everywhere I went there was need of more direction. Committees are floundering for lack of experience. Assistance is needed both in developing policy and in defense techniques.

In the above-mentioned report, Gus Hall said: "We must now set our course, fix our priorities, assign our forces so that we work toward the crystallization of a broad people's alliance, an alliance which will gather all the forces of rebellion into a coalition that will have the power to challenge the policies of the monopoly-military-industrial complex on all levels, on all fronts. That is the key link."

He spoke of the need for a "real New Left," one that would understand its responsibilities toward the broader democratic forces and the importance of Left unity as a means of realizing this approach. This is how he posed the question: "We cannot move seriously to build a broader people's alliance unless we undertake seriously the coalescence of Left unity that will be its very backbone."

The Role of Communists

On this basis I see two concurrent massive drives in an effort to build a solid foundation for a broad people's alliance in the United States. *One is a drive on the peace front aided by the founding of an Anti-Imperialist Peace Center with a full anti-imperialist program. The other is a drive on the democratic front, for the preservation and greater extension of democracy in the U.S. With respect to the latter, the essential need is to bring into being a new national organization as the center from which to conduct the fight. In regard to both centers the objective would be to infuse both movements, now floundering in terms of direction, with a working-class approach to*

their problems, and to project programs consistent with this. Such centers can become new homes for new radical forces where Communists and non-Communists can work together on programs that are mutually acceptable. This will serve to broaden the power base of the Left, to put forces, working-class troops of all races, at the command of the Left. Thereby the Left can help to bring about the necessary alliances and coalitions and to guarantee the kind of perspective that will help them to grow and serve our nation better.

Today there are huge numbers of forces at work in the fight-back against repression, but there is also much proliferation of effort. There are conflicting trends relative to the fightback and the almost total lack of coordination around major cases nationally. While everyone has been "doing his thing," few have been defending the Communists or overtly fighting anti-Communism. This condition is a threat not only to our Party but also to the people's movement. At the same time, Communists in many places have been active in the movements which do exist, and have in most cases been responsible for bringing about a number of conferences against repression. Where this is taking place, some semblance of unity is being brought about.

The main thrust of our line in the fight against repression must be to build alliances and coalitions wherever we can influence events. However, the question arises how we can increase our power base in order to play an effective role in influencing the broader democratic movement to fight for the preservation of democracy and its extension to the millions who have never had it: the poor and especially the Black and other racial minorities. In this context there arises the question of whether and how to build a new national organization.

In this connection, it is clear that we Communists will not increase our ability decisively to influence the fight against repression without an effective fight for the legality of our Party. No one respects those who do not fight for themselves. No one will fight for us if we don't fight for ourselves. Our credentials to give leadership to others and our legitimate place in the general movement against repression can only be understood, and win respect of others, if we set an example, working in our own defense as well as in the defense of others.

Concretely, this means fighting against the indictment of Arnold Johnson. It means smashing the current attempt to revive the McCarran Act indicated by the Attorney General's efforts to haul the Young Workers' Liberation League and the New York Center

for Marxist Education before the Subversive Activities Control Board (the school hearing is scheduled for November 13th). It means a fight to repeal the McCarran Act. It means a fight for access to the ballot everywhere. It means a struggle to eliminate anti-Communist hiring restrictions in defense plants and government jobs. And it means a fight for the deletion of anti-Communist clauses in all union constitutions, and for the reinstatement of Gene Robel, who had successfully fought for the right of Communists to be employed in "defense" industries, to full membership in the IAM. In short, what is needed is a comprehensive campaign against anti-Communism in general, always associating our oppression as a political minority with the oppression of all other minorities.

A national organization to meet today's requirements should be composed of both Communists and non-Communists who subscribe to the concepts here outlined, with identifiable leaders of the Communist Party sharing leadership with others.

It should have a comprehensive program to meet the constitutional crisis. It should wrest the national banner, the American flag, from the bloodstained hands of the ruling class who have defiled it and from the ultra-Right who have pre-empted it. *It must be made for the first time in American history the banner of all the people.*

It should become an organization which understands that the fight against racism is absolutely central—the main ingredient in the attempt to achieve a people's unity against repression.

It must become a movement which seeks alliances with all the oppressed, based on the common denominator which exists among them and exposing the oppressor—the imperialist ruling class.

It must become a movement which, precisely because it is on the side of the oppressed, will fight for the rights and the legality of the Communist Party. And it will do so not alone from an abstract "rights" point of view but because the Communist Party is among the oppressed as well as the defender and champion of all oppressed peoples.

It should be a movement which will defend victims of repression both legally and through mass campaigns.

It should help to organize medical services and first-aid to victims of police brutality at demonstrations, on picket-lines, and strive to service political prisoners and their families.

It must have a young, vigorous and imaginative working class leadership of all races, with identifiable young leaders of the Communist Party sharing leadership with other progressive forces.

It was with the aim of reviewing the ideas set forth above that this writer was sent about the United States to talk with everyone

we could reach and to try to see these problems through the "eyes of others." I talked with more than seventy-eight people in all walks of life, and I posed the following questions to each:

Through the Eyes of Others

What is your estimate of the situation in the U.S. now with respect to repression?

Are there acceptable common denominators which could lead to greater unity of the repressed?

What defense can Communists expect, should the attack upon the Communist Party be stepped up?

When I met directly with a victim or a victim's family, I also asked how the Communist Party could help.

I saw only those who would see me as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. I was received with a great deal of interest and good will. Most of those I talked with were non-Communists. Some were themselves victims of repression or were members of the families of victims.

Most were intensely interested in the kind of questions a representative of the Communist Party would ask; many took notes of these questions. On the present state of affairs in the country, I found almost unanimous agreement with the estimate made at our National Committee meeting. There were only two exceptions. One A.C.L.U. director thought Nixon was softening his approach; another felt things were worse than I stated, that the power of the military-industrial complex is out of reach of the power of the people to control, that things may have gone beyond the point of no return.

Some pointed out that the danger is greater today than in the McCarthy era due to the greater power of the executive branch of the government as compared to the power that McCarthy once wielded. However, it was also emphasized that the people's forces are sufficiently powerful to throw back the attack, that in this respect we are not back in a McCarthyite period. All who were asked whether the Communist Party would be defended unequivocally said yes in their various ways.

On the question of unity in fighting back the response was generally disappointing. With the exception of one or two, it was agreed that unity was desirable. One thought unity was a bad tactic. He argued: Why create one target if you expect the attack to be stepped up? It would be better to have parallel activities and more centers; this would make it more difficult for Nixon to hit the target.

Generally, the gloom with respect to the possibility of unity emanated from an awareness of the following factors which tend to

divide people; the sharp, contradictory, ideological trends; the schism between militants and liberals, between young and old; between white and black, as well as between black and black; the relation between Black militants and Black liberals and professionals; the separation between the bulk of labor and other forces; differences between Chicano and Black; Chicano and white, etc.

These were reactions to real problems.

Some agreed that unity could be achieved in some cases around a specific issue—but not a broader unity of the oppressed. Not all felt this way; some felt that unity might be achieved locally but saw nothing on the national horizon.

Do these reactions throw our policy of alliances into question? I don't think so. I believe a vanguard role, even if it puts us somewhat ahead of the masses, must be exercised relative to this matter. For this, as we said at the start, is the key need now. At the same time, even as the very possibilities of unity were being questioned, a number of successful conferences against repression have taken place, and others are being prepared now—one in Southern California, another in Seattle, etc.

Some Ideological Questions

We have a job to do in convincing our potential allies that unity of action can and must be achieved in face of the attack upon the people, *that such unity can and must transcend ideological differences*. I should like in this light to discuss briefly three ideological matters.

1. *On Black and White Unity*. For some time after the popularizing of the Black Power slogan and the new popular emphasis upon Black unity, both concepts long advanced by us, there were those who attributed to the Black people as a whole the characteristics of a small minority leaning toward separatism. Those who did this tended to give up the most important weapon against exploitation in all its forms, proletarian internationalism. To them, black and white unity began to seem irrelevant or at least something that would be irrelevant for a long time to come.

What was most disturbing about this view was that it placed the failure for black and white unity on the shoulders of the Black people. How convenient an accommodation this is to the racism of whites! It was under this fraudulent facade that SDS and other groups justified their lily-white character, claiming that "the Blacks will do their own thing." We still find hangovers of this approach. For instance, in the case of students the only defense committees I

ran across were around cases involving white campus youth, committees which were themselves all white. Of course this was not typical of other defense committees I participated in. However, I did find other instances where at conferences against repression there were too few Black participants.

Upon investigation it was easy to determine why, sometimes from Black people themselves. Many, especially the militants, had a wait-and-see approach: "Let's see what the white folks will do," said one young fellow. "Let's see what the action will be," said another. Everywhere, whether it was in Chicago, Southern California, Northern California, Seattle or Minneapolis, where the victim was Black or Brown or Red, committees were integrated, and relations in struggle were good. *This is why the fight against racism must become the cornerstone of our defense policy*. It is the only avenue to the realization of the full potential of the democratic and radical forces to defeat the common enemy of all.

2. *On Violence*. I had a talk with the mother of one of the Soledad victims one day. She spoke of how very difficult she finds it to get people to believe that the system does such injustices as have happened to the Soledad Brothers. She said, "If we could only communicate better. You know, some of the extremists so distort things that they create a further obstacle to communicating with the average person." It was not much over twenty-four hours later that Jonathan Jackson, a remarkable and heroic young man of seventeen, fell dead in a rain of bullets during an adventurist attempt to free prisoners from a San Rafael courtroom, thus jeopardizing the defense of the Soledad Brothers.

Here, too, a mass educational campaign is required. We must point out that only mass political action on a large scale can win support to stop the genocidal attack upon Black people and other minorities. We must show that with every bomb and sniper's bullet thousands of people are thrown into our enemy's camp or neutralized, and license is taken by the police to step up their genocidal activity. We must show that so-called counterviolence has nothing to do with the inalienable right to self-defense.

In placing the onus for violence where it belongs, on the rulers of America and their police, we should warn the movement about the activities of the undercover agents at work—that in Seattle and New York it was police agents who placed the bombs to frame their confederates and loose another reign of terror upon the movement, and especially upon the Black people. It must be driven home that counterviolence is sabotage of the freedom movement.

No socially aware person and, of course, no one who has felt the whiplash of oppression on his own life, can fail to feel anguish for those who, due to frustration, take measures which are self-defeating and defeating to others. But the current counterviolence is not primarily the product of frustration. Its main root is a wrong political estimate of the period in which we struggle. It stems primarily from the idea that we are living and fighting under fascism. Thus, anything goes, pull out the stops, or there will be no tomorrow. This is the Weatherman ideology, if you can call it ideology. This is the meaning of the Panther endorsement of the San Rafael affair. This is misleadership from wherever it comes—from the Weathermen or the Panthers. Such an approach can only strengthen the enemy of all the people. As such, it must be exposed.

I think that the statement of Comrades Henry Winston and Gus Hall, which expresses understanding of the roots of the San Rafael tragedy and at the same time opposes all acts of desperation, moves in this direction. Sympathy and compassion for the Jonathan Jacks-sons can best be expressed in directing their efforts toward winning the battle for freedom, rather than toward suicide.

Those who are not engaged in these struggles "have no problem." But those who are have often found it difficult to advocate a correct position with respect to violence and at the same time maintain their relations with those heroic fighters who are influenced by theories of counterviolence. It is not easy, but on principle it must be done. We must help them to do this.

3. *On the Relation of the Fight for Democracy to the Socialist Revolution:* At the outset of the formation of the New Left, the main way in which the failure to understand this question expressed itself was in a rejection of struggles for reform as being a form of accommodation to the Establishment. In many quarters this view still exists, though its support has narrowed somewhat.

According to one aspect of this approach, the fight for democracy is forbidden. To fight for the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is sheer heresy. Others, using this as a starting point, will permit no serious legal defense of a client, claiming that the objective of courtroom activity is to expose and smash the courts.

A person who participated in the last National Executive Board meeting of the National Lawyers Guild, where the above trends and others evidenced themselves, wrote a paper in which he describes the two major trends within the Guild. One he calls "Constitutionalism," the other "radicalism." The "Constitutionalists" are influenced by the experiences of the Old Left of the 30's and 40's.

I quote him: "The organized Left was in the desperate situation of having lost its popular base and being forced to seek protection against repression from the liberal community. There was an almost nightmarish preoccupation with unity, pulling together the least common denominator of support you could find. Ultimately this theory stood for the proposition that revival of the people's movement of the 30's and 40's would take place primarily around a militant struggle to secure an extension of the libertarian promises of the Constitution." He goes on to describe radicalism more vaguely.

The main error of the writer is to treat the struggle for Constitutional rights as a tactic, a tactic to win the support of the civil libertarian community, and nothing else. There are many other misconceptions, but what stands out is the author's failure to understand that the fight for democracy is a part of the revolutionary process. This misunderstanding is common on the so-called New Left.

Lenin points out that a socialist revolution is not a single act but a whole process of conflicts, of numerous battles of an economic and political nature, which can only culminate in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. He says: "It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc."

He further states that the proletariat cannot be victorious without a many-sided revolutionary struggle for democracy. This

. . . implies that it is necessary to formulate and put forward all these demands, not in a reformist, but in a revolutionary way; not by keeping within the framework of bourgeois legality, but by breaking through it; not by confining oneself to parliamentary speeches and verbal protests, but by drawing the masses into real action, by widening and fomenting the struggle for every kind of fundamental, democratic demand, right up to and including the direct onslaught of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, i.e., to the socialist revolution, which will expropriate the bourgeoisie. The socialist revolution may break out, not only in consequence of a great strike, a street demonstration, a hunger riot, a mutiny in the armed forces, or a colonial rebellion, but also in consequence of any political crisis, like the Dreyfus affair, the Zabern incident, or in connection with a referendum on the secession of an oppressed nation, etc. (*Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. V, pp. 268, 269.)

In a different way, the fight for democracy is not always clearly understood within our own ranks. An examination of our work would show that most often the fight for democracy is not handled as a central question, along with the fight against poverty and for

peace. If we are to seriously embark on the matters dealt with in this article, a change in this must take place.

Further Conclusions

The following are some further conclusions which can be drawn from the experiences of my tour:

First, most people fighting against repression agree with the estimate of our Party with respect to this matter at our National Committee meeting. They believe that millions of other people share our concern.

Second, many people realize that the present proliferation of effort of the democratic forces in the fightback is an obstacle to realizing the full potential power of the people's movement; yet most are unable to determine how unity can be achieved, and would take a lead from us were we to provide an answer.

Third, though there are ominous stirrings in ruling-class circles, in their efforts to revive red-baiting and to renew their attack upon our Party, a massive movement can be organized to oppose this.

Fourth, thousands of victims of repression in our country need our Party's experience and dedication in the fight against oppression. In respect to some of the current defense cases in the courts, there should be a national effort to free the victims. These are among the many reasons why there is a need for a national organization along the lines outlined above.

Fifth, we can learn much from the people engaged in the struggle for freedom, but we must develop a style of work which permits this.

Clearly, the forces of reaction can be defeated—the democratic and radical forces are most powerful—our task is to unleash this power by giving it able leadership.

Lenin's Concept of Noncapitalist Development*

The term, "noncapitalist road of development," is not entirely satisfactory. Indeed, if approached in the abstract, the whole concept appears rather vulnerable, primarily because it offers nothing save a negative attitude toward capitalism. But granted it is not capitalist in direction, just what is it? And are there any others in our epoch beside the capitalist and the socialist ones?

Negation—"Left" and Right

Any attempt to define this concept from strictly formal logical positions inevitably leads to a negation of it. And here is where its "Leftist" and Rightist critics come together. The former deny the very possibility of the initial general-democratic stage of progress toward socialism under the leadership of anti-imperialist national-democratic forces and declare that such a movement is purely bourgeois. They denounce the socialist leanings of national democrats, reject their socialist slogans. The latter identify the progressive reforms in Asian and African countries with socialism, allowing themselves to be deluded by slogans on the guiding role of the working people, the vanguard party, and even the acceptance of Marxism-Leninism. But neither the former nor the latter take fully into account the political and ideological context that imparts a special meaning to these slogans and statements, which, though they sometimes sound perfectly Marxist, cannot be considered in isolation from the concrete historical situation.

"Leftist" liquidation in regard to noncapitalist development, involving the demand that radical nationalists should recognize scientific socialism immediately and immediately establish the power of the working class, is fraught with dangerous pseudo-revolutionary adventurism. It is apt to destroy the still weak, and numerically small, socialist elements, it involves an overestimation of their maturity and strength, and leads to a disastrous split of the united anti-imperialist

* *Voprosy Istorii*, No. 4, 1970. English translation from *Reprints from the Soviet Press*. We present the first half in this issue. The second half will appear in the November issue.

front. It leads to internal struggle among progressive groupings, which now have, and will continue to have for quite some time to come, common objective interests in the implementation of anti-imperialist, democratic, and anti-capitalist reforms. The international Communist movement rejects such an irresponsible, adventurist line.

Rightist liquidationism of noncapitalist development is linked with an idealistic view of the progress of some of the Asian and African countries; with total disregard for concrete historical conditions, which makes it impossible to launch any direct endeavors at all-out socialist construction; with underestimation of the fact that the class forces now in power in the progressive countries of Asia and Africa are heterogeneous and contradictory. It must be stated that this attitude toward noncapitalist development is similarly rejected by the international Communist movement. Today there is no longer any doubt that noncapitalist development does not involve the building of socialism proper but constitutes a special stage of historical development, "which offers an opportunity to liquidate the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and to create conditions for the going over to socialist development."* This thesis has found consistent expression in the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow in June, 1969.

Rejection of the idea of noncapitalist development, both from the Right and from the "Left," represents a desire to fit actual reality into theoretical schemes that proved effective in other historical conditions. It does not take into account the specificity of the position of former colonial states, which have gained independence in an epoch when socialism has become the main force of world development. This factor offers the so-called "third world" new, historically still untested, opportunities for social progress. Any attempt to reduce unconditionally the development of young states, full of contradictions as they are, to either capitalism or socialism alone, ignores the great diversity of their transitional stages and periods, which, though lacking complete qualitative definitiveness, are nevertheless capable of creating opportunities and prerequisites for socialist transformations. The importance and duration of such stages are particularly great in the "third world," which is confronted with the task of achieving socialism without having to live through the stage of developed capitalist society. They are marked by contradictoriness and sometimes by a lack of clarity in the balance of class forces, by alliances of all the progressive elements, among which there are substantial

* *Kommunist*, 1969, No. 9, p. 22.

differences and even antagonisms. The success of socialist orientation and its firm establishment in the entire life of a country or nation depends largely, in these conditions, on the correctness, far-sightedness, and realism of political guidance.

The noncapitalist road of development stands for precisely this kind of transitional period. It represents an exceedingly complicated combination of socioeconomic and political processes, and opens up prospects for progress and socialism. The reforms carried out at this stage strip capitalism of its character of natural historical inevitability, and break the ground for progress toward socialism, which will depend wholly on the degree of the preparedness and maturity of the revolutionary-democratic forces. In his article, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Fight It," written in mid-September, 1917, V. I. Lenin pointed out: "We cannot be revolutionary democrats in the twentieth century and in a capitalist country *if we fear* to advance toward socialism."*

One may say that if in the closing third of the twentieth century, at a time when the world socialist system plays a decisive role, the revolutionary democrats in a country that is far from being either capitalist or developed chose to pursue a policy not in the interests of the landlords and capitalists but against them, in the interests of the broad popular masses, "then this is a step toward socialism." If, as Lenin stressed in speaking of the developed capitalist nations, "it is impossible to advance from monopolies without advancing toward socialism," then those states which have rid themselves of colonial domination also can follow no other road forward except that leading toward socialism. There they can abolish their age-old backwardness and, in alliance with the socialist system, secure economic independence from imperialism.

It would seem that this idea of advancing along the road of progress, under the guidance of revolutionary democracy, is sufficiently clearly expressed in the concept of "noncapitalist development," which has the indisputable advantage of being abreast of the level of contemporary historical experience, of not lagging behind it, but also not forestalling events to such lengths as to lose contact with reality. Among the national democrats who head the initial general democratic period of noncapitalist development we find the rather widespread view that every country striving to reject capitalism has its own, inimitable, purely national way of going over to socialism, its own

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 190 (Russ. Ed.).

"national model," so to speak, which is neither subject to the influence of the general laws operating in an early transitional period nor even in need of them. A desire to prove that these countries will inevitably advance along a "different" road, distant from the one along which other peoples have advanced or are advancing toward socialism, is typical for leaders and ruling circles of various national-democratic states. At a closer glance, however, we see that absolutely all the social reforms carried out by national democrats in the countries developing along the noncapitalist road, be it in restricting or expropriating the landlords and their own or foreign capitalists, in conducting the agrarian or industrial policy, or in the sphere of labor legislation, are linked very closely indeed with the general laws formulated by scientific socialism for the revolutionary-democratic stage of the national liberation revolution, for its transitional forms in the direction of socialism. Thus one's own "model of socialism" proves to be nothing more nor less than a temporary and historically explicable tribute to the ideological immaturity and nationalistic views that are typical for the balance of classes and development of class struggle in any given country.

Prerequisites for Socialism

A socialist revolution requires definite technological-economic and sociopolitical prerequisites. This is an indisputable thesis of scientific socialism. However, Leninism comes out categorically both against the absolutization of technological-economic prerequisites, against the establishment of a fixed, rigidly defined economic and cultural level at which alone it may be possible to build socialism ("although no one can say just what that precise 'level of culture' is,"* Lenin wrote), and against the vulgar, deterministic views that a revolution's political prerequisites arise entirely as a result of economic growth. Herein lies the distinction between Leninism and the ideology of Right-wing European social-democracy with its slavish imitation of the past and its absolutization of European models.

In the opinion of social-democrats, it is only the advanced countries of Western Europe that have achieved a level allowing for the building of socialism. As to the countries of Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe, including Russia in 1917, they were supposed to wait for the establishment of socialism in the highly civilized West.

V. I. Lenin rejected these bourgeois-reformist concepts that shackled the revolutionary energy of millions in the colonial and semicolonial

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XLV, p. 381 (Russ. Ed.).

world. Instead, he gave them confidence that they could contribute to the building of socialism with their own revolutionary efforts. Lenin's article, "Our Revolution," is filled with ideas about the distinctive forms and the special order of development of Oriental countries. He proceeds from the premise that in an epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions, revolutionary situations may also arise in the absence of what the social-democratic doctrinaires call the objective economic prerequisites of socialism, and that it would be unforgivable to neglect such powerful revolutionary outbursts and not to see in them new forms of development of the world revolution.

The article, which deals not only with the revolution in Russia but also with approaching revolutions in the Orient, is keyed to the idea that the undisputable lack of economic prerequisites for progress can be compensated to a certain extent by political prerequisites; that the latter can and must become the basis for the creation of economic prerequisites. "If a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism," Lenin wrote, "why can't we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that level of culture in a revolutionary way, and *then*, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?"*

It is also in this light that Lenin saw the approaching revolutions in the East, and it is precisely in this that the revolutionary spirit of Leninism manifested itself, allowing our Party and the international Communist movement to discern, analyze, and back the huge revolutionary potentialities of the peoples of colonial and dependent nations which are striving spontaneously to turn the struggle against imperialism also into a struggle against capitalism. The current history of the UAR, Algeria, Libya, Syria, Sudan, Somali, Tanzania, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, and Burma is a patent example of this. There is no doubt that these examples will be followed by many others. Moreover, Lenin's approach to the revolutionary potentialities of the colonial nations is devoid of any trace of subjectivism. It is founded on an all-around scientific analysis of actual reality, because the revolution's political prerequisites are this selfsame objective reality, and demand the most exact evaluation of the class pattern of society, the economic situation, the balance of political forces, ideological trends, etc.

If we consider the prospects of the revolutionary development of Afro-Asian countries from the point of view of objective prerequisites, it will become obvious that the majority of them have neither the

* *Ibid.*

technological-economic nor the political prerequisites for an immediate implementation of socialist transformations. This, however, does not mean that the Asian and African peoples are incapable of exerting conscientious efforts to bring socialism closer or of working for socialism, and, moreover, working for it not through creating a capitalist society, as advanced by those who would sacrifice revolutionary potential to superficially understood economic determinism, but by by-passing capitalism, more or less, by obviating the need for it and its developed forms. In the epoch when the world socialist system has become the main factor of historical development, such opportunities are open to practically all states that have rid themselves of colonial domination.

In 1882 Friedrich Engels wrote that one could adduce only rather useless hypotheses about the social and political phases that such states would have to surmount before they too arrived at socialist organization.* And even today, almost ninety years later, it is still impossible to answer this question exhaustively, although one thing has now become perfectly clear: in choosing the noncapitalist road, the newly liberated states are following one of the general laws governing their development in the process of their struggle against imperialism, the struggle they are waging in alliance with the socialist system for complete national independence, for social progress.

The concept of noncapitalist development envisages exactly this possibility of taking important preparatory steps toward socialism in conditions where there are still no sufficient objective economic prerequisites for its direct implementation. This, however, only emphasizes the importance of the question of objective political prerequisites that would make it possible to exert a decisive influence on the course of the complicated process of noncapitalist transformations, on the attainment of the principal tasks set forth by history before the newly independent nations.

Typical for the countries of Africa, and to a certain extent Asia, is a low (and mostly even very low) embryonic level of capitalist development and a heavy burden of feudalized and capitalized communal hangover.** Thus the technical-economic and attendant cul-

* K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXXV, p. 298.

** An incomplete but important list of Asian, African, and Latin American countries, broken down according to their capitalist development has been published by the magazine *International Affairs* (1964, No. 2, p. 8). According to this source, prefeudal relations continue to exist in 80 countries and territories, feudal relations in 11, poorly developed capitalism in 30, and a medium or close-to-medium level of capitalist development in 17 states (Turkey, Brazil, India, etc.)

tural prerequisites necessary for the building of socialism are insufficient or obviously lacking in this case. Dealing with Russia, which was at a fundamentally different, medium level of capitalist development, Lenin pointed to the need of raising the material and cultural standards of the country on socialist lines, relying on the socialist state-political superstructure as a prerequisite. But the creation of a political superstructure capable of carrying out socialist transformations and paving the way to economic construction, is not ensured merely by the seizure of power by revolutionary forces; it requires a broad and dependable social bulwark in the form of the working class, and of a political vanguard equipped with advanced scientific theory. Most of the African countries do not have even these conditions, which are also lacking in many Asian states. The working class of the African countries is extremely small and has not yet detached itself fully from the peasant and urban petty bourgeoisie. It is distinguished by weak political organization and an underdeveloped class consciousness. The Marxist political parties that have arisen in some of the African countries and are today exerting a favorable revolutionary influence have not yet grown into a force capable of heading a movement of all the people.

Certain aspects of scientific socialism are increasingly attracting representatives of radical nationalism, leaders who not infrequently find in them a suitable ideological basis for their own political platform. However, the petty-bourgeois, nationalistic background of these leaders' own ideas not infrequently becomes a serious obstacle to their mastering the theory of scientific socialism consistently and in an all-around way. The proletariat, and above all the industrial proletariat, here too constitutes the class which, because of the very nature of its economic position, is best prepared for assimilating scientific socialism. Typical for representatives of democratic middle sections is a selective, eclectic, restricted approach to socialism. This is why the radical petty-bourgeois stratum is liable to make a socialist choice, but no matter how it is prodded by the revolutionary situation in the direction of scientific socialism, it cannot in the final analysis become a sufficiently dependable social basis for the establishment of the power of the working class, for comprehensive socialist construction, for the guaranteeing of its victory.

Role of the Socialist World

New prospects for embracing socialism opened up before the underdeveloped nations with the emergence of the world's first socialist state, and later with the appearance of the whole socialist com-

munity. The assistance given them by the socialist nations tends to a certain extent to compensate for the absence of internal objective prerequisites for socialism. This road of building socialism in the form of noncapitalist development has been traversed, for instance, by the Soviet republics of Central Asia; but they were able to do it within the framework of the state of proletarian dictatorship, with the latter's direct and immediate assistance.

The assistance of the socialist nations in the economic, political, and military domains, in the sphere of defending the gains of the national liberation movement from the encroachments of imperialism, is the most important and necessary condition of contemporary noncapitalist development in several of the countries of Asia and Africa. However, the situation differs substantially both in character and in volume from the relations that took shape between the Russian Federation and the Central Asian republics, or between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian Peoples Republic. In the latter case especially, the contacts have been and remain incomparably closer. In the Soviet republics of Central Asia and in the Mongolian People's Republic the effected transformations were directed by Marxist parties, due to which there was unanimity in principle between them and the center of the proletarian revolution in Russia on all the questions of political and social development. This cannot be said of relations between the socialist nations, the international Communist movement, and the countries, leaders, and ideologists of contemporary noncapitalist development.

Territorial proximity, traditional contacts, comparative isolation from the imperialist states, all helped guarantee the steadfast defense of revolutionary achievements by the world's first socialist state, and turned it into the main, if not the only, source of all-around assistance at a time when revolutionary transformations were being effected in the Central Asian republics and the Mongolian People's Republic under the direct influence of, and in the closest possible contact with, the socialist revolution in Russia. The contact of Afro-Asian countries that follow the road of noncapitalist development is not as direct, as close or as comprehensive in relation to the socialist community.

This is so not only because of geographical distances, but also because of the traditional bonds between the developing nations and their former mother states, because they remain a part of the world economic system of the capitalist market. The national liberation movement has assumed global scope. The developed socialist countries are naturally economically unable to take upon themselves all the necessary assistance regarding the economic rehabilitation of

dozens of countries that have rid themselves of colonial and semi-colonial dependence. Economic rehabilitation is, first and foremost, the concern of the peoples themselves. The assistance of the Soviet Union and the existence of Marxist parties once created important political-economic prerequisites in the Mongolian People's Republic and in the Central Asian republics for the building of socialism. Such prerequisites—the direct political unity of the liberated nations which have made a socialist choice with the countries of victorious socialism in Europe—do not exist in Asia and Africa, and therefore the desire we sometimes find in Marxist literature to identify the present conditions of noncapitalist development in Afro-Asian countries with the experience of the MPR and the Central Asian republics appears to be unsound. Contemporary national-democratic, noncapitalist development is a qualitatively new phenomenon, which without doubt is relevant to the experience of both the MPR and the Central Asian republics in its tendency to bypass capitalism or reduce its phases, but which at the same time adds many new elements of principle to the general concept of “skipping” capitalism. If the economic, political, internal and external prerequisites for building socialism are lacking or are insufficient, the main task of the transitional period of noncapitalist development is to create the economic, political, cultural, internal and external conditions that would facilitate the advance toward socialism that at some very important stage would allow the working class, in alliance with the working peasantry, to come to power and thereby achieve a decisive prerequisite for the socialist reconstruction of society. Thus, the content of noncapitalist development at the contemporary stage is mainly to carry out general democratic, anti-imperialist reforms, which are now the key and most important task, reforms effected with due account for the socialist perspective. An important distinction between the noncapitalist road of development and the earlier experiments of skipping capitalism, carried out in the USSR, lies in the fact that social changes are being effected not under the hegemony of the proletariat and under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist parties, but under the direction of a radical, anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia which is being powerfully influenced by the theory and practice of world socialism, by the working-class and communist movement.

Problems of Economic Development

The countries that have rid themselves of the colonial yoke have recently been termed the “developing” nations. In spite of all its conventionality, this term is acceptable in one respect: all-around

economic, political and cultural development is the main goal of these countries, their key task, the trend that unites them all, without which neither capitalism nor socialism is possible for them, without which their politically independent national existence is unthinkable. In dealing with the task common to all the liberated nations, the task of ensuring social and technical-economic progress, i.e., the main condition of national survival, it is superfluous to absolutize the distinctions between them and, as sometimes happens, to single out the progressive political regimes that come out for noncapitalist development, and dogmatically contrast them with all the other young nations, branded as reactionary. It goes without saying that even in cases when there are many common traits the urge toward progress is implemented in different ways, with different tendencies, and these cannot be qualified as equally effective and important from the point of view of prospects for the revolutionary development of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Certain representatives of "African socialism" say that the main point for the African nations at the current stage is to achieve economic growth. This is correct in a certain sense. But it is wrong to suppose that economic growth is tantamount to socialism, that everything that contributes to economic growth at the same time leads to socialism.

If this were true, Liberia and the Ivory Coast in Africa, and Malaysia and the Philippines in Asia, all of which have notably advanced along the road of capitalist development, could be regarded as countries that have embarked upon the road of socialism. But in fact these are nations that have landed deep in neocolonialist dependence.

Socialism is a class and a political concept. A definite economic level constitutes its prerequisite but not its content. The essence of socialism is to establish the power of the working people, to promote the triumph of the laboring folk and principle of class justice through the socialization of private property in the means of production and exchange. In the final analysis, genuine socialism is impossible without revolutionary changes which must inevitably lead, in this or that form, to a progressive state with power in the hands of the toiling masses under the guidance of the working class. Otherwise the "national socialism" proclaimed in some developing nations tends most definitely to degenerate into national-bourgeois reformism, camouflaged by noble illusions about socialism.

The experience of many Afro-Asian countries that have achieved independence in the postwar period shows that attempts to step

up economic development, though as a rule they are made under socialist slogans, are in reality implemented in two ways: the capitalist or the noncapitalist.

The former envisages capitalist methods of carrying on economic work combined with modernization and expansion of statism. It is not always, and not everywhere, that private enterprise is weakened by the considerable development of the state sector. The state and private sectors develop side by side for a definite period, and the state sector even supports and supplements the latter in cases where private initiative is insufficient. Under these conditions, the exploiting sections are formed rapidly and the bourgeoisie takes shape as a class. They strive increasingly to get hold of the apparatus of economic and political domination. A new section of comprador bourgeoisie emerges and becomes a vehement advocate of the policy of economic neocolonialism, pro-Western capitalist orientation in industrial and agricultural policy, in the sphere of training personnel, i.e., of a new section of go-between bourgeoisie in the absence of the old colonial power. Bureaucratic capital and the "administrative" and "parliamentary" bourgeoisie are formed, and these actively effect capitalist accumulation and exploit for their enrichment the machinery of the state, army, police, and state-owned enterprises, banks, foreign trade, construction, and transport firms. Corruption assumes a nationwide scope. In this way influential and dominating forces appear in society, counterposed to socialism and constituting an obstacle on the road toward socialism. The capitalist road leads to the loss of a considerable part of the national income, to plundering of natural wealth for the sake of satisfying the egoistic and parasitic requirements of the exploiting elements, to a weakening of the possibilities of state control over the economy, over foreign capital, all of which helps retard progress. The capitalist road, based on intensified exploitation of urban and rural toilers, produces a rapid class stratification of the rural population and its pauperization, and makes social and political upheavals inevitable. If this road is followed for any appreciable time, genuine social reforms in favor of the people become possible only if the domination of bourgeois elements is abolished in the course of sharp class struggle.

Noncapitalist development envisages the achievement of economic progress by means and methods which not only do not create new obstacles to socialism, but on the contrary pave the way and create a favorable atmosphere for future transition to a socialist reconstruction of society. In other words, the noncapitalist road envisages the implementation of the tasks of economic growth, put on the order

of the day by the present epoch, with due account for the socialist perspective. The strategic line of noncapitalist development is to preclude a situation where the raising of a country's economic and cultural standards could ultimately lead to the strengthening of the economic and political positions of the exploiting forces, and could turn the national bourgeoisie or the national-bourgeois elements into a dominating class.

It is worth noting once again that at the present time the developing nations, irrespective of their chosen road, are united, among other things by their common condition of backwardness inherited from the epoch of colonialism by their common tasks of development, and also by certain common economic methods such as, for instance, the coexistence of the state and private sectors, as well as very similar political institutions, traditions, etc. But two fundamentally different tendencies in the implementation of general democratic reforms appear more and more consistently on this basis.

In one case they lead to the growth and consolidation of the national bourgeoisie, to its turning into a monopolistically dominant class, to the consolidation of its class supremacy. The task is quite different under noncapitalist development. Here the problem is to draw on all the opportunities of economic growth offered by the economic potential of the private sector in order to secure the creation of a political, economic, and social structure that would rule out the turning of the bourgeoisie into a dominant social force. The fulfillment of this exceedingly difficult task makes special demands on the political organization of the developing nations, and on the political line of the leading circles, since the political superstructure, and primarily the state, the army, and the ruling party, are the only instruments in the hands of the revolutionary forces capable of ensuring their development with a noncapitalist, socialist perspective.

(To be continued)

IDEAS IN OUR TIME

HERBERT APTHEKER

The Politics of History

An important indication of a society in crisis is significant challenge to its dominant values and actions by intellectuals. Applying this test to contemporary United States certainly will confirm the depth and scope of the crisis confronting its ruling class. From architects to zoologists, from lawyers to theologians, from educators to engineers more or less fundamental criticism of postulates and purposes is characteristic.

No areas reflect this reality more sharply than do those of history and political science; no individual better symbolizes it than Howard Zinn of Boston University, whose books have dealt with U.S. history in the 1920's and 1930's, with questions of political action—as in the South and in the peace movement in the 1960's—and with political theory as in his *Disobedience and Democracy* (1968). Zinn's most recent book* is an apologia for his life; the latter though still on the sunny side of 50, has been noble and consequential, hence the former is important.

The book's importance derives from its basic theme: hitherto history-writing has been fundamentally of, by and for the rich and the powerful; it therefore has, consciously or otherwise, overwhelmingly served to help maintain a foul status quo. After affirming this—and, to a degree, demonstrating it—Zinn goes on to urge the need for a transformation in history-writing. It should be focused, he demands, upon the poor and oppressed; it should be filled with explicitly affirmed social values; it should seek to make the past both comprehensible to the present and significant in helping alter that present into a more human future. In Zinn's words: the book's aim, "is, by encouragement and example, to stimulate a higher proportion of socially relevant, value-motivated, action-inducing work" (p. 2); "a veil," he writes, has been "drawn over the lives of many Americans, the sounds of prosperity drown out all else, and the voices of the well-off dominate history" (p. 39). Focusing on those hitherto ignored in dominant historiography would yield, Zinn says, "the

* *The Politics of History*, by Howard Zinn, Boston, 1970, Beacon Press, 390 pp., \$7.50.

kind of data so often missed in official histories, manuscript collections of famous personalities, diaries of the literate, newspaper accounts, government documents" (p. 33).

As Zinn writes, the book seeks to accomplish this not only by "encouragement" but also by "example"; and the examples are generally first-rate essays such as those on the Colorado coal strike and Ludlow Massacre (1913-1914), LaGuardia in Congress in the 1920's, and the racial crisis in Albany, Georgia in 1961-62. Positively delicious is Zinn's chapter tearing apart the psychologizing history produced by David Donald, on the Abolitionists, and Lewis Feuer on the student radicals. Fine is Zinn's summarizing paragraph on the kind of writing produced by those two worthies:

Psychological explanations are comforting to those of us who don't want our little worlds upset, because they emphasize the irrationality of the protester rather than the irrationality of that which produces protest. It seems much easier for us to believe that Abolitionists were vehement because they were up-ward striving than that they grasped in some small way the horror of slavery. It is easier to believe that students have "intense, unresolved Oedipal feelings, a tremendous attachment to their mothers, and a violent hostility to their fathers" rather than that they are outraged at a society which (speaking precisely) will not let them live (p. 165).

Zinn feels that those who suggest the agitator comes into being because of a psychological failing on his part ignore the possibility that the agitator appears because "there is evil in the world." I would add two considerations: agitation is evoked basically because of the existence of exploitation and oppression and is best and most consistently expressed by those who bear both; and while many writers have emphasized the allegedly "sick" quality of radicals, I think that those who function in a society that is both corrupt and cruel and remain other than radical are more likely to be "sick."

On the whole, Zinn's own radicalism is confirmed in these pages; at its finest it evokes passages such as this: "All the events of those years in Albany, Georgia—the rhetoric of the 'New Frontier' notwithstanding—gave powerful evidence, once more, that the American Government, in its action and in its passivity, was on the side of power and privilege and the white race" (p. 193).

* * *

There are, nevertheless, areas of disagreement—some more and some less serious—and, estimating Professor Zinn as highly as I do, it is worthwhile making these explicit.

Zinn's call for history-writing that is relevant to the humanistic needs of today is well-taken; it is, however, somewhat rigid. He sees two kinds of historiography; one is passive and contemplative while the other is engaged and active; one "uses the past not only as its starting point but as its end; the second suits a view of history which is designed to change the present toward a desired future" (p. 59). In history-writing he sees "only the question of which version is true to which present purpose. There is only the meaning created by the historian . . ." (p. 275). In discussing work devoted to elucidating the Puritan tradition and its impact upon the United States, Zinn dismisses as antiquarianism the effort to uncover, as Richard Schlatter has put it, "the whole record . . . the story in detail"; Zinn demands: "Of what use is it to any really important question before American society today?" (p. 306). In sum, Zinn objects to the fact that: "The classical historian considered his discipline as an end in itself" (p. 312).

True, all scientific endeavor seeks not only knowledge in an abstracted sense but knowledge in the service of humanity; that is the source and the purpose of science. Of course Marx emphasized that contemplative philosophy was deficient, for its true end was not merely to observe but to transform. But in this admonition there also was insistence upon the patient and often exhausting search for reality; and this applies to the past as well as the present. Croce was wrong when, in expressing his anti-Marxian and idealist view, he held that all history was the creation of the historian and that, therefore, all history was contemporary history; Zinn is also wrong when, perhaps unconsciously paraphrasing Croce, he writes that history is only the meaning created by the historian. Historians view the past and seek to give meaning to it; but the past existed quite as really as does the present and while there may be and are many versions of that which existed there also is a reality to that past which is not dependent upon what this or that historian says did exist.

Certainly, there is such a thing as antiquarianism—as, for example, investigating the nature of the buttons on U.S. revolutionary army uniforms—and significant elucidation—that is, scientific work—is purely coincidental where such effort is concerned. Really such work is logography, not historiography. But one must be extremely careful in ruling out areas of research and I suggest the example Zinn cited—the nature of Puritanism—is a poor one; is it not likely that religious attitudes, sexual attitudes, attitudes towards women, education, children were all influenced by Puritanism and might not detailed studies of that phenomenon help elucidate such "quite important ques-

tions before American society today”?

In this connection, Zinn's attack upon “the classical historian” for considering his discipline as an end in itself also arouses my uneasiness. First, of course, while some among such historians affirmed this posture, none actually produced writing to confirm it, since historical writing without generalization, value-judgment and reflections of the writer's era has never existed. Secondly, the techniques of the discipline must be learned and are indispensable—as for any craft or science—and Zinn's emphasis tends to ignore this. Thirdly, such claims made by classical historians often had their origins in an effort by them to establish freedom of inquiry the better to achieve truthfulness; there were unworthy considerations and illusory theories, no doubt, in this effort but there were courageous and scientifically consequential aspects and results from the effort, too, and Zinn might have shown some awareness of that.

Zinn is, I think, correct in siding with Lynd as against Genovese when the latter attacked—viciously, as is his characteristic—the former's history of radicalism in the United States for its alleged moralisms. The moral factor is of great consequence in history and especially in radical activity; Lynd's emphasis upon this was well taken, though his tendency to abstract this factor from its enveloping and fundamentally shaping socio-economic matrix was a weakness. Zinn, however, exhibits a kind of moral absolutism which is non-historic and anti-dialectical and in this sense falls into an error opposite to that committed by Genovese, but error nonetheless.

On the very knotty question of objectivity in history-writing, I find myself not fully in agreement with Zinn. He writes: “The closest we can come to that elusive ‘objectivity’ is to report accurately *all* of the subjectivities in any situation.” He then illustrates his meaning with this paragraph:

Thus, a history of slavery drawn from the narratives of fugitive slaves is especially important. It cannot monopolize the historiography in any case, because the histories we already have are those from the standpoint of the slaveholder (Ulrich Phillips' account, based on plantation diaries, for instance), or from the standpoint of the cool observer (the liberal historian, chastising slavery but without the passion appropriate to a call for action). A slave-oriented history simply fills out the picture in such a way as to pull us out of lethargy (p. 41).

I've already entered my objections to Zinn's idea that combined “subjectivities” make up history-writing. And the above paragraph illustrates, I believe, the force of such objections.

A “slave-oriented” historiography of slavery does not merely “fill out the picture” of that institution; it *is* the picture. That is, if one wants to know what the institution of slavery was he must go to the slave, to those who endured it; there is the *objective* picture of that institution. If one wants to know how slave-holders felt, let him go to Phillips; if one wants a full account of the struggle *against* slavery he will go first to the slaves and then to others who helped make up that great crusade. But if one wants to know what slavery was, he must go to the slave; to the degree that the historian *masters those sources* (whatever they may be and difficult as their discovery is) and *identifies with the slaves*, to that degree does he achieve objectivity—to that degree he does not simply “fill out the picture” but rather presents the picture. That should be able to “pull one out of his lethargy” if that is what he is suffering from; but whether or not it has this capacity depends greatly, of course, upon who reads it (and how well it is written!).

When Zinn comes to define radical history-writing, he emphasizes that it would serve the function of exposing the means through which an obnoxious status quo has been (and is) maintained. He writes of this at length but there is a notable minimization of the dynamics of history which, I think, should be the *main* concern of radical history-writing. Zinn says, in this connection, for example: “We can recapture those few moments in the past which show the possibility of a better way of life than that which has dominated the earth thus far” (p. 47).

No; radical historiography must, of course, elucidate the manner and technique and bases of exploitative and oppressive rule. But, above all, it must concentrate upon the *processes*—not “moments”—through which such rule always and everywhere has been challenged and from time to time and under differing circumstances, successfully challenged. Change is the one constant in history; and revolution recurs. Why and how and under what circumstances—that is the central concern of radical historiography and this requires an analysis not of “moments” but of forces and, above all, of antagonistic classes.

Zinn's emphasis upon “moments” and upon the permanency, as it were, of anti-human social orders is related, I think, to his concentration upon so-called liberal figures as his main “enemies.” He condemns, too flatly and without the necessary distinctions, such figures as Jefferson, Jackson, Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson* and

*Zinn's treatment of Lincoln is seriously defective and his attitude towards the Civil War and Reconstruction is that of Charles Beard; that is to say, very much out-dated.

devotes whole chapters to "Liberalism and Racism" and "Aggressive Liberalism." The attacks almost always are fully merited but they are never fully rounded; and Zinn can spare not a word for reactionaries. The personalities mentioned above certainly were consequential and often negative figures in U.S. history; but should there be no consideration of Hamilton and Calhoun; of Ben Tillman and the two Hoovers? The ultra-Left generally tends to make the Liberal the great foe and danger, and much of the historical writing that has been so influential with that ultra-Left (including that, for example, by William A. Williams) has served to inspire such thinking. With Zinn's concern for contemporary relevance, I know he is troubled by tendencies towards fascism in the United States today; concentration upon attacking liberals and liberalism and ignoring reactionaries will not help stem the ultra-Right in this country.

In this connection, one sometimes gets from Zinn a kind of exaggerated writing that—even if used for effect—defeats its real purpose. Thus: "What we call the rise of democracy in the world means that force is replaced by deception (a blunt way of saying 'education') as the chief method for keeping society as it is" (p. 6). There is something to this, of course, but there is so much wrong with it—both as to what it assumes about the past, as well as what it says about the present and its careless use of the potent word, "we"—that it is quite unworthy of Zinn and certainly will not help gain allies among the American people in the battle to beat back reaction and to forge a true democratic society.

Very much unworthy of Zinn but, alas, characteristic of many who think of themselves as radical, is his anti-Communism. This is not, of course, of the Buckley or Schlesinger genre; but it is bad enough and it serves only those whom Zinn hates and bravely confronts—the rulers of present-day United States.

It appears in his repeated equating of capitalist and socialist states, in his ignoring of the role and the writings of Communists, in his caricaturing of what he calls "Communist propaganda" (thus: "America is not one mad orgy of lynching and brutality as Communist propaganda might have it" (p. 151); and even in overt distortions that come as close to being mean and cheap as it is possible, I suppose, for Howard Zinn. Thus:

The Left still dodges the problem of violent means to achieve just ends . . . it was so true of the Communists in the United States that the government, in the Smith Act trials, had to distort the facts in order to prove that the Communists would go as far as Thomas Jefferson in the use of revolutionary violence (p. 210).

In the years of the Smith Act trials, Mr. Zinn was engaged in graduate studies and was teaching at Upsala and Brooklyn Colleges; the stupid and too-mild Communists were otherwise engaged, if not in courts and jails, then getting their heads broken and their backs knifed and their eyes put out. And the position of Communists on the question of violence was made clear by them a million times and we do not require lessons in this—either from the U.S. government or even Professor Zinn. He will, perhaps, find it possible to forgive my anger and to re-examine for himself from whence it springs.

* * *

Despite its lapses and failings, *The Politics of History* is one of the most illuminating and thought-provoking books to come from the happily growing groups of radically-inclined and socially-committed historians and social scientists that are shaking up their professions and the country as a whole.

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BOOK REVIEWS

DANIEL MASON

The Philippines and Neo-Colonialism

The seizure of the Philippines, after the war with Spain in 1898, was the first overt step in the brutal, devastating march of modern U.S. imperialism—and with it there developed the struggle against that imperialism. As the 1898 convention of the American Federation of Labor warned:

As a result of the war with Spain a new and far-reaching policy, commonly known as "imperialism" or "expansionism" is now receiving the attention of the National Government, and if ratified by the United States Senate will seriously burden the wage-workers of our country, thrust upon us a large standing army and aristocratic navy, and seriously threaten the perpetuity of our country. . . .

The conquest of the Philippines forms an extremely complex and confusing section in the history of U.S. imperialism. U.S. historians have promoted that confusion by labeling its genesis the Spanish-American War and making the U.S. appear to be a chief actor in it. The truth is that the war against Spain had been carried on for decades by the peoples of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico in their struggle for liberation, and had finally been

won by these people in 1898. U.S. imperialism's only role was to betray them in this last stage.

In his latest book,* William J. Pomeroy, the U.S. Marxist now living in London, does a great deal to dispel this confusion and unravel the complexities of the conquest of the Philippines by U.S. imperialism.

In the first place, he makes it clear that the seizure of the Philippines was not an "aberration" from the traditional U.S. foreign policy, as all too many "liberal" American historians have sought to make it appear, but a conscious act by the national government in the interest of U.S. capitalism.

Secondly, he untangles the complexities surrounding the struggle in the nation attendant upon the drive of U.S. imperialism into the Philippines. The grab of these distant islands by U.S. imperialism did not go unresisted. A mass movement of great proportions, undoubtedly representing the majority of the nation's people, opposed the conquest of the Philippines. This

* William J. Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia*, International Publishers, New York, 1970, 255 pp. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$2.85.

PHILIPPINES

was reflected in the halls of Congress, where both Senators and Representatives, responding to the pressures of the people, sought to block the passage of a treaty with Spain that would cede the Philippines to the U.S. It was also reflected in the efforts afterwards to win independence for the people of those islands.

But there has always been a great deal of confusion and mystification concerning the forces involved in the struggle, with many historians dismissing it as an effort by middle-class "do-gooders." Pomeroy shows the vast extent of the opposition to the U.S. seizure of the Philippines, particularly in the opening phase, including sections of the capitalists (monopolists among them), inspired by self-interest, the middle class, and the working class. And he reveals how this opposition disintegrated, with only the middle class reformers remaining firm.

In this connection, this reviewer wishes that Pomeroy had discussed the role of the Socialists and the reasons for the American Federation of Labor's complete turnabout from leadership in the struggle against the seizure of the Philippines to acquiescence to U.S. imperialism's objectives.

After all, in the 1890's the Socialists exerted great influence not only among the rank and file of the AFL but also in its top bodies. At the 1898 AFL convention, a resolution calling for the endorsement of socialism by or-

ganized labor received more than 21 per cent of the votes. Is it not possible that if the Socialists had exerted their influence among the AFL membership, the AFL leadership headed by Samuel Gompers would not have been able to shift organized labor away from opposition?

But the Socialists, who in 1898 had opposed the war with Spain, by 1900 had become so infected with "Left" sectarianism that they dismissed imperialism as a basic issue in the presidential campaign. As Philip Foner points out, "neither of the two Socialist parties which ran candidates, the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party, emphasized the issue of imperialism, stressing that 'the real issue of the campaign was not imperialism, it was socialism versus capitalism.'" (*History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.*, Vol. 2, International Publishers, New York, 1955, p. 435.)

With no organized resistance, the AFL leaders were able to make their peace with the U.S. imperialist monopolists in the interest of the labor aristocracy. Yet the significance and power of labor opposition to U.S. imperialism in that first stage was recognized by William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate in the 1900 Presidential elections. Then he at least had to tip his hat to the unions' pressure by declaring: "The resolutions adopted by various labor organizations in condemnation of militarism and imperialism justify me in making

brief reference to these questions."

Despite this omission of the role of the leadership of organized labor in the drive of U.S. imperialism, Pomeroy does make a considerable contribution to our understanding of the reasons for the failure of the middle-class reformers, through their Anti-Imperialist League, to make a successful stand against the imperialists. He does this by showing that middle-class "anti-imperialists" were not really anti-imperialists but were only anti-colonialists. He writes:

Significantly, anti-colonialists, from members of the Anti-Imperialist League to domestic sugar and tobacco growers, worked hard and long, not for complete Filipino freedom but for the Philippines to come into the same relationship to the United States as Cuba.

This was the essence of the position adopted by the anti-imperialist movement. Although it had humanitarian voices within it, the hard, practical colonial legislation that it supported . . . satisfied, through compromise, the economic needs of domestic sectional interests, the market and investment needs of overseas expansion, and the military-strategic needs connected with the latter.

The "anti-imperialists," by and large, were not opposed to the expansion of overseas markets and investments . . . it was felt by "anti-imperialists" that overseas expansion could be achieved without the burden of owning colonies. . . .

Yet this reviewer must add a reservation to this analysis. It

seems to me to be wrong to lump the middle-class reformers with the other self-interested anti-colonialists, among whom there were even monopolists. The middle-class reformers were sincerely interested in the welfare of the Filipino people and opposed from a humanitarian viewpoint the objectives of U.S. imperialism. And they did help to keep alive the struggle against colonialism. Their problem was put clearly by Lenin, who, referring to the members of the Anti-Imperialist League as "the last of the Mohicans of bourgeois democracy," explained their failure thus:

But while all this criticism shrank from recognizing the indissoluble bond between imperialism and the trusts, and, therefore, between imperialism and the very foundations of capitalism; while it shrank from joining up with the forces engendered by large-scale capitalism and its development—it remained a "pious wish." (*Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p. 111.)

This reviewer must also admit to some doubts about the main theses of Pomeroy's book. Pomeroy claims that U.S. imperialism learned a lesson from its occupation of the Philippines as a colony, namely, that it was unprofitable to proceed with colonialism as a policy and therefore consciously turned to "neo-colonialism" to achieve its aims. He writes:

In the case of the Philippines, anti-imperialist views on the ex-

pense and the overall unprofitability of colonies were clearly substantial in the long run. (P. 221.)

And he adds:

. . . It is the general consensus of American historians and analysts that in the large view the Philippine colony was not a paying venture.

It seems to me that this premise for Pomeroy's theses is incorrect. The question of immediate "unprofitability" has never deterred imperialism from making colonial grabs. As Lenin writes:

. . . In the same way that the trusts capitalize their property by estimating it at two or three times its value, taking into account its "potential" (and not present) returns, and the further results of monopoly, so finance capital strives to seize the largest possible amount of land of all kinds and in any place it can, and by any means, counting on the possibilities of finding raw materials there, and fearing to be left behind in the insensate struggle for the last available scraps of undivided territory, or for the repartition of that which has been already divided. (*Imperialism*, pp. 83-84.)

It should be recalled that, as Lenin pointed out, the adherents of Kautsky also argued that it "would be possible" to obtain raw materials in the open market without a "costly and dangerous" colonial policy. But, as Lenin wrote: "These arguments are merely an apology for imperialism, an attempt to embellish it,

because they ignore the principal feature of modern capitalism: monopoly."

Because Pomeroy makes "unprofitability" the decisive element in the conscious determination of U.S. imperialism to turn from colonialism to what he calls "neo-colonialism," he slights the reason for that unprofitability—the vast resistance of the Filipino people to the occupation by U.S. imperialism and the tremendous changes in national and class relationships that resulted from the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union, including the formation of the Communist International.

Pomeroy claims that U.S. imperialism made a voluntary shift from colonialism to "neo-colonialism" as the result of having become convinced by its own experience with "unprofitability" and by agreement with the "anti-imperialists" that the best way to achieve expansion is through non-colonialism. He writes:

In the experience of formulating colonial policy, however, even the more aggressive imperialist commercial and investment groups that had favored seizure had reason to doubt the practicality of colonial possessions. They had to contend with the fact of Congress having authority over affairs and laws in colonies. Corporations and individuals desiring to exploit such areas found their activities subject to the pressure and investigation of a variety of domestic influences, reformist and protectionist. However, Congressional prerogatives were less when it came to non-colonial areas

of investment and trade: Operations of a neo-colonialism were far less apt to come under scrutiny. (Pp. 224-225).

He even hints that the granting of "independence" to the Philippines in 1946 was a conscious act by U.S. imperialism to make possible the suppression of the national liberation forces there. He writes:

The post-independence events in the Philippines following 1946—the brutal suppression with American assistance of the Huk national liberation movement and its popular support, the wholesale corruption of Filipino politics, the unbridled looting of the "independent" economy, the crimes committed by American military base personnel, the moral decay of Philippine society arising from frustrated development—would have produced major scandals and investigations if occurring under direct American rule. (P. 225.)

Pomeroy asserts that "the final grant of independence in 1946 was an unnecessary period of delay. The issue of an American colonial policy was settled, and the continuation of the Philippine colony during that time was an anachronism in American imperialist policy." (P. 218.)

But this is in direct contradiction to Pomeroy's own argument against the claim that the seizure of the Philippines was a "temporary aberration" in the policy of U.S. imperialism. He himself admits:

. . . The reason why the Philip-

pinos were retained for nearly 50 years despite the relatively early rejection of traditional colonialism in theory was the fact of continuing strength and pressure of the colonialist forces.

These have exhibited upsurges after each period of rapid accumulation of capital and productive capacity in the United States occurring at the turn of the century, at the close of World War I, and at the end of World War II. . . .

All the wars fought by the United States in this century have been waged outside the boundaries of the nation in the interests of overseas investments and markets. . . .

The moves made by American imperialism in Asia and the western Pacific in the period after World War II, including the Korean War and the Vietnam War, have had a great similarity to the aggressive expansionism of 1898. (Pp. 225-6.)

The whole record of U.S. imperialism since 1898 has been one of aggressive expansionism, seeking colonies wherever possible—and being thwarted by other imperialisms—and turning to the transitional forms which Lenin lists in *Imperialism* only when forced to do so by the structure of government in the areas they sought to exploit, such as the "independent" countries of Latin America.

Pomeroy's thesis is contained in this paragraph:

The present study has concerned itself mainly with the Philippines because in the policies arising from American relations with that country can be seen most clearly the evolution of concepts and trends that have come to be known today as

neo-colonialism. It is felt that there is no better way of demonstrating the American neo-colonial thesis than to show its emergence from the problem of maintaining a colonial possession. (P. 12.)

According to Pomeroy, "the neo-colonial model was Cuba," which had been wrested from Spain in the war of 1898. He contends that U.S. imperialism's policy of "neo-colonialism" was a voluntary evolution today reflected in the neo-colonialism of the world imperialisms.

But this reviewer feels that Pomeroy is confused about the pre-World War II policy of U.S. imperialism and the neo-colonialism of today. The circumstances in various countries forced different methods of expansion in the pre-World War II period. That period was characterized by Lenin thus:

Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the period of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy, which reduces itself to the struggle of the Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of transitional forms of national dependence. The division of the world into two main groups—colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other—is not the only typical feature of this period; there is also a variety of forms of dependent countries which, officially, are politically independent, but which are, in fact,

enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence. (*Imperialism*, p. 85.)

But, in this reviewer's opinion, neo-colonialism is a unique development resulting from World War II. It is the involuntary response of the imperialist powers to the loss of their colonies and the winning of independence by the national liberation forces of the countries of Africa and Asia, a situation which did not exist before World War II, and which was made possible by the tremendous growth in power of the socialist sector of the world led by the Soviet Union and the anti-imperialist forces as a whole. It is an effort by the imperialist powers to regain the resources and means of exploitation in the lost colonies. It is a situation in which the losing imperialist power in each lost colony now finds itself in competition with other imperialist powers. It is a situation in which the governments of newly liberated countries and their people have—despite all interference—the chance to make a choice. And it is a situation in which the imperialist powers find themselves in competition with the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union.

This is not the relationship of U.S. imperialism with the Philippines, with Cuba or with any other colonial, semi-colonial or otherwise dependent country before World War II, nor does it coincide with Pomeroy's concept of "neo-colonialism."

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