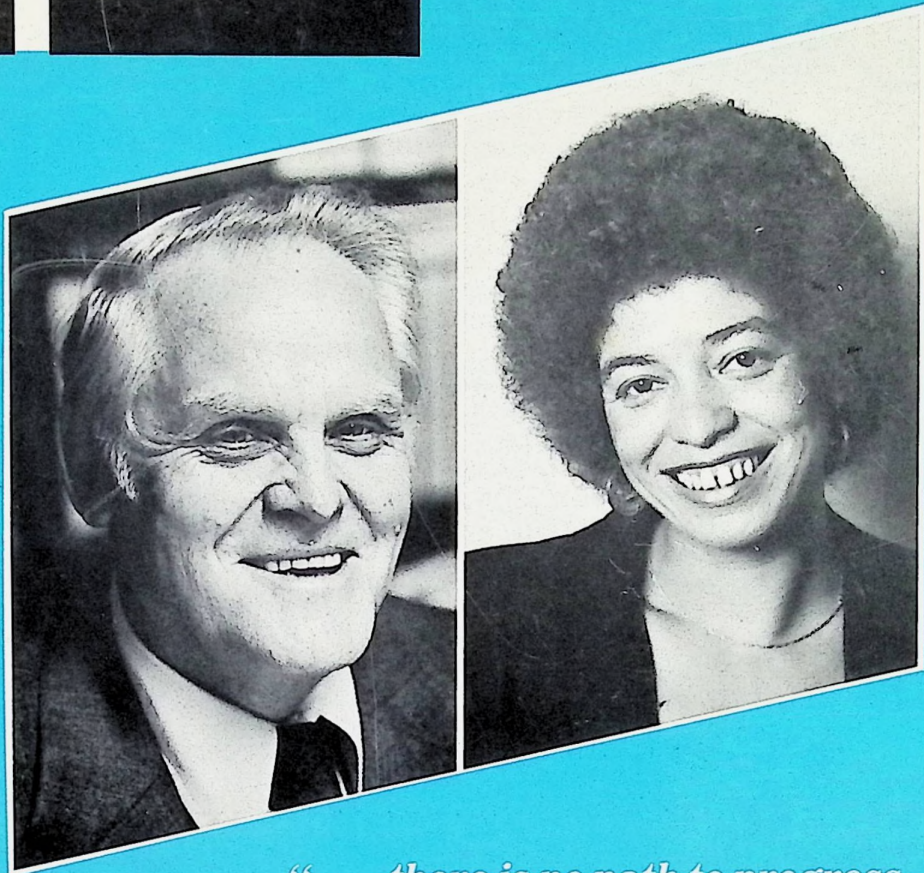


political affairs

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT
August-September 1984
\$1



*“ . . . there is no path to progress,
political independence and more radical
alternatives, other than defeating Reaganism.”*

CPUSA 65th Anniversary Statement

The Big Lie and Jewish Americans
GUS HALL
Interimperialist Rivalries
A. BOGDANOV
The State of the Arts
NORMAN GOLDBERG

The Last Agony of Sacco and Vanzetti
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from the circulation desk . . .

We would like to thank the following people for sending in contributions to help support the magazine in the past month: Ben Lalli, PA; Ed Talbot, OH; Philip Johnson, VA; E. Richardson, MO; M. & L. Ross, MA; Stanko Yelish, CA.

Some comments from our readers:

I know I'm putting this contribution to *Political Affairs* in a good, safe place — it's more secure than the banks in Chicago.

—Anna Bogdanský, NY

I am writing to commend you for the outstanding quality of the June 1984 issue of *Political Affairs*. I look forward to each issue of your journal and am seldom disappointed by the material you choose to publish. It is rare, however, to find so many important contributions in a single number. The original articles were both insightful and informative and the reprints were extremely valuable. I was particularly interested in the critique by the Communist Unity Congress and your analysis of Reagan's trip to China.

—Terry Fowler, WI

I cannot tell you what a pleasure it is to receive PA. In a period of unprecedented attacks on the working class and the fruits of our decades of struggle, PA is more timely than ever. While other publications are content to parrot a tired litany of lies and distortions designed to convince the working class of the supposed "inevitability" of givebacks, PA has been tireless in its support of workers and our struggle for a just future.

—Philip Johnson, VA

The June issue of PA was, in my opinion, exceptionally well done. All articles were integrated into a composite Marxist perspective and were most timely.

—Ed Talbot, OH

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THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA

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The Communists' Contribution Can Help Defeat Reaganism

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPUSA

The sixty-fifth anniversary of the Communist Party, USA this September coincides with the approach of the most crucial national elections since the end of the Second World War — perhaps in the last century. At stake in the November elections is the immediate future course of our country in the nuclear age.

That is why the question being asked in all countries is: Will Reagan be returned to office? The world, as well as the people of the United States, are deeply concerned that four more years of Reaganism would mean further intensification of the arms race, continuation of the policy of seeking military superiority over the Soviet Union, confrontation, interventionism and dictation.

There is concern that underlying Reagan's recent ghoulish "joke" about outlawing and bombing the Soviet Union is a deadly, suicidal urge to do just that.

And there is also concern that should Reagan be reelected there would be a step-up in the attempts to destroy the labor movement and to turn the clock back on the fight for equality of Afro-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed peoples and women. The attack on the living standards of all working people would surely be sharpened under four more years of Reaganomics, and democratic rights would be threatened with further curtailment.

On the other hand, if all those who have a stake in fighting Reaganism can be united, and if this all-people's front can be stimulated to a high enough level of activity to defeat the Reaganites at the polls, the door will be opened to movement in the opposite direction — especially away from the precipice of nuclear annihilation.

Defeating Reagan and Reaganism requires the contributions of all the forces of the developing all-people's front. It especially requires the dynamic participation of our multinational, multi-racial working class, the organized labor move-

ment and the Afro-American people. It also requires the unique contributions the Communist Party, USA and its Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, Gus Hall and Angela Davis, have been making.

This special contribution arises from the very Marxist-Leninist character of the Communist Party, USA and from its vast experience in the course of 65 years of struggle for the best interests of our working class and all working people, for the really vital interests of the United States. The Party has learned to make a concrete assessment of the interests of all the class and social forces in each situation, taking fully into account new developments in arriving at the policy that best serves the needs of the working class and oppressed peoples. It is from such an assessment that we conclude that the unavoidable central task for all progressive forces is to defeat the Reaganites in order to be able to move forward.

The Reagan Administration, to a greater degree than any prior government, represents a trend in monopoly capital that is exceptionally aggressive, reactionary and chauvinistic, both internationally and domestically. And it holds in its hands new weapons that threaten the very existence of life on earth. Our experience in the fight against the world and domestic danger of fascism in the 1930s and 1940s is invaluable in identifying, in this election, who the main enemy is, who can and must be brought together to defeat Reaganism, and on what basis to build unity among diverse class and social forces for this task.

In an earlier period, we were the first to warn of the fascist danger and played a crucial role in cementing the unity of the working class and people, even with the section of monopoly capital opposing fascism — a unity that turned back that danger to humanity.

The Reagan Administration is not a fascist regime. But opposition to its extreme reactionary policies must be and is being built among an ex-

ceptionally wide array of class and social forces, including a more sober-minded section of monopoly. Unity of action to defeat Reaganism once again requires overcoming all that divides that unity and weakens or diverts from the central task. It does not do away with ideological differences, the class struggle or other differences among diverse social forces. But these differences must always be put in the context of the struggle for unity of the anti-Reagan forces, because there is no path to progress, political independence and more radical alternatives other than defeating Reaganism.

At the same time, both logic and the experience of numerous electoral struggles, particularly in connection with the New Deal, the 1948 Dewey/Truman/Wallace election and the Kennedy Administration, confirm that the Democratic Party nationally can not be converted from a monopoly-dominated party into an anti-monopoly people's party. But in the cases of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal candidacies and the present Mondale-Ferraro candidacy, these have been the only electoral vehicles available to the main progressive social forces to defeat extreme reaction. Under present conditions, unity in the struggle to defeat Reaganism is the only way to advance the process of mass political independence and move toward the creation of a mass, labor-led, anti-monopoly, people's party. Any other approach to building political independence would be contrary to the interests, attitudes and instincts of the broadest ranks of the people, and would therefore fail.

A major ideological pillar of Reaganism is anti-Communism and the Big Lie that the Soviet Union threatens the United States. This is the ideological cover for Reaganism's extremely aggressive and interventionist policies. In this election, our Party makes a unique contribution by answering and combatting the Big Lie of anti-Communism. This is a decisive contribution in the struggle for peace and democratic rights, against interventionism and Reaganism.

In conducting this campaign for peace and against imperialism, we draw on experience our Party has accumulated right from its founding. The Communist Party, USA was born out of the

Socialist Party's Left Wing, which fought for peace and against involvement in World War I, for acceptance by the U.S. government of the birth of Soviet Russia, and against the invasion of Soviet Russia by 14 powers (including the U.S.). We have always been in the front ranks of peace activists and given unstinting solidarity to the struggle for national liberation, especially against U.S. intervention. This includes support for Nicaragua and other Caribbean and Central American countries, Ethiopia and China, all victims of imperialist invasions. It includes aid to Republican Spain in the 1930s, where thousands of Americans, including many Communists, fought and died in the gallant attempt to prevent the victory of fascism and so avert the imminent danger of a new world war.

During World War II, Communists played a large role in all aspects of the crusade to rescue the world from the menace of fascism, with thousands, including the present CPUSA National Chairman and General Secretary, Henry Winston and Gus Hall, participating in the armed forces. Our special contributions continued in the fight against the Cold War and McCarthyism, in the struggle to keep "Hands Off Cuba," to end the Vietnam aggression, and in recent struggles around South Africa, Lebanon, the rights of the Palestinian people, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, Euromissiles and space weapons.

In all these situations, we reveal anti-Communism as the chief rationale of aggression. We combat the Big Lie by pointing out the facts of Reagan's aggressive policies, the role of the military-industrial complex in setting the priorities and objectives of this Administration, and by explaining the inevitable consequences of these policies, which aggravate all domestic social problems. We also point out that from its birth the Soviet Union, a socialist land without corporate profiteers or any group which reaps private gain from the drive toward war, has championed the cause of peace. The Soviet government has made over a hundred principled and realistic proposals to strengthen peace in recent months, including negotiations to ban militarization of space, without eliciting a single positive response from the Reagan Administration.

The Communist Party's clear-cut and practical proposals are a special contribution to the anti-Reagan struggle. Our election platform pinpoints the 6-hour day with no cut in pay and nationalization of key industries, among other demands, as means to create jobs and defend the living standards of working people. We seek to strengthen class-struggle trade unionism and bring the working class forward as an increasingly independent force leading the all-people's front to defeat Reaganism. We seek unity of our class on the basis of the fight for full equality of Afro-American and all other oppressed peoples and women. To achieve such equality, we support affirmative action with verifiable quotas and reject the Reaganite attempt to split and divert working people through the use of racism and male supremacy.

These concepts are firmly grounded in our consistent class approach, our scientific theory and our whole history of struggle. The formation of the Communist Party, USA had become necessary in 1919 because the Socialist Party leadership had moved away from upholding the leading role of the working class and from recognition that the working class can only move ahead through sharp struggle against the capitalist class.

The great strike struggles to organize pack-
inghouse workers and steelworkers, led by William Z. Foster, were part of the process of our birth. We have participated in and whole-heartedly supported every major struggle of our working class and labor movement since then, and have often played an initiating role. These include the Passaic, Gastonia and other struggles in the textile and coal industries in the 1920s; the great battles of the unemployed for relief and jobs; the campaigns to win basic labor legislation and to organize the mass production industries; the historic San Francisco General Strike; the railroad, coal, steel, auto and electrical strikes in the post-war years; the current struggles for jobs and security, exemplified in the AFL-CIO Solidarity Day demonstration of September 19, 1981, and the struggles of Greyhound workers, copper miners, hospital workers, and many others.

Our present contributions for equality and

democracy are built on the shoulders of past struggles to organize tenant farmers, voter leagues and tobacco workers in the South, for fair employment practices, voting rights and desegregation in practice and in law, against racist frame-ups and violence in the Angelo Herndon, Scottsboro, Trenton Six, Willie McGee, Angela Davis and Eddie Carthan cases, and in the fight for Black representation exemplified in the New York City Council victory of Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis and the presence of such Black leaders as James W. Ford, Charlene Mitchell, Jarvis Tyner and Angela Davis on our presidential tickets since 1932. We supported and participated in the Montgomery bus boycott, the sit-ins, Freedom Rides, the youth marches and the 1963 and 1983 marches for peace, jobs and freedom and the struggles for affirmative action.

Sixty years ago, in 1924, the Communist Party launched the first English-language Marxist daily, the *Daily Worker* (now the *Daily World*). In that year, William Z. Foster became the first Communist candidate for President. That year also saw the initiation of the first English-language Marxist book publishing house, International Publishers, and the publication of the first translations into English of Lenin's writings. These were serious efforts to reach the working people of our country with the message of peace, equality and socialism, despite the Palmer Raids and other anti-Communist persecution the Party had suffered in its early years and the difficult conditions it still confronted. This was also the period in which the unity and cohesion of the Party as a working-class organization were strengthened by the replacement of nationality federations with a territorial and shop structure, and the time of the first efforts at concentration on workers in basic industry.

Undoubtedly, what enables the Communist Party to make its unique contribution in the fight to defeat Reagan and Reaganism is our 65-year history as a working-class political party, basing our analysis on the science of Marxism-Leninism. Today our election campaign is reaching tens of millions with the most telling exposure of Reagan and with compelling arguments why people should vote, and vote to defeat the Reaganites.

We show that there are real alternatives to Reaganism on the issues.

An anniversary is a time to learn from the history of struggle, to draw useful conclusions for today's battles. It is a time for renewed dedication to the central task of today — developing the unity and activity of the all-people's front to defeat the Reaganites and save humanity from the

grave risk of nuclear war. It is a time to rededicate oneself to the struggle for an anti-monopoly people's coalition, party and government and to a socialist USA. It is a time to strengthen efforts to build the Marxist press, the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, USA as indispensable class instruments in the struggle for social progress by the working class and people.

Ronald Reagan's 'Joke' About Nuclear War

My fellow Americans, I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes.

Ronald Reagan, August 12, 1984

In the White House they are now trying to make it appear that the head of the U.S. Administration just indulged in "cracking a joke."

Reagan indeed has not signed any such legislation, and no orders to bomb have been given this time either. But it is not fortuitous that the President's words have been received with serious concern both in the United States and elsewhere.

The episode has been justly seen as a manifestation of the self-same frames of mind which have already been formulated officially before in calls for a "crusade," the doctrines of limited and protracted nuclear wars and in military-political plans for securing world dominance for the United States. In the U.S. Administration they now prefer to keep silent about all this, but its practical actions are speaking for themselves. . . .

No pseudo-peace rhetoric which from time to time is used in Washington for election-year purposes should mislead anyone. The fact that this rhetoric is not matched by real action is obvious. If anyone has any doubts on this score, the latest "frankness" of President Reagan should be an eye opener for them as well.

Tass, August 15, 1984

The Big Lie and the Jewish American Community

GUS HALL

Today, we are, in a sense, celebrating three related anniversaries: the thirty-sixth anniversary of the state of Israel, the fiftieth anniversary of Birobidjan, the Jewish Autonomous Region of the Soviet Union, and the fourteenth anniversary of *Jewish Affairs*.

Considering past history and experience, I can base my remarks on the premise that Jewish Americans are concerned about and involved in all the movements, struggles and problems faced by the majority of Americans. They are an integral part of the movements to defeat Reaganism, to stop nuclear insanity, to end racism and for jobs, peace and equality.

I look back with a sense of pride on my presence at the first discussion about publishing the magazine *Jewish Affairs*, especially because I was in the company of such leading comrades as Henry Winston, Hy Lumer, Alex Kolkin, Herbert Aptheker, Philip Honor, Jack Kling and Abe Wise. I am, therefore, especially honored to be here on this proud day to join in the celebration and recognition of *Jewish Affairs'* consistent contributions to the Jewish American community, helping to clarify and give direction on some very complex and sensitive questions affecting Jewish national pride and identity.

Since its very first issue, *Jewish Affairs* has been a consistent voice of truth. It has become a tried and tested voice of truth against a cascade of slander and lies.

Publishing a new magazine became necessary because most institutions and publications dealing with Jewish affairs had become engulfed in a tidal wave of reactionary cold war anti-Sovietism. This wave was whipped up by the worldwide policies of U.S. imperialism over many years and was fed by the policies of expansion

and annexation of the ruling circles of Israel.

Jewish Affairs has established itself as a true voice for peace, an unrelenting fighter against racism, against Reaganomics; a clear voice for human and civil rights, for democracy and against all forms of anti-Semitism.

Because *Jewish Affairs* is an advocate and defender of the true interests of Israel, it has never opportunistically remained silent. Nor has it hesitated to speak the truth when that truth demanded criticism of Israel's policies.

Truth On Its Head

The Big Lie — the so-called Soviet threat, anti-Communism — is the most massive brainwashing scheme in all history. Never has a bigger lie been repeated more times. It is a diabolical ideological trap.

Anti-Communism is the real opium of the people. It is a brainwashing drug that transforms reality into its very opposite. It is designed to create the appearance of a danger where none exists and to disguise the existence of a real danger.

Under its hypnotic influence, those who should be honored and supported are vilified and condemned. Heroes are portrayed as villains and villains are painted as heroes. It turns people against their very best self-interests.

For humanity, the Big Lie about a Soviet military nuclear threat has now become a matter of life and death because it is the main ideological weapon in the Reagan Administration's arsenal of preparation for nuclear war. It is a brainwashing fog to cover up the Reaganite drive toward nuclear confrontation and final nuclear holocaust.

Many believed the Big Lie of anti-Communism when Hitler used it. The fifty million lives lost in World War II serve as a horrible reminder to the whole world that, unless challenged and checked, Big Lie anti-Communism may well become the final funeral dirge for all of humanity —

Speech at the Twelfth Annual *Jewish Affairs* Dinner, June 10, 1984, New York City. Gus Hall is general secretary and 1984 Presidential candidate of the CPUSA.

because after World War III there will be no one left to raise a voice.

All the slander about a Soviet military threat is an unmitigated Big Lie. But the vile anti-Soviet brainwashing campaign is not limited to lies about a supposed Soviet military threat.

The charge of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is just as big a lie. In fact it is an integral part of the Big Lie. It also turns historical facts on their heads.

In this slander, real fighters against anti-Semitism become anti-Semites. And anti-Semites become freedom fighters.

It is one of those ironic brainwashing twists that the socialist countries are accused of anti-Semitism, when in fact only these countries have political, ideological, legal and constitutional bars against all forms of racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism. Their philosophical world outlook consciously rejects and leaves no room for racism and anti-Semitism.

The Soviet Union is accused of anti-Semitism, but it is the only country in the history of the world that has, for over 65 years, pursued a policy of affirmative action, a Leninist policy of equality and justice for all peoples and nationalities. It is an ingenious policy that has literally wiped out the effects of generations of feudal and capitalist inequality, chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

Soviet socialism has completely wiped out the degrading oppression, the poverty-stricken, pogrom-ridden ghetto existence the Jewish people experienced under czarism. And with the elimination of these material conditions, it has also removed the social and economic roots of racism and chauvinism, guaranteeing that they will never appear on socialist soil.

The country that was known throughout the world as the prisonhouse of nations has been turned into a highly developed, technologically advanced union of equal republics and peoples that live in peace and harmony.

The Big Lie brainwashers work to cover up or turn this historical truth upside down.

We must not forget that during the Hitler-fascist onslaught, with its genocidal anti-Semitic thrust, only one country in the world took special

measures, including mass evacuation, to protect and save its Jewish population. It is no accident of history that this country was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where the working class was the dominant force.

While every capitalist country in the world, including the United States, turned a deaf ear to appeals for help and for anti-fascist unity, the Soviet Union responded with heroic actions that saved more Jewish lives than any other single act in history. Millions more, including millions of Jewish people, would have been saved had the United States, Great Britain and France responded to the Soviet appeal for a joint effort when Hitler continued his aggression with the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In fact, an early anti-fascist, collective-security united front might have prevented World War II. And after Hitler's invasion of Western Europe and attack on the Soviet Union, even more millions could have been saved if the United States and Great Britain had responded quickly to the Soviet appeal to open a Second Front against Hitler in Europe. They delayed opening the Second Front in Europe because they were still hoping, and in fact maneuvering, to join forces with Hitler against the Soviet Union.

These days, much is being made of the fortieth anniversary of the Normandy invasion. But this is another clear example of Big Lie distortions, another attempt to rewrite history.

In the volumes of commentary, nothing is said about the absolute truth that the U.S.-British invasion took place long after the Soviet Union had already broken the back of the Nazi armed forces on blood-soaked battlefields in Leningrad, Stalingrad and Kursk.

It is also absolute truth that during the Hitler holocaust, of all the political parties in the capitalist countries, only the working-class, Communist Parties pursued policies of concrete actions to block the mass murder.

The Truth About Establishment of Israel

Let us set another historical record straight. When the question of setting up and recognizing Israel as a sovereign state was on the United Nations agenda, the U.S. government spent months

debating whether to support such a move.

The U.S. oil monopolies were against it. They already dominated the rich oil fields in the Middle Eastern Persian Gulf.

While all this was going on, the Soviet representatives at the United Nations had already publicly supported the establishment of Israel and taken a firm diplomatic lead to achieve this.

The Soviet Union supported the realization of either of two options in Palestine: The creation of two separate states, one Arab and one Jewish, or the creation of one united Jewish-Arab state.

This Soviet policy was not accidental, arbitrary or subjective. It was a policy leading to actions based on a solid, partisan class position. The Soviet Union well understood that anti-Semitism, like racism, is an instrument of capitalist class exploitation, and that active opposition to racism and anti-Semitism is a working-class position.

Contradictions often arise in world history between the interests of different nations and peoples. The history of the U.S. itself provides examples of such contradictions.

In its early years, the interests of the mass of immigrants coming to the U.S. from around the world and the interests of the Native American Indian peoples developed into a contradiction.

This contradiction arose within the framework of developing capitalism. The U.S. government and the capitalist class position was always based on maximum profits.

Because of this there have been no adjustments, no reparations, no attempts at a just solution. The brutal, genocidal offensive against the American Indian peoples was, and remains, a capitalist approach to the question. It was, and remains, criminal, unjust and wrong.

However, a just correction of wrongs can not be a return to the very beginning. Corrections and solutions must be made within the framework of today's realities. A just solution must start with the elimination of all forms of racism and discrimination through affirmative action programs to wipe out all the inequalities suffered by Native American Indian peoples.

Likewise, both the Palestinian people and

the Jewish people have historic ties to Israel. But the mass influx of Jewish immigrants, especially after World War II, created a contradiction between the interests of these immigrants and the interests of the people of Palestine.

The explosive, violent and — yes, genocidal — policy pursued after the United Nations decision to create two separate states was a capitalist, Zionist approach to the question.

For the Palestinian people, the outcome was criminal, unjust and disastrous. It was, and remains, a crime against five million people. But here, also, it is difficult to think of a just solution in terms of going back to the conditions of the very beginning.

Today the solution must start with Israel's withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon, from the West Bank, from the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Israel must withdraw and return to its 1967 borders.

The solution must include the creation of conditions of total equality, with affirmative action programs to undo the wrongs of the past.

The solution must include the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent homeland.

The solution must encompass basic recognition of the sovereignty, independence and rights of all existing states, including Israel.

There has been, and remains, a basic difference between the Mideast policy of the Soviet Union and the United States.

The U.S. policy has always been based on oil and corporate profits. The Soviet policy has always been based on the original, basic United Nations resolution, on the existence of Israel and an independent, sovereign Palestinian state.

Understandably, Jewish people pay particular attention to developments in Israel. Progressive people worldwide supported the achievement of Israel's independence. But progressives must also support an independent state, with equal rights, for the Arab inhabitants of the former Palestine.

Position of Israeli Communist Party

In celebration of Israel's thirty-sixth anniversary, the heroic, multinational Communist Party

of Israel said:

On the thirty-sixth anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, we note with concern that Israel is today much further from true independence than ever before in her history.

The realization of the hope of the masses for peace, the strengthening of independence and progress have evaded us further as a result of the dirty war in Lebanon, which was unleashed by the Likud ruling clique and the U.S. Reagan Administration.

As a result of adventurist policies, three-quarters of the country's budget is spent for military purposes. We are in the midst of galloping inflation, reduced health care services, construction, social services and expenditures for culture. The economic and social crisis deepens. And, as a result of such politics the threat of fascism increases in Israel and racism rears its head.

The policy of the Israeli government is a very short-sighted one. It is staking everything on its alliance with U.S. imperialism. It has isolated itself in the world community.

The world balance of forces is moving against U.S. imperialism. Therefore, it is becoming an unreliable, unstable senior partner. And there is no guarantee the U.S. will not sell Israel down the river.

The U.S. imperialist interest in Mideast oil is much bigger than its interest in Israel. So far Israel has been useful to the U.S. oil monopolies. But this situation could easily change. Israel could become an obstacle to U.S. access to Mideast oil, in which case the United States would have no compunctions about dropping it.

The true national interests and security of Israel lie in a completely different direction than the policy Israel has been following.

It would be in Israel's true national interest to sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of all parties who have a legitimate interest in the region — the Palestinian people and Israel's Arab neighbors, the Soviet Union and the United States.

It is not in the true national interests of Israel to continue opposing the legitimate aspirations of the Arab Palestinian people to a homeland and

state.

It is not in the true national interests of Israel to continue establishing settlements which greatly aggravate and complicate the situation.

It is not in the true national interests of Israel to continue annexing territory seized through aggression and war.

The true national interests and security of Israel lie in agreeing to implement the many United Nations resolutions and returning all annexed territories to their rightful owners. It lies in Israel agreeing to return to its 1967 borders as an essential precondition of peaceful coexistence with its Arab neighbors.

Israel's security is not guaranteed by military aggression and the seizure of other countries' territory. In this day and age a little territory more or less has no real military significance. What really counts is to establish boundaries recognized by all, guaranteed by all, especially the United Nations, the United States and the Soviet Union. For this, working out a just peace is absolutely necessary.

It is important for Jewish Americans not to give mechanical, uncritical support to the policies of the Israeli government. On the other hand, it is important to support what is in the best interests of Israel. Among the Israeli people themselves there are many who do not agree with the policies of the Israeli government, including a strong and growing peace movement of the people.

The Hidden Snare

The sole purpose of the Big Lie of anti-Communism, including the allegations concerning a nonexistent Soviet military threat and the lie about Soviet anti-Semitism — which is the dirtiest of all dirty tricks — is to ensnare people into support for the Reagan policies of war, of nuclear superiority, policies of U.S. corporate world domination.

The falsehood about Soviet anti-Semitism is specially designed to ensnare the Jewish people.

It is natural that the Jewish people should have an emotional attachment to Israel and a special concern about anti-Semitism.

But there are those who take advantage of this attachment for their own purposes: U.S. im-

perialism, which has huge corporate interests in the Mideast; the Israeli ruling class, which has accepted the role of junior partner and surrogate serving the interests of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast; the corporations and bankers in both countries.

All these private interests have nothing in common with the public interests of the Israeli people. They represent special selfish private interests, which run counter to the true interests of the Israeli people.

These private interests justify their policies and actions on the basis that they are defending the national interests and security of Israel. The truth is that in the long run their policies and actions jeopardize the very existence of Israel.

In all this the ideas and policies of Zionist groups play a special supporting role. From their special angle, they fully support all these reactionary policies and forces. They misuse and betray the very real concerns and sentiments of the Jewish people. Some people's legitimate concerns have been perverted by the Zionist leadership into support for the policies of war and aggression of both Israel and the United States.

The Big Lie of anti-Communism and espe-

cially the falsehood of Soviet anti-Semitism have become the main ideological substance of Zionism. They are attached to the old backward concept that anti-Semitism is an incurable, eternal, inherited human characteristic of all who are not Jewish.

For this reason, it is important not to equate Zionism with the Jewish people, their just aspirations and sentiments of national pride, and their support for an Israel at peace with its neighbors and the world.

As the struggles sharpen and the questions become more difficult and complex, the clear thinking and contributions of such great personalities as Mike Gold, Hyman Lumer and Moshe Olgin become even more significant. As truth conquers the Big Lie they will stand even taller. There is a lasting lesson in Mike Gold's classic working-class novel, *Jews Without Money*. Reaganism, with its anti-labor, racist, war-making policies, can be defeated by the unity of Jews without money, Catholics and Protestants without money, Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos without money — all uniting with our multiracial, multinational working class without money.

The Last Agony of Sacco and Vanzetti

ART SHIELDS

I was tramping in front of the Massachusetts State House in Boston on a hot, humid day in August 1927. This was eighty-seven months after Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested on false murder charges. Their "last agony," as Vanzetti called it, was nearing its end.

Thousands of outraged men and women were marching with me. Workers and intellectuals, Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Anarchists and some Republicans were demonstrating together. The faces of Mike Gold, the new brilliant workers' poet; William L. Patterson, the future Black Communist leader, and other friends are flashing in my mind's eye.

We were the vanguard of millions of demonstrators the world over. No frameup in world history ever aroused as much indignation as the frameup of these two innocent Italian workers. Their death walk was just a few days ahead. We were making a final effort to stop a ghastly murder by millionaire killers.

One millionaire killer was inside the State House. This was Alvan T. Fuller, the governor of Massachusetts. Fuller, a Packard motor car magnate, was worth twenty to forty million dollars, the *Boston Herald* reported.

Governor Fuller was an enemy of the working class. He had broken a strike in his Boston Packard plant. It's not surprising, therefore, that he hated Sacco, a strike activist, and Vanzetti, a strike leader. But he hated them for their ideas as well. As a member of Congress Fuller had voted to unseat Victor Berger, an elected Representative from Wisconsin, who belonged to the Socialist Party. While in Congress Fuller expressed his hatred of "Anarchists, Bolsheviks and IWWs." He once said that he would sleep better when Sacco and Vanzetti were dead.

From a forthcoming second volume of a three-volume autobiography. The second volume will cover a 20-year period to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Volume one is *My Shaping Up Years* (International Publishers).

Along with hatred went ruthless ambition. Alvan Fuller's goal was the U.S. presidency. He hoped to ride into the White House over the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti. He did not dream that his hopes would be blasted. The Sacco-Vanzetti case made Fuller unavailable for the nomination. So Senator Borah of Idaho told the Republican National Committee in 1928.

Another millionaire killer was A. Lawrence Lowell, the white-haired president of Harvard University. His wealth was in cotton textiles. He never worked for his dollars. They came from rich ancestors. Lowell was the spokesman for Boston's Back Bay aristocrats, who thought like himself. Toilers — like Sacco, the shoe worker, and Vanzetti, the clam digger and fish peddler — were rabble in their minds. And Lowell turned thumbs down when Fuller made him chairman of a Review Commission that passed on the life or death of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The most venomous killer was old Webster Thayer, the trial judge. He sentenced Vanzetti to twelve to fifteen years in prison in 1920 after Vanzetti was fraudulently convicted on charges of taking part in an unsuccessful bandit raid on a shoe company's payroll truck in West Bridgewater, Mass., on Christmas Eve 1919. And in 1921 Thayer sentenced Sacco and Vanzetti to death. They were accused of being members of a gang that stole a shoe company's weekly payroll and killed a paymaster and a guard in front of a factory in South Braintree, Mass., on April 15, 1920. Thayer treated the two martyrs as his enemies. He called them "Anarchist bastards" and promised to "get them hanged."

Other killers were FBI agents who helped to patch the frameup together. It happened, however, that Boston's two chief FBI men had consciences. They finally told the public that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent. Their confessions were unprecedented. They were so important that I gave almost all my time in that final August

to mobilizing protests to J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI director, to open his Sacco-Vanzetti file.

I worked night and day at this task. I slept only four hours a night for three weeks. I sent hundreds of telegrams and letters to trade unionists, distinguished artists, writers and progressive statesmen. My slogan was "Open your files, Mr. Hoover, and save two innocent lives." My wires and letters were signed by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee.

Many whom we appealed to had denounced the frameup already. I'm thinking of such libertarians as Picasso, Anatole France, Romain Rolland, Thomas Mann, revolutionary leaders in Mexico, and Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, Edna Ferber and Dorothy Parker in the United States.

There was a splendid response. Many protests went direct to President Calvin Coolidge. They disturbed "Silent Cal" so much that he moved out of the White House into the Black Hills of South Dakota.

The FBI confessions had been the basis of a demand for a new trial in 1926. I attended the hearing in Dedham courthouse when the agents' affidavits were read to Judge Thayer. These agents had examined every scrap of evidence against the defendants. And this is what Lawrence Letherman, the agent in charge of the Boston FBI office in 1920 and 1921, said:

It was the opinion of the Department agents here that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men. It was also the general opinion of such of the agents in Boston as had any actual knowledge of the Sacco-Vanzetti case that Sacco and Vanzetti, though Anarchists and agitators, were not highway robbers, and had nothing to do with the South Braintree crime (where a shoe company's payroll was stolen and a paymaster and guard were killed. *Ed.*).

My opinion and the opinion of most of the older men in the Government service had always been that the South Braintree crime was the work of professionals.

The other FBI agent's confession went further. It came from Fred Weyand, an FBI specialist on Communists, Socialists and Anarchists. Weyand had taken a very active part in the notorious

"red raids" in January 1920, when ten thousand alleged Communists and other radicals were arrested on deportation charges.

"I am thoroughly convinced," said Weyand's affidavit, ". . . that these men had nothing to do with the South Braintree crime, and that *their conviction was the result of cooperation between Boston agents of the Department of Justice and the District Attorney.*" (Emphasis added.)

The admission that the FBI helped get guilty verdicts against men it believed to be innocent, was especially damaging to the prosecution.

Agent Weyand added, "It was the general opinion of the agents of the Department of Justice having knowledge of the affair that the South Braintree crime was committed by a band of professional highwaymen."

Judge Thayer could not refute this evidence that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent. He turned down the new trial appeal nevertheless.

Every appeal for a new trial during this seven year case was promptly rejected by Thayer. Some appeals were based on the judge's open prejudice against the defendants. But the prejudiced judge always denied his prejudice. And a higher State court accepted his preposterous denials.

I was telegraphing a dispatch about the FBI confessions when I found I was being spied on. "I like what you write," the Western Union operator said when I turned in my message. "I feel the same way about Sacco and Vanzetti. That's why I'm telling you something confidential. That man in the brown suit is a Government agent. He reads what you write."

I told Aldino Felicani, leader of the Defense Committee, about this. "I'm followed all the time," he replied. "They put a spy in the cell next to Sacco, but Nick detected him quickly."

I spotted my spy several times after this. He did not always wear his brown suit, but a broken nose gave him away. And I learned how to shake him off when I needed to.

Another confession gave me hopes of victory at this time. It came from a young bandit — Celestino Madeiros — who had been found guilty of murder in another case. Madeiros was in a cell near Sacco's. He fell under the spell of the young shoe worker's personality, and sent Sacco the fol-

lowing note: "I hereby confess to being in the shoe company crime on April 15, 1920, and that Sacco and Vanzetti were not there."

The young bandit gave the Sacco-Vanzetti lawyers a sworn statement about the crime. His confession confirmed the opinion of Letherman and Weyand that the crime was done by professional highwaymen. Madeiros belonged to the well-known Morelli gang. A well-documented book — *The Untried Case* — by Herbert H. Ehrmann, a Sacco-Vanzetti attorney — brings convincing evidence that the Morelli gang did the killing at South Braintree.

I did not see how an official investigation of the Morelli gang could be avoided. Such an investigation would clear Sacco and Vanzetti and save their lives. But the legal juggernaut crushed our hopes quickly. Prosecutor Katzmann made no investigation. The FBI kept its hands off the Morellis by order of J. Edgar Hoover. As for Governor Fuller — he simply rejected Madeiros' confession. It was an obstacle on his way to the White House, as the killer of two "Reds". Lawrence Lowell's Review Commission barely listened to Madeiros, then tossed his confession aside. Madeiros lost all chance of escaping the electric chair by telling the truth.

This was a terrible blow to Sacco's wife Rosina. Her color had returned when I saw her after the Madeiros confession, but she was pale as death after the authorities ignored the confession.

I'm not giving all the major evidence of the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. The details would fill a giant book and are no longer necessary. The martyrs' innocence is not only accepted by the workers of the world and its vanguard writers, artists and philosophers. It has been officially endorsed by the State of Massachusetts. The endorsement came in a proclamation fifty years after the executions. The proclamation was issued by Governor Michael Dukakis in 1977. It established August 23, the anniversary date of the execution, as "Sacco-Vanzetti Day." The governor also denounced the frameup.

We honor the governor for taking a bold stand with Sacco and Vanzetti. He was following the glorious example of a great Illinois governor

nearly a century ago. That was John Peter Altgeld, who pardoned three imprisoned Eight Hour Day leaders in 1893 and denounced the hanging of four others — Albert Parsons, George Spies, Frederick Engel and Rudolph Fischer - in 1887. They had been framed in a shameless murder trial on charges of planting a bomb that killed a policeman at an outdoor workers' meeting.

I'm confining this report — as much as possible — to what I saw myself. I therefore can not neglect an important piece of documentary evidence that I helped to find. It clinched Vanzetti's alibi in the West Bridgewater hijacking case that I discussed in an earlier chapter.

Vanzetti's conviction in the hijacking case tipped the balance against Sacco and himself in the murder trial. Sacco faced the jurors every day with an alleged felon at his side. And Governor Fuller talked about Vanzetti's "criminal record" in the final August days before the executions.

This "criminal record" was based on a fraudulent conviction. The West Bridgewater crime took place on Christmas Eve, 1919, when Vanzetti was in Plymouth, twenty miles away. That was a meatless day in Plymouth's Italian colony. And more than a dozen Plymouth Italians told the court that they were buying eels from Vanzetti at the time of the attempted hijacking.

Vanzetti's alibi seemed irrefutable. His witnesses were housewives, workers, businessmen. All were respectable citizens. But Prosecutor Katzmann had one fault with them. They were Italians. Katzmann emphasized this fact again and again for the benefit of the jurors. Italian immigrants were treated with contempt and hostility in 1920. Vanzetti's perfect alibi was rejected.

Governor Fuller shared this contempt and hostility. He sarcastically asked people this question: If Vanzetti was selling eels on the day of the crime why didn't he exhibit an express company receipt for the eels at the trial? This question indicated that he might feel differently about the alibi if he saw this receipt.

A search for the receipt then began. Attorney Ehrmann in his excellent book, *The Case That Never Died*, said he made this search at the request of William G. Thompson, the chief counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti.

My own memory is different. I was present at a defense committee meeting when the governor's comment on the Express Company's receipt was discussed. Our attorneys were expressing their despair. It was impossible to find such evidence seven and two thirds years after the eels were sent to Plymouth, the lawyers said.

I insisted that nothing was lost by trying. The argument went back and forth until I won. Then four of us began combing the Boston fish market on August 2. Ehrmann mentioned only two searchers in his book — Felicani and himself. He left out two others: Attorney Michael Musmanno, an adventurous politician from Pittsburgh, later a rabid redbaiter, and myself.

We determined to visit every fish dealer in Boston harbor if necessary. We first combed the fish stalls on the fish piers in South Boston. They had thrown out all old records.

The odds seemed overwhelmingly against us when we arrived at Atlantic Avenue, the heart of the fish market. Hours passed. No dealer remembered Vanzetti and none kept ancient Express Co. receipts. We were almost at the end of the trail when we entered the offices of Corso and Cannizo, the biggest fish dealers, at 112 Atlantic Avenue. Our hopes rose when the manager told us that a huge stack of receipts were boxed in the attic. There might be thousands, he said.

We divided the receipt stubs into four big piles. We worked for an hour in the stuffy attic without success. Then someone — I think it was Felicani — cried, "I've got it!" We crowded around him. In his hand was an American Express Co. receipt stub. Vanzetti's name was spelled out. Eels were shipped to "B. Vanzetti" in Plymouth in December 20, 1919. That meant the eels would have been delivered on December 22nd as witnesses testified.

We felt triumphant. Vanzetti's alibi was nailed down by a document the governor could not deny. The express receipt was rushed to Fuller. He never admitted to the defense that he got it. But he talked to his friends about it. Fuller could no longer doubt that Vanzetti had the eels. But the governor was hellbent on murder. So he attacked the alibi in a new way. He told his friends that Vanzetti had time to take part in the

West Bridgewater hijacking and sell eels in Plymouth the same day. Vanzetti could rush from one town to the other in a fast car, Fuller said.

This theory strained possibilities to the breaking point. Vanzetti couldn't drive and there was no evidence of a fast car.

The final days of Sacco and Vanzetti were ticking away. There seemed no legal way to save them. Louis D. Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes, two Boston liberals on the U.S. Supreme Court, refused to stop the executions. This pleased the Back Bay aristocrats. Brandeis disqualified himself on the pretext that his family was involved. His wife had let Mrs. Sacco live in her summer home. Holmes admitted to visitors that Sacco and Vanzetti could not have received a fair trial in New England in 1921. But he had no legal grounds for interfering, he asserted.

I attended a conference of seven or eight lawyers, who discussed what might be done. Some were very well-known. One man said the only hope was in mass pressure. "But we don't want any Communist propaganda," another asserted. "It will hurt the chances for executive clemency."

At this point Frank P. Walsh broke in. Walsh was the most important people's lawyer in the United States outside of Clarence Darrow. He had headed President Woodrow Wilson's Industrial Relations Commission and interrogated J. P. Morgan and the Rockefellers about their labor policies and monopolistic practices. And he told his fellow attorneys that, "Sacco and Vanzetti have been kept alive by propaganda, especially Communist propaganda, for seven years. Let's say nothing against Communist propaganda. Let's have more propaganda."

No one protested. The truth was on Walsh's side.

The Communist Party was bleeding from the terrible Red Raids when Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested in 1920. Nevertheless Boston Communists were raising defense funds and distributing defense literature when I arrived in October of that year. *This help rapidly increased.* My first defense article appeared in a Communist-edited magazine, *The Liberator*, that December. And that same month I got Robert Minor,, a member of the Party's Central Committee, to illustrate my

defense pamphlet, *Are They Doomed?*

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was not yet a Communist member when she sent me to Boston. She was close to the Party, however. A united action program was worked out between Elizabeth and William L. Weinstone, the Party's administrative secretary. And when Weinstone became secretary of the Party in New York State he presided over a series of Sacco-Vanzetti meetings of twenty-five to fifty thousand workers.

Before me as I write are copies of announcements of Sacco-Vanzetti meetings in more than two hundred cities and towns. They were called by the International Labor Defense, which was led by the Communist Party. I remember speaking at one of these meetings in Avella, a Pennsylvania mining town on the West Virginia border.

Sacco and Vanzetti were Anarchists, not Communists. They regarded their Communist supporters as Comrades, nonetheless. From Vanzetti's cell came a letter to the ILD, dated April 25, 1926, that said:

The echo of your campaign in our behalf has reached my heart. I repeat. . . only the people, our comrades, the world revolutionary proletariat, can save us from the powers of the capitalist system.

In another letter, dated June 4, 1926, Vanzetti lauds the *Daily Worker*:

. . . It is two days that I miss the *Daily Worker*. I know your solidarity. Here, capitalist press, state police and magistrates are imbestializing against us, lying. . . clamoring. . . for execution.

From Sacco's cell on May 3rd, 1926, came a letter which said: "Your unchanged solidarity towards your two comrades. . . brought me a great relief. . ." In another letter Sacco told the ILD: "I wish I could be nearest to you, so I could be able to express my feelings towards your kindness and fraternal solidarity that you have towards your two brother comrades."

In the Soviet Union millions expressed their anger and grief. In Stockholm fifteen thousand Swedes stormed the US Embassy. In Paris a hundred and fifty thousand marchers filled the streets with bitter cries. In London's Hyde Park

thirty thousand men and women demanded freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti. Similar demonstrations were going on in Brussels and other cities, most of them led by Communists. Massive strikes occurred in Buenos Aires, Rosario, Montevideo and other Latin American cities.

In the United States we witnessed the biggest demonstrations this country had seen. The Communist Party put all it had into the fight in the last months of the martyrs' lives. Every major city was involved in the protests. Strikes were growing and Governor Fuller was compelled to grant a twelve-day reprieve on August 10, the date Judge Thayer set for the executions.

No one counted the number of American strikers. There might have been a million. Some workers — such as 140,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers — stopped work for thirty to sixty minutes, but many others shut down their jobs for twenty-four hours.

These protests almost saved Sacco and Vanzetti. This was indicated by Felix Frankfurter, the Harvard law professor and future Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, who did valuable work for the defense. Governor Fuller would have been compelled to grant executive clemency, in Frankfurter's opinion, if the liberation forces had had a little more time.

The battle, however, had not been fought in vain when Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered in the electric chair in Charlestown Penitentiary, it raised the people's cry for justice to new heights. Some notable fighters, such as William L. Patterson, came into the Communist Party during the struggle. I think of what Vanzetti told a journalist not long before his death:

If it had not been for this thing I might have lived my life among scorning men. I might have died unmarked, a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of men, as we do now by accident.

Our words — our lives — our pains — nothing! The taking of our lives — the lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler — all. This last moment belongs to us — this last agony is our triumph.

The State of the Arts

NORMAN GOLDBERG

Like any other subject viewed from a Marxist position, the state of the arts can be best understood if it is given a historical framework. The overall character of art is determined by social history and by the dialectical contradictions of that history. We will not get far in determining the true state of the arts by simple deduction, that is, by separating the "bad" from the "good" and making a judgement based on arithmetic. This type of listing films, plays, television programs, books, music and painting for general evaluation is frequently done by critics. It is an empirical method which, if it can give us any insight, can do so only haphazardly.

To establish our framework for the state of the arts, we must first recognize the specific phase of history we live in. The "present day" in history started at the conclusion of the Second World War. With the advent of the Truman Administration, U.S. domestic and foreign policy shifted to the Right. Our recent war ally, the Soviet Union, became the official "No. 1 enemy" and the Left in the U.S., especially the Communist Party, came under intense attack. It led to the Cold War, McCarthyism, mass harassment, political persecution, frame-up trials and state-organized witch hunts against thousands of Left and progressive people. While the madness of the cold war abated toward the end of the 1950s, it is important to keep in mind that this whole phase of history, from the end of the Second World War to this very day, has for the American people been a period of unending anti-Communist indoctrination. *We have endured almost 40 years of*

The following article on the state of the arts was originally given in the form of lectures at the People's School for Marxist Studies in New York. It has been condensed here, due to space limitations, and therefore runs the risk of oversimplification, for which I apologize.

I am indebted to Serge Guilbaut for the material found in his book, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art—Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War* (University of Chicago Press, 1983).—Norman Goldberg.

non-stop anti-Communist indoctrination! This has remained high priority throughout seven successive administrations, and with Ronald Reagan's regime, anti-Communism has become a pathological obsession, a fundamentalist-type religion complete with angels and demons.

In 1941, publisher Henry Luce presented his vision of the future in a *Life* magazine article, titled "The American Century." Perceiving the eventual defeat of Germany, Japan and Italy, and the decline of Great Britain and France as world powers, Luce visualized that the vacuum would be filled by the U.S., with its superior economic, technological and military power. It was a jingoistic call for the U.S. to assume leadership of the "free world." This concept was, in its overall outlook, not far different from the notions of Wendell Willkie's "One World," the centerpiece of his campaign rhetoric in the 1940 presidential election. Henry Wallace later presented his own view as an answer to Luce, and in some ways, to Willkie, in his "Century of the Common Man." It was a populist idea, more democratic in content, but in a curious way it resembled characteristics found in "One World" and even in "The American Century," in that it assumed a natural U.S. world leadership without any clear class awareness of the actual international situation.

Political dominance by nations is usually accompanied by ideological dominance, in which the arts are a component. In the 19th century, England was the fountainhead of European literature. France was where artists went to study painting. Germany was the standard bearer of music. In this respect, the U.S. was a Johnny-come-lately, with an inferiority complex in the arts vis--vis Europe. Moreover, it was also confronted with a new force in the rapidly changing post-war world, the Soviet Union and new people's democracies in Eastern Europe. Here were countries with a socio-economic system, a philosophy and a growing culture that was seen as a

threat to the very existence of capitalism itself.

In its role as defender of the "free world," the U.S. acted to assert its leadership on every front and it did not overlook art. Here, a number of problems arose of an ideological nature as to what would best typify the new American world presence in the arts. It would have to be an art free of traditionalism and regionalism, which was felt to be too confining and provincial, and which would never be accepted by the sophisticated élite in Europe. It would, of course, also have to be free of Left influence, represented in much of the literature, theater and visual art, the progressive critical and social realism in the art of the 1920s and 1930s.

Anti-Communism could not be overtly translated into the arts and hold up, especially to a war-exhausted Europe whose masses were either following Communist Parties or other Left-led movements in growing numbers. Art would have to be distanced from politics, and the American aesthetic community debated and searched for an art form that would reflect new dimensions in sense perception and feeling, but removed from the realities of social life.

The leading developments in this direction took place in the visual arts. In painting, Abstract Expressionism had long been looked down upon by the art establishment as hopelessly incoherent, irrational and an import, a poor relation to its Parisian counterpart. However, a sector of the art establishment and some maverick critics saw potential in this form of painting. Here was an art, they reasoned, that was highly personal, unrealistic and sufficiently ambiguous to stimulate a broad range of aesthetic interpretations. It had the attraction of dissidence and yet it was apolitical. It is worth noting that in his book *The Vital Center*, published in the late 1940s, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in stating his case for a "new liberalism" that was both anti-Communist and anti-conservative, welcomed avant-garde dissidence as the significant trend in the arts, an art whose time had come.

It is also worth noting that a considerable boost to this art was given by a number of critics and writers with anti-Soviet Left political credentials. Clement Greenberg, Meyer Schapiro,

Dwight Macdonald, Harold Rosenberg and later, Hilton Kramer, saw in the art of avant-garde abstraction a subtle weapon to serve their purposes. Taking their cue from Trotsky, they argued that the Soviet Union has "betrayed the Revolution" and in doing so had also subverted art by supporting the school of Socialist Realism over the assorted schools of Futurism, Formalism, Constructivism and other avant-garde tendencies practiced there in the 1920s.

They were therefore enemies of social realist art produced in the U.S., which they accused of being manipulated by the Communist Party. To their way of thinking, both capitalism in the West and the Soviet Union offered no future for art. Therefore, the only way out for the artist was to insulate himself from these two contending negative forces and seek aesthetic truth in the pure essentials of the art experience. Thus, they championed the art of the dissident modernists who, like themselves, were also in opposition to both social systems, at least where it involved a philosophy of art. It should be added however, that in time to come, these lofty thinkers would be rewarded for their anti-Sovietism with prominent positions at prestigious institutions such as the Museum of Modern Art, the Guggenheim and Whitney museums, major art galleries and universities, as well as writing for leading art publications and newspapers.

This quality of detachment in the arts was also noticeable in the work of people not associated with the school of modernism. The 1950s was the period of the hydrogen bomb and the cold war. A feeling of despair and powerlessness existed in the U.S.. To many old-line liberals of the New Deal, the "new liberalism" of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. appeared more and more anti-Communist and less liberal. Yet communism, as they understood it, was an unrealizable utopian vision. The world had become too complex, and ideology had lost its meaning.

Archibald Macleish, the poet and one-time speechwriter for Franklin D. Roosevelt, mirrored this dilemma in his play, "Job." This didactic drama presents a world in disarray, where antagonistic social philosophies and institutions compete to win the central character, Job, to their re-

spective cause. Capitalism, the State, the Church, Freudianism, and Marxism each presents its case, and each is proven false. Job rejects all the world's organized social formations and finally turns to the love of his wife, wherein he finds truth and security. In this private sanctuary, Macleish is not different from the disengaged dissident artists of the modernist bent.

The distancing of art from social reality and the disenchantment with political reality weakened the later plays of Arthur Miller and gave us the static naturalism of Edward Albee and Tennessee Williams. In Europe, the rejection of both capitalism and socialism provided the breeding grounds of the Theater of the Absurd, existentialist, expressionist and nihilist theater created by dramatists like Beckett, Ionescu, Genet, Camus, Sartre, Durenmatt, Weiss and Pinter. The current form of this is seen in the clever nihilistic wit of the British playwright, Tom Stoppard.

By the 1960s, the efforts to foist Abstract Expressionism as the dominant form in the visual arts had largely succeeded. The art world was awash in a maze of modernism. Gallery owners were finding it a very profitable item. American artists like Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Byron Browne, Robert Motherwell, Franz Kline, Adolph Gottlieb and Barnett Newman were among those being favorably compared (and even being considered superior) to the European "old guard": Picasso, Matisse, Klee, Mondrian and Miró. The art publications were forums for esoteric debate between partisans of one artist or art trend as opposed to another. It revealed a type of critical hype distinguished by its abstract theoretical jargon.

The perplexities of this theorizing were simplified for all to understand by none other than the high priest of modern art himself, Nelson Rockefeller, then governor of New York. Rockefeller had been a prime supporter of abstract art, and with his financial and political power, together with his connections and influence in the art world, he led the campaign to make it the art of the land. Appearing as a lecturer at the New School for Social Research in New York, he displayed some paintings from his enormous collection and discussed their meaning. This type of

art, he said, can not be analyzed. You had to "feel" it, and if it gave you a satisfactory feeling, it was valid for you. Otherwise, it would be best to ignore it, no harm done. It is an art of sensation only, free from rational inquiry. By this easy explanation, His Excellency deciphered all that was hidden in the volumes that had been written and spoken on the mysteries of abstract art. If any of the lower hierarchy had any qualms about this simplistic explanation, they dared not show it for fear of biting the hand that fed them.

Despite their debates, the spokesmen of the new art policed the galleries to protect the U.S. from the dangers of critical and social realism, to which they were all hostile. It was in isolation and detachment that art could flourish. In an article, "Situation at the Moment," Clement Greenberg wrote: "The American artist has to embrace and content himself, almost, with isolation, if he is to give the most honesty, seriousness and ambition to his work. Isolation is, so to speak, the natural condition of high art in America. Yet it is precisely our most intimate and habitual acquaintance with isolation that gives us our advantage at this moment. Isolation, or rather the alienation that is its cause, is the truth — isolation, alienation, naked and revealed unto itself, is the condition under which the true reality of our age is experienced. And the experience of this true reality is indispensable to any ambitious art." (S. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, University of Chicago Press, 1983, p. 169.)

U.S. think tanks, in association with the State Department and the CIA, began to export the new face of American art in an attempt to impose it on the culture of other nations. It was the flip side of the pop, kitsch and coca-cola culture being promoted abroad.

Latin America, the private preserve of U.S. imperialism, was a prime target. The undermining of the militant Latin American labor movement by the U.S. State Department and the CIA, in collusion with the AFL-CIO leadership, is well known. Not so well known is the carefully worked out program to "Americanize" Latin American art.

Mexico is a case in point. Mexico had deep

revolutionary traditions in its literature, music and painting. The giants, Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros and O'Higgins, were monumental figures in art, and it would be impossible for the U.S. cultural hawks to attack them directly. Theirs was a revolutionary art that would have to be subtly undermined.

Choosing a circumspect path, the hawks found an opening in the work of the Mexican painter, Rufino Tamayo. Tamayo had been influenced by the abstract art of Paris, which he adapted to depict images of ancient Mexican religious and folk themes. This art presumed to symbolize a return to the past, using an esoteric vision of the present. Its obscure character, resulting from the strange blend of Mexican motifs with modern symbolism, looked promising to Washington. The campaign to exploit this art started. Tamayo was given extraordinary publicity in the U.S., proclaimed a great discovery, and his art exhibited widely in the major museums and galleries.

Behind this facade, U.S. funds found their way into Mexico to lay the foundation for a new approach in art. Talented young Mexican painters were sent to the U.S. and Europe to study, usually expense-free. They returned, under new influences, and their work was lavishly praised and exhibited by those in the Mexican art establishment beholden to U.S. sponsors. In time, these artists themselves became the teachers of abstraction. Similar programs operated in literature and music.

The effects on Mexican culture were devastating. David Alfaro Siqueiros, last of the living revolutionary artists, struggled against the poisoning of his country's culture, organizing artists, writers, composers, together with the workers and peasants, in defense of their interests.

The people of the U.S. have been the major victims of art as an ideological tool of state monopoly capitalism. In using the arts as an ideological tool against the people's true interests, it is not necessary to be overtly political in content. This has already been shown. Art can be a tonic or it can be an anesthetic. As a tonic, it refreshes our senses, reveals aspects of reality with insight, heightens our awareness and stimulates our so-

cial perceptions. As an anesthetic, art becomes a form for intellectual and emotional pacification. When we are pacified, we are immobilized in the struggle for social change. We therefore become an unwitting constituent of bourgeois ideology by doing nothing. This is the role we are meant to play under the daily influence of television, films, theater, literature, magazines and newspapers.

There are occasional contradictions to this general state of the arts such as a good film or play. In recent years, a number of good commercial films have been produced, such as "Seven Days in May," "State of Siege," "China Syndrome," "Norma Rae," and "Missing." The contradictions here lie in the fact that while anti-Communism is the ultimate ideological aim of U.S. imperialist-sponsored art, profit is the immediate aim. If a good profit can be expected, even from a film that is politically undesirable to the investors, they will take the plunge.

These contradictions are usually kept under control. The film "Reds" is a case in point. It was a welcome film for this period, and it was commercially successful. By the standard Hollywood practice, if a film makes money, more films of this type will be made to cash in on the popular interest in the subject. Yet there has been no second "Reds," no major Hollywood film on the subject of socialism or communism as history or in fictional form. The Hollywood establishment gave Warren Beatty an Oscar for best direction, in unavoidable recognition of the film's worth, but they evidently manipulated it so that "Reds" would not be given the award for best picture of the year. To do that might have set the climate for more films like "Reds," and fly in the face of Washington's state policy.

These contradictions in the arts reflect the crosscurrents within the capitalist class. Basic contradictions in the arts appear in the areas of social life independent from capitalist control. The last great example of this was found in the WPA arts projects of the 1930s and 1940s. Here was produced a literature, theater and visual art of profoundly humanist and social realist dimensions. It took thousands of creative and performing artists off the unemployment rolls and put them to work in their respective fields. This dem-

ocratic movement in the arts was eventually destroyed by political reactionaries in Congress, aided and abetted by some of the Trotskyite-oriented intellectuals who helped lay the groundwork for the "new art." As stated by Clement Greenberg, "Some day it will have to be told how anti-Stalinism which started out more or less as Trotskyism turned into art for art's sake, and thereby cleared the way, heroically, for what was to come." (Ibid, p. 17.)

Another basic contradiction is found surrounding the literature and music of the Afro-American people. This is an art with threads extending through centuries of slavery, generations of Jim Crow and decades of freedom struggles. This art arises from the common denominator of oppression. Afro-American art hasn't even been given the "opportunity" to become bourgeoisified to the extent of the arts being discussed here. It is significant that Black artists, whatever their problems, have been relatively free from anti-Communist attitudes in their work.

It is true that commercial pressures have affected jazz, theater and literature to a certain extent. It is also true that much of Afro-American art has not yet realized the class roots of oppression. Nevertheless, while the levels of social perception vary in degree, the literature, poetry and theater of Black artists constantly deal with the theme of oppression, strive to overcome that oppression, and are therefore intense in feeling and humanist in content. Ralph Ellison, Lorraine Hansberry, James Baldwin, Ann Allen Shockley, John Oliver Killens, Maya Angelou, Amiri Baraka, Alice Walker and Ishmael Reed are some of the many persuasive writers who have produced a body of work we should all be aware of.

From African chants and dances of the slaves, to plantation songs and dances of the South, from spirituals to blues, from ragtime to jazz, the influence of Afro-American musical arts on our culture has been immense. The jazz idiom alone reveals a popular spirit that is astonishing. Its stylistic characteristics are created by composers and performed by musicians sensitive to the sound currents of their locale. Not only is there a New Orleans sound, a St. Louis sound and a Chi-

cago sound, but there is even a neighborhood sound. Many years ago, New York radio station WBAI featured a series of jazz programs, surveying various community jazz groups, and what was picked up was a distinct musical stylistic character to each group. One program concentrated on Brooklyn, where you could hear the "Eastern Parkway sound," the "Fulton Street sound" and the "Fort Greene sound." It is proof of the inherent democratic (and demographic) qualities of jazz as a people's music.

It must also be mentioned that throughout the historical period being covered here, other counter-currents to the mainstream in art have been going on. Theatrical groups, art and writers' workshops, dance groups and film collectives have been at work in many cities. Hispanics, suffering from national oppression, have, in the last 15 years or so, begun to make their identity visible in the arts, working with community and church support. A number of trade unions have arts programs in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and other cities. Similar activities exist among Asian-American and Native American people. It proves that the culture of capitalism, with an exploitative, racist and anti-Communist face, inevitably creates its opposite in a democratic people's art that is growing on an increasing scale throughout the country.

The irrational drive for profits in this inflationary period has produced fierce pressures of a destructive nature on the arts and in entertainment activities. No major film will be undertaken today unless it can be expected to realize a minimum gross sales figure of 50 million dollars. No television program is considered worth showing on prime time unless it can reach a minimum of 40 million viewers. No major novel will be published unless it has the necessary ingredients of being made into a motion picture, a television program or better still, a television series, soap opera style. Meanwhile, the cost of an evening's entertainment for two at the theater, including parking the car, dinner at a restaurant and tickets, can run from \$150 to \$200. Concert, opera and theater hours are timed to allow audiences to depart earlier in the evening, in fear for their safety in decaying cities. Public libraries and mu-

seums have curtailed their hours, making it more difficult for working people to attend. All this contributes to more people staying at home where television dominates their leisure time.

Television imitates film in style and, to a degree, in content, but it usually drains the original source by its stylistic affectations and its structural time stops for the inevitable advertising message. It is also indifferent to the significance of the material it uses, often straining it to absurdity in its desperate drive for program continuity.

"Stalag 17," a cynical play and later a film, became "Hogan's Heroes" on television. In the television version, most of the American POWs were depicted as con artists while their German guards acted like lovable simpletons. In fact, Hitler's soldiers, including the commandant of the prison camp, were treated more sympathetically in "Hogan's Heroes" than Union soldiers were treated in a hundred Hollywood Civil War films shown from the viewpoint of the Southern slavocracy. The same approach is seen in the recent Mel Brooks film, "To Be Or Not To Be," where Nazis appear as tolerable fools. We might remember how Chaplin dealt with this subject in his film, "The Great Dictator," made 45 years ago. It tells us much about our period, and exposes the shallowness in social comprehension of some of our leading creators of comedy today.

We have been living these past 40 years in the midst of an insidious form of psychological warfare based primarily on attacks against the Soviet Union. This has been raised to Nazi-like frenzy under the rule of Ronald Reagan. In this climate, it isn't even necessary to be sympathetic to socialism to see the dishonesty of capitalist countries, especially the U.S., in dealings with the Soviet Union. In 1977, as part of a cultural exchange program, an international book fair was held in Moscow. About 1300 publishing firms from 60 different countries participated. The Soviet Union purchased a very large number of titles from the West and from the U.S., but only a handful of Soviet titles were purchased by American publishers.

Every year the Soviet Union purchases from 50 to 60 films from capitalist countries, including many from the U.S., while only 1 or 2 Soviet films

are shown here yearly, and only in special movie houses with a limited audience.

About 100 to 140 plays by contemporary Western authors are performed every year in Soviet theaters. How many Soviet plays have been performed here in the past year, or in the past twenty years?

The U.S. and Western Europe sell the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe socialist countries about 3000 hours of television programs per year, but buy only one-third that amount. Even then, hardly any of this is ever shown here.

Four main Western European languages are taught to 13 million Soviet people each year, not to mention other foreign languages. In the U.S., Russian is taught to a few tens of thousands yearly. (These are late 1970's figures on East-West cultural exchange. Today's figures are probably even more disproportionate. A. Kukarkin, *The Passing Age*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 365.)

As a result, ignorance about the Soviet Union is profound to the point of embarrassment, even among students in institutions of higher learning. Some years ago, a group of Soviet students visited the U.S. and met with American students at a large university. During a discussion, the subject turned to literature. The Soviet students named about 40 contemporary American authors they knew of and whose books they had read. The American students could name only 2 or 3 Soviet authors, and most admitted they had not read them.

The aim of bourgeois ideology is to identify the interests of the working class and the broad masses of the people with the interests of the capitalist class, and thereby foster the idea of classless national unity, decorated with the familiar labels of "freedom," "democracy," "human rights" and "equal opportunity." This is the fundamental role assigned to the mass-communication arts, which have become a leading industry tied to the multinational and transnational corporations. The mass-communication arts include television, radio, films, records and tapes, advertising, video games, magazines and comic books. This industry employs millions of people in its assorted categories: creative and performing art-

ists, technical and production workers, administrative and clerical workers, plus sales and distributive personnel. The sums spent in this industry to disseminate all forms of ideology disguised as entertainment amounts to tens of billions of dollars annually. Those in power certainly appreciate the value of this ideological weapon. Lenin long ago said that scientific communism "recognizes not two forms of the great struggle of the working class (political and economic) . . . but three, placing the theoretical struggle on a par with the first two." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.)

Bourgeois mass art and fine art (literature, poetry, painting, sculpture, symphonic music, opera, ballet, etc.) appear as two separate entities, with different sets of aesthetics. In essence, they serve a similar purpose in that they provide an outlet for mental and emotional escape.

This is generally recognized where it concerns the mass arts. However, this is not the case in the fine arts, where disagreements have existed for many years, not only between Marxists and non-Marxists, but among Marxists themselves. The complexities of fine art and its seeming elusive qualities have made it fair game for theoretical treatment by a wide variety of bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist experts. Many artists, writers, composers, performers and workers in the arts with progressive social outlooks seek clarity on the theory of art. They are frequently attracted to some current concept that rationalizes their social views and their art, but in a way that divides them into two people, a conscious activist in political life and a disconnected esoteric in art.

We must win these people to our outlook by renewing our work in art theory. We must build on the contributions already made in the past by genuine Marxist-Leninists, using the method of historical and dialectical materialism, free from the sophistry of modernism prevalent today. We must be realistic. Philosophical differences in art must not block unity in the struggle for peace, against U.S. imperialism, jobs for artists, against racism in the arts and every issue of common interest.

It is true that the depoliticalization of art by the ruling class intelligentsia was a harmful act. The exploitation of assorted categories of modernism disoriented many in the arts. Yet modernism itself was not a product of the cold war. It has its own lineage, going back to the early twentieth century. It evolved from the conditions of capitalism at the time, which accelerated the separation of art from its previous social function. This separation still exists. Only with its reintegration into society, as a democratic component of a democratic society, will this problem be corrected.

Today, the struggle against reactionary bourgeois culture and art is part of the struggle against capitalism in general and Reaganism in particular. Art is at its richest when it reflects the life of the broad masses of the working people and their allies. Only the working class creates society and has the power to change it. This is the central lesson for artists to learn. When they fully understand this, it will help in the growth of a genuine people's art. Then, in alliance with mass movements for social, economic and political change, we will have a state of the arts to be proud of.

The Western Economy and Interimperialist Rivalry

A. BOGDANOV

The key to understanding the complicated picture of interimperialist partnership and rivalry in our day is provided by Lenin's teaching about the two tendencies in relations among the imperialist countries: "one, which makes an alliance of all the imperialists inevitable; the other, which places the imperialists in opposition to each other." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol.27, p. 369.) An analysis of these tendencies shows the dialectical interconnection and antithesis between the interests of the capitalist world as a whole and individual capitalist states, and also their groupings, and makes it clear that there is no objective possibility for ending the strife within the military-political and other alliances of imperialist countries. Partners in military-political blocs are at the same time irreconcilable rivals in the struggle for markets, raw material sources and spheres of capital investment. In our day, that struggle has acquired new features.

As the organizer of the "crusade" against socialism and a spokesman for the "common interests" of the capitalist countries, the USA seeks to make the utmost use of the mechanism of military-political alliances to subjugate its partners, infringe upon their interests, and make up for the loss of its erstwhile economic supremacy in the capitalist world by a policy of diktat and arbitrary rule. Naturally, such a line meets with ever greater resistance on the part of the USA's imperialist competitors, who do not want to give up their profits and privileges. It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in June 1983: "Imperialism has gotten entangled in internal and interstate antagonisms, upheavals and conflicts. This tells profoundly but in different ways on the policy of capitalist countries."

Of course, the interests of class solidarity are always decisive when it is a matter of common goals in the struggle of the capitalist states

against socialism, against the revolutionary forces of our day. At the same time, economic rivalry within the framework of "Western solidarity," primarily among the three power centers — the USA, Western Europe and Japan — has sharply intensified.

Present-day interimperialist rivalries are unfolding at a time when the capitalist economy is going through a difficult period. Although in 1983 the capitalist world began to emerge from the economic crisis of the early 1980s, its consequences and side effects dampen the optimism of Western economists. During the crisis, industrial production in the developed capitalist states dropped on average by 3.5 per cent, and for some countries that figure was much higher. In the USA, industrial production fell by 9 per cent.

One of the major peculiarities both of the crisis of the early 1980s and the post-crisis recovery is that *unemployment* has reached its highest postwar level. Thus, in 1970-1979, the average annual level of unemployment in 24 countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was 4.3 per cent of the total labor force, whereas in 1983 it was, according to preliminary estimates, up to 9.2 per cent. OECD statistics also show that in the second half of 1983 the number of unemployed in the developed capitalist countries reached 34 million, and by late 1984 it is expected to swell by another 750,000. The employment situation is particularly grave in Western Europe. By late 1984, unemployment there is expected to go up to 20 million as compared with 16.5 million in late 1982. In the United States, unemployment is expected to remain at a high level. So the post-crisis recovery, about which so much is being written in the West, does not entail a shrinking of the army of

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redundant labor, as was the case in the past.

Apart from continued growth of unemployment, the present-day capitalist economy is also marked by unusually massive *idleness of fixed capital*, which in some branches is as high as 40 to 60 per cent, persistent *inflation*, and unprecedented *tensions in the credit and financial system*.

The post-crisis recovery in the Western economy is, moreover, extremely uneven in different countries and is being effected "at one another's expense." Regardless of the discredited "locomotives" concept, which says that the country where production starts growing earlier than in other countries should pull out the latter from the quagmire of the depression, the first signs of an economic revival in the USA have not caused any optimism in Western Europe. There are good reasons for this, due both to the peculiarities of the revival in the U.S. economy and, largely, to Washington's economic policy with regard to its partners.

The slow emergence of the U.S. economy from the crisis has taken a most peculiar turn. None other than the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, has described the economic recovery as lopsided or truncated. He had reasons to say so because under the continued tensions in the credit and monetary sphere and the persistently high interest rates the recovery is not coupled with any noticeable growth of production investments. Capital intensive industries (steel, construction, etc.) remain stagnant. The low rate of renewal of fixed capital leads to sluggish demand for producer goods. Assessing the situation in the country, the analysts of *Time* magazine have come to the conclusion that under the present high-interest credit, the rate of accumulation in the USA could fail to reach the pre-crisis level. In such an event, sustained economic revival is most unlikely.

The tensions in the credit and monetary sphere in the USA are largely due to the prodigious *deficit of the federal budget*, which results from the unprecedented increase in military expenditures. In the 1983 fiscal year, the budget deficit reached a record of \$195,400 million, or nearly \$85,000 million more than in the preceding

fiscal year. In the current fiscal year, it is expected to reach \$200,000 million. In 1973, the budget deficit came to just over 1 per cent of the USA's gross domestic product, whereas in 1983 it has been estimated at around 7 per cent. The impressive excess of state expenditures over revenues has resulted in a government debt unprecedented in U.S. history. Today, the USA's internal national debt exceeds \$1,400 billion and continues to grow. The U.S. federal government is now the leading borrower in the market of loan capital; according to the British journal *The Banker* it now accounts for up to 60 per cent of all borrowing from U.S. lending institutions. That is why, in particular, interest rates remain so high, exerting an adverse influence on the overall vigor of capital investments in the U.S. economy.

The growing military expenditures, many Western economists believe, make it impossible to reduce the budget deficit and, consequently, to eliminate the tensions in the credit and monetary sphere in the USA. In answer to a question put by *U.S. News & World Report*, 82 per cent of bank economists polled replied that the gravest problem facing the U.S. economy late in 1984 would be the deficit of the federal budget. Thus, the inflated interest rates are a symptom and an element of the disproportions injected into the U.S. economy by *unrestrained militarization*. A point to note here is that the U.S. "credit anomaly" is not only being used to redistribute the national economy in favor of the military-industrial complex, but has also become a peculiar form of Washington's economic aggression, which does great damage to other states.

Amidst the growing internationalization of economic life, increasing interdependence of national economies and continued prevalence of the dollar in the monetary system of the West, the movement of interest rates in the USA has a significant influence on the state of the credit and monetary sphere of other capitalist countries. The sharp increase in the discount rate of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, and also the interest rates on credits introduced by commercial banks in the early 1980s, entailed an influx to the USA of huge amounts of short-term capital from other countries. To offset that, the central banks

of West European and other states were obliged to increase their own interest rates considerably. That created additional difficulties for these countries in overcoming the crisis state of their economy. So the USA in effect became an exporter of crisis phenomena, primarily unemployment and underuse of productive capacities, to other Western states.

The drain of short-term capital from other countries, especially from Western Europe, by means of inflated interest rates, led to a temporary improvement in the U.S. balance of payments and a marked increase in the dollar's exchange rate. From August 1980 to November 1982, the dollar's weighted exchange rate went up by 35 per cent, and in relation to some currencies, West European currencies in particular, the rise was even more significant. Thus, in that period the dollar rose by 42.7 per cent against the West German mark, by 45.1 per cent against the British pound, by 73.4 per cent against the Italian lira, and by 73.8 per cent against the French franc.

Washington's strategic line, aimed at maintaining inflated interest rates, turns the USA's partners into involuntary "donors" of short-term funds, which are being used by the United States as an additional source for financing the government debt. At present, U.S. government liabilities held by foreign investors exceed \$173 billion. These figures, as well as the latest tendencies in the movement of short-term capital, show that the monetary-financial policy of Washington is aimed at siphoning off resources from its partners without much ado in order to satiate the appetite of the U.S. military-industrial complex.

Washington's credit aggression has long ceased to be a purely economic phenomenon, but has turned into a grave political problem with far-reaching consequences for the USA's relations with its allies. The well-known U.S. economist Walter Heller has admitted that "the international costs and consequences of our interest rates are really incalculable." (*Time*, Aug. 15, 1983, p. 29.) West European spokesmen have repeatedly emphasized that the "tight money" policy followed by the USA's monetary and financial circles does grave damage to their economies.

According to *Business Week*, "some European leaders are screaming about what they call the callousness of U.S. policy." (*Business Week*, Aug. 15, 1983, p. 72.) When in April 1983 the dollar soared to a record high against a number of West European currencies, the French Minister of Economy and Finance, Jacques Delors, called it "yet another demonstration of how little importance the Americans make of the financial and economic situation of their allies." (*Ibid.*)

As a result of the inflated dollar, the USA's partners suffer considerable losses in the import of oil and some other raw materials, which are priced in dollars. *Fortune* wrote in that context that in spite of the decline in world oil prices, over the past two years Japanese and West European importers have been suffering their "third oil shock." (*Fortune* Sept. 5, 1983, p. 45.)

As U.S. imperialism has become more aggressive, it has increasingly pushed the idea that the USA's partners should make certain economic sacrifices in the interests of the USA as the "champion of freedom." U.S. officials keep repeating that idea in answer to the growing criticism of the USA's monetary-financial policy by its West European allies. Although the "interest rate war" is most exhausting for Western Europe, the U.S. Administration has virtually ruled out the possibility of any essential changes in its monetary and financial policy so as to take its partners' interests into account. It is only natural, therefore, that the monetary sphere has become a major focal point of interimperialist rivalry.

The early 1980s have given West European business and government circles sufficient grounds to take a fresh look at the consequences of their continued dependence on the dollar. The *Economist* wrote with annoyance that the dollar's continued predominance in the international monetary system enables the United States to inflict damage on the economy of other countries without any serious risk of retaliation on their part. (*Economist*, Feb. 27, 1982, p. 19.)

More and more West Europeans have been criticizing the inconsistent and disloyal nature of the USA's international monetary policy. An article in *Foreign Affairs* by Albert Bressand, Deputy Director of the French Institute of International

Relations, is indicative in this respect. In view of the harm being done to its partners by the USA's monetary policy, the author maintains that Washington should choose one of two alternatives: Either the USA should reckon with the dollar's international status and shape its monetary policy with due account for the interests of other countries, or it can give preference to its domestic priorities, but then it should take steps to limit the influence of its policy on other countries. (See *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1983, p. 171.)

Another symptom of sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions in the monetary and financial sphere is the ever more persistent demand for a reform of the Western international monetary mechanism as a whole, which is in effect based on the dollar's predominance. President Francois Mitterand of France once again attracted attention to that problem at the Williamsburg summit of seven leading capitalist countries in May 1983 by calling for a "new Bretton Woods conference" with a view to "currency harmonization." That implied an effort to create conditions for eliminating the uncontrolled fluctuations of the U.S. dollar and the resultant damage to other Western countries. But the USA showed no inclination to discuss that problem in earnest. According to *Financial Times*, although the summitters "threw M. Mitterand a bone" by mentioning in the final declaration the possibility of convening a conference on international monetary problems, the USA does not consider itself bound by such a pledge. (*Financial Times*, June 1, 1983.)

While seeking to preserve the dollar's privileged status and also the possibility of enjoying considerable advantages at the expense of other states, the USA has been maneuvering to create an impression of "collective efforts." Summit meetings of the seven major capitalist states are increasingly being used for such maneuvers, as Washington seeks to turn these meetings into a standing club that would decide the destinies of the non-socialist world. Although the interests of the participants, especially in the economic sphere, are far from identical, they exhibit a common desire to concentrate in their own hands all decision-making related to Western economic, in-

cluding monetary, policy and to bar other countries, especially developing ones, from the process.

An example of such an "elitist" approach is provided by the decision to set up a so-called coordination group to include representatives of five countries (the USA, the FRG, Japan, France and Great Britain), and also of the International Monetary Fund, which was adopted at the Versailles meeting of the Seven in 1982. The nominal purpose of the decision was to promote cooperation between these countries and the IMF in solving international monetary problems. But in actual fact, considering the role that is still being played by the dollar in the mechanism of international settlements, and also the USA's hegemonic policy, it is a matter of Washington's striving to strengthen its influence in the Western monetary system. The *Banker* has made a symptomatic admission in that context: "There is scepticism among some of the governments that have lent their names to the experiment, and this is especially true of the Japanese authorities, who suspect the U.S. Administration of wishing to use the arrangement mainly as another platform from which to lecture other countries on their shortcomings." (*The Banker*, August 1982, p. 45.)

The interest rate war, the feverishly fluctuating exchange rates and other phenomena in the Western financial and monetary sphere show that the talk about the "harmonization of the interests" of the Atlantic partners is merely a screen for a fierce competitive struggle, primarily among the monopoly groupings of the USA, Western Europe and Japan, a struggle to secure the best terms for their transnational business.

Washington's claim to leadership of the whole capitalist world can not cover up the fact that the USA has increasingly fallen behind some of its partners in a number of important economic efficiency indicators. Thus, according to *U.S. News & World Report*, in the period from 1977 to 1982, the USA ranked only sixth among the seven leading capitalist countries in growth of output per working per-

son, lagging behind Japan, Italy, France, the FRG and Britain. In that period, industrial production in the USA increased by only 0.3 per cent, whereas in Japan it went up by 27.7 per cent, in Italy by 9.6 per cent, in the FRG by 3.3 per cent, and in France by 2 per cent.

The USA's steadily growing *foreign trade deficit* is an essential indicator of its declining competitiveness in the world economy. Thus, in 1973, U.S. imports exceeded exports by \$2.8 billion, while in 1982 the figure was already \$42.7 billion. In only in the first seven months of 1983, the U.S. trade deficit came to \$33.6 billion, and the annual figure was around \$70 billion.

In the past few years, the deficit in U.S. trade in manufactures has been growing. In 1973, that deficit was \$300 million, whereas in 1982 it was up to \$4.3 billion, and estimates for 1983 show a huge figure of \$33 billion. That tendency reflects both the steady decline in the competitiveness of U.S. exports and the increasing penetration of West European and Japanese goods to the U.S. domestic market. The USA's imports of consumer durables and capital goods have been growing at a particularly rapid pace. Thus, from 1970 to 1982, the share of imports in meeting domestic requirements went up from 3.2 to 3.5 per cent in non-durable consumer goods, from 13.2 to 15.9 per cent in consumer durables, and from 6.9 to 16.2 per cent in capital goods. (*Business Week*, July 4, 1983, p. 38.)

The USA's worsening trade balance is not due to short-term market fluctuations, but reflects a number of factors besides those listed above: the USA's lag behind its chief competitors in labor productivity growth, the sluggish renewal of fixed assets and the high rate of inflation. In the recent period, U.S. exports have become considerably less competitive owing to the artificially inflated dollar. The influence of these factors, largely engendered by the diversion of immense financial and material (and also scientific and technical) resources for military purposes, will apparently continue. U.S. Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige believes that in 1984 the U.S. trade deficit will reach \$100 billion. According to Western forecasts, the tendency towards an increase in the U.S. trade deficit will

persist in the years to come. The research firm Data Resources Inc. predicts that in 1990 the U.S. trade deficit will reach \$174 billion. (*Business Week*, Aug. 29, 1983, p. 50.)

Washington believes that the way to solve the trade balance problem is to compensate for the decline in the competitiveness of the U.S. economy primarily by pressuring its competitors into "voluntary" restrictions on the export of some of their goods to the USA. Washington also attaches much importance to other measures of tariff and non-tariff protectionism. Thus, in late 1982 the USA high-pressured the Common Market, urging it to make yet another "voluntary" cutback in steel exports. The West European quota on the U.S. steel market was reduced from 6.4 to 5.75 per cent. After the meeting in Williamsburg, where the United States promised to take its partners' interests into account, President Reagan signed an order imposing tough restrictions on the import of special steels to the USA for the next four years. In Western Europe and Japan, these moves were seen as an outrage which totally invalidated Washington's professed "adherence to the principles of free trade."

Trade in farm produce has been and remains one of the most serious problems in the economic relations between the USA and the EEC. The USA does not confine itself to demands for concessions on the part of the EEC, especially in the matter of subsidizing agricultural exports, but has been taking "retaliatory measures." Thus, the U.S. Administration decided to allocate a certain sum to subsidize the sale of a sizable shipment of grain to Egypt, which for a long time had been a major importer of grain from France. In Common Market circles, the U.S. move was qualified as a breach of the rules and principles of GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs).

Protectionist tendencies in the capitalist world markedly intensified after the virtual failure of GATT's 38th annual session in late 1982. In the course of that session, the contradictions among the USA, the EEC and Japan stood out in bold relief. As the U.S. magazine *Business Week* put it, "more than anything, the meeting confirmed that the most dangerous threat to world trade is rampant nationalism." (*Business Week*,

Dec. 13, 1982, p. 26.) The U.S. delegation, which was profuse in its free-trade rhetoric, at the same time openly threatened to apply protectionist measures against its partners. Tense trade relations of the USA with its rivals were not mitigated at the 39th GATT session held late last year.

The graver the economic contradictions within the "big triangle," the stronger Washington's urge to "rein in" the military-political alliances by speculating on the class solidarity of their member states. The latter's alliance with U.S. imperialism is proving to be very damaging for their national interests. In recent years, Washington has stepped up its efforts to draw Japan into the orbit of its global strategy and turn that country into a branch of NATO in the Far East. That line has also met with support among the Japanese ruling circles, who have declared their readiness to turn the country into a sort of unsinkable aircraft carrier. At the Williamsburg meeting, Japan for the first time signed the joint statement of the leading Western powers on military-political issues, thereby expressing its solidarity with the nuclear strategy of the USA and NATO.

The USA's ruling circles have been, in every way possible, fanning militarist feelings in Tokyo in order to turn the second industrial power of the capitalist world into a direct accomplice of their military adventures. That line was clearly manifest during President Reagan's visit to Japan in November 1983. At the same time, it is becoming ever more obvious that U.S. ruling circles also regard the Washington-Tokyo military alliance as a major condition for "containing" their rival, for imposing on Tokyo definite economic as well as political terms. That primarily applies to the U.S. demand for a much greater contribution by Japan to the arms race. *Financial Times* wrote that "the U.S. wants Japan sharply to raise its defense budget, not an easy political decision for the Japanese Government in the light of its current budgetary problems." The paper goes on to say that the "absence of the need to sustain a wide-ranging military establishment has freed Japan to concentrate on trade with all the well-known consequences." (*Financial Times*, Dec. 16, 1982.)

The "common destiny" being proclaimed by

the ruling circles in Washington and Tokyo does not in the least tone down the trade and economic contradictions between the two powers. The United States does not intend to make any concessions to its Pacific partner in an area of vital importance for the latter: expansion of exports. Far from agreeing to refrain from its anti-Japanese protectionist measures, the USA has been even more insistently demanding greater access for its own goods to the Japanese market. Meanwhile, roughly 40 per cent of all Japanese exports to the USA are subject to various restrictions, including "voluntary" quotas imposed on Japan through Washington's direct pressure. Thus, the Japanese have not been able to induce the USA to lift the restrictions on the export of Japanese cars to the United States. At the same time, the USA would like to redirect Japanese exports towards Western Europe, although the Common Market is already finding it quite difficult to contain the Japanese monopolies' drive. According to preliminary estimates, the EEC's deficit in its trade with Japan in 1983 amounted to \$10-12 billion. All that shows that the knots of trade and economic contradictions within the "big triangle" have been tightening.

Issues of East-West economic relations have been the subject of a bitter controversy between the USA and its partners. Although such U.S. moves as the "grain embargo" and the attempts to frustrate the construction of the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline have failed ignominiously, the USA intends to go on insisting, without regard for the sovereign rights and real economic interests of its partners, that they should in effect block their traditional economic ties with the socialist states. The failure of the "sanctions" was not only a major defeat for the Reagan Administration, but also graphic proof of the growing resolve in West European and Japanese government and business circles to resist Washington's hegemonistic striving to prescribe the list of its allies' trading partners and the terms of their business contacts. The USA's claims to make its own trade legislation binding on other states are causing increasing irritation in Western Europe. The *Economist*, British weekly, notes that there is a conviction in government circles of

many states that the "extraterritorial application of American laws hurts the West." (*Economist*, Aug. 27, 1983, p. 46.)

The very principle of using trade as an instrument of foreign policy is meeting with ever greater resistance in the West. West European businessmen and officials increasingly fear that the "cowboy approach" to trade with the socialist countries could have far-reaching adverse consequences for business in general. Such moves by Washington as breach of contract and speculation on "considerations of national security" damage the reputation of U.S. companies, making them unreliable partners. With that circumstance in view, representative of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in the FRG John Brennan noted that "where there are two or three sources in the world, the American may no longer be considered the priority." (*Business Week*, Aug. 29, 1983, p. 51.)

The West European states' more realistic approach to trade and economic ties with the socialist countries yields tangible mutual benefits. Soviet orders provide jobs for about one million West Europeans. Cooperation with the Soviet Union by a number of West European countries in the development of gas deposits and the building of gas pipelines helps these countries to solve their energy problem, and also to gain large contracts for pipes and equipment. These and many other facts show that the tendency for the development of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation between countries with different socio-economic systems has on the whole been

making headway in spite of the maneuvers of U.S. reactionary circles. A point to bear in mind here is that although a policy of sanctions generally cuts across the interests of the West European states and Japan, various countries differ in their stand on this issue. Thus, in spite of an overall increase in trade with the USSR, the Japanese government's official line is to hold back the development of economic ties with the USSR, something that betrays the intention of its ruling circles to follow in the wake of U.S. policy in this matter as well.

The complicated and extremely contradictory picture of interimperialist rivalry reflects the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. In their attempts to reverse the course of history and strike a blow at world socialism and other progressive forces of our day, the reactionary circles of imperialism have been trying to unite their forces, staking on extreme expansionism, aggression, and the nuclear arms race. But such action threatens the very existence of human civilization and is encountering growing resistance on the part of hundreds of millions around the world. By wasting immense resources in the course of competitive struggle on different levels and giving ever new twists to the arms spiral, imperialism demonstrates its historical narrow-mindedness and inability to solve mankind's vital problems.

Why Study the City?

MAURICE ZETTLIN

Were it easy to understand the city, it would be easier for local working-class politics to be effective. But it isn't easy to understand. We live, work, struggle, learn and organize in a physically, economically, socially and politically bewildering environment. Moving amid its dazzling sights, sounds and smells tries the senses; experiencing its culture, class struggle and politics boggles the mind. The stress inclines many to leave the seemingly inscrutable complexity of the modern city to the experts, which "experts" invariably turn out to be agents and servants of the ruling class.

And that weakens working-class politics in the city — and in the nation! For most city political problems — jobs, shelter, energy, education, discrimination, ecology, or health — are national problems. Most of what ails people in New York or Chicago ails people in Seattle, Atlanta or Dallas as well. And while much of the nation lives in small towns and villages, its main economic, social and political forces work and clash in its big, modern cities. How the nation goes is mainly determined in them.

That's true of big cities in other nations as well. Hence, in today's economically and politically interlaced world, what happens in London, Paris or Tokyo affects San Francisco, Pittsburgh or Houston. Indeed, global interaction inevitably increases as science and technology advance, international division of labor expands, and the economies of nations integrate. The industrial revolution which spawned our modern cities now grows cities in all developing countries.

Throughout the world, the modern city has become, or is becoming, the dominant form of human settlement, the center of production and production relations, the arena of class struggle, and the wellhead of the world revolutionary process. Today, growing cities around the globe

make front-page news in the seats of imperialist power. Humanity develops today mainly through the modern city. Understanding it has become requisite to political intelligence.

How the City Has Been Viewed

Comprehending the city is difficult, partly because modern urbanization is a relatively young historical process; though much studied, it is not yet fully understood. As late as 1900, sixty per cent of the nation engaged mainly in agriculture and lived in the countryside. The life problems of village and town concerned most people and interested most writers and scholars. Only in 1920, when the country engaged equally in industry and turned fifty one per cent urban, did cities and city life get equal billing in the nation's attention and literature.

Its constant changing added to the difficulty. Throughout this century, rapid changes in technology, economics and politics produced equally rapid changes in the city — in its size, physical structure, social composition and weight in the national systems of settlement.

The main difficulty, however, was in that most students of the city used poor data and methods in trying to understand it. The studies and the theoretical schemes the social sciences devised since the turn of the century relied mainly on inadequate economic and social statistics. Moreover, they had built-in restrictions. For bourgeois scholars didn't look at the city as a whole or the historic processes that bore and developed it, but at its separate elements, and from the limited perspective of traditional academic disciplines.

Demographers, for example, spoke of cities in numerical and census categories. Geographers and regional scientists looked for distance and population relationships between settlements and markets, and for size, function and political influence of cities within the urban system. To economists, cities were what they did. And what

From an introductory chapter to a forthcoming work on the city in class society.

they did was develop internal competitive economic activities that competed with those of other cities. Political scientists first saw the city as a juridical entity, then as a managerial service of public enterprise, then as a pluralistic body politic. And sociologists conceived urban development as a series of invasions and successions by different activities and population groups (Rodwin, pp. 69-71). Going their separate ways, and often contradicting each other, the bourgeois social sciences produced no overall perspective of the origins, characteristics and growth of the city.

But what precluded clear understanding even more was their philosophical approach — the values implied in what they studied and assumed, how they judged evidence and the way they arrived at conclusions. Most of them saw the city as a chaos of activities among rival individuals — the typical view of positivist-pragmatist philosophy inspiring the bourgeois social sciences. Scholars who held the positivist notions that all knowledge of nature and society is subjective and that, therefore, human experience does not reflect objective reality; who looked at social events in unrelated isolation from each other; who perceived development in society as a repetitive, unchanging, circular movement; such scholars necessarily relied only on empirical data, judged the value of ideas only by their immediate practicality and rejected all theory based on historical analysis as irrelevant abstract speculation.¹

Thus the bourgeois social sciences, molding ideology in capitalist society, pegged people's judgment to surface appearances.² Hence the conventional wisdom that "there is nothing new under the sun" because "history only repeats itself." And in that "wisdom" lie the main roots of the difficulty to understand the motive forces in history, human settlement and the modern city.

Urban Sociology and Other -ologies

Of all bourgeois social sciences, none so much influences how most people conceive the city as did urban sociology. Its founder, Robert E. Park, and his followers at the University of Chicago, made empirical studies in the 1920s of how a city's districts and neighborhoods form and change.³ They soon took a social-Darwinist course depicting the city as a human ecology undergoing processes similar to the natural selec-

tion and competitive struggle for survival in the animal world.

The city, according to this fanciful model, is an integrated spatial organization whose inhabitants stay together because they use each other in their struggle to survive. Their mutual dependence enforces an economic order and a way of life, to which they adapt through specialization and accommodation that keeps their city ecology stable. It also establishes a spatial "pecking order"⁴ giving each part of the city a special function within the overall balance. Thus specialized functions and social groups, using separate zones, serve other parts, functions and groups in a cyclical repetitive process (Ianitskii, pp. 45-46, Lake p. xvi). To illustrate: The city's economy attracts a varied population which distributes itself, through competitive bidding for space, in various sections and neighborhoods. Entrepreneurs, accumulating wealth through the labor of workers, organize production and provide goods, services and jobs. Workers, spending their earnings, provide a market for manufacturing and commerce. Prospering industries, commerce and workers feed tax revenues to finance city government services. Municipal government draws politicians and managers to run the city and reproduce its population. In short: the city attracts and sustains a labor force that enriches entrepreneurs, who create jobs, that generate trade, that feeds city government, that reproduces the labor force, and so on, in an endless circular process. The city's balanced circular movement, however, is not without trouble. Trouble arises, the ecologists explained, when a city's stable functions and zones are disturbed by forcible "invasions" of new and different functions or people, requiring periods of "adaptation" before a new, harmonious cycle begins.

The ecologists' model has had a wide seductive appeal precisely because its simplistic comparison of human society to processes in lower forms of life seemed to explain capitalist society's animalistic behavior. Equating, however, the evolution and simple order of the animal world with the history and complex social order of human society, the ecologists' model failed to explain why and how human settlements formed and changed over time. Reacting to such criticism, urban sociologists modified the biological

model of the Chicago School in the 1940s, but retained its basic ecological concept of balance-producing symbiosis between social groups and zones in the city.⁵

Human communities, they conceded, are more than a natural ecology, for they create a higher independence over their ecological base through economic, cultural, political, and moral ties produced by mutual awareness of common interests and ideals. This awareness leads to a system of symbols, customs and laws allowing a degree of coordination and control (Smith, pp. 3-4). The concession may have propped up the model but did not alter its principal unsound structure.

The almost transparent fallacies of ecologist urban sociology may be traced to its superficial observation of growing United States cities in the first third of this century. Focusing on the city in isolation from its origins and evolution in history, it examined the city apart from society, regarding the latter merely as having an external "cultural regulative" influence on the city. It saw no connection between the social structure in cities and the class structure in society. Indeed, it saw no social classes and class relationships in the city, only many different conflicting groups like landlords and tenants, borrowers and lenders, workers and employers. Nor did it recognize the connection between city formation and capital accumulation in capitalist society which its research must have shown existed.

Shunning these historical facts led the Chicago School to its topsy-turvy conclusion that cities, formed by some vague independent process, have determined the path of society's development instead of the other way around. Failing to explore and understand the relationship between cities and their mother society inevitably led to false concepts of urban reality. Society's social problems were perceived as "urban problems"; class conflicts, social discrimination and poverty seemed to result from rural migrations to allegedly harmonious urban communities; and heterogeneity seemed responsible for social conflicts in cities. Thus, urban sociology assumed the change from agricultural to industrial production and from rural to urban settlement to have been caused simply by population movement — a

view shared by other bourgeois -ologies, which saw history as a chaotic movement of unstable masses bearing destruction to stable social orders (Ianitskii, 1975, pp. 9, 42-45).

Other bourgeois social sciences begot similar fallacies. Urban economics and political science, for example, focused on the economic and political life of big cities apart from the economics and politics of their society. Economists pictured cities as spatial concentrations of production, people and markets rivaling other cities. Typically, they focused on a city's "basic economic activities" producing for "export" to other cities to gain the "basic income" on which it and its economic region depended. Similarly, political scientists assumed the political life within its boundaries to be the basis for understanding the city. City government, they thought, served only to ease the city's economy by providing a municipal infrastructure and services and controlling excesses in private land-use and business decisions. The assumption implied that the political problems of employment or housing or social welfare are problems the city creates and must deal with alone (Etzkowitz and Mack, pp. 46-50).

Thus none of the bourgeois social sciences identifies the social forces causing the political-economic effects in the city, nor the links between them and the political economy in the larger society. Its fallacies aside, however, bourgeois urban sociology greatly advanced empirical methodology in urban studies. It also earned wide praise for its precise focus on life in city ghettos and slums, revealing the social injustice to segregated racial and national minorities. Yet, its ecological model lent itself to a vulgarization that offered an alibi for the disclosed oppression. The image of the city as a biological organism soon led to its analogy with the human body and its life stages of youth, maturity and decline — the latter a convenient political apologia for urban decay (Ianitskii, 1975, pp. 45-46).

In conclusion, bourgeois urban sociology reflects positivist philosophy's narrow orientation on single social problems and denial that cities can be better understood through scientific historical analysis. Perceiving social reality as a series of distinct unrelated events, positivism turned empirical observation and methodology

into ends in themselves. It has driven urban sociology and other urban studies into the dead-end street of studying irrelevant trivia, like dating patterns or popularity of broadcast programs, and mere description of various aspects of urban life (Osipov, pp. 46-47, 50, 65). It can hardly explain, much less cope with, the complexity of tough social problems manifest in our modern cities.

Marxist Understanding of Cities

Comprehending anything demands, first, an overall view. Once the general is understood, the relation of its particulars to each other and to the whole becomes clear. This applies to all tasks, be they homemaking, production, office work or scientific analysis. In any task, the worker must first grasp the special universe — the body of things and processes — of his job. A simple universe may be perceived by simply using one's senses. Grasping a more difficult one may call for instruments that expand the range of human eyes or ears. Comprehending a most complex universe requires building a reasoned theory to perceive beyond what the human senses, equipped with even the most ingenious instruments, possibly can. It took Darwin's theory to explain the evolution of life on earth, Einstein's theory to understand space and time and Marx's theory to understand human society.

Investigating bits of urban social reality with purely empirical methods, positivist urban science fails to see that the evidence it observes has been shaped by a historical process. By contrast, Marxism is a holistic science, embracing in its view and analytical method all of society, whose elements — events, artifacts, ideas — make sense only as parts of the evolving whole. It demonstrates that the material world not only exists outside of human ideas, but that human ideas reflect it. Marxism guides analysis of social phenomena from surface appearances to inter-related processes behind them. It finds that, throughout history, changing modes and relations of production have generated social contradictions and formed opposing classes locked in struggle. The struggle between declining conservative and rising progressive classes moves society through evolutionary, or quantitative,

changes to revolutionary, or qualitative, leaps from lower to higher social systems.

Marxism examines the development of human settlement in this historical context. Precisely in this overall view of the dialectical interaction between nature, society and human settlement lies the advantage of Marxism in understanding the city.

Cities and settlements, it argues, are not self-determinative socio-economic-political forces. Therefore, cities are best understood by understanding the motive forces in their society and their concrete influence upon them at various points in time. For cities, though factors in their society's processes, chiefly reveal rather than cause them. This explains why bourgeois urban sociology and other -ologies have ignored Marxism. They did so not because Marxism had little to say about the city, but because what it has said showed their fallacies (Saunders, pp. 11-13).

Bourgeois urban sociologists often reprove Marxism for giving little attention to the city. Compared with the volume of non-Marxist studies of the city and urban life, they say, the Marxist literature on cities falls short. Were that a valid measure of which approach is scientifically the more sound, the non-Marxist side would probably win. But though it may draw applause from the anti-Marxist gallery, the comparison is not relevant or fair. Not fair because much of the non-Marxist output is inspired by little more than academic pressures to "publish or perish." Not relevant because thought in the two camps on the social role of the city springs from diametrically opposite outlooks.

Viewing the city as an autonomous entity and a prime force in social development, bourgeois learned inquiry necessarily focused upon it with high-powered intensity. Marxism, on the other hand, has woven the study of cities and urban affairs into its prodigious analysis of the whole fabric of national and global socio-economic-political life. In the holistic view of Marxist sociology, the city, isolated from society, is not a valid basis for social theory; and the specialized branches of bourgeois sociology can produce no general theory explaining the evolution of either society or its settlement systems. Moreover, many theoretical problems on which pragmatist

urban scholars "stumbled" in their empirical investigations early in the century (social conflict, alienation, ghetto formation, etc.), the founders of Marxism solved long before bourgeois urban sociology was born (Rumiantsev, p. 13).

Other writers impute to Marxism an ambivalence about the city, for Marx and Engels viewed it as both an embodiment of capitalist evils and a source of potential progress.⁶ Were critics of the Marxist classics to read them attentively, they would be spared the confusion they ascribe to these authors. Marx and Engels focused on both opposites in the dialectical unity of the capitalist city. They blamed the poverty and squalor of its working class not on the city but the capitalist processes in it.

Engels, in his work on the conditions of the working class and essays on the housing question, made this abundantly clear. He depicted the city as the hothouse of inner capitalist contradictions and explicitly stated that urban poverty can be overcome only through revolutionary social transformation (Saunders, pp. 21-11). However, he and Marx saw in the cities of capitalism not only its evils but also its nemesis and agent of transition to a socialist society; for in its process of urbanization, capitalism concentrates in its cities masses of its antithetical revolutionary class. Precisely in the cities, where capitalist contradictions most fully develop, the conditions for working-class consciousness, organization and struggle most fully mature.

While Marxism points to the progressive potentials in working-class contradictions in capitalist cities, it examines urban concentrations in history in the socio-economic specifics of their time and place. History records examples of urban populaces, as those of some ancient cities, that had little potential for progress and bred many evils. Such examples moved some bourgeois writers to despair of all urbanization and cities — a penalty they paid for mechanically applying the specifics of some periods in history to all others. Urbanization, they say, is the source of all modern society's social problems. Concentrating populations, it created an alienated working class, displaced established traditions, violated nature, and disrupted stable communities; this was true of cities in the past, is true now, and will always be true.

Such notions, Marxism charges, misread and misinterpret history. They disregard the incongruous facts of cities in history, like those of the medieval artisan guilds and merchants, that had no working class; like those of the Mayan civilization, that guarded established traditions; like those of classical Greece, that revered nature; and like the caste-based cities of India, that cultivated stable communities. More importantly, however, they turn urbanization from an effect of social development into its main moving force. That's false. Modern urbanization did not create the capitalist mode of production. On the contrary, it issued from capitalist development, which drew farmers to produce industrial commodities in cities. Attempts to reduce all social development to urbanization and detach it from the overall process of history mark the writings of most bourgeois ideologues. And that's quite understandable. Pinning on urbanization the responsibility for capitalism's evils provides a convenient, even if poorly concealing, ideological whitewash (Smith, p. 325; Arab-Ogly, p. 25; Maergoiz and Lappo, p. 13).

Indeed, bourgeois social science seems at odds with itself. On one hand, blaming urbanization for rural displacement, class and social conflicts, ghettos and slums, unemployment and crime, it favors disurbanization. On the other, it acclaims urbanization for stimulating progress in science, technology and the arts, even as it deplores the political growth of the working class in the cities. Thus, some bourgeois sociologists look for ways to stabilize and reinforce capitalism by improving urbanization. They propose, for example, to eliminate rural-urban tensions in the world (i.e. conflicts between developing and imperialist countries) through universal industrialization and cultural ties leading toward a single "world city" (imperialist controlled, of course) in order to forestall the world revolutionary process (Ianitskii, 1972, pp.8-9).

In summary, to set apart the Marxist and bourgeois views, Marxism sees urbanization as a facet, not prime cause, of socio-economic development, one which both results from and affects this development. It neither credits urbanization and cities for creating the modern working class nor blames them for its exploitation. Rather, it sees the working class, cities and their revolu-

tionary potentials as products of capitalist development.

Not only in modern times but throughout history, cities did not simply grow; they have been shaped by, as well as helped shape, succeeding means of production, production relations, social classes and social systems. Modern cities began with the change from mostly farm production in the villages of feudal society to mostly industrial production in urban centers of capitalist society. Precapitalist cities differed from cities today not only in number and size but in economic, social, political and cultural function. In precapitalist societies, cities functioned chiefly as administrative, consumption and religious centers of their farming-based ruling classes. Though they have retained spatial and some cultural continuity across social changes, their inter-

nal organization totally changed as modes of production and social systems changed. The Middle Ages, for example, did not simply inherit their cities from preceding eras but redeveloped them to suit the production relations of the then-dominant artisan guilds. In turn, the capitalist mode of production began developing suitable urban forms mainly outside the guild-dominated cities (Arab-Ogly, pp. 25-28; Ianitskii, 1972, pp. 95-97).

Marxism finds modern social evolution proceeding from the contradictions of capitalism and the modern cities as mainly the stages upon which they have been played out in ways specific to each city's concrete conditions (Saunders, pp. 23-24).

Understanding the modern American city requires understanding its evolution over several stages of development of U.S. capitalist society.

NOTES

1. See description and critique of positivism-pragmatism in Wells, pp. 13, 187-190, 200-201; Cornforth, p.v; Osipov, p. 73.

2. Since the mid-1970s, several new philosophic approaches to urban studies (such as idealism, humanism, structuralism and materialism) began to challenge the assumptions and premises of positivism. Their effect on the literature on cities, however, has been quite small. Others (such as behavioralism) try to correct the deficiencies of positivism without altering its basic premises. They merely play obligatory variations around the dominant tune.

3. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Frederick D. McKenzie, *The City*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925.

4. The hierarchical pattern of social organization within a flock of poultry in which each bird is permitted to peck a lower ranking bird and is expected to submit to pecking by one of higher rank.

5. Louis Wirth, *On Cities and Social Life*, 1948.

6. See, for example, Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, Oxford University Press, London, 1973, pp. 302-303.

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BOOK ENDS

'Communists in Harlem During the Depression'

GERALD HORNE

Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression*, University of Illinois Press, 1983, Urbana, Ill., 355 pages, 19.95.

Apparently U.S. ruling circles feel that their version of the history of Communism needs updating. Nowadays readers alternately laugh and yawn at such worn tripe as Wilson Record's *The Negro and the Communist Party*. The old line about Communists being deceitful, untrustworthy, unprincipled, etc., does not move as many minds as it used to; so, as in the film "Seeing Red," some successes are noted while a bitter aftertaste about Reds is left in one's mouth.

One also sees this crude distortion of history on the level of the international movement. Fitzroy Ambursley and Robin Cohen, eds., in their *Crisis in the Caribbean* (Monthly Review Press), castigate progressive forces in Cuba and El Salvador, deny the existence of the non-capitalist path of development (!) and denigrate the Soviet Union in a manner that might make Alexander Haig cringe.

Many of these new updaters are of social-democratic or various ultra-Left hues who strain to twist the evidence to conform to their preconceptions. Thus, in her execrable *Women and the American Left*, Mari Jo Buhle states falsely that the Civil Rights Congress "was dissolved during the upheaval following the Khrushchev report in 1956." Actually the CRC

went out of existence months before. But her notion dovetails too neatly with the view of "Seeing Red" and Maurice Isserman in an upcoming book to ignore; i.e., that Communists fell apart as a result of revelations about Stalin. Ignorance is said to be closer to the truth than prejudice, but it can also be said that the mixture of the two removes one exponentially from truth.

Naison avowedly sets out to revise past notions about Communists, but somehow he winds up reinforcing some of the more hoary biases of this century. Take his discussion of the Communist International, which is a major target of this work. He alleges that the "most consistent pressure to force the U.S. Party to emphasize black issues came from the Communist International, which was thoroughly dominated by Soviet Party leaders." The source for this? The *New York Herald Tribune*, the apostates Harry Haywood and Claude McKay and the wildly inaccurate Theodore Draper.

There are CI documents in English. Why weren't they consulted? There are those who have not left the Party who are much more familiar with the CI than the above sources. Why weren't they consulted? At various points Naison charges that the CPUSA was "under Comintern direction" (p. 13), that it bent to the whims of "ever-changing political requirements imposed by Comintern officials" (p. 126), that the Party attained victories in spite of the CI (p.

216), that the idea of a third party led by labor was a CI notion (p. 230), etc.

In penning such rot Naison candidly confesses that he "rests heavily" on the work of yet another former Communist who has turned his back on his convictions, Fernando Claudin. This is not just distorted ideological bias; it is bad scholarship pure and simple.

The author is apparently unaware of the more balanced, but far from pro-Communist, view of this period of the CI represented by the well-known historian E.H. Carr's *Twilight of the Comintern, 1930-35*, despite the fact that this work was published by Pantheon in 1982. Though not without fault, Carr does use Soviet and various other foreign sources. He rebuts the altogether silly idea that world leaders like Kuusinen, Togliatti, Thorez and Dimitrov would operate as puppets and points out that they played a leading role in shaping the CI's "line." The Bulgarian Communist delivered the major speech in July 1935 at the Seventh World Congress on the popular front and the French leader had applied it in his country even before the critical CI executive committee meeting of December 1934. But Naison is too intent on pushing the ruling-class notion of Soviet domination of the CPUSA to allow simple evidence to get in the way.

Moreover, his approach is akin to Smith Act prosecutors, who attempted to show Communists were teaching and conspiring the violent overthrow of the government by introducing into the record long quotes from Lenin, without showing overt acts on the part of CPUSA leaders. Naison does show that U.S. Commu-

nists travelled to Moscow, but other than the rantings of ex-Communists, who would be discredited immediately if put on the witness stand because of their interest in scoring the Party—he does not and could not produce any evidence that policies applied here were formulated in Moscow.

This question of sources is one of the major flaws of this multi-flawed work. Though he blows long and hard about Afro-American/West Indian (Afro-Caribbean) relations in the Party, Naison does not consult or seem aware of the evidence cited in the fine 1983 dissertation from the University of Michigan, Irma Watkins-Owens' "Blood Relations: West Indian Immigrants and Urban Community in Harlem, 1920-1930." Had he done so, he would not have been so wrongheaded as to prate about the Party's "failure to influence the Garvey movement . . . in the early '20s." Watkins-Owens points out the inaccuracy of such a thesis. In discussing the critical "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign, Naison relies on a dated 1941 Columbia M.A. thesis and ignores Gary Hunter's more complete 1977 University of Michigan dissertation.

Because Naison seems to more interested in having the evidence fit his biases than anything else, he falls into the trap of inadequate scholarship. When he discusses the allegation about the Soviets' attempts to "bolshelize" the CPUSA, which supposedly forced out many comrades, his sources are Nathan Glazer, Theodore Draper and the like (p. 12). When he discusses alleged Stalin pronouncements about the Sixth World Congress of the CI, he does not rely on either Russian-language sources or their English translations (p. 17). When he charges that the legendary William L. Patterson suddenly altered his personal demeanor because of directives passed down

from on high, the source is the fervently anti-Communist Roy Wilkins (p. 96). The source of the allegation that Harry Haywood was supposedly pushed out of Party leadership because of a power play by James Ford, is—you guessed it—Haywood himself! (P. 129.) When a thesis is woven about a "double standard" favoring certain intellectuals in the Party, the source is yet another person who made a career of being an ex-Communist, Joseph Starobin (p. 186). In writing of Harlemites' response to the Soviet Union, naturally the sources are still more of the same (p. 199).

It is not as if Naison is incapable of following the simple rule of evidence that sources that may have an interest in a certain view should be double-checked. He does not hesitate to double-check statements by Ted Bassett (still an active Communist leader) about the size and nature of a Party demonstration during this time (p. 93, fn. 78).

This attitude toward Bassett is symptomatic of Naison's harsh, pretentious, disrespectful and ultimately racist attitude toward Party and non-Party Black leaders. This arm-chair intellectual has the gall to speak of the "gullibility" of Paul Robeson, Jean Blackwell and Alain Locke because of their favorable attitude toward the USSR (pp. 198, 199). Though interviews with Bassett helped to provide whatever value this error-riddled work has, Naison condescendingly speaks of Bassett's "bland personality." He engages in needless and unnecessary speculation about William Patterson's personal life (p. 161). It is such arrogance that fueled the concern once so prevalent among Afro-Americans about Euro-Americans writing their history.

In addition to anti-Sovietism, what motivates this work by Naison is hostility to the Party itself. How

else can one explain some of his more egregious statements (there are far too many to list them all). He avers that when masses rallied to the CP banner on the issue of police brutality, this "probably had more to do with resentment towards the police than admiration for the Party's program" (p. 22). Naison refers to "the Communist message — a message lacking the humor, imaginative power and personalization of great events that [Harlemites] valued in the spoken word" (p. 33). Naturally, there is no substantiation for this. He vehemently assails James Ford (p. 99). But Adam Clayton Powell, who in one of his weaker moments denounced spurious "loyalist atrocities in Spain" during the Spanish Civil War, receives the author's praise because this falsification shows that he was not beholden to the Party! (P. 277.)

This unalloyed hostility may account for the rampant confusion that besets this book. Evidently he believes his own propaganda about "Communist fronts," and this leads him directly into a cul-de-sac. First he lists the heroic International Labor Defense as the "Party's legal defense organization" (p. 34). A few pages later it becomes a "mass organization" that James Ford is seeking to undermine in favor of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights (p. 100). Then still a few pages later it is back to being a Party organ (p. 104). He does not know quite what to make of the National Negro Congress. He predictably praises A. Philip Randolph's subsequent red-baiting of this organization and once again manages to ignore recent dissertations on the subject.

One would not know from reading this book on Afro-Americans in Harlem that red-baiting, persecution, loss of jobs, harassment and the like were forces they had to contend with; the ruling class is let off the

hook completely. He discusses the Party's "failure" in elections and does not mention barriers to getting on the ballot (p. 228). He goes on and on about the "high rate of turnover" in the Party without mentioning pressure from racists and anti-Communists (p. 280).

But even a stopped clock is right twice a day. Naison does provide useful information about Party successes in the fields of housing, education, sports, employment, anti-racism, anti-male supremacy, U.S. foreign policy, high prices, culture and more. But even here there are serious weaknesses. His analysis of socialist realism could have come from William F. Buckley (p. 218).

Because he is seduced by his own notion of "Communist fronts,"

Naison ascribes the weaknesses of any mass movement that the Party may have assigned cadre to, to the Party itself (p. 208). The information about Party successes is only thrown in as a sort of bait, as part of the updating of anti-Communism, since the public will no longer accept the traditional undiluted poison.

It is important to point out that Naison is not an isolated phenomenon but part of a larger trend. The Middle Atlantic Radical Historians Organization (MARHO) published a book, *Visions of History* (Pantheon), that consists of interviews with a gaggle of historians most of whom share similar convictions. One pontificates that asking why the Left is not the stronger in the U.S. is the wrong question, implying that rul-

ing-class hegemony should be the norm. A "feminist" historian muses about how she can't have any sort of relationship with a Black man because they're too sexist (presumably whites aren't) and brags that the journal on which she works—*Radical America*—has a quota for women, but otherwise is virtually lily-white.

As the general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen and the ruling class becomes more desperate, the battle of ideas will become even sharper. An essential component of the ruling class' battle to control the present and decisively influence the future is the misrepresentation of the past. Mark Naison certainly deserves a tenured sinecure for his contribution to the ongoing slander against Communists' role in the U.S.

Once again on Korean Air Liner 007 . . .

[O]ne year after the downing of K.A.L. 007, a careful and thorough analysis of new, complex and technical evidence now in the public record leads to the inescapable conclusion that official U.S. accounts of the incident are neither complete nor credible. While there is no doubt that the Soviet Union's act of downing an unarmed civilian airliner was the proximate cause of the loss of 269 lives, the U.S. government also must be held accountable and accept its share of the blame. The United States' responsibility can now be demonstrated on the basis of the following virtual certainties:

- Various U.S. military and intelligence agencies, including the Air Force, the National Security Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, the North American Aerospace Defense Command and the National Military Command Center at the Pentagon, had to have known that Flight 007 was off course well prior to the attack over Sakhalin.

- Those agencies had to have known that K.A.L. 007 was heading toward Soviet territory while a major Soviet missile test was in the making there, and that the airliner was thus in grave danger.

- The agencies had the time and means to communicate with K.A.L. 007 and correct its course, but not one of them did so.

- It seems probable that Soviet radar sys-

tems were jammed at least on Kamchatka Peninsula and perhaps on Sakhalin Island.

- Finally, given the capability of U.S. intelligence and communications systems, it can be presumed that the White House and the Secretary of Defense also knew of the events as they transpired, well in advance of the shootdown. They had plenty of time to issue instructions to civilian air-traffic control authorities to correct the jetliner's course, but did not do so.

The implications are profoundly disturbing. The most charitable interpretation is that U.S. military and intelligence agencies suffered an extraordinary series of human and technical failures which allowed the airliner to proceed on its deviant course. If that was the case, it would mean that the most serious failure in the history of the U.S. early warning and communications, command, control and intelligence (C³I) systems occurred that night. However, a much more likely and frightening possibility is that a conscious policy decision was made by the U.S. government—at what level it is not clear—to risk the lives of 269 innocent people on the assumptions that an extraordinary opportunity for gleaming intelligence information should not be missed and that the Soviets would not dare shoot down a civilian airliner.

David Pearson,
Nation, August 18-25, 1984

DOCUMENTS

'On the Wrong Track'

PRAVDA EDITORS

The article headed "Under the Protection of U.S. Missiles" that was published in *Pravda* on July 27 evoked broad repercussions in political circles and among the public of European countries. There was a particularly strong reaction to it in Bonn. However paradoxically, the official comments in the West German capital bypass the essence of the matters touched upon in the article. Thus, FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in a radio interview that "Moscow's campaign against West German revanchism" is, allegedly, a purely propaganda action whose aim is . . . to undermine the international reputation of the FRG." The Chancellor added that since he does not see any signs of revanchism in the country, "the entire campaign does not concern" him at all.

Wrong. The article dealt precisely with the manifestations of revanchism—tangible, ponderable manifestations which justifiably cause concern among the international public, not least of all of sober-minded representatives of political circles of West Germany.

Unconditionally supporting the U.S. course of confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, acting as the initiators of the arms race in Europe, the Bonn leaders are now trying more vigorously than ever before to implement their plans to undermine the German state of workers and peasants. And

the revanchist contents of this policy are camouflaged by references to *common German interests*.

It will not be amiss to once again recall Erich Honecker's pronouncement in this connection: "The socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG can not be combined, just as it is impossible to combine flame and ice."

Commenting on the *Pravda* article, State Secretary of the FRG Foreign Ministry A. Mertes stated that Moscow "tries to break Germany's will for self-determination in conditions of freedom." What is this if not the claim to speak on behalf of both German states, contrary to political realities and the principles of international law?

On the Rhine, one can say, it is now a period of increased revanchist solicitations with regard to the German Democratic Republic. Those solicitations are based in many respects on calculations to use economic relations with the GDR as a means to interfere in the sovereign affairs of the republic and to gradually erode the foundations of the socialist system there.

An economic lever has been repeatedly resorted to to break the post-war peaceful setup in Europe and, in particular, to disturb the stability of the GDR. This time a concrete cause has been the agreement between the West German *Deutsche Bank* and the GDR's Foreign Trade Bank on the granting of credit to it. The DPA News Agency has notified that the Federal cabinet's consent to the credit is tied up with a catalogue of political demands which include

the creation of conditions for a further expansion of the flow of visitors from the FRG and West Berlin, the liberalization of the import of publications into the GDR, etc. All this resembles not so much an expansion of contacts for humane purposes, as those in the FRG are so fond of talking about, as an attempt at getting new channels for political — and ideological — influence.

Having lost all sense of proportion, a number of organs of the West German press have already started to write about a direct interconnection between the granting of the above-mentioned credit and *political interest* which the GDR, they say, should pay if it is interested in developing economic contacts with the FRG. While pressing for concessions from the GDR, Bonn politicians do not intend in any way to meet its legitimate demands as a sovereign state — to recognize the GDR's citizenship and the international legal character of the border between the GDR and the FRG, to transform the permanent missions into embassies, to eliminate the so-called *Erfassungsstelle* department in Salzgitter, which has assumed the right to supervise the activities of citizens and official bodies of the GDR, etc. Helmut Kohl has frankly stated that little can be done in matters of principle. He says that when he recalls the question of citizenship, etc., he realizes that to him all that is not subject to discussion.

Characteristically, in Bonn they are trying to justify the current massive pressure on the GDR also by claiming what they call a special mission of both German states to "limit the damage" done by the new round of the arms race in Europe. This is a

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pharisaical logic indeed! First the ruling quarters of the FRG, together with the U.S. and their other NATO allies, give an impetus to this race with American missile deployments, thereby inflicting enormous damage on the process of detente, relations between socialist and capitalist countries. And now, under the pretext of "limiting the damage," they are trying to fulfill their long-standing revanchist plans, which, naturally, can only complicate the situation in Europe even further.

The mass media in the FRG these days have become exponents of nationalist euphoria directly prompted by the Chancellor himself. For it is he who said that Europe allegedly will not come to know a genuine peace until a *German reunification* takes place—of course, in accordance with

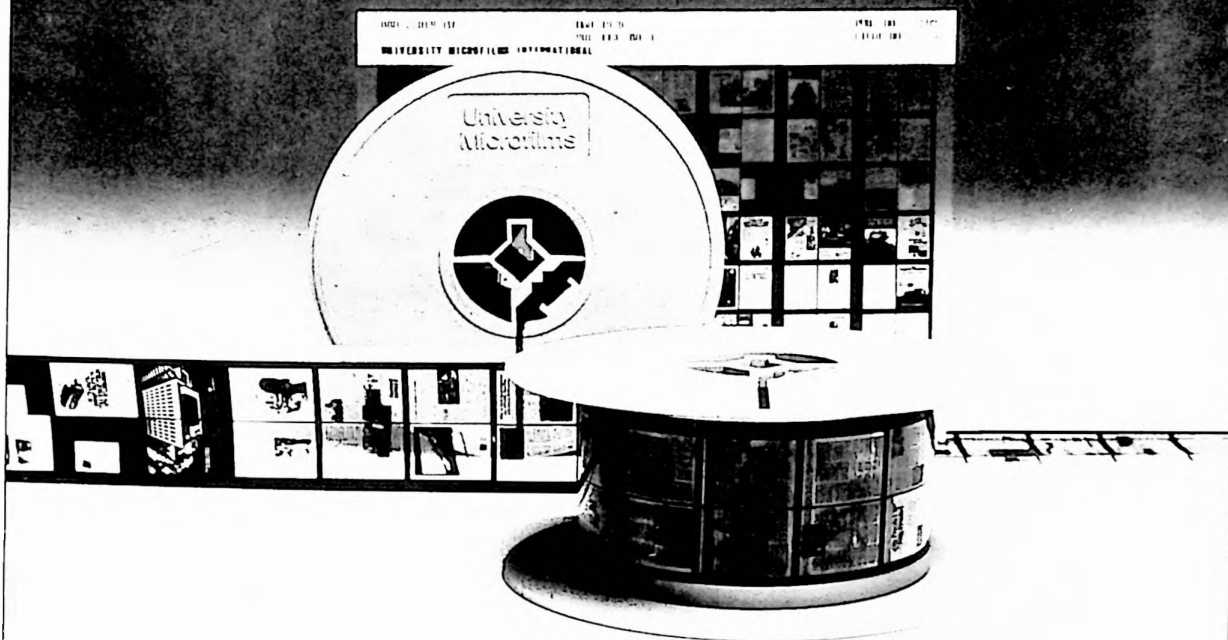
the Bonn recipe. Those who adopt such slogans make believe that they are unaware that banking on efforts to erode the socialist system in the GDR leads not to peace and, of course, not to a relaxation of international tension but in a diametrically opposite direction, especially in conditions where encroachments on existing borders in Europe synchronize with the arms buildup in the FRG.

In order to reassure the public in the FRG and elsewhere, which is showing serious concern about the growth of tension in Europe, in Bonn they keep saying that no "glaciation" is foreseen in Europe, including between the GDR and the FRG. As if it is possible to close one's eyes to the American Pershings trained on coun-

tries of the socialist community! And as if neither have there been any countermeasures adopted by Warsaw Treaty member states!

In the West German comments on the *Pravda* article there have been quite a few statements about the FRG's wish to maintain mutually beneficial good-neighborly relations with socialist states. Such relations, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, are also favored by socialist countries. But the FRG's attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of its eastern neighbors and lay revanchist claims, in particular to build relations with the GDR on a chauvinist basis, clearly run counter to this. Such a policy meets the interests of neither the FRG nor peace in Europe.

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