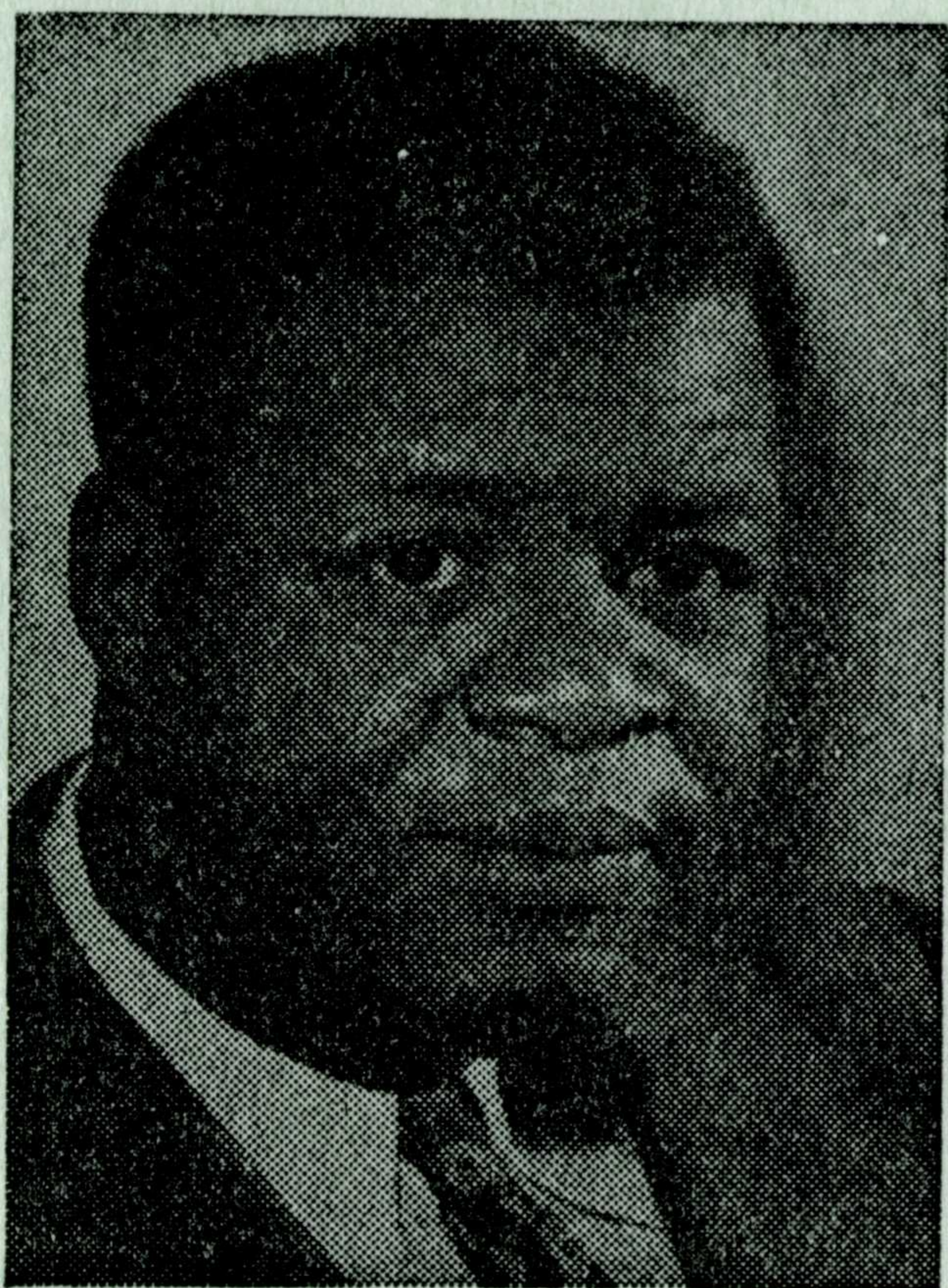


About the Author



Mississippi-born Henry Winston is only two generations from slavery. His grandfather was a slave. When he was eleven, the Winston family moved from Hattiesburgh, Mississippi, to Kansas City, Missouri. The young Henry attended Jim Crow schools in both states, including two years of high school; worked at whatever jobs he could get (dishwasher, painter, bricklayer, secretary); read and studied by himself.

At 19, Winston joined the Young Communist League and plunged into the struggles of the unemployed in his home state and also participated in the National Hunger March to Washington, D. C. in 1932 for unemployment insurance and relief. He aided the Scottsboro Boys, took part in the National Negro Congress and in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and in many other battles for Negro and working class freedom. He has held the posts of National Administrative Secretary of the Young Communist League and National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party.

Winston served in World War II for three years and eight months and received an honorable discharge. Soon after, he was convicted under the infamous Smith Act and in 1956 began an 8-year prison sentence which was finally, after worldwide protest, commuted by President Kennedy for "reasons of health" after Winston had served nearly six years and had lost his sight due to brutal negligence of the prison authorities.

After his release in 1961, Winston went abroad for three years. He was in the Soviet Union for medical treatment and also visited six republics of that land as well as five other European countries during which time he wrote the first edition of this pamphlet.

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FOREWORD

This pamphlet is the second edition of a work published abroad in 1964, under the title *The Challenge of U.S. Neo-Colonialism*, copies of which have been arbitrarily barred by the Customs Department from entrance into this country. It is therefore reissued here, in condensed form, with some slight revisions and updating of figures.

The subject dealt with—imperialism—is of vast importance to Americans. The average citizen here is likely to be incredulous. “Imperialism? You mean *us*? *We’re* not imperialists—*we* don’t have colonies or oppress anybody. *We* just help other people to be *free*. There just isn’t any such animal as U.S. imperialism.”

President Johnson gave this unctuous image his official stamp. “*We have no ambition there* (in Vietnam),” he said complacently. “*We seek no domination, we seek no conquest.*” And yet, 7,000 miles from our shores, we are bombing North Vietnam, a nation not at war with us. on the hypocritical plea of “defending freedom” while supporting one despotic government after another in South Vietnam. These bombings, in crass violation of election promises, are an escalation of the war and threaten world nuclear catastrophe.

Colonialism is not only open, direct coercion, domination and conquest. There are also concealed and more cunning forms of exploitation of other countries, even when they are supposedly self-governing and independent. These new ways have been introduced because of the powerful sweep of the national liberation movements and the aid given them by socialist countries.

This new form of colonialism is based on the power of U.S. capital in these countries, on unequal trade, on puppet regimes, on alliances with the most reactionary forces in these countries combined with minor concessions to local capitalists, on coercion by means of military bases, blocs and armed intervention. These methods of enslavement are often screened by seemingly altruistic gestures—libraries and peace corps and words about freedom—which all sound good but keep these “independent” countries under their heel and poor as church mice. This neo-colonialism shames our country. This pamphlet tries to tell why.

THE NEW COLONIALISM - U.S. STYLE

By Henry Winston

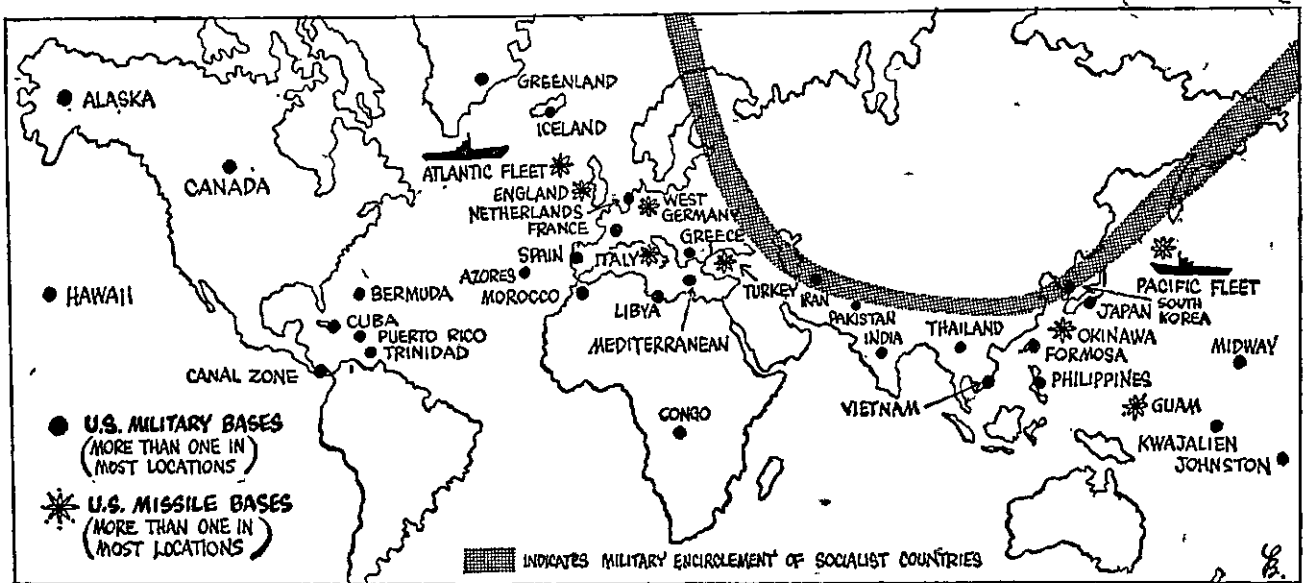
TRUTH AND FICTION

WE ARE living in a fast-changing world. The number of UN members has more than doubled. Most of the new members are newly-independent countries. This fact mirrors an important feature of our epoch—the rise of the national-liberation movement and collapse of the old colonial empires. Today only 1.5 per cent of the world's population live in colonial or dependent countries. The break-up of the colonial regimes is nearing completion. Empires built in the course of centuries have crumbled in less than two decades.

American government officials support the national-liberation movement in words and frequently argue that the anti-colonial revolution of today is a continuation of the American Revolution of 1776. The national-liberation struggle against the 'present-day colonialists, they say, is a continuation of the struggle the Americans waged against King George III of England. In an address to the UN General Assembly, December 17, 1963, President Lyndon Johnson said he would seek a settlement of the "residual problems of colonialism." Books have been written about the so-called American anti-colonial tradition to hammer home the point that the people of the United States themselves fought against colonialism. Should not the U.S.A., then, be trusted more than the old colonial powers?—say these officials.

I do not think it is difficult to see the difference between the American Revolution of 1776 and the national-liberation movement of today.

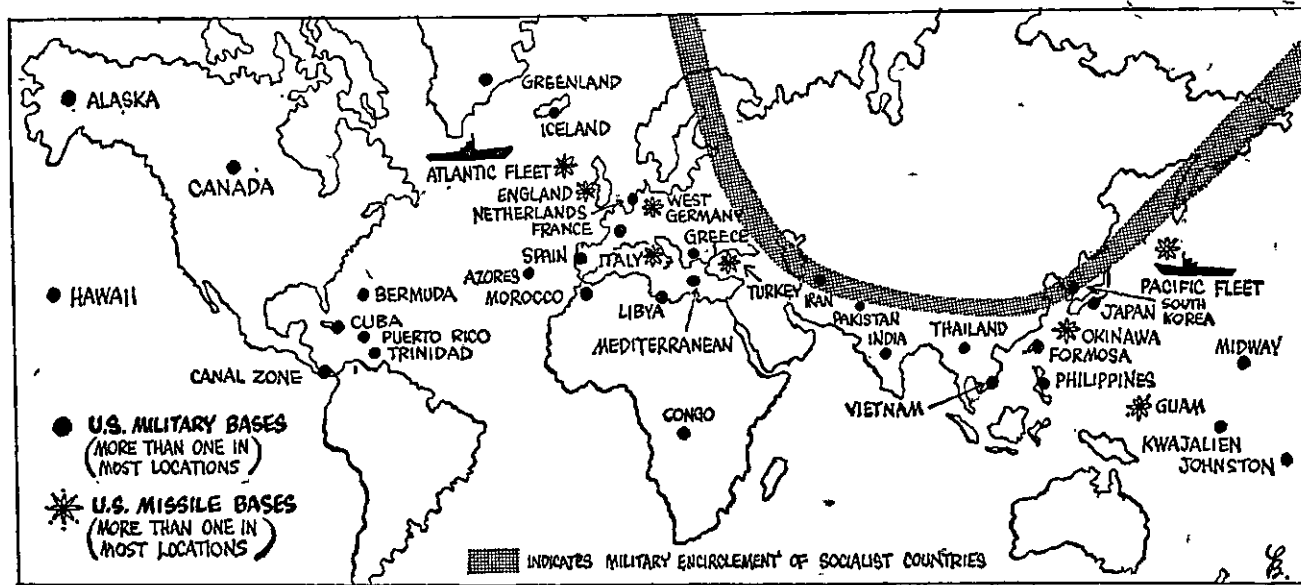
The United States was a revolutionary country in 1776. Now it is the bulwark of imperialist reaction. History does not stand still. The American Revolution took place in another epoch, under different conditions. Having won independence, the United



U.S. troops abroad now number 1,000,000 based in 80 countries. Major U.S. military bases abroad: 428—air, land, naval. This figure does not include minor military installations around the world, numbering 2,900.

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ring of bases. These bases may be used for various purposes. . . ."—Page 17



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States in time developed a colonial appetite. That happened at the close of the 19th century. True, it came in somewhat late for the division of the original colonial pie. Now the lack of a vast colonial empire is used as proof that the U.S.A. never had an appetite for that pie.

The fact remains, however, that the U.S.A. was late because it was busy colonizing huge territories in the West, an operation which, incidentally, was accompanied by the extermination of the indigenous Indian population. Already then it had its eye on Latin America, regarding it, in the light of the Monroe Doctrine, as its own private domain. North American capitalism held up the development of capitalism in Latin America, finding the feudal system there perfectly suited to its purpose. Similarly, the American South was kept as an agricultural region, where the majority of the Negro people were share-croppers; Negro industrial workers were kept at the bottom of the economic ladder and even the rise of a competing Negro industrial bourgeoisie was prevented.

After putting on muscle, the young U.S. imperialism started a war with Spain which gave it domination in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. Against the people of the Philippines, who wanted independence, the U.S. government waged a war of "pacification," in which 6,000 American soldiers and 220,000 Philippine men, women and children were killed. Was this not colonialism? Today official propaganda explains the events of those years as a mistake, an unfortunate retreat from anti-colonial tradition, a tiny blot on an otherwise unblemished record of colonial innocence. But as the saying goes, you cannot be a little pregnant.

As time went on, more ravenous became the appetite of U.S. imperialism until, after World War II, through President Truman, it laid claim to "world leadership." The late President Kennedy likewise held forth about "obligations of world leadership." This identity of wording is natural because the striving for world domination is innate in U.S. imperialism.

NEW WORLD REALITIES

However, a distinction must be drawn between the appetite of U.S. imperialism and the practical possibilities for satisfying it. Theoretically, U.S. imperialism would have nothing against building a new empire of its own on the ruins of the old empires:

'Practically, however, this is doomed to remain a pipe-dream, thanks to the irreversible changes in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, democracy and peace. "We cannot," said President Kennedy, "always impose our will on the other 94 per cent of mankind." Not, mark you, "we do not want to," but "we cannot."

What is it that made such a qualification necessary? The President took into account the existing world realities. Basic here is the fact that the Russian Revolution of 1917 had ushered in the first socialist state. This was the beginning of a great turn in the tide of history. The socialist state withstood every test. It played a decisive role in the defeat of Hitler's Wehrmacht. This made possible the emergence of other socialist states, the rapid development of the national-liberation movement, the broadening of the fight for democracy and peace in capitalist countries. President Kennedy took all this into account when he said that "we cannot always impose our will on the other 94 per cent of mankind."

The goal of world domination has not been renounced, for the striving towards this goal is inherent in imperialism. But it has been pushed somewhat into the background pending the achievement of other, more immediate, goals.

One of these goals, which has a direct bearing on our subject, is to retain the Asian, African and Latin American countries within the orbit of world capitalism and, thereby ensure their continued exploitation by international, and in the first place U.S., financiers and industrialists.

It is proposed to attain this goal through aid, trade, recommendations for agrarian reforms with a view to promoting capitalism in agriculture, and the creation of conditions favoring the development of capitalist enterprises. But it would be an illusion to think that the big stick has been discarded. Under certain circumstances, U.S. imperialism does not hesitate to send out the Marines in a modern variant of gunboat diplomacy. At the same time new or relatively new methods are used more and more often. Together with some old methods that have not yet become completely bankrupt they add up to what is often called the policy of neocolonialism.

GOALS OF NEOCOLONIALISM

The aims of U.S. neocolonialism are somewhat different from those of old, classical colonialism. Formerly, the colonial empires were concerned with ensuring the necessary conditions for colonial plunder, including *direct* political rule. Today, when most of the former colonies have won political independence and are striving for economic independence as well, these states are confronted with the problem of which road to take—the capitalist or the non-capitalist. The U.S. policy of neocolonialism aims primarily to direct the development of these countries along capitalist lines and to ensure that they remain within the orbit of capitalism. With this ultimate aim in view, U.S. imperialism is prepared to make a few concessions in the hope of saving as much as possible now and recouping later.

U.S. neocolonialist policy is a search for an optimal strategy aimed at consolidating and possibly expanding the sphere of capitalism, in which the U.S.A. has its own invisible colonial empire. At times this search borders on experimentation as, for example, in the case of the Alliance for Progress or the Peace Corps.

Officially, U.S. neocolonialist policy is presented as the defense of "freedom" against the threat of tyranny. According to official Washington doctrine, the global contest is not between two socio-economic systems, not between capitalism and socialism, but between freedom and tyranny. Secretary of State Rusk, in his book, *The Winds of Freedom* (1963), for instance, sees the modern historical process as a struggle between "coercion" and "free choice."

The official explanations of the principles guiding U.S. foreign policy belong in the realm of empty rhetoric and cannot be taken seriously. They cannot, for example, explain United States support to Latin American tyrants. The only element common to all the twists and turns of U.S. foreign policy is the principle of imperialist gain, sometimes not immediate but ultimate. This is a key to some of the neocolonialist methods, which at first glance seem to have a veneer of altruism.

Take the U.S. program of aid to the developing countries. What are the motives behind this generosity to the tune of an annual 4 per cent of the Federal budget?

Frank Coffin, a high official of the Agency for International

Development, the organization that handles U.S. aid, declared that U.S. aid is given to development plans whose objective is to expand and encourage the private sector of the economy.

Under-Secretary of State George Ball describes the foreign aid program as an essential preliminary condition for the promotion of private enterprise. (*Department of State Bulletin*, June 4, 1962, p. 914)

These authoritative statements lead one to conclude that U.S. aid is designed, first and foremost, for promoting capitalism in the underdeveloped countries. This is a definite bid to rejuvenate senile capitalism by injecting new blood. The second objective is markets and sources of raw materials.

A close scrutiny of U.S. foreign aid reveals it as aid to the U.S. monopolies, for whom it opens up a vast additional market. This is particularly true of the arms monopolies, since a considerable portion of the aid is used for military purposes. The late President Kennedy estimated it at more than half, while some economists set it at two-thirds and even as much as 80 per cent.

The monopolies receive hard cash for the goods they supply under the aid programs. It is all the same to them where the cash comes from so long as they are paid in full. And so the taxpayers' dollars keep flowing to the monopolies which can hardly be suspected of altruism. Walt Rostow, Chairman of the State Department's Policy Planning Commission, said on November 20, 1963, that in the end the money appropriated for aid is spent almost entirely in the United States. (*Department of State Bulletin* Dec. 16, 1963, p. 926)

In the 1961-62 fiscal year 79 per cent of the aid appropriations were spent in the U.S.A. The percentage, according to State Department estimates, was to reach 80-85 in 1962-63 and 90-95 in 1963-64. This adds up to 12 per cent of the total U.S. export. Clearly, then, it is a matter of ensuring markets for the U.S. monopolies, primarily for the arms corporations.

This, then, is how leading insiders regard U.S. aid.

To the recipient it presents a somewhat different and by no means attractive aspect.

"U.S. economic and military aid," declared Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, "was rendered us on terms that were in-

compatible with our sovereignty. We shall never achieve economic independence, which is the goal of all our efforts, if we do not free ourselves from this aid . . .”

BLACKMAIL

Aid is used as a means of blackmail. The foreign aid bill of 1962, for example, provides for stoppage of aid to countries whose shipping is used in trade with Cuba. The Hickenlooper Amendment calls for cessation of aid to countries which nationalize U.S. property without compensation.

The deeper a country is involved in U.S. military blocs, the more aid it gets. But it also has to shoulder a huge burden of military expenditure usually exceeding the aid. As a result, there is a growth of militarism, not of the economy. Not a single country in Asia, Africa, or Latin America has achieved economic prosperity through U.S. aid.

Take, for example, Turkey, in which Uncle Sam is especially interested because of its geographical position. In 1949-61 it received nearly \$4,000,000,000 in U.S. aid. How did this affect its industrial development? Before being “aided” Turkey’s industry accounted for 10.5 per cent of the national economic output, and after 12 years of aid, for 10.9 per cent. Turkey remains an agrarian country and its economy is making no headway.

The pattern is the same for the other recipients of U.S. aid. This aid does not promote economic development for the simple reason that most of it is military aid. A substantial portion of the remainder is used for the purchase of consumer goods in the U.S.A. Part goes into developing what is known as the infrastructure—highways, ports and so on, all useful in themselves, but mainly for the foreigners exploiting the country. This leaves virtually crumbs for promoting national industry, and without industrialization it is impossible to climb out of poverty.

To complete the picture, a good slice of the aid goes into the pockets of corrupt politicians. U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas wrote that U.S. foreign aid gives officials in the recipient countries an opportunity of making fortunes they could never dream of before.

ALLIANCE FOR POVERTY

THE LATEST variant of aid, the Alliance for Progress, launched in August 1961, is an object lesson in neocolonialist methods. It is an instance of adapting imperialist tactics to the changing conditions. Formerly, when it came to choosing between capitalist democracy or military dictatorship in Latin America, the "great North American democracy" clearly preferred to have dealings with dictators. Now that the peoples of Latin America have before them the inspiring example of Cuba, it has become politically dangerous to support dictators openly.

In the new situation—a situation marked by the existence of a free Cuba—U.S. imperialism has, to use the words of *Business Week*, resorted to the tactics of "preventive revolution," i.e., to maneuvering in order to save the positions of U.S. monopoly capital.

Towards that end Alliance for Progress members pledged themselves in the Punta del Este Charter to improve and consolidate democratic institutions, to carry out a program of genuine agrarian reforms and to increase the per capita national product by at least 2.5 per cent annually within the next ten years. But instead of the promised 2.5 per cent, the increase in 1962 came to less than one per cent. Instead of consolidation of democratic institutions, reactionary military coups have been engineered in the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru and Brazil. Once in the saddle, the militarists suspend constitutional guarantees and curtail democratic rights. Washington follows a pattern of expressing formal disapproval and then agreeing to support many of these military juntas.

The first \$2,300,000,000 allocated by the U.S.A. under the Alliance for Progress program went the way of all other U.S. aid. The money was used to stimulate the export of U.S. goods to Latin America. The Presidential Message to Congress in July 1963 pointed out that U.S. goods and services added up to 80 per cent of the money allocated in the 1962-63 fiscal year, and that in the following year they would come to about 90 per cent.

As regards the agrarian reforms envisaged by the Alliance, they are either non-existent or abortive. More than half of the cultivated land in Latin America belongs to estates of over 6,000 *hectares* (Roughly, 14,000 acres). The Mexican haciendas, the Chilean

fundos, the Argentine estancias, the Venezuelan hatos and the Brazilian fazendas are all bastions of medievalism. These pre-capitalist survivals suit U.S. imperialism insofar as they help to keep these countries as sources of cheap raw material. But they are also sources of political instability: the need for agrarian reforms matured long ago. Hence the lip-service Washington pays to reforms, the fine words you find in the Appeal to the American Nations on which the Alliance for Progress was built.

Actually, however, the latifundists refuse to sacrifice their privileges and go so far as to reject the recommendations from Washington, which, in its turn, is not prepared to break with the landlords.

By mid-1963, of the 19 Alliance for Progress members, only eight had submitted national economic plans providing for social and economic reforms. But even the submitted plans of agrarian reform envisage not the abolition of the large estates but the development of government-owned land and the partial alienation of land belonging to the landlords.

As a result, nobody is pleased with the U.S. reform mission, and the Alliance for Progress has found itself without appreciable social support. Both the landlords and the militarists have reasons to be dissatisfied with it, while the peasants and the working people in general have no reason to be pleased with it.

The initial results of the Alliance for Progress were summed up at a conference in Sao Paulo in November 1963. Former President Joao Goulart of Brazil opened the conference with a reference to the "half-measures of sham, superficial concessions" by the "industrial countries exporting capital." In the November 22, 1963 issue, *Time* reported that delegates to the conference in Sao Paulo "discovered that there was little progress, and not much alliance."

Selso Brant, a member of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, declared that the Alliance for Progress was nothing but the Trojan horse of neocolonialism, which the North American government was using in an attempt to play the boss in various parts of his country.

These bitter words echo what was said back in 1829 by Simon Bolivar, the Latin American people's hero: "It seems that providence itself had intended the United States to plunge America into poverty under the cloak of freedom."

FINANCIAL PENETRATION OF AFRICA

ONE OF the consequences of the collapse of the colonial system in Africa was the opening of new opportunities for U.S. imperialist penetration of the Black Continent. The political and philosophical justification advanced for this intensified penetration was that it was necessary to fill the African vacuum before communism filled it. But the United States was out to extend its own invisible colonial empire through economic enslavement of independent countries. The situation became propitious when the flags of the old imperialist rulers were run down. It became possible, in particular, to assume the traditional pose of champion of freedom, make eloquent speeches of welcome and stretch out the hand of friendship, thus laying a psychological barrage in order to clear the way for infiltration. This was accompanied by the old bogey of the "communist threat." Anti-communism is becoming the basic ideological and political weapon of modern colonialism.

U.S. private direct investments in Africa increased from \$287,000,000 in 1950 to \$1,423,000,000 in 1963, with a large increase in South Africa where foreign and local capital jointly exploit the Negro population. U.S. investments in the Republic of South Africa, whose racist policies are notorious, totaled \$415,000,000 in 1963.

Most of this money is in gold and diamond mines, but lately increased activity has been shown by the 160 American firms entrenched in that country. Among them are General Motors, Ford, General Electric, Proctor and Gamble, Westinghouse and other well-known monopolies. They are pocketing a profit of 27 per cent annually. Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange, was no doubt expressing the sentiments of these companies when he declared: "The entire Western world and all the free nations, whose two outstanding leaders are South Africa and the United States must in the future work closer together."

INDIRECT CHANNELS

Aware that their professions of anti-colonialism are hardly credible, the U.S. imperialists prefer to stay in the background and let others do the dirty work in the newly-emerged countries.

In the book entitled *Africa and the West*, Arnold Rivkin of the

International Research Center at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recommends that the United States aid the African countries not openly but secretly, through some international agency set up for this purpose. "The new African states and their leaders," he writes, "are likely to be sensitive to any charge, no matter how groundless, of changing one colonial master for another, and would more readily request and accept aid from the United States in a multi-lateral setting." Rivkin believes that in the last resort aid could be given through Israel.

Another example of neocolonialist maneuvering is the bribing of trade unions in Africa and Latin America. This is done, for example, in British Guiana, where the trade union leaders are acting in concert with U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries.

In 1962, the then Under-Secretary of Labor George C. Lodge published a book entitled *Spearheads of Democracy—Labor Unions in the Developing Countries*. This is a collection of recipes for the utilization of African trade unions in the interests of U.S. imperialism. It urges government leaders, employers and trade unions to perceive "the importance of organizations of workers in the developing world to the fulfillment of U.S. foreign policy. . . ."

The leadership of the AFL-CIO, through its own machinery is directly involved in the African states, in Latin America and in Asia. They are spending huge sums from their own treasury and from various allotments of the State Department funds to bolster the interests of Wall Street imperialism. A lesser amount, about a million dollars a year, according to George Meany, is channeled through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for such projects.

MISSIONARIES OF IMPERIALISM.

A special instance of indirect penetration is the voluntary Peace Corps.

In the course of two years Peace Corps volunteers have established themselves in 46 countries. Latin America is getting the main attention. By August 1964, the Peace Corps was scheduled to have 11,300 volunteers. The assistance they render to the local population is an additional assignment designed to facilitate the fulfillment of their principal mission, that of creating favorable

public opinion towards the system of free enterprise. Sargent Shriver, Peace Corps director, made a show of modesty a necessary criterion of the professional suitability of his subordinates, whom he requires to demonstrate to the peoples of poverty-ridden countries that material advantages have not become the chief and inalienable portion of American life.

Some Peace Corps volunteers are undoubtedly guided by the noble motive of serving their fellow men. Their organizers skillfully appeal to the enthusiasm and idealism of youth. In quite a few cases, however, these people quickly realize that they might have been more useful at home where there is no end of work to be done. In a letter to *Newsweek* (June 24, 1963), Robert Zimmerman, a Peace Corps volunteer in the Philippines said: "As a Peace Corps volunteer trying to represent the U.S. I find that I am constantly on the defensive.

"In 1958 it was Little Rock and Governor Faubus; in 1962 it was Governor Barnett of Mississippi and now Governor Wallace of Alabama that makes me ashamed of my country! Here in the Philippines little is remembered of the progress made in Little Rock, and little is known of the small progress made in Alabama. The focus is on photographs of policemen beating and dragging away Negro demonstrators and reports of mass arrests—including children. I find myself wondering why I am in the Peace Corps. How can I explain the problems and progress?

"I only hope my countrymen are not under the illusion that their ambassadors, or even several thousand Peace Corps volunteers, can really explain what is happening in America. A million volunteers cannot wipe clean the slate. I am truly ashamed, and any words I utter only seem futile."

The comments in the local press show its skepticism about the aims of the Peace Corps. The newspaper *Al Moukafih* of Morocco called the volunteers missionaries of imperialism. *The Ghanaian Times* stated that the Peace Corps was not set up in the interests of the African continent and must therefore leave it at once. In its opinion, War Corps would be the most appropriate name for all these organizations, because the activity of most of the Peace Corps volunteers is not in accord with peaceful purposes. The Mexican periodical *Politica* suggested changing the name to Spy

Corps. The Indonesia newspaper *Warta Berita* characterized it as an agency of the U.S. neocolonialists. The verbiage about the philanthropic and humane nature of the Peace Corps is a lie from beginning to end, wrote *Delhi Times*.

BASES — THREAT TO PEACE

The United States is the only country with a world-wide network of military bases. This uniqueness shows up the hollowness of the sophisms about the "defensive" nature of these bases. U.S. imperialism is using them to preserve and expand its invisible colonial empire. They are the badges by which the peoples recognize the self-appointed world policemen.

I remember seeing several years ago in the *Chicago Tribune* a full-page map of U.S. bases. Most of the bases form a gigantic ring running through West Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Pakistan, Thailand, South Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan. And farther, from Alaska it passes through Canada, Greenland, Iceland, Britain, Norway, Denmark and back to West Germany, where it closes. Inside it are the socialist countries. That is one side of the story. The other side is that, the earth being round, the so-called free world is itself inside the ring of bases. These bases may be used for various purposes. They are very well suited for operations against the peoples of individual countries. Military observer Hanson Baldwin said that "the greatest military value of bases . . . is for limited war." Another expert on military strategy, William R. Kintner, in his book *National Security* (1953), put it even more bluntly: "Bases are absolutely essential in stopping local wars or 'wars of national liberation'."

This Pentagon term—local war—is used as a screen for U.S. military intervention in the affairs of other countries. What it implies is imperialist aggression, a bid to crush the national-liberation movement of one or another nation. In such a war the countries condemn this newest action of U.S. neocolonialism.

For purely military and political considerations as well as considerations of economy, the Pentagon is closing seven overseas bases. Not many. They are being replaced, if one can use the term, by mobile bases, by the U.S. Navy, which is plowing all

the seas of the world. Here the saving is largely illusory, because a real saving can only be achieved through disarmament. This would really benefit the newly-emerging states and at the same time, be a democratic gain for the people of the U.S.A.

The mobility of modern armed forces makes them a very dangerous weapon of imperialist politics. The Pentagon boasts of being able to move a division across the ocean in 72 hours. General Maxwell Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, declared that part of the U.S. 7th Fleet can patrol the waters of the Indian Ocean without using any port facilities. What are U.S. cruisers and aircraft carriers looking for there? Do the countries of that region constitute a threat to U.S. security? The opposite is the truth. The U.S. cruisers and aircraft carriers are a threat to the countries of the Indian Ocean, and the peoples of these countries condemn this newest action of U.S. neocolonialism.

The U.S. overseas bases are now more than ever a threat to world peace. To cite just one example: the continuing presence of U.S. troops in Taiwan—a virtual occupation of that island—is a great threat to peace in Asia. The foreign bases are aimed against the people of the countries where they are situated. They are aimed at keeping the newly emerged states within the orbit of capitalism. At the same time they can be used against imperialist rivals in order to facilitate U.S. infiltration of territories once closed to the U.S.A. by other colonial powers. From all points of view, then, they constitute a continuous threat to world peace and the sovereignty of other countries. Therefore the struggle against U.S. bases on foreign territory must be continued and intensified.

VIETNAM WAR

In this struggle it is important not only to demand the dismantling of the military bases, but also to put forward a far-reaching demand for disarmament. Only in this way can the peoples avert a thermonuclear catastrophe. The struggle against military bases is part of the struggle for disarmament, a struggle that is contributing greatly to the national liberation movement. But more on this in the concluding chapter.

After the bases come military blocs like SEATO. Their official

objective, that of "containing communism," does not prevent them from being used for the suppression of the national liberation movement. Small wonder that the newly independent states shun these blocs.

The U.S.A. does not stop at colonial wars either. It has taken over from French imperialism in Vietnam. The U.S.A. paid 15 per cent of the cost of the dirty war in 1950-51, 35 per cent in 1952, 45 per cent in 1953, and 80 per cent in 1954, up to the fall of Dien Bien Phu. Today U.S. imperialism has undertaken to cover the entire cost of the war against the patriots of South Vietnam, which runs about \$2,000,000 a day.

Instances of military adventurism by the U.S. imperialists are known everywhere. For reasons of convenience, the dirtiest work is frequently done by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The people of Latin America have not forgotten the overthrow of the legal, democratically elected government of Guatemala in 1954. The whole continent was outraged by the shooting of Panamanians by U.S. troops in 1964. Ten years separate the two events, but the neo-colonialist leopard has not changed its spots or pulled in its claws. The events in Guatemala and Panama show how much official U.S. protestations of fidelity to democracy and freedom are worth, what a discrepancy there is between U.S. words and U.S. deeds. It is obvious, then, that coercion is part of the arsenal of neocolonialism. Besides the new means and methods, this arsenal contains all the devices of the old colonialism which have not completely lost their value.

EXPORT OF CAPITAL, IMPORT OF PROFITS

Taking advantage of the fact that a weakened Europe was preoccupied with healing its war wounds, the United States sharply stepped up the export of capital after the war. U.S. overseas investments since then have exceeded the combined investments of all the other imperialist powers. By 1962 almost five times more U.S. capital flowed abroad than in 1945. The export of capital in the shape of government loans, and credits has increased nearly tenfold.

In 1960, \$1,700,000,000 of U.S. private capital was invested

abroad, while the reinvested profits amounted to \$1,200,000,000, bringing the total up to \$2,900,000,000. Two-thirds of this fell to the share of Canada and Western Europe. The same year the profits from U.S. overseas investments exceeded \$3,500,000,000.

In the ten years ending in 1959, U.S. investments in Latin America totalled \$4,400,000,000, and over \$8,000,000,000 flowed back to the U.S.A. By 1963, private direct investments in Latin America totalled about \$8,20,000,000 or nearly double that of 1950.

An interesting point, however, is that private capitalists shy away from the newly-independent countries, frightened off by the political uncertainties. Despite the exhortations of government officials, U.S. private capital prefers to wait until the government in the given country ensures a climate favorable for investment.

On the other hand, when private capital feels it has a free hand it throws aside all restraint. Describing this free-booting, Luther H. Hodges, then U.S. Secretary of Commerce, in his book *The Business Conscience* (1963) gives examples of the sale in underdeveloped countries of "shoddy or obsolete merchandise to unsophisticated foreign customers. . . . This is a particular specialty of the get-rich-quick artists who flock to the underdeveloped countries, where they capitalize on ignorance and, in effect, 'sell the Brooklyn Bridge'."

This type of robbery and deception, however, is only a local reflection of the robbery and deception practiced in the trade relations between the West and the undeveloped countries: The world prices of goods produced by the industrial powers are high, while those of goods from the less developed countries are extremely low.

UNEQUAL TRADE

A survey for 1955-60 compiled by the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America shows that as a result of a drop in the price of raw materials exported by the Latin American countries and the rising prices of the manufactures imported by them, these countries lost \$7,270,000,000 of which at least half went to the U.S.A. In 1961 Latin America lost \$726,000,000 through the fall in coffee prices. This reduced to zero the entire U.S. aid for that year. Speaking of this kind of robbery, former Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek compared the Latin American countries

with a sick man receiving a blood transfusion in one arm while blood was being drained from him from the other.

All these crimes are crimes of capitalism. It is capitalism that is responsible for the continuing economic difficulties in the newly-independent countries. Is it likely, then, that these countries will agree to give capitalism free rein and thus perpetuate their poverty?

The continuing colonial exploitation in new forms is gradually making it clear to the newly-emerged states that capitalism holds out no promise for them. These methods cannot but evoke resentment against capitalism, within whose framework the developing countries are allotted the role of a "backyard" of the industrial powers. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are beginning to see that an attempt is being made not to replace colonialism with freedom, but to perpetuate imperialist plunder in a new guise. Despite the efforts of Western imperialist propaganda, the peoples of the emergent countries identify capitalism with imperialism and see how inseparable they are from colonialism. Firmly rejecting imperialism, they are coming to realize that capitalism too must be rejected.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

To defeat the forces of U.S. neocolonialism using such a variety of tactics requires flexibility and many-sided activities on the part of all the forces fighting imperialism.

The time, the place and the circumstances are decisive in determining the form of struggle against U.S. neocolonialism. The people of each country know the concrete conditions best of all, and only they can determine what form of struggle to employ.

The international scene today is marked above all by the struggle and competition under way between the two socio-political systems on a world scale. In our times peaceful coexistence of the two systems has become a vital condition for all other forms of political activity, and for the national-liberation movement in particular. In the event of a thermonuclear catastrophe the atomic blasts and radioactive fallout would spare no one. Frontiers would afford no protection. No geographical atomic shelter exists. Such a catastrophe would mean abandoning the tasks of national liberation and concentrating solely on survival. For that reason the struggle for peaceful

coexistence is a vital aspect of the national-liberation struggle.

Peaceful coexistence of the two systems means excluding world war from the life of society and settling international issues by negotiation. It does not mean the abandonment of the class struggle in any country, nor does it mean the abandonment of the inviolable right of each people to decide their own destiny, including their right to carry on a relentless struggle against foreign enslavers. Peaceful coexistence creates more favorable conditions for such a struggle.

AFL-CIO Vice-President Walter Reuther is right when he says that if nuclear war breaks out the question of jobs, now holding the attention of the U.S. working-class movement, will become an academic one. The same can be said of national reconstruction. Would Ghana or Tanganyika or any other new state be able to realize its economic plans? Of course not. Social progress is inconceivable without peaceful coexistence, and the national-liberation movement, which is part of this progress, cannot regard radioactive ruins as anything but a catastrophic impediment. It would, therefore, be dangerous not to see the connection between the national-liberation struggle and peaceful coexistence. We should not forget that all the post-war successes of this struggle were gained in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, and that periods of relaxation of world tension have facilitated the course of this struggle.

Peaceful coexistence means peaceful competition in many spheres, including the sphere of economic aid to the new states. The aid rendered by the imperialist countries, as many Western political leaders have admitted, is anything but altruistic. It is often rendered as a counter-measure against possible aid by socialist countries. In India, for example, socialism and capitalism are competing in the building of iron and steel mills. The developing countries can only welcome this kind of competition and peaceful coexistence.

WHY STRIVE FOR BIG POWER DISARMAMENT?

In view of the urgent necessity for peaceful coexistence, we must give every support to the efforts of the socialist countries and the peace forces in all countries towards the abolition of armaments, which are the main weapons of imperialism in general and its most

aggressive circles in particular. Disarmament includes doing away with missiles, bombers, tanks and nuclear bombs. Military bases would disappear from foreign territory and aircraft carriers would leave foreign waters. All this would undoubtedly facilitate the struggle against imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. It would not hinder but would rather heighten the defense capability of the emerging states, which are entitled to keep their own forces as long as a threat to their independence exists.

The dismantling of military bases on foreign soil is an aspect of the struggle to win general and complete disarmament, which is of vital importance for the national-liberation movement. If the national-liberation movement were to be regarded as something divorced from the struggle for disarmament, in effect this would mean counterposing one to the other. And this would logically lead to dropping the struggle against foreign bases, which in turn is dangerously close to dropping the struggle for national freedom altogether.

In addition to these considerations, disarmament would enable the new states to allot more money for economic development, improve their chances of getting aid from the capitalist countries on less onerous terms, and make it possible for the socialist countries considerably to increase the aid they render.

We thus see that the struggle for disarmament and for peaceful coexistence helps the national-liberation movement because it strikes at its enemy—imperialism. The only correct tactic, is therefore, unity of all the anti-imperialist forces.

WORKING CLASS INTERNATIONALISM

The various democratic movements are likewise allies of the national-liberation movement. For example, in the United States the people are waging a struggle for equal rights for Negroes against the same reactionary monopolist forces which the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia are fighting. Their struggle is our struggle. Our struggle is their struggle. When imperialist agents engineered the attempt to invade Cuba at Playa Giron, United Fruit Company shares soared from \$20.9 to \$23, and when the invasion collapsed they slid down to \$13.3. Was United Fruit one of the backers of the gamble? But it is the enemy, not only of Cuba. The peoples of Cen-

tral America know Mamita Yunai only too well. It is their enemy, too. This monopoly octopus, like others of its kind, is also the enemy of the people of the United States.

Proletarian internationalism is the guarantee of victory. Clearly, any hint of sectarianism can become dangerous. Unity of the various forces fighting imperialism is of decisive importance.

I remember a talk I once had with a Latin American friend. We got to talking about "sharks and sardines"—about the powerful and ruthless North American shark preying on the Latin American sardines. My friend spoke resentfully about the Yankees bossing his country, and I fully appreciated his resentment, for I understood that by Yankees he meant the imperialists of my own country. Then I asked him if he had ever been in the United States. He replied somewhat vehemently that he had never been there and had no intention of going there.

This was an honest, impulsive reaction on his part. And one could understand it, even if one did not wholly subscribe to his views. The filthy, repulsive paws of U.S. imperialism had plundered his country. His indignation was also the indignation of his countrymen, of other Latin Americans, of the people of Asia and Africa crushed under the iron heel of U.S. imperialism, which has become the main bulwark of modern colonialism.

I feel, however, that it would be wrong to allow emotion alone to determine the course of action to be taken to end imperialist plunder. I also think it wrong to allow one's loathing of U.S. imperialism to influence one's attitude to the progressive movement in general and the labor movement and the movement of the Negro people in particular. United Fruit is not the whole of the United States. In this country there are millions of workers who also resent United Fruit. Standard Oil is not the whole of the United States either. Millions of our people likewise resent Standard Oil and the other monopolies.

At the same time, the democratic masses in the U.S.A. are increasingly beginning to understand the meaning of the fight. These masses will support the struggle of the Latin American peoples against hunger, illiteracy and disease, which are the results of the domination of foreign monopolies. The negative approach of this Latin American worker fails to take into account the fact that in

the U.S.A. there are considerable democratic, non-fascist, non-imperialist, non-monopoly forces who can be won for the fight for justice, equality and freedom. These forces include people of different political affiliations, independents, and even some who do not think in political terms. An undifferentiated "anti-Yankee" stand tends to obscure the issues and make it impossible to join hands with allies in the United States.

Millions are fighting U.S. imperialism. This fight goes on in the country my friend comes from, but it is also waged inside the U.S. imperialist's own citadel, and I know only too well how difficult this struggle is. It is also being waged on the international plane in the form of competition between the two systems—socialism and capitalism. Success in this struggle depends on the unity of all the progressive forces. To act alone would be a mistake from the standpoint of both theory and practice.

The relation between the national-liberation movement and the struggle waged by the people of the United States against the imperialist policy of their country was dealt with by Gus Hall, spokesman of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., in a statement on the events in Panama. "The revolt against U.S. imperialist policies," he said, "should serve to initiate a movement of the people of the United States to force an end to the practices and policies of slavery and robbery now being conducted by the big monopoly corporations of our country in Latin America and other parts of the world. . . ."

USE ALL DIFFERENCES

My second objection to the arguments of my Latin American friend was that they clearly showed a tendency to regard the enemy as presenting a solid ultra-reactionary front. This view stemmed from his failure to discern any contradiction or clashes of opinion among the U.S. monopolies. Yet there are contradictions among them. I doubt if anybody will argue that there is no difference between the policies of Johnson and those of Goldwater.

Lumping them together might seem to bring things into clear focus; actually, however, it would in practice only impede our view. Things must be examined from all angles. U.S. imperialism is an

evil, but its being an evil does not obviate the need for a differentiated approach. Here are two examples to illustrate the point.

U.S.-Cuban relations are at present at a very low ebb. U.S. imperialism continues to threaten Cuba's independence and freedom. Yet there is a difference between hostility and recklessness, between a deadlock and aggression, and therefore I believe that, like people in the United States, the Cubans are by no means indifferent to the type of policy pursued by the man in the White House. There is, after all, a difference between a locked and a closed door. As Fidel Castro stated on television the day after President Kennedy was assassinated, U.S. foreign policy cannot be regarded with favor, but among influential circles in the United States there are advocates of a still more reactionary, aggressive and militarist policy, i.e., in any bad situation one can distinguish the gradations of "bad," "worse" and "worst" and there can be negative and positive aspects even in a reactionary policy.

The second example: U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater demands, to use his own words, "total victory" over communism. Today he demands intervention in Cuba. In the book *Why Not Victory?* (1962), he declares: "Victory over communism must be the dominant, proximate goal of American policy." He considers it quite possible that in pursuing the policy proposed by him "we may not always be able to avoid shooting." Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, asked the bellicose Goldwater to explain how he plans to achieve "total victory": "Is it to be won by nuclear war, a war which at the very least would cost the lives of tens of millions of people on both sides, devastate most or all of our great cities, and mutilate or utterly destroy a civilization which has been built over thousands of years?"

Can one afford to disregard all these differences in the camp of the adversary, all the shades and innovations in his policy? Such disregard would be a tactical mistake and would postpone strategic victory.

RACISM, NO — EQUAL RIGHTS, YES

The unity of different anti-imperialist forces—primarily, the socialist countries, the international working-class and democratic

movement and the national-liberation movement—precludes racist or narrow nationalist attitudes.

Racism in any shape or form is alien to the national-liberation of the system of imperialist oppression. The struggle against imperialist oppression is, at the same time, a struggle against racial and national oppression.

Racism is the concomitant of imperialism and a natural part of the movement. Wherever it exists, it seriously distorts the nature of this movement.

"We have seen too much of racialism," says Kwame Nkrumah, "to want to perpetuate the evil in any way." (*Africa Must Unite*. London, 1963.)

The struggle against racism of the white imperialists may become fraught with the danger of developing into racism of another color. Even the least hint at the exclusiveness of some color of skin and the accompanying illogical conclusion that some race is superior to others leads to the replacement of one prejudice by another and directs the national-liberation movement into wrong channels.

An example of confusion is the assertion of *Associated Negro Press* correspondent Gordon Hancock that the struggle of the peoples against colonialism and imperialism is, first and foremost, a clash between two psychological complexes: "the resentment complex" and "the superiority complex." A great movement of modern times is thus reduced to a struggle between races.

Or yet another example. Harold W. Cruse, writing in the magazine *Studies on the Left*, advanced the idea that the Negro movement is the "only potentially revolutionary force" in the U.S.A. He fails to see the thousands of white democratic Americans who fight for Negro freedom. To agree with his idea means to reconcile oneself to the nationalist conception that it is impossible to win allies in the struggle against second-class citizenship. If this viewpoint is extended to the international arena, it will lead to divorcing the socialist countries and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries from the struggle for national liberation.

LIBERATION AND FULL INDEPENDENCE

The neocolonialism of the United States and other imperialist powers cannot be successfully combatted and the prospects of this

struggle cannot be accurately assessed without examining the place and role of the national-liberation movement in the general revolutionary stream of our times.

This movement is changing the political map of the world. It has attracted millions of people, pursues the lofty goal of driving out the foreign oppressors, and fully deserves to be called a great movement. But at its initial stages it does not set itself the task of changing the social make-up of the world. It is a movement of mixed class origin, and the degree of solidarity of the classes taking part in it varies at the different stages. As it gains momentum its goals change and this, in its turn, influences the behavior of the various classes. When the task of ending colonial exploitation nears achievement it gives way to the task of national reconstruction, and the question arises of which road to take. This question is linked up with the general assessment of capitalism. For the Communist and working-class movement this question has already been solved.

Thus, in itself the struggle against foreign imperialism does not exhaust the content of the national-liberation movement. Neither does it exhaust the content of revolutionary action. Any patriot is prepared to fight against foreign plunderers. For him the main objective is to expel the foreigners. For the consistent revolutionary, however, the achievement of this necessary target marks the beginning of other and no less difficult battles for consolidating independence which has to be paid for in sweat and selfless labor to put the country's economy on its feet. Such a revolutionary is unquestionably a consistent patriot as well.

At the same time, in the course of the struggle against imperialism, the ordinary patriot, too, goes through a political schooling and frequently becomes a consistent revolutionary. He begins to feel the inadequacy of the purely negative objective of his efforts—the ending of foreign interference, robbery and influence—and replaces it with the positive objective of building a national society on foundations ensuring the happiness and prosperity of his people. The direct struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism is followed by a struggle against the legacy of colonialism, to uproot this legacy, to get rid of exploiters, foreign and domestic, and to put an end to economic backwardness.

In order to ensure the well-being of the masses it is necessary to fulfill at least three conditions: end the domination of foreign monopoly capital; destroy the colonial economic structure; and build up a viable economy.

NEW TIMES, NEW TASKS

Essentially, the national-liberation struggle is not completed until economic independence has also been won. That is why in such countries the criterion of a revolutionary is his willingness to exchange the somewhat romantic rifle for the more prosaic spade.

Revolutionaries in these countries say that extensive explanatory work has to be done to prove, for example, that military heroism is not enough, that the no less easier labor heroism is wanted, that after victory military prowess loses much of its value and is stored away, and economic and managerial knowledge acquires decisive importance.

This is a fairly steep turn and many people find themselves thrown off balance. Those who regard armed struggle against imperialism as the only criterion of a true revolutionary are left behind. Their position is as erroneous as it is paradoxical: they fight imperialism, yet they are interested in its existence. They make a point of emphasizing that as a threat from without imperialism helps them to organize and mobilize the people. That is true, but, one may ask, would they be prepared to invent imperialism if it did not exist?

This unintentional "happy about imperialism" position leads to a policy of national unity based exclusively on an anti-imperialist foundation, but this foundation is not enough for national reconstruction.

The struggle against imperialism is being waged on many fronts. The national-liberation movement is one of them. It is also being waged by the socialist countries, whose main weapon is their economic policy. It is being waged in the capitalist countries by the working people; by weapons corresponding to the place and time of the struggle. In particular, U.S. workers have the same enemies as the people of the Latin American countries and of all other countries where U.S. imperialism holds or is trying to hold sway. It would be a mistake to regard the national-liberation movement

as the only form of struggle against U.S. and world imperialism, for this would mean isolating a part of the anti-imperialist stream and, consequently, weakening its pressure.

SOCIALISM MAKES A DIFFERENCE

The general world setting substantially influences the course and outcome of the national liberation movement. In Khrushchev's answers to questions by the newspapers *Ghanaian Times*, *Alger Republicain*, *Le Peuple* and *Botataung*, published on December 22, 1963, it is emphasized that with the present world balance of forces the conditions for the development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries have changed. "It is possible for any country, relying on the support of the socialist countries, on the world working-class movement and on all freedom-loving peoples," Khrushchev said, "to stand up successfully to the onslaught of the imperialists, strengthen its independence and determine its own fate in its own way. . . . We sincerely wish the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America full victory in their courageous struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for national liberation and social progress. We shall give them all-round support in their struggle and shall, as always, support them morally, politically and materially." This is a concrete instance of proletarian internationalism.

The new administration of Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin has recently given further and even more emphatic expression to genuine proletarian internationalism.

Only half a century ago, when imperialism held undivided sway over its colonies and semi-colonies, it was uncompromising, punished disobedience with fire and sword, and popular actions against colonial oppression rapidly developed into armed uprising. That, for example, is what happened in Egypt in 1919, when resistance by the Egyptian people to British colonial oppression quickly developed into armed action. This uprising was crushed because at that time the peoples fought the imperialists single-handedly.

VIGILANT AND FIRM STRUGGLE

But we are living in a different epoch. Today it is no longer the imperialist but the socialist countries that play the decisive role

in the international arena. A group of countries that have chosen positive neutrality as a principle of foreign policy has emerged and is now growing larger and gathering strength. The progressive forces of the peoples have united and gained strength in the course of their struggle to consolidate peace, avert war and achieve disarmament. All these changes have created favorable conditions for the development not only of armed but also of peaceful forms of struggle by the colonial peoples for their liberation and independent sovereign statehood.

It goes without saying that vigilance with regard to the military intrigues of the imperialists is an essential condition for success.

Another consideration to be borne in mind is that although U.S. imperialism is a world policeman and the chief enemy of the peoples, it is not the only enemy. The old colonial powers are not leaving the stage and are laying claim to leading roles. Vigilance also against their intrigues remains a condition of the success of the struggle against neocolonialism. It is imperative to keep in sight, both the new and the old enemies, the possibility of an alliance between them, and the contradictions that are a permanent feature of the imperialist pack of wolves.

The struggle against U.S. neocolonialism is part of the common struggle of the peoples against the odious imperialist system. By adopting correct tactics we can substantially shorten this struggle.

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