

CLASS APPROACHES TO ETHNICITY AND RACE*

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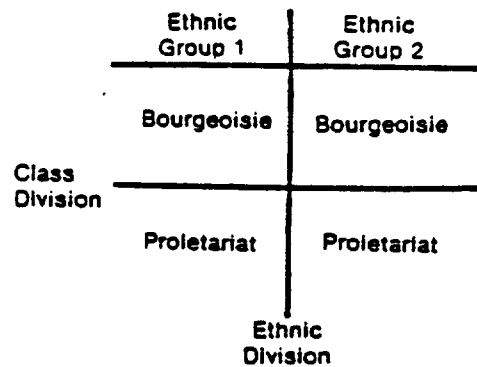
The field of ethnic and race relations has recently tended to be dominated by an assumption that race and ethnicity are "primordial" bases of affiliation, rooted in "human nature." This assumption is increasingly being challenged by authors who contend that, while race and ethnicity may appear to be primordial attachments, in fact they reflect a deeper reality, namely, class relations and dynamics. I believe that class approaches are the most fruitful way to study ethnicity and race. Not only are they more in accord with a "deeper" level of reality that enables us to understand phenomena at the surface of society, but they also provide us with the tools for changing that reality. The purpose of this paper is to briefly review and criticize primordial assumptions about ethnicity and race, to present several class approaches to the subject in an effort to demonstrate the richness of available ideas, and finally, to attempt a tentative synthesis of some of these ideas.

Before we start, let us define our terms. Ethnicity and race are "communalistic" forms of social affiliation, sharing an assumption of a special bond between people of like origins, and the obverse of a negative relation to, or rejection of, people of dissimilar origins. There are other bases of communalistic affiliation as well, notably, nationality and "tribe." For the sake of this discussion, I would like to treat all of these as a single phenomenon. Thus, ethnocentrism, racism, nationalism, and tribalism are similar kinds of sentiments, dividing people along lines of shared ancestry rather than other possible lines of affiliation and conflict, such as common economic or political interest.

Obviously there are other important bases of affiliation besides communalism. One important alternative form of solidarity is along class lines. Figure 1 presents schematically these two forms of affiliation and their interaction for capitalist societies. Needless to say, it is a very simplified sketch and could be elaborated along both dimensions, as well as by the addition of other dimensions. Still, the point to be made is that ethnic (or

communalistic, or "vertical") forms of solidarity cross-cut class (or "horizontal") bases of affiliation. They represent competing principles, each calling on people to join together along one of two axes.

Figure 1. Ethnicity* and Class in the Capitalist Mode of Production.



Nationality, race, or tribe could be substituted for ethnicity.

PRIMORDIALISM

The sociology of race and ethnic relations grew in reaction to a tradition that underplayed line

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importance of communalistic affiliations.' As many authors have pointed out, the early "classic" writers in sociology paid little heed to ethnicity.² They assumed that it would disappear with modernization and industrialization. Indeed, the early grand dichotomies, such as *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, assumed a movement from ethnic-type affiliations, based on irrational, kin-like bonds between people, to affiliation based on the rational principles of mutual interest and need. Organic solidarity would replace mechanical; horizontal bonds would destroy vertical ones. Ethnicity and race were "traditional" social forms. The exigencies of modern society would "liberate" people from these traditions.³ It should be noted that this expectation was also held by early Marxists, who assumed that class solidarity would override national chauvinism (Nairn, 1975; Blauner, n.d.).

The obvious falseness of this premise, perhaps especially realized by American sociologists in the face of Nazi Germany, when one of the world's most "modern" societies proved capable of extreme racism, forced a reassessment. Similarly, the black uprising of the 1960s in the United States reawakened sociologists to the fact that the "race problem" was not simply disappearing. Clearly these "traditional" sources of solidarity were far more resistant to change than had been realized.

Several authors began to call for revisions in our thinking. Criticizing earlier writers, they demanded that race and ethnicity be given prominence as phenomena that could not be ignored. Some, for example, writers in the "plural society" school (Smith, 1965; Kuper and Smith eds., 1969) suggested that we place this phenomenon at center stage. As they correctly pointed out, almost every society in the world has some degree of ethnic and racial diversity, and for most it is apparently a pivotal point of division and conflict.

The polemic against the obvious inadequacies of the belief that ethnicity would disappear has led to another extreme position: the view that it is such a "natural" bond between people as to be immutable or "primordial." Geertz (1963:109) defines this concept as follows:

By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the "givens"—or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed "givens"—of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of

blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, *ipso facto*; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred moral obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself. The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important, differ from person to person, from society to society, and from time to time. But for virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times, such attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural—some would say spiritual—affinity than from social interaction.

The primordial ethnic bond is assumed to have two faces. On the one hand, it leads to a special attachment to an "in-group" of similar people, on the other, to feelings of disdain or repulsion towards the "out-group" or people of dissimilar origins. "Ethnocentrism" is believed to be a "natural" human sentiment. For example, Gordon (1978:73) states:

The sense of ethnicity (in the larger definition of racial, religious, or national origins identification), because it cannot be shed by social mobility, as for instance social class background can, since society insists on its inalienable ascription from cradle to grave, becomes incorporated into the self. This process would appear to account for the widespread, perhaps ubiquitous presence of ethnocentrism, and perhaps even more crucially means that injury to the ethnic group is seen as injury to the self.

This idea derives from a biologically rooted conception of "human nature."⁴

Gordon may be more explicit than most in stating the assumption that ethnicity is rooted in human nature, but it is widespread (Williams, 1964: 17-27) in the discipline. The naturalness of the ethnic bond is extended to "racial" categories, even as authors recognize that these have questionable validity. Thus such categories as "blacks" and "whites" in the United States are treated as "groups." Whites naturally prefer the company of other whites, who are more similar to themselves, while disdaining the company of less similar blacks. The unquestioned assumption of the

"group" nature of ethnic and racial "groups" extends even to authors who recognize that such groups may act as interest groups to attain political ends (Glazer and Moynihan eds., 1975).

Accepting the primordialness of ethnicity leads to a certain logic of inquiry. Since ethnic and racial affiliation requires no explanation in itself, one concentrates on its consequences.³ These may be negative, in the form of prejudice and discrimination against "out-groups."⁴ Or they may be positive, providing people with a meaningful and rich group life.⁵ In the process of concentrating on intra-"group" solidarity and inter-"group" hostility, little attention is paid to intra-ethnic conflict let alone cross-ethnic alliances.

There are at least three reasons for questioning the primordial nature of communalistic ties. First, there are boundary problems in defining ethnic and racial groups (cf. Barth, ed., 1969; Patterson, 1977). Because of the pervasive tendency for human beings to interbreed, a population of mixed ancestry is continually being generated. To consign these people to an ethnic identity requires a descent rule. There are a variety of such rules, including: tracing descent matrilineally (as found among the Jews), or by the presence of one particular ancestry (as in U.S. blacks), or by treating mixed ancestry as a separate ethnicity (as in the case of South African Coloureds), and so on. The variability in descent rules suggests their social rather than primordial nature. They reflect social "decisions," not natural, kin-like feeling.⁶

Apart from mixed ancestry problems, ethnic groups can redefine their boundaries in terms of whom they incorporate. As many authors (e.g. Yanney et al., 1976) have pointed out, several of the European immigrant groups to the United States, such as Italians, had no sense of common nationality until they came here. And the construction of "whites" out of the enmity between old and "new" European immigrants took decades to achieve. Similarly today a new ethnic group, Asian-Americans, is being constructed out of previously quite distinctive, and often hostile, national elements. That such a creation is social and political, rather than primordial, seems clear.

A second reason for questioning the primordial nature of ethnicity is that shared ancestry has not prevented intra-ethnic conflict, including class conflict. If one considers the history of societies which were relatively homogeneous ethnically, such as France or England, one finds not only intense class conflict, but even class warfare. Even in ethnically diverse societies such as the United States, within ethnic groups, class conflict is not unknown. White workers have struck against white-owned plants and been shot down by co-ethnics without concern for "common blood." Chinese and Jewish businessmen have exploited their ethnic "brothers and sisters" in sweatshops

and have bitterly resisted the efforts of their workers to gain independence. The prevalence of intra-ethnic conflict should lead us to question the idea that ethnicity necessarily provides a bond between people, let alone a primordial one.

Third, conflicts based on ethnicity, race, and nationality, are quite variable. In some cases they are fierce; in others, despite the presence of groups with different ancestry, conflict is limited or non-existent. A full range of ethnic relations is found in the world, extending from complete assimilation of diverse ethnic elements (as in the case of various European nationalities which came to make up the "WASP" group in the United States), to the total extermination of one ethnic group by another (as in the genocide of the Tasmanians). This variability should, again, lead us to question the primordial nature of ethnicity for if ethnicity were a natural and inevitable bond between people it should always be a prominent force in human affairs.

Of course, primordialists (e.g. Hoetnik, 1967) might reply that the level of conflict is based on the degree of difference between groups, in terms of color or culture. Thus variability in race and ethnic relations could be accounted for within a primordial framework. For instance, in the United States, degree of racial and ethnic difference would, on the surface, appear to account for patterns of assimilation or rejection (Warner and Srole, 1945). Yet the U.S. pattern finds limited replications on a world scale. Some of the worst ethnic-type conflicts have occurred among very similar groups, such as Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, French and English speaking Canadians, Ibos and other "tribes" in Nigeria, Chinese and native populations in Southeast Asia, and Jews and Germans in Nazi Germany, to name a few. The "degree of difference" seems quite inadequate to explain the emergence of conflict or its intensity.

For all these reasons, and there are probably others, we cannot simply accept communalistic groups as natural or primordial units. Ethnic, national, and racial solidarity and antagonism are all socially created phenomena. True, they are social phenomena which call upon primordial sentiments and bonds based upon common ancestry. But these sentiments and bonds are not just naturally there. They must be constructed and activated. It is thus incumbent upon us not to take ethnic phenomena for granted, but to try to explain them.

Recently a new school of thought has emerged. While not moving back to the earlier errors of the "founding fathers" in ignoring the importance of ethnicity, racism, and nationalism it nevertheless holds that these phenomena cannot be taken for granted as natural; they need to be explained. Without ignoring communalistic affiliations we

can ask: Under what conditions will ethnic or racial affiliation be invoked? Under what conditions will this lead to extreme conflict? And under what conditions will ethnicity or race subside as major axes of social organization and conflict? Class theories constitute one broad category of attempted explanation of the ethnic phenomenon. They share in common the notion that ethnic movements are not only essentially political rather than primordial, but that they have *material* roots in the system and relations of production.

CLASS THEORIES OF ETHNICITY

There is no single class approach to the question of ethnicity. Indeed, in recent years, considerable creative work has proceeded on several fronts not all of which are in communication with one another. Different disciplines and subdisciplines, such as economic anthropology, urban sociology, and immigrant history, are all developing class approaches to ethnicity. Scholars interested in different areas of the world tend to communicate poorly with one another. Thus there are class theories of ethnicity in African or Latin American studies about South Africa, the U.S.-Mexican border, about guest workers in Europe, and so on. In addition, an abundance of theoretical models is available, some of which operate at different levels, but all of which address ethnicity to some extent. These include: theories of labor migration and immigration, dependency theory, dual labor markets, split labor markets, internal colonialism, theories of middleman minorities, labor aristocracy theories, world systems theory, and more. Bringing all these literatures together is a huge task, well beyond the scope of this paper. My goal here is to present a few of the available ideas.

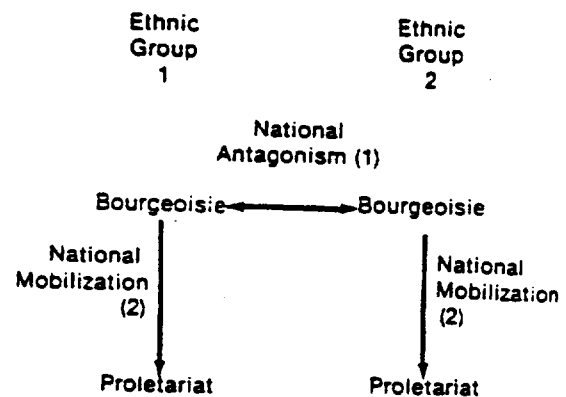
Before examining particular theories, let us briefly return to Figure 1 to define what is being talked about. Positive (integrative) movements along the vertical axis may be termed "nationalist" movements. These are efforts to mobilize people of different classes within the same ethnic group to join together. Negative (conflictual) movements along the horizontal axis represent within-class inter-ethnic antagonisms. These two types of movements constitute the two faces of ethnicity: in-group solidarity, and out-group rejection. In contrast, negative movements along the vertical axis represent intra-ethnic class struggle, while positive movements along the horizontal axis reflect cross-ethnic class solidarity. Diagonal movements are ambiguous, having both class and ethnic content. For instance, a negative diagonal could represent national and colonial oppression or movements for liberation from such oppression. Our main concern here is with the explanation of ethnic-type movements, i.e., positive vertical and negative horizontal.

Note that the figure should apply to inter-ethnic relations regardless of the territorial location of these groups. They can each occupy a discrete geographical territory, or a segment of one nation may have conquered and settled among another, or a segment of one nation may have moved or been brought in as laborers to the territory of another, and so on. While there are important differences between these situations (Lieberson, 1961), they all juxtapose communalistic against class bases of affiliation.

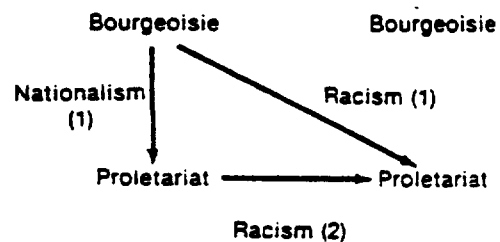
Figure 2 presents very schematically several class approaches to the question of ethnic nationalism. They are intended not to represent a comprehensive coverage of all class theories of ethnicity but to illustrate the tremendous riches and diversity of ideas within a class orientation.

Figure 2. Five Types of Class Theory of Ethnicity.

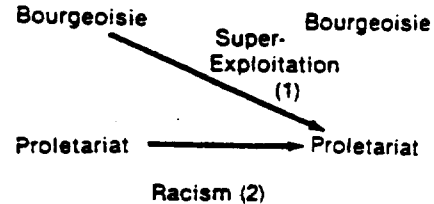
A. Nation-Building



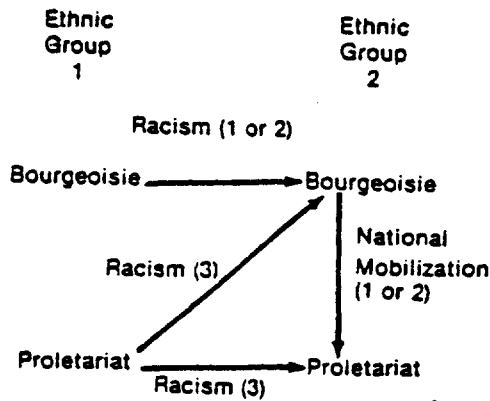
B. Super-Exploitation



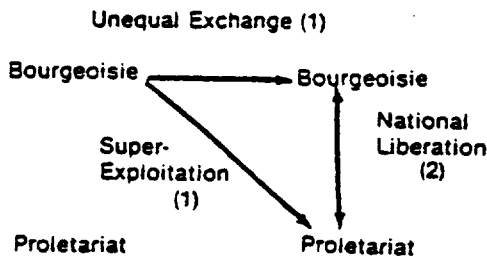
C. Split Labor Market



D. Middleman Minorities



E. National Liberation



A. NATION-BUILDING

One of the simplest class theories of ethnicity or nationalism is that it is a movement reflecting an early stage of capitalist development in which capitalists seek to integrate a "national" market. This movement achieved its peak in Europe in the late nineteenth century (Hobsbawm, 1977). When capitalism became imperialistic, the national bourgeoisies of the various Western nations came into conflict with one another, leading ultimately to the two world wars (Lenin, 1939). The participants in these wars espoused nationalist ideologies as a mechanism by which the capitalist class could mobilize workers to support their cause. Exponents of this view hold that workers are not nationalistic since they are all exploited. Rather, they are internationalist, sharing a common interest in the overthrow of capitalism which transcends national boundaries. Nationalism is thus a movement representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. (This is illustrated in Figure 2A by showing that antagonism between national bourgeoisies leads to efforts at national mobilization by the bourgeoisies. The workers are objects, not generators, of this effort.)

B. SUPER-EXPLOITATION

The fact that workers of different nationalities have not easily joined with one another, and have apparently joined willingly with their "national bourgeoisie" in the oppression or exclusion of workers of other nationalities, revealed the limitation of this approach. Such cases as the U.S. South or South Africa, where white workers generally failed to join with blacks in a united working class movement, and instead identified with white capitalists and land-owners, led to some rethinking on the issue. An adequate explanation of communalism must take into account worker interests in it too.

"Super-exploitation," a crude designation for several schools of thought, provided an answer. Probably the most common class approach to ethnicity, it sees ethnicity or race as markers used by employers to divide the working class. One segment of workers, typically dark-skinned, are more oppressed than another, the latter typically of the same ethnicity as the exploiters. This enables the dominant bourgeoisie to make huge profits from the former segment; enough to pay off the more privileged sector of the working class, who then help to stabilize the system by supporting it and acting as the policemen of the specially oppressed."

For several authors in this tradition (e.g. Cox, 1948), the super-exploitation of dark-skinned workers is rooted in the imperialistic expansion of Western European capitalism. Europe colonized the rest of the world in order to continue to accumulate capital more effectively. The ideology of racism grew as a justification for the exploitation of colonized peoples: they were "naturally" inferior and needed Europeans to "help" them move into the modern world. Racist ideology developed not only in relation to people living in the distant colonies, but also toward people living in "internal colonies." (Allen, 1970; Blauner, 1972) where either white settlers had become established or colonized workers had been brought under some degree of coercion. Even when separated in politically differentiated territories, the working class of the imperialist power could be used to keep the colonized in line. Thus, with imperialism, the major axis of exploitation shifted from capitalist versus workers to oppressor "nations" and oppressed "nations."

Within a multi-ethnic society, having an especially exploited, ethnically delineated class serves several "functions" for the capitalist class: it can be used as a reserve army of labor, permitting flexibility in the system to deal with business cycles (Baran and Sweezy, 1966); it allows employers to fill diverse labor needs, such as the "dual" requirements of a stable, skilled labor force in the monop-

oly and state sectors of the economy, and a flexibly, unskilled, low wage labor force in the competitive sector (Gordon, 1972; O'Connor, 1973); it helps get done the "dirty work" that other workers are unwilling to do by creating a class that is desperate for work (Oppenheimer, 1974); it helps in the accumulation of capital because wealth is extracted from the "under-developed" sector or ethnic group and passed on to the bourgeoisie of the dominant group (Blauner, 1972; Frank, 1967, 1969); and it helps to stabilize the system by keeping the working class fragmented and disorganized (Reich, 1972; Szymanski, 1976).

Within this broad perspective are found some major differences. One important issue of debate is whether white workers gain or lose from the racial oppression of minorities. The "internal colonialism" school supports the idea that white workers benefit, by being paid extra from the surplus taken from minorities, by being cushioned against unemployment, and by getting other psychological and political rewards. In other words, in this view, the racism of white workers is a "rational" response, rooted in their vested interest in imperialism.

In contrast, authors such as Reich and Szymanski contend that white workers lose from racism. Since workers of different ethnicity are pitted against one another, the working class movement is weakened, and all lose. Thus white worker racism is seen more as a product of manipulation by capital than a rational pursuit of self-interest by white labor.

Despite these differences, both schools of thought see ethnicity as created, or at least nurtured, by the bourgeoisie of the dominant ethnic group or nationality. It is used to mark off the super-exploited as inferior, through ideologies like racism. And it is used to bind the more advantaged workers to the ruling class through the ideology of ethnic solidarity, thereby masking conflicting class interests within that group. White workers, for example, are taught that their whiteness makes them superior to other workers and gives them a common lot with their employers. A possibility is even held out to them that they too may become part of the ruling class because they are white. By the mobilization of ethnic solidarity, then, the capitalist class can induce these workers to support the system and align themselves against other workers. As Figure 2B suggests, the racism of dominant group workers is a secondary phenomenon, while that of the bourgeoisie is primary.

C. SPLIT LABOR MARKET

This approach places labor competition at the center of racist-nationalist movements, challenging the idea that they are the creation of the dominant bourgeoisie. "Uneven development of capi-

talism on a world scale, exacerbated by imperialist domination, generates "backwardness" or "under-development" for certain "nationalities." Workers of these nations, unable to defend themselves against exploitation of the severest kind, became "cheap labor" (arrow 1 in Figure 2C). The availability of cheap labor leads dominant workers to be displaced or threatened with displacement, since employers would prefer to hire cheaper labor. The threat of displacement may be accompanied by other changes in production, such as deskilling. Dominant group workers react to the threat of displacement by trying to prevent or limit capital's access to cheap labor, through efforts to exclude members of "cheap labor" groups from full participation in the labor market (arrow 2). That these exclusionary efforts have a "nationalist" or "racist" character is a product of historical accident which produced a correlation between ethnicity and the price of labor.

In contrast to the "super-exploitation" school of thought, split labor market theory argues that dominant group workers do not share a "national" interest with capital in the exploitation of colonized people, nor are they even fooled into believing they share such an interest. Rather, dominant group capital and labor are engaged in struggle over this issue. Capital wants to exploit ethnic minorities while labor wants to prevent them from doing so. However, in attempting to exclude ethnic groups from certain jobs, labor's reactions may be just as devastating to minority workers as direct exploitation by capital. Where the dominant working class is successful, minority workers are kept out of the most advanced sectors of the economy, suffer high unemployment rates, and so on. In sum, this approach suggests that there are two distinct types of racial-national oppression, one stemming from capital, and the other from labor.

Split labor market theory sees the question of whether white workers gain or lose from racism as a false, or at least oversimplified, issue. It suggests that white workers are hurt by the existence of cordoned-off cheap labor sectors that can be utilized by capital to undercut them. White labor's efforts to protect itself may prevent undercutting, in the short run; however, in the long run, it is argued, a marked discrepancy in the price of labor is harmful to all workers, permitting capital to pit one group against another.

D. MIDDLEMAN MINORITIES

Middleman minority theories deal with a particular class of ethnic phenomena, namely, groups which specialize in trade and concentrate in the petite bourgeoisie. Class explanations of this phenomenon vary. Some see these specialized minorities as creations of the dominant classes (not only bourgeoisies, since they arise in pre-capitalist

societies as well) (Blalock, 1967; Hamilton, 1978; Rinder, 1958). By marking a group off as ethnically distinct, it can be forced to occupy a distinctive class position that is of special use to the ruling class, namely, to act as a go-between to the society's subordinate classes, while bearing the brunt of hostility towards the elite. The racist reactions of subordinate classes against the middleman group can thus be seen as secondary or tertiary phenomena, manipulated by ruling classes to protect themselves. (There are parallels in this tripartite system to the construction of ethnic divisions within the working class. In both cases, the creation of two ethnically distinct subordinate classes which are pitted against one another helps to keep the elite in power.)

Another interpretation of middleman minorities is to see them as internally generated by the minorities themselves. Bonds of ethnic loyalty are used by the dominant class within the minority to mobilize the group economically. The use of ethnic sentiments enables the group's leaders to mobilize resources cheaply and effectively. One of the most important of these cheap resources is ethnic labor. By emphasizing ethnic bonds, the ethnic elite is able to minimize class division within the ethnic group, thereby keeping labor effectively controlled (Benedict, 1968; Light, 1972). In this interpretation, the racist reactions of dominant group members in part derive from fears of competition. The dominant business class, as well as the potential business class among subordinated segments of society, has access to a less pliable work force and fears being undercut. The dominant working class resents the competition of cheap-labor-based firms. Anti-middleman minority movements are seen (Bonacich, 1973) to be rooted in these class antagonisms.

Several authors have pointed to a strong correlation between class position in the petty trader category, and ethnic solidarity. Not only does ethnic solidarity support trading, but the reverse holds true, namely, petty trading helps to hold the ethnic group together. Leon even coined the term "people-class" to express this coincidence. The argument follows that, when members of the ethnic group no longer occupy a unique class position, they will gradually lose their ties to the ethnic group and assimilate. Jews, according to Leon, who have ceased to be members of the petite bourgeoisie, have tended to disappear from the ranks of Judaism. If true, here is a clear example of the dominance of class over primordial roots of ethnic affiliation.

The people-class idea has also been used to describe groups that are not middleman minorities (or in the petite bourgeoisie). For instance, Leggett (1968) and Oppenheimer (1974) develop a similar conception of blacks in the United States. Blackness represents not merely a racial category,

but a class category as well: sub-proletarian, marginal working class, etc.¹² As blacks become less exclusively identified with a particular class position, the salience of "race" as a category tends to decrease (Wilson, 1978). In other words, racial terminology and antagonism reflect, to some extent, the common and distinctive class position of blacks and reactions to that position. A similar approach is developed for U.S. white ethnic groups by Hechter (1978) and Yancey, et al. (1976), who see ethnic solidarity as linked to a concentration in particular occupations or subcategories of the working class.¹³

E. NATIONAL LIBERATION

Partly growing out of the notion that some national groups are particularly oppressed or occupy a unique class position in world capitalism, is a concern for movements of national liberation. While these movements are clearly reactions to external domination and underdevelopment, considerable debate has ensued over the conditions under which "nationalist" reactions are appropriate. On the one hand is the principle of the right of "nations" to self-determination (Lenin, 1968); on the other is the ambiguity of which groups actually constitute a viable nation and can therefore legitimately form separatist movements (Hobstawn, 1977). For instance, a major debate ensued over whether or not U.S. blacks constituted a "nation" in the South which could reasonably aspire to statehood. More recently, the "internal colonialism" model of the black experience again suggests the legitimacy of a "nationalist" solution, this time for northern, urban, ghetto-dwellers, a position that has been challenged by those who feel that class solidarity should take precedence.¹⁴

An important aspect of this issue is the question of whether it is necessary to go through a capitalist (or at least not fully socialist) phase in order to develop economically. Most Third World "peoples," particularly those in separate states, but also some minorities within states, still live and work under systems with feudal or pre-capitalist remnants, such as peasant agriculture, or migrate between pre-capitalist and capitalist sectors. It has been suggested that, under colonial conditions, a two-stage revolution is necessary: first, workers and peasants must join their incipient national bourgeoisie in overthrowing the foreign oppressor. Once the national bourgeoisie is sufficiently liberated to begin to develop the "nation" economically, and a true proletariat is formed, then intra-national class struggle and true socialist revolution become possible. Note that, in a way, we have come full circle, back to Type A, though under very different historical circumstances. Nationalism in the Third World can represent the interests of the bourgeoisie or petite

bourgeoisie (Saul, 1979) in establishing and consolidating modified forms of capitalism.

The necessity for a two-stage revolution has, of course, been challenged. On the one hand it is argued that the "national bourgeoisie" of oppressed nations is too linked to international capital to lead a liberation movement which will truly liberate. On the other, the ability of Third World peasants and other pre-capitalist classes as well as the incipient proletariat to engage in revolutionary movements has been proven. Indeed Third World peasant and proletarian movements have been far more successful on this score than the "developed" proletariat of Western Europe and the United States, though the degree to which these revolutions have produced truly socialist societies remains in question. Similarly, black workers in the United States, despite their sub-proletarian status (or perhaps more accurately, because of it) are undoubtedly more class conscious and ready for socialist revolution than the white working class (Leggett, 1968, Geschwender, 1977). Thus exclusively "nationalist" alliances are seen to be both undesirable and unnecessary, though colonized workers' movements against "white" capital still have a "national" component.

The debate is not so much concerned with explaining nationalist movements as prescribing when they are appropriate. However, implicit is an explanatory theme: movements for ethnic self-determination are likely to arise under conditions of colonial or neo-colonial rule; they represent a temporary class alliance between the colonized bourgeoisie (or incipient bourgeoisie) and workers-peasants, in response to imperialist domination.¹⁴

As stated earlier, the five types of class theory are not intended to be definitive, but rather, illustrative of the multiplicity and complexity of ideas on this topic. Although I have presented them as if they were competing approaches, in fact they are not necessarily all incompatible. For instance, different kinds of communalistic movements may be appropriate to different stages of capitalist development. Thus the five approaches presented here may, to some extent, reflect sequential stages in the development of capitalism and imperialism. True, there are some genuine theoretical debates which need to be resolved one way or another, for example, whether or not most white workers have a vested interest in imperialist domination. I shall not, at this point, attempt to critically evaluate each of the various approaches since the criticisms will be inherent in the synthesis attempted in the next section.

Before moving on to the synthesis, however, one lesson from this review needs to be stressed: "Nationalism" is not a unitary phenomenon. Not only must we distinguish between the nationalisms of the exploiters and the exploited (Mandel, 1972), but also between nationalisms with differ-

ent class roots, such as petit-bourgeois nationalism versus working-class nationalism. Indeed all four classes in our schema generate communalistic movements at times, and for quite different reasons. Some of the debates among class theorists may, in part, result from confusing different kinds of ethnic movements. To use the same example again, the debate over whether or not white workers have a vested interest in "racism" may confuse different kinds of racism: exploitation by the bourgeoisie versus exclusion by the working class. Any comprehensive class theory of ethnicity must take these differences into account.

TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED CLASS APPROACH

Since most of the important "ethnic relations" in the modern world have grown out of the rise of capitalism in Western Europe, and its resulting imperialist expansion, most of my analysis will concern this case. I assume that other capitalist imperialisms, notably that of Japan, produce a similar dynamic. Whether non-capitalist or state capitalist expansions, such as that of the Soviet Union, would fit the model, I do not know. The model will also not attempt to deal with pre-capitalist ethnic relations.

A promising new literature is developing which attempts to place ethnic phenomena within the context of the development of world capitalism.¹⁵ The ideas which I am presenting here draw heavily upon their contributions.

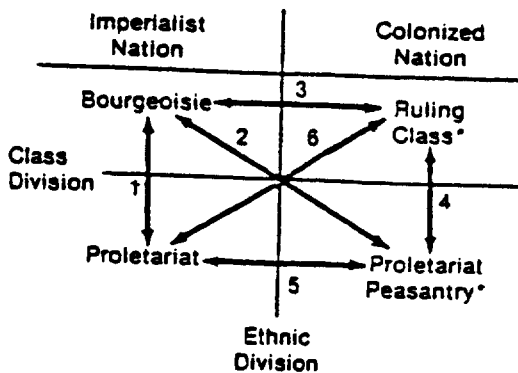
A fully developed class analysis of ethnicity needs to consider all of the possible class relations between "ethnic groups" that result from imperialism. These are schematically presented in Figure 3, and again we must note that the figure is simplified along both dimensions. One ought to consider not only other classes, but also, perhaps, a semi-autonomous role for the state. And "ethnic" relations between imperialist powers (as in Figure 2A), let alone between colonized peoples, have been omitted. A total analysis would include all of these. Still, even this very simplified version enables us to begin to chart the relationships and demonstrates some of the complexities of the problem.

Before we start to examine each of the relationships, it is important to point out that I am using the term "colonized" loosely here to refer to any form of external domination by a capitalist power. It may range from a minimum of unequal trade relations, through foreign investment, to total political domination.¹⁶ In addition, the geographical position of both nationalities may vary: they may each remain primarily in their homelands, or members of the imperialist nation may move into the territory of the colonized nation, or members of the colonized nation may move to the territory of the imperialist power (as in labor immi-

gration or importation). While geographic location obviously affects the nature of the relations between national groups, there is, nevertheless, a fundamental similarity (or parallel) between these situations.

A final preliminary caution: The following attempt has numerous problems. For one thing, it is very general and abstract, glossing over differences in historical period let alone location. For another, it suffers from the ignorance, both theoretical and factual, of its author. My goal is mainly to suggest a way of tying these things together, and to stress that all the class relations generated by imperialism, in all its forms, need to be considered as a system if we are fully to understand the emergence of "nationalist" movements.

Figure 3. Class and Ethnic Relations Resulting from Imperialism.



* The classes here are left somewhat ambiguous to indicate the possibility that full-blown capitalism has not yet emerged.

1. CLASS RELATIONS WITHIN IMPERIALIST NATIONS

Our analysis begins with class relations within imperialist nations. Needless to say, this encompasses the entire history of class struggle in the developed capitalist countries, a topic much too vast to cover here. I would like to examine one aspect of this topic, namely, the role of the "national" class struggle in the emergence of imperialism. While there is considerable debate over the roots of imperialism, it seems to me that one important push towards overseas expansion by capital comes from problems with its "national" working class. Put another way, as capitalism develops, the price of labor-power tends to rise, leading capital to seek cheaper labor-power (or commodities based upon cheaper labor-power) abroad.

The price of labor-power rises with the advance of capitalism, for at least four reasons. First, increasing numbers of people are drawn from pre-

capitalist modes of production into the proletariat until the potential national labor force is completely absorbed. We can see this process in the decline of independent farming and the rise of large cities, in the movement from self-employment to the predominance of wage and salary earners, and most recently, in the movement of women into the labor force. All of these shifts represent movements from pre-capitalist to capitalist relations of production. The complete absorption of the national labor force leads to a rise in the price of labor-power. Since the drive to accumulate capital continues unabated, the demand for labor exceeds supply, driving up the price.

Second, as workers become increasingly proletarianized, they are decreasingly able to provide any of the means of subsistence for themselves or their families. These need to be purchased from wages, which have to be increased in order to cover these new necessary expenses. In contrast, during transitional periods, when capitalism co-existed with pre-capitalist forms, part of the means of subsistence was provided by those forms. Women working in the home, processing food, making clothing, providing "free" child-care, and so on, meant that wages did not have to cover these items. But once the entire nation enters the proletariat, all goods and services become commodities, and they must be purchased with earnings.

A third factor in the rising cost of labor-power is that the social conditions of production become increasingly conducive to political organization among workers. In particular, large factories enable workers to compare their grievances and form organizations to protect their mutual interests. And their increasing divorce from their own means of subsistence, or any independent ownership of productive property, strengthens the motivation to organize. Thus, as capitalism advances, labor unionism develops and contributes to the rise in the price of labor-power.

Fourth, as capitalism develops, the rising demands of workers are likely to receive some state support. For example, under pressure from organized labor many advanced capitalist countries set minimum wages, regulate work conditions, provide old age pensions, and protect the rights of labor unions to provide independent representation for workers. In other words, the state helps to set national labor standards. In so doing, it provides a prop to the price of labor-power, helping both to maintain and raise it.

One important aspect of state intervention is protection against the use of the "army of the unemployed" to lower the price of labor-power in core industries. If left to their own devices, individual capitalists would respond to the rising cost of labor-power by introducing labor-saving machinery, throwing some people out of work, thereby

putting competitive pressure on wages. Through "welfare" and unemployment insurance, the state cushions workers from the last aspect of this process, so that high levels of unemployment can, in fact, coexist with rising wages.

It is very important to recognize that a rise in the price of labor-power does not necessarily mean that workers are better off. The price goes up in part because the cost of living rises as people are increasingly dependent upon commodities. Many of these commodities are necessities (e.g., a car in Los Angeles), and in some cases their quality may be lower than when they were produced by unpaid family labor (e.g., homemade bread versus Wonder Bread). The rising price of labor-power may actually be associated with a decline in the quality of life.

Regardless of its impact on workers, the rising price of labor-power puts a squeeze on profits." While there are various responses to this problem, including investment in labor-saving technology, one important response is to turn to new sources of labor-power. Having exhausted the national reserve army of the unemployed inaccessible because of welfare, capital looks overseas, especially to countries where capitalism is less fully developed, for "fresh troops." Essentially the process is one of continuing to absorb pre-capitalist modes of production and transforming their personnel into wage workers, except that now the process spills across national borders.

2. RELATIONS BETWEEN IMPERIALIST CAPITAL AND COLONIZED WORKERS

Imperialist domination and exploitation of colonized workers is the fundamental root of "racism." Out of this exploitation grow efforts by imperialist capital to mobilize its "national" proletariat in support of colonial domination, utilizing racist, or nationalist, ideology. Also growing out of it are important divisions in the world's working class which lead to "nationalist" reactions on both sides.

As we have seen, capital tends to move overseas in search of cheaper labor-power. Labor is cheaper there for two reasons: first, the lower level of development decreases the price of labor-power; and second, imperialism itself distorts development, contributing to the perpetuation of a low price for labor-power beyond what might be expected under conditions of non-domination. Let us deal briefly with each of these in turn.

Early stages of development are associated with a lower price of labor-power. Essentially the reason lies in the participation in pre-capitalist modes of production. In pre-capitalist modes, people mainly work for their own subsistence. When confronted with capitalist employers, they are likely, at first, to work for capital only on a supplementary

basis. Most of their subsistence is provided by pre-capitalist forms. As a result, the capitalist employer need not pay the worker his or her complete subsistence, but only that part of it which is necessary to sustain the worker at that moment. In other words, the subsistence of his family, including health care, education, and housing, can be left out of the wage calculation. This enables employers in transitional economies to "earn" extraordinary rates of surplus value and at the same time to undersell competitors who use fully proletarianized work-forces.

Other features of attachment to pre-capitalist modes of production also contribute to "cheap labor." For one thing, "new" workers are unfamiliar with trade unions. For another, because they are less dependent on the wage-earning job, they have less incentive to form or join organizations to further their long-term collective interests as workers. Stable labor organizing goes hand-in-hand with permanent proletarianization. In general, the more completely dependent upon wage labor, the more developed will be the labor organizations of a group of workers.

Another factor which lowers the price of labor-power in less developed societies is a lower standard of living. Such items as housing, furniture, even diet, and certainly gadgetry of all kinds, vary from society to society, but tend to be more "substantial" in advanced capitalist societies. This may partly reflect real differences in necessities (e.g., an urban worker must have a means of transportation to get to work, must have a radio to find out certain kinds of information, must have a can-opener because much of his food comes in cans, etc.), but also seems to reflect different experiences and expectations, or what Marx terms an historical and moral element (Emmanuel, 1972). Housing standards are a case in point. In one society, straw huts or shacks are perfectly acceptable. In another they are not even permitted.

Undoubtedly, these differences reflect the different levels of productivity of the two types of economy. Advanced capitalism spews forth an endless stream of commodities which come to be defined as necessities (in part through capitalist efforts). In poor, undeveloped societies, these necessities are luxuries which people have lived without for time immemorial. Imperialists can capitalize on these low expectations by lowering wages accordingly.

Imperialist capital introduces a special coercive element into the relations with colonized labor. Colonial and neo-colonial labor systems take on a variety of forms, e.g., the retention of peasant agriculture and crafts, but with increasing exaction of surplus from these workers; the retention of peasant agriculture associated with the migration of labor between the subsistence sector and capitalist enterprises; and the creation of planta-

tion-type enterprises which employ semi- or fully-coerced labor full time. They all share however, a coercive element which cannot be imposed upon the working class of the advanced capitalist nation."

Imperialist-type exploitation can also arise with immigrant workers. If the immigrants are still attached to pre-capitalist modes of production in the homeland, some of the factors which cheapen labor-power there apply to them as well. More importantly, just as imperialist capital can utilize special coercion in its relations with labor in the colonies, so can it towards immigrant workers. Special legal constraints, justified by "national" differences, can be set up for immigrants, such as the denial of citizenship rights. The legal disabilities of immigrants permit capital to act in an unrestrained manner towards this special class of workers. As Castells states: "The utility of immigrant labour to capital derives primarily from the fact that it can act towards it as though the labour movement did not exist, thereby moving the class struggle back several decades." The same could be said for all types of colonized labor.

In sum, imperialist capital is willing and eager to make use of all potential sources of labor-power. Capitalism is a system that seeks to proletarianize the world. Pre-capitalist remnants in colonized territories, combined with the ability of imperialist capital to introduce coercive elements into labor relations, serve to retard the ability of colonized workers to fully participate in, or develop, a labor movement. Thus capital can "exploit" these workers (in the sense of extracting surplus from them, even if not always directly via the wage relationship) more thoroughly than it can exploit its own workers.

3. RELATIONS BETWEEN IMPERIALIST CAPITAL AND COLONIZED RULING CLASSES

Imperialism has important consequences not only for the workers in colonized societies, but also for their ruling classes, including the incipient bourgeoisie. The relationship between these two classes can take two major forms: on the one hand, imperialist capital can retard and undermine the development of a colonized ruling class. On the other hand, it can utilize this class to help them dominate colonized workers more effectively.

Imperialist undermining of colonial ruling classes can take many forms. Perhaps the simplest is the exaction of tribute, or simple stripping of some of the wealth from the invaded area. This may be achieved by taxation, for instance. At another level, the imperialist power can impose unequal treaties, forcing colonies or neo-colonies to accept trade from the more advanced economy, thereby having their crafts and infant industries

undermined by cheap imports. At still a "higher" level, when foreign capital is invested in colonial societies, their ruling classes lose control over the direction of development. Profits and interest are drained out of the territory, while technologies are monopolized by foreign capital. Since power is unevenly distributed, benefit and wealth tend to accrue to the imperialist bourgeoisie, often at the expense of the colonized bourgeoisie. This unequal relationship may also arise with ethnic minorities within the imperialist nation so that their petite bourgeoisie is kept in a "dependent" position.

The other face of this relationship concerns the utilization of colonial leaders as "middlemen" to help imperialist capital penetrate the territory more effectively. Again, this occurs at many levels, from using the local rulers to collect taxes, to having them conduct the trade in imperialist commodities and in the goods produced by colonized workers. Perhaps the most important level is their role in helping to control colonized labor, the topic of our next section.

In sum, relationship 3 can be either competitive or cooperative. When the latter predominates, members of the colonial ruling class can become very wealthy, and develop a vested interest in the continuation of imperialism. Under such circumstances, there is little incentive to be "nationalist." When the relationship is competitive, however, nationalism is a likely response in the form of calling for the removal of "foreign domination." Both of these aspects may, of course, be present in the same territory, producing conflict within this class.

4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLONIAL RULING CLASSES AND WORKERS

The colonial ruling class can be used to make the "cheap labor" of colonial territories even cheaper, by the suppression and coercion of the workers. This suppression can take place at a variety of levels, from the individual entrepreneur or landholder, to the state, where oppressive "national" regimes can keep labor subdued for the benefit of foreign capital. The number of right-wing dictatorships propped up by foreign capital (aided by their states), which actively crush any movement that would improve the position of labor need scarcely be mentioned. These intermediary classes often play a critical role in keeping the relations of production partially pre-capitalist.

"Nationalism" may be an important ideological tool in this effort. In particular neo-colonial rulers may sometimes be able to persuade their workers to temper their demands, in the short run, in order to help the "nation" develop, and enable their exports to be competitive on the world market. While this effort may serve the interests of imperialist capital in its search for cheap labor, it

also benefits colonial rulers and their bourgeoisies.

Ethnic minorities within capitalist societies may reveal both of these forms. The ethnic petite bourgeoisie can play a pivotal role in suppressing workers. Examples include labor contractors, padrones, and sweat shop owners. These people are able to take advantage of the vulnerable position of minority workers, while at the same time acting as intermediaries on behalf of big capital. They, too, can call upon "ethnic loyalty" as a technique of control. A garment sweatshop owner can appeal to his or her workers that it is in the "community interest" that the shop remain open, and provide jobs to community members. But this is conditional on their limiting their demands as workers, since the shop will only remain competitive if it can undersell others. Thus, ethnic solidarity can be used to retard the development of class consciousness as workers. Ultimately, this redounds to the benefit of big capital.

Since segments of the colonized ruling class are undermined by imperialist relations, another form of nationalism can emerge in this relationship, namely, an anti-imperialist alliance which calls for "national liberation." Although primordial symbolism may be invoked to bring the colonized ruling classes together with workers and peasants, the coalition is still essentially the product of "class" forces: the exploitation of colonized labor, and the unequal competition between imperialist and colonial bourgeoisies.

In sum, two quite different nationalisms can emerge in this relationship. In one case, nationalism is used as a tool of exploitation; in the other, as a tool of liberation. The difference between these two may not always be easy to disentangle.

5. RELATIONS WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS

National divisions in the working class arise, in part, out of the material differences in the situations of different national segments. The working class of the imperialist nation has been able to organize and wrest some concessions from capital. Colonized labor (including migrant labor), in contrast, is under a double layer of oppression, both from the imperialist bourgeoisie and from middlemen. They are frequently still tied to pre-capitalist economic forms, limiting their ability to participate fully in a working-class movement. And they can be placed under special legal statuses (such as "illegal aliens") which are much more coercive than the situation with which the rest of the proletariat has to deal.

Since colonized workers are especially exploitable by capital, they pose a threat to the proletariat of the imperialist nation, who fear that their hard-won labor standards will be undermined. Immigrant labor, or the runaway shop to cheap-labor

countries or regions, is used by capital in the form both of threat and reality to constrain its national working class. The local working class can respond to this threat either by trying to limit capital's access to cheap labor (protectionism), or by fighting to raise the labor standards of cheap labor (inclusionism). The first of these is a "nationalist" response, the second, "internationalist."

Both nationalist and internationalist responses are found among the workers of advanced capitalist countries. The issue is usually a point of struggle within the working-class movement. Factors that affect which choice is made include: the extent to which capital controls colonized labor (making it difficult to coordinate transnational efforts), the immediacy of the competitive threat, the completeness of proletarianization of workers in the imperialist nation (or the degree to which there are petit-bourgeois remnants),² and so on. Undoubtedly a very important factor is the ability of capital to manipulate "nationalist" sentiment by weeding out internationalist-oriented leaders from the working class movement.

Four quite different kinds of nationalism serve to divide the working class. First is imperialist capital's efforts to whip up nationalist sentiment among the workers to get them to support the oppression of the colonized. Second is the proletariat's own protectionist reactions (reinforced by segments of capital), which invoke nationalism (e.g., Buy American). Third is the nationalism generated by the colonial ruling class in an effort to keep colonized labor cheap for the benefit of international capital. And fourth is the nationalism promoted by colonized workers to overthrow the double and triple layers of oppression they face.

Neither set of workers has to respond in a nationalist manner, and segments of both frequently do not. But once nationalism is the dominant response, it tends to be mutually reinforcing such that each segment of the working class continues to distrust the other.

6. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT OF IMPERIALIST NATIONS AND THE COLONIZED RULING CLASS

These two classes are often in a struggle for the affiliation of colonized workers, hence their relationship is typically conflictual. Colonized workers are either asked to join the working class movement and become aware of their class antagonism with their ruling class (or middlemen), or they are asked to cooperate with the ruling class, which uses a nationalist pitch, to develop the "nation" (or ethnic community), and set aside class antagonisms.

To the extent that the colonized ruling class exercises control over "its" workers, they will be inaccessible to the proletariat of the advanced

capitalist nation. Labor contractors, or sweat shop owners, for example, may be able to use a combination of coercion, paternalism, and desperation on the part of the workers, to keep them in the "nationalist" fold. If accomplished, another wedge is driven between the segments of the working class, and the dominant nation's proletariat continues to be threatened with displacement and undermining.

This kind of conflict can occur both within states and between them. For instance, at the international level, the existence of a right-wing, dictatorial, "nationalist" regime which severely suppresses its workers, may preclude any efforts on the part of advanced capitalist workers to attempt to help raise labor standards in that country. The discrepancy in labor standards can be used by the ruling class to attract international capital, and as a basis for cheap exports. Within a single state, the leadership of a minority community may exercise a similar labor-control function, though on a much reduced scale, with the same effect of keeping labor standards low within the minority community, in part for the benefit of big capital.

Since both the ruling class and workers of colonized nations appear to conspire in maintaining the low level of labor standards, the advanced capitalist nation's proletariat is likely to have nationalist reactions. It sees all segments of the colonized nations as threatening its position, and may make crude generalizations about the nature of "those people." On the other side, protectionist reactions by labor in the imperialist nation may interfere with the plans of the colonized ruling class to penetrate international markets and may jeopardize the jobs of Third World workers in the affected industries.

In sum, there can be a major struggle between the workers of imperialist nations and colonial ruling classes over the affiliation of colonized workers to determine whether these workers will choose a nationalist or internationalist strategy emphasizing class or nationalist solidarity. Of course, such a struggle is only likely when the proletariat of the imperialist nation is not staunchly protectionist.

We have now briefly considered all six relationships represented in Figure 3. All interact with one another, creating "higher" levels of relationship. For example, if relationship 5 between the imperialistic proletariat and the colonized proletariat, becomes conflictual or nationalistic, imperialist capital can utilize the division to mute the class struggle of its national proletariat (relationship 1). This may lead workers in the imperialist nation to temper their demands and seek narrow concessions instead of revolutionary change. Thus nationalist divisions may be an important factor in the preservation of capitalism.²² There are other such reverberations through the system: national-

ism at one level tends to provoke counter-nationalism at other levels, while cross-national class alliances probably support one another.

Another point of elaboration, as suggested earlier, would be the addition of other classes and other ethnic groups. For instance, the imperialist nation's class structure includes important intermediary classes, such as managers and small business owners, which may foster nationalist reactions and make it more difficult for workers to support internationalist positions. Or, in the colonized nation, a special ethnic group may play the role of middleman, diluting the class struggle by turning it into an anti-ethnic (nationalist) movement against the middlemen.

In some cases, key classes may be absent, also with ramifications for nationalism. Thus, the fact that countries like Brazil and Mexico draw a less harsh "race line" than the United States and South Africa (both of which developed clear descent rules to protect the category "white") may in part be due to the absence of a large white working class in the former. There was, in other words, no sizable class to develop protectionist reactions against the absorption of colonized workers. Or in the absence of a large middleman element among immigrant workers may make cross-ethnic worker alliances easier to establish, thus blurring the lines of national difference.

Needless to say, there are numerous issues this model has not addressed, such as the effects of technological change, labor productivity, geography, natural resources, and population density.²³ To understand the rise of nationalism, or its absence, in each particular case, such factors would have to be taken into consideration.

Despite its incompleteness, the model enables us to make four important points. First, nationalist movements are generated by each class, for different reasons, and with different content. Second, non-nationalist options are available to each class, and are often acted upon. The call upon "primordial attachments" frequently fails, indicating beyond doubt its lack of universality or inevitability. Third, the emergence of nationalist versus non-nationalist reactions depends upon the structure of the entire system of relationships. It is not simply an orientation that one group chooses to adopt in isolation. The emergence of nationalism is contingent upon where a group fits within the entire world capitalist system, and how others react to it. And fourth, despite the fact that nationalism calls upon "primordial" bonds of affiliation, it both grows out of the class relations generated by the development of capitalism and imperialism, and represents efforts to create alliances across class lines, or, alternatively, to prevent alliances from developing within major classes across national lines. In other words, nationalist movements are, at root, the product of class forces.

FOOTNOTES

1. Perhaps this position was itself a reaction to the belief that race and ethnicity were "real" and marked off some nationalities from others as biologically superior or inferior.
2. C. I. Barton, 1974; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Rex, 1970.
3. For a more complete exposition of this position, see Blumer, 1965: pp. 220-253. For a criticism of this position see Wolpe, 1970, pp. 151-179.
4. For a similar position see Isaacs, 1975, pp. 29-52.
5. Perhaps I am overstating this case. Even authors who concentrate on the consequences of ethnic affiliations give some attention to origins. But these tend to be seen as rooted in the distant past, and firmly embedded in long-established cultural traditions, rather than requiring explanation in the present. Class theorists, in contrast, believe that ethnic affiliation must be created or reproduced in the present for its persistence to be understood.
6. See for example Simpson and Yinger, 1972.
7. See for example, Gordon, M., 1964. In addition, see authors interested in the rise of "white ethnicity," such as Greeley (1974); Novak (1971).
8. A good example of an effort to uncover the social or class meaning of descent rules is M. Harris, 1964, in which he contrasts the United States and Latin American descent rules for determining who is black.
9. This condition is itself quite variable depending on which classes move, i.e., a major distinction needs to be drawn between "white settler" colonies where members of the working class of the conquering nation settled in the colonized territory, and colonies where only foreign capitalists have been active. White settler colonies, such as the United States, Australia, and South Africa, have generally experienced much harsher ethnic problems, a fact that has raised considerable debate regarding competing explanations (Foner and Genovese, eds, 1969).
10. There is some debate over whether ethnically or racially oppressed workers are more exploited, in a technical sense, than dominant workers. The term "exploitation" refers to the amount of surplus value extracted from labor. Since ethnic minority workers are often employed in the most backward, unproductive sectors, the rate of surplus extracted from them may, in fact, be lower than for more privileged workers who work in the high-productivity, monopoly sector of the economy. Especially when minority workers suffer high rates of unemployment, it is difficult to see how surpluses are generated here (Wilhelm, 1971). Still, there are other mechanisms by which surplus is extracted from minority workers, such as "unequal exchange." It seems undeniable that some form of wealth moves from ethnically oppressed labor to the dominant bourgeoisie, even if not via direct employment as wage labor. In any case, this is a point of debate.
11. Bonacich, 1972; 1975; 1978; 1979. Some authors (Wilson, 1978) combine theories B and C, attributing them to different historical epochs.
12. Geschwender, 1978, uses the concept "nation-class" more broadly to allow for class differentiation within oppressed ethnic groups. Thus blacks are differentiated by class, although disproportionately in the proletariat, but within each class they also experience "national oppression." Each case of coincidence between class and national categories is considered a "nation-class." Using a figure similar to Figure 1, Geschwender (1978, pp. 264-267) concludes that alliances and enmities can arise along both class and national axes.
13. The concept "people-class" needs to be distinguished from Gordon's (1964) concept of "eth-class." For Gordon, class means status group rather than relations to the means of production. Gordon's eth-classes are social groupings which feel comfortable together because of similarity in style of life. They are not political-economic interest groups. Gordon's is not a class theory of ethnicity: it accepts ethnicity as a primordial tie.
14. Harris, 1972; Geschwender, 1978. Chapters 4 and 5 review this debate.
15. Focus on the national liberation movements of the colonized tends to lead to a disregard of class dynamics within the dominating nationalities. As stated earlier, national oppression is seen to have taken the place of class oppression as the major axis of world capitalist exploitation. This viewpoint again puts ethnicity at center stage, though it recognizes that national domination and colonialism are rooted in capitalism rather than in the "natural" tendencies of nations to despise one another. Still, by focusing on national oppression, writers in this school of thought tend to ignore the internal class dynamics of both national groups.
16. A sample of this literature includes Amin, 1978; Bettelheim, 1970; Burawoy, 1978; Castells, 1975; Geschwender, 1978; Hechter, 1973; Petras, 1980; Portes, 1978; and many others. For an effort to develop a theoretical statement integrating some of this literature, see Bonacich and Hirata, 1979.
17. The use of the term "colonized" should not be taken as an endorsement of all the assumptions of the "internal colonialism" model.

18. An example of the "profit squeeze" argument is found in the work of Glyn and Sutcliffe. (Glyn and Sutcliffe, 1971, 1972).

19. In some cases, the employees of foreign firms are among the most highly paid workers in a poor nation. They may be more fully proletarianized than other workers, and more likely to form unions. Foreign capital pays higher wages as a means of undercutting local manufactures. Still, despite higher wages relative to other workers in the same country, they are paid considerably less than workers in the imperialist country.

20. Castells, 1972, p. 52. Some of the differences in experience between Eastern European and non-European immigrants in the United States may be accounted for by this. Eastern Europe was less thoroughly dominated by the advanced capitalist societies of Western Europe. Thus the immigrants came under a less coerced status and were more readily able to join the local labor movement.

21. This theme is developed, with respect to the United States, and its long tradition of an "independent household mode of production" associated with the availability of land and concomitant ability to withstand complete proletarianization, in Bonacich, 1980. There I argue that this class, which oriented itself towards a pre-capitalist "golden age," contributed importantly to the generation of a powerful racist ideology. Since it often formed coalitions with the proletariat against the "monopolists," the working-class movement sometimes developed a racial cast.

22. One may ask if nationalist movements are ever progressive. With important exceptions, I believe they are not. They always divide the working class movement. But sometimes they are necessary anyway, especially on the part of colonized workers who may have no other means to overthrow the double oppression that can stem from imperialist capital's super-exploitation, combined with protectionist reactions by workers of the imperialist nation. Under such conditions, self-determination may be the only route to liberation. When this is the case, nationalism is progressive.

23. An attempt is made to deal with some of these issues in Bonacich and Hirata, 1979, and Bonacich, 1980.

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