

Gerald Horne : The Horne Thesis unravelled

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**“The world diplomatic front is a screen on which appears the apparent struggle between the Free World and the Communist camp....Behind it the real struggle goes on ...’
Henry Kissinger (1955)¹**

PRELUDE

Obesity is a major issue in the African-American community.

Dr Fatima Stanford is convinced that obesity is a disease while being heavily funded by Oxempic for which she is a major proselytiser. She suggests that she has tried healthy food with her patients but healthy foods do not work. Most commentators mention that in most medical schools there is no requirement to attend any nutrition class so one is surprised that healthy eating was her first port of call ².

In alignment with this is NAACP’s position in attacking any attempt to reduce sugar intake in children and poor people by taking soda , a sugary nutrient-free item, off the list of food available to obtain using food stamps (SNAP).

In her attempt to defend her position Dr Stanford avoids discussing the financial implications of her recommendations i.e. the allegation that the financial interests of Big Pharma are driving this.

Ann Brown³ writes;

“It is a common misconception that Black Americans are the highest recipients of food stamps, but whites represent about 37 percent of SNAP recipients and African-American people about 26 percent. Black people, however, do have the highest consumption of daily sugary drink consumption at 59 percent, compared to 33 percent for whites, found researchers at the UConn Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity’

¹ Kissinger in a previously classified document of 1955, declassified in Feb 2008 (Baker, 2021, p. 25)

² (Garcia-Navarro et al., 2023)

³ (Brown, 2023)

Ann Brown referred to Calley Means :

‘he accused the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of essentially taking a “bribe” from soda giant Coca-Cola to oppose a “sugar tax” being placed on sugary drinks. If sodas remained untaxed, it would ensure that sodas could be purchased with food stamps.’⁴

The Horne Thesis:

McDuffie⁵ writes: ‘.. what I term the “Horne thesis”: the argument that white supremacy and anticommunism were the major forces shaping post–World War II life and politics in the United States, with significant implications for African-descended and colonized people globally.’

Horne⁶ reviews the conduct of NAACP and measures it by the yardstick of the fundamental interests of the African American Community. Horne sees the history primarily through ideology and class.

“ Indeed, the fundamental question that Laville and Lucas and Anderson, to an extent, must confront is this: Presumably "Stalinism" was sufficient reason for African Americans to join Washington's Cold War, while looking the other way as stalwarts like W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson were persecuted for their refusal to participate. Fine. But if "Stalinism" discredited socialism, why did slavery, the slave trade, and racism not discredit capitalism? If Soviet intervention in Eastern Europe discredited socialism, then why did U.S. backing of apartheid South Africa not discredit capitalism?’⁷

‘It was bad enough for the NAACP leadership to provide aid and succour to a U.S. foreign policy that supported apartheid; but worse perhaps, as Kenneth O'Reilly has pointed out, was this leadership's abject and direct collaboration with the FBI in order to isolate and root out those not willing to go along with their policy’.⁸

Here, Horne expresses outrage that the ‘leadership’ should provide aid to those whose interests and policies were against the interests of their members.

He concludes:

‘This brings us to a major point: These articles - particularly Michael Krenn's superb effort-suggest that we can learn more about the all-important topic of race and foreign

⁴ (Brown, 2023)

⁵ (McDuffie, 2011, p. 236)

⁶ (Horne, 1996)

⁷ (Horne, 1996, p. 615)

⁸ (Horne, 1996, p. 625)

policy by examining the archives of U.S. elites, rather than the files of Edith Sampson, the NAACP leadership, and other centrists.’⁹

Here Horne is implying an insult that the policies of the NAACP were being made elsewhere.¹⁰

Let us consider what has been learned about European countries, their leaders and their policies during the Ukraine -Russia conflict. We have the leaders of many European countries clearly following the dictates of the US as opposed to the interest of the nation. If the German Chancellor can meekly acknowledge and approve the US destroying fundamental German infrastructure what should Horne have been expecting of the leadership of NAACP? Just as Germany bows to the military power of the US , so it also bows to the power of US financial oligarchies. Why would Horne expect different behaviour from the African -American leadership? Putin and Xi have declared that there is no point in talking to European leaders as all relevant decisions are made in Washington.

Why does this reveal an unravelling of Horne’s thesis? First, the attack on Russia cannot be explained in terms of anti-communism and Russia abandoned communism decades ago. As the opening quote from Kissinger reminds us the cloak of anti-communism was an illusion. McDuffie describes the Horne Thesis as that: ‘white supremacy and anticommunism were the major forces shaping post–World War II life and politics in the United States.’. If we take out the anti-communism we are left with ‘white supremacy’. Here we must be careful. Certain phrases are indelicate so we may better express it as ‘European civilization’ or ‘Western civilisation’. As Peter Park ¹¹ has explained, these phrases barely conceal their origins.

There is a continuation of Western power struggles first against the Ottoman Empire after WW1 but now against Russia¹². This does not deny that there would not be a great material bonus in the dismemberment of Russia as there was in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. This level of great power politics does not require us to deny any economic motivations. But here we have a reminder of the primacy of the political.

What do Russia and China have in common? What did Russia and Turkey have in common? At least from a certain part of Europe, they are all perceived as non-white and non-European. But Marxists will argue that capitalism is colour blind. To some extent, the business community is not in favour of this conflict and this is shown in the depth of welcome the US business community showed to Xi on his visit to the US. However, the political state overrides the business community. This suggests a need to revisit and discard the idea that Hitler was a pawn of German industrialists.

⁹ (Horne, 1996, p. 625)

¹⁰ (Horne, 2014)

¹¹ (Park, 2013)

¹² (Ladimeji, 2024)

In the history of imperialism, local elites and local communities could be found to fight for the invaders. This was as true of Europe in its relation to the Americas as it was of Africans and Indians in their relationship to the British Empire. In the US such as Sampson, Laville, Lucas and Anderson, the leadership of NAACP and more recently Anthony Appiah and Skip Gates play the same role as the contemporary European leadership.

A matter of some concern is that the effect of NAACP rewriting history is to make civil rights an entirely domestic issue means that many African Americans fail to appreciate the role played by international solidarity. Younger African Americans think to themselves 'we did it by ourselves'. While producing an attitude of corrupted self-importance, it tends to incorporate an attitude that mere acceptance in the room with the US elite is the entire goal of civil rights and MLK¹³. MLK never considered the right to join in international plunder to be a goal of the African American rights movement. However, it appears that many of the younger generation do in fact see themselves just in this way, and have lost the international and historical context. Losing the international and historical context allows young African Americans to fight to become just as servile a follower of the dominant power as any European leader, and just as predatory.

Many Western commentators such as John Mearsheimer and Chris Hedges cannot understand why the US cannot seek peace. This takes us back to the issue of 'what is the motivation?'¹⁴ If the US was engaged in a hidden global genocidal war, the leaders would be terrified that any collapse of the US Empire would a) lead to the disclosure of their genocidal plans, and b) that other powers could seek to return the compliment. How can a US elite sit comfortably if it were revealed that they had advanced plans on developing a specific biological weapon to wipe out ALL Russians and/or Chinese? Or had surrounded Russia with bioweapons labs¹⁵?

Horne's thesis conceives of racism but not genocide, and once anti-communism is released or excluded, lacks historical coherence. Once genocide is reintroduced then all is clearer. Fighting the Ukraine war to the last Ukrainian eliminates one batch of Slavs but in an apparently 'guiltless' manner as it is the Russians killing them. A war with China would not be about Taiwan other than in the initial stages but would quickly escalate to a general genocidal attack on China. This is why all the reports of war games on Taiwan always being lost by the US are entirely irrelevant. It also explains the plans for totally encircling China which is entirely unnecessary to protect Taiwan. There will be many who consider it impossible that the US would commit global genocide, except that we know thanks to Scott Ritter, that it is clearly indicated in US war plans.

¹³ We have the situation of Karine Jean-Pierre of stating that her mere presence as the President's Press Secretary was a making of history. Perhaps her continuing to breathe also made history.

¹⁴ (Ladimeji, 2024)

¹⁵ (Lakota, 2024)

Settler colonialism and genocide.

It should be borne in mind there are widespread tendencies to use euphemisms in this area. Ethnic cleansing becomes a 'transfer idea'. As Nur Masalha noted:

'In his 9 May 1989 article in HaAretz, Morris traces "the growth of the transfer idea in Ben-Gurion's thinking" from the second half of the 1930s. "There is no doubt," Morris writes, that from the moment [the Peel proposal was submitted] . . .the problem of the Arab minority, supposed to reside in that [prospective Jewish] state, began to preoccupy the Yishuv's leadership obsessively. They were justified in seeing the future minority as a great danger to the prospective Jewish state—a fifth political, or even military, column. The transfer idea.. .was viewed by the majority of the Yishuv leaders in those days as the best solution to the problem.'¹⁶

Genocide, in general, may become for example in Benny Morris's mouth a 'clash of civilisations'¹⁷.

Various definitions of settler colonialism have been offered:

'Settler colonialism is a distinct type of colonialism that functions through the replacement of indigenous populations with an invasive settler society'...¹⁸

The question to be asked about settler colonialism is as follows. Why did the Spanish Empire not engage in the ethnic cleansing of The Netherlands? The Nazis happily gassed their own disabled children so simplistic answers will not do. Consider that the Romani population had been present in Europe for centuries.¹⁹

Horne avoids any serious engagement with CLR James or Stuart Hall. At an intellectual level, they have so much in common that this requires explanation. It may be that this reveals a hidden level of 'Black Nationalism' of an Afro-American kind in Horne. If so, that would be highly regrettable. What Horne loses is the depth of Hall's engagement with the cultural implications of Western imperialism.

For Hall, imperialism and its associated racism were flexible and capable of development²⁰. Rather than thinking of Western imperialists as having a free hand in whatever they wanted to do, cultural analysis would focus on the actual available options. Nazi Germany had difficulty gassing German disabled children because of popular resistance. This would then suggest that in seeking to take over any area a cultural 'pretext' would be needed that would allow the relevant people to be motivated. One might remember that socially sourcing the 'conquistadors' was a complex operation for the

¹⁶ (Masalha, 1991, p. 92)

¹⁷ (Brahm, 2015)

¹⁸ (Barker & Lowman, 2018)

¹⁹ ('Romani People', 2024) (*Peoples and nations today*, 2024)

²⁰ (Hall, 1986) (Hall & Gay, 1996)

Spanish and Portuguese. Death was the most likely outcome for these 'volunteers' of the proposed escapade. Early on the Canary Islands were a test bed in preparation for overseas genocide with varying attempts using different techniques.²¹

An immediate suggestion that the Dutch were fellow Christians would be questionable to the extent that non-white Christian populations had never been spared. Also, there were significant religious conflicts between the Spanish and the Dutch anyway. Another suggestion would be that amongst them, there were extensive links by marriage. However, the conversos of Spain had both converted to Christianity and married into the leading families of Spain, only to be subject to roasting, expulsion and despoliation. This created the term 'old Christian families' to clearly distinguish families whose religious situation was beyond question.

It is this cultural level that is required to 'assimilate' not only leading elites in Europe but also local elites in the US such as the Black leadership e.g. Obama. A story must be told that allows conversos and others to join the elite. For Obama the 'long arc of history' becomes the promise that cleanses the past.

What else is in the closet? As the US empire declines certain issues will arise. During its heyday the US used the media and the universities to suppress alternative narratives. Once the Empire declines many new stories will emerge. Scott Ritter who, though critical of the US policies, was utterly loyal to the US dream. His view was that the US was moving away from its true nature, betraying its ideals. Recently as the extent of US military decline became apparent, Ritter has begun to expose more dirty linen, utterly in conflict with his previous portrayal of the US Army.

US media and academia have adopted a powerful form of indoctrination. Rather than indoctrinating the society with a specific doctrine, they have adopted an alternative approach. In this new version, the indoctrination is about 'feeling and perception'. US citizens are indoctrinated with a feeling about their country such that it becomes the metron of their life, the measure of their identity. We, US citizens, are living in the leading country in the world, and any story that may conclude that US citizens are not living in the world's leading country must be false and hostile. This is extended to Europe's identity, such that any story that challenges the view that civilisation began in Europe, the modern world began with the Protestant Reformation, Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment, and Emergence of democracy must be false. This powerful form of hypnotism which the schools and universities induce in its citizens under the guise of forming their identity, the endless inducing of trigger words, of repeated hypnotic suggestion to a willing cohort, who are promised that if you believe all wonderful things will happen, that if you believe in the American way or the great European culture or the great European adventure all good things will come your way. This is usually provided by an authority figure on a podium before a mass of acolytes whose disobedience

²¹ (Crosby, 1984)

or failure to imbibe could have seriously negative consequences for their future careers, is an important mechanism of direction or misdirection. Mass hypnosis as a way of life.²²

Meerloo stated: ‘

‘The art of moral seduction is based on fragmentized suggestions that gradually permit the other party to do what he or she never would have done without the repeated suggestions ... What is perhaps the first case of a murderer being exonerated because he committed his crime in hypnotic trance happened in 1951 in Copenhagen.’²³

This is only one of many areas for further exploration.²⁴

It should be a matter of interest to us today that LeBon considered these issues of the greatest relevance to changes in the world order:

‘The great upheavals which precede changes of civilisation, such as the fall of the Roman Empire and the foundation of the Arabian Empire, seem at first sight determined more especially by political transformations, foreign invasion, or the overthrow of dynasties. But a more attentive study of these events shows that behind their apparent causes the real cause is generally seen to be a profound modification in the ideas of the peoples.’²⁵

We can share his concerns without accepting his theories.

We are in a period where events have moved so fast that the US elite did not have enough time to reinvent a story that would realign its subject elites and so resorted to force and coercion. As the velvet glove is removed the world remains today in shock at the mailed fist. It is as if the Portrait of Dorian Gray had come into view revealing the true face of the US Empire.

Conclusions:

This ‘Horne Thesis’ fails to appreciate that the African American community leaders will be treated no differently than the French. The US deep state can have vassal leaders in France, Germany, Afghanistan, Nigeria or the Bronx. A Black President or Secretary of Defence will not shake the world or change the direction of the US. Even the Roman Empire had African Emperors. This would not of course come as a surprise to George Jackson²⁶.

²² This is not to suggest that there is a required imposition against the will. Complicity is often required which may be obtained by implicit promises.

²³ (Meerloo, 1962, p. 365)

²⁴ Meerloo writes: ‘The fact that it is possible to reduce a man to a state of utter dependence upon someone else's command arouses many theoretical considerations. ‘ p.369 ‘... that hypnosis has its dangerous as well as its beneficial aspects.. The study of the dangers and limitations of hypnosis leads to a better understanding of mass-psychological phenomena. ’ p.370

²⁵ (Bon, 2012 Introduction)

²⁶ (Jackson, 1972)

We opened with a note about African Americans working with Big Pharma and Big Food. That Big Pharma might capture Black professionals, and that Big Food might capture the NAACP are the least surprising of outcomes.

Frankly, to the US elite, 'white world supremacy' is just such an infelicitous expression. Unipolarity and Western hegemony are much more acceptable. As we indicated earlier, this zone is a zone of euphemisms. While the resistance to Western unipolarity was traditionally socialistic, Russia and China are not primarily systems best described in those terms. This itself exposes anti-communism as a smokescreen that even the majority of intellectual and academic Americans bought into, lock stock and barrel. As we move to the future we must release ourselves from the intellectual shackles and myths of the past.

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