

Marxism and Freedom

New Introduction to the Second Edition

"Only that which is an object of freedom can be called an Idea."—Hegel

The first edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM went to press as Sputnik No. 1 went into orbit. That same year, 1957, the Little Rock riots shared headlines with the scientific phenomenon. In 1962, two different events were again held in unison in men's consciousness. This time James Meredith's courageous entry into the University of Mississippi took the lustre out of Walter Shirra's spectacular six-orbital entry into space. An age in which "a little thing," like school desegregation, can hold in tow such scientific milestones is an age in which men's consciousness is preoccupied, not with scientific conquest, but with human freedom.

This new edition appears when our life and times impart an urgency to the task of working out a new relationship of philosophy to reality. Thought and deed cannot forever stand apart. Somewhere, some time, they must meet. Throughout history the forces that have produced great social revolutions have also generated great philosophical revolutions. It was true when Rainsborough expressed the motive power of the English Revolution of 1648 as: "The poorest he in England hath a life to live as the greatest he." It is true when, in 1963, James Baldwin speaks of "a glimpse of another world . . . I speak of change not on the surface but in the depths—change in the sense of renewal." 17th century English Leveller fighting for equality, or 20th century Negro fighting for freedom now, pull strenuously at the intellectual tendency to resist the compulsion to original thought on the very eve of social revolutions that demand philosophic reconstructions.

The two features which characterize great periods of upheaval are, one, that a new subject is born to respond to the objective pull of history by making freedom and reason the reality of the day. And, two, a new relationship between theory and practice is forged. This is true for the past—Levellers in 17th century England; the sans culottes in the French Revolution of 1789-1793; the runaway slaves impelling the United States to the Civil War of 1861-1865; the St. Petersburg proletariat in the 1905 and 1917 Russian Revolutions. This is true for the present—in the Hungarian Revolution against Russian totalitarianism, no less than in the African Revolutions against Western imperialism. This does not mean that each of these historic periods has given birth to a totally new philosophy. An original philosophy is a rare creation, born after much travail only when called forth by a new stage in world consciousness of freedom. It does mean that a viable philosophy must be capable of meeting the challenge of human experience, of the new revolts symbolic of the lack of specific freedoms.

To this author it meant that, no matter what the reasons were that caused the transformation of the Marxian theory of liberation into its opposite after the Russian Revolutions failed to realize, that is to say, put into practice this philosophy of freedom (see Chapters XII and XIII), a return to the original form of the Humanism of Marxism became imperative. Because Marx's HUMANISM ESSAYS were not available in English at the time MARXISM AND FREEDOM came off the press in 1958, I included these writings as an Appendix.* Since that time there have been several English translations of these Essays as well as many commentaries on them. It soon became evident, however, that this was done, not to re-establish the integral unity of Marxian economics with his philosophical humanism, but only in order to exorcise the ghost of Karl Marx and then rebury him, this time as a Humanist. It cannot be done. Marxist Humanism will remain alive so long as a new world on truly new, human beginnings has not been established.

Totalitarian Communism understands this so well that the counter-revolutionary suppression of the Hungarian Revolution went hand-in-hand with the suppression of thought. The subsequent Khrushchev-Mao designation of Marxist Humanists as "revisionists" and the denunciation of "revisionism" as "the main danger" did not, however, deter the American "ideology specialists" from taking over the term, "revisionism," and similarly using it against the opponents of the ruling bureaucracies who had not only revised, but vitiated, Marxism. The very intellectuals who had lost their collective tongue during the period of McCarthyism now found their individual tongues to attempt to fragmentize Marx.

The debate around the Essays degenerated into a question of first-edness as if it were a college debate held for scoring points. As I stated during the discussion in 1961: "The dispute over who was the first to translate Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts into English is a meaningful controversy only if it has a substantive relationship to the spirit of those Essays and of our times. I was compelled to be the first to publish these Essays in 1958 because for the fifteen years previous I had tried, in vain, to convince other scholars, writers, and publishers of the cogency of these Essays. When in the period between the East German Revolt and the Hungarian Revolution, the Russian Communists openly attacked those Essays (Voprosy Filosofii, #3, 1955), I once again began my round of publishers. This time the Essays were part of my book. I held that the Russian Communist attack on them was not academic, but a foreboding of

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WORKER'S JOURNAL appears on P. 2 this issue

Challenge To Thought

New Paperback Clearly Shows Way to Freedom

By V. L. J. GRANGER

The Mao-de Gaulle understanding has done more than make the NATO Alliance come apart at the seams, carrying in its wake even a new rupture in Anglo-American relations. It has done more than make the Sino-Soviet conflict bloom into a Franco-Chinese detente. It has confronted the two nuclear titans, Russia and the United States, with a powerful and unpredictable force — or more precisely, two forces.

It would have been easy for the United States and Russia to foster the illusion, if only the underdeveloped countries were involved, that this third world could be made to toe the line in critical moments because they are too weak to challenge the super powers. But China and France are powers, each in its own

right. China, because of her mass population, land mass, and mass army capable of major military operations as she has shown from Korea to India. France, not only because of her advanced technology but because she is in so crucial a geographic position that little can be done in Europe without her.

While Mao and deGaulle are very strange and incompatible bedfellows, Russia is not lulled by Chou's assurances that, in a showdown, China and Russia will be together against capitalism. No more is the United States lulled into thinking that the Atlantic Alliance is proof against deGaulle's hostility just because he supported Kennedy in the Cuban crisis.

BANKRUPT THOUGHT

Considering these self-evident facts, it is all the stranger—and is indeed proof of the bankruptcy of bourgeois thought—that all the analysts and commentators, from Walter Lippman down, are trying to soothe the jangled nerves of the State Department by saying that deGaulle is actually doing the West a favor by helping it out of its stalemate in Southeast Asia.

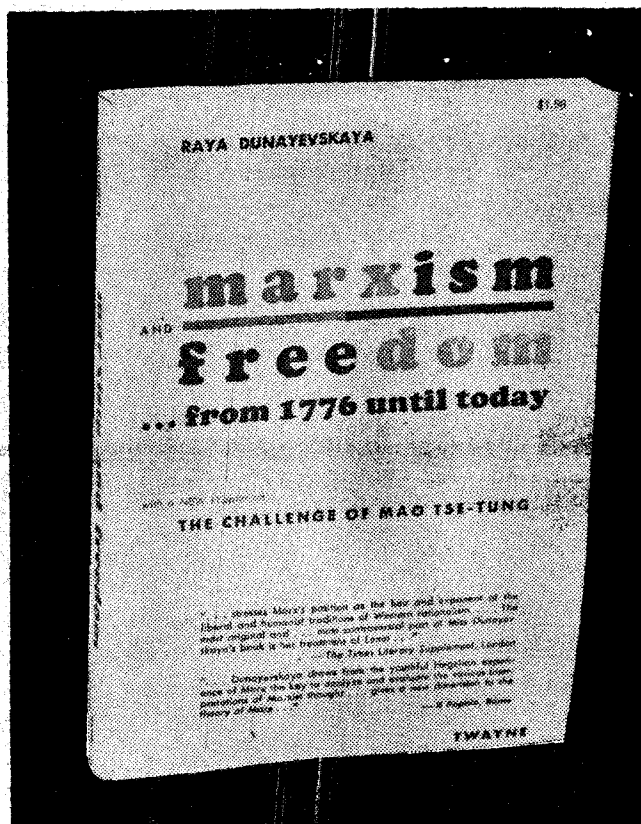
Sorry or otherwise, this bankruptcy of thought characterizes not only the bourgeois writers and journalists of the day, but also the academic scholars and radical theoreticians who are all too ready to take sides in the Sino-Soviet conflict rather than think independently or seriously try to probe the meaning of Marxism for our age.

NEW PAPERBACK BOOK A 'MUST' FOR TODAY

It is therefore with a sense of urgency no less than pleasure that we announce the publication, early in March, of a new paperback edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM, by Raya Dunayevskaya, which includes a new chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." By no accident whatever this chapter is more compelling and valid than today's headlines.

To mention but one example: the NEW YORK TIMES, some days ago, headlined the possibility of China organizing a new Communist International. The new chapter of the book had analyzed this in terms of the non-viability of state capitalism, Russian or Chinese, and forecast the possibility of split, not after the facts of February, 1964, but on the basis of the Chinese Communist Party's letter of June 14, 1963! This is not

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Daily Freedom Fighters Show Sham of Brotherhood Week

This is designated as Brotherhood Week all over America. It seems impossible that anyone can have a fixed notion in his mind that one week in a year is set aside as Brotherhood Week, when in reality there is not one difference in this week than in any of the other 51 weeks of the year.

Yes, there are special meetings, and gatherings of Negro leaders and white politicians shaking hands as a reminder—mainly to the Negro masses—that this is Brotherhood Week.

THE WORLD CAN SEE

Since the Montgomery Bus Boycott, since the Freedom Rides, since the Birmingham demonstrations the whole world has seen, without any doubt, what Brotherhood Week means in this country. On TV we saw human beings being held by white policemen while vicious dogs chewed them up. Young Negro children can have their bodies blown to pieces while sitting in church services, and no one is apprehended. A young Negro boy is killed riding a bike and his white killer gets a four months suspended sentence.

During this Brotherhood Week, the government had to issue an order asking some village mayor not to stand in a school doorway to bar Negroes from attending. All the while, these white liberals and Negro leaders up North yell about Brotherhood Week and are silent and blind to reality.

Walter Reuther is a famous example. His punch line is that what is wrong is that "We are brothers to the Negroes in the day and many of us rush and put on the hood at night," referring to the K.K.K. As if that is the sole barrier to Brotherhood.

IN AND OUT OF THE SHOP

But in Cleveland, Ohio, a mob of white adults attacked and beat up Negroes in daylight and without hoods, because Negroes were trying to enter a school in a white neighborhood. In and out of the UAW plants in Detroit, a white foreman, vice chairman of the White Citizens' Council in Michigan, and a white worker who is the chairman and also a member of the UAW, made some vicious and derogatory remarks about Negroes. A loud protest from both white and Negro workers went to the union.

When this became an issue—because Negroes refused to work under this foreman—the company transferred him to one of its other plants. The union took the position that this was enough done to the man and said, "We do not intend to follow him (the foreman) to his grave, and everyone is entitled to his view. And then he may sue the union if we try to force the company to fire him."

About the white worker, the union member, not one thing was done by Reuther's union. The union said that if it would fight him, it would give him an audience and publicity.

When the question of Open Occupancy in housing was raised, Ed Carey, chairman of the Detroit City Council, who came from the UAW as a leading liberal, was opposed to Negroes buying homes or living in white communities on the basis that something should be worked out to please the whites first. One can bet he is rushing around today yelling "Brotherhood," and shaking hands with Negroes solely for the purpose of getting votes. With these type of leaders "Brotherhood" is a political game.

NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS JOIN FORCES

But Negroes do recognize the importance of unity of white and black in their struggle for freedom. As Karl Marx said "Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it . . . No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others."

Many young whites are giving their support to the freedom movement of the Negroes. They all are recognizing the need for the support and unity of labor. And white workers are recognizing the importance of the Negro struggle for their freedom as part and parcel of their own fight for freedom.

We were happy to read where in the South, the union has organized 1,300 new members in the past year at a feed mill in Charlotte. Civil rights activity by Negro workers has brought grudging respect from white mechanics who had refused to join the union for 20 years.

At a dairy in North Carolina, a committee of white workers leading and organizing a union drive, listing workers they could trust, wrote down every Negro worker in the place. "They got guts," one committeeman said, "and we need them."

A white worker in Winston-Salem said, "Why don't we stand up and fight like them Freedom Fighters?"

FREEDOM NOW AND LABOR MUST LINK

The Freedom Now Movement is finding that it must raise the question of its relationship to labor. When we speak or think of freedom, the action of the young Negroes and whites in the South is something totally different from this Brotherhood Week. The latter is organized and controlled from the top, while the young student Negroes in the South are preoccupied in a day-to-day struggle in which they are all a part—not one week in year when we are supposed to be some kind of abstract Brother to each other.

Scottish Marxist-Humanists Get Libel Action Threat

Glasgow, Scotland—Some remarks we made regarding Mr. Phil Stein brought a threat of a libel action unless we mended our ways. We said that, after leaving the *Daily Worker* he was free-lancing for other papers and doing work for Scottish Television. In addition, we said that he was getting 100 pounds a month as technical adviser to the *Scottish Mineworker* which goes out monthly. He wrote making very strong threats and said that he was the Editor of

the paper and only receiving 80 pounds a month out of which he paid office rent and other expenses. We promised to make further inquiries.

We now tell Mr. Stein that he will require to get the minutes of the Scottish Miners E.C. altered. According to the minutes, Mr. Alec Moffat, the Chairman, said that Mr. Stein gets 100 pounds. He is referred to as the technical advisor and not the Editor. We note that his office is that of the miners. We

Five-Week Steel Strike Is Betrayed

Glasgow, Scotland — After five weeks of strike action by A.E.U. craftsmen (engineers), and lock-out by the management of the entire remainder of the works, the workers of Europe's largest steel works, S. C. O. W. (Steel Company of Wales), were sold out by the trade union bureaucracy.

The strike, which became national top-line news in press and T.V. throughout Britain, had been gaining in solidarity continuously, with growing support from other sections of industrial workers.

AUTOMATION IN THE POT

The issue commenced with a demand by skilled tradesmen on plant maintenance for equal rates of pay with the "production" or "process" workers at the plant who are classified as semi-skilled. Intensified competition in the steel market led to an offer by the management of wage increases in return for agreement on "rationalisation," i.e. speed-up, increased Automation, and of course, large scale lay-offs.

Fantastic pressure has been brought to bear on the steel workers: T.V. interviews with harassed wives; refusal to pay unemployment benefits to a section of the locked-out workers; intervention in Port Talbot by 33 clergymen in the interests of "Christian unity to prevail;" and by no means least, a call by the Communist Party for intervention by the Government's Ministry of Labour and all responsible public bodies!

A mass meeting of the striking A.E.U. workers, under great pressure, agreed as of Feb. 1, to resume work on the basis of enquiry by a working party composed of a T.U. leader, a representative of the S.C.O.W. and one "independent" industrialist down from another technologically advanced industry. **SHOWDOWN LOOMS**

It is clear to those of us in the Marxist-Humanist movement that managerial aims have been for a showdown with the P.T.O. unions in order to break up plant organization. In this they have been aided and abetted by the plan-conscious labour and Communist political leaders.

The requirement of the management is to further AUTOMATE, starting with the installation of new process equipment of which a continuous casting plant will be the first into operation. This spells large-scale redundancy (unemployment).

Rank- and file movement is growing in many industries as the role of the bureaucracy becomes clearer. We are in no doubt that it will spread to the steel industries in time.

would add that we have not set eyes on L. Daly, the man who raised the matter, for at least 12 years. What we are concerned about is the growing tendency towards professional control of the movement. There are too many getting all they can out of it. When criticized they think of course of the law. We couldn't care less.

(Reprinted from the *Information Bulletin*, issued by the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group, No. 15, Jan. 1964).

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

Automation's Toll—200,000 a Month

During World War II both sources of energy that now characterize our age — nuclear power and electronic brains—were developed. Science developed the electronic brain for war purposes and in the post-war years made the transition to industry with ease.

"THE MERRY-GO-ROUND"

Automation today is not that which was introduced into the mines in 1950 nor what is in the auto factories (Detroit Automation), where you have machines capable of transferring the parts from one machine to the other. "Transfer machines can be relatively compact, with four or five working stations placed around a rotating table." Detroit workers have a much more succinct description of that rotating table—"the merry-go-round"—and they say stay off of it if you can.

By 1958 there were over 8,000 transfer machines in the automobile industry. Consider however, that this type of machine takes the place of a multiple of stations and can (although most do not) take the place of 100 stations.

PSYCHONEURO-MUSCULAR, NO LESS!

Today Automation is the tape controlled digital machines in which the engineers have jammed together the early feedback control systems which take the place of the muscles of man and the electronic computers that carry out decision-making processes. They call this (hold your hat) a psychoneuromuscular system. These machines are capable of retracing their steps and correcting errors.

Before becoming too entranced with this new technology, jam against the production statistics the results in terms of the worker, his job and his family.

THE INVISIBLE POOR??

In the post-war years productivity in soft coal rose by 96% while jobs fell by 262,700. Railroad production rose by 65% while jobs fell by 540,000.

Each of the last three recessions since the end of the war have been worse than the one before it. 1954 unemployment was 6%, in 1958 it was 7.5%, in 1961 it climbed to 8%. During the peak of each of the last three prosperity periods the rate of unemployment was higher than the one before it. In 1933 unemployment was 3%; 1958—3.9%; 1959—4.8%. Then you get to the boom year of 1963 which had a rate of 6% unemployed.

Karl Marx almost 100 years ago called the unemployed army "the absolute general law of capitalistic accumulation." The more the capital uses machinery (dead labor), the less need he has for the living labor power of the worker.

Today we have a permanent army of unemployed, and new words added to our language—"pockets of poverty," "the invisible poor," "Appalachia"—a word used not just to designate an area, but eight of these United States that are in a continuous depressed state.

What else has happened since 1950 with the introduction of the continuous miner in the coal fields? At that time there were 450,000 miners. By 1955 that had been cut in half to 225,000. Today they have been reduced to approximately 100,000.

Now the coal fields of Eastern Kentucky, and of the Appalachias from Pennsylvania to

Georgia are "pockets of poverty." (See P. 3 article for more on Kentucky.)

THE VISIBLE RICH

The promise of the "Soaring 60's" finally came true for the capitalist in 1963, with profits topping all records in American corporate history. Between 1961-1963 production rose 21%. Steel had its highest output level in six years—109 million tons. Over nine million autos were produced. Capital spent at the rate of \$41.1 billion in the fourth quarter (7½% more than in 1962) on new plants and equipment. The Railroads increased their spending by 27% while yelling about feather-bedding and going bankrupt.

Marx said the telltale sign of the crisis in the capitalist economy is "the decline in the rate of profit" which was due to "the fact of the relative ever-smaller use of living labor, which is the only source of surplus value, to ever greater use of machines."

Add the following figure to those above and we get a much clearer picture. In 1960 steel production was as high as in 1950 but with 80,000 fewer workers. (The workweek in 1960 was 35.7 hours compared to 39.0 hours in 1950.) The nine million autos produced in 1963 was with over 100,000 fewer auto workers.

1953 to 1960 showed that there was a 17% rise in production with 1,600,000 fewer production jobs. 1961 to 1963 showed there was a 21% rise in production but factories were operating at 87% capacity. The electrical industry in 1953 had 925,000 workers. By 1961 that number had been cut by 89,000. At the beginning of the 1960's it was estimated that in the 60's, four million new jobs every year would be needed. Latest Labor Department statistics shows that "Automation eliminates 200,000 jobs per month."

HOW FAR FROM SLAVERY?

Figures can be heaped one onto the other for every industry. Add onto the worker who lost his job, the family that was supported by that job and only then do you get the actuality of the capitalist economy and misery. "It follows therefore that in proportion as capital is accumulated, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse. The law . . . establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery . . ."—K. Marx.

In his syndicated column Ralph McGill recently reported that a miner in Kentucky who worked 60 hours in one week had a take home pay of \$16.40, and on asking help from his union was told that he would have to live on his "pay" and surplus food—does this not smack of slavery?

ATTENTION GLASGOW READERS

A meeting will be held in the McLellan Galleries, Sunday, 8th March at 7:30 p.m. The speakers will be Paul Foot and Harry McShane. Paul Foot will speak on State Capitalism. Harry McShane will speak on the Marxist-Humanist Viewpoint.

Kentucky Miner Describes Destitution

Combs, Ky. — We sure did appreciate the things you sent. At the time we had a family of 12 who were really in need of anything that could be done for them . . . any kind of help is really appreciated by one and all.

Guess you saw on T.V. where the White House was picketed the week before last. We met with our Congressman, our U.M.W.A. officials, also our president, and the president of the Teamsters Union. It looks like we might get some results soon.

Yes, the mining industry here in Kentucky is now a very hard living, the way the operators have everything in their hands. They work men from morning to night for \$3 to \$5 a day. Even our law in the eastern part of Kentucky is against us. . . .

At the start of this, quite a few homes were blown up. All were homes of the pickets. Even a merchant who showed us help got his home blown up. And nothing has been done about any of these things. But the operators sure are trying to stop us pickets in every way they can.

We were locked out of our home town Court House to try to stop us from meeting. So we have struggled so far. With and by the help of God and people

like you, we hope to win our battle. The women have fought it along with us. . . .

We sure have got a big problem to carry out. We just appreciate any kind of help that can be given us. We need food, clothes and money.

We have so many bills, such as light bills and so many little children who need medical care, and we just don't have anything to get help for them. Which means money or death, and that sure is a big wall between us to try to do something, and nothing to do anything with.

The food stamps are here in our area for help for the needy. But the men who came out to help win this battle can't even get help from receiving food stamps.

If only we had a world of men who were interested in our fight.

We have miners in seven different counties to do our best to support with food, clothes and money for them to keep out of these low paid mines—to try to get them a decent wage of living. So you can see for yourself why we need the help . . .

It has now come to the point that we are being watched every move we make. The operators have seen we won't give up, so they are giving us a fight. We even have to guard our homes.

We sure are facing a very critical situation. We will do

most anything to see help come in for little children who are starving and dying for help, while the big man with all the money won't turn it loose.

We have operators who laugh and say, "Let them starve and they will be glad to come to us to work." But for \$3 or \$4 a day to support large families or small, it just can't be done.

* * *
We urge all readers to send food, clothes and money to Berman Gibson, 321 Broadway, Hazard, Kentucky.

On The Line

'Procedure' Like Court Case -With Worker Taking Loss

By JOHN ALLISON

The Golden Age of the union is past. You will be amazed at what union members are saying about their union. Here are some of the complaints workers have been discussing with this writer.

Little, if any, representation. No protection from speed-up. Starting time and quitting time any way the company wants it. An eight-hour day, five-day week sounds good. Read any auto contract and you would think the worker only worked an eight-hour day.

However this is not the case. You work as long as the company has need of you.

There was a time when workers could and would stop a production line and settle a grievance on the spot. That was called direct action. Now we have the new: the name it is known by is negotiation. Before you can get any relief, you take a strike vote, which takes a lot of time; then you negotiate. The grievance procedure is like a court case being re-enacted with the worker taking the loss.

There was a time when the union spoke and fought for the rights of the laborer to have a job, both young and old, white and Negro, woman and man. Now the labor leaders are trying to explain Automation, unemployment, discrimination, the speed of the killer machine.

The alarming rate of sickness, both in mind and body of the auto workers is a real shame.

There is also the old story of dirt. Everywhere you find a working man you will find dirt and grease all over the place. Everyone knows it is different with supervision. Nothing but the best for them and their kind, and yet the union accepts this kind of treatment of the workers.

This year contract talks begin. All of the age-old questions confront us again. The UAW Convention is also held this year. Many of the delegates will do what they have always done—just go along with Walter.

Nigerian Dock Workers' Union Blasts Port Officials

NIGERIA, West Africa—The Unionist-members of the Nigerian Ports Authority Dock Workers Union sang war songs and stormed the offices of the Ports Manager at Port Harcourt, awaiting the arrival of the Chairman and members of the Authority's Board, while police took positions at strategic points. They submitted a protest memorandum to Mr. George Uku Ohikere, the N.P.A. Chairman.

The demonstrators, about 2,000 strong, are protesting against the recent decision of the Authority to transfer dock labour to private contractors instead of by direct labour.

The union fears that the situation is prejudicial to the existence of most of its members and their dependents. It prayed the chairman to use his good offices to save the multi-thousand dockers in Port Harcourt the risk of being enslaved by the contractors. But in brief, Mr. Ohikere said that the corporation considered the transfer a matter of urgent measure in view of the heavy losses the corporation incurred by direct labour.

GOVERNMENT STICKS TO DOCK LABOUR TRANSFER

The Federal Government is determined to carry out its decision to transfer dock labour in Port Harcourt to private contractors. Announcing the proposal, the Federal Minister of Transport, Mr. R. A. Njoku, said the decision was taken some two years ago on the advice of the Nigerian Ports Authority, who felt that it would minimize expenditure to carry out the work by contract labour instead of direct labour. He felt that such a plan did not give cause for alarm, as he had instructed the N.P.A. to ensure that any firm which wins the contract should guarantee that no worker will lose his benefits or suffer undue hardship.

This decision evoked a controversy at the N.P.A. premises when 1,600 dock workers affected by the decision demonstrated before the Chairman, Mr. George Ohikere.

Mr. Njoku, the Federal Minister of Transport, further said if the Board, because of the workers demand, advised otherwise, his Ministry would not stand in the way of the N.P.A. But as yet, no alternative suggestion had been made officially by the N.P.A., hence the Government's determination to carry out the proposal.

WORKERS RETURN NOTICES

The intention not to continue with dock labour announced by the N.P.A. about three weeks ago still sparked off controversy and the Authority's chairman, Mr. George Uku Ohikere, signed termination notices which were later served on the workers.

The demonstrating workers moved into the offices of the Dock Manager, Mr. Emmanuel Uruapka, and handed back their notices of termination of appointment. They claimed that the action of the management was a negation of accepted labour regulations and that they were still about to pursue their

cases with the authority.

GOVERNMENT ACCUSED

Mr. J. W. McEwen, General Manager of the N.P.A., said the Federal Government halted a proposed increase in the wages of the junior grade of workers in the Nigerian Ports Authority this year.

Mr. McEwen accused the Federal Government of allowing the present wage structure for low income group of workers to remain and declared: "The minimum wages earned in this country by Nigerian workers leaves much to be desired. They are extremely low; below subsistence level." Mr. McEwen revealed, "This authority proposed an increase of 9/- a day for labourers which could have cost about 25,000 pounds, but this gesture was rejected by the government." He further said that if any increase was recommended for workers, it would affect foreign loans taken by the authority and rather advocated what he called a complete abolition of allowances paid to top civil servants which are fantastic and fabulous.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

One Saturday, in an A&P

The biggest question today is, can everybody be free? They could, if these big leaders were not so intent on keeping the working class of people far behind them, just so the white leaders can stay on the top to lead the way in their own image. That is, to make the poor worker and the Negro obey their no-good laws.

The colored people are still obeying the law. Negroes know that they are not breaking anyone's law when they go all out trying to get their rights—to be free, rather than to be a slave for the white man in this modern time.

ASKED TO WORK

On Saturday, Feb. 15 at the A&P, an old Jewish lady came up to me and asked me did I want a job working for her for \$28.50 a week? So I said, "No, you will have to pay me at least \$45 a week if you want me to work for you."

She said, "What is wrong with the Negro people is that they don't want to work for the poor Jewish people. But they will still work for the rich Jewish ones, and yet they are the very ones who want to sit down and do nothing, and call the Negroes lazy."

I said to her, "Is that the way you treat Negroes?"

"No," she said. "Those Negroes who call themselves the Black Muslims, are teaching the Negro to hate white people and say that they are better than white people. But I know they are not, and there are even some Negroes who live in the front of my door who say that they would not live in an all Negro neighborhood because they are too messy."

I said to her, "Mrs. I want you to know that Negroes do not fall for everything that white people say to them these

days like the older Negroes used to do when they were slaves for the whites just to make a few pennies to try to live for a week. They used to do all the work and then the whites called them lazy Negroes.

"Negroes have helped build all these fine houses, schools, churches, and all these automobile factories and cars, and then we can't go into them without being turned around at the door because we are black. The Negro has decided to fight back and see if he can't get himself some, where too.

"The Black Muslim is not really doing anything different than white men have done in their own thinking. The white always taught that he was better than the black men, and still does. And where did the Black Muslim get that word hate? Right from the white man, who still hates every Negro in his sight without any cause.

"The good book, the Bible, says God made all of us in his own image. The colored people across the street in front of your house have forgotten they are Negro. And you white people don't think any more of them than they think of the Negroes who are so far away."

SAME IN ALL RACES

Then she said to me, "What makes some Negroes hate their own race?"

I said, "In every race, some people dislike others. In your own Jewish race some hate others. So it goes, Madam. The black race never did anything bad which they haven't seen a white man do too. So colored people don't care what the whites say about the black race. We will soon overcome this tiresome journey that we have to make to be free."

NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS

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Editorial

From Sino-Soviet Rift to Sino-French Co-existence

So many layers of hypocrisy surround the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France that it is hard to know which layer to strip off first. The difficulty gets compounded because France and China are not the only hypocrites. Those on the outside are equally double-tongued in their pronouncements. This is true both on the part of those, who, like Russia and East Germany, outwardly favor the Sino-French rapprochement, and on the part of those, like the United States and Formosa, who venomously oppose it.

To the official hypocrisy must be added the pundits of the free press, that is to say, those who are at liberty to lull themselves to sleep with fairy tales of what a "great man of the West" de Gaulle is, no matter what he does, whether that be the exclusion of Great Britain from the Common Market, or slapping the United States around on every front, from its domination of NATO, to its policies in South Viet Nam.

A child should be able to see through de Gaulle's deliberate change of concepts, from that of a "West" needing a Europe which extends "from the Atlantic to the Urals" which would protect itself from "the yellow peril" (sic!)—de Gaulle's position when he came to power in 1958 and later — to the present concept of a West which must consider Russia the implacable enemy and China a veritable agent of peace. A child should be able to see through these transparent disguises of de Gaulle. France bent on reconstituting, and expanding, the French Empire. Since, however, our pundits are experiencing their second childhood, they continue with their self-deception, and accept de Gaulle's stated reason for diplomatic recognition of China: "simple reality," that "for nearly 15 years nearly all of China has been assembled under one government . . ."

No one bothered to ask the almighty man of "the West" why it took 15 years to recognize "what is," much less dare ask him to explain his fascistic nonsense about "the yellow peril," reiterated less than five years ago, as he prepared to entertain Khrushchev. The latter was rushing to see de Gaulle after his very first loud anti-NATO pronouncement, but de Gaulle was not about to exchange the U.S. for Russia. He wanted to build his own nuclear nest.

A NEW THIRD FORCE?

It is true de Gaulle isn't accepting his present strange bed-fellow without question either, even though he now classes him as the rightful representative of "a state more ancient than history." But, as anyone who has lived through the Hitler-Stalin Pact knows, stranger things have happened in this mad capitalistic world bent on total single rule or total collective ruin. And failure to face reality will not disclose the course of history, "non-existent" or existing.

Though for different reasons, each of the new partners rejects the African world or other newly independent nations as the "Third Force," although it is precisely this third force which is the only new phenomenon in the post-war world. Instead, each of the new diplomatic kissing cousins wants to be the "Third Force." Or, more correctly put, the dominant global force—Mao for the state-capitalist world calling itself Communism, and de Gaulle for "French gloire," status quo ante bellum.

DE GAULLE DREAMS OF EMPIRE

This status quo ante-bellum, however, does not refer to France merely as it stood before it capitulated to Nazi Germany. This "man of destiny," far from entertaining any guilt feelings he must exorcise, or 19th century "nationalism" to which he wishes to return, is a man of tomorrow, his type of imperial tomorrow. There is no reason at all for anyone to be unaware of his "Grand Design." He has laid it out for all to see time and again.

The European axis of his "Grand Design"—the Franco-German Treaty—went hand-in-hand with the exclusion of Great Britain from the Common Market so as to have done with "Anglo-Saxon" domination of his Europe.

The new Oriental axis of that glory dream is inseparable from his projected exclusion of the United States from former French Indo-China. The Phillipines and Japan will be the next targets.

And his upcoming trip to Latin America to end its "claustrophobia" has, again, the aim of replacing United States "foreign" influence with French "cordial" feelings.

Pundits may console themselves with the fact that the policies of de Gaulle France are directed not only against the United States, but also against Russia. It is obvious enough, of course, that de Gaulle is no Communist and is not entering into the new relationship with Mao's China with eyes closed. No doubt de Gaulle hopes to outwit Mao, even as the latter is sure he can outwit the former.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
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Readers'

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

I have read *Freedom Riders Speakers For Themselves* and found it very interesting. But let me tell you, all that I have read in that booklet makes me look at the American people as one of the most savage that has ever existed and that still exists. What do you think?

I would be very pleased if I could receive *News & Letters* regularly.

African Student
Ohio

* * *

I met a woman who manages a cafeteria in a white school here, and I was certainly impressed with the good lunches they serve the children. For 20c a plate they get as much as they want to eat. I wonder what sort of lunches the Negro children get?

They employ Negro help in the kitchen of the white schools at \$100 a month, expecting them to make a living on it and support a family. The \$100 is gross — before they take out social security and withholding taxes.

The contempt of the whites for the Negroes is hard for us to take. Whites here regard Negroes as "lazy" and say they won't work so long as they get relief. They see nothing at all wrong with giving them the lowest paid jobs, the worst treatment,

considering them lower than human.

The whites we meet simply can't see any farther than their own noses, and they refuse to accept that segregation is both illegal and immoral. They refuse to see that they would be wealthier in every respect if they accepted the Negro as their equal. Instead, the ugly head of the KKK is appearing again in Mississippi.

Northern Visitor
Deep South

* * *

Discrimination also plays a large part in the Detroit job situation. Recently the city hospital system spent \$4,000 in city funds trying to recruit Canadian girls to become nurses, while there are thousands of Negro girls in Detroit who would love to get the work. The city discriminates against them. There is many an aspect of life in this Northern city that differs hardly at all from the racist South.

P. M.
Detroit

* * *

I participated in the march that was organized here on Feb. 1 to commemorate the first sit-ins in the South in 1960, which ushered in the new stage of the Negro struggle we are all living through.

The cops kept cruising along the line in their scout

Marcher,
Detroit.

* * *

It made me feel sick to my stomach when I saw the picture on the front page of *The Atlanta Inquirer* of Saturday, Jan. 11 (which I have been reading ever since you recommended it as one of the best of the Negro newspapers, and I certainly agree with you.) It was a shot of Quinton Baker, vice-chairman of the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee, being held by a white youth after the owner of a segregated eating place forced him to swallow ammonia. The picture was also reproduced in a SNCC publication, I understand.

The accompanying story reported that other NAACP and SNCC demonstrators have been doused with ammonia and clorox by other store owners, and that more than 200 were arrested in demonstrations during December alone.

Meanwhile the daily press buries stories like this on back pages, or censors them completely. One picture like the one in the *Atlanta Inquirer* is worth ten thousand words.

White Reader
Detroit

Editor's Note: Address of the *Atlanta Inquirer* for those readers who are interested, is: 953 Hunter Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. It is published weekly.

* * *

The death of Edmond Asare-Addo, a Ghanaian student in Moscow, touched off a militant demonstration by more than 400 African students in Red Square. They carried signs reading "Moscow — a second Alabama" and "Stop killing Africans".

African students have been protesting a long time over discrimination in Russia. They claim that whenever they are out with Russian girls they become the target of insulting remarks. They find their standards of living in Moscow are often worse than they were at home. The dining rooms and dormitories at Lumumba University are segregated, and African students have nicknamed it "Apartheid U."

Observer
Chicago

MAO DREAMS OF THE WORLD

Mao entertains no illusions of French grandeur. And it is to be doubted that he appreciates de Gaulle's late found sympathy for China as de Gaulle pontificated: "This was the time when the Kremlin, using there, as elsewhere, its rigorous preponderance within the Communist Church . . . thought to hold China under its sway and through her to dominate Asia."

It is true that, whenever it is in its interests, Chinese Communism uses the race question to fight "white" Russia. It is also true that it uses the question of "national independence" to fight not only United States imperialism, but also Russian domination. Mao has global dreams of his own.

The first, the crucial aim in his scheme is to split the Communist world. Mao wishes to do this however, not merely by winning some underdeveloped countries—on its borders or on Russia's, although Albania has thereby certain advantages North Viet Nam does not have—Mao wants, above all, to do this "in the West." No matter what Chinese Communists tell the African, Asian, or Latin American worlds, they themselves know that, without an advanced industrialized land on their side, it will be impossible to win "world leadership."

Toward that end an embassy in France is of greater value than the gold of Russia or France. The break-up of the French Communist Party is the primary goal, and from thence to spread into Italy and Germany, still the key to the international situation. Ah, global dreams, dreams of split and dreams of conquest.

NEW POINT OF DEPARTURE OR OLD TRAP?

This is the point, the only point that is new in the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and China. All other points, from the profit in trade to the French imperial ambition of putting United States imperialism down a few pegs, or the Chinese demand of a seat in the UN, no matter how valid, should be of no concern to independent socialists.

On the other hand, the move from Sino-Soviet Rift to Sino-French co-existence in order to split the Western Communist movement and, with it, the proletariat still influenced by Communism, could lead to yet one more defeat. The final act of tragedy lies in this: that the masses who, in the post-World War II epoch broke with private capitalism and are now disgusted with their national Communist Parties and their attachment to the Soviet orbit, should be deflected to yet another wing of Communism now that Chinese Communism has a base of operation in Western Europe.

It is ironic indeed that the movement left by Leon Trotsky, who fought both Stalinist and Maoist bureaucracies until the day he was assassinated by an NKVD agent, should take sides in this Sino-Soviet conflict. And yet anyone who knows the French Trotskyists and the so-called International Secretariat can have no doubt that Mao will have allies in France.

The proletarian search for an independent socialist road, for a break with all class rule, for the establishment of a new society on truly human foundations, can be aided only by not falling into the trap of taking sides in the power conflict between Russia and China, any more than one would take sides in the struggle between de Gaulle France and United States imperialism.

R.D.

Views

MARXIST-HUMANISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Today we held the first public classes on Marxist-Humanism here in Nigeria. It was a big success and 150 people attended. Copies of *Freedom Riders*, the *Young Marxist-Humanist*, the *Afro-Asian* pamphlet and *News & Letters* were circulated from hand to hand . . .

The classes were held at a school hall, and began promptly at 5 p.m. to run for two hours. The two hours were devoted to questions and discussions from the class. Our only handicap was a shortage of the literature . . .

The classes will continue for 12 days. We expect that even those who are not members of our committee will contribute material and articles, and that you will receive regularly much material from us for the paper.

Marxist-Humanist
Nigeria

* * *

I would like to obtain a regular copy of *The Young Marxist-Humanist*, because I have been active in the Marxist movement for 20 years, am completely won over to the Marxist-Humanist standpoint and am in contact with a number of young Socialists here in Scotland.

For years we struggled to re-habilitate the revolutionary teachings of Karl Marx which was impossible because of the dominance of the Communist Party. Through the superb theoretical work, *Marxism and Freedom*, I and others found our way to what we consider to be the real Marx, and recognize the U.S.S.R. for what it really is. . . . We hope to intervene with *Marxism and Freedom* forcibly in the Scottish and British labor movement in 1964.

I. C.
Student
Venezuela

My friends and I have formed a little group to study politics—mostly Marxism. We are working on a substantial article on Venezuelan politics, which we will send you for publication in *News & Letters*, if you wish. If we could have a dozen or so copies of the issue in which it appears, we would like to circulate it seriously . . .

Student
Venezuela

* * *

The visit to Leeds was interesting . . . about 70 turned up the day I spoke to hear what I had to say . . . not one member of the Communist Party showed his face. The audience listened attentively, but I had only three questions, and I don't know how to estimate the effect of the meeting . . .

I attended an interesting gathering also at Hull. About ten of both sexes were in attendance, and I had the job of opening up a discussion. There was a Labour councillor there who was concerned about the housing difficulties facing all the British local authorities. The theoretical discussion was of greater interest.

Towards the end we discussed the prospects for our ultimate aims. Do we rely on economic crisis, or will the movement against Alienation and for Freedom become the greater factor in the fight for

change. . . . I was against separating the factors, but put great stress on the Marxist-Humanist approach. I think our view found favor with all present.

H. McS.
Scotland

* * *

"INVISIBLE" POOR?

Recently I had to spend a few days in a hospital and my roommate was a 70 year old widow of a Ford worker. Although I knew that pensions are not very large, for some reason it had never dawned on me that even though a man has spent 40 years of his life working for a company, when he dies, his pension stops.

This woman said that since she had worked as a sales girl when she was young, she was entitled to something like \$67 a month social security. She gets \$40 rent for an upper flat and she "lives" on that.

She also said that not only does the pension stop, but should the man have died before he cashed his last check, the company expects that check back.

This is in the richest of all lands—where society points a finger at Marx as being "materialistic". Yet it was materialism that Marx exposed as the very nature of capitalism itself, a system in which a man and his family can use up their life-time in the production-process, and then just be left to rot.

Electronic Worker
Detroit

* * *

There is a book I would like to recommend to your readers . . . *The Other America*. To the person who thinks of America as a land of milk and honey this will open their eyes. And to people who think the racial crisis will be solved with a strong civil rights law, this book should awake them.

Student
Tennessee

* * *

Suddenly, everybody is talking about the "invisible poor" and the "invisible Latin American" and the "invisible" a lot of other things. Maybe they have been "invisible" to some of our middle class ostriches, but I'll be darned if I think the majority of the people in this country have been unaware of the existence of poverty and discrimination.

The Other America, for example, which has received a good bit of publicity lately from the bourgeois press, is about the so-called "invisible poor", and it does have a lot of good things in it. But it is the self-activity of the exploited . . . the demonstrations the strikes, the protest movements . . . that has finally opened the eyes of even the ostriches to their existence.

I feel so strongly about it because *Marxism and Freedom* is just about the only book I have ever read that points this out, and yet I know that when it comes out in paperback form, it isn't going to get the "publicity" from the bourgeois press that so many of these other so-called studies get.

I decided I would just have to concentrate on some self-activity myself. I'm therefore giving the new paperback edition all the publicity I personally can.

Student,
California.

STUDENT SUPPORTERS

My experience with old radicals, even young old-radicals, has been that they simply can't accept any new thoughts, and refuse to hear any facts that contradict their own bias. Nevertheless, I continue to talk to anybody I can about the ideas I have read in *Marxism and Freedom*—and I have several orders already for the new paperback. The money is enclosed.

Student
New York

* * *

Your newspaper is very interesting and exciting. I read your literature with much interest and agree that we must put an end to the division between mental and manual labor. Your ideas on unity are all right. Enclosed find a dollar for a year's subscription, from a college student who considers himself an independent radical; and another dollar for your pamphlets on the *Afro-Asian* Revolutions, *Workers Battle Automation*, *Political Letters*, and the *Young Marxist-Humanist*.

Your publication *Marxism and Civilization on Trial* is great. I hope it is well circulated, especially among civil rights fighters. Wishing you the best of luck.

Student
Tennessee

* * *

Editor's Note: For complete list of publications see page 3. For special pre-publication offer on the new paperback edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, see page 1.

* * *

FACTORY REPORTS

As one who does not work in a factory, and who reads *News & Letters* regularly, I should like to say that along with the excellent coverage of the Freedom Now Movement, one of its greatest features has always been the detailed accounting of life in the modern man-eating factory by the factory workers themselves.

This kind of reporting can be gotten nowhere else in the world, and is the only newspaper which can educate the person who does not face these conditions daily—can show us the humanity, and creativity of the worker vs. the inhumanity of the machine.

Of late, however, these accounts seem to be fewer. I hope that this will change. We need them.

Office Worker
Detroit

* * *

After attending your meeting, I asked the guys in my shop the following question: What do you think about an organization that puts out a newspaper where the ordinary worker can either tell or write his own story, and the way that he tells it or writes it, that's the way it goes into the paper? They answered that the idea sounded beautiful, but there just weren't such organizations in this day and age. I told them I agreed that such an organization would be rare, but I knew of one that was right here in Detroit—a *News and Letters Committee*. Workers in the shop as well as people in my neighborhood are certainly showing a lot of interest in what you are doing and how you operate.

Chrysler Worker,
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Western Intellectuals Help K., Inc. Rebury Lenin's Philosophic Legacy

Part II

In Part I of this article on the state of ossification of philosophy, East and West, I mentioned the built-in deafness to Lenin's break with his own philosophic past which has led to the Western intellectual's inability to cope with the deliberate emasculation of Lenin's philosophic legacy by the Communist theoreticians. I shall now develop this point.

Even so objective a study as David Joravsky's *Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, 1917-1932*, cannot escape the consequences of the failure to grapple with Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, written at the time of the collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of the first World War, when Lenin felt compelled to return to the origins of Marxism in Hegelian philosophy.

Mr. Joravsky senses that Lenin's comments on Hegel's *Science of Logic* are "tantalizingly suggestive of a new turn in his thought" (p. 20). He profoundly exposes Stalin's transformation of Lenin's alleged "partyism" in the field of philosophy into pure Stalinist monolithism. He demonstrates that Lenin's aim, even in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, was "not to join the philosophical and political issues that Russian Marxists were arguing about; it was to separate them." (p. 34, emphasis added.) He proves conclusively that it is not only the Communist theoreticians that pretend that Stalinist monolithism is the natural and only possible result of Lenin's concept, but that:

"Non-Communist authors have contributed to the confusion by an excess of boldness, by the proclivity that many have shown towards magisterial judgments on the basis of insufficient evidence. One author, for example, writing in a scholarly journal, based a history of the theory of relativity in Soviet physics and philosophy on three 'sources', two of which were merely ambiguous passing references to Einstein's theory in Soviet articles on other subjects." (p.x) (The references is to Lewis S. Feuer's "Dialectical Materialism and Soviet Science," *Philosophy of Science*, April 1949.)

Nevertheless by excluding from his own work a serious analysis of Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, Mr. Joravsky leaves the door wide open for lesser scholars to write, as if there was a straight philosophic line from Lenin to Stalin, instead of a transformation into opposite.

SHORT OF PHILISTINISM

I am referring here not only to the sophomoric essays by American "experts" whose arrogance matches their philistinism. George Lichtheim rightly calls the American contribution to Marxism by non-Marxists "a sort of intellectual counterpart to the late Mr. Dulles's weekly sermon on the evils of communism." (1) I am referring to Mr. Lichtheim himself and to such writers as Eugene Kamenka of Australia, whose *The Ethical Foundations of Marxism* places him in the sophisticated European tradition of non-Marxist analyses of Marxism.

Mr. Kamenka certainly appreciates the Humanism of Marxism and knows that Communist totalitarianism has nothing whatever to do with the Marxist theory of liberation. He has no organic anti-Leninist prejudices such as Mr. Lichtheim has. On the contrary, he sees in Lenin "a mind of the first order." Nevertheless, he feels that "philosophy was to him (Lenin) only of incidental interest" so that "the force of a first-class mind" needs to be discerned "through the frequent naivete and dilletantism of his philosophical writings and notes." As if professionalization of philosophy were synonymous with original philosophic thought, Mr. Kamenka claims that contemporary "reformulations of the classical philosophical disputes" has robbed "Lenin's insights of most of their immediate impact and relevance." (2)

All this is said in passing supposedly because the subject matter under consideration is current Soviet philosophy. Allegedly for the same reason, no attempt whatever is made to deal with the text of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*. And yet the allegations against him are made as if they were self-evident truths. We will see in a moment how the ravages of that eat into his expose of the superficialities of the Western treatment of Soviet philosophy.

First it should be stated that Mr. Kamenka magnificently exposes the ignorance of the learned. Needless to say, this is not his phrase. What other conclusion, however, can one draw from the following irrefutable facts? One, that for decades on end, the learned journal of the Royal Institute of Philosophy, edited by the illustrious Lord Acton carried not a single article on Soviet philosophy until January, 1963, when they published Mr. Kamenka's "Philosophy in the Soviet Union."

Two, even the specialized quarterly of the Institute of East-European Studies at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland—*Etudes in Soviet Thought*, edited by the eminent philosopher Bochenski—has been so preoccupied with purely quantitative phenomena like the number of writers, the number of words written, the compilation of bibliographies, that it has hardly had time to present "actual translations" of Soviet articles, much less seriously answering the Soviet claims.

And yet, Mr. Kamenka suddenly concludes that what is needed to start a serious dialogue between "Western" philosophers and their Russian counterparts is for the latter to "acquire something of the integrity and sophistication of genuine philosophical argument . . . from the West . . ."

It is impossible to expose Khrushchevite pretensions about "a return to Lenin" without tracing Leninist philosophy to its source, not excluding the quality in this heritage. This is not an intra-factional dispute of interest only to Marxists, or their oppo-

(Continued on Page 6)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

Gov. Wallace, History and Challenge to Youth

By EUGENE WALKER

A challenge was put to us at UCLA when Governor Wallace of Alabama spoke from the "Distinguished Speakers Platform" a few weeks ago. The Negro youth in the South would never have allowed such a white-wash of reaction under the guise of freedom of speech or states' rights as occurred when Wallace spoke here. They would have demonstrated much more or gone to jail to show what a lack of human rights lies behind that conservative face.

Yes, Wallace should have the right to speak. But at the same time we students were obliged to answer him and in no uncertain terms. A failure to do this was a failure of our responsibilities: 1) our responsibility to the Southern Negro youth who know that behind the Wallaces', the Barnetts', the Eastlands' pleas for "states' rights" lie guns, police, dogs and electric cattle prods which daily are used against those fighting for human rights; 2) our responsibility to the movement of history. Yes to history. History is none other than men's striving for freedom.

And in 1964, in the United States, the Negro struggle is truly the touchstone of history. If we do not meet the challenge that the Negro is posing, then we are failing in our responsibility to history.

ILLUSION OF BIRCHISM

A few years ago American youth were called the "Beat Generation" or "Rebels Without A Cause." Today there has been "a discovery of cause." However the "discovery" has been twisted to a Goldwater type of Birchism. And thus when we allow a Wallace to come to town and do not confront him in the sharpest terms, this illusion of reactionary youth of the Goldwaterite or even Wallacite type is allowed to be promulgated.

When I say that we must confront Wallace in the sharpest terms I mean with ideas. Northern youth must take up the challenge, not only in support of the South, but in expressing the call of freedom here.

MARXISM: THEORY OF LIBERATION

For students this taking up the challenge can begin in the academic circles of a university campus. Foremost among the topics is that of Marxism. Why not the study of true Marxism rather than the "study your enemy, Marxist-Leninism"—by which they mean neither the one nor the other, but Communism?

It is high time for Marxism to be clearly distinguished from the Russian or Chinese variety of state capitalism, which bear no similarity whatsoever to Marx's theory of liberation.

This myth has been put forth

for too long a time. Everyone from state superintendent Max Rafferty, who wants to introduce a course to high school students on "the evils of communism," to such "experts" as Daniel Bell and Sidney Hook, has so crucified Marxism as to make it unintelligible. It is time that students demand collateral reading in history and philosophy courses which are truly representative of the ideas which Marx stood for.

We are living in the birth-time of history; a birth-time with many passions and forces seeking to create a new world. It is time we took an active role in this birth-time.

400,000 Boycott Classes; Protest Jim Crow Schools

New York City, N.Y. — Over 400,000 public school students here boycotted their classes on Feb. 5 in a mass civil rights demonstration protesting racial segregation in the schools.

5th Grade Picket at White House

Washington, D.C. — Integrated fifth grade students picketed the White House here on Jan. 18 with signs demanding and end to "Rats, Roaches and Rent-robbers."

Some of the other signs read, "You Talk About Us, So Talk With Us" and "We March For Freedom."

The group told newsmen they had consulted the Washington SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) office and asked SNCC to get them an appointment with President Johnson.

The group's leader, 10-year-old Lawrence Dunbar Twyman III, admitted the notice was short, but said "It seemed to me that although the President is busy with a lot of things, he has a lot of assistants."

Ten-year-old Jackie Scott said, "I'll bet the President is not too busy to see white folks."

Before leaving the White House the fifth graders sang "We Shall Overcome" and "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round."

Hails Young Marxist-Humanist

I write to say how pleased I was to read the Young Marxist-Humanist. It should develop internationally, of that I am confident. The desire to uproot society and establish a new order based on freedom and workers' control is universal among youth today.

I came across the following quotation which will be of interest to you. It reads as follows:

"The great advantage of a strike is that it increases the enmity between labourers and capitalists, and compels the workmen to reflect and investigate their sufferings... The fruits of such reflection would be a violent hostility against the capitalist class; and the new converts would be prepared to second the efforts of emancipation made by labourers in other quarters of England." (Poor Man's Guardian, August 30, 1834—leading working class paper of 1830's).

Here embodied is the reality of the class struggle and the great desire for freedom which animates all mankind and to which ten years later the young Marx was to give a scientific and humanist philosophical base.

Best wishes,
I. C.
Scotland.

Bayard Rustin, director of the boycott for the City-wide Committee for Integrated Schools, called the event the largest civil rights protest in the nation's history and "a tremendous success."

In bitter cold weather, placard-carrying young pickets paraded in front of over 300 schools across the city. Negroes, Puerto Ricans and whites, the boycotters represented 40 per cent of the school population.

The slogans on the signs they carried read, "Jim Crow Can't Teach Democracy" and "Integration is Education" and were written in Spanish as well as English.

WHITE VIEW

A white senior from Seward Park High School voiced what many others felt; "I believe in integration. And I believe in being active—not passive. I don't believe it's right to believe in these things and then sit at home and let other people do the job."

The children of Superintendent of Schools, Gross, attended school.

Many of the teachers indicated their support of the boycott, some more openly than others. The absence rate for teachers jumped five per cent for the day. Some school principals as well voiced their sympathy. At George Washington High School in Washington Heights, the school principal who called the pickets "misguided" ordered coffee for them to warm them against the 20-degree weather.

Areas like Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, where the schools are most segregated and dilapidated, drew the most complete participation in the boycott, upwards of 90 percent.

What was not fully expected was the number of whites that participated along with the Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the one day walk-out. The preparation for the boycott and the boycott itself saw greater cooperation

Western Intellectuals Help K., Inc. Rebury Lenin's Philosophic Legacy

(Continued from Page 5)

site, Communists. It is impossible to meet the challenge to thought, to Western thought, unless one fully appreciates the significance of Lenin's 1914-15 break with his own philosophic past.

THE OBJECTIVE COMPULSION TO THOUGHT

The point is this: the compulsion to break with this philosophic past, with vulgar materialism, came from objective conditions. The compulsion to thought was brought about by a world war, the first world war, a crisis in Western civilization, a crisis in all men's lives. Our post-World War II situation, with its little wars, The Cold War, threat of nuclear holocaust, is a daily reminder of the deaththroes of an older order, the birth pangs of a new one, the near-insoluble problems of this titanic conflict. In that respect Lenin's Notebooks can shed greater light than the "sophisticated" theses of today that keep philosophy hemmed in a tight little circle of the learned isolated from "politics."

Far from being "dated," Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, as method, are as urgent as today's headlines. Far from being "Russian," they are as lacking in boundaries, in thought, as are the ICBM's in life. These are not only political problems. They are a challenge to thought as well as to life. As that encyclopedic mind of Hegel's said most profoundly when the philosophy of his day did not accept the challenge of changing times, did not grasp the French Revolution, as Idea, "it is the nature of truth to force its way to recognition." A philosophy that fails then to reorganize its very structure turns the learned into "representatives," who are like the dead burying the dead." (3)

Lacking such an attitude to objectivity, Western thought flounders and therefore falls into quantitative measurements instead of the measure of Man, the human aspiration, the thought that can lay the foundation for a reorganization of society. Khrushchev, and, yes, Mao,—have a state reason for burying Lenin's Notebooks—the preservation of their respective state-capitalist tyrannies demands that the idea of freedom be buried along with freedom. But where, at least on the surface, the learned of the West need not be state philosophers, is it not time to end their ignorance of Marxist philosophy? (4)

Naturally it is much easier to expose the superficiality of "the copy theory" of cognition expounded in Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. But is that sufficient reason for serious thinkers to turn away from the compulsion to seek the significance of Lenin's Notebooks on Hegel's Science of Logic till they grasp the meaning of Lenin's statement, "Man's cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it."

Instead of helping Khrushchev, in the 35th year since the first Russian publication of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, once again, to perpetrate a live burial of these dialectic notes, isn't it high time finally to come to grips with their challenge to today's thought? Without such a meaningful encounter, the ossification of Western thought is sure "to outdistance" Communist putrefaction.

FOOTNOTES

(1) "Western Marxist Literature, 1953-63" in Survey, Jan. '64. Mr. Lichtheim's remarks follow his reference to Robert Tucker's Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx. In casting the blame for such sophomoric performances on "the peculiarly American manner," Mr. Lichtheim conveniently disregards both Marxist-Humanism in the United States and the fact that the "sort of intellectual counterpart to the late Mr. Dulles's weekly sermons on the evils of communism" to which Mr. Lichtheim refers covers also the Sidney Hooks, Daniel Beils, Lewis S. Feuers as well as their European counterparts. Furthermore, there is little difference between the professional anti-Leninist and professional fellow-traveller a la Sarte when it comes to a confrontation with the philosophic legacy of Lenin in his Notebooks.

(2) "Soviet Philosophy Through Western Eyes," in Survey, Jan. '64.

(3) Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind, p. 130.

(4) See Chapter X dealing with Lenin and the dialectic: a mind in action, in MARXISM AND FREEDOM as well as the new chapter "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung;" in the paperback edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM. Excerpts from it are reproduced on P. 7.

between the Negro and Puerto Rican minorities than has been the case in the past.

Of chief importance in the results of the demonstration is the fact that the participants now know their strength and now know their allies.

SEGREGATION EVERYWHERE

The pattern of de facto segregation is so entwined with segregation in housing that even for a school board that was willing, the task of desegregating schools in the midst of segregated neighborhoods would be near Herculean.

The fact is that segregation is so much a part of the fiber of society that the school board would find total integration impossible without changing other factors.

Certainly no bureaucratic maneuver can meet the challenge, and certainly the school board president, James B. Donovan, has proved his ineptness. His insistence that the boycott was a "fizzle" while several thousand youth jeered him from without his offices are illustrative of the fact that this is one more man who is unable to cope with or even recognize a rapidly changing world.

On the other hand, Bayard Rustin swept up by the new passions unleashed, commented: "I think we are on the threshold of a new political movement—and I do not mean it in the party sense—that is going to change the face of New York in housing, in jobs, and in schools."

A Good Question

The idea of breaking up segregated schooling by bussing Negro children to schools outside their segregated neighborhoods may sound good to some, but I want to know why we can't have a good school right in our own neighborhood. I live in a segregated neighborhood, and I'm not planning to move. I like my neighbors fine. I don't want to bus my children somewhere far away, either. I want their school close by so I can work in the PTA, and be near them if they get sick. To me the real problem is improving the schools wherever they may be.

Negro Mother
Detroit

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New Introduction to the Second Edition

(Continued from Page 1)

revolutions to come. The following year the great Hungarian Revolution raised the Humanist flag clearly. Because Marxist Humanism, to me, is the only genuine ground from which to oppose Communist totalitarianism, I felt the compulsion to show that Humanism is not something invented by me, but came directly from Marx, who fought what he called "vulgar Communism," writing that "communism, as such, is not the goal of human development, the form of human society."

Skepticism also greeted my statement in the first edition, that the road to a new society, opened by the Hungarian Revolution, was no less illumined by the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Since then the Negro struggle has become all-rounded and so engulfed the North, as well as the South, that the phrase, "Negro Revolution," has become almost a cliché. Yet the fact that a revolution can be treated as a mere journalistic phrase only further reveals the failure to grapple with the truth that the American Negro has always been the touchstone of American civilization which had an ever-expanding frontier but no unifying philosophy. Nor has the challenge been met when the call for a unifying philosophy came from an altogether new source: the scientist (Dr. William E. Pickering) who first succeeded in sending the American Explorer into orbit. In speaking of the fact that mankind was now "only one-half hour away from total annihilation," Dr. Pickering said that mankind was in need, not of more destructive weapons that the scientists invent, but of "a new, unifying philosophy."

This same period saw the emergence of the African Revolutions under their own Humanist banner.** It was indeed the births of this new world independent of the Communist orbit that both led to the Communist discovery of this "third world" and to the rift within its own orbit. (On the Sino-Soviet Rift see Chapter XVII.) Because the dynamism of ideas escapes American "ideology specialists," they do not pick up the gauntlet for the struggle for the minds of men. Instead, they act as if any ideological rattle, if even it concerns the very survival of humanity, is only rhetoric. It is not that they do not know as well anybody that, far from rhetoric, this is the overriding fact in a world of H-bombs and ICBMs. Nor is it that they held their breath any less than the rest of us when, in October, 1962, J. F. Kennedy told N. S. Khrushchev that the United States was ready to unloose a nuclear holocaust unless Russia removed its missiles from Cuba. It is rather due to their belief that their aging views toward ideas would somehow magically dissipate the class struggle, and the racial struggle would thereby become bite size.

Where some reviewers wished to return Marx's Humanist Essays to the archives, others questioned my theory of state-capitalism, saying that I had paid insufficient attention to the changed conditions in Russia since the ascent of Khrushchev to power. They pointed especially to "the abolition of the forced labor camps." Curiously enough, this criticism came, in large measure, from those who denied the very existence of the camps until Khrushchev declared them abolished. That the worst of the concentration camps have been eliminated does not mean that there are none. It only means that "corrective labor" has taken a different, a milder form. Neither United States "free enterprise" nor Russian "communism," has changed the fundamental Marxian theory of value and surplus value, or capitalism as an exploitative relationship of capital to labor. After the Russian admission, in 1943, that the law of value operates in Russia, there was no further point to continue the detailed analysis of their State Plans. My analysis of the Five Year Plans, therefore, stopped with World War II, and thereafter focused on the Russian assault on Marx's CAPITAL and his ECONOMIC-PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS (see Chapters III and XII). There is no reason to revise my analysis.

What is fundamentally new now are the developments in the Sino-Soviet orbit. My analysis of the rift was originally elaborated in 1961 as part of a new book I am writing on world ideologies and the technologically underdeveloped countries. Because "The Challenge of Mao" has a special urgency for today I brought it up to date when Japanese friends asked to include it in the edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM they are preparing for publication in Tokyo. It is included as Chapter XVII in this new American edition as well. Both editions are going to press as we approach the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the International Working Men's Association in London, in 1864.

November 1, 1963
Detroit, Michigan

Raya Dunayevskaya

*That appendix has been dropped from this new edition because the Essays are now easily available in English. The official Moscow publication (1959) is marred by footnotes which flagrantly violate Marx's content and intent. The preferable translation is T. B. Bottomore which, with other primary materials, is included in Marx's Concept of Man by Erich Fromm, (Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., New York, 1961.)

**See my pamphlet, Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions. (News & Letters, Detroit, 1959; Cambridge, England, 1961.)

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Excerpts From 'The Challenge of Mao Tse-Tung'

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Communist Counter-Revolutions

The whole history of Mao proves him to have been a fighter, not against "revisionism," but against "dogmatism," the present revolutionary-sounding statements that thunder out from Communist China notwithstanding. Mao's accusation of Khrushchev as a coward who moved over from "fear of nuclear blackmail" to "fear of revolution," and Khrushchev's expression of "sadness" that the "Chinese comrades" could join the reactionary "atom mongers and madmen", are no more than tools forged to serve the narrow purpose of power politics. This is not to say that the ideological battle is without influence on the power struggle, and, moreover, has a logic of its own. But we must not let the fact that both contestants call themselves Communist hide their class nature: both are capitalistic to the marrow of their bones. State-capitalism changes the form, not the content, of these totalitarian regimes...

The Dialectic of Mao's Thought From The Defeat of The 1925-27 Revolution To The Conquest Of Power

Different conditions produce different modes of thought. The twenty-two year long struggle for power — from the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 to Mao's assumption of full power in mainland China in 1949—determined the dialectic of "Mao's Thought" as a corollary to Stalin's long series of basic revisions of Marxism which ended in its total transformation into opposite—the monolithic single party state power of totalitarian Communism. To this, and not to Marxism Mao made two original contributions: (1) the role of the Army, in and out of state power; and (2) "Thought Reform," that is to say, brainwashing which, as the natural adjunct to his "four-class politics," is applied equally to all classes... To grasp the ideology at its source, however, we cannot begin with Mao's conquest of power in 1949, much less with the Sino-Soviet Rift beginning in 1958. Its true beginning is the defeat of the 1925-27 Revolution. Indeed, Mao dates the Chinese Revolution from its defeat because it is then, as he puts it, that the "Revolutionary War" began...

Oriental Despotism, Brainwashing—Or The Economic Compulsion Of State-Capitalism

In contrast to the panegyrics from Chinese Communist sources, scholars are once again reviving the appellation of **Oriental Despotism**. . . . There is so much war-lordism in Mao; so solid a substratum of Chinese nationalism underlies his revision of Marxism; so thoroughly saturated with Confucianism is "Mao's Thought"—and the state-capitalist society he established is so great a tyranny—that it is all too easy to arrive at such a seemingly logical conclusion as "Oriental Despotism." That nothing quite misses the mark by so great a margin is obvious from the total overhaul of Chinese society, its family life as well as its industry, its ruling ideology as well as its agriculture...

The workers were forbidden to strike. The trade unions were made into pure organs of disciplining the workers and seeing that production plans were carried out. Forced labor was a regular feature of Chinese state-capitalism calling itself Communism. It is not in this that it differs from its Russian model. It does differ in its concept of "thought reform."

Brainwashing is a word coined in the Korean War to denote either forced or genuine changing of sides on the part of American soldiers joining the Chinese, gives the appearance of yet one more form of the confessionals made so famous during the infamous Moscow Frame-Up Trials. No doubt there is much of that in them. What is new in Mao's perennial "rectification campaigns" is that they are neither limited to the "foreigner" or "enemy", nor meant as a purge limited to members of the Party. Mao has raised the concept of "thought reform" both to a philosophic category and a veritable way of life...

The most amazing feat of brainwashing is neither that made famous in Korea among American soldiers, nor that within China once power was achieved. The phenomenal aspect is that achieved among intellectuals who do not have state power and are supposedly giving their lives to achieving workers' power; in a word, the petty-bourgeois Marxist intellectual. The inescapable fact is that in this epoch of state-capitalism the middle class intellectual, as a world phenomenon, has translated "individualism" into "collectivism," by which he means nationalized property, state administration, State Plan...

Can There Be War Between Russia And China?: The Non-Viability Of State-Capitalism

The October 22, 1962, confrontation of J. F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev over missiles in Cuba, the historic moment when the whole world held its breath for fear of nuclear holocaust, gave Mao Tse-tung the opportunity to regain the initiative in the Sino-Soviet conflict. The moment Khrushchev backed down when Kennedy made it clear he was ready to plunge the world into nuclear war unless Khrushchev removed those missiles from Cuba, Mao launched the new stage of conflict by accusing Khrushchev of "cowardice in the face of imperialism." Then he moved to take over "leadership" of the "socialist world" by demanding that it come to his support in the Sino-Indian war...

In five different ways the June 14th "letter" from the Chinese Communist Party states that "the touchstone of internationalism" (p. 10) should no longer be the defense of Russia...

Mao hopes for nothing short of mastery of the world, of the Communist world to begin with. Though, for tactical reasons, and because of the withdrawal of Russian technical aid, China had to fall back on a variation of "the theory of socialism in one country" (Every socialist country must rely mainly on itself for its construction.' P. 45), the CC-CPC challenges not only Russia but the majority of the presently constituted Communist world. It warns that "one should not emphasize 'who is in the majority' or 'who is in the minority' and bank on a so-called majority..." (P. 47) In the place of following the majority rule, he proposes the rule of "unanimity", that is to say, China's right of veto over policies formulated by Russia and the majority of other Communist Parties...

The one and only thing that both Khrushchev and Mao prove, the one and only thing that is beyond the peradventure of any doubt is the non-viability of their "new" social order. **The non-viability of state-capitalism as a "new social order is proven by the same laws of development as that of private capitalism, that is to say, the compulsion to exploit the masses at home and to carry on wars abroad.** A shocking question faces us now: Can there be a war between two regimes calling themselves Communist?...

In Place Of A Conclusion: Two Kinds Of Subjectivity

The remorseless logic of this engulfed Mao himself and led him to elaborate a theory, not of revolution, but of retrogression. The objective compulsion for such "theories" flows, of course, from the brutal form of state-capitalism characteristic of China. Just as the bankruptcy of capitalism in general was accompanied by the bankruptcy of its thought, so the extension of state-capitalism into the misnamed "communes" was accompanied by Mao's threadbare thought, the true end of the absence of any philosophic method...

The subjectivity of the millions struggling for freedom, on the other hand, poses the need for a new relationship between theory and practice. The freedom struggles are not limited to Hungary or Africa, Russia or China; they include the United States and Western Europe as well. The challenge is for a new unity of Notion and Reality which will release the vast untapped energies of mankind to put an end, once and for all, to what Marx called the pre-history of humanity so that its true history can finally unfold.

"TAX RELIEF BILL" PLUGS NO LOOP HOLES

To many, the illusion that they are about to get some tax relief from the multi-billion dollar bill they pay for the war machine seems about to become a reality. Those who have the real money know that they will get off even more scot free than they have.

One American with an in-

come of \$20 million paid no taxes at all; five with a \$5 million income paid no tax; another with an income of \$2 million a year has not paid a penny since 1949; 17 with incomes of over a million likewise. No one has paid the 90% tax required by those earning over \$200,000 per year; yet every wage earner pays up to 20% of

his income at the source, with no hope of any relief. The so-called "tax relief bill" plugs none of the tax loop-holes through which the millionaires escape all taxes; only provides that there will be more borrowing against future generations of workers on which they will pay the interest, to the profit of tomorrow's millionaires.

New Paperback Clearly Shows Way to Freedom

(Continued from Page 1)
a question of prophecy. It is a question of method.

The method of analysis is the dialectic method of Marxist-Humanism which permeates every page and chapter of **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, and makes it more cogent today than even when the original edition was first published in 1958. Six years ago, for example, when Raya Dunayevskaya analyzed the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Hungarian Revolution as counterparts in the new stage of the world struggle for freedom, this relationship was challenged as being a forced comparison if not actual wishful thinking. Today this is a fact that no one denies, not even the Southern racists nor the White House who admit that Montgomery was the beginning of the Negro revolution for Freedom NOW. **THE IGNORANCE OF THE LEARNED**

The fact that today it is Mao-deGaulle—as yesterday it was, and tomorrow it will be, Panama and Cuba—that sends the pundits scurrying from side to side is no guarantee against the wilful ignorance of the learned.

Yesterday they dismissed Marx's theory of value as obsolete and scoffed at Marxist-Humanism as romantic illusion; today they suddenly "discover" that millions of permanently unemployed Americans live on "the outskirts of hope."

Yesterday it was McCarthy who suppressed intellectual thought by openly violent attacks. Today the suppression of thought takes the more genteel and deadly form of intellectual self-brainwashing.

Rather than write learned tracts complaining about anti-intellectualism in American life, or the end of ideology, it is far more urgent for the serious intellectual to respond to the compulsion to thought that is demanded alike by the objective world situation and by this germinal book that will soon be widely available in the new paperback edition.

THE AMERICAN ROOTS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM

In no other work have the American roots of Marxism been traced, recorded and analyzed.

In this centennial year of the founding of the First International by Karl Marx—when the United States has long since forgotten its debt to Marx and its participation in that International—it is imperative not only for the United States and Europe to face up to their true heritage, but to relate it to the new world opened up by the African Revolutions.

In all the world the search now is for a new philosophy to give action direction in the Freedom Movements everywhere, so they will not collapse as did the Russian Revolution into a retreat with its inevitable development to state-capitalist totalitarianism or fascism.

CAPITALIST CRISIS & STATE-CAPITALISM

It has become commonplace for newspapers to call Russia a state-capitalist society as though this is a self-evident fact that "everybody always knew." Yet the very ones who are most bland about this "matter of

fact" assertion today, stubbornly oppose the analysis of Communist China as state-capitalist, as yesterday they opposed the analysis of Russia as state-capitalist.

It is not only a question of Raya Dunayevskaya having been the first to analyze Russia as state-capitalist on the basis of a very detailed study of the Russian economy at the start of World War II. It is once more a question of method developed through a profound analysis both of the empirically concrete in Russia and the theoretically "abstract" in Marx's **CAPITAL**.

No other work but **MARXISM AND FREEDOM** has such a penetrating analysis of the four volumes of **CAPITAL**, not only in themselves but on the level of what has happened to the development of the world economy in the period since Marx's death until today. Nowhere else has Lenin's break, in 1915, with his philosophic past been dealt with both as a matter of history and in terms of illuminating our problems today.

Again, it is not only a question of the fact that Raya Dunayevskaya was the first to translate, and publish in English, Marx's early *Essays*, and Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*. Rather it is a question that she undertook this work as a result of the impulses arising from the concrete world situation with Automation, after World War II, and above all from the struggles emerging in America with the West Virginia miners' strike in 1949, and behind the Iron Curtain with the East German Revolution in 1953.

A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF FREEDOM

Surely American pragmatism has long outlived its usefulness. It has certainly brought us, at best to an impasse, and at worst to the brink of nuclear disaster. Isn't it time we recognized that no reconstruction of society is possible without a philosophy of reconstruction? It was even true in 1776 when, for their freedom from England, the American colonies found it necessary not only to have a Boston Tea Party but to pen the Declaration of Independence.

But, as the Negro Revolution tells us every day, that democracy has been and is a pretty hollow thing. We cannot continue to live a lie forever. To meet today's national and global needs we need a new Philosophy of Freedom.

This book lays the necessary groundwork. It lays it for East and West; for adult and youth; for Negro and white; for worker and intellectual alike. It is impossible to meet the challenge to thought, to activity, to building the foundation for a new humanist world without at least facing the Marxist-Humanist challenge in **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**.

(Note: Beginning in March, future issues of *News & Letters* will carry a series of four to six columns, under the heading "Challenge to Thought", which will deal at greater length with the points that could only be touched briefly under the sub-headings of this present article.—V.L.J.G.)

Our Life and Times

Nkrumah's Opposition Is at Home

By Peter Mallory

Once again an identity is being made in the public mind between the one-party state dictatorship being set up by Kwame Nkrumah and "Marxism" as being one and the same. There is nothing in Marxism to either foster or to condone the cult of the leader or the suppression of individual liberties which Nkrumah has borrowed from Stalin and Khrushchev.

The recent demonstrations at the American embassy were rigged by the Convention Peoples Party (C.P.P.), the only legal party in Ghana. The aim was to shift the blame for five recent attempts on Nkrumah's life to outside U.S. "plots", rather than being the result of the internal Ghanaian workers' opposition to the Nkrumah regime. The expulsion of six University professors follows the same pattern.

This took place after non-student adherents of Nkrumah's party held a demonstration on the campus of the University of Ghana. They raced down the hallways

with placards reading "Fools Go Home", "Farmers Built This University", "You Fools Get Free Food", etc., indicating an internal food crisis, caused by the Nkrumah regime.

Now that he has a 99.9% Yes vote for a one-party state, Nkrumah is conducting a purge throughout the country, cleaning his opponents out of the judiciary, civil service and the universities. We were sorry to note that Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brien, who when he was head of the UN mission in Katanga, did such a magnificent job in exposing the machinations of British imperialism, and who has since become Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana, merely contented himself by asking the students not to be provoked. He uttered not a word of criticism of these "super-patriots" from the C.P.P., acting as goons on the University grounds, much less a word of criticism of Nkrumah, who is the Chancellor of the University.

Surely this cannot be because "imperialists" are attacking the University. The truth is that the attack on the University was by the Chancellor's own party, and it was for purposes of diverting from the actual discontent of the Ghanaians themselves.

For example, early in January, a spontaneous demonstration of workers took place outside the Accra department store of the Ghana National Trading Corp. to protest the total absence of sugar, which had disappeared from all the shops. All commodities from outside Ghana require import licenses, which have recently been withheld to create the present crisis.

Previously (see *News & Letters*, Nov. 1963) our correspondent in Ghana reported the workers' opposition to the Nkrumah dictatorship. Friends of the African Revolution, like Dr. O'Brien, would do better to listen to these voices, instead of having merely changed state allegiance.

Detroit Police

The police arrested ten teen-age youngsters in Detroit for participating in a picket line around a local supermarket. The charge was based on the accusation of a 200-pound cop that a 14 year old boy "attacked him".

Arthur Johnson, NAACP executive secretary, said, "Our pickets were being cramped on the sidewalk by an extraordinary detail of policemen who closed in on the children carrying billy clubs. Under the circumstances, bodily contact with the police was unavoidable.

"One of our pickets accidentally brushed a very large police officer with his sign. Police at the scene admit the boy did not swing his sign and that the officer was not injured in any way. The officer then assaulted the boy," Johnson said. "When the boy asked to make a complaint against the officer he was told he was under arrest."

The other children, aged 10 to 16, were arrested when they sat down in front of the police scout car.

This is the same police dept. which is constantly "investigating" itself and finding itself not guilty of police brutality.

Recently one policeman was found with the body of a man in the trunk of his car and virtually admitted killing him, and tried to commit suicide. The police investigation of the case found the officer "not guilty", having acted in "self defense".

The cop was white, the victim a Negro.

Medgar Evers' and Southern 'Justice'

The trial of Byron De La Beckwith for the murder of NAACP leader Medgar Evers in Jackson, Miss., has ended in a hung jury.

For evidence the prosecution produced the murder weapon, identified it as belonging to the defendant,

identified fingerprints on the gun as being those of Beckwith and placed his ear at the scene of the crime. Under other circumstances elsewhere in the world, there would have been no question about his guilt. But not in Mississippi.

It took the court four days to even find 12 men who believed that killing a Negro was a crime. Beckwith will be tried again, but it is doubtful that a jury can be found to convict him, especially when a constant stream of visitors from on high, like General Walker and Governor Barnett, have made it their business to show their sympathies with this vicious white supremacist by parading into the courtroom to chat with him and shake his hand.

Goldwater's Arizona

As one of the pretenders to the throne of the Presidency of the United States, the condition of the home state of Barry Goldwater should be looked at. Since industry is not noted for locating in the state and a large number of Indians are, perhaps we should look there.

"Jose Chico is a powerful, barrel-shaped American Indian who calculates that he is 61 years old. During the first 30 years of his life he lived pretty much as his forefathers did in the year A.D. 1500. Like others in the Papago tribe in southern Arizona, he dwelt in adobe houses, grazed cattle, coaxed crops out of the grudging soil, hunted deer and rabbit in the mountains. The tribes were ruled by village elders in remote family clusters in what is still some of the most lonely and inaccessible inhabited land in the United States. Their ancestors have been there for about 5,000 years, and, like most of the 500,000 American Indians, his people are repulsed by

personal aggressiveness and by failure to work for family and tribe. The mastery of the quiet Indian was his instinct for catching deer, his ingenuity in trapping flashfloods to sustain desert gardens, the incredible sensitivity to the austere land and its life. But now this is all wrong. The lack of personal aggressiveness in a competitive labor market becomes apathy and laziness. The sensitivity to nature becomes quaint confusion in the city. Family and tribe are no help on the paved streets on Phoenix and Chicago. In less than a lifetime, Jose Chico's world has leaped ahead 500 years.

"Like his father, he still coaxes a usable garden out of the desert, he still does some herding of cattle for others. In addition, he picks some cotton to make about \$500 a year to support his wife and five children. He gets surplus federal foods. But still there is not enough cash."

In the United States it takes \$6,000 per year to support a family under "modest but adequate" circumstances. Applying this standard, there are 54 million Americans who make less than \$4,000 per year and 36 million who make between \$1,000 and \$3,000 per year. The \$500 per year for the Indian with five children is a condition of actual starvation conditions.

Poverty in the United States was neither discovered by, nor will it be cured by, the promises of President Johnson.

Barry Goldwater, on the other hand, merely ignores the whole question, seeking rather to make the condition of all, the conditions existing within his own home state of Arizona.

*From National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 East 19th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.