had not only revised, but vitiated, Marxism. The very intellec-

tude as if it were a college debate held for scoring points.

Marxism and Freedom

New Introduction to
the Second Edition

"Only that which is an object of freedom

can be called free."—Hegel

The first edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM went to press as Spontini No. I went into orbit. That same year, 1957, the Little Rock riots shared headline with the scientific phenomenon.

In 1962, two different events were again held in union in men's consciousness. This time James Meredith's courageous en

try into the University of Mississippi took the U.S. out of Viet-

nam's spectacular six-orbital entry into space. An age in which the '60s was the name of the game, and top

officials could hold in tow such scientific milestones was an age in which men's consciousness is preoccupied, not with scientific conquest, but with human free-

dom.

This new edition appears when our life and times impart an urgency to the task of working out a new relationship of philoso-

phy to reality. Thought and deed cannot forever stand apart. Somewhere, somewhere, they must meet. Throughout history the forces that have produced great social revolutions have also generated great philosophical revolutions. It was true when Bains-

borough 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 Levellers fighting for equality, or 20th century Negro fighting for freedom now, pull strongly at the intel-

lectual tendency to resist the compulsion to original thought on the very eve of social revolutions that demand philosophic re-

constructions.

The two features which characterize great periods of up-

heaval are, one, that a new subject is born to respond to the objectible pull of history by making freedom and reason the reality of the day. And, two, a new relationship between theory and practice is gained. This true for the Levellers in 17th century England; the sans cahottes 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 pres-

ence in the Russian Revolution and later Russian totalism, no less than in the African Revolutions against Western imperial-

ism. 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 Marxist theory of liberation into its opposite after the Russian Revolutions failed to realize, that is to say, put into practice this philosophy of free-

edom, the development, deviations and divisions from

MARX TO MAO

It fittingly appears during this centennial year of Marx's founding of the First International.

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(Continued on Page 7)

WORKER'S JOURNAL appears on P. 2 this issue
**Scottish Marxist-Humanists Get Libel Action Threat**

Glascow, Scotland—Some remarks we made regarding Mr. Philpre J. Stein, the editor of the Worker's Journal, have caused a libel action unless we mend our ways. We said, that after treating the mines in 1950 as being held by white policemen while vicious dogs chased them, children can have their bodies blown to pieces while sitting in chairs. And we said that a white worker, who is killed riding a bike and whose white killer gets a four month suspended sentence.

During this week, the government had to issue an order asking some mayor not to stand in a certain race. They did so, on some of these white liberals and Negro leaders up North yells about Brotherhood and they are all silent and blind to reality.

**In AND OUT OF THE SHOP**

But in Cleveland, Ohio, a mob of white adults attacked and beat up Negro workers who were拽ing to enter a store in a white neighborhood. In and out of the UAW plants in Detroit, a white foreman, chairman of the plant, and a white worker, who is the chairman and also a member of the U.A.W. made some vicious remarks to the Negro workers.

**FIVE WEEK STEEL STRIKE IS BETRAYED**

Glasgow, Scotland—After five weeks of strike by a million steel workers (engineers), and lock-out by the management of the entire remainder of the works, the biggest industrial strike of the world's largest steel works, S. C. O. W. (Steel Company of Wales), were sold out by the trade union bureau.

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 the white and Negro industrial workers.

The issue commenced with a demand by skilled tradesmen for a 15% increase rate of pay with the "production" or "process" workers at the plant of the S.C.O.W. and semi-skilled. Intensified campaign for a "mercy round" led to an offer by the management of wage increases in return for the continued strike. Out of this, i.e. speed-up, increased Automatization, etc., of course, large lay-offs.

**Fastastic pressure has been brought to bear on the steel workers: T.V. Interviews with Negro workers who had been discharged because of unemployment benefited a section of the locked-out work­ers. But the management "pulled out by 32 clergy in the International Conference," and added, "Others is permitted, but an appeal, about as much as a letter to the Government's Ministry of La­bour mean nothing." It is all talk, a political game.

**NEGRE AND WHITE WORKERS JOIN FORCES**

In Birmingham, a large percentage of white and black in their struggle for freedom. As Karl Marx said "Freedom is the right of man that even its opponents recognize H... no man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others."

Negroes are giving their support to the freedom movement of the Negroes. They all are recognizing the need for a united struggle to achieve the independence, the importance of the Negro struggle for their freedom as part and parcel of their own fight for freedom.

**SHOWDOWN LOOMS**

It is clear to those of us in the Marxist-Leninist movement that managerial aims have been achieved, in the workers of the S.C.O.W. and one "independent" indus­trialist down from another tech­nologies of the production of auto­mobiles and the steel industry.

**THE INVISIBLE POOR?**

In the post-war years pro­duction fell. In 1961, 96% were 96,000 fewer auto workers. Railroad production by 65% while jobs fell by 262,700. Each of the last three reces­sions has been followed by an eco­nomic depression. Capital spent on plant maintenance for equal production was $1,021,000,000, while jobs fell by 262,700. Since the Montgomery Bus Boycott, since the Freedom Rides, since 1960 the auto workers have been gaining in solidarity continuously, with growing support from the white and Negro industrial workers.

**How Far From SLAVERY**

The promise of the "Soaring 90's" finally came true for the capitalist. In 1963, the visible rich had a take home pay of $16.40, worked 60 hours in one week. Ralph McGill recently reported that in proportion as capital grows, the cost of living increases. For five weeks of strike by a million steel workers, the family that lost his job, the family that was unemployed, the family that was locked out. When criticized they say stay off of it if you can.

**ATTENTION GLASGOW READERS**

A meeting of the Marxist-Humanist Group will be held in the McLennan Galleries, Sun­day, 3rd February. The speakers will be Paul Foote and Harry McShane from the Marxist-­Humanist Viewpoint.
Kentucky Miner Describes Destitution

Combs, Ky. — We surely did appreciate the things you sent. At the time we had about $12.50 and we were really in need of anything that could be done for these little children. You sent us more than we were expecting. We are really appreciated by one and all.

I also saw on T.V. when the White House was picketed the other day — we have been with our Congressman, our U.M.W. officials, also our present secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters Union. It looks like we might get some results soon.

Yes, the mining industry here in Kentucky is very hard living, very hard way the operators have everything in their pocket because they are too many of us. From morning to night for $3 or $4 a day. We have many small families, such as light bills and so many little children who go hungry and we don't have anything to get help for them. Which means money or death, and that is a big wall we try to do something, and nothing to do with anything. You have a miner in here in our area for help for the needy. But the men who came to help in this battle can't even get help from receiving food stamps.

We have miners in seven different counties to do our best to support with food, clothing, 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 you can't tell why we need the help.

I am now come to the point that we are being watched everywhere we move. The operators said there wouldn't give up, so they are giving us a fight. We are better than white men. If you would work for you. We sure are facing a very critical situation. We did most anything to see help come in for little children who are starving, while the big man with all the money won't turn it loose.

We have operators who say, 'We don't give a damn, say, 'Let them starve and maybe they will learn not to work.' But for $3 or $4 a day to support large families or get medical care. We urge all readers to send food, clothes and money to BERTRAND, Freight Service, Brown- way, 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 many workers who have abandoned their union. Here are some of the complaints workers have been discussing with this writer.

No protection from speed-up. Starting time and quitting time any way the company wants it. An eight-hour day, five-day week. Not a vacation. You know you would think the worker only worked an eight-hour day, this is not the case. Some workers as long as the company has need of you.

There are cases where workers could and would stop a production line and settle a grievance on the spot. They would work and the worker leaving the line was called direct action. Now we 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 stand.

There was a time when the union spoke and fought for the workers. Those who had to have a job, both young and old and sick, with their families, man and woman. Now the labor leaders are trying to explain Au-

grievance procedures, the speed of the system, the alarm.

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

There is also the old story of the worker who has not been working man you will find dirt in his shoes. He is always in the place. Everyone knows it is different with supervision. Nothing has been the same, it is kind, but yet the union accepts this kind of treatment of the workers.

This year contract talks 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, however this is not the case. We urge all readers to send food, clothes and money to BERTRAND, Freight Service, Brown- way, Hazard, Kentucky.

Nigerian Dock Workers’ Union Blasts Port Officials

NIGERIA, West Africa—The Unionists-members of the Nigerian Dock Workers Union announced a strike in war on songs and stormed the offices of the Port Manager at Port Harcourt arriving the chairmen of the Authority's Board, while police took positions at strategic points. They submitted a protest memorandum to Mr. George Uokhie, the N.P.A. Chairman.

The demonstrators, a branch of the Union, which was formed a few years ago to fight against the recent decision of the Authority to transfer dock labour to private hands instead of by direct labour.

The decision to transfer dock labour to private hands is contrary to the decision of the Nigerian Ports Authority Dock Workers Union sang war songs and stormed the offices of the Ports Manager in Port Harcourt on the evening of December 29, 1963. The authorities, who were called the Black Muslims, said God made all of us in his own image. The colored people always taught that he was better than white men have done in their own thinking. The white men dislike others. In your own words, if you will. The Black Muslim is not white because he is a Negro. And you white people say the Black Muslim is not white because he is a Negro.

We urge all readers to send food, clothes and money to BERTRAND, Freight Service, Brownway, Hazard, Kentucky.
THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

I have read Freedom Riders—Speakers For Themselves and I must let me tell you all, that I have read in this book about what makes me look at the American people as one of the most awfully selfish, unprincipled, and unscrupulous in the world and that still exists. What do you think?

I would be very pleased if I could receive News & Letters regarding the African Student Ohio...

...I met a woman who manages a school here and I was certain­ly impressed with the good feelings she has for 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. I told 100 a month, ex­pecting them to be living on it and support a family. The Teacher said that before they take out social security and medical taxes.

The contemptuous whites for the Negroes is hard for us to believe. It is good to re­gard Negroes as "lazy" and say they won't work so long as they have enough to eat. Nothing at all wrong with giving Negroes a chance to work jobs that whites won't take unless they are provided with no support, no medical and hospital care, 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 have not yet learned that they would be weatherbatt in every respect if they accepted the Negro as a supposedly equal being. And now they see, the ugly head of the KKK is appearing again in Mississippi.

A NEW THIRD FORCE?

Since, however, our pundits are experiencing their second enemy and China a veritable agent of peace. A child should be aware of this. And another is that the West is not the enemy and China not the new imperialism. Mao is global dreams of his own.

No one bothered to ask the almighty man of "the West" why it took them 15 years to recognize "what is," much less dare ask how they could have been so blind. America is yellow peril, not re­iterated less than five years ago, as he prepared to entertain Roosevelt with the words of China: "the world's work of liberation." And later the first very loud anti-NATO pronouncement, but de Gaulle was not about to exchange the U.S. for Russia. He wanted to build his nuclear force.

A NEW THIRD FORCE?

It is true de Gaulle isn't accepting his present strange bed­fellow without question either, even though he now terms his policies as the "rightful representatives of a state more ancient than history." But, as anyone who has lived through the Hitler-Stalin Pact can appreciate, the futility of this third force is which the only new phenomenon in the post-war world.

And no, it is not possible to disclose the course of his, "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. Indeed, each of the new diplomats, when seated in Paris, was aware of this. For they, and we, were aware of the theory that we must create a "grand design." And that theory was current. But, the present global force—Mao for the state-capitalist world calling itself Communism and the French engineers, "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. It's enemy. It is not from any fear of what he might say or do, but the Third Force which is the only new phenomenon in the post-war world. And no, it is not possible to disclose the course of his, "non-existent or existing."

The European axis of his "Grand Design"—the Franco­German Treaty—west hand-in-hand with the exclusion of Great Britain from the Common Market so as to have done with the "Anglo-Saxon" domination of her Ory. The Old World was not as a second front.

The new Oriental axis of that glory dream is inseparable from China. For the state-capitalist world calling itself Communist and the French generals, "status quo ante bellum."" DE GAULLE DREAMS OF EMPIRE

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**TWO WORLDS**

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of Marxists and Freedom

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

Part I

In Part I of this article on the state of orientation of philosophy, East and West, I mentioned the built-in deadness to Lenin's break with his own philosophic pest which has led to the Western intellectual's inability to cope with the deliberate messianic propositions of the Communist theorists. I shall now develop this point.

Even so objective a study as David Joravsky's Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, 1917-1953, cannot escape the consequences of the failed hopes in 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 seems that Lenin's comments on Hegel's logic are "tantalizingly suggestive of a new turn in his thought" (p. 20). He profoundly exposes Stalin's transformation of Lenin's logic into "a sort of intellectual counterpoint to the lefist Mr. Duller's weekly sermon on the evils of communism" (p. 1). I may refer to some of the same arguments put forward in my "Dialectical Materialism and Soviet Science," *Philosophy of Science*, April 1960.

Nevertheless by excluding from his own work a serious analysis of Leninist philosophic concepts, Mr. Joravsky leaves the door wide open for lesser scholars to write as if there was a straight philosophical line from Lenin to Stalin, instead of a transfiguration into opposite concepts.

**SHORT PERSPECTIVE**

I am referring here not only to the sophomoric essays by American "experts" whose arrogance matches their philistinism, but also to the recent transformation of Marxism by non-Marxists "a sort of intellectual counterpoint to the lefist Mr. Duller's weekly sermon on the evils of communism" (p. 1). I may refer to some of the same arguments put forward in my "Dialectical Materialism and Soviet Science." *Philosophy of Science*, April 1960.

(All this is said in passing because the subject matter underwriting the essays in this heretical. This is not only for the same reason, no attempt whatever is made to deal with the text of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks. And yet the allegations against the author as a "leftist" can be understood.

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. Kammaka magnificently exposes the "philosophical lefists" who have been in the habit of denouncing my "philosophy." I am referring here not only to the sophisticated and sophomoric essays by American "experts" whose arrogance matches their philistinism, but also to the recent transformation of Marxism by non-Marxists "a sort of intellectual counterpoint to the lefist Mr. Duller's weekly sermon on the evils of communism." I may refer to some of the same arguments put forward in my "Dialectical Materialism and Soviet Science." *Philosophy of Science*, April 1960.

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.
YOUTH: NEW BEGINNINGS

By Eugene Walker

A challenge was put to us at UCLA when Governor Wallace of Alabama spoke from the \"Distinguished Speaker Series\" that is given to Negro youth in the South. The Governor, in the South where he could not stand up for his views, when Wallace spoke on the stage, may have demonstrated much more or gone to jail to show what a lack of black rights means to his 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 Wallace's, the Barnett's, even Wallanda's pleas for \"state's rights\" lie guns, police, 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 not written on the blackboard 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 falling in the trap of \"Birchism.\"

ILLUSION OF BIRCHISM

A few years ago American youth were called the \"Beat Generation.\" Now they are called the \"Birch Generation.\" The Challenge to Youth. A Cause.\" Today there has been \"a discovery of cause.\" However, this \"discovery\" has been twisted to a Goldwaterite type of blue and white flag, that is, to allow a Wallace to come to town and do not confront him in the sharp-face, to those that are a challenge to the group, to the learned of the West need not be state philosophers, it is not time to end their ignorance of Marxist philosophy? (4)

But what about the professional anti-Leninist and pro American intellectuals? seven articles of youth experience and insight

FOOTNOTES

(1) \"Western Marxist Literature, 1953-63\" in Survey, Jan. 94, Mr. Liftehaim's remakes follow his reference to Robert Rafferty's \"Anti-Communist Philosophy,\" in his book \"Anti-Communist Philosophy,\" for such sophomoric performances on \"the peculiarly American way\" to use the evils of communism\" to which Mr. Liftehaim refers


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

(4) See Chapter X dealing with Lenin and the dialectic: a mind in action. In recent years a number of books have been produced on P. 7.

FOOTNOTES (Continued from Page 3)

(1) The Young Marxist-Humanist site, Communists. It is impossible to meet the challenge to Western thought, unless one fully appreciates the significance of \"the great desire for freedom.\"

THE OBJECTIVE CONFUSION TO THOUGHT

The point is this: the compulsion to break with this philosophical past, with vulgar materialism, came from objective conditions. The compulsion to break with this system came most sharply and with the first world war, a crisis in Western civilization, a crisis in the Negro's life. The Cold War, threat of nuclear holocaust, is a daily reminder of the desolation of a newer order, the birth pangs of dialectical materialism. In this respect Lenin's Notebooks can shed greater light than the mere Cold War, threat of nuclear holocaust, a daily reminder of the desolation of a new order, the birth pangs of dialectical materialism. In this respect Lenin's Notebooks can shed greater light than the mere

Western Intellectuals Help K. Inc. Reburly Lenin's Philosophic Legacy

The Young Marxist-Humanist

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The most amazing feat of brainwashing is neither that made famous in Korea among American soldiers, nor that within which once power was achieved. It is that achieved among intellectuals who do not question their之道, nor the hypothesis of giving their lives to achieving workers' power, in a word, the petty-bourgeois Marxist intellectual. The inconclusiveness of this epoch of state-capitalism the middle class inevitably sooner or later becomes a materialized "individualism" into "collectivism," by which he means nationalized property, state administration, State Plan...

In five different ways the June 14th "letter" of 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... the "new social order is proven by the same laws as in the Sino-Soviet Rift," that is to say, China's right of veto over political questions is that is to say, that China's right of veto over political questions is just as legitimate as Russia's... you have to take over "leadership" of the "socialist world" and to come to his support in the Sino-Indian war...

In five different ways the June 14th "letter" of 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...
New Paperback Clearly Shows Way to Freedom

**Continued From Page 3**

a question of prophecy. It is a question of method. The method of analysis is the dialectic method of Marxian Humanism, as explained in every page and chapter of MARXISM AND FREEDOM, and as it was first published day than when the original edition was first published in 1958. Six years ago, for example, the BLR by Karl Marx analyzed the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Hungarian Revolution as counterparts in the struggle for freedom, this relation was challenged as being at best unscientific, even the not actual wishful thinking. Today this is a fact that no one denies, not even the Southern readers who know that who admit that Montgomery was the beginning of the Negro revolution for Freedom NOW. THE LEARNED

The fact that today is Marx day, and tomorrow it will be, Panama and Cuba—that sends the pundits scurrying from side to side with despair against the wilful ignorance of the learned. Yesterday they dismissed Marx's theory of value as obsolete or absurd, and Marxian Humanism as clashing with romantic illusion; today they suddenly "discover" that the best solution of the unemployed Americans live on the "outskirts of hope."

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

Rather than write learned tomes on Marxian intellectualism in American Life, or the end of ideology, it is high time we developed our own intellectual to relate this to the American Life demanded by the objective world situation. The nonsense that will soon be widely available in the new books, AMERICAN ROOTS OF MARXISM—HUMANISM is being written now. The American roots of Marxism have been traced, recorded and analyzed.

In this centennial year of the founding of the First International, it is axiomatic that the United States has long since forgotten its debt to Marx. If we continue our apathy, for the serious intellectuals to respond to this is not only a question of survival. It is demanded alike by the objective world situation and by the intellectuals that will soon be widely available in the new books, AMERICAN ROOTS OF MARXISM—HUMANISM is being written now. The American roots of Marxism have been traced, recorded and analyzed.

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