

Emancipation Proclamation —100 Years After

Author's Special Introduction to the New Italian Edition

(EDITOR'S NOTE: We are naturally very proud to announce the new Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom*. However, the publisher, La Nuova Italia in Florence, felt that a preface by Gaetano Arfe, co-editor of Rome's *Mondo Operaio* (Workers World), was preferable (see excerpts, P. 8). We feel the special introduction that had been written by the author, Raya Dunayevskaya, is of the greatest importance. I am therefore giving over my column space to print it in full.—Charles Denby)

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Italian history is filled with instances in which it anticipated the future development of humanity. When other nations were still in the dark regions of the Middle Ages, Italian cities had already opened the epoch of the Renaissance. Frederick Engels, the lifelong collaborator of Karl Marx, found time in his address to the Italian Socialist Party to refer to Dante as "the first universal man of our modern era." Marx himself singled out the Florentine, as the one who extended the ideas of the French Revolution.

"The revolutionary movement which began in 1789 in *Cercle Social*, which, in the middle of its course, had as its chief representatives *Leclerc* and *Roux*, and which was temporarily defeated with Babeuf's Conspiracy (of the Equals) brought forth the communist idea which Babeuf's friend, *Buonarrotti*, reintroduced into France after the Revolution of 1830."

REVOLT—AND FASCISM

At the beginning of the 20th century Italy, despite its lateness in achieving national unity, leaped forward to a mass socialist movement which outstripped all other countries, with the sole exception of Germany. This is the more impressive when one considers that Germany was technologically the most advanced country while the Italian economy was the most retarded in Western Europe. Italian Socialism was further distinguished by the fact that its members were not only factory workers and intellectuals, but peasants and agricultural workers. For one brief moment in world history, in 1920, the whole center of the European revolutions shifted to Milan and Turin.

But, in its death agony, Italian capitalism won a respite by exuding fascism. World War II, however, gave the lie to the malicious slander that the Italian people had been brainwashed by fascism. The truth is the exact opposite. The very generation that was reared under fascism comprised the backbone of the Partisans. Nor did the Italian people allow the monarchy to cover its complicity with fascism simply by changing sides in the midst of war. After 20 years of fascist rule the Italian workers went straightaway to take destiny into their own hands. In Milan and Turin the workers occupied the factories, saved them from Nazi vandalism, and, reinforced by the Partisan brigades, tried to reorganize society on entirely new foundations. But the Communist Party policy which followed the Kremlin line ordered the committees to hand over their power to a "Popular Front Government."

ITALIANS KNOW COMMUNIST BETRAYAL

If the Italian workers mistake Communist totalitarianism for Marxist liberation, it is because the Communist Party is not in power in Italy and therefore the Italians do not know this party as the workers in Russia and the satellites know it—as their exploiter and oppressor. But the Italian people are not without experiences of their own, including the sight of the Communists voting with De Gasperi to incorporate in the republican constitution the Lateran pact made by Mussolini with the Vatican. The fully counter-revolutionary role of Russian Communism was first clearly seen in Western Europe when it brutally suppressed the Hungarian Revolution and its Workers' Councils. Thousands upon thousands of members of the Italian Communist Party tore up their membership cards.

No one is asked to put blinders on and fail to recognize that the Italian Communist Party, with a little less than two million members, is still the largest in Western Europe. Neither should one forget the fact that the social composition of the Italian CP has undergone a change, and that inevitably the deepest layers of the Italian workers will come into conflict with the Communist bureaucrats, topped by Togliatti and his cohorts. The polarizing forces which would attract the Italian workers away from the Communist stranglehold can be nothing short of a total philosophy in the full tradition of Marxist Humanism.

YOUTH, WORKERS POSE PHILOSOPHIC QUESTIONS

The totality of the world crisis compels the re-examination which guide man's practice. Two of the ways in which the maturity of our age helps this re-evaluation are the following: 1) the youth are searching intensely for a road out of a world they did not make; and 2) the working class is beginning to pose questions of great philosophic importance. In this respect the American workers, confronted with Automation in a way that Europe is not yet faced, have an important contribution to make. Automation, the ultimate in machine production which has dominated man has by now created mass unemployment as a permanent feature. Thereby it has raised the relationship of the employed to the unemployed to alienated labor. Specifically, the American workers are grappling with the following questions: *What kind of labor should man perform? Why should science be allowed to do all our thinking for us when it cannot put a man to work, although it can send him up to the moon? Can't the division between mental and manual labor be abolished?*

The intellectuals cannot forever remain insensitive to these impulses from below which go to make up a veritable movement from practice to theory.

MARXISM SHEDS LIGHT ON CRISIS

We live in "a birth-time of history and a period of transition" such as characterized the age in which Marx lived. Only ours is of truly world-wide scope where not only Western Civilization but that of the Orient and the people of Africa are blazing forth a new trail to freedom. Our epoch has been correctly designated

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Kennedy, Khrushchev Move to Line Up Their Respective Orbits

The Nassau Conference of President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan, held Dec. 18 to Dec. 21, served notice to the whole world that Kennedy intends to establish United States domination and supremacy over her orbit once and for all—and set the tone for 1963 in an alarming manner.

Kennedy's second year in office—1962—was not only a year climaxed by the crisis over Cuba on October 22, but was a year in which every crisis had become part of the step-by-step, routine buildup—on both sides of the Iron Curtain—for the destruction of humanity in a nuclear global war.

MISSILES AT CUT RATE PRICES

The Nassau Pact—while "advertised" as the grand design of the United States to decrease the likelihood of nuclear war by preventing the creation of "six or seven nuclear powers in Europe," as Kennedy put it—has, in fact, only increased the dangers of world holocaust by making nuclear armament a multilateral affair at "cut-rate" prices so long as it is under NATO control. By the terms of the Pact, the U.S. would supply both Britain and France with Polaris missiles, which they would then arm with their own nuclear war-heads, and eventually incorporate into a super-national NATO nuclear force—whose supreme commander has always been an American.

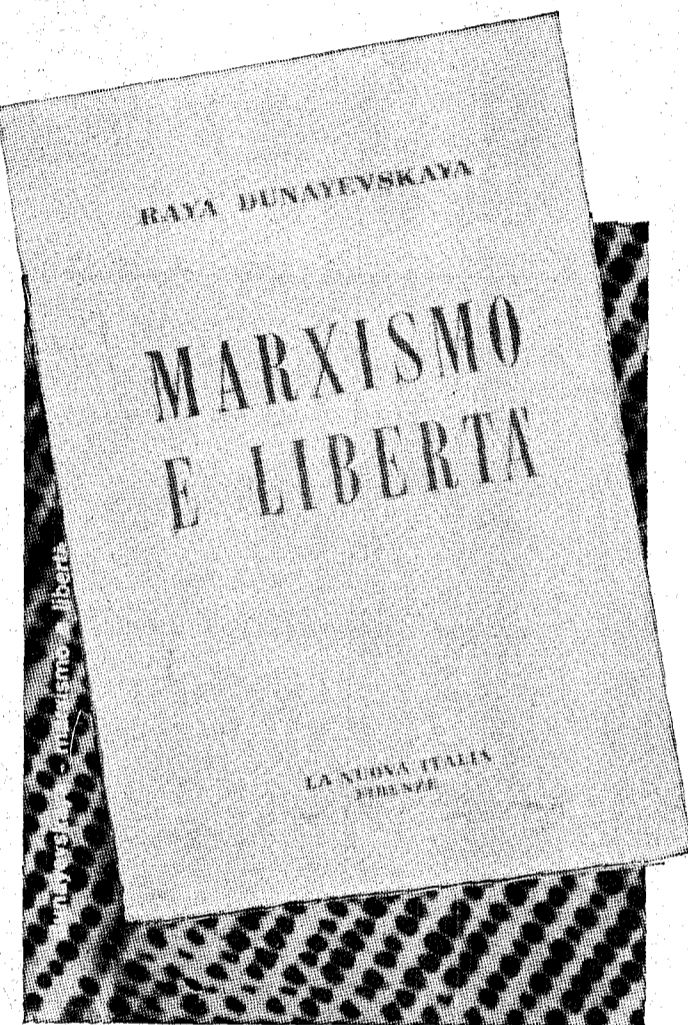
The "bargain-basement" approach and the blunt, business-like way the terms were set forth underlines the speed with which Kennedy wants Europe efficiently armed and ready. It is precisely what reveals the closeness of the war each side is preparing for.

The assertion of American leadership over the "Atlantic Community" has had two aspects. In his famous Fourth of July speech in Philadelphia last year, Kennedy called for a "concrete Atlantic partnership" based on a "declaration of interdependence . . . between the new union now emerging in Europe and the old American union founded here 175 years ago." It was not long before it became clear that the partnership Kennedy was talking about was to be one in which America would be the senior partner, and Europe would have to be the silent partner. Thus, for all the talk of "partnership," when THE crisis finally came on October 22, Kennedy made his decisions unilaterally, consulting no one.

UNILATERAL MULTILATERALISM

The growing arrogance of Kennedy's manner was nowhere more evident than in the TV interview he held with newsmen summarizing his first two years in office. He said bluntly that he didn't see much to warrant any further meeting with Khrushchev at this point. He showed his obvious impatience with Britain and Europe on the matter of defense. He complained that the United States has been carrying the whole burden for 17 years—giving Europe back their "prosperity" with the Marshall Plan while they haven't even been willing to accept Britain into their Common Market. It was clear that Kennedy intended to set the line for everybody. It was likewise clear that much as they might not like it, everybody would have to swallow it.

DeGaulle, whose arrogance, (Continued on Page 7)



Excerpts From the Preface Published in the New Edition

By GAETANO ARFE

There was a time in Italy—a long period—in which the ideological discussion within the socialist movement had an ample, continuous and lively development, not always with clear-sightedness or originality of thought, but always with a sincere desire for truth and with courageous impartiality. Whatever issues we discussed and debated . . . we debated within an atmosphere which was not poisoned by suspicions and slander. Reformists of right and of the left, revolutionary syndicalists, pure and "impure" Maximalists, evolutionists and voluntarists, orthodox and factionalistic communists, all kept open a wide and free discussion whose threads have, unfortunately, been cut off for more than a decade now, and whose echoes in political life are now silent . . .

* * *

The Marxism of that era witnessed such a great and varied growth because that development took place in an atmosphere of internal freedom, in

the absence of a crystallized orthodoxy and unchallengeable authority which would have "supervised" it by destroying and excommunicating all heretics.

The consequences of this authoritarian involution in the ideological discussion are manifest as soon as one examines the state of affairs in Italy today, more than fifteen years after the Liberation . . .

Marxism can still be shown to have survived through time, to be capable of new original developments on the basis of many decades of historical experience of enormous importance, but only on the condition that the debate, however bitter it may be, shall take place in an atmosphere free from the poison of insinuation and calumny, and on the condition that the tactics of silence with which, for lack of anything better, bothersome criticism is suffocated, is repudiated.

It will not be easy to achieve so much even if, today, the situation is improved in respect to

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Then and Now Article Creates Much Dissention

By the Old-Timer

(Employed as a postal clerk in Denver, Colo., at the end of World War I, the Old-Timer creates a furor by writing an article blasting racial discrimination, and intended for publication in the nationally circulated Postal Worker. The article continues.)

I have forgotten his name long since, but the local representative of the Postal Worker at the time was a pleasant, broad-minded, sincere city carrier, who congratulated me on my article. He said that it was rare for an ordinary member to write for the paper, and when one did it made him feel happy. He would see that it got published.

Somehow or other the article made the rounds long before it got to the Postal Worker. The membership, the union officers, the personnel of the Denver Office, both day and night workers, read it, discussed it, and made conclusions about it and about whether or not it should be published.

Pressures were brought to bear on the local representative of the Postal Worker from both those who wanted the article published and those who feared its publication would lead to an investigation by federal authorities. The man told me he would resign as local editor rather than do anything to keep the article from being published. He did resign as local representative of the paper, but at the same time maintained that the article should be published.

PRESSURE APPLIED

Until the next union membership meeting took place, the pressures were brought to bear on the local's officers and on me. I was working on the night shift on incoming parcel post in the basement with "Swede" Larsen, a former sailor, when a delegation of four or five of my night shift buddies from upstairs decided that discussion had gone its length and that direct action was necessary.

Certain Post Office personnel had done some effective agitating before the clerks referred to here came down to more than see me. They didn't ask me to change the article, they told me to.

I told them that to the best of my abilities I had presented facts and that I could not alter facts without changing the meaning of the article, and that until and unless they could show me wherein the facts were wrong, the article would have to remain intact, even if this meant the breaking of my neck or the pummeling of my body. I told them that such an act would defeat its own purpose, since it would certainly provoke a scandal—the very thing they were afraid of anyhow.

A FIGHTER

The delegation looked at each other. I do not recall anyone of them uttering a word at this juncture. They went back upstairs. The Swede and I proceeded with our work as if nothing had happened.

The one who had spoken up for the delegation spoke up at the membership meeting of the local union when the question of replacing the representative of the Postal Worker became the order of the day. Much to the surprise of nearly everyone (including me) he nominated me for the job with the following brief speech: "Anyone who will fight like him for those poor black devils will fight for us too."

I declined the nomination, not because of dread to accept the responsibility of local editor, but because—as I explained before the local meeting—I was loaded down with studies at the University of Denver. I did want to make my grades.

The Quandary of Britain

By Harry McShane

Glasgow, Scotland—The recent remarks by Dean Acheson regarding Britain's role in the world did more good than harm. What he said highlighted a position of which many in this country were only vaguely aware. The Prime Minister, in a half-hearted reply, referred to some important events in British history, but his hurried visits to DeGaulle and Kennedy were evidence of how well he realizes the situation in which Britain finds herself. It explains his desperation to bring Britain into the Common Market.

It is a considerable time since the British Government showed such signs of alarm as it is doing at the present moment. Despite all the measures taken to improve the economic position of the country, the number of unemployed continues to increase. For the sixth time since April, last year, the Government has reduced the interest on loans. It has brought down purchase-tax rates and now proposes to raise the benefits to the unemployed and the old-age pensioners. Despite all these measures, it seems certain that the unemployment figures will continue to increase in the coming months.

THE LABOUR LEADERS

The careerist politicians on the Labour side are rubbing their hands with glee. Hugh Gaitskell decided to visit the areas affected by serious unemployment. He cannot go because of an attack of pleurisy. His place will be taken by George Brown, the deputy leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party. This man talks a lot, but he will not, and cannot, promise that a Labour Government will solve the unemployment problem.

Apart from the fact that it is a world problem, it is inevitable in the society we live in, and the Labour Party cannot, even if it so desired, do anything about it.

If only the workers will look to Parliament for a solution, and do nothing about it themselves, both Macmillan and Gaitskell will be very happy. The trade union leaders are working on various Government bodies with the aim of securing increased production. Some of them are asking that ships be scrapped so that workers will be employed building new ones to take their place, more speedily than ever before.

THE WORKERS WILL ACT

The trade union leaders are unanimous in their condemnation of unofficial strikes, even strikes against redundancy. The Communist Party, in a resolution to be submitted to its Congress at Easter, wants to tie the shop stewards closely to the official trade union machine, and opposes action by the shop stewards themselves. It is clear that the existing parties have nothing to offer the workers.

It is obvious that the decline of capitalist Britain is accom-

panied by deterioration in the Labor Movement. This does not mean that the position is hopeless. The lessons of past struggles have not been lost on the British workers. They will find their way to organized action alongside their fellow workers in other parts of the world.

The present position cannot continue for long. The outcome will vindicate the stand taken by Marxist-Humanists. Events show our analysis to be correct. That strengthens our confidence in the coming of the new society.

British Worker Reports

Hideous Production Line Conditions at Ford Plant

London, England — The sorry state of affairs at Ford's still drags on. The company has just reported a boom year, production up, profits up. Yet they still want more blood from their workers.

At first, 700 workers were to be laid off. All the men in the P.T.A. plant who had only a year or two before becoming due for superannuation (being pensioned off), shop stewards, all "obstructionists," etc., were to be sacked. The men returned to work after a nine-day strike, feeling dejected.

UNION LEADERS BLAST STRIKERS

The men were all ready for battle. I told my friends I didn't think there would be any official strike and that the unions would sell their members at any price to keep production going. At the time they weren't quite convinced, in spite of AEU leader Carron and NUGMW Mathews attacks and villification of the men when they walked out, before even hearing the men's case.

We hear that AEU Boss Carron has now been knighted and is now Sir Carron. Mathews of the NUGMW has got himself a plum job as a personnel relations advisor in industry, apart from the fat pension salary he receives from the NUGMW. I wonder how members of that union feel about their union subs helping to make a least one seat "on the board" even softer. Maybe a union officer's fancy is more delicate. After all, that's where he has his brains.

Although the shop stewards committees still call for an official strike, union leaders keep talking. This in my opinion is because Fords dropped a clanger. They thought orders would slacken. Instead demand increased, so most of the 700 men were recalled and scores of new men taken on.

Discipline has been tighten-

ON THE LINE

Another Glass Job Death At Chrysler Highland Park

Detroit—For the second time we are forced to write about the Glass Department at the Chrysler Highland Park Plant. The reason is the same, another worker's death—the fourth, which happened during the holiday season.

The workers in the department, as well as others in the plant, are excited, angry and deeply concerned. These workers in Department 9848 have ceaselessly demanded of both the company and the union to clear up any possible dangers,

to make the job safe for human beings to work and live out their lives in a peaceful and orderly manner.

By now it's reasonable to conclude that the Chrysler Corp. is deaf to the appeals of the workers, while the union representatives continue to say what they are going to do — but do nothing.

DANGEROUS SOLUTION

The workers in Department 9848 are worried about the solution in the tanks that the rubber stripping is placed in to soften it for molding around the wing vent window. This chemical solution gives off vapors, especially when it becomes stagnant, and workers on the glass job say the ventilation does not take the vapors off, but rather spreads it over the department.

The solution is so powerful that it can take the skin off of the hands of workers if they are not protected.

Before, the company only had two large solution tanks on the job. They have added several more smaller ones, which also added more problems on the question of the solution and the gases and vapors ascending from them.

DESTROY EVIDENCE

After the death of the last worker, the union was talking about calling in State Safety inspectors. The company heard about it, and drained the tanks, replacing the solution.

"They just got rid of the evidence," said one worker, "and it was so easy for them to do."

The thing about this work that makes it so tough is that it is a high-production job. Everywhere in the plant that is a high-production area you can be sure of two things: safety goes out the window and the speed-up is man-killing.

"If that had been a woman that died instead of a man," another worker angrily stated, "we could have forced the company and union to do something. I don't know why there should be any difference if it's a man or woman, life is precious to everyone. But somehow there isn't the same feeling about it if it's a man that keels over. And one thing is for sure, if we don't get together and do something about this ourselves, nothing is going to be done."

CLEAN FOR SUPER

This is certainly true, and the hypocrisy of safety in the plant can be seen clearly from what is going on in one aisle in Plant 3. The superintendent over the whole plant walks down this aisle every day, going from his office to the executive restaurant. There is one man on a machine scraper who scrapes that one aisle clean every day. It's become a joke to the workers, who keep making cracks, wondering how long the floor is going to hold up under this scraping. But the aisle is kept spic and span — for the superintendent.

For the workers, however, it's an entirely different story. In the machine shop, for example, it's filthy, with oil, scrap and dirt all over the place. Nothing is done about this area.

But here's an idea for workers who want a clean place — just convince the superintendent that he should come down your aisle on his way to the executive restaurant.

ed in the P.T.A. department. 37 men, 12 of whom are shop stewards and committeemen, and the other 25 men 55 to 65 years old, due for pension soon, are still out on the coals. Although the company pays the men 11—10—10 per week while their future is decided on, it is clear that Fords is getting its money's worth, as these men, focal points of workers' resistance to slavery, are rendered impotent and Fords can use the workers unmercifully.

VICIOUS PRODUCTION INHUMANITY

One instance I heard of in PTA department was how one man, having received a head injury at work, was refused permission to go for first aid treatment. Dazed and in agony, he carried on working, blood running down his head and neck. After a while he couldn't stand it any more and went to the First Aid unit where he had three stitches inserted in his wound. On returning to his line he was taken to the supervisor's office and given his cards. He was told he was being sacked for "leaving the line without permission."

Requests for relief to visit the toilet are denied. Some departments are more strict than others in this. Men have to work in agony because a quick dash to the urinals means the sack. One man, after two hours of misery, his bladder nigh on bursting, just urinated on the floor because he couldn't hold out any longer. He got the sack there and then.

Speed up is worse. At one time, after clocking out we would run like the devil to get out of the factory. We were out the gates faster than it takes to corrupt a union official. NOW, our legs ache, our backs ache, and a steady walk—as fast as we can—is all that is possible. A full day's slavery takes all the go out of one.

ALL LEFT JOBS

In spite of the hideous attempts at animalizing human beings, we still have a bit of pride. "Crooking" the job is commonplace. More repairs and old rubbish comes off the line than ever before.

Recently in one department, the men's tea break was cut from ten to eight minutes. So they all shot off to lunch break two minutes early. It was spontaneous; every man had the same idea. Other sections nearby thought there was a strike or something wrong, so they all left their jobs at the same time.

The supervisor was furious, but the deed was done. Maybe he thought it healthier for him to pass off the incident, for he took no action against the men.

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Emancipation Proclamation - 100 Years After

American Civilization on Trial

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD

Part 1

The Compelling Issues at Stake

American Civilization is identified in the consciousness of the world with three phases in the development of its history.

The first is the Declaration of Independence and the freedom of the thirteen American colonies from British Imperial rule.

The second is the Civil War, which, though it "sounded the tocsin for the European working class", (1) itself remained so unfinished a revolution that, to this day, the Emancipation Proclamation has as great an air of unreality about it as it had on the day, January 1, 100 years ago, when it was first proclaimed.

The third is mass production and world power which is presently being challenged by the country that broke America's nuclear monopoly — Russia — and which makes an atomic holocaust very real.

The Negroes' Vanguard Role

So persistent, intense, continuous, and ever-present has been the self-activity of the Negro, before and after the Civil War, before and after World War I, before, during, and after World War II, that the second of the three historic landmarks in the development of American Civilization has become the gauge by which the others are judged. Thus Little Rock reverberated around the world with the speed of Sputnik I, equally with it shared world headlines in 1957, and more effectively than it, gave the lie to the American claims of superiority and democracy.

President Kennedy asked that this entire year, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, be devoted to its celebration. Cliches strutted out for ceremonial occasions cannot, however, hide today's truth. Because the role of the Negro remains the touchstone of American Civilization—and his struggle for equal rights today belies their existence—paens of praise for the Emancipation Proclamation can neither whitewash the present sorry state of democracy in the United States, nor rewrite the history of the past as if Abraham Lincoln would have issued that Proclamation had the Southern secessionists not been winning the battles and the Negro not been pounding down the doors of the Northern armies demanding the right to fight.

The Civil War remains the still unfinished revolution 100 years after, as the United States is losing the global struggle for the minds of men.

By 1960, the year when no less than 16 new African nations gained their independence, the activities of the American Negroes had developed from the Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott in 1956, the year of the Hungarian Revolution, to the Sit-Ins, Wade-Ins, Dwell-Ins, North and South. By 1961 it reached a climax with the Freedom Rides to Mississippi. This self activity has not only further impressed itself upon the world's consciousness, but also reached back into white America's consciousness. The result has been that even astronaut Walter Schirra's 1962 spectacular six orbital flight became subordinate to the courage of James Meredith's entry into the University of Mississippi.

In a word, the new human dimension attained through an oppressed people's genius in the struggle for freedom, nationally and internationally, rather than either scientific achievement, or an individual hero, became the measure of men in action and thought, white and Negro, on a national as well as international scale. It has always been so: the inner conflict has made the Civil War tower above the first American Revolution which achieved freedom from outside, foreign rule.

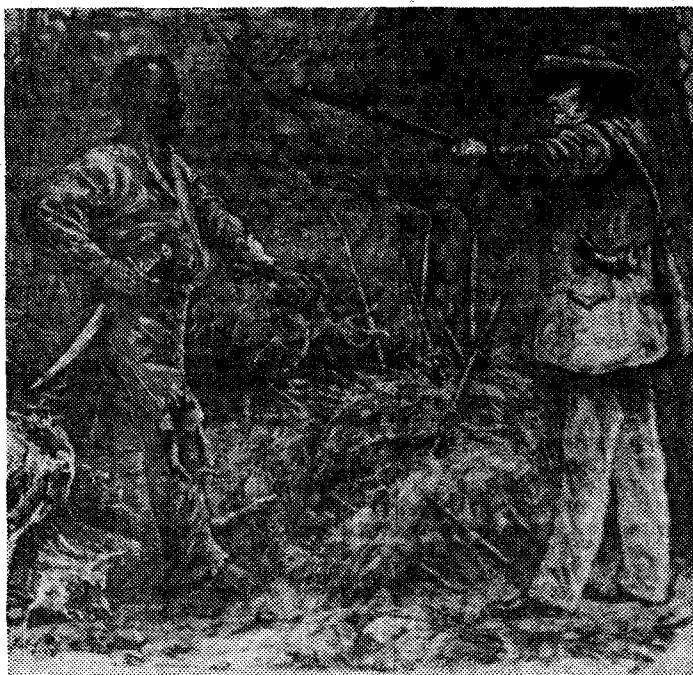
The vanguard role of an oppressed people has also put white labor in mass production to the test. And it has put a question mark over the continuous technological revolutions, brought to a climax with Automation and nuclear power. For, without an underlying philosophy, neither the machine revolutions nor the splitting of the atom can produce anything but fear—fear of unemployment in the one case and fear of war in the other.

As was evident by the Negro's attitude in World War II, nothing can stop him from being the bitterest enemy of the existing society. In the midst of the war, the Negro broke out in a series of demonstrations in Chicago, Detroit, New York as well as at army camps. Along with the miners' general strike that same year, these were the first instances in United States history when both labor, white and Negro, and the Negro as the discriminated-against minority, refused to call a halt either to the class struggle or the struggle for equal rights. Both forces challenged their own State as

"Back in 1831, when the LIBERATOR was founded, William Lloyd Garrison chose for its banner, 'The world is my country.' What was then a wish is today a necessity. What was the center of the struggle then—the abolition of slavery—now encompasses man's inhumanity to man in all his other dimensions. Short of a new human dimension, we will retrogress to the times of those slave revolts. It is for this reason we have reproduced, on page 1, the great leader of Negro slave revolt, Nat Turner. These are the true traditions of the freedom fighters of today, white and Negro. No need for eloquence for those abroad. What is needed is freedom HERE."

OLD ENGRAVING from the Schomburg Collection in New York City, depicts the discovery of Negro slave revolt leader, Nat Turner, in 1831.

How Much Has The South Changed?



Picture and Editorial Excerpt Reprinted from News & Letters, October, 1962.

well as Communist propagandists who had declared the imperialist war to have become one of "national liberation" which demanded subordination to it of all other struggles.

Birth of Abolitionism

Despite the mountains of books on the Civil War, there is yet to be a definitive one on that subject. None is in prospect in capitalist America. Indeed it is an impossibility so long as the activity of the Negro in shaping American Civilization remains a blank in the minds of the academic historians. The bourgeois historian is blind not only to the role of the Negro but to that of the white Abolitionists. Mainly unrecorded by all standard historians, and hermetically sealed off from their power of comprehension, lie three decades of Abolitionist struggle of whites and Negroes that preceded the Civil War and made that irrepressible conflict inevitable. Yet these are the decades when the crucible out of which the first great independent expression of American genius was forged.

Except for songs like the undying ballad about John Brown's body lies a' moldering in the grave, only passing references to the Abolitionist movement appear. Clearly no unbridgeable gulf separates this type of history-writing from totalitarian Russia's infamous rewriting of its revolutionary history. Literary historians, like Vernon L. Parrington in his *Main Currents in American Thought*, did, it is true, recognize that the soil which produced a Ralph Waldo Emerson produced also a William Lloyd Garrison.

Essayists like John Jay Chapman go a great deal further than Professor Parrington. He sides with the Abolitionist against the great literary writers comprising the Transcendentalists. "The Transcendentalists," writes John Jay Chapman (2) "were sure of only one thing—that society as constituted was all wrong. The slavery question had shaken man's faith in the durability of the Republic. It was therefore adjudged a highly dangerous subject . . . Mum was the word . . . from Maine to Georgia."

To this he contrasts William Lloyd Garrison's ringing proclamation: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject (slavery) I do not wish to think, speak or write with moderation. I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not capitulate — I will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD!" (Emphasis William Lloyd Garrison's.)

In the 1921 preface to his biography of Garrison, Chapman boldly claims "that the history of the United States between 1800 and 1860 will some day be rewritten with this man as its central figure." This certainly separates Chapman decisively from the established historians who "analyze" Abolitionism as if it comprised a small group of fanatics removed from the mainstream of American Civilization. Chapman certainly believed the Abolitionists to be the true molders of history.

Such writing, however, remains a history of great men instead of great masses of "common men."

The Abolitionists, however, saw themselves differently. The great New Englander, Wendell Phillips, was fully aware of the fact that not only Negro leaders like Frederick Douglass or Harriet Tubman, but white Abolitionists like himself and even the founder of the LIBERATOR, William Lloyd Garrison, were "so tall" because they stood on the shoulders of the actual mass movement of slaves following the North Star to freedom. Without the constant contact of the New England Abolitionists with the Negro mass, slave and free, they would have been nothing—and no one admitted it more freely than these leaders themselves. The Abolitionists felt that strongly because they found what great literary figures like Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville and Whitman did not find—the human force for the reconstruction of society.

This is what armed them 100 years ago, with a more accurate measure of "the Great Emancipator" than those today, though the latter write with hindsight. This is what gave them the foresight to see that the Civil War may be won on the battlefield but lost in the more fundamental problem of reconstructing the life of the country. This is what led Karl Marx to say that a speech by Wendell Phillips was of "greater importance than a battle bulletin." (3) This is what led the great Abolitionist, after chattel slavery was ended, to come to the labor movement, vowing himself "willing to accept the final results of a principle so radical, such as the overthrow of the whole profit-making system, the extinction of all monopolies, the abolition of privileged classes . . . and best and grandest of all, the final obliteration of that foul stigma upon our so-called Christian civilization, the poverty of the masses . . ."

The American Roots of Marxism

The spontaneous affinity of ideas, the independent working out of the problems of the age as manifested in one's own country, and the common goal made it inevitable that the paths of Karl Marx, who was to head the first International Workingmen's Association, headquartered in London, and those of the American Abolitionists should cross.

Deep indeed are the American roots of Marxism. Since Marxism is not only in books but in the daily lives of people, one must, to grasp its American roots, do more than inhabit an ivory tower. Far, however, from heeding Wendell Phillips' admonition that "Never again be ours the fastidious scholarship that shrinks from rude contact with the masses", American intellectuals have so adamantly sought escape from reality that they have become more conservative than the politicians. To use another expression of the great Phillips, "There is a class among us so conservative, that they are afraid the roof will come down if you sweep the cobwebs."

This characterizes our age most accurately. It applied just as appropriately to the post-Populist end of a dream era as the country turned the corner

of a new century with racism rampant not only in the South but North because capitalism, now that it reached a new stage of monopoly, found it "simply liked the smell of empire." (4) By then Phillips, and later Marx, were long since dead.

Fortunately, however, Marxism, being a theory of liberation—not even the Communists who have usurped the banner of Marxism and transformed it into its opposite, (5) can change that—its Humanism (6) springs ever anew in the activities of today, and not only in the struggles of minorities, or on the production line, but on the campus. Youth have ever been in the forefront of liberation struggles.

The Two-Way Road to African Revolutions

Fully to understand today's activities—and that is the only meaningful way to celebrate the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation—we must turn to its roots in the past. This is not merely to put history aright. To know where one has been is one way of knowing where one is going. To be able to anticipate tomorrow one has to understand today. One example of the dual movement—the pull of the future on the present and its link to the past—is the relationship of the American Negro to the African Revolutions. Because it is easy enough to see that the United States Supreme Court which, in 1954, gave its decision on desegregation in schools is not the Court which, 100 years before proclaimed the infamous Dred Scott decision, there are those who degrade today's self-activity of the Negro, as if it is not it—the self-activity—but Administration policy, which is changing the status of the American Negro.

They point to the Cold War and the need for America, in its contest with Russia, to win "the African mind." There is no doubt that the Cold War influenced the decision of the Supreme Court. Neither is there any doubt that the African Revolutions were a boon to the Negro American struggles. But this is no one-way road. It never has been. For decades, if not for centuries, the self-activity of the American Negro preceded and inspired the African Revolutions, its leaders as well as its ranks, its thoughts as well as its actions. The relationship is to and from Africa. It is a two-way road. This too we will see more clearly as we return to the past. Because both the present and the future have their roots in a philosophy of liberation which gives action its direction, it becomes imperative that we discover the historic link between philosophy and action.

I. Abolitionism, First Phase: From "Moral Suasion" to Harper's Ferry

The African, brought here as slave against his will, played a decisive role in the shaping of American Civilization.

Some (7) there are who feel it is wrong to begin the Negro's history in America with his arrival here as a slave in 1619 since he had reached these shores long before then—with the discovery of the new world, in fact, mainly as servants or, in some cases, in the entourage of the explorers themselves. It is certainly true that in the first quarter of the 17th century there were as many as 10,000 free Negroes in the United States. This is not the point, however. The point is that in slave revolts, first and foremost, in appeals of free Negroes, in the runaway slave being "conducted" North via the Underground Railway by fugitive ex-slaves, the Negro, free or slave, but especially slave, was decisive in the course American development followed.

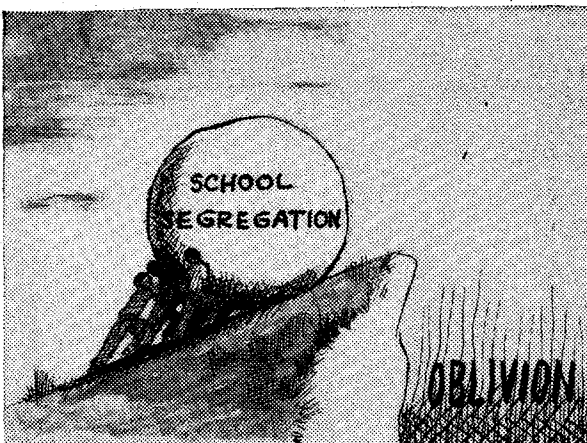
The Ambivalence of the Declaration of Independence

It was the Negro's will to be free, not his alleged docility, that inspired the first draft of the Declaration of Independence in which Thomas Jefferson lashed out against King George III for conducting a "cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere . . ."

Upon the insistence of the Southern delegation at the Continental Congress, this paragraph was stricken from the Declaration. In this first burial of full freedom's call lies imbedded the social conflict which parades under the cloak of "state's rights" and bears the barbarous visage of Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi.

All the same, though the concrete was expunged from the Declaration of Independence so that its abstractions of freedom could fit the context of a slave society, so overpowering were its implications that it sounded alike the tocsin for the European revolutions of the late 18th century and the continuous revolts in this country, whether that of Shay's Rebellion of free farmers in Massachusetts, or the beginnings of independent workingmen's parties in Philadelphia and New York, or slave revolts in the South. The constant stream of runaways played a key role in impelling civil war. Ross Barnett's predecessor in office 100 years back, Governor Quitman, complained that between 1800-1860 the South had lost more than 100,000 slaves, valued at 30 million dollars.

The cotton gin had signalled not only the continuance of slavery in the 1790's, but the grafting upon it at the turn of the 19th century, of all the added evils of commercial capitalism. The decade of 1820-1830 marked the birth of industrial capitalism so that Cotton was now King not only in the plantation economy, and in trade, but in New England textile and industry and politics in general. Cotton as King made and unmade presidents and



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induced so great a national conspiracy of silence that it poisoned the young democracy. As Wendell Phillips put it, "Cotton fibre was a rod of empire such as Caesar never wielded. It fattened into obedience pulpit and rostrum, court, market-place and college and lashed New York and Chicago to its chair of State."

Yet, by sharpening antagonisms and social conflicts, "the cotton fibre" produced the most glorious page in American history, that written by the Abolitionists.

Negro Slave Revolts had reached a certain stage with Denmark Vesey in 1824 which led to a new approach to the attempts to gain freedom. An Underground Railway, which was neither underground nor a railway, was organized in 1825 to conduct runaway slaves to freedom in the North and in Canada. The following year the free Negroes organized the Massachusetts General Colored Peoples Association. Its paper, appropriately called, FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, appeared in 1827, with its first editorial announcing, "Too long have others spoken for us."

David Walker's Appeal

The most sensational response, however, was achieved by a single Negro named David Walker, who, in 1829, published: *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles: Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly to those of the United States of America.*

David Walker was a free Negro from North Carolina who had settled in Boston where he earned a living by collecting rags. His APPEAL was addressed to the free Negroes. He took them to task for their meekness. He urged them to make the cause of the slave their own because the wretchedness of the free Negroes' conditions was due to the existence of slavery.

Walker urged them to make freedom their business. He pointed to the superiority of Negroes, in numbers and in bravery, over the whites. He took the great to task as well. In response to Thomas Jefferson, who had referred to the Negro's color as "unfortunate", David Walker shouted "My Colour will yet root some of you out of the very face of the earth!!! America is more our country, than it is the whites—we have enriched it with our blood and tears."

So extraordinary was the impact of this pamphlet that legislatures in the South were called into special session to enact laws against free Negroes as against slaves for reading it. They put a price of \$3,000 on the head of its author. Nevertheless, 50,000 copies of this 76-page pamphlet were sold and circulated from hand to hand. Those who could not read had others read it to them. The South trembled at the simple words of an obscure Negro.

Garrison's Liberator

The vanguard role of the Negro in the struggle for freedom helped bring onto the historic stage the most extraordinary of all phenomena of American Civilization: New England Abolitionism. The year that William Lloyd Garrison (8) founded the LIBERATOR, 1831, was the year also of the last and greatest of Negro slave revolts—that of Nat Turner. The *Cambridge Modern History* tells us:

"The insurrection was at once attributed to Negro preachers and 'incendiary publications' such as Walker's pamphlet and the *Liberator* . . . To attack the *Liberator* now became habitual in all Slave-holding States. The corporation of one city forbade any free Negro to take a copy of it from the post-office. A vigilance committee in another offered \$1500 for the detection and conviction of any white person found circulating copies. The governors of Georgia and Virginia called on the mayor of Boston to suppress it; and the legislature of Georgia offered \$5,000 to any person who should secure the arrest and conviction of Garrison under the laws of the State.

"Undeterred by these attacks, Garrison gathered about him a little band of Abolitionists, and towards the close of 1831 founded at Boston the New England Anti-slavery Society, and in 1833, at Philadelphia, the American Anti-slavery Society."

Abolitionism: A New Dimension of American Character

Nothing since has superseded this merger of white intellectual with the Negro mass with the same intense devotion to principle, the same intimacy of relations of white and black, the same unflinching propaganda in face of mob persecution—and even death—the same greatness of character which never bent during three long decades of struggle until the irrepressible conflict occurred,

and even then did not give up the fight but sought to, and succeeded in transforming it, from a war of mere supremacy of Northern industry over Southern cotton culture to one of emancipation of slaves.

The movement renounced all traditional politics, considering all political parties of the day as "corrupt." They were inter-racial and in a slave society preached and practiced Negro equality. They were distinguished as well for inspiring, aligning with, and fighting for equality of women in an age when the women had neither the right to the ballot nor to property nor to divorce. They were internationalist, covering Europe with their message, and bringing back to this country the message of the Irish Freedom Fighters.

They sought no rewards of any kind, fighting for the pure idea, though that meant facing the hostility of the national government, the state, the local police, and the best citizens who became the most unruly mobs. They were beaten, mobbed and stoned.

These New England Abolitionists added a new dimension to the word, intellectual, for these were intellectuals, whose intellectual, social and political creativity was the expression of precise social forces. They gloried in being "the means" by which a direct social movement expressed itself, the movement of slaves and free Negroes for total freedom.

Pacifist though they were in philosophy, they lined up with John Brown. Perhaps that explains why, despite the great native tradition of Abolitionism some of today's Negro leaders have traveled instead to India in search of a philosophy of non-violence.

Wendell Phillips' eloquence explains why the pacifists of that day came to the defense of the great martyr: "Harper's Ferry is the Lexington of today . . . Suppose he did fail . . . There are two kinds of defeat. Whether in chains or in laurels, Liberty knows nothing but victories. Soldiers call Bunker Hill a defeat; but Liberty dates from it . . ." (9)

II. Abolitionism, Second Phase: The Unfinished Revolution

On January 11, 1860, Marx wrote to Engels: "In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the world today are, on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America started by the death of John Brown, and, on the other, the movement of the serfs in Russia . . . I have just seen in the *Tribune* that there has been a fresh rising of slaves in Missouri, naturally suppressed. But the signal has now been given." (10)

When the young Marx first broke from bourgeois society and elaborated his philosophy of Humanism in 1844, he paid little attention to the remains of chattel slavery. Now, however, Marx kept his eyes glued on the movement of the Negro slaves. When the Civil War broke out, and "the Great Emancipator" did all in his power to limit it to a white man's war for Union, Marx began to popularize the speeches and analyses of the Abolitionists, especially those Wendell Phillips wrote against the Northern conduct of the war. "The President has not put the Confiscation Act into operation . . . He has neither insight nor foresight . . . I know Lincoln. I have taken his measure in Washington. He is a first-rate second-rate man."

Because Lincoln's main strategic concern was to conciliate the so-called "moderate" border slave-states that remained in the Union, he wanted neither to free the slaves nor allow them to participate in the war as soldiers. Lincoln nullified the two attempts by generals on the spot (John C. Fremont in Missouri and General David Hunter in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina) to issue their own emancipation proclamations. As late as 1862, when Horace Greeley as editor of the *Tribune* published "A Prayer of 20 Millions" for the abolition of slavery, Lincoln replied: "My paramount objective is to save the union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery."

This denotes the first phase of the long Civil War which lasted four years and cost the lives of a million men. Phillips maintained that if it had been fought as a war of liberation—and the Negroes were pounding at all the doors, North and South, to let them fight—it could be easily won in a few months. When military expediency, however, dictated a change in course, Phillips maintained that "In this war mere victory on a battlefield amounts to nothing, contributes little or nothing toward ending the war . . . Such an aimless war I call wasteful and murderous."

When Engels too feared that things were going so badly for the North, that it would lose the war, Marx wrote: "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves . . . A war of this kind must be conducted on revolutionary lines while the Yankees have thus far been trying to conduct it constitutionally." (11)

Finally, on January 1, 1863, Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. It was no ringing declaration; his compromiser words moved gingerly to free only those slaves in the rebellious states. As one historian recently put it, it was "as emotional as a bill of sale." (12)

The Turning Point

Nevertheless it is the turning point. This second stage of the war altogether transformed its character. The passing of this year in the Civil War outlines the contrast of centuries. Negroes flocked into the Army, battles began being won. Wendell Phillips declared: "I want the blacks as the very basis of the effort to regenerate the South!"

On the other side of the channel, though their livelihood as textile workers depended on Southern cotton, monster demonstrations of English workers were held to stop their ruling class from intervening on the side of the Bourbon South, whose cotton kingdom supplied Britain's textile barons the raw materials for their world-dominating industry. A new decade had indeed dawned in the world with the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, the insurrection in Poland, the strikes in Paris, and the mass meetings of English workers who chose to starve rather than perpetuate slavery on the other side of the Atlantic. The actions culminated in the establishment of the International Workingmen's Association, headed by Karl Marx.

From the first, Marx took the side of the North, though, naturally as we saw, he was with Phillips' criticism of the conduct of the war, rather than with the President, of whom he had written to Engels: "All Lincoln's acts appear like the mean pettifogging conditions which one lawyer puts to his opposing lawyer. But this does not alter their historic content . . . The events over there are a world upheaval." (13)

He therefore separated himself from some (14) self-styled Marxists in the United States who evaded the whole issue of the Civil War by saying they were opposed to "all slavery, wage and chattel." In the name of the International, Marx wrote Lincoln, "While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic; while before the Negro mastered and sold without his concurrence they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master; they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation, but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war."

As Marx later expressed it in **CAPITAL**, "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the agitation for the eight-hour-day that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California. The General Congress of Labor at Baltimore (August 16, 1866) declared: 'The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working-day in all states of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained.'"

Soon after the war and the abolition of slavery, Abolitionism as a movement vanished from the scene. Of all its leaders, Wendell Phillips alone made the transition to the labor movement. The four million freedmen remained tied to cotton culture and therein lies imbedded the roots of the Negro Question.

III. Revolution and Counter-Revolution, in the South

The ignorant white mobs, instigated by the Faubus's, Ross's and their ilk in the Deep South who have been on the rampage ever since the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision to desegregate schools, may not know it, but the free public education from which they want the Negroes excluded, was first instituted in the South by the Negro during the much-maligned Reconstruction period. The Negro and white legislatures of the post-Civil War period gave the South the only democracy it had ever known—and has since forgotten. (15)

No one can rewrite history, which records that also for the first time, universal manhood suffrage as well as equal political, civil and legal rights for its citizens then became a way of life for the South. That such elementary democracy had to be brought there on bayonets and then only after the white supremacist secessionists were finally defeated in a bloody war lasting four years is only further proof of the philosophy of unfreedom of the aristocratic South that lorded it over the bent back of human beings reduced to slavery. Even as an unfinished revolution the achievements of the Civil War cannot be expunged from the historic record which is reflected in the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments added to the Constitution by a radical Republican Congress and approved by the whole nation and which, once and for all, not only abolished slavery and thereby achieved Union but guaranteed freedmen and all citizens their full civil rights.

No one can rewrite history, which, unfortunately, also records that these were virtually nullified once the Army was withdrawn. The counter-revolution in the South, however, was not of regional make only, although it was instigated there by the slavocracy which lost the war but won the peace once they learned to accept the dictates of Northern capital. In enacting the infamous "Black Codes," the unreconstructed South knew it could do so with impunity once the Army was out. The withdrawal of the Army was not, however, the cause, but the consequence of the new, expansive development of Northern capitalism and the betrayal of four million newly-freed human beings who did not own the land they tilled.

The Betrayal (16)

The three basic constituents of the betrayal, that is to say, the unfinished state of revolution, were: (1) the freedmen did not get "the 40 acres and a mule" they were promised; (2) the old slave owners

The kidnap-lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi and the acquittal of the two white men in the trial that followed, have thrust the shame of America nakedly before the world . . .

"Negroes are determined and the terror can't stop them . . . The terror arises because the handwriting is on the wall for the wrecking of the Southern system which has lasted for generations."



Picture and Editorial Excerpt Above Reprinted From News Letters, October 5, 1955

did get back their plantations and thus the power to institute a mode of production to suit cotton culture; and (3) the crop lien system was introduced with "new" labor: share cropping.

The revolution swallows its own children only as the historical concentration of a daily phenomenon: dead labor—machinery, technology, industry—requires as its life-blood, the exertions, capacities and life activity of the living laborer. This is revealed in a most cataclysmic fashion at the birth of bourgeois society. In its "re-birth," in the ultimate climax of the striving for economic autarchy at home and abroad, the same historic drama is repeated on a new scale; the violence and chicanery is all the greater to incorporate the living, rebellious laborer into the newly expanded, newly centralized machinery of production and of society. It is marked by the all-consuming nature of its apparatus and by the sharply defined limits set upon the mass initiative.

Historians who state that "the Negro problem" is rooted in slavery, and stop there, fail to see the crux of the question. The "stigma" of slavery could not have persisted so long if the economic remains of slavery had not persisted. **Within the economic remains of slavery the roots of the Negro Question do lie, but that has nothing to do with racism and everything to do with the state of backwardness of the economy of cotton culture.**

Economic Backwardness

It is this backwardness of the agricultural economy which led Lenin, in his 1913 study, "New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism and Agriculture," to remark about "the striking similarity between the economic position of the American Negro and that of the former serf of the central agricultural provinces in Russia." Even in Russia, where there was some fraudulent attempt to give the serf the land, it was impossible for the Russian serf to rise above the needs of the backward economy. All the more where the Negro did not get his "40 acres and a mule." Cotton remaining dominant, semi-feudal relationships were inevitable. The division of labor set up by the cotton economy may not be disturbed. The social relations arising on the basis of the cotton economy remain "less changed than the soil itself on which the cotton is grown." (17)

Naturally the infamous "Black Codes" which the plantation owners now enacted and were free to execute and "the gentleman's agreement" with Northern capital, as well as with the help of the KKK, paved the royal road back for white supremacy South. But once we place the problem in its proper economic framework, the human factors can emerge and then we see the limitations of all laws, written and unwritten. Nowhere is this clearer than in the benighted South as the counter-revolution comes into head-on collision with masses in revolt in the decade of the 1880's and 1890's and Populism sweeps the South. When this new attempt at revolutionary change occurred, "the boss and black" relationship was fully dominant.

The Boss and Black Relationship

The cropper has neither control of the nature of his crop nor the marketing of it. The cropper owns nothing but his labor power, and must part with half of the crop for "furnishings." Somehow the rest of the crop seems likewise to go to the merchant upon whom he depends for his every purchase of clothing, food, implements and fertilizer. The cropper is charged exorbitant prices but he must not question the word of the boss who keeps the books and makes the "settlement," at which time the cropper finds himself in debt and thus unable to leave the land.

To this day more than one-third of the croppers is one and one-half years behind in debt. The "plot" for the maintenance of "white supremacy" in the South arose from the actual process of cotton production. There was a "gentleman's agreement" that Southern industry—textiles—develop—under the conditions that it leave untouched the black labor supply of the plantations.

When the New Deal came South, "the paternalism of the planter, the dependency of the tenant so meticulously maintained, the stern objections on the part of the landlord to any change in the traditional relationship" (18) made it difficult and in some cases impossible for the Government to deal with the cropper directly. The fear of the planter that the cropper be removed from his influence and learn that he is not personally dependent upon him set up well-nigh insurmountable barriers to the cropper's getting any benefits from the A.A.A. Nothing fundamental changed in Southern agriculture during the half century that separates the year of betrayal, 1877, from the years of the New Deal.

The county agent in charge of the A.A.A. payments, for instance, had to make the credit store the point of distribution of A.A.A. checks. The result was that the merchant retained the check either for "unpaid debts" or for "future furnishings" to his tenant. Or the merchant would suggest that the checks be given to him outright. Under the prevailing relationship in the rural South, such a "suggestion" is tantamount to an edict that the Government agent has to obey.

The prevailing relationship which makes such a suggestion a law is known as the "boss and black," relationship, and its economic root is the cotton culture. **That is so pervading a relationship that it still holds though cropping is no longer an exclusively Negro occupation—there are in the old South now five and a half million white tenants to over three million Negro tenants, though of the croppers the Negroes still constitute the majority.**

"The old boss and black attitude," write the authors of the most concise economic study of cotton culture, "pervades the whole system. . . . The fixed custom of exploitation has carried over to the white tenant." (19)

As we wrote at the time of the New Deal, "What the Southern Block believes in Congress may irritate the sensitive ears of the Harvard man in the White House, but when he comes down South they tell him what to do." Nothing has changed, in the two decades since, except that JFK, instead of FDR, now occupies the White House.

Peasant Revolts, New and Old

Surely today, when in every country in Latin America, in the Middle East, in Asia, in Africa, the cry is for agricultural reforms—and a never-ending deluge of American books keep preaching for it "so that Communism should not be the victor"—surely we ought finally to understand the relationship of land and peasant in our own South and not keep piling stupidity upon stupidity to explain away "the Negro Question." Once Congress in 1867 failed to pass Thaddeus Stevens' Land Division Act which would have given each freedman 40 acres and \$50 for a homestead, the rest was inevitable.

This was not the first—nor the last—betrayal of the peasantry. Long before United States capital wrote this infamous chapter for an unreconstructed South, the peasant revolts that had been betrayed in Europe signalled the same retrogressive development for its societies. To just such a betrayal of peasant revolt during the Lutheran Reformation Marx attributed the state of backwardness of the Germany of their day. In his *Peasant Wars in Germany*, Frederick Engels, the lifelong collaborator of Karl Marx, pointed out that it was not only the peasants who were betrayed when they did not get the land during the 16th century German Reformation, but Germany itself "disappeared for three centuries from the ranks of countries playing an independent part in history."

In the case of the white supremacy Solid South, its re-establishment, at first, was short lived. The violent KKK lynch lawlessness, rope and faggot rule was shaken to its very foundations within one short decade after the removal of the Union Army. This revolutionary upheaval came from within, not without. It arose out of the great discontent of the farmers with the new form of monopoly planter-merchant-railroad vested interests which brought the "new South" its greatest crisis. Populism spread like a prairie fire bringing the "Solid South" a more fundamental challenge than even the Civil War.

Black and White Unity and 1/4 Million Forgotten Negro Populists

Most amazing of all was the organization of the National Colored Farmers' Alliance. Just as the history of the slave revolts, when it was finally revealed, put an end to the myth of Negro docility, so this still little-known glorious chapter puts an end to the myth that the Negro "can't be organized." Think of it:

At the very height of the prejudice-ridden post-Reconstruction period, when the South was supposedly solidly white in thought and action, the Populist movement that was sweeping the country found its most radical expression in the South.

The National Colored Farmers' Alliance alone numbered one and one-quarter million members and, although separately organized from the white agrarians, waged their class battles as one. It was a power to be reckoned with both in state and national politics, and was instrumental in the elections of Populist governors as well as national and state representatives.

"Now the People's Party says to these two men," the reference was to one white and one Negro, and the speaker was white Georgian Tom Watson: "You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because on that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggars both."

Fantastic as it may sound coming from the mouth of one who, with the turn of the century, was to become the typical white supremacist characteristic of one who, with the turn of the century, was to the height of the Populist groundswell in the South, not only spoke that way but acted as the Abolitionists in their day had. When a young Negro preacher, H. S. Doyle, was threatened with lynching, Watson not only hid him in his home, but sent a call for Populists to protect him. Farmers rode all night to get there, and with arms stacked on Watson's veranda, and fully 2,000 farmers there as a defense guard, Watson said: "We are determined that in this free country that the humblest white or black man who wants to talk our doctrine shall do it, and the man doesn't live who shall touch a hair on his head, without fighting every man in the People's Party."

Watson made hundreds of such speeches in the decade of the 1890's. He spoke repeatedly from the same platform with Negro speakers to mixed audiences of Negro and white farmers, all on the theme of the need of white and Negro solidarity to fight "the money kings" who are to use "the accident of color" to divide the unified struggles: "This is not a political fight and politicians cannot lead or direct it. It is a movement of the masses, an uprising of the people, and they, and not the politicians, will direct it. The people need spokesmen, not leaders, men in the front who will obey, not command."

Here is how the distinguished Southern historian, C. Vann Woodward, no wild-eyed radical, sums up the decade of the 1890's in his study of Tom Watson, *Agrarian Rebel*: "Never before or since have the two races in the South come so close together as they did during the Populist struggles." The unity of white and black was soon, in turn, shattered by the combined interests of the Bourbon South with monopoly capital that had won the struggle over labor in the North, and spread its tentacles over the Caribbean and the Pacific. Monopoly capital's growth into imperialism puts the last nail in the

IN THE NEXT ISSUE:

PART II

I Imperialism and Racism

II Labor Struggles: From the Knights of Labor through the IWW to the CIO.

III Nationalism: Phase I, Garveyism.

Nationalism: Phase II, The African Revolutions.

Nationalism: Phase III, Internationalism and Humanism.

IV What Now? Today's Freedom Struggles.

coffin of Southern democracy and thus not only re-establishes racism in the South but brings it to the North.

In this centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, we must therefore take a look at "the smell of empire" that combined with the economic remains of slavery to establish racism as a "permanent" feature of American life, even as European capital's carving up of Africa in the 1880's established "the white man's burden," or racism, as the new feature for all of capitalist imperialism.

One thing should be said for Abraham Lincoln. He had neither the smell for empire nor for monopoly capitalism. As a young Congressman, he opposed the Mexican-American War and thereby threw away his chances for re-election. As a mature man, just before his assassination, he looked askance at the beginnings of corporate capitalism: "I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow. The money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at the moment more anxiety for my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless." The suspicions were not groundless.

(To Be Concluded Next Issue)

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Preface to *Capital* by Karl Marx.
- (2) *The Selected Writings of John J. Chapman*; Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, New York.
- (3) *The Civil War in the United States* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.
- (4) *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*, by George F. Kennan.
- (5) A fairly good record of the many changes in the line of the Communist Party in the period of World War II, from the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact to the "patriotic war" with the Allies, can be traced in *The Negro and the Communist Party*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1951.
- (6) For the Humanism of Marxism in its American setting see *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya.
- (7) See *The Negro Revolt*, by Louis L. Lomax.
- (8) For a modern biography of William Lloyd Garrison, see the one by John J. Chapman in his *Selected Writings* (footnote 2). For a more detailed biography, see *William Lloyd Garrison—The Story of His Life*, written by his children.
- (9) For a modern biography of Wendell Phillips see *The Prophet of Liberty* by Oscar Sherwin. Otherwise, see his own *Speeches and Writings*.
- (10) *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*. Most of the other quotations from Marx's correspondence can be found easily in his writings from the dates given.
- (11) *Ibid.* Aug. 7, 1862.
- (12) "Lincoln and the Proclamation," an article in *The Progressive*, Dec. 1962, by Richard N. Current, author of many works on Lincoln.
- (13) *The Civil War in the United States*, by Marx and Engels.
- (14) Just as Marx in his day separated himself, so Engels after Marx's death wrote: "The Social-Democratic Federation here shares with your German-American Socialists, the distinction of being the only parties that have managed to reduce the Marxian theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy, which the workers are not to reach themselves by their own class feelings, but which they have to gulp down as an article of faith at once and without development. That is why both of them remain mere sects and come, as Hegel says, from nothing through nothing to nothing." (*Letters to Americans* by Marx and Engels, p. 263.)
- (15) *Black Reconstruction*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, is the only scholarly work on the subject. Yet to this day it is disregarded by white historians, Northern as well as Southern.
- (16) the best work on the infamous Hays-Tilden election, the so-called compromise of 1877, is *Reunion and Reaction* by C. Vann Woodward.
- (17) *Deep South*, p. 266.
- (18) *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, by Johnson, Embree and Alexander.
- (19) *Ibid.*

An Appeal to Our Readers

In this issue we bring you the first part of our newest *News & Letters Special Supplement: The EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, 100 Years After*. It draws together all the lines of theory and struggle for freedom which have gone into the making of the American mind. It shows how it came to pass that the Civil War remained an unfinished revolution, and why it is the urgent task of our age to fulfill the still unfulfilled promise of Emancipation, in face of the world threat of Automation in general and in its most awful form of nuclear war.

As part of meeting this urgent challenge of our age we propose to publish both Part I and Part II, which will appear in our February issue, in separate pamphlet form to give it the widest circulation and impact possible. We propose to publish our *Emancipation Proclamation* pamphlet in early spring.

TODAY, the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation is being celebrated by the deepened struggle for new human relations. Living history, not lifeless ceremony hinges the past to the future and girdles the globe. It raises the banner of Humanism in fitting tribute to Freedom Fighters all over the world. In word and deed they are part of the celebration.

From South Africa, to South USA, from Hungary to Montgomery, Alabama, from the Congo and the Rhodesias, to Oxford, Mississippi and Albany, Georgia, the fateful conflict for a new world is taking place. The fate of humanity is in the balance—barbarism or freedom.

OUR AGE can understand in living fullness what was only a passing thought in 1863: The first im-

portation of slaves in chains into the new world indissolubly linked forever the fate of all races of mankind and the future of all continents from the oldest, Africa, to the newest, North America.

As we write in the Supplement, "Fully to understand today's activities—and that is the only meaningful way to celebrate the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation—we must turn to its roots in the past. This is not merely to put history aright. To know where one has been is one way of knowing where one is going. To be able to anticipate tomorrow one has to understand today."

● It is why we participated in the Freedom Rides, and, with your help last year, published *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*.

● It is why we again appeal for your support confident that with it we will publish, this year, *The Emancipation Proclamation, 100 Years After*.

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I enclose \$..... (cash, check or money order) to help publish the forthcoming *News & Letters* pamphlet, *The Emancipation Proclamation, 100 Years After*.

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Hearing Reveals HUAC as Persecutor

New York—On Dec. 11, 1962, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began a public investigation of the New York branch of the "Women Strike for Peace," a loosely organized, grass-roots anti-war organization of American women.

By attempting to discredit this organization, which has actively opposed both U.S. and Russian nuclear policy and war-like acts, the Committee has shown, once again, that it is not "Communists" or "spys" that it is out to "expose," but any Americans who happen to have opinions other than its own right-wing views.

"However, the women of the WSP showed such great courage and solidarity at the hearings that the attempted 'Red-smear' seems to have turned, for the moment, into a victory for the women.

FEW "TAKE THE FIFTH"

Few of the women pleaded the "Fifth Amendment" (self-incrimination) before the committee. Those that did made strong anti-war statements before so doing. Many of the women, aware that they were exposing themselves to jail for contempt of Congress, nonetheless took a principled position before the Governmental inquisition.

They spoke openly about their radical ideas, their peace activities and the structure of their organization. But they simply refused to "name names" of their associates.

Thus they told the Committee just what it DIDN'T want to hear: the truth about the Peace Movement. At the same time, the women stripped the Committee's pretension of "investigating subversives," showing its true function is to persecute dissenters.

The obvious seriousness, sincerity, and openness of the women (many of whom were carrying their children) during the hearings; their opposition to the poisoning of the atmosphere by both Russia and America; their concern for their children and even those of the Committee members, made a favorable impression on the press. Many papers came out strongly against the Committee and for the women.

DEMONSTRATIONS FOR FREEDOM

In New York and other areas, demonstrations and meetings were held to protest the inquisition and support the women. Many of the participants have been active in the campaign for the Abolition of the HUAC for some years, especially since its attack on the San Francisco student movement two years ago.

As the events of the past year have shown, these governmental bodies are hostile to the Peace Movement, to the Civil Rights Movement, and to the Labor Movement. It is obvious that the Administration itself stands behind HUAC and similar agencies. Never have the President or his Attorney General brother spoken out against their practices.

Civil Rights fighters in Albany, Ga., Monroe, N.C., Jackson, Miss., and elsewhere have learned from bitter experience that the Federal Government will not help them unless it is being embarrassed internation-

ally. CORE, SNCC, and NAACP activists have often been subjected to "investigation" by the FBI or some Committee.

SAFEGUARD TO SURPRISE

When freedom fighters everywhere dispel the illusion that the left hand of the Administration doesn't really know what the right hand is doing, only then will they not be caught unready, isolated, and surprised when their rights to organize, to speak and write, to assemble or demonstrate are attacked by the authorities. This is as true for the Peace Movement as it is for the Civil Rights and Labor movements.

—N.Y. Correspondent

Other Voices in Mississippi

By EUGENE WALKER

During the recent crises in Mississippi many voices were heard to cry from the South against Federal intervention in the "Southern Way of Life." Much space was given in the press to the words of Mississippi officials who protested against the presence of troops and ignored the barbarism of those who fought against Meredith's entrance to the university. However, there were other voices to come from Mississippi during this period.

One of them is that of Sidna Brower, editor of *The Mississippian*, the school newspaper of the University of Mississippi. Her courageous stand, moreover, did not stop at the attack on the students who comprised part of the racist mob, but extended to the faculty who never lived up to its so-called "get tough policy." Miss Brower wrote:

BARBARISM ATTACKED

"Do these protesters (and do they know exactly what they are protesting?) realize that they are making the University and state appear to be a rural, isolated land of uneducated and savage people, unconscious and unaware of any other problems than their own?"

"And what happened to Ole Miss' get tough policy? Proclamations and rules are all well and good, but definitely need to be applied to receive the maximum of accomplishment. Why should students be suspended for yelling 'We want panties' when they are allowed to throw rocks and yell profane and obscene comments at members of the United States Army? It is disgusting to see such demonstrations permitted, especially when the rules are supposedly enforced."

Miss Brower ends her editorial by saying, "There are some of us students who are still proud of the University of Mississippi and do not care for such degrading actions. Why then is the 'get tough policy' not enforced and a few of the rabble-rousers removed so that we can consider matters of more importance than the actions of a few immature weaklings who have nothing to do than 'play war'."

WHITE RACISTS ACT

Racist groups such as the White Citizens Councils have directed much of their efforts against white persons who oppose them to any degree. They have attempted to impeach Miss Brower to remove her from her post as editor and have started a post card campaign to oust four members of the faculty.

This campaign has succeeded in bringing about a "reprimand" of Miss Brower for her courageous editing of the school newspaper. While they have not succeeded in stifling her voice, the racists have succeeded in creating sufficient terror on the campus so that those whites who wanted to, and did associate with James Meredith, have been attacked, and one has been driven off the campus.

Because of Governor Barnett and his ilk, who incite the riots and get away with it, another campaign has now started which is more insidious than the open rioting that at least compelled the Federal Government to act.

As *The New York Times* of Dec. 4 notes: there are now "few signs of disturbance on the campus. It seems that Mr. Meredith is not so much ignored as simply, by act of will, not seen. On Saturday evening, a young woman student on her way to a fraternity party celebrating the football team's victory over Miss. State said, 'You know, it's just like old times now'."

NOTHING SOLVED

It is this new stage of the fight which once again brought from the brave Mr. Meredith the reminder: "Not one problem has been solved, not one issue has been settled."

As good, therefore, as it is to hear that there are other courageous voices, which include some whites, we cannot bury our heads in the sand and let things return to what the Mississippi barbaric leaders consider "normal."

The fight of James Meredith cannot have been fought in vain. The stand of Sidna Brower cannot remain an isolated one. The new beginning started with these actions are good beginnings, but they are only beginnings.

K & K Line Up Their Orbits

(Continued from Page 1)

pomp and conceit probably knows no equal in the modern world, and who more than any other world "leader" has insisted on his own national supremacy, independence and show of strength, has been unusually quiet since the Pact of Nassau was announced and France was offered the same terms as Britain.

Just as it was on October 22, 1962, when Kennedy decided, unilaterally, to announce the Cuban blockade—and everyone lined up on one side or the other; just as it was on the eve of the Belgrade "Neutralist" Conference in September, 1961, when Khrushchev decided, unilaterally, to resume nuclear testing—and everyone, including "independent" neutralist Tito, rushed to return to the fold; so it always is when the show-down is near and it becomes clear to everyone that what is really involved is only one thing: the United States-Russian competition for domination of the world.

Nothing fundamental has been changed either by De Gaulle's final loud "No" to Kennedy's Nassau offer, or by Mao's refusal to accept Khrushchev's undisputed authority. In each orbit, the junior partner is demanding a special sphere of influence. But time is running out on their respective ambitions as is seen both by the present conference in East Germany and by West Germany's quick acceptance of Kennedy's arming of NATO.

ADENAUER-DEGAULLE MAO-ALBANIA

In his attempt to organize Europe as a third force DeGaulle, from the moment he took power in 1958 has been attempting to take over where Hitler left off. Not only has he been able to take cynical advantage of the Anglo-American disregard for Adenauer in order to flatter him into an alliance with France—but he has also been able, because of his near-totalitarian powers, to stifle the strong anti-German feelings in his

own country in order to consolidate this axis.

Presently, however, Adenauer prefers Kennedy's much more substantial nuclear umbrella to De Gaulle's "independent" one. In desperation, De Gaulle aims to keep Britain out of the Common Market. What he seems to forget is that Adenauer's meeting with Kennedy's representative is taking place at the very time that, despite their much flaunted "prosperity," reports have revealed that unemployment nearly doubled last month in Western Germany, rising from 131,356 in November to 232,653 in December.

The same situation characterizes all the countries on this side of the Iron Curtain, as well as on the other side, even though the crisis there may assume a different shape. It is clear from the Conference now being held in East Germany—as well as from Khrushchev's attempts to bring Mao down to size, just as Kennedy is trying to bring DeGaulle down to size—that the unity in each camp is necessary for the final show-down.

No one on earth, however, neither Kennedy nor Khrushchev, can bring about the unity of such irreconcilable opposites as the ruling class and the oppressed class in each country. This is the question which was not put on the agenda at either the Nassau or the East Germany Conference.

THE WORKERS WILL HAVE THEIR SAY

The final decisions, however, do not rest with the leaders on either side of the Iron Curtain—big or small. They rest rather with the working class throughout the world, who have not yet had their say.

On both sides of the Iron Curtain their dissatisfaction with conditions of life and labor is clear. The strikes which have been shaking Russia and finally got headlines, and the daily activity of workers here which never gets headlines, are good indications of what will be said when the working class does have its say.

On Muzzling of Scientists

Philadelphia, Pa. — McGeorge Bundy, one of President Kennedy's inner clique of advisers, made a most significant speech here in Philadelphia on Dec. 27, before the convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

MUZZLING SCIENTISTS

Bundy had the impudence to tell the scientists, "The scientist should respect his calling. This means that he should carefully limit the occasions on which he speaks ex cathedra so that he is not placed in danger of losing his reputation."

In essence, Bundy was saying that scientists should keep their mouths shut on subjects on which the people might respect the opinion of a scientist more than that of a politician or a "statesman", such as Kennedy, Rusk, or Bundy himself.

Bundy specified as taboo the topics of diffusion of atomic know-how abroad, the chances of accidental explosions touching off nuclear war, banning the bomb being our only hope of survival (a scientist should not publicly express the latter

opinion), the possession of A-weapons by China,

Bundy asked the scientists to keep silent on the above topics in the interests of both their own reputation (a possible threat?) and of that new god, National Security, whom it is sacrilege to offend.

The main trouble with this new religion of the deity of National Security is that those who founded it, the upper level of Government—especially Kennedy's inner clique of advisers: Rostow, Bundy, McNamara, Rusk, Dillon, Schlesinger Jr., etc. — are reserving for themselves the right to write and edit the Holy Scriptures of the new religion. It will be they who make all final interpretations as to what is in the interest of national security and what is not.

The speech itself is a sign that the Administration is afraid of scientists saying things that will make the people think and wonder and ask the wrong kind of questions and doubt "their" leaders and maybe force the leaders to change their actions. I doubt that all of the scientists will be so easily intimidated. I cannot know what will actually happen.

—Aaron Margulis

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Author's Special Introduction To the New Italian Edition

(Continued from Page 1)

as the age of the struggle for the minds of men. Intellectuals are there upon called to perform tasks far removed from any ivory tower. Marxists and non-Marxists alike have much to learn from Marx who, when asked why he had broken with bourgeois society, replied that to become a radical meant to grasp a thing at its root, and "The root of mankind is man."

Our life and times have opened up so many frontiers of scientific knowledge that we often forget that simple truth. Out of splitting of the atom came not the greatest source of energy for mankind, but the most destructive weapon. Since the Sputnik, statements from the rulers of Russia as well as America stress not so much the conquest of outer space as the fact that the forces which lift these man-made satellites—ICBMs—can lift H-bombs across all frontiers. Far from doing away with the barbarism of capitalism, private or state, science has brought humanity to the edge of the abyss. As the eminent bourgeois scientist, Dr. William Pickering, put it: No matter whose ICBM drops the first H-bomb, civilization itself is within "one half hour away from total annihilation."

The young Marx foresaw the impasse that science in a class society would reach. He wrote: "To have one basis for society, and another for science, is a priori a lie." For Marxist and non-Marxist alike, isn't it time to learn the methodology of one who foresaw so clearly the development of our crisis-ridden world?

MAN, NOT MACHINES, IS BASIS FOR FREEDOM

Surely when the destiny of civilization—not just in a rhetorical sense, but physically—is at stake, it is high time to end the illusion that machines, not men, will bring mankind its freedom.

The genuine Italian Marxist can learn much both from Marx who fought the vulgar Communists of his day, and from Lenin who fought what he called the new Communist "passion for bossing." This founder of the Soviet state was also its severest critic, inventing new words, such as "communelies" (Communist lies) with which to express his criticisms. Without avail he warned that "History proceeds in devious ways," and that the Communists must listen to the "simple class truth of the class enemy" when it writes that the Soviet Government "has taken the road that will lead it to the ordinary bourgeois state." (See Lenin's Political Report to the Eleventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party, March 27, 1922.)

Just as Marx had to fight the vulgar Communists who thought all ills of capitalism would be overcome with the abolition of private property, we must not fall into the trap of mistaking Communism's "anti-capitalism" for any other than what it is—the full logical development of capitalism itself into state capitalism. Marx's point was that so long as machine is master of men, not man of machine, you will have capitalism, no matter what name you call it. To get rid of the perverse relations under capitalism one must rid society of what is most degrading of all, and the cause of all other ills, the alienation of labor itself. At the root of alienation is the division between mental and manual labor which has characterized all class societies and reached its most monstrous form under capitalism. Where the laborer himself is transformed into an appendage to a machine; all our senses are dulled. Only an entirely new, truly human society, wrote Marx "creates the rich and profoundly sensitive men." Because Marx made the human being the subject of all development, he saw the emerging new society.

Each generation must meet the challenge of its own times. Lenin was adamant on one point: the masses, not only as action but as reason would create a new society on totally new foundations. Either that, that is to say, either the population to a man (Lenin's phrase) runs production and the state or you get a "return backwards to capitalism."

THEORY MUST MATCH GRANDEUR OF PRACTICE

In our age of absolutes, when revolution and counter-revolution, are so interlocked, it is not only the intellectual "in general" who must leave his ivory towers; so must the Marxist theoretician. The ceaseless repetition for the need of a vanguard party "to lead" has blinded him to the fact to which the mass of people are not blind—that everyone is ready to lead them; nobody to listen to them. Yet the movement from practice during the past three decades has been ceaseless while the move from theory has been at a near standstill. What is there, in present-day theory, which matches the grandeur of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution?

Each generation either meets the challenge of the times, or fades into oblivion. No one however, can have the illusion that our epoch marks the type of turning point in history where history fails to turn. On the contrary. This author feels that the Italian people, inheritors of its own rich traditions of cultural humanism and mass movements of liberation have a great contribution to make to the creation of a new Humanism which is founded on the Marxist theory of liberation that "the freedom of the individual is the basis of the freedom of all."

MARXISM AND FREEDOM is a theoretical contribution toward that end. It has a three-fold purpose: 1) to reestablish the Humanism of Marxism as it developed in the period of the class struggles during Marx's maturity, 1843-83; 2) to get to the roots of the philosophic foundations of that great divide in Marxism-Leninism, especially on the so-called vanguard party to the masses in the period of 1903-1923; and 3) to analyze the problems of our own age. While this part, of necessity, centers in Russia and America—the two poles of state capitalism contending for world domination—the two worlds of capitalists and workers in each country is such that it has an application also to Italy.

April, 1959

—Raya Dunayevskaya

Excerpts From Published Preface in Book

Continued from Page 1

only a few years ago. Even in Italy, in fact, the burning wind of Stalinism has passed through, destroying the seeds and drying up the land. It is a heavy heritage which we have yet to get over.

* * *

Raya Dunayevskaya's book, that *Nuova Italia* is presenting to the Italian public, can be classed among the contributions to this endeavour, which will undoubtedly be long and hard.

It is a book in which, in our opinion, it is possible to find the voices of ideology, lacks in documentation, partial and even inconsidered judgments, and yet it is a book founded on first-hand and originally thought-out knowledge of the most important Marxist literature, which never makes an ostentation of superfluous references to make a better case for the thesis maintained, which goes straight down the line of tightly knit and passionate thought from which suggestions, indications for research and working hypotheses come forth ceaselessly.

It would be unfair to attribute to Mme. Dunayevskaya's work only a function of stimulating thought and reconsideration, which is already something worth while. The sections about Marx, which constitute the nucleus of the book and justify its title, are singularly rich and penetrating, particularly valid today when, with a gross deformation of Marxism, people insist on identifying, so to speak, socialism with astronomical feats; to make of technical progress the basis of proof of the political and ethical superiority of a regime. The Marx of Dunayevskaya is the thinker, the agitator who fought for a world in which the freedom of the individual would be the condition of the freedom of all . . .

Raya Dunayevskaya has remained faithful to a libertarian interpretation of Marx, a well-motivated and well-founded, sharp and accurate analysis of the genesis and structure of his work from the philosophical writings of his youth to the three volumes of *Capital*.

* * *

From the theoretical point of view the most interesting element which we would like to point up is her energetic and constant re-immersion in the Hegelian roots of Marxism. . . .

The theoreticians of the Second International were among those who gave in to the revisionist temptations and ended up with a virtual amputation between Hegel and Marx. Lenin, on the other hand, in 1914, having suddenly to face up to the fall of the International did not give himself up to despair nor did he plunge himself immediately into action, but rather returned to the study of Hegel to come to the conclusion that it is impossible to arrive at a correct understanding of *Capital* without first having studied the Hegelian logic. And in his famous Testament, which by now is recognized as authentic by everyone, one of his last worries was that Bukharin, the main theoretician of the party, did not really understand the dialectic.

The same thing can easily be said about Stalin and all of his followers with the difference that they saw in the dialectic an element of danger for the ideology of the regime. It is not an accident that the least subtle and darkest of theoreticians of Stalinism, Andrei Zhdanov, felt the need at a certain point to invent a new dialectic law of criticism and self-criticism whose only value was to negate that of all the others. Marx himself, Dunayevskaya points

out, does not escape unscathed from such a process of involution.

These are remarks that deserve to be stressed because they are useful for restating, in its historical-ideological terms, the problem of the relationship existing between the ideological and political involution and they contribute furthermore to shedding light on phenomena in ways similar, which took place in Italy. . . .

Some day when it will be possible, with polemics aside and with the use of documentation which we now lack, to write the history of Italian communism over the past fifteen years, events of this nature will finally appear in their proper light. The publication of Gramsci's works—not translated in the USSR as far as we know, except in fragments—the exaggerated re-evaluation of Labriola as an original Marxist thinker will probably appear as a timid and overblown attempt, for the use of insiders, to save something from the deadly strangulation of Stalinist dogmatism. . . .

* * *

The first and last great libertarian interpretation of Marxism, placed in reality and having become history, is, according to Dunayevskaya, Lenin's . . .

The conquests of the Revolution did not survive very long after him. Vanquished Capitalism re-constitutes itself, comes back in the form of State Capitalism, dominated by the same laws which rule over bourgeois production, of the total and integral exploitation of the worker. The bureaucratic and police-state degeneration of the political regime makes it possible for Capitalism, restored in all of its fundamental characteristics, to give birth to a caste which takes over completely the functions of the bosses and forges a totalitarian power which is able to subjugate to the "Plan" all of the productive forces, combining exploitation within the factory with forced labour, applied on a scale which has no historical precedent. . . .

From this analysis, the fact becomes clear that Soviet industrialization pushed to a feverish pitch and with impressive results was first of all the result of an intensive and brutal exploitation of the worker which placed the Soviet laborer in a relation to his State not dissimilar to that in which the Western worker found himself in relation to the boss in the most brutal times of the industrial revolution. . . . This explanation of the crimes of Stalin is certainly much more solidly founded than the one which attributes them to the madness of a bloody dictator in an essentially sound system. . . .

* * *

Dunayevskaya does not believe that Stalinism represented only a simple episode in the process of involution of the Russian Revolution, but neither does she believe that we are reduced to the point of considering a "minimum programme." Powerful forces for freedom are in operation which have their compact nucleus in the working class, which have shown their

active and heroic presence in Germany, in Poland, in Hungary, in Soviet Russia itself, and in the ferment of the colonial world. They will be the ones to find a solution to the contradictions of Capitalism, to blow up the despotic plan of the bureaucrats, to impose a plan founded on the free cooperation of labour.

Dunayevskaya goes not go further in her conclusions. The whole book, one could say, is like an extensive and justified introduction to the debate she proposes and whose theme is more or less this: On the basis of the Marxist tradition, libertarian and internationalist, a new philosophy must be elaborated which will give a total sense of the crisis of the modern world and which will indicate the way of overcoming it.

"The working class," she wrote, "has not created a new society. But the workers have undermined the old one . . . The 'vanguard,' on its part, has done nothing. It is stuck in the mud of the old categories, chief of which is 'the Party to lead.'" To the movement of the workers from practice to theory, there must arise a corresponding movement of the intellectuals from theory to practice—so that their welding together can take place so that a revolutionary force can re-constitute itself in all of its fullness.

* * *

In such a presentation as the one we have just given, where we have gone beyond the limits prescribed by convention and which may also appear as an intervention in the debate, we feel that it is permissible to end with a hypothesis. . . . It involves the State, whose problems have traditionally been undervalued by Marxist theory, which sees it as a mere instrument of class rule. The political nature of the State as represented by the regime of which it is an expression, constitutes at this point the crux of the problem. Democracy and totalitarianism, both present as tendencies in all of the systems that rule the world, thus become the terms of the new contradiction. State Capitalism can give birth to the Communist planner, to the Fascist planner, and to the Rooseveltian planner.

The appeal to the libertarian inspiration of Marxism which comes from Dunayevskaya's book thus seems to us more than ever valuable, more than ever urgent.

"The launching of satellites into space"—we read on the last page of the book—"cannot solve the problems of this earth. The challenge of our times is not to machines, but to men. Intercontinental missiles can destroy mankind, they cannot solve its human relations. The creation of a new society remains the human endeavor. The totality of the crisis demands, and will create, a total solution. It can be nothing short of a New Humanism."

To be conscious of this task is already to be prepared to face it.

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