

Oct. 11, 1985

Dear Allen:

Here you have the first draft of the new introduction Lou and I propose for the Jan. 1986 edition. As you see its 6 pages and by the time we have your suggestions and re-write this -- and we are also asking Ray for his ideas -- it will surely be more the 10 pages that I think is the proper length for an introduction. What do you think?

Let me give you some examples of what the introduction still doesn't have ~~xxxxxxx~~ -- please don't forget that these 6 pages don't count the two appendices that we are now ~~xxx~~ sure we actually be three ~~xxx~~ which will include something by ourselves. That ~~xx~~ will combining the Grenada PPL in an abbreviated form, and some ~~xx~~ excerpts from this issue's ~~xxxx~~ lead:

1. Lou and I were both anxious that we ~~xx~~ should ~~z~~ find some reference to our Black-Red conf. in 1969 by putting it in at the time we combine Biko's speech on the affinity to FF who wrote in the 60s and our conf. in 1969 by saying just as '69...so 1983 Marx centenary Black-Red.

2. David Caute in his biography of FF quoted something from Fanon which really sounds today and exactly our position, and that I did find in the WOTE, ~~xx~~ p.133: "The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical." And the rest of ~~xxx~~ Caute's p. ~~xx~~ 100 and 101 has more appropriate ~~xxxxxxx~~ quotations against Osagyfo that I don't dare quote since I do happen to be white. The point is that it is imperative to quote the sentence on the single party state; on the other hand it will very nearly need my whole fifth book of ~~xxxx~~ which I have ~~hardly~~ a single word written.

3. Finally, we need a substantial footnote on CJD which would combine the critique at least of his awful forkes tongue piece on Grenada, and the interview in which he says he has no African roots. ~~xx~~ Incidentally, can you tell us ~~what~~ in Race and Class or Race Today? What we have only shows the book review section, is called an interview and the interviewer ~~is~~ is not named, ~~so~~ think it is the editor.

In addition to the commentary ~~xx~~ from you which are hoping to get from you in 10 days, please help us very ~~xx~~ substantially with pictures. First, there is a question of a picture of Denby; my favorite happens to be what appeared on the German edition of IH, but ~~xxx~~ Lou tells me that it is actually your picture of him. What ~~xxxxxxx~~ made it so dramatic was that it was larger and blacker. Can you do what they did? We want to include that in the new ~~x~~ edition.

I also would like to know if you took pictures of the Black-Red Conf. -- did anyone?

866
1020
2-9-86
16769

What ever happened to the film you took of me and Denby?
It's the only recording, photographically, we would have of me &
Denby together at the Center.

Also can you help us ~~ix~~ with the following pictures:
1. trade union in South Africa; 2. Black South African
mass movement ~~with~~ against police; 3. Columbia and Berkeley
anti-apartheid demonstrations at Mandela and Biko Halls with
"The struggle lives on 1985!"; 4. anti-Reagan demo by Blacks
in the U.S.; and 5. picture of Lumumba. In general what do
you suggest in ~~the~~ the way of pictures. We of course will be
responsible for changing the advertisement ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ *in back of page 1*
for the "two works" now that we have four; not to mention
those horrible new prices. ~~ix~~

When I refer to Phyllis Ntantala, I actually mean I want
to have a sentence on Sobukwe and Pan-Africanism.

Yours,

P.S. Please think of people you can appeal to for money for
this new edition of FPSABT, people like Aaron and others ~~with~~ with
more money.

Copy to Ray.

*Added in
ink* What about the man with
the yacht or something
who once, long, long ago, donated
\$100, how about now making it a \$1000?

DRAFT OF THE NEW INTRODUCTION OF FFSABT BY RD AND LOU

Apartheid South African totalitarian leadership's ongoing civil war against the Black majority population has been shaken to its foundation by their bare hands, sticks and stones, because of the power of the Idea of freedom. The struggles for freedom are deathless. The question now is what to do to correct this fantastic imbalance of forces, and to recognize the freedom idea itself as the force of reason in the life and death struggle. The point now is: how this is to be achieved internationally.

The first vantage point of internationalism is, of course, continent-wide. This at reveals that it is not only the idea that is force; there are actually new forces in this unarmed revolution. We are referring to the massive presence of women and youth -- youth so young that the present revolution has been widely referred to as a children's revolution. The present movement for divestment in America and throughout the world is good, but is by no means the whole of the imperative activity needed both here and in South Africa.

Let us briefly single out the new in the eight years intervening between the publication of our pamphlet FFSABT, 1978 to the present moment. What Frantz Fanon projected as the philosophy of revolution in 1960, calling it a "new humanism," Steve Biko, in 1976, singled out, along with the Black revolution in the U.S., to declare an affinity between his BCM and these two as philosophies of revolution and as actual revolutions.

The new that wasn't present before as a visible force, and is present now as a very important force, is Black labor particularly in the organization of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) headed by Cyril Ramaphosa. Heretofore, indeed ever since the end

of WW II, Black resistance was sparked by student militants rather than labor, and certainly reached an apex in 1976 with the massive demonstrations which Steve Biko headed. It is now clear that of all the new forces that is true of our generation in these demonstrations, from women to children; indeed, in the 1980s it is referred to as the children's revolution. But in fact it reached the whole people from Bishop Desmond Tutu to even some whites organized along with Blacks and Indians in the UDF which is experiencing, in their bodies, the same police brutality that has been the factor against Blacks all their lives. Finally, there is no doubt whatsoever of its impact internationally.

Now then, the intensity with which the present moment in Azania has continued and has been brought to this stage of undeclared civil war in apartheid South Africa which has made every revolt walk in the shadow of massacre. These modern Hitlerites keep piling up more massacres in face of that historic Black bravery and international support. It is good that the divestment movement has finally taken some of the capitalistic nations, but the point to remember is that it must stop there. Rather, all international activists must learn from all those Azanian dauntless struggles and their world articulation for a new humanism is the only path also for revolutionaries in all countries who are serious about the transformation of this capitalist-imperialist exploitation, racism and sexism.

What is new is that the present stage of the Black liberation struggle in South Africa has once again made us all both witnesses to the underlying humanism of the African revolution and participants in the struggle against apartheid. Calling this new phenomenon of the Free South Africa Movement, a "new America", Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC explained: "I'm referring to, first, the fact

16772

that the South African question has been the subject of such profound debate in America, starting from Congress down to the universities' protest. I'm referring to the Free South Africa movement which has spread phenomenally. I'm referring to the fact that in several million homes South Africa has been a topic from the point of view of what is to be done to bring about an end to the apartheid system."

The violent whirlwind of events which have brought South Africa to the threshold of revolution over the last year reveal ever broader segments of society being drawn into the liberation process. Not only have mixed-race and Indian communities clashed with the South African Defense Force, but reports have shown white students describing the brutal treatment they have suffered at the hands of the police for expressing their solidarity with Black South Africa. Moreover, a multi-racial contingent of student protestors have for the first time attempted to make a direct link to imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, by marching on Pollsmoor Prison.

The government's banning of student organizations is also seen as an attempt to break up the most passionate and idealistic dimension of the movement -- the Black youth. The massive school boycotts led by the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Black Consciousness student groups have already overthrown one of the fundamental principles of apartheid, i.e., that Bantu Education could forge the mental chains of white supremacy in the Black world. Ever since Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement appeared in the 1970s, the Black youth of South Africa have made the process of unchaining the Black mind from the apartheid gulag the very method of revolution itself.

Charles Denby, in the introduction to the 1978 edition of FFSABT by Lou Turner and John Alan, stated that the "petty-bourgeois intellectual may not have noticed this working out of a new relationship of theory to practice that is itself a form of theory, since they haven't done the 'theorizing'". But this is precisely what Frantz Fanon was working out and even foresaw the division among Black leaders and ranks.

Charles Denby ended his Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal with a chapter on the "World Wide Struggle for Freedom" in which he concluded:

"What both Fanon and Biko are saying is that the struggle for freedom has no national boundaries, and everywhere that you have a battle for human liberty helps the worldwide movement for freedom...

"The ideas and actions coming out of the Black revolt in the U.S. and Africa are often sharper and easier to see than those of the working classes in every country, but they are all moving in the same direction." (pp. 293-94)

Nor did Denby stop in that year 1978. The 1980s revealed one factor that was absolutely pivotal for Denby as for all Marxist-Humanists. We had singled out the 1880s of Marx, which revealed all his "new moments" in his final decade, from his appreciation of the revolutionary nature of the peasantry and what we now call the Third World to Women's Liberation and the whole question of language. ~~We were moved not just by the new platforms, especially in Black studies, for our works on all of American history, but~~ Denby was most anxious to produce a new edition of our 1963 American Civilization on Trial. We drew a parallel between what our or-

ganization here was doing and what the Africans were doing in Tanzania, Kenya and in Nigeria on that very same subject, the Marx centenary.*

Literally, the last words from Denby was to ask us to include, in the 1983 edition of ACOT, the paragraph I added to RLWLKM on Marx's attitude to language as a reflection of how the ruling class brainwashes us:

"Marx's reference in the Ethnological Notebooks to the Australian aborigine as 'the intelligent Black' brought to a conclusion the dialectic he had unchained when he first broke from bourgeois society in the 1840s and abjected to the use of the word, 'Negro,' as if it were synonymous with the word, 'slave.' By the 1850s, in the Grundrisse, he extended that sensitivity to the whole pre-capitalist world. By the 1860s, the Black dimension became, at one and same time, not only pivotal to the abolition of slavery and victory of the North in the Civil War, but also to the restructuring of Capital itself. In a word, the often-quoted sentence: 'Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin wher in the Black skin it is branded,' far from being rhetoric, was the actual reality and the perspective for overcoming that reality. Marx reached, at every historic turning point, for a concluding point, not as an end but as a new jumping-off point, a new beginning, a new vision."

It is this which is prompting us now to produce as appendix two essays by two Black poets -- one Haitian and one Kenyan -- Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiongo. The todayness of Rene Depestre's 1974 critique of negritude stems from its revolutionary nature and the counter-revolutionary Haitian government that uses negritude for its totalitarian rule against the Black masses. It is why we reproduced

16775

Depestre's speech in News & Letters (June, 1974), and why we append it here.

Ngugi's critique of negritude is the type of critique of language which actually discloses the class and racial prejudices and/or whitewash inherent in the question.

What becomes so imperative now, precisely because the dialectics of revolution is not an academic question but one of actuality, has been shown to be a matter of actual life and death when it was the leader Coard and his henchmen who shot the leader Bishop. We must face this question openly, seriously and thus make the question of philosophy and revolution inseparable. As Wole Soyinka put it when he was asked, "What do you think of the view often expressed in the United States, that blacks should not criticize other blacks?"

"My response can only be the same as I make when I am faced with that special pleading in relation to black leaders who mess up the minds and lives of the black peoples they govern: Criticism, like charity, begins at home."

30

Missing footnotes: 1. the in memoriam to Sobukwe by Phyllis Ntantala; 2. Journal of African Marxist on Marx centenary in Africa; 3. ACOT, A-AR and IH; 4. David Caute's biography of Frantz Fanon; especially p. 100; 5. Irene Gendzier's study of Fanon; Emmanuel Hansen's book on Fanon.

16776

Some notes for draft introduction to FFSABT

What has assumed the grave actuality of life ~~itself~~ in the triangular movement of freedom ideas between the U.S., the Caribbean and Africa in the 1980s ~~is~~ is the fact ~~that~~ that ~~the~~ ~~desire~~ the desire for a full philosophy of human liberation on the part of the Black masses has been as great as their drive to put an end to this racist, exploitative world. Thus, reform and revolution have ~~been~~ become as irreconcilably opposed in ~~the~~ apartheid ~~system~~ South Africa as the racist separation of Black and white that has been dictated by the fascist ideology of Boer nationalism and the rapacious needs of international ~~capitalism~~ ^{feeding} capitalism ~~with~~ ~~which~~ ~~it~~ feeds on South Africa's cheap Black labor.

"In the United States," wrote Frantz Fanon in his Black Skins, White Masks in the early 1950s, "the Negro battles and is battled... And we can be sure that nothing is going to be given free." Because the ruling Reagan Administration has made it clear that nothing is going to be given free, the need ~~to~~ ~~search~~ ~~out~~ ~~the~~ ~~new~~ ~~philosophic~~ ~~beginnings~~ in the Black movement has ~~been~~ ~~impelled~~ at one and the same time been impelled by the new revolutionary upsurge in South Africa over the past year and the tragic ending of the Grenada Revolution ~~in~~ 1983. Indeed, it is precisely due ~~to~~ to the fact that the first act of counter-revolution in Grenada came from within ~~the~~ ~~Party~~ of the New Jewel Movement which led the revolution that we have presented as a special appendix ²⁵ of this new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought the ~~not~~ Political-Philosophic Letter that Raya Dunayevskaya wrote at the time of Reagan's imperialist invasion of Grenada.

It is not only for the reason articulated by ~~the~~ a Black South

African intellectual recently that "it is as if ~~you~~ this study ^(FFSABT) was written for what is happening today in South Africa" that we are issuing this new expanded edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought. Nor is it merely question of ~~the~~ timing that this is the twentieth anniversary of the Watts Rebellion and the thirtieth anniversary of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. ~~It is~~ ~~the~~ ~~separation~~ ~~of~~ ~~revolution~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~philosophy~~ ~~of~~ ~~re-~~ ~~volution~~ ~~and~~ ~~both~~ ~~from~~ ~~organization~~, which has ^{been a fact} characterized ^{ing} our age, ~~and which is not just appearance but fact~~. It is ~~an~~ ~~one~~, ~~which~~ ~~hides~~ however, ~~the~~ ~~actual~~ ~~maturity~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ~~age~~ ~~where-~~ in such movements as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the ~~anti-~~ colonial struggles in the Third World, as well as the East European revolts against communist totalitarianism disclosed a new form of theory inherent in the movement from practice. That is the underlying philosophy of the African revolutions which Fanon called a "new humanism". It is what Charles Denby, ~~who~~ ~~co-~~ ~~authored~~ the Introduction ^{to} the original edition of this ~~study~~, witnessed when he returned to his home state of Alabama in 1956 and reported on the ~~Black~~ Black mass activity of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the pages of News & Letters, the Marxist-Humanist newspaper he had co-founded with Raya Dunayevskaya the year before and for which he was its worker-editor until his death in 1983.

Today

What is new is that the present stage of the Black liberation struggle in South Africa has ~~we~~ once again made us all both witnesses to the underlying humanism of the African ~~xx~~ revolution and participants in the struggle against apartheid. Calling this new phenomenon of the Free South Africa Movement, a "new America", Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC explained: "I'm referring to, first, the fact that the South African question has been the subject of such profound debate in America, starting from Congress down to the universities' protest. I'm referring to the Free South Africa movement which has spread phenomenally. I'm referring to the fact that in several million homes South Africa has been a topic from the point of view of what is to be done to bring about an end ~~xxxx~~ to the apartheid system."

The violent ~~xxxx~~ whirlwind of events which have brought South Africa to the threshold of revolution over the last year reveal ever broader segments of society being drawn into the liberation process. Not only have mixed-race and Indian communities clashed with the South African Defense Force, but reports have shown white students describing the brutal treatment they have suffered at the hands of the police for expressing their solidarity with Black South Africa. Moreover, a multi-racial contingent of student protestors have for the first time attempted to make a direct link ~~xxx~~ to imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, by marching on Pollsmoor Prison.

The government's banning of student organizations is also seen as an attempt to break up the most passionate and idealistic dimension of the movement -- the Black youth. The massive school boycotts led by the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the ~~xxxx~~ Black Consciousness student groups have already overthrown one of the

fundamental principles of apartheid, i.e., that Bantu Education could forge the mental chains of white supremacy in the Black world. Ever since Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement appeared in the 1970s, the Black youth of South Africa have made the process of unchaining the Black mind from the apartheid gulag the very method of revolution itself. Indeed, what we recorded originally in 1978, in FFSABT, about the schools being centers of revolution was revealed all over again ~~whz~~ when the press reported that "In some townships police have invaded schools with guns and tear gas to break up alternative classes sponsored by members of COSAS." In other words, what had been called "freedom schools" in the 1960s Civil Rights Movement has found a new life among the Black youth of South Africa.

What this whole year of revolutionary upsurge and fascist repression of unarmed people has revealed to the world is that the civil war in South Africa, in fact, dates back not only 10 years to the Soweto Rebellion, or 25 years to the Sharpeville Massacre, but emerged in the immediate post-World War II period as Boer Nationalism came to power in 1948. Moreover, the undeclared civil war between labor and capital, which Karl Marx singled out as a revolutionary-philosophic category he called "the Working Day" in Capital, dates ~~at~~ back to the first national Black trade union in South Africa, led by an African journalist from Nyasaland by the name of Clements Kadalie, in the 1920s. When, in 1925, the first congress of American Black workers and Marxists met in Chicago to form the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC), American Black workers ~~expressed~~ expressed their solidarity with ~~the~~ Black South African workers by regularly printing the dispatches and editorials from Kadalie's Worker's Herald in the ANLC's organ, the Negro Champion.

16780

The point is that South Africa has been the scene of ~~the~~ the sharpest and most prolonged civil war in the post-World War II era. Nevertheless, the designation "civil war" is incorrect in the strict sense of the term because only one side is armed, and until 1960 ~~the~~ Sharpeville Massacre the ANC had adhered ~~to~~ to the principle of ~~the~~ non-violence. When the split in the ANC e-merged in 1958, giving birth to the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, the issue was not only over the ~~the~~ question of ~~the~~ violence vs. non-violence. The truth is that the political divisions had been developing for a decade and a half when ideological conflicts surfaced in the ANC between ~~the~~ member of the South African Communist Party and the new generation of Black intellectuals such ~~as~~ as Lembede and Mda. Declining an invitation to join the C.P.'s youth league, these Black intellectuals, including Mandela and Tambo, formed their Youth League within the ANC.

ROUGH DRAFT OF THE FORM OF NEW INTRODUCTION OF FFSABT

Apartheid South African totalitarian leadership's ongoing civil war against the Black majority population has been shaken to its foundation with bare hands, sticks and stones because of the power of the Idea of freedom and the struggles for that are deathless. The question now is what to do to correct this fantastic imbalance of force and to recognize the Idea itself likewise as a force as well as the reason of the life and death struggle. The point is how to do it internationally.

The first point of internationalism, of course, is continent-wide.* This at once demonstrates that it is not only the idea as force but there are actually new forces in this unarmed revolution. We are referring to women and youth -- youth so young that the present revolution has been widely called a children's revolution. The present movement for divestment in America and throughout the world is good, but is by no means the whole of the imperative activity needed both here and in South Africa. Let us first turn then to what has happened in eight years between the issuing of our pamphlet, FFSABT, 1978 and the present moment, to see what it is that Frantz Fanon had brought into the movement that is needed now more than in his own time, that is the inseparability of thought and action.

*We are referring to the role women introduced in the FECTAC Conference in Nigeria: Q. p. 35, FFSABT + Phyllis Ntantala's in memoriam to Robert Sobukwe in N&L (Date).

(Q. Lou's 1st para., p.1)

What wasn't present before but is now and it is a very big factor (her we will mention the African trade union NUM (National Union of Mineworkers), their leader Cyril Ramaphosa and the Sept. 1985 strike covered in the Oct. 1985 N&L lead). The point therefore is that, where at the end of WW II the fights were mainly student instigated and certainly reached a high point with the Soweto Massacre in 1976, it now has the trade unions, it now has the children, it is now so massive that there is no section, be it Shareville, Soweto or Cape that doesn't break out. And it now has everyone from a Bishop Tutu to even some whites, organized in the UDF, who are now treated with the same police brutality which has always been a factor in Black life. And it is international ^{its impact}.

It is this indeed which prompts us to reissue our pamphlet and to dedicate this introduction to the memory of Charles Denby. It was Denby who not only as editor of N&L, and as the one who introduced our writers, Lou Turner and John Alan, had his own autobiography published the very same year which related the entire American Black revolutionary movement to the triangular development between African, Caribbean and American Black thought.

That was preceded by turning the lead of N&L (Nov. 1977) over to a special feature, "Steve Biko speaks for himself". When, in 1976, Steve Biko had organized his BCM and spoke of its international affinity both to American Black thought and to Frantz Fanon, both N&L as paper and in all the activities we participated in, as well as the chapter we devoted to Frantz Fanon in P&R, ending with a whole chapter on the African revolutions, Denby ended his IH with

16783

a chapter on the "World Wide Struggle for Freedom." (Q. IH, p.294)

Now then, the intensity with which the struggle in Azania has continued and been brought to this stage of undeclared civil war, in face of the fact that in apartheid South Africa any resistance walks in the shadow of a massacre, is unparalleled and must be supported internationally with more than words, more even than divestment action. Rather we must learn from that dauntless struggle, and new world banner of a new humanism is our path to revolution.

(At this point it would be good to include Lou's p.3 and top of p.4, but probably tightened).

(This may be put before page on the part on dedication to Charles Denby.)

(When we quote Lou's top of page 4 stop before the word "indeed" and then continue with something like: One of the many ways that so-called Bantu Education creeps into revolutionary Africans is through language. It is from that vantage point that we feel it is important to append to this new edition the critiques of negritude by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiongo' who take the question of language so seriously as to make them inseparable from revolution itself. As Charles Denby put it in the 1978 Introduction: (Q. p. 6). This precisely was the essay in which we articulated the affinity of labor, Black, youth and women's liberation with all we stand for, with what to do and what to think and how to establish new relations with the ongoing movement in South Africa.

The two great peets we are appending have, both on language and out right revolution, shown that no matter what the merits of negritude, right now in Haiti it has the face of the greatest counter-revolutionary exploitation of the Black masses by a Black ruler.

And far from being a fact in Haiti we have with Grenada seen it as the actual paving of the path for the U.S. imperialist invasion.

(Here should go para. on Charles Denby).

(It may be that we will want to end with the last sentence from Lou's page 5 on the difference between the C.P. and the Youth League in the ANC, adding the phrase: that again brings us back to today when even liberals echo the cry of the youth -- "Free Mandela, now!"

ROUGH DRAFT OF THE FORM of the New Introduction to FFSABT

Blacks
Apartheid South African totalitarian leadership's ongoing civil war against the Black majority population has been shaken to its foundation with bare hands, sticks and stones of the because of the power of the Idea of freedom, and the struggles for ~~that~~ ^{freedom} are daashless. The question now is what to do to correct this fantastic imbalance of forces, ^{and} to recognize the idea itself likewise as a force, ^{as the force of} ~~as well as the~~ reason, ^{now, how this is to be} of the life and death struggle. The point ~~is how to do it~~ ^{achieved} internationally.

nausea
The first point of internationalism, ^{of course} is continent wide. This at once demonstrates that it is not only the idea ^{that is} force, ~~but~~ there are ^{actual} new forces in this ~~new~~ unarmed revolution. We are referring to women and youth -- youth so young that the present revolution has been widely ~~referred to as~~ ^{referred to as} a children's revolution. The present movement for divestment in America and throughout the world is good, but is by no means the whole of the imperative activity needed ~~both~~ here and in South Africa. ^{Let us} ~~briefly~~ ^{briefly} ~~sum up~~ ^{sum up} ~~the~~ ^{out the new in} ~~what has happened~~ in the eight years ^{between} ~~issuing~~ ^{the full text} of our pamphlet, FFSABT, 1978 and the present moment, to see ^{what} ~~what it is~~ that F. Fanon ^{had} ~~brought~~ ^{into} the movement that ^{is} ~~is~~ more needed now than in his time, and that is the ^{incom} ~~incom~~ parability of thought and action, ^{phil + rev,}

the
~~the~~ ^{the} ~~imperative of~~ ^{the imperative of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~more needed~~ ^{more needed} ~~now than in his time,~~ ^{now than in his time,} and that is the ^{incom} ~~incom~~ parability of thought and action, ^{phil + rev,}

Revolution he called a new humanism back in 1960 and

XX
* We are ~~preffering~~ ^{preffering} to the role of women introduce in the FFSABT Conference in Nigeria. Q. p. 35 + Phyllis Ntantala in memoriam to Robert Subukwe in N&L.

Journal of African Marxism. # 4, Sep 1983 Saidu Ahmed
PS
AA
cc.
MS

Quote Lou's 1st para. on p. 1.

the new
that wasn't present ~~before~~ *before*, but is ~~now~~ *now* and ~~it is~~ *it is* a very big *factor*
factor, ~~and~~ (here we will mention the ~~the~~ African trade union
their leader and the strike NUM). ~~The~~ *new* point therefore is

that, where at the end of WW II the ~~struggles~~ *black resistance was* mainly ~~at~~
~~the~~ *sparked by student militancy and these* instigated and certainly reached a ~~high~~ *new* high point with ~~the~~
~~the~~ *massive demonstrations and 17 1976* the Soweto Massacre in 1976, ~~it~~
that resistance ~~it is~~ *now* ~~known~~ *supervised from above*

Resistance ~~is~~ *now* ~~so~~ *so* massive that there is no section ~~of~~ *it* ~~that~~ *is* now
~~the~~ *demons* ~~trade unions~~ *trated* ~~it~~ *has* ~~now~~ *the* children, it is now
~~so~~ *so* massive that there is no section ~~of~~ *it* ~~that~~ *is* now
Soweto or Cape that doesn't break out, and it now has everyone
~~from~~ *from* a Bishop Tutu to even some whites, ~~organized~~ *organized* in the UDF *to*

that is treated with the same police brutality which has an ~~impact~~ *impact* ~~is~~ *is* ~~fact~~
ways been a factor in Black life. ~~And~~ *And* ~~it is~~ *it is* international.

African freedom fighters)". But this precisely was the
essay of the ~~affinity~~ affinity of labor, Black, youth and
women's liberation with all we stand for of what to do and
what to think and how to establish new relations with the
ongoing movement in S. Africa.

~~As~~ two great poets we are appending have both on language and
out right revolution shown that no matter what the merites
of negritude was, right now in Haiti it has the face of the
greatest counter-revolutionary ~~fact~~ exploitation of the Black
masses by a Black ruler. And far from being a ~~xxxxx~~ fact
in Haiti we have with Grenada seen it as the actual ~~forming~~
paving path for the U.S. imperialist invasion.

~~(Here should go para. on CD)~~

(It may be that we will want to end with the ~~xxx~~ last sentence
from Lou's page 5 on the difference between the C.P. and Youth
league in the ANC, adding the phrase: that again brings us
today when even liberals the cry of the youth -- "Free Mandela,
Now!"

Sequence

Bigfin

Don't ← Ch RJ on
Grenada + Race/Class

" get p make 2 pp + 11 2nd ~ 7 pp's

in 1976

new History

* + after 1980 - to which Steve Biko made
drew an affinity - BL

at → ? for the 2nd - 1983 - vic
- 1983.

New forces

+ 1985

12/1998

either
get p pp's making first 2 pp's

pp

ins text + re Appendix
instead 12. 1978 97 to

p 4

Put B/Red conf.
to which

Biko's affinity to 77 + Am BL theory p/red

+ Whether we refer to Mrs
Phyllis N. Centenary
also for in Nle Soyinka to Sobukwe

to both Aff of 1983 Centenary + CD box
on p added to ACOT as you

Separate i.e. 77
to Defesta + Ngivo
194 2080?

DRAFT OF THE NEW INTRODUCTION OF FFSABT BY RD AND LCU

Apartheid South African totalitarian leadership's ongoing civil war against the Black majority population has been shaken to its foundation by their bare hands, sticks and stones ~~if~~ because of the power of the Idea of freedom. The struggles for freedom are deathless. The question ~~is~~ now is what to do to correct this fantastic imbalance of forces, and to recognize the freedom idea itself as the force of reason, ~~if~~ of the life and death struggle. The point now: how this to be achieved internationally.

The first vantage point of internationalism is, of course, continent-wide. This at once reveals that it is not only the idea that is force; there ~~are~~ actual new human forces in this unarmed revolution. We are referring to the massive presence of ~~the~~ women and youth -- youth so young that the present revolution has been widely referred to as a children's revolution. The present movement for divestment in America and throughout the world is good, but is by no means the whole of the imperative activity needed both her and in South Africa.

Let us briefly ~~single~~ single out the new in the eight years intervening between the publication of our pamphlet FFSABT 1978 and the present moment. What the philosophy of revolution F. Fanon was projecting that he called a new humanism back in 1960 in which, 1976 Steve Biko singled out, along with the Black revolution in the U.S. to declare an affinity between his ~~&~~ BCM and these two philosophies of revolutions and the actual revolutions.

The new that wasn't present before as a visible force, and is present now as a very important force, is Black labor in the organization NUM, headed by Cyril Ramaphosa. Heretofore, indeed ever since the end of WWII Black resistance was sparked by student militants rather than labor and x certainly reached an apex in 1976 massive demonstrations which Steve Biko headed. It is now clear all the new forces that is true of our generation in these demonstrations, from women to children; indeed, in the 1980s it is referred to as the children's revolution. But ~~it~~ in fact it reached the whole people from Bishop Desmond Tutu to even some whites organized along with Blacks and ~~the~~ Indians in the UDF which is experiencing in ~~them~~ their bodies the same police brutality that has been the factor against Blacks all their lives. Finally, there is no doubt ~~whatsoever~~ whatsoever of its impact internationally.

Now then, the intensity ~~with~~ with which the present in Azania has continued and has been brought to this stage of undeclared civil war from apartheid South Africa which has made every revolt walk in the shadow of a massacre. These modern Hitlerites ~~keep piling up more massacres~~ keep piling up more massacres in face of that ~~the~~ historic Black bravery and international support. It is good that the divestment movement has finally taken some of the capitalistic nations but the point to remember is that it must stop there. Rather, all international activists must learn from all those Asanian dauntless struggles and their world articulation for a new humanism is the only path also for revolutionaries in all countries who are serious about the transformation of the

capitalist-imperialist ~~xxxxx~~ exploitation, ~~of~~ racism and
sexism.

(Add p. 3 from Lou's up to p. 4 -- stop before the
word "indeed").

The affinity of ideas of Biko's BCM with F. Fanon's new humanism and American Black consciousness may not have been Chales Denby in ~~the~~ ^{the} introduction to the 1978 FFSABT by Lou turner and John Alan stated that the "petty-bourgeois intellectual may not have noticed this working out of a new relationship of theory to practice that is itself a form of theory, since they haven't done the 'theorizing'." But this precisely what F. Fanon was working out and ~~the~~ even foresaw the division among Blacks between leaders and ranks.

(Here is where we should insert the final paragraph from ~~xxx~~ on CD)

Nor did Denby stop in that year 1978. The 1980s revealed one factor that was absolutely pivotal for Denby as for all Marxist-Humanists. We had called the 1880s of Marx, which revealed all his ~~new~~ "new moments" in his final decade from the appreciation of the revolutionary nature of the peasantry and what we now call the Third World to Women's Liberation and the whole question of language. ~~At~~ Most exciting events were occurring in ~~the~~ the Marx centenary year, 1983. We were moved not just by the new platforms, especially by black studies, for our works on the history ~~of~~ on all of American history and Denby was most anxious to produce a new ~~2~~ edition of our 1963 ACOT. He drew a ~~parallel~~ parallel between what our organization here was doing and what the Africans were ~~intanzania, Kenya and in Nigeria~~ doing/on the that very same subject, the Marx centenary.*

Literally, the last words from Denby was asking us to include the paragraphs I added to RLWLKM on ~~1~~ Marx's attitude to language as a reflection of how the ruling class brainwashes us, in this 1984 ACOT: (Q. para. from ACOT). It is this which is prompting us now produce as ~~an~~ appendix the two ~~existing~~ essays by two Black poets, one Haitian and one Kenyan.-- ~~RN~~ Rene Depestre and ~~Ngugi~~ Ngugi wa Thiongo'. The todayness of RD's critique of ~~negritude~~ ¹⁹⁷⁴ ~~is~~ stems from the revolutionary nature and the ~~counter-revolutionary~~ counter-revolutionary of the present Haitian government that use negritude for its totalitarian rule against the Black masses, which is why we reproduced the speech in N&L (date) and we ~~append~~ append it here.

Ngugi's critique of negritude is ~~ngugixxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxx~~ type of critique of language which actually discloses
the class and racial prejudices and/or whitewash inherent
in the question.

What becomes so imperative now, precisely because
the dialectics of revolution is not an academic question
but one of actuality, has been shown to be a matter of actual
life and death when it was the leader Coard and his hench-
men ~~xx~~ who shot the leader, Bishop. We must ~~x~~ face this
question openly, seriously and thus ~~xxxx~~ make the question
of philosophy and revolution inseparable. As Wole Soyinka
put it when he was asked: "What do you think of the view,
often expressed in the United States, that blacks should
not criticize other blacks?"

"My response can only be the same as I make when I
am faced with that special pleading in relation to black
leaders who mess up the minds and lives of the black ~~xxx~~
peoples they govern: Criticism, like charity, begins at
home."

30

Missing ftn: 1. the in memoriam ~~x~~ to Sobukwe by ~~xx~~
Ntantala; 2. Journal of African Marxists; 3. ACOT, A-AR
and IH; 4. David Caute's Fronts Fanon, especially p. 100; 5.
Irene Gendzier's study; 6. Emmanuel Hansen's book.