

REB MINUTES OF JAN. 12, 1986

Present: All, plus Jane as sitter-in

Agenda: I Report by Raya on New Edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought; II Finance Report and Correspondence Report by Olga; III G&W

I Raya began her presentation by reporting that because it is important to see the whole of the FFSABT booklet as NEW from the very title -- new expanded edition; new page 1 dedication to the memory of Denby and Steve Biko; the new Introduction/Overview; new appendices: two on critique of Negritude by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa thiongo, and our PPL on Grenada, as well as the Afterword-- the 1985-86 Perspectives -- she will show it for the first time as a whole, but will begin "upside-down", in order to stress the essence of these "news". Only the changes from the original draft were read to the REB.

From the Afterword, the M-Hist Perspectives, the first six pages are what you know from Labor Day. Parts I and II of Perspectives are as you know them, but at the end of p. 6, I say that these points were further elaborated on 12/29 and I quote 2 pp. from that 12/29 presentation, ending with a letter to us from a South African revolutionary inside South Africa.

The Appendices by Depestre and Ngugi you have already seen, and the third appendix includes substantial excerpts from both the N&L lead on Grenada and the PPL on it. It is a hefty 14 pages, but all I will read is the new footnote on CLRJ, which, though you have seen it in the 12/29 report, is differently articulated here: (The footnote refers to the point in the PPL where I discuss Bukka Rennie and state that he is expounding CLRJ's view.)

Since I wrote this analysis of Grenada, CLRJ has come out with an analysis of Grenada (Communist Affairs, July, 1984) and granted an interview on the Caribbean (Third World Book Review, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1984), called "An Audience with CLRJ"...

"The fact that by 1983 we were witness to the shooting of one leader, Bishop, by another, Coard, and that that murder meant shooting directly into the mass movement that had spontaneously mobilized in the defense of Bishop, only brought James to the fantastically Bonapartist conclusion: "A mass movement above all needs leadership, and if the political leader does not give it, people turn to another organization, often the army. The army consists of organization-- commanders, lieutenants, majors, etc."

James does not limit that type of empty generalization on leadership and organization to the Caribbean. No, this man is, rhetorically, a man of global vision, at least desire. This 1938 author Black Jacobins denies in 1984 his Caribbean roots (in the Third World Book Review "audience with CLR James"); "I do not know what are the African roots of the language and culture of the Caribbean intellectuals. I am not aware of the African roots of my use of the language and culture... We of the Caribbean have not got an African past. We are black in skin, but the African civilization is not ours. The basis of our civilization in the Caribbean is an adaptation of western civilization."

As I wrote in 1959, when he was writing panegyrics of Nkrumah, "who has single-handedly outlined a programme based on the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Gandhi", "Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him". (See Afro-Asian Revolutions; also see Marxist-Humanist Archives, in which this question begins as far back as "Marxism and the Negro Problem" (1944), which was concretized in 1946 in the debate with Coolidge (ER McKinney), and has continued through to today.

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The new Introduction will be called "1986 Introduction/Overview". It begins with: "Apartheid South African totalitarian leadership's ongoing civil war against the Black majority population has been shaken to its foundation by the masses' bare hands, sticks and stones, because of the power of the idea of freedom." The new here is in the sense of the conviction that what happens in South Africa and in the USA, both in activity and in thought, is in our own M-Hist development. Dialectics manifests itself in the fact that current events are analyzed, not by an outside reporter, but as what is inherent in them as the unfoldment of the actual essence of events as described by the participants. Thus, on the very first page of the Introduction/Overview, which reports the "children's revolution" in South Africa (what the present revolutionary stage has been called), we bring in our analysis of the "Miami shorties" revolt. This relationship continues on the next page when we at once turn to the first edition (1978) by quoting Denby in IHBWJ and in the Introduction to this pamphlet, as Denby quotes Biko.

And by the time the first section is concluded, we quote "a British revolutionary" -- -- who wrote a very good paragraph on what has happened since 1978 in Britain with his comment that "the triangular trade of ideas and revolts has found a fourth port of entry, actually three ports-- Bristol, London, Liverpool." This first part naturally ends with the great new birth of the federation of 33 unions in South Africa-- COSATU.

Raya then began to read directly from the second section. This part states that, along with the heightened new stage of the revolt in South Africa and its global ramifications, it is imperative not to consider it outside of the context of world events. Whether that be the US-Russia summit, or conflicting political-philosophic tendencies in a revolutionary situation, the point is that unless one has a philosophy of revolution inseparable from the actual revolution, the revolution may abort and be transformed into its opposite. Which is why we include the Appendix both on Grenada and the Afterword. It is in this section that we return to the Marx Centenary and the tour around it, with RLWLKM in hand, and the new doors opened to us there on the Black Dimension and on WL. That is to say, it gives us an opportunity to go back to Marx's sensitivity to language from 1844 all the way through the Ethnological Notebooks, where he makes the references to the Australian aborigine as the "intelligent Black" and the English ethnologists as "blockheads".

It includes as well very new views of quotations from Fanon that I didn't dare include in the original, on Fanon's rejection of a "single-party state" and on his critique of Black intellectuals. Fanon is most critical of "the native intellectual (who) has thrown himself greedily upon Western culture... Rabelais, Shakespeare and Edgar Allen Poe..."

We approach the conclusion as follows: "The point is that, whether we look at WL, or Labor, the Youth or the Black Dimension, it makes clear that all forces of revolution in the post-WWII world have the unquenchable thirst for freedom that created a whole new Third World. And this movement from practice that was itself a form of theory challenged revolutionary intellectuals to develop new unities of theories with the practice. And this new relationship of practice to theory signalled a philosophy of revolution that would be inseparable from actual revolution and, as Fanon put it, avoid the pitfalls of nationalism, for revolutionary nationalism is internationalism."

In the new quotation from Fanon against intellectuals-- and he is speaking about Black intellectual-leaders of the independent countries-- we have the final opportunity to sum up.

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Here is the way we conclude: "It is this, precisely this, concept of new human relations of not stopping the revolution with the overthrow of the old society, and thus aborting what Marx called 'revolution in permanence', so that much of the old clings to the newly independent states. Russia, which had the greatest proletarian revolution in 1917 and did begin anew in international relations was stopped short, and in the Stalin decades, as it was surrounded by old world capitalism degenerating into Nazism, it itself turned into opposite-- state-capitalist society.

What our generation can nevertheless achieve with the new Third World, now that we can finally delve into the totality of Marx's Marxism, not Engels' or Lenin's or Mao's, but Marx's Marxism, we can see there his new moments in the final decade of his work that laid the trail to the 1980s and thus accept the challenge to concretize it for our age."

Raya concluded that Lou and she will meet again this week to make final editing changes and prepare the full pamphlet for the printer.

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REB Meeting 1/28/86

Rava's presentation

Rava reported that <sup>because</sup> it is <sup>important</sup> to see the whole of the ~~the~~ FRSABT pamphlet which is NEW from the very title-- New, expanded edition, <sup>now it's dedicated to the memory of C.P. & S.B. & course now in the process</sup> new appendixes: two on a critique of Negritude by Rene Depesre and Ngugi, and <sup>our first</sup> one on Grenada, <sup>as well as After word</sup> and the 1985-86 M-Hist Perspectives <sup>she will show it as whole, but that's what she wants to show</sup> ~~she will~~ <sup>she will</sup> ~~again~~ <sup>again</sup> upside-down, ~~because~~ <sup>relate it</sup> the essence of these "news" is ~~M-Hist directly~~. Only the changes from the original draft will be ~~reported~~ <sup>read out</sup> here. <sup>after work she</sup>

From the M-Hist Perspectives, the first ~~six~~ <sup>are as you know but at end of 6</sup> six pages are what you know from ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~theses~~ <sup>theses</sup>, Parts I and II, ~~at which point~~ <sup>at which point</sup> I say that these points were further elaborated on 12/29 and I quote 2 pp. from that <sup>page's</sup> presentation, ending with a letter to us from a South African revolutionary inside South Africa. The Appendices by Depestre and Ngugi you have already seen and the ~~third~~ <sup>third</sup> appendix includes substantial excerpts from both the N&L lead on Grenada and the PPL on it. It is a hefty 14 pages, but all I will read is the new footnote on CLRJ, which, though you have seen it in the 12/29 report, <sup>is differently articulated</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~different~~ <sup>different</sup> articulated ~~here~~.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Quote presentation and add following to end of footnote

<sup>PD</sup> (See Archives, which began way back with the debate with David Coolidge (ER McKinney), actually with "Mixism and the Negro Problem" (1944) and was concretized in 1946 vs. Coolidge, and has continued through ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~today~~ <sup>today</sup>.) \*\*\*\*\*

The new Introduction will be called 1986 Introduction ~~and~~ Overview. It begins with ("Apartheid SA...Q first sentence.)  
The new <sup>I mean here</sup> in the sense ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> of the ~~constant~~ <sup>constant</sup> ~~believing~~ <sup>believing</sup> that what happens in SAfrica and the USA both in the activities of the ~~second~~ <sup>second</sup> ~~im-~~ <sup>im-</sup> ~~perial~~ <sup>perial</sup>, and ~~very~~ <sup>in the</sup> ~~centrally~~ <sup>thought</sup> our ~~own~~ <sup>own</sup> development, ~~so~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> the analysis of <sup>the Dialectics</sup>

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there. This first part naturally ends with the great new birth of COSATU  
in South Africa.

Raya then began to read directly from the ~~2nd~~ 2nd part. This part  
states that, along with the heightened new stage of the revolt in SAfrica  
and its global ramifications, it is imperative not to consider it out-  
side of context in world events, whether that be the summit, or return  
to conflicting tendencies in a revolutionary period can lead to unless  
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the way through the EN and the reference to the Australian aborigines  
as "intelligent Blacks" and the English ethnologists as "blockheads".

It includes as well very new quotations from FF that I didn't  
dare include in the original on his rejection of a "single-  
party state", critique of Black intellectualism.

Here quote FF, p. 10 on native intell.

*we approach*  
As we ~~come to the end~~ *conclusion as follows* ... Q 1st paragraph on p. 10

In the new quotation from Fanon against intellectuals and he is speaking about Black intellectual-leaders of the independent countries, we have the final opportunity to sum up. *Quote p. 11 up to "our age"*

She concluded that Lou and RD will meet again this week to make final editing and prepare the full pamphlet for the printer. (She was afraid to say that it was 11 pp., because they were 11 of her type of pages, which may very well turn out to be longer.)

*The new edit, in would*  
*number about 35 pp*