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I Introduction

The accumulated mass of factual evidence ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ which annually document
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the conditions of economic and social de-
 pression in Black America have become nearly rhetorical in their in-
 dictment of Reaganism and Reaganomics as the structural undermining
 of the Black community. ^{however has not only on the U.S. but imp. now, is} Whether it is the latest reports on hunger ^{Retrospect}
 and unemployment or the annual findings of civil rights organizations ¹⁹⁸¹⁻⁸²
 there is no escaping the conclusions that Marx came to when he studied ^{More Reaganites}
 the famous Blue Book factory reports and factual material on life and ^{with}
 labor in the U.S. ^{i.e., that reality cannot be left at the factual level.} Today, however, what has given a new cogency to ^{with}
 Marx's combining reports on the Black condition/af slavery with those ^{of the}
 on the exploitative conditons of /"advanced" industrial society is ^{institution}
 that Reaganism ^{has} spells out the underdevelopment -- the Third World
 underdevelopment -- of the Black condition ~~xxx~~ right in the midsts
 of the most ~~developed~~ ^{developed} technologically society.

What is not rhetorical is that ~~the~~ ^{the} real history of capitalist
 civilization ~~which~~ ^{the} contains the subjectives forces and reason
 for ~~its~~ ⁱⁿ uprootings now more than ~~as~~ ^{in that} any other period. It is ~~there~~
^{history} that Marx discovered a new concept of theory which the maturity of our
 age ~~is~~ expresses as Marxist-Humanism. It is that which not only gives
 a global scope to a report on "The Black dimension and ~~the~~ ^{the} Caribbean" but underscores the ^{revolutionary humanist dimension of}
 world, from the U.S. to South Africa. ~~the~~ And finally, it is the ^{in the eastern Carib.}
 problematic of ~~our~~ ^{the} revolutions and counter-revolution ~~which~~
~~is~~ ~~when~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~act~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~factor~~ ~~comes~~ ~~from~~ ~~within~~ ~~the~~ ~~scope~~
~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~system~~ ~~itself~~ ~~which~~ ~~now~~ ~~makes~~ ~~it~~ ~~most~~ ~~imperative~~ ~~to~~
 extend that two-way road of liberation to the triangular movemant
 of Black freedom struggles ^{and thought} in the U.S., Africa and the Caribbean.

II.

The ~~xxx~~ Black mass outpourings for the Jesse Jackson candidacy this past year sharpened not only ^{Black America} response to ~~their~~ betrayal at the hands ~~of~~ of the Democratic Party, but remained the only force to overwhelmingly oppose the election of ~~Reagan~~ ^{Black} Reagan ~~four~~ four more years of Reaganism. That challenge to Reagan became truly global when the Black masses of Azania ~~intensified~~ intensified their struggle against every aspect of apartheid. The two-way road between the U.S. and South Africa ignited a new youth movement in the U.S. in support of South African freedom and for ~~divestiture~~ ^{also} divestiture, which extended ~~to~~ to opposing Reagan's militarism at home.

Nevertheless, the new South Africa movement immediately disclosed contradictions in the U.S. and South Africa. The two-way road which opened up this spring on campuses across the country reached an impasse so soon after it emerged because the Black dimension in America ^{conceptually} remained as remote as South Africa was geographically distant. There was no escaping the reigning ideology of Reaganism ~~and~~ ^{as} racist violence rang out in a Philadelphia Black community when a Black mayor issued orders to bomb the home of a Black nationalist organization, which ended up destroying several ~~the~~ blocks of Black-owned homes after police had ~~the~~ cordoned-off the area. The absolute degeneracy of racist America did not stop with the killing of the men, women and children in the Move house, but has now reached ~~an~~ ^{an act} even lower depths with the ~~trial~~ ^{on} trial of the only adult survivor ~~on~~ ^{not only} ~~essentially~~ ^{about} ~~misdeeds~~ ^{about} while detaining her with a multi-million dollar bail. Mary Africa spoke the truth ^{about} about Philadelphia but ~~of~~ ^{about} America when she exclaimed to the ~~racist~~ ^{city} racist court that Wilson Goode, ~~she~~ ^{who} should be put on trial.

The revelations of police tortures of Blacks in New York, the

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South African-style shantytowns constructed by the homeless and then torn down the city in Los Angeles, the escalation of racist attacks on Blacks in Chicago because their is a Black mayor, the conditions of Third World hunger both North and South, and the crisis in education, unemployment and social justice facing Black youth remained invisible, ~~in~~ in a separate world from the spring protests around the struggle in South Africa. And as radicals bemoaned the fact that it was South Africa, not Central American support, which was eliciting this new ~~movement~~ radicalism, new divisions surfaced in the ~~the~~ South African struggle itself.

The political antagonisms between liberation organizations in ~~the~~ South Africa and the separation of the movement in the U.S. from Black America make ~~it~~ imperative to both to single out the latest developments, including a rare interview with imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and the ~~historical~~ historical-theoretical context of Marxist-Humanism's 30 years ~~analysis~~ analysis of events in and actual relationships to ~~the~~ African freedom struggles.

In South Africa, protest has always walked in the shadow of massacres; ~~but~~ today that takes on the horror of Latin American-style ~~death~~ death squads ~~which~~ roam the townships, ~~and~~ especially those such as Cradock which have been ~~in~~ identified as the most revolutionary. This ~~a~~ new horror has not, however, succeeded ~~in~~ ~~diverting~~ ~~the~~ ~~conflicting~~ ~~tendencies~~ ~~from~~ ~~fighting~~ ~~amongst~~ ~~themselves~~, as the latest clashes between the UDF and AZAPO ~~has~~ shown. ~~What~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~the~~ ~~result~~ ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~clashes~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~avoid~~ ~~the~~ ~~issue~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~role~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Black~~ ~~movement~~

~~What~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~the~~ ~~result~~ ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~clashes~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~avoid~~ ~~the~~ ~~issue~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~role~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Black~~ ~~movement~~

What discloses at one ~~xx~~ and the same time the maturity of the Black mass movement in South Africa and the seriousness of ~~xx~~ its challenge to apartheid is seen first by the fact that the newly emergent trade unions and the community organizations ^{refuse to be} ~~have not been~~ drawn into the factional fighting. Secondly, the ~~xxxxxxx~~ degree to which the Botha regime has bent to internal and external pressure of the anti-apartheid struggle is evident in its attitude ^{toward} ~~the~~ Nelson Mandela, the acknowledged leader of the Azania freedom struggle.

~~That, whatever the New York Times~~

Thus, no matter what motivated the New York Times in releasing former Watergate prosecution, ~~xxx~~ Sam Dash's ~~xxx~~ exclusive interview with Mandela, seven month after it was held, ~~xx~~ there was no mystery as to why Botha offered Mandela a conditional release at the time of the new mass outpouring following the February, Crossroads massacre. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Mandela took ^{that} ~~the~~ opportunity ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to both ~~xxxx~~ issue a moving rejection and indict the apartheid system. ^{But} The Dash interview ~~xxxxxxx~~ shows to what extent the mass movement has compelled to let Mandela speak for himself, if not ~~xxxx~~ directly to ^{the} state then to the world to which Mandela has become synonymous with Azanian freedom.]

At this moment in the Black world, it cannot be disregarded that Mandela may symbolize not only Azanian but African freedom. From the ~~the~~ 1960 Sharpeville ~~mass~~ massacre which brought Robert Sobukwe and the PAC to prominence to the 1976 Soweto Rebellion ~~which~~ when the world discovered Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness movement, the South African struggle ^{has always} ~~had~~ been the key to completing the unfinished African revolution. What we have singled out over that period is ^{the} two-way road to revolution between the ~~the~~ U.S. and Africa, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ^{and} the new humanism and ^{new philosophic beginnings} ~~hunger for philosophy~~ which the maturity of ~~xx~~ our

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age brought forth.

It is the separability of the last two questions which relates ~~xxxxxx~~ the Black dimension to the Caribbean at this moment and which ~~xx~~ impel a ~~xx~~ retrospective look at the moment when they arose concretely in Marxist-Humanism, i.e., when we had a ~~xx~~ physical/organizational presence in Africa in the early 1960s.

Take ~~the~~ what has become very familiar to us on the question of the African revolutions, i.e., the fact that Fanon singled out its greatest contribution to be a "new humanism". And though both Senghor and Toure had also projected that as the basis of African socialism, it was only Fanon who concretized that, meaning the mass movement and not the "African personality" of the intellectual as Nkrumah had. Now ^{views from two very different periods on the question,} listen to two ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~the abstract humanism of African socialism when it is tied to the vanguard party or to the ideology of the party house~~

In her 1963 Presence Africaine article Raya opens by noting that "The indigeneness of the roots of African and American Marxist-Humanism is questioned by everyone." Then she ~~states~~ ^{underlines the point} that "The point of affinity between African and American Marxist-Humanism is the present as it is related to the future -- world developments and the unfinished revolutions to be brought to a conclusion on an international scale. It is for this reason I travelled to Africa, and not only to hear in person the views of the leaders, but get to know the thoughts of the man in the street and in the bush, at this critical juncture of history." The question which ~~now~~ arises now when we have made a category of Marx's last decade as leaving trail to the 1980s ~~xxxxxx~~ and to the Third World is: didn't the fact that the separation between the leadership and the masses on ~~the~~ ^{what} is concrete and what is abstract on the question of humanism ~~and~~ make more imperative the ~~and~~

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need to single out the "indigenoussness" of Marxist-Humanism in Africa and ~~and~~ America?

For his part, Fanon had first begun to make a category of humanism ^{at} the critical juncture of the Algerian revolution when de Gaulle came to power. To Fanon it wasn't only a question of ~~making~~ internationalism but of dialectics when he wrote in 1958: "...the dialectical strengthening that occurs between the movement of liberation of the ~~colonized~~ peoples and the ~~emancipatory~~ struggle of the exploited working classes of the imperialist countries is sometimes neglected, and indeed forgotten.... The advent of ~~new~~ peoples, unknown only yesterday, onto the stage of history, their determination to participate in the building of a civilization that has its place in the world of today give to the contemporary period a decisive importance in the world process of humanization."

As against this ^{humanist} ~~view~~ view of the movement from below which is "indigenous" to Africa and ~~developed~~ developed lands, the Kenyan ~~revolutionary~~ revolutionary writer, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, ~~recently~~ recently critiqued ~~this~~ this notion when it is separated from the African masses: "This ~~confidence~~ confidence was manifest in the sharp tone of the critique of European bourgeois civilization; and the implication that Africa had something new to give to the world -- which was particularly strong in the ideology of negritude -- reflected the political ascendancy of the patriotic nationalistic section of the petty bourgeoisie before and immediately after independence."

What makes this cogent for the present situation in the Caribbean was developed quite early and philosophically by Raya in ~~the~~ the July 1962 draft perspectives, ^{at the time in Now} ~~on the~~ on the question of the Party, ~~upon~~ upon her return from Africa. ~~It~~ It is there that she

states that "We considered the African trip an indispensable requisite for the new book dealing with the political maturity of the masses -- 'the subjectivity that has absorbed objectivity' to a degree that you could not say where theory left off and practice began." It is that which leads into ^a ~~xxxxxxx~~ most original/expositions on ~~Africa~~ the relationship of the dialectics of liberation to the question of organization. Raya writes that "the African phenomenon of 'the party' is as specific to our revolutionary times as the decentralized concept of workers councils of the Hungarian Revolution. The very fact that the ~~worst~~ worst feature of single partyism in Africa appears in Ghana where there are opposition parties shows that the evil is not in the single party-ism per se so much as it is in the limitations of speech, independent organizations of the workers, and the narrowing of their horizons to 'productivity.'"

And criticizing those such as Sekou Toure who eschewed the elitist party for the ~~the~~ "people's party" ^{the} Raya goes on ~~xxxxxxx~~ write that ^{xxxxxxxx} Toure's "defect is that he then says: we don't discuss Marxism. We discuss whether to build a bridge or a school, where to build it, and who and how to do it. If even that were so -- that all people are brought into the decision-making, the truth still remains the decision-making is on the practical level only, thereby ~~xxx~~ once again re-establishing the division between mental and manual work. Everyone may be brought into a decision where to build what --but is everyone brought into the question of formulating the theory under which the reconstruction proceeds? There is many a Guinean whose concept of that which Toure calls 'full Africanization' differs widely from his leader's concept for the intellectuals to continue 'to lead' and the masses to continue to labor. The Guinean worker does not wish to limit his participation to the 'doing.' Or, rather, he wants doing to include the thinking that goes into

developing the philosophy of African socialism."

~~What the party means to the African worker and peasant based on this underlying philosophy of Marxist-Humanism is that "The party-~~

What the party means to the African worker and peasant based on this underlying philosophy of Marxist-Humanism is that it is "the organization that has put an end to the fragmentation that imperialism brought." Moreover, "That fragmentation is not limited just to tribal or geographic divisions, that is to say, the obvious divide and rule method of colonialism.... (and) I must be stressed also that this identification of fragmentation with the individual, though it no doubt has some origin in communal living, as a tribe, is of this era and not of the past, is directly related to the gaining of freedom, the type of freedom that is more than nominal.... It is this which infuses Negritude with a philosophy of Freedom Now. It is this which makes them reverse the Marxist principle that no society can be free unless the individual is free. To the African, no individual can be free unless society is. There may seem to be no contradiction in this, and indeed it is only a different formulation of the same thought. But the African persists in his own formulation because to him it is not only that society cannot be free, but that it cannot even exist unless it is organized, has its party which would thus give it the strength to challenge neo-colonialism though it still isn't armed and imperialism is. Thus they have fastened on to the indis-

soluble link between freedom and organization."
perspectives

I have quoted from this ~~this thesis~~ at length ~~because~~ not only because anyone familiar with the Grenadian revolution and our analysis of its pitfalls can recognize in this early 1962 thesis on the African revolution the methodological pathway leading ~~from one to the~~

the problematics of revolution in the 1980s.

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After the BREAK FOR LUNCH, Terry, Chicago took the chair and turned the floor over to Mike Connolly, National Co-Organizer, for his report on "Marxist-Humanist Philosophy in Readers' Views and in News and Letters Committees Organization." (Mike's report is included elsewhere in this Bulletin and will not be summarized here.)

Terry then call on Lou Turner, "Black World" columnist, for his subreport to Perspective on "The Black Dimension and the Caribbean." (Lou's report will be summarized briefly here because the whole question we are concerned with is a concrete development that flowed from it -- a new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought. It will have a new Introduction by Raya, Lou and John Alan, and will be ready no later than Jan. 1986.)

Lou began by pointing out that as we meet today, the mass upsurge against

South African fascism has represented itself in the "mixed race" section of Capetown. They have met with death from the security forces. The protests involved attempts to march to Pollsmoor prison, where Mandela is imprisoned. Ever since Mandela rejected the conditional release offer last spring, the movement has turned more and more toward him, and the government has to recognize that. The banning of the Congress of South African Students is an attempt to break up the most passionate and idealistic dimension of the movement -- Black youth. Lou reviewed the way the Black Consciousness Movement transformed the struggle into one for the Black mind, its unchaining. In FFSABT in 1978, we reported that schools had become centers for revolution. Today there are reports of police entering schools to break up alternative classes organized by COSAS. The civil war we spoke of in the May N&L dates from the moment the Nationalist Party came to power after WWII. ~~In a sense it dates to the first Black trade unions of the 1920s, when Clements Khadali wrote of those struggles.~~

Tracing the South African freedom movement from Sharpeville through the revolutions in Portuguese Africa to today, Lou showed how those revolutions both deepened the struggle in South Africa and stiffened Botha's repression. At the same time, any illusions that independence equals freedom have been swept away. In the U.S., we can see the impact of South African freedom movements on the movement here, whether among the youth, or in labor, as with the boycotts of South African ships by longshoremen.

Part II of Lou's report took up the "State of Black America and its historical imperative: Black masses as Reason and as vanguard." There are "Buppies" also within Black America, as Emma Darnell indicated in her attack at the National Bar Assoc. meeting last month. Calling them "whales dying on the beaches of America," she also denounced them (in Tina Turner's words) as "private dancers for money." It raises questions about the direction of segments of Black America under Reagan, and brings South Africa into sharper focus. This is going on while Black voting rights activists in the South are under attack by Reagan and his allies, and while Black unemployment is ignored. The debate over the direction of the movement is underlined by the new book by the Black conservative, Theodore Cross, The Black Power Imperative. His book only proves the truth of what we said in the 1960s-- that "Black power has become a giant reindeer hat-rack, with many opposing hats hanging there." To see how the debate is even reaching into the established Black organizations, Lou followed the National Bar Assoc. formed in 1925, when Woodson was struggling to have the word "Negro" capitalized. 1929 was also the year when the American Negro Labor Congress was formed.

We have too much taken the Caribbean for granted, in the three-way movement of freedom ideas between Africa, Black America and those islands. The reason we have to single it out now, unfortunately, is the counter-revolution in Grenada in 1988. When the Reagan administration revealed the documents of the New Jewel Movement, it was clear that the revolution had been made without any philosophy of revolution. It ended up opening the whole Caribbean for Reagan's imperialist intervention. Lou showed the two pamphlets that serve as our basis for revolutionary ideas and action in this arena -- Afro-Asian Revolutions, with its critique of the "administrative mentality," and FFSABT, which we would like to propose be issued in a new edition this year. We need a fund for the re-publication of that work, to determine how quickly we can meet the challenge of the Black dimension as revolutionary activity and thought as it develops this year.