

12/13/85

Peter for FF p. 4:

"Because we saw in the African critique of the dehumanization of language an affinity with what we as Marxist-Humanists were were out during that crucial Marx Centenary tour Denby was most anxious to produce a new edition of our 1963 ACOT."

P. 6: "Because we consider our analysis of that tragic development as touching on the question of how to overcome the legacy of unfinished revolutions ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ we include here as appendix..."

(ftn. on CLR here?)

...both Peter and Ray refer to my letter to Alan 10/11/85 and wanted the new intro. to include the Q. from D. X Caute on p. 133 on single party.

P's letter p. 2 3rd para. is anxious to have the relationship of Idea to objectivity further expanded.

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Ray 11/30/85

1. proposes that we put reference to Black-Red Conf., also 1969 Perspectives, p.10, para. 5

More on the new in Black labor.

Finally, transition from para. 8 on page 3 to para. 9 on p. 4 on CD on Black leaders is too abrupt

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Eugene 11/25/85

E. wants new in the America in those 8 years.

Is there a way of rearticulating freedom ideas by some Black leader rather than leaving it at Biko 1976?

Regarding our pp. 4 and 5 <sup>n</sup> need reworking in the sense there should be more of us as Marxist-Humanists and more of us in relationship to the objective situation and Reaganism.

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W 12/5/85

I was expecting something on the visage of Hitler in apartheid S.A. shows the future the rulers have in store for all us, esp. Reagan.

Is very anxious that RD's PPL on Grenada must be included and not just for the ftn. on CLR James, but because the whole question of what happens in Grenada is imperative to be brought up in relation to the S.A. civil war.-- the AZAPA/UDF killings. Since 1978 the triangular the triangular trade of idea and revolt has found a fourth ~~xxx~~ port of entry, actually 3 ports Bristol, London and Liverpool.

Youth as trying to go way beyond divestment.

Sowetan article Q.

Question Q. from Tambo

"children's revolution"

Date of N&L where P. Nāanala on Subukwe

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for ~~the~~ leadership: "~~THEXMX~~ A mass movement above all needs leadership. And if the political leader does not give it people turn to another ~~EX~~ ORGANIZATION, often the army. The army consists of organization -- commanders, lieutenants, majors and so forth."

The rest of Bishop by "the faction"..."they would carry out their programme -- in actuality power would be concentrated in a pro-Moscow leadership."

"in actuality would be concentrated in a pro-Moscow leadership."

"At any rate Moscow and Cuba were encouraging them."

The Eastern Caribbean is of strategic interest to the United States."

(~~ORELXXXXXX~~) "OREL clique"

"Moscow did not want the Stalinists to fight Bishop."

~~\*\*\*\*\*~~

2 Two articles. Front pager Dec. 1983: "Reagan's imperial invasion and conquest of Grenada" contained an article from Grenada by Carol Green entitled "No Bishop, No Revo. No Work": the mass freeing and army murder of Maurice Bishop"

PPL dated Nov. 28, 1983

Q. only "The Reagan style of the Breshnev Doctrine reveals ~~ixt~~ its anti-Black nature" -- 1 page and a 1/3

Cut last para. p. 2; ~~x~~ cut 1st 2 para. p. 4; could half of p. 5 and 6 be cut?; ftns. 2-6 ~~cnx~~ be cut, ftn. 8 cut; cut 2nd para. p. 10;

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~~XXXXXX~~ reproduce picture of COSATU president, Elijah Barayi, NYT 12/1/85

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Wretched of the Earth (1966 ed.) p. 133, "Pitfalls of National Consciousness". As he develops what contradictions befall the birth of the newly freed nation~~x~~, he writes: "The single party

is the ~~modern~~ modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous, and cynical." (p.133) (see also pp. 176 and 177 on how "the native intellectual has thrown himself greedily upon Western culture...Rabelais, Shakespeare and Edgar Allen Poe...

"...intellectuals gather together all the historical ~~determining~~ determining factors which have conditioned them and take up a fundamentally "universal standpoint". ~~(See~~ (p. 176) (See p.33: "The natives' challenge to the colonial world is not a rational confrontation of points of view. It is not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute.")

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(Y)

Which 63 Dubick  
Bl Jackson  
has  
71 Oil  
general

At the Rendevous of Victory (1984) 17th ch. written in (1975)

and entitled: Presence of Blacks in the Caribbean and its impact on culture, pp.218-236. Written for Amsterdam News

June-July (1975) on ~~Am~~ Aime CesaIRE, Toussant L'overture, Henry Glyvester Williams, George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Frantz Fanon

~~AND~~ Stokely Carmichael:

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1985 Oct. edition of A History of Negro Revolt the Caribbean

appears as a separate (sub?) section in 1939-69 ed. pp.79-82

"the struggle for African and Black ind. is studied with distinguished individuals of Carribbean origins." He begins with

Rene Maran in (1921) author of Batouala for which he got the Prix

Goncourt and procedes to mention: "Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, F.F., Aime Cesaire, Stokely Carmicheal..."

"...the ~~black~~ population is modern population, a population of the 20th century, learned in the languages and techniques of Western Civilization..."

"...Always out of Africa."

pp. 221-236

Spheres of Existence (1980) 15th ch. on "Black Power that is

supposed to be a lecture in London in (1967). J. contrasts (2) dates in 1967. In March when he heard Carmichael speak to about

a 1000 people and was so impressed that he wrote immediately a political letter to him from which he quotes just 2 paras. choosing

in the 1st one the question of leadership because "everything depends on that, but also the specifics dangers that beset you as

a leader, perhaps the most prominent leader today of this great movement in the U.S."

2nd Q. speaks of the West Indians "and people of West Indian

origin

bl. ch. 3  
Neg Revolt  
not 75  
Amsterdam  
News  
photo

Montreal  
Canada

From  
Stokely  
Carmichael  
1980

T.F. 67 (after  
Stokely Carmichael)

origin who have made their way on the broad stage of Western civilization... they are Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Aimé Césaire, FF... in a ~~great~~ substantial ~~and~~ respect I am one of them...AND you are one." He then proceeds to say about the 1967 "the year has not ended and now (Sept.) he speaks with a scope and a depth and range of political understanding that astonishes me." After that Black Power he speaks on the greatness of Stokely in producing this Black Power. And concludes <sup>with</sup> p. 236 he writes: "In the opinion of myself or stronger and many of my friends no clearer/voice for socialism has ever been raised in the U.S."

Q

fantasy

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As for what of the 10/85 N&L lead, "the Undeclared and ongoing C.W. in S.A." that isn't part of the Perspectives on Hitler's Visage, which is going to be in the Appendix, here is what we can include directly in our own Intro.:

#1st 2 paras. and 6 & \*

As for the 12/13 5 pager Lou has written we can definitely use 2 paras. on p. 3: "Because the dialectics...challenged the established leadership." And on p. 4 the sentence on the visage of Hitler, at which point we would say, as we related the Miami events to the original ed.

I would like to quote from p. 5 the Azanian revolutionary, but at this moment I can't make up mind.

(What is new, powerfully new, at the present moment in South Africa -- and not as mere background but very strategically centered at the heart of apartheid society -- is the founding of the 500,000-strong massive trade union federation, COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions)) at the end of November, 1985.) Meeting in Durban, the scene of the 1973 mass strikes which gave birth to the Black independent trade union movement, 900 rank-and-file delegates elected a president, set forth their perspectives and tasks, and laid down their challenge to the apartheid regime of P.W. Botha.

(From the powerful, 150,000-member National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) the delegates elected Elijah Barayi the first president of COSATU. Led by Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of NUM, the mineworkers have not only been pivotal in founding COSATU<sup>7</sup> but they have engaged in some of the fiercest battles in the civil war<sup>between Black labor and multi-national capital in South Africa.</sup> That civil war is sure to intensify. In fact, Barayi singled out the very birth itself of the new federation as "the last warning" to the Botha regime to "get rid of the passes and...get rid of the troops in the townships before the house burns down."

With a draconian state of emergency in effect in Black townships around the industrial and commercial centers of Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town, the perspectives and tasks of COSATU become two-fold. First, there is the task of consolidating 36 unions into 13 amalgamated unions, in three months. Secondly, there

(more)

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is the question of working out a relationship between this newly-formed national trade union center and the national liberation organizations, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum Committee (NFC). <sup>This is not</sup> ~~This second task involves the immediate perspective of COSATU's relationship to the eminent~~ <sup>formation of a 200,000-strong federation of trade unions who are affiliated with the Black Consciousness movement. However, both the fact that NUM parted from the Black Consciousness-oriented CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa) to help launch COSATU and the fact that NUM has led the new federation in calling for new unity talks with CUSA and AZACTU (Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions) reveals what one trade unionist in FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions) noted several years ago when unity talks were first underway: "...the mere size of working class organization is itself no guarantee that workers will control their own destiny. In fact as the struggle of Solidarity shows, even the fact that a country is said to be socialist does not guarantee that workers control their own destiny." (See Power! Black workers, their unions and the struggle for freedom in South Africa, by Denis MacShane, Martin Plaut and David Ward, 1984; p.144)</sup>

Finally, the present challenge that COSATU represents for the apartheid regime in Pretoria was spelled out in its statement of demands: 1. support divestment of American and British holdings, 2. call for the resignation of Botha, 3. nationalization of South Africa's mines, 4. withdrawal of troops from the townships, and 5.

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abolition of the pass laws. That the very act of daring to call for any of these is immediately punishable under South African law is itself a powerful expression of the new historic initiative that Black labor has brought to the revolutionary movement for freedom in South Africa.

*Add new P.  
" in conclusion...  
ref to J.A. 201  
D*

For editors...

For new edition of FFSABT, re PPL on Grenada:

On p.8, 2nd ¶ of PPL, please remove reference to "History Will Absolve Me" (Castro's Moncada trial defense speech in Oct. 1953).

MA 1953  
Oct

Below is excerpt from his speech on Humanism (May 21, 1959):

**CUBA: TRAGEDY IN OUR HEMISPHERE 109**

In union elections held throughout the country during the month of May, "the Castro Movement," as R. Hart Phillips reported in *The New York Times* (May 26, 1959), "... scored a virtually complete victory over the Communists. . . ."

Fidel Castro made repeated assertions of his anti-Communism and of the distinctive "humanistic" and nationalistic features of the revolution. In a televised speech to the nation on May 21, he summarized his revolutionary creed:

Our revolution is neither capitalist nor Communist. Our revolution has a position of its own and is in all its characteristics a revolution which is distinctive. . . . We, in our humanist doctrine, are intensely concerned with the people and we are mobilizing all of our forces in benefit of the majority. We want to liberate man from dogmas, and free his economy and society, without terrorizing or binding anyone. We have been placed in a position where we must choose between capitalism, which starves people, and Communism which resolves the economic problem but suppresses the liberties so greatly cherished by man. I know that Cubans and all Latin Americans desire a revolution that may meet their material needs without sacrificing their liberties. . . . We have respected liberties, religious beliefs and individual rights, and we are carrying our revolution forward through democratic means. Should we accomplish our revolution in this way, the Cuban Revolution will become a classic revolution in the history of the world. . . .

Without social justice, without the satisfaction of man's necessities, neither liberty nor democracy is possible; men are slaves of misery. . . . That is why we have said that we are making a humanist revolution, because it humanizes man. . . . Capitalism sacrifices man; the Communist state sacrifices man. It is for this reason that we are trying to make our own revolution. For every people must develop through its own political process guided by its own necessities. Ours is an autonomous Cuban revolution, as Cuban as our music, for every people has a distinct music and a distinct culture. . . . Our revolution is not red, but olive green, the color of the rebel army that emerged from the heart of the Sierra Maestra.

Although the Communists had been agitating for higher wages, they had given little other basis for the attacks on them by the 26th of July Movement. The Communists

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