

1/17/86

Dear Alan: (Copy to REB)

(Also to be read to local)

Here it finally is, with the Introd. to the new edition of the FF pamphlet, called Introduction/Overview, not only because it has grown from 6 pp. to 18, but because once you take a serious glance at the years bet. 1978 when it was 1st published and 1986 as it is going to press now, that whirlwind of events--and events cover not just actions which are endless, but dialectic development of philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, it is clear it is no pamphlet but a book now.

The first new that greets the reader at once is its dedication to Charles Denby and Steve Biko, and a picture of both of them. And even before they get to that new, they would have seen the new cover which announces that this is an expanded new edition ~~with~~ not only a new Introduction/overview, but Appendices by Rene Depestre, and Nguigi on Negritude and Language, and RD on Grenada. And it lists, as Afterword, M-H Perspectives, 1985-6.

Now then the sweep and retrospective of the new Introduction/Overview permits us at once, directly after the 1st 2 original para. on apartheid SF regime, to go back to origin and thus at once mention CD as one who was then completing his autobiography and quoting what he said on Biko and the affinity of thought to FF and Am. Black Thought. And since that also means mentioning N&L we show that CD's column, "Haitians dehumanized at Krome" as well as John Alan's Bl/Red column, "Poland, Haiti, freedom indivisible." Everywhere US/Africa are integrally related as we also parallel what is called "the children's revolution" in S Africa and what was called "the little shorties" in the Miami uprisings. Finally, for what is now considered Section I of this introd./overview returned to our 1969 Black/Red Conference where Philosophy of Revolution when it wasn't even a book was the talk, i.e., the context of discussing the objective situation of the turbulent '60s plus the Perspectives it led to that year The Needed American Revolution. (Both these suggestions on 1969 were Ray's suggestion when he read 1st draft, and it gave us opportunity again to be in S.Afr. as it is the year when the dock strike for the 1st time got some white students to support.)

The 1st new in Section II ~~ixx~~ is that we quote "a British revolutionary" (N.) with his magnificent phrase that the triangular ideas we're always talking about has "found a fourth port of entry, actually 3 ports, Bristol, London, Liverpool. And whereas 100,000 march in London for divestment, the Black revolt is ~~EMAN~~ DEMANDING that those demonstrators not separate their fight against apartheid from the fight against racism." The most important of the new is an absolutely heart-rending and creative story of Winnie Mandela when she was imprisoned and ~~and~~ confined to solitary found a message in a most unusual place calling her "mother of the nation, we are with you." With it we contrast but also bring out the new of Women's Liberation even there as we include our analysis of the UN conference in Nairobi, Kenya.

Section II ~~ixx~~ puts all these both in world context and/inseparable from philosophic developments as its returns to the 1950 in a way that retrospective is perspective by returning to Marx's Marxism both with that par. that CD liked so well on summing up Marx on Black from 1840's to 1880s as well as EE and whole post WW II world. *With our M&C companion 1958 followed by ART Revolutions pamphlet*

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on the eve of FF's Wretched of the Earth. This time we quote new type of quotations from FF I did not dare quote in 1st edition that let us see this great revolutionary as a critique of the new Black leaders: "Leader": the word comes from the English word, "to lead", but a frequent French translation is 'to drive'. The driver, the shepherd of the people no longer exists today. The people are no longer a herd and they do not need to be driven." This is followed by an attack on the single party which is described as "the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical" and he was not talking of capitalism but of the newly independent African states that had Osagyefos.

Finally, with a brief IV section, we go to 1983 as both Marx Centenary and the national tour and the great horror not only of the US imperialist invasion of Grenada, but how the conflicting tendencies in the revolutionary governing party was "settled" by the shooting of Bishop by Coard-Austin, his co-leaders. In a word, from the moment we publicly threw the gauntlet down to all post-Marx Marxists, including the great revolutionaries with RLWLM when with EN and seeing Marx's Marxism as a totality, we had to concretize "not Engels", not Luxemburg's, not Lenin's, but Marx's. Here then is our final par. in the Introduction/Overview:

"Too much of the old clings to ~~the~~ newly independent states. Russia, which achieved, in 1917, the greatest proletarian revolution the world has experienced, was transformed into its opposite--a state-capitalist society-- in the Stalin decades as it was surrounded by a world capitalism degenerating to Nazism. The concept of new human relations, of not stopping the revolution with the overthrow of the old society and thus aborting what Marx called "the revolution in permanence", is what it is necessary to spell out anew for our age."

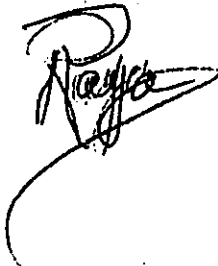
Jan. 17, 1986

Raya Dunayevskaya -- Lou Turner -- John Alan

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I do not know whether you're as excited as Lou and I were when we saw that little symbol, "30", but I do believe that when they see this in same pamphlet as the original, and it is further followed with the Haitian poet-essaying Rene Despre and Nguigi wa Thiong'o and the analysis of Grenada with the Afterword of excerpts from our own Perspectives, 1985-6 which includes a p. or so of 12/29/85 Expanded Rob report, even \$5,000 extra for getting this book and all its new pictures, including the very latest COMATU Congress picture, the extra moneys will come in--after they get over the shock of what printing costs these days no matter how much unpaid labor we put in. I trust that you haven't stopped creating new ways of approaching periphery as well as devising ways as "lucrative" as Bay Area garage sales generally are, except that these "sales" will be true philosophic world preparations for revolution.

Yours,



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NEW INTRODUCTION/OVERVIEW

I.

So great is the power of the Idea of freedom that it ~~shaken~~ ^{has shaken} Apartheid South Africa to its foundation. The struggles for freedom against that totalitarian leadership's armed-to-the-teeth ~~undeclared~~ ^{upon} savage civil war ~~against~~ the unarmed Black majority popular are endless. The point now is: What to do to correct this fantastic imbalance of forces? How to recognize ~~that~~ the freedom idea itself ~~is~~ as a great force of reason in this life and death struggle? What can be done internationally to solidarize?

The first vantage point of international ~~solidarity~~ solidarity is to recognize that the African freedom struggles are, to begin with, continent wide. There is no part of Africa -- North, South, East or West, whether they be newly decolonized African nations or even the Bantustans of South Africa, where freedom struggles are not pivotal. This shows that the Idea of freedom becomes ~~an~~ ^{actual} force when ~~it~~ ^{it} becomes ~~the~~ embodied within the ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~forces~~ ^{live}, human forces of revolution. This is fact not only across the continent of Africa, but through ^{out} the whole world. In South Africa itself that are new forces -- youth so young that the present South African struggle has been widely referred to as the "children's revolution." That this characterizes also the Black Dimension in the United States was evident when the first of three uprisings in Miami, ~~1980~~ (1980, 1981, 1982) was referred to as the revolt of "the little shorties."

The present U.S. ^{movement's} support for ~~the~~ divestment, as well as the support throughout the world is good, but is by no means the whole of the imperative activity needed.

The impulse for the first edition of this pamphlet was the fact that ~~Biko~~^{Steve} in 1976, two years before he was imprisoned and murdered, had declared the affinity of Black Consciousness in South Africa/^{with American Black thought and} ~~that~~ Frantz Fanon's philosophy of revolution, what he had called his "new humanism." News & Letters had been detailing and analyzing all the objective events in South Africa and had turned its November, 1977 lead article over to "Steve Biko Speaks for Himself." Charles Denby, the editor of News & Letters, followed this up by proposing that we develop this whole concept of the affinity of thought of these three dimensions into a special pamphlet to be titled Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought.

The year of our first edition, 1978, was the period in which Denby was finishing a new expanded edition of his autobiography, Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal. Here is how he articulated his concept of that ^{worldwide} ~~international~~ affinity: "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." (p. 293) The events of freedom struggles and of counter-revolution, from 1978 to 1986, have compelled this present 1986/expanded edition.

As against this America's imperialist tentacles have^{re-}extended to the Philippines and the Caribbean, as well as reintensified at home as "pure" capitalism revealing its basic racism. Reaganism, in turning the clock back on what was gained through the turbulent 1960s struggles on civil rights, in the anti-Vietnam war movement, on youth and education, revealed its racism most blantly ~~starkly~~ ^{by its} ~~its~~/treatment of the Haitian refugees as criminals. This in total

disregard of the U.S. Black movement's identification with the Haitians.

In January, 1982 News & Letters featured the front page "Workers Journal" column entitled "Haitians dehumanized at Krome." ~~There is a quote~~ Charles Denby there quoted ~~from~~ ("Inside Krome" Miami Herald, January 10, 1982) the words of ^{Larry Mahoney,} the ~~chief~~ former spokesperson ~~of~~ ^{of} the U.S. State Department at the Krome detention facility: ~~where I saw~~ "I saw women sleeping under blankets so soiled and threadbare I mistook them for the contents of vacuum-cleaner bags...In the end I found I could no longer cover for the indignities my government countenanced, and quit in frustration."

This was the period ~~of~~ the three Black uprisings in Miami. While these didn't seem to be "directly" related to the brutal treatment that the Haitian refugees were receiving at Krome -- they were opposing the conditions of Black life right here in the United States -- the truth is the Black ~~community~~ community in Miami, and indeed throughout the U.S., identified with the Haitians. Which is why Denby had concluded his report as follows: "It cannot be an accident that these refugees have been treated this way."

NEW EXPANDED EDITION

Frantz Fanon, Soweto

and

American Black Thought

by Lou Turner and John Alan

New Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner,
John Alan

New Appendices on Negritude by Rene Despetre and Ngugi wa
Thiong'o; on Grenada by Raya Dunayevskaya

Afterword Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1985-86

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