

MINUTES OF REB MEETING, MAY 13, 1985

Present: All but Suzanne, excused; Jane as sitter-in

Agenda: I. The New Stage we have Reached Since March 21-22, focusing also on trips by Eugene to New York and Olga to West Coast and Utah; II. Discussion, to begin with Olga's report; III. Importance of Timing -- June and July issues of N&L; IV. Report on Convention Hall; V. G&W

I. Raya said that everything now must begin, and must constantly refer to, the new stage we have reached since March 21-22 -- that is, both the speech and exhibit at the Archives as well as the conclusion we drew the very next evening at the informal Detroit gathering, where I at once turned to Michelle and said that, no matter what the paper to the NWSA was on, her speech at the Conference had to have the fourth book as its focus. The reason we connect the March 21 video tape with April 18 video tape from Chicago is that the latter was an equal demonstration of what I mean by concretizing the Universal -- i.e. focusing on the fact that the American roots did not once depart from the world Humanist concepts. It demonstrated that ACOT was, by no means, only class and race, but the uniquely Marxist-Humanist contribution of singling out what is new, historically new in the specific country, be it in America or in Africa. The point was how this Concrete Universal -- Marxist-Humanism -- correctly made Frantz Fanon's "new Humanism" the crucial factor in his philosophy along with nationalism that is truly internationalism, rather than the "violence" and "psychoanalysis" that the Stokely Carmichaels chose as their "Bible." The fact that the objective/subjective situation in April (when Eugene was in New York) coincided with that magnificent new stage of youth movement demanding divestment illuminated our whole philosophy all over again and cleared the way to begin following through on March 21. This was even more true on Olga's trip to the Bay Area, Los Angeles, and Utah. She will begin the discussion and it will be in the nature of a supplement to this presentation. At the same time, here is how the objective situation kept changing what was needed in N&L if we had been a daily instead of a monthly. At first I had planned, because Sudan was a new conflagration point, to write on that. But by the time we had gone deep into concretizing March 21, and because Kevin had written on Sudan for OLAT (though it was much more briefly than I would have, and still will in the future), Theory/Practice printed my Introduction to Volume XI (1981-85) for the Archives. Instead, I began to prepare an essay on our 30 year history for the June issue. (RD showed some 35 pages of notes she had dictated on it.)

And then came Bitburg. If we had a daily paper, that is the type of world-shaking event that also shakes up the history since WWII. The May issue was already on the press, but I believe we should have included a bulletin right below the logo on page 1, promising an analysis in the very next issue. I did write an April 30 Dear Friends letter to the locals on it. It is this I wish to deal with further, both on the question, all over again, of the word "concrete" -- by which we mean Concrete Universal. No one other than Marxist-Humanists included, in their analyses of the 1964 fall of Khrushchev and the simultaneous explosion of Mao's first atomic bomb, the question of West Germany, i.e. the whole question of Germany as the key to the international situation. And in that letter I referred to how opposite are the interpretations of Germany as the key to international situation: where Lenin used it for the world revolution, which depended on the needed German Revolution of 1919, it is being used today for totally opposite purposes by the rulers as the point of counter-revolution. This needs to be further

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developed to show, furthermore, how we kept concretizing it. Thus, if you will re-read the Two Worlds in the March, 1963 N&L, you will see how we dealt with the Franco-German Pact then. One thing we did not include in the April 30 letter, but that I want to develop in the Theory/Practice column is how, after 1958 when DeGaulle assumed power all over again in France, I called for an International Conference of all those who held to state-capitalist theory, inviting those others who were equally opposed to both poles of world capital. In 1959 such a conference was convened in Italy. I found there that the opposition to having the philosophy inseparable from actual revolution was as strong as with all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with the Second International. We did publish a special bulletin for several years as a so-called compromise of letting all views be aired. But it went nowhere. That is to say, the new, original contribution made in Marxism and Freedom about the movement from practice that was itself a form of theory, and the need for the theoretician to reach for philosophy, was resisted almost as strongly by these state-capitalist theoreticians as it was by the first internationally recognized post-Marx Marxists, headed by Karl Kautsky. He had proclaimed that Marx had called for the end of philosophy. I do not know if I will succeed in drawing all these threads into my analysis, but what is of the essence here is that beginning with the last convention, where the Perspectives ended with "Not by practice alone", our task now becomes more imperative and urgent on the historic scene since Bitburg.

(Raya passed around the Minutes of the April 29 SF/Bay Area NEB meeting, pointing out how far away from focusing on March 21 as our Key is their calendar. She stressed that what she was interested in discussing at this REB, however, was not the Bay Area, but how the Center does or does not project our new stage of philosophy.)

The key, before we begin discussion, is that everything we do from now on must stress the UNIVERSAL part of the Concrete Universal, and therefore the meaning of PRACTICE as inseparable from the IDEA of Marxist-Humanist philosophy.

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May 14, 1985

Dear Friends:

The REB, continuing with its concentration on the new stage between March 21 and the Plenum Call on July 1, discussed the question of what rulers were doing at Bitburg. It is too long to repeat here but please study for yourselves what I presented to the REB and what I intend doing in expanding and reformulating it for a July Theory/Practice column. The point is that the ramifications of Bitburg have by no means ended with the eight minutes Reagan-Kohl spent in the cemetery. Where we projected Germany as the key to the international situation as pivotal to any world revolution ever since 1917, the rulers are trying to make that pivotal to the counter-revolution as a world counter-revolution. The fact that the present activity by the youth of America against apartheid South Africa has now disclosed that some in that movement refuse to see the racism also in the U.S. makes more urgent than ever the projection of Marxist-Humanism as a Concrete Universal. Olga's supplemental report developed some of the points in her Dear Friends letter on her trip to West Coast and Utah. What she reported at the REB was also on the various NEB meetings that were held. Please read that in the enclosed REB minutes. Note also that she will now also meet with the Detroit local on May 30, and be present for the special event on June 2 when Dr. Mason is opening the Exhibit especially for the Detroit local's friends who work during the regular Archives Library hours.

As you will see from the REB discussion, it also revealed how seriously all was related to the new book on Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future. The focus was on Dialectics as both dialectics of thought and of actual revolution. This becomes very important for us because the book may not be off the press as we had hoped in June, in time for the several Women's Liberation meetings going on then, which must hear of that new, fourth book. For this our pre-publication order sheets become paramount. Some orders have already begun coming in.

Mike has volunteered to write the Lead-Editorial for July, which will also include Lou's Essay on the third volume of Robert Hill's Marcus Garvey study. Please obey the deadline rigorously -- June 13, because after that we will be preoccupied with our pre-Plenum discussions.

What I did not report on but did circulate was my exchange of letters with Dick in Oxford, Dr. Mason in Detroit, and Robert Hill in Los Angeles.

Because, for the first time, Chicago and not Detroit will host the Plenum, we have asked Jane, who has plenty of experience in Chicago and participated previously in Detroit preparations, to speak to the Chicago local on all aspects, especially philosophic, that are involved in hosting a Plenum. She said she would be most happy to do so and suggested the first week in June.

Yours,

Raya

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RD  
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May 13, 1985

to the Bay Area NEE, and NEE only, not the Local.

Dear Colleagues:

The minutes of your April 29 NEE meeting, which were received on May 9 and I read on May 11, prompt this immediate response from me. R asked a question which, if it had not been answered so abstractly as "thought and preparation", could have concretely spelled out that question in the context of what we have been talking about ever since March 21, especially after Olga, in her meeting with you, related that directly to the video tapes of March 21 and April 18. To me, the abstractness of the expression "thought and preparation" was further highlighted by the calendar you are proposing, which, first, put the video tape off until June 16, and then had three question-marks added. If you delay it any further, you will not be prepared to be on the same wave-length as the entire organization when we face the Plenum Call on July 1.

Timing, when it is made inseparable from philosophy, is everything. It is what made us stress "a 1980s view" when we embarked on the Miners' General Strike pamphlet, because until then we had not made inseparable our activity in that strike and the philosophic correspondence between myself, CLRJ, and Grace -- ~~though~~ though the two happened simultaneously. It would have been impossible for CLRJ to disregard my breakthrough on the Absolute Idea if I had made a category of what had been achieved the minute I had translated Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, and that was followed by my participation in the Mines' Strike. CLRJ was neither there during that Strike, nor with me fully against Grace's apoliticalization when Stalin died. With his usual double-tongue, he stood both for and against Grace and for an against my analysis. That fight over the significance of Stalin's death led to my awareness that they were separating from Marxism and laid the ground both for the AI breakthrough and the consequent organizational break.

I'm now wondering whether U's point on "also must think about our own calendar getting leaflet out for miners' meeting, who to contact," had any relationship to seeing the 1949-50 pamphlet with 1980 eyes and as the birth of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism? Or any relationship to our concentration on "not by practice alone" ever since the last Convention made that crucial to our Perspectives?

Let me again ask about those three question marks after the proposal to play the video tape on June 16. Let me list the transition point that was made from that "not by practice alone" Convention to March 21. It was not only a talk on the Archives, though it certainly is important for our people to realize that Marxist-Humanism isn't only one individual subject but a half-century of activities and thought on Marxism. Nor is Marxist-Humanism only an updating that included no original leaps forward. On the contrary, Marxist-Humanism not only stresses the continuity with Marx's Marxism, his "new Humanism", but has made the following three fundamental theoretic contributions to Marxism of our age:

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① Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marxist Philosophy of Revolution for the first time took "Absolute Idea as New Beginning" from its first expression in Chapter 1 of Philosophy and Revolution to the actual challenge to all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels.

② To assure that the ramifications of this new development did not leave the New Passions and New Forces of Chapter 9 of P&R at a mere sophisticated version of "third layerism", our Perspectives at each Plenum and Convention make a special point of demonstrating that for us Concrete means the Concrete Universal. That is the significance of our last Convention's "Not by practice alone"; of the March 21 focus on the whole as well as the individual; of the April 18 simultaneous concentration on American roots and world humanist concepts.

③ Preparing all for the fourth book means in a way that would avoid any woman making the WLM a "private enclave" or any man thinking that mentioning four forces and not only one force is only a quantitative question. No, the Dialectics of Revolution in the fourth book's title is the point of concentration now, both a dialectics of thought and dialectics of actual revolution.

Do not forget that the fourth book follows the trilogy of revolutions; it is not a mere compilation of 35 years of separate essays. No, it is why I declared March 21 to be not merely the date of Spring coincidentally with our meeting but rather as what is going to prepare us for the Plenum, for the new book, for the projection of Marxist-Humanism as that unique philosophy of our age which at one and the same time, reconnects with Marx's Marxism and our original contributions.

Yours,

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7 near force as Reason = ML = my br. / Stalinists, Marxist-Mao  
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Left for Africa in 1962: He's clear  
in of being black

SUDAN

1) N&L, 6-7/69, OLL

Sudan Coup vs. Civil War

5/24 Coup labelled "leftist", but in fact coup quickly asserted THAT, THO "socialist", in fact "not extremists "we are Arabs & fanatisca insofar as as the Palestine Q is cohncerned."

WHAT WAS PLAYED DOWN WAS THE MILITARY HEAD, COL NIMEIRY ELEVATED HIMSELF TO MAJOR GWNWEAL,

MUCH LESS WAS IT SHOWN THAT NIMEIRY'S "DARING" WAS IN FACT THE BRUTAL WAY OF ATTACKING BLACK GUERRILAS.

Africa was silent because Black struggle was as old as so-called ind. from Egypt & GB in '56. because new refime refused s-d to its Black minority - 4 mln. Black, in 14 mln. country.

Intra-Arab coup had been present in old corript Algiers voting against Biafran ind.

AND SO DID SUDANESE C.P. LARGEST CP in COUNTRY IN AFRICA. NONE SPEAK ABOUT ITS ROLE.

"too concerned with 'foreign policy' to say anything revolutionary, tho it has gained 8 of 24 seats in parliament. Arab wks. have n thing to gain either as 18% of budget continued to go to military, fightin the Black africans in southern Sudan.

2) 8-9/71 WORLD IN VIEW whan Eugene wrote it: The Myth of Pan-Arabism. Sudan, Libya, Jordan

Despite Quadafi trying to assume Nasser mantle, milit'ry, monarchical, etc. predominate.

Coup & countrcoup on SEDAN show this in 3 days of fighting whichexecution of 14 leaders & arrest of 1,000 alleged C-ists, seizure of bks. & propaganda works on Marx & VIL. Nimeiry being restored to power asked for arrest of all "Communists". Nimeiry had earlier seized all who opposed joining Sudan to Egypt, Syria, Libya, in a new Federation. Opposing that was the CP, strongest in Arab world, and called for outisde aid to put down any uprisings. as did Black south, tho Nimeiry to join sometime later. I.e, though CP opposed joining new Federation, BOTH SIDES EQUALLY OPPOSED DEALING WITH "SOUTHERN P RONLEM" on its deamand for self-determination

None helped revolt in Jordan as US aided Jordan to destroy that rebellion. in the 10 mos. fight

On 1/24/71 "Nixon-Mao Ann't new Soviet Social Red"

1971 re Bill M. ... World phenomena

Nixon's Warsaw home - absent  
Mao's invite to Nixon = ground for new  
I'm ground for re-alignment

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1971 re Bill M.

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April 25, 1985 Notes on Outline for Sudan Article

Background should not begin, but should be within the article,

so that we see OLAT in N&L 6-7-69 we see how the coup that was labeled "leftist" (5-24-69) which in fact was Arab North against an<sup>ist</sup> South, and the ladder was the very one that the minute they gave independence "peacefully" from Great Britain and Egypt in 1956 showed itself that it meant nothing to the rural South because what we were seeing at the same time was the designation of Leftist was because it included now as part of the coalition the Sudan CP and that was the biggest one in the whole Arab world. Obviously by '68 when ~~NIMIERY~~<sup>Nimiery</sup> was coming to the head of these Leftists and accepting collaboration with the CP, the CP got all together too sure of being the force strong enough to overthrow ~~NIMIERY~~<sup>Nimiery</sup> as well. ~~But~~ BUT Nimiery was considered "daring" because of the brutal way in which he attacked the Black guerrillas. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ YET THE SAME NIMIERY WHO ~~PUT~~<sup>DOWN</sup> THE BLACK GUERRILLA WAS THE VERY ONE WHO PROMISED AND TECHNICALLY GAVE THEM AUTONOMY WHEN HE WANTED THEIR COOPERATION TO PUT DOWN THE COMMUNIST COUNTER-COUP.

Also remember the '71 article (2-8-71 N&L) Eugene's world in view ) where he brings in Kaddafi trying to assume the Nasser mantle and talks about the coup and counter-coup in three days of fighting when 14 leaders were executed and 1,000 called Communists were arrested and they seized all paperbacks by Lenin and Marx; indeed Nimiery asked for "all" Communists to be arrested and while he also ~~XXXXXX~~ first opposed what had been immediately proposed as a coalition of Egypt, Syria, Sudan Libia in a new to-be-created federation, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

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he said we would later consider joining it.

the point is that all were opposed to dealing with the "Southern provinces," in its struggle for self-determination. And meanwhile AT THE SAME TIME ('70s) none were opposing King Hassan's destruction of the Black September revolt. The point is that on a world scale what was happening was the Nixon-Mao spectacular after the barbaric invasion by Nixon of Cambodia. And it is that world phenomena which created the ground for a new possible global power alliance which TW column (Oct. '81) considered the ground for the new shift in global power, and the lead of N&L was Nixon's wars at home and abroad.

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*Begin*  
Now then what is the new and what should start the present column on Sudan for the June, 1985 N&L, which would trace the dialectics of revolution when it is under the whip of counter-revolution.

NY Times ~~April 26, 1985~~ <sup>bread</sup> 3/26/85 The/riots first break out because of the imposing of new price increases on bread. They are supported by new student demonstrations who are naturally labeled Communists, they are then supported by a massive demonstration by the middle class, doctors, technicians, all climax in a general strike which brings the country to a stop on April 3, 1985. IMF HAD DEMANDED A PRICE INCREASE in order to get the loan. All this was in the air when Nimiery went to Washington, but all they were interested in -- THEY IN THIS CASE IS NIMIERY AND REAGAN --

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was not merely bring "finances in order" BUT LIBIA.

The headline of NYT 4-6-85 read "Sudan President Nimiery 'Returns Home to Take Hold of the Situation'" It is then that the article summarized his 16 years of Nimiery being in power, in order to show that he was sure that the Defense Minister he had just appointed, General el-Dahab would carry on the <sup>very</sup> same line. He was the one who had executed his coup against Nimiery, but because he was forced to claim to civilian rule and negotiate with the South, which Nimiery had robbed of their autonomy once he had imposed the Islamic "justice" <sup>law</sup> on the whole country, though the South was never part of the Arab world. The strike had meanwhile grown from 3,000 to 15,000 and the new general promised he would negotiate with them and immediately took back the full extent of the price increase.

1-1-56 Ind. from Great Britain and Egypt; it lasts only until 1958 but its parliamentary regime continued so that 1st overthrow which came in 10-64 was also in civilian hands. The ~~2nd~~ 2nd and real i.e. Nimiery rule begins in 5-69; meanwhile the population grows so that the 1963 census shows they are 20 million and the majority, whether North or South, remains RURAL, but Kartoum itself as a capital, as urban, and supposedly industrialized is 1 million. The cooperation with Communists lasted only 2 years '69-'71. [7-19-71 coup & 7-22-71 coup]

7-19-71 CP coup 7-22-71 Nimiery gains control.

3-27-72 is when a formal agreement for autonomy was signed which ended 17 years of Civil War.

- Rebel opposition since Nimeary granted autonomy in '72
1. 9-5-75 The rbebls are strong enought to seize a radio station ~~xxx~~ in Omdurman, Sudan's 2nd largest city, but that was crushed in a few hours.
  2. 7-2-76 and also 2-2-77 were other attempts , and in '77 was when they seized the airport at Juba; that is in the South and they still have it.
  3. 3-16-84 Omdurman is attacked by air, Libia is blamed, Egypt support Sudan and the U.S enters seriously the whole fray.
  4. 4-29-84 Nimiery declares state of emergyncy.

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4-10-85 Tribune John Garang leads 15,000 and when his latest rebellion began he had tied up nearly 2/3 of the whole Sudanese army. He is U.S. educated and got his economics degree at Iowa St. University. He is now supported supposedly by Lybia and Ethopia. He handed in an ultimadum to the new regime -- he gave them a week and then extended to two weeks. He also said ~~xxxxxx~~ the new is "the Mimiery regime in a different uniform. No matter what cloths the hyena puts on, it <sup>is</sup> remains the hyena."

The fight in the South i.e. the Civil War had forced the government to cut off its two most important projects.

1. Proven oil reserves of 200,000,000
  2. vast irrigation project, ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>Jonglei</sup> Canal Project, also ~~xxxxxx~~ had to be stopped. Both are in the South.
- To tie down the army costs the government \$500,000 a day. <sup>Sudan</sup> ~~so they~~ now have an international debt of \$9 billion.

along the Nile ←

10,000 teachers  
4,000 doctors

1 million Sudanese are working in the Persian Gulf States.  
Is  
the threat from the Moslem Brotherhood what caused  
Nimriery to impose Islamic <sup>"law."</sup> ~~justice~~. And they still use  
~~SH~~ SHARIA -- Islamic law deriving from the Koran

The A 15 man Military Council is not ruling the country.  
No less than 35 parties have arisen

The rebel force ~~is~~ is 10-12,000 members  
Garang accused the new government of "stealing power from  
the people's revolution"

4-21-85

NYT 4-25 <sup>fr</sup> Kartoun 4,24 Sudan and Lybia restored full diplomatic  
relations after 4 years