

# The Roots of the New Afrikan Independence Movement

Revolution Requires Political Maturation

*A response to the inaccurate and politically motivated  
attacks on the New Afrikan Independence Movement  
by the African People's Socialist Party*

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By Chokwe Lumumba  
Chairman, New Afrikan People's Organization

## **Chokwe Lumumba**

### **Chairman, New Afrikan People's Organization**

#### *Sketches of a Revolutionary Leader*

Chokwe Lumumba is the chairperson, and a co-founder of the New Afrikan People's Organization (N.A.P.O.). He has served as NAPO's chairperson since its inception in 1984 having been reelected to the position in 1991. As chair of the Organization Lumumba now resides in Jackson, Mississippi.

Lumumba's leadership has helped NAPO to establish an office and organizational presence in Jackson, Ms. within the last six years. Lumumba has been in the leadership of campaigns in Jackson against police terror, and has joined with others to stop the Ku Klux Klan march planned for Jackson in April of 1990.

Lumumba is a co-founder and member of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and was an officer and co-founder of the Jackson Human Light Coalition. He is currently the Vice Chair of the Grassroots Convention in Jackson Ms.

As a member of NAPO, Lumumba has led and/or participated in the organization's community youth programs, anti-crime patrols, political education forums, legal service clinics, and various other community service activities. He has also partaken in political action campaigns against racist institutions who exploit Black people, minority rule in Southern Afrika, political imprisonment and inhumane prison conditions, the U.S. bombing of Libya, and many other acts of economic exploitation, racism, and international lawlessness.

In July of 1969, Chokwe Lumumba became a conscious citizen of the Republic of New Afrika, the Afrikan nation in North America, and a legionnaire in the Black Legion of the Republic of New Afrika. He served as acting President and Vice President of the Republic of New Afrika.

Brother Chokwe in 1978-1979 was a co-founder of both the National Black Human Rights Coalition and The Detroit Black Human Rights Coalition. He actively participated in the effort to build a National Human Rights Campaign. On November 5, 1979, he and two other national leaders presented a statement charging the U.S. with human rights violations to the president of the U.N. General Assembly, Saïm Ahmed Saïm. This presentation was part of a demonstration by 5,000 New

Afrikans (Black people) at the UN on Black Solidarity Day.

Brother Chokwe has not only pursued and protected human rights on the streets, but he has championed the same in the courts. Chokwe is an attorney at law. He graduated with honors from Wayne State University Law School in 1975 after finishing first in his freshman law class in 1973-74. Lumumba initially entered law school at Wayne State University in the fall of 1969 before leaving to work full time for the RNA in Mississippi and Detroit. While at Wayne State Law School, Chokwe was an officer of the Black Legal Alliance (a Black Law Student's Organization). He struggled persistently for the rights of New Afrikan (Black) students, partaking in various demonstrations against racism at that institution. In fact as an attorney, Lumumba served as co-counsel and a plaintiff in a successful anti-racism law suit against Wayne State Law School in the winter of 1979.

Brother Chokwe was one of the attorneys who defended sixteen New Afrikan (Black) prisoners who faced possible death penalties in the case of the Pontiac Brothers in Illinois. In that case 16 New Afrikan prisoners were charged with the deaths of three White guards who died during a prison rebellion against inhumane prison conditions in Pontiac Prison in Illinois. Ten of Pontiac brothers were found not guilty. The cases against the others were dismissed.

In 1977, Chokwe Lumumba briefly served as attorney for Black Liberation Army Soldier Assata Shakur in a murder case which was dismissed in Brooklyn, New York. Brother Chokwe has also defended Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Fulani Sunni Ali and Bilal Sunni Ali. All three were charged in the 1981 Brink's case (The Free The Land Case).

Each of these New Afrikan freedom fighters were charged with participation in the 1981 Brinks incident in NY. All charges were dismissed against Fulani and Bilal was found not guilty of all charges against him. Dr. Shakur was also charged with the liberation of Assata Shakur from Clinton Prison in 1979. He was unjustly convicted of all charges in 1988 and is now a prisoner of war at Lompoc Federal Prison in California.

Lumumba is a member of the Board of director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. He is of counsel to the Detroit Law firm of Carter and Edison and practices as a sole practitioner in Jackson, Mississippi.

## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

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### INTRODUCTION

Not enough has been written about our Black Liberation Movement which shook the foundations of the white racist united states Empire (USA) in the late 60's and early 70's. Even less has been published on a key part of our mighty liberation struggle called the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM).

There is a need for more literature on the Black Liberation Movement in general, and the New Afrikan Independence Movement in particular. These movements are more than of historical significance. Since each Movement continues today, information on our past performance in the context of these Movements is essential to educate today's practice.

When We speak of the Black Liberation Movement, We are talking about our struggle as New Afrikan (Black) people in amerika in the 1960s, and now, for political, economic and social power and control over our own lives, institutions and conditions. There are and have been at least three distinct but related political movements which, when considered together, make up the Black Liberation Movement.

These political movements are best identified by the specific goals each strives to achieve, or by the strategic objectives which each of these movements seeks in order to realize the goal of Black Liberation. These movements are: A) the Black radical Integrationist Movement, which seeks to transform the United States Empire into a society which will provide New Afrikan freedom, justice and equality; B) the Afrikan Repatriation Movement, which advocates and organizes our peoples' return to our Afrikan Motherland; and C) the New Afrikan Independence Movement, which struggles to establish an independent Black Nation-State in the Southeastern Black-Belt area of the United States Empire.

What follows this introduction is a small but important contribution to the recording of the history, ideology, theory and philosophy held by leading components of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Although somewhat long and, hopefully comprehensive, the following article is not exhaustive. It is hoped that this contribution will lead the reader to further research and study. Indeed, to complete the written record on this subject will take volumes. A short bibliography is attached which lists works which have already been written specifically on the struggle by New Afrikans for Land, Independence and Self-Determination in amerika, the New Afrikan Independence Movement, or which touch aspects of it.

Two further points should be made before the conclusion of this introduction.

First, the article which follows was prompted by a series of inaccurate and politically immature attacks on the New Afrikan Independence Movement by an organization called the African Peoples' Socialist Party (APSP). While the specific bones of contention between the NAIM and the APSP may be of limited interest, the discussion is important. It, on the one hand, provides an opportunity for us to access the historical and contemporary depth and importance of the New Afrikan Independence Movement; on the other hand, it provides a useful basis for examination of the ideology and theory of leading formations and theorists in this Movement.

The African Peoples' Socialist Party is somewhat of a political "mask man." While its political rhetoric is essentially Afrikan Nationalist, its failure to embrace or pursue any concrete Afrikan Nationalist Objectives - i.e., repatriation to Afrika, or New Afrikan Independent Statehood in North Amerika - renders its actual political theory and platform radical integrationist in character. Essentially, the APSP calls for a multiracial socialist revolution in Amerika, a "Black led" multiracial socialist revolution in

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America. This call, standing alone, is for a political integrationist strategic objective.

Consequently, the article which follows confronts misguided challenges to the New Afrikan Independence Movement posed by rhetorical Afrikan Nationalists, as well as those posed by radical integrationists.

Finally, it is important to note that there is at least one glaring omission in the following historical record. That omission is the absence of any specific reference to the work of Revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalists in the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and their comrades in the Atlanta Project in helping to transform the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) into a Black Nationalist organization. The nationalist conversion of SNCC was the early national public form of the Black

Power Movement. It has infinite political significance to the late 1960s struggle that followed.

The role of RAM in the SNCC conversion is essential because it shows the centrality of Revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalism in the Black Liberation Movement. This nationalism not only led to the birth of the modern day New Afrikan Independence Movement, but *it* was and is critical to the advance of Pan-Afrikanism, Revolutionary Socialism, and Internationalism in the 1960's and today.

There is much more that is not covered in the following tract. But, there is enough to move us forward, and to develop our appetite for more.

**FREE THE LAND!!!**

Chokwe Lumumba, Chairman  
New Afrikan People's Organization



500 people applaud the recipients of the Malcolm X Award at the Champions in the Human Rights Struggle annual banquet in Harlem at the world renowned Harriet Tubman School

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### REVOLUTION REQUIRES POLITICAL MATURITY

What follows is the response of the New Afrikan Peoples Organization (NAPO) to the vilification of our Organization and the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) by Brother Omali Yeshitela, the Chairman of the Afrikan Peoples Socialist Party (APSP). Yeshitela has propounded unilateral attacks against the NAIM in the May, June, July and November, 1989 editions of the Burning Spear Newspaper. A paper which is published by the APSP. At least one of the editorials in question has also been reprinted, I am informed, in the "WIRE", a news organ published by a New Afrikan (Black) political activist in Washington, D. C.

### ONE NATION ONE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT MANY THEORIES

Among other things, Yeshitela charges that the "New Afrikan" theory held by the "Republic of New Afrika and the New Afrikan Peoples Organization is an opportunist one

The ideology of the New Afrikan Peoples Organization is Revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalism. Our ideology calls for the establishment of an independent socialist New Afrikan republic in the southeast, the destruction of the North American imperialist state (USA), the liberation and unification of Afrikan nations world wide, the construction of a New Afrikan society, and the building of a new world order. As the following discussion will disclose, our liberation theory has been forged from an honest, accurate and scientific analysis of: (a) the conditions which surround us and bedevil the world; (b) the forces which are responsible for these conditions and (c) the strategy universally used by revolutionaries to combat these forces. There is nothing opportunistic about our theory. It has been developed in the finest tradition of revolutionary struggle. It arises from a brutally candid view of the world, and an uncompromising search for the truth which gives

no corner to fad, individual favor, or pseudo-scientific fancy.

Before dealing more particularly with Yeshitela's charges, a moment should be spent to unravel the charges from the misleading way in which they are presented.

There is no theory held by the New Afrikan Peoples Organization called the "New Afrikan" theory. There also is no single theory held by the entire "Republic of New Afrika".

A New Afrikan is an Afrikan born in North America. Afrikans born in North America hold many different theories. It follows that New Afrikans have many theories. Some are socialists, some are capitalists, some are nationalists, some are Pan Afrikanists, and so on. Republic of New Afrika is the name given to the Black nation in America by 500 nationalist leaders at the Black Government Conference held in Detroit, Michigan, and convened by the Malcolm X Society on March 29-31, 1968. So, the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) consists of a population of millions of people, with millions of ideas.

What Yeshitela is probably referring to when he says "RNA" is the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PGRNA) which was also established at the March 29-31, 1968, Black Government Conference.

It is important to note that the PGRNA was established by New Afrikans who held a number of different political, economic and social theories. Consequently, although the PGRNA founding Conference reached certain conclusions, various organizations and individuals involved in this process may have arrived at these conclusions for different theoretical reasons.

What those who founded the PGRNA collectively recognized was that an Afrikan (Black) nation in America does exist. They named it New Afrika, created the Provisional Government for it, and gave the Provisional Government the dual mission of educating the New Afrikan masses with regard to our true National identity, and struggling for the independence of the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana. These states are part of the historical Blackbelt birthplace, and North American homeland of the New Afrikan nation. This area is called the New Afrikan National Territory.

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The struggle to free this land is called the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM). All those in it recognize the existence of the nation, and partake in the struggle to free it. Many organizations and individuals have been and still are part of this struggle. These include Queen Mother Moore of the League of Ethiopian Women, former Brinks case defendant and New Afrikan revolutionary Griot Musician Bilal Sunni Ali, his wife and former leader of the New Afrikan Women's Organization, Fulani Sunni Ali; New Afrikan Poet and writer Askia Muhammad Toure, and Black Liberation Army soldiers and prisoners of war, Sundiata Acoli, Sekou Odinga, Kojo Bomani, Safiya Bukhari (now free) and many more. New Afrikan freedom fighters and prisoners of war Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Geronimo Ji jaga (Pratt), Abdul Majeed, James Blood Miller, Haniff Shabazz Bey, and Sababu Na Uhuru, as well as many political prisoners like Kwablah Mthawabu, and Herman Ferguson are part of this movement. Revolutionary theoretician Atiba Shana, and the collective that authored the New Afrikan POW journal are part of the New Afrikan Independence movement. Brothers Richard Mafundi Lake and Kazi Toure now identify themselves as New Afrikan Political Prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after her escape, revolutionary heroine Assata Shakur identified herself with the struggle to free the Republic of New Afrika.<sup>2</sup> In fact, her liberation was reportedly accomplished by a Black Liberation Army unit which was a part of our movement. The Afrikan Peoples Party, the National Black Human Rights Coalition, the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization, and the House of Umoja were all part of the New Afrikan national liberation struggle when these organizations existed. Leaders and workers from each of these organizations are still very active in this struggle. The Black Legion of the Republic of New Afrika, Omowale Ujamaa School in Pasadena, California, the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of

North America, the National Task Force for Cointelpro Litigation and Research and numerous other institutions either are presently involved, or were involved in the New Afrikan Independence Movement while they existed.

Deceased revolutionary freedom fighters like Chaka Fuller of the 1969 New Bethel incident in Detroit, Kuwasi Balagoon, and Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force of the Black Liberation Army, and Fred Ahmed Evans of the New Libya Movement in Cleveland, Ohio, are all heroes

New Afrikan Freedom fighter F Assata Shakur, one of our most prominent prisoners of war, was liberated from Clinton State prison on November 2, 1979 by a New Afrikan unit of the Black Liberation Army. Having been given political asylum, she presently lives in Cuba.



**"Malcolm X had his dream and his dream was LAND. NATION-HOOD. And his dream has become my dream"**

Assata Shakur's Statement to the Black Human Rights Demonstration to the United Nation on November 5, 1979.

of the national struggle of the New Afrikan nation.

The New Afrikan Peoples Organization is a leading force in this Movement today. The Provisional Government is still part of it. Furthermore, many local organizations and institutions like the Pontiac Black Activist League in Michigan are involved.

Just as there are ideological differences between the many other forces in the New Afrikan Independence Movement, such differences exist between the New Afrikan Peoples Organization, and some of the leadership of the PGRNA. In fact, since the PGRNA, unlike NAPO, has no monolithic ideological orientation, it has different officers with different ideologies. All these officers and the PGRNA workers are bound together.

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NAPO on the other hand, is more ideologically unified. Its ideology is defined quite clearly in the NAPO Constitution, and outlined in NAPO's Programme of Action, which appears in each publication of our organization's paper, which is called *By Any Means Necessary*.

### NEW AFRIKAN NATION RECOGNIZED BEFORE GARVEY OR THE CPUSA

Apparently, Yeshitela's charges of opportunism are directed toward the entire New Afrikan Independence Movement and its foundation principles, which recognize the existence of a New Afrikan nation in North America, and call for an independent New Afrikan Republic to be established in the five states of the New Afrikan National territory. He charges that this "theory" was "born as a struggle against Marcus Garvey by the American Communist Party", and that it is "totally metaphysical, separating and isolating the history of African people into different compartments, defined by our various oppressive relationships with separate mostly Euro-American states."

Here, Yeshitela is wrong on all counts.

Neither the recognition of the existence of the Black nation in North America nor the call to establish an independent Black state are "theory" born in the American Communist Party's struggle against Marcus Garvey. As Brother Akinyele Umoja points out in his article appearing in the April/May, 1990 issue of BAMN, as "History Is a Weapon", the recognition of our nationhood and the struggle for land and independence in North America began with Afrikan slave rebellions, and pre-civil war revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalists, like Henry Highland Garnett. Our struggle for land and independence is also historically rooted in numerous independent so-called maroon (escaped slave) communities which existed for various periods in the woods of the Southeast, during the slave era. It is also boldly manifested in the New Afrikan independent communities established in the New Afrikan national territory area by Tunis Campbell and others during and immediately after the Civil War.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes the struggle for land and independence for the Black nation in North America led our ancestors to seek to establish Black states outside of the New Afrikan Blackbelt. Edwin McCabe's migration movement to Oklahoma is an example of this.<sup>4</sup> In fact, one of Marcus Garvey's pre-Civil War "Back to Afrika" predecessors recognized that Afrikans in North America constituted a Black nation. This pre-civil war New Afrikan nationalist was Martin Delaney. While planning an expedition to East Afrika by a New Afrikan Council, Delaney described New Afrikans in America as a "Nation within a Nation"; and as a "distinct nation of people."<sup>5</sup> Delaney, like many Black emigrationists, believed that New Afrikans were entitled to equal rights and/or self-government in North America, but felt that almost insurmountable obstacles presented themselves with regard to obtaining either. The present day New Afrikan Independence movement, unlike Delaney, holds that New Afrikan National Liberation in America can and will be achieved.

What Delaney and many New Afrikan nationalists before and after him gave to us is a consciousness of ourselves as a Black Nation in North America, long before there was a Communist Party, or a Garvey Movement for the CPUSA to struggle against. Moreover, many of the pre-Garvey New Afrikan Revolutionary nationalists provided us not only with a concept of an independent New Afrikan state in the Blackbelt, but actively fought for and established such states for various periods of time.

### BLACK ADVOCATES FOR BLACK STATE IN AMERICA DURING GARVEY'S TIME

Cyril Briggs, who established the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood (ABB) in 1919, was another New Afrikan revolutionary who supported the establishment of independent New Afrikan states in North America before the CPUSA either adopted a Blackbelt nation theory, or used it in its struggle against Garvey's "Back to Afrika" movement. As early as 1917, Briggs was writing editorials in the *Amsterdam News* on the Black State question.<sup>7</sup>

Like Garvey, Briggs was a "race first" New Afrikan nationalist.<sup>8</sup> Also like Garvey, he strongly supported the establishment of a strong and stable independent Black state in Afrika. Briggs, moreover, advocated independent Afrikan states in the Caribbean.<sup>9</sup>

Briggs and his Afrikan Blood Brotherhood comrades were members of Marcus Garvey's, Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the early 1920's. Briggs and Garvey became political foes, however, and often waged divisive and unprincipled struggle against each other. These two New Afrikan nationalists had bonafide political differences (i.e., Brigg's uncritical embrace of and ill-advised invitation to a White Communist to speak at the UNIA Convention in 1921, and Garvey's improvident visit to and nonrevolutionary position on the Klu Klux Klan). Like Briggs' views on establishing a Black state in North America, his differences with Garvey arose before the CPUSA'S adoption of any self-determination theory on the Black nation in the U.S. Empire.<sup>10</sup>

The CPUSA did reluctantly adopt a self-determination position on the "Blackbelt nation" in the Southeast in 1928 and 1930.<sup>11</sup> By this time Briggs had joined the Communist Party, first being attracted to the Bolshevik self-determination program for oppressed nations in the Soviet Union.<sup>12</sup> Harry Haywood, who was a member of the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood for a short period, also joined the CPUSA after he left the Brotherhood. Haywood vigorously supported the CPUSA theory on the Blackbelt while he was in the CPUSA and afterwards. This theory essentially held that

New Afrikans and North American whites in the Blackbelt comprise a nation which has historically

evolved from common territory, language, culture and psychological make-up, and economic life. This position called for the self-determination of this "Blackbelt Nation".<sup>13</sup>

Haywood and many other Communist Party leaders viewed this Blackbelt theory as an alternative to the Garvey Movement, and used it as such. In large measure because of its Blackbelt theory, the CPUSA Black membership rocketed from just under 30 members to over 10,000.<sup>14</sup>

The Garvey Movement, it should be noted, was already in decline for reasons independent of the CPUSA (i.e., Garvey's incarceration by the USA, and his struggles against reactionary and revolutionary Black leadership), well before the CPUSA implemented a Blackbelt self-determination program.<sup>15</sup>

More importantly, with regard to the present discussion, it should be noted that the Communist Party USA did not develop a Blackbelt self-determination theory, and that the one it reluctantly adopted was not "born as a struggle against Garvey", as Yeshitela erroneously indicates. The Blackbelt theory which the US Communist Party adopted, was proposed by the Young Communist International (YCI) at the 6th Communist International. Harry Haywood was recruited by the YCI to support it, and later helped to refine it. The theory was originally developed by Lenin, in works he accomplished in 1915 and 1917. The theory was in fact originally opposed in 1920 in the 2nd Congress of Communist International by forces who equated it with Garvey's Black Nationalism.<sup>16</sup>

The white chauvinist leadership of the CPUSA never did support the Communist Blackbelt theory. In fact, by the late 1940's they had actually dropped it. Principally, it was the Blacks in the CPUSA who supported the theory, fought for it, and implemented work around it. Moreover, when the CPUSA dropped the Blackbelt theory most of its Black membership left. Many continued to pursue the Blackbelt theory or some other theory which called for establishment of a Black state in North America in the Blackbelt area.<sup>17</sup>

Marcus Garvey, the Father of Afrikan nationalism. Founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and became an early victim the United States counter-insurgency program





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One of these individuals was Queen Mother Moore and another was Obaboa Owolo, both of whom later became founders of the PGRNA. Before the PGRNA was founded Queen Mother joined with Nassar Shabazz, an ex-member of the Nation of Islam, in calling for an independent Republic of Afrikan descendants to be established in about 13 states in the Blackbelt area.

Queen Mother, it is important to remember, was a Garveyite, and has to this day remained committed to the Garveyite call for a united, liberated Afrikan Continent. Her work in support of the building of the New Afrikan nation-state in North America was never undertaken in opposition to Garvey. Like Briggs before her, she saw the establishment of a New Afrikan state as a necessary complement to the

sue a course which their ancestors had already pursued, and one which they were predisposed to follow.

Like Queen Mother, the majority of those in today's New Afrikan Independence Movement are in unity with Garvey's views on many critical issues. A few of these points of unity are as follows:

1. Like Garvey, most of the NAIM holds that Blacks in America are part of the Afrikan civilization. In other words, NAIM maintains that all Blacks in America are Afrikans.

2. Like Garvey and Briggs, most forces in NAIM are active supporters of the struggle to liberate and unify the Afrikan continent.

3. Like Garvey, NAIM forces see the Pan Afrikan revolution as one that pertains to and includes Afrikans worldwide.

In addition to Queen Mother, Anwar Pasha (s/n Henry Wells) one of the PGRNA founders and Dara Abubakari, who was a PGRNA officer, are two of many of the NAIM Garveyites. Moreover,

the preamble of the Code of Umoja (Constitution) of the PGRNA credits Garvey with "lifting the national consciousness of the New Afrikan people in America to fresh heights". The PGRNA and NAPO recognize Garvey as a forefather of today's New Afrikan Independence Movement.

On the other hand, it is also a historical fact that the Communist International, and the New Afrikan members of the CPUSA contrib-

Queen Mother Moore, mother of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and Sister Dara Abubakari, former president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, at the 1979 United Nation Black Human Rights Demonstration



Garveyite program for the liberation and unification of Afrika.

Queen Mother was not lured away from Garvey by the CPUSA Blackbelt self-determination program. She and thousands of other New Afrikans saw the CPUSA program as the best method then available to support the Garveyite objective of Afrikan National Liberation and Unification. Moreover, the CPUSA program gave these New Afrikans an opportunity to pur-

uted to the development of the pre-1968 theories which upheld the right to New Afrikan self-determination in the Blackbelt area. Most importantly, the Communist position helped to boldly refocus the struggle for the establishment of a Black state in North America back to the area of its original and natural habitat. After the military setbacks suffered by New Afrikan independence fighters during the slavery and immediate post-slavery periods, fear of the power of the terrorist Jim Crow regimes led many Black nationalists seeking to establish a free New Afrikan state to look for territory outside of the Blackbelt area. New Afrikans in the CPUSA helped to bring the struggle back to the Blackbelt.<sup>18</sup>

Many important differences exist today, however, between the old Communist Blackbelt position, and the position held by most of the NAIM.

1. Neither NAPO nor the PGRNA recognize whites in the southeast as part of the New Afrikan nation. As previously noted, the old Communist position holds that whites in the Blackbelt are nationals of the Blackbelt nation. The PGRNA and NAPO hold the view that New Afrikans are Afrikans who have merged into a New Afrikan nation from the many old Afrikan nationalities and so called tribes which were represented among the slaves in North America. New Afrikan nationalists of the PGRNA and NAPO acknowledge that our cultural development has been influenced through intercourse with the indigenous Red Nations, and by cultural assaults and infestation by Euro-Americans. But, we maintain that an Afrikan culture, and more specifically a New Afrikan culture remains, and in many respects has been fortified. NAPO moreover asserts that New Afrikans have a common language and economic life which has been retarded severely by imperialism. The old Communist Party theory recognizes no Afrikan, or New Afrikan culture, economic life or language which is separate from whites in the Blackbelt.

2. NAPO and PGRNA recognize all New Afrikans (Blacks) born in North America

as nationals of the New Afrikan nation. The view of NAPO is that New Afrikans outside the Blackbelt are refugees, or children of refugees, who have been driven from the New Afrikan homeland by KKK-type terror and economic oppression.

The old Communist Blackbelt self-determination theory, and some present day New Afrikan Communists hold that New Afrikans outside the Blackbelt are not nationals of the Blackbelt nation, but are citizens of the U.S. In this view, the Blacks outside the Blackbelt have no right to self-determination.

3. The old communist theory maintained that Blacks in the Blackbelt are an oppressed nation but are not colonized. The prevailing New Afrikan Independence Movement view, held by PGRNA and NAPO is the one held by Malcolm X. We maintain that the entire New Afrikan nation inside and outside the National Territory is colonized. The heart of this colony is in the Blackbelt. Most of the leading CPUSA Blackbelt self-determination supporters, advocated that New Afrikans should struggle for a semi-autonomous relationship with the U.S.. The NAIM seeks independence for the New Afrikan Nation.

The foregoing discussion details some of the major differences between the theory which CPUSA adopted and the prevailing ideological positions of our New Afrikan Independence Movement. The existence of these and other fundamental differences arise from the fact that the old Communist Blackbelt theory was neither the starting point of our principal analyses, nor the organization which produced our primary theoreticians. It was also not an organization which was involved in the dynamic process which inspired and produced our movement.

#### THE PARENTS OF TODAY'S NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

The New Afrikan Independence Movement is a political child of Malcolm X and Queen

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Mother Moore. Its fundamental ideological positions are products of their teachings, and our first theorists were directly influenced by one or both of them.

Queen Mother Moore, a lifelong committed New Afrikan Nationalist and Pan Afrikanist, born in the Blackbelt, is perhaps the one most responsible for the refocus on the Blackbelt by the Afrikan Independence Movement in North America in the 20th Century. Unlike Harry Haywood, she was always primarily a revolutionary nationalist not a Communist. At various times after she quit the CPUSA, she discussed the Black state and land issues with Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, President Imari Obadele, Muhammad Ahmed, and Nassar Shabazz, who all have called for an independent Black state in the Blackbelt at one time or another in the mid-20th century. Although President Obadele and the Malcolm X Society did not get the specific objective of a five state New Afrikan National territory from Queen Mother, she was quick to offer consultation on related questions after the decision to seek the liberation of this land was made.

Malcolm taught that revolutions are struggles for land and that land is the basis of independence. He also pointed out that the Black nation in America is colonized. He furthermore made the following observations: A true Negro revolt might entail, for instance, fighting for separate Black states within this country, which several groups have advocated long before Elijah Muhammad.<sup>19</sup>

### THE BIRTH OF OUR MOVEMENT

The New Afrikan Independence Movement was born as the direct result of Malcolm's successful efforts to infuse nationalism into the Civil Rights Movement. Three of Malcolm's most important speeches were delivered in Detroit. These were the "Message to the Grass Roots" delivered in 1963, "Ballots or Bullets", delivered in Detroit in 1964, and the "Last Message", delivered in February of 1965, the day after Malcolm's house was bombed, and weeks

before his assassination. On each occasion his appearance was sponsored by a militant civil rights group called "Group on Advance Leadership" (GOAL).

Attorney Milton Henry, who later became Gaidi Obadele, and Imari Obadele (formerly known as Richard Henry) were two of the primary leaders of GOAL. Both had extensive histories in civil rights and human rights activism. Milton actually attended Lincoln University with Kwame Nkrumah, and led many campaigns against the segregated U.S. armed forces. Imari led a Black Studies Protest against the Detroit Public Schools. GOAL helped build the first all-Black electoral party in Michigan (and perhaps in the Country). It was called the Freedom Now Party.

Due primarily to Malcolm's influence, the Obadeles and much of the GOAL membership turned in a nationalist direction. After Malcolm's death, they formed the Malcolm X Society, and made the call for the Black Government Conference of March 29-31, 1968 in Detroit. As indicated earlier, this Conference founded the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, and initiated the present day New Afrikan Independence Movement. The birth of this movement was very much a legitimate expression of the movement.

Many of the forces involved in the founding were implicated in the armed aspects of the great Black rebellion in Detroit in 1967, and the many rebellions following King's murder in 1968. Actually, the founding Conference for the PGRNA followed national Black Power Conferences of 1966 and 1967. Many saw the Black Government Conference as a 1968 sequel to these earlier meetings. The founders and early officers of the PGRNA included workers, students, unemployed, professionals, enlightened lumpen elements, religious leaders, progressive small-time Black business owners, christians, muslims, Afrikan spiritualists, cultural nationalists, revolutionary nationalists, Pan Afrikanists, and Socialists. All the founders were Black. The diverse composition of the group was not unlike the class and political composition of the UNIA

under Garvey. Indeed not only were ex-Garveyites involved, but Black Panthers and former members of the Nation of Islam took part in forming the PGRNA. By 1971 much of the New York Chapter of the Black Panther Party acknowledged that they were citizens of the Republic of New Afrika, and some became workers in the PGRNA.

### NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE WAS AN ANSWER TO THE CRY FOR BLACK POWER

Although it would be incorrect to suggest that all those who agreed to serve as early leadership of the PGRNA were responsible for formulating its policy, or basic objectives, a look at some of the early officers demonstrates that the New Afrikan Independence Movement was a central part of, and is a bonafide product of the Afrikan Liberation Movement in America in the late 1960's. The fact that most prominent cultural and revolutionary nationalists of the period at least lent their name to the effort was indicative of the high regard which existed for the founding of the New Afrikan Independence Movement throughout the New Afrikan nation and within grass roots New Afrikan communities.

In addition to the Obadeles, Queen Mother, Sister Dara Abubakari, and Obaboa Owolo, the early PGRNA officers were Robert Williams, former NAACP leader in Monroe, NC, and then international spokesman for the Revolutionary Action Movement, Muhammed Ahmed (Max Stanford) and Herman Ferguson of the Revolutionary Action Movement, Dr. Maulana Karenga of the U.S. Organization (before he was dismissed as a PGRNA cultural minister for failure to explain the killing of two Black Panthers by members of his Organization), Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Committee for Unified Newark,

and Baba Oserjeman Adefumi, the leader of the Yoruban nation in North America. Ferguson, Ahmed and perhaps Owolo were also members of Malcolm's organization of Afro-American Unity before he died. The FBI in its Cointelpro program called Ahmad the most dangerous man in America, because of his tireless dedication to New Afrikan liberation theory and freedom struggle. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's Widow, and Jamil Al-Amin, (H. Rap Brown) former SNCC Chairperson were also officers of the PGRNA when it began.

### NAIM EARLY THEORISTS

Imari Obadele was the theorist most prominent in developing the prevailing ideological positions of the Provisional Government at its origin. Obadele was initially the PGRNA Minister of Information. He later became the Minister of Interior and Midwest Vice President. He is now the President. In his book, War in America, written first in 1966, and republished in 1968 after the founding of the PGRNA,

Robert Williams, first president Republic of New Afrika in political exile in Cuba. He is the author of "Negros with guns" and made famous the slogan "America is the Black Nation's BattleGround"



he credits Malcolm with propounding the principles of Land, Internationalization and Self-Defense, which led Obadele and others to call for the formation of the Provisional Govern-

## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

ment, and the initiation of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

Others who contributed substantially to the early development of the theories behind the New Afrikan Independence Movement were Herman Ferguson, Muhammad Ahmad and Mamadu Lumumba. All three men credit Malcolm with their revolutionary nationalist



political development. In the early 1970's Ahmad and others founded the Afrikan Peoples Party. Queen Mother was a member. This Party became another source for the development of theory in the NAIM. Mamadu Lumumba led in the development of

the House of Umoja in Los Angeles, CA. This was a New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist secret organization. It also drew ideological direction from Malcolm. For several years after Malcolm's death, the House membership often worked closely with Malcolm's friend and confidante, Obaboa Owolo, who was the National Treasurer and West Coast Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. Owolo, who is now deceased, was a one time Michigan auto worker who worked with the CPUSA in the fight for Afrikan workers rights. He was one of the New Afrikans (Blacks) who left the CPUSA when it abandoned the Blackbelt theory. Neither he, nor any other former CPUSA member were a part of the Malcolm X Society collective which developed the PGRNA five state position or made the call for the March 29-31, 1968 Black Government Conference. But like Queen Mother Moore and hundreds of nationalists who hungered for New Afrikan independence in North America, he responded to the call.

This historic call, and the New Afrikan Independence Movement which flowed from it, were both born of Malcolm's and Queen Mother's teachings. In view of Malcolm's correct insistence on defining us as a Black colony in North America, his stress on our need for independence, his proper identification of land as the basis of independence, and his characterization of revolution as the struggle for land, and Queen Mother's identification of the land area, it was inevitable that the pre-20th century struggle for an independent Black state in the Blackbelt, would be reborn in the struggle for Black Power, as a direct result of the work of the students of Malcolm and Queen Mother Moore.

### THE NEW AFRIKAN NATION IS REAL.

There is nothing meta-physical about revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalism, about the recognition that a New Afrikan Nation exists in North America, or about our strategy to free it. Theories which are metaphysical violate the process of reaching conclusions by way of scientific observation, study, analysis, and logic. The metaphysician advances ideas which are not grounded in a realistic understanding of the material conditions which surround and impact on the subject which the ideas concern. Strategies which are metaphysical look for divine or supernatural intervention, or otherwise hope for outcomes to be produced from faith alone, good intentions, or some unknown forces.

As with any revolutionary movement, there are metaphysical thinkers who support the New Afrikan Independence Movement for reasons of their own, but there is nothing either worldly or wishful in our basic theory. The Principles and Programme of Action of the New Afrikan Peoples Organization state the following:

"We believe that Afrikan people born in North America, descendants of slaves, form a New Afrikan Nation in North America. The New Afrikan Nation was formed through the merging of many Afrikan nations. It has developed a unique historical, cultural and socio-economic experience in North America."

Imari Obadele, the major ideologue and architect of the 1968 founding conference of the Provisional government of the Republic of New Afrika. Obadele is a former prisoner of war and presently chair of the People's Center Council.

There is nothing mysterious, far-fetched or inaccurate about the above-stated position. Any reasonably accurate definition of a nation will sufficiently match the history and present reality of the New Afrikan population to show that We constitute one. Generally speaking, a nation can be defined as follows: A nation is a people who have shared a long history of inhabitation in a common identifiable territory, while developing a common culture, language and economy: or with regard to economy, a nation is a people who have been collectively subjugated to an imperialist economic system, which has precluded them from developing and organizing an economic life of their own.<sup>20</sup>

We have lived in the New Afrikan five state area, and in the entire New Afrikan Blackbelt for over four centuries. We have buried our dead, raised our children, developed the land and built institutions and buildings on the land. Through it all, We have developed our own dialect of Afrikan-English, developed our own defense systems, economic survival systems, music and customs. In fact, We have developed our own national culture.

**We have buried our dead, raised our children, developed the land and built institutions and buildings on the land.**

The land area in New Afrika once contained Black majority populations of over 80 percent in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Alabama and Georgia also had heavy black populations. In fact, these states today collectively and individually have greater percentages of New Afrikans than any other states in the Empire. Today more of us are returning to this land than are leaving. Even those of us who have left have left with a culture which to this day is unique to us, and can be easily identified in Harlem, Detroit, Oakland, Chicago, or wherever else We have gone.

Describing New Afrika today We can say the following:

1. Inside New Afrika there is large land areas, both rural and urban, which have Black majority populations. For example, the Mississippi counties alongside the Mississippi River stretching from Memphis, Tennessee to the Southwest border of Mississippi is a majority Black territory. This land area is larger than many current independent nations in the world. The population is as large or larger than that of many independent nations (i.e., Suriname, Guyana, and Guinea Bissau). If you also consider the counties adjoining this territory in Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, the area is even bigger and Blacker.

2. Each of the other four states have similar areas with majority Black counties which are contiguous to each other. Each of these areas are part of a classic colony formation. Under the authority of the U.S. and the White state governments, these areas collectively and individually constitute non-self governing territories.

3. The predominant culture in these areas is New Afrikan. The majority of the labor force (skilled and unskilled) is New Afrikan.<sup>21</sup>

What Yeshitela calls metaphysical, is the

recognition by the New Afrikan Independence Movement that our Afrikan nation in America has a distinct identity. An identity which not only distinguishes us from non-Afrikan nations, but which also distinguishes us from other Afrikan nations. Yeshitela contends that to recognize nationality differences between ourselves and other nations of Afrikan Brothers and Sisters is to metaphysically compartmentalize the history of Afrikan people according to the separate relationships We have experienced with Euro-American states.

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Here Yeshitela appears to be overcome by a sentimental attachment to the motherland. His argument becomes metaphysical. The differences in the historical development of Afrikan people are far from contrived or imaginary. To argue that there is no significant cultural difference or historical separate development between a Swahili speaking Kenyan cattle herder, a French speaking Guinean peasant farmer, and an English speaking New Afrikan factory worker is at best wishful thinking. In fact, to argue that there are no national culture differences and separate historical development between a Guinean and a Kenyan is far from scientific.

Moreover, the national differences and separate historical experiences do not start with Euro-American compartmentalization and will not end there. Afrikans had thousands of distinct nations before Europeans even set foot on the Afrikan continent. Clearly not since antiquity has there been one European nation, one Arab nation, one Asian nation, one Red nation, or one Afrikan nation. Afrika has a common civilization, but not one nation. So it is with Europe, Asia, the Arabic world, Native American civilization, and others.

A civilization is the historical manifestation of similar lifestyles, customs, and levels and types of social, political and economic organization emanating from the cultures of the many nations in a particular area, continent or region of the world.<sup>22</sup>

There is nothing socially or historically wrong with our differences and our development of distinct nationalities. We are tied together by our attachment to the same mighty civilization, not one nation.

### LAND, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

There was something wrong with European violation of our human rights to self-determination, Euro-American colonization of Afrikans, slavery and other derivatives of imperialism.

Yet, the fact that these imperialists acts were wrong does not mean that they did not occur. Furthermore, the infamy of the Euro-American colonization of Afrikans does not alter its impact with regard to creating conditions which effect the development of New Afrikan nations today. Culture and economic life are two prime determinants of nationality by most definitions of nations. Both of these national factors are shaped by a peoples relationship to a particular physical and social environment. This is to say that both factors are developed by a peoples' relationship to a given space on this planet, and the type of physical and social obstacles they must confront in the struggle for survival and progress. Consequently, territorial location has always been a key factor in deciding national identity. Thus, the Kikuyu in East Afrika have always been a different nation than the Navaho in Southwest North America, or the Ashanti in West Afrika.

So it is that the New Afrikan struggling against the klan, fighting for land, and picking cotton in Mississippi has a historical experience which has different national characteristics than the Azanian diamond miner, fighting for land, and struggling against the Boers in Southern Afrika. One thing that distinguishes these two Afrikans is the precise land for which they struggle. Each is not so much moved by our political theories and debates as they are by the manifest need to exercise control over the land which feeds, clothes and houses them, and upon which rests the political system which governs them, and the social institutions that teach their children. These concrete concerns will do the most to determine nationality as well as revolutionary disposition.

Realizing as We do that the peoples disposition to wage revolution anywhere will in large measure depend on their national consciousness — their understanding of their relationship to each other, to territory and to the oppressor — it is not rational to attempt to leap over a population's national identity and national revolution in hopes of connecting such a population to international consciousness and revolution.

Where revolutionaries have failed to appropriately help the people find self-definition, the oppressor, his surrogates, or confused social reformers will fill the void. This is why our population has been inundated with labels which undermine the pursuit of New Afrikan national consciousness. Such terms like Negro, colored, and now African American build confusion. Names like Black and Afrikan identify our race and our civilization, but do not go far enough to resolve the confusion.

The New Afrikan people know that they share a national relationship which is neither completely defined by "Afrikan" nor "Black". Consequently, they are easy prey for terms like Afrikan American, when revolutionary leadership is not instrumental in clarifying the identity question. And there is much more than an identity crisis which is at issue here. For the real question becomes, what government, party, and national policy specifically represents us as Afrikans in America. Garvey said, "Where is the Black man's government?" Today We as New Afrikans in America look for government, economic system, and national policy of our own, or the process by which We can develop these things. In other words, We seek self-determination. Jesse Jackson and various other social democrats tell us that the American government, economic system and policy will belong to us, if We just elect them to office so that they can help us claim it.

Of course, those of us who know the history, and the present and future designs of this government know that this is a preposterous proposition. Our two hundred year experience with American politics, economics and policy is enough to reject this notion.

#### SELF-DETERMINATION, INDEPENDENCE AND STATE POWER

On the other hand, the solution that the APSP offers does not resolve the self-determination question for us, but only helps to confuse it. APSP suggests that We will find liberation through (a) a unified socialist Afrikan government on the

Afrikan continent, (b) a black-led multi-national socialist revolution, and (c) some form of political independence for Afrikans in America which does not involve the establishment of an independent New Afrikan state.

The total liberation and socialist unification of the Afrikan continent and the completion of the worldwide socialist revolution are critical to the crushing of imperialism. Consequently, these processes are necessary to safeguard and advance the gains of all national liberation struggles and revolutions by oppressed peoples. As part of the Afrikan civilization, both the ultimate liberation and socialist unifications of Afrika, and the struggle for the same has special significance to us. We are an Afrikan nation, and the exchange of material and diplomatic and military support, and ultimately trade between us and our brothers and sisters on the Afrikan continent will most clearly serve our objective interests and theirs.

Socialist revolution in North America is also particularly important to us. For it is in North America that imperialism exploits and terrorizes us. It is in North America that we must defeat imperialism in order to achieve national liberation for ourselves, and in order to contribute to the liberation of Afrika and the world.

But, neither the establishment of a unified socialist government in Afrika, nor a socialist revolution are sufficient to meet our people's political, economic and social needs without an independent New Afrikan state in North America. In fact neither are likely to occur without the struggle to establish a new Afrikan state.

Thirty million of us live in North America alone. One hundred fifty (150) million Afrikans live elsewhere in America. As long as We are here, We will never be able to fully participate in the democratic political processes or economic management of a state (a government) on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Moreover, We will never be able to depend primarily on such a state to provide national security for ourselves and to guarantee full realization of our human rights. I have made this observation elsewhere in the following manner:



## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

The liberation and unification of the Afrikan continent is necessary, but neither sufficient for the demise of imperialism, nor for the total liberation of Afrikans in America. We are mindful that our great leader Malcolm X once noted that the treatment of Chinese in America had improved after the Chinese nation was liberated in Asia. That there was some change for the better in the treatment of Chinese in America subsequent to the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China, We can all agree.

But Chinese in America are oppressed to this very day. They suffer discrimination of all forms, racial violence, economic exploitation and social destabilization due to discrimination and their modest economic conditions. Our peoples aspirations cannot be fulfilled merely by being placed in a position similar to that of the Chinese in America. In fact, We do not believe that many right-thinking Chinese are comfortable with the position they presently occupy in America. They will never be until the North American imperialist state is destroyed, and freedom, justice and equality are realities in America.<sup>23</sup>

The North American imperialist state (the United States Government and Economic system) is not only a problem for Chinese on both sides of the world, but it is the primary enemy for Afrikans across the planet. So, the Afrikan revolution on both sides of the Atlantic is a struggle against the U.S. empire and its imperialist practices. Consequently, the success of the revolution in Afrika depends as much on the Afrikan revolution here, as our Afrikan revolution depends on revolution in Afrika.

At the heart of Afrikan revolution everywhere is the struggle to establish one or more socialist states, for the peoples political and economic independence is only secured through revolutionary state power. What makes the establishment of a New Afrikan state an imperative for the Afrikan revolution is the location of the New Afrikan people. To properly serve its revolutionary purpose, each Afrikan state must be established by the people within their environment. Afrikan state power on the other side of the Atlantic is too distant to effectively serve

a stateless Afrikan nation on this side.

Socialist revolution in North America cannot alleviate the need for the struggle to establish a socialist New Afrikan state, because the struggle for New Afrikan state power is a precondition for a socialist revolution across this entire continent. The starting point for socialist revolution in North America is the struggle against the U.S. Empire by an anti-imperialist strategic alliance of national liberation movements from colonized nations and neo-colonies in the U.S. North American empire, and the anti-imperialist North American (white) movement under the leadership of these National Liberation Movements. The socialist revolution begins as the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the Mexican Reunification Movement, and the Sovereignty Movements of Native Nations in the U.S. Empire wage the struggle to liberate their respective territories from the Empire and to establish their own pro-socialist states in their territory, while anti-imperialist whites organize support in the white North American population for these movements, and organize white resistance to U.S. imperialist aggression. Each blow in each nation for national independence becomes a blow against the Empire, a blow against imperialism and capitalism and consequently, a blow for socialism.

This anti-imperialist strategy for building socialist revolution in North America has been developed in theory and practice by New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, and leading forces in the Puerto Rican, Mexican and Native American liberation movements. It is a strategy which arises from an analysis of the nature of U.S. imperialism, and the history of our respective national struggles against it.

Implicit in this strategy is the recognition that the United States is not a nation, but an Empire, consisting of a white imperialist settler nation and state, and various non-white colonized nations and neo-colonies. The imperialist state has been built from labor and land stolen from the populations of the Black, Brown, and Red nations which it holds captive under its political jurisdiction. Today this white state mis-

represents itself as one nation, denies the existence of the colonized nations it holds captive, and maintains its existence through wanton super-exploitation of the colonized populations and neo-colonies in North America and worldwide. The imperialist state masks its political tyranny and its plunder and pillage of colonized territories and populations within the Empire by means of an imperialist democracy operated through an elaborate system of government called federalism, and various supporting economic, political and social institutions (schools, mass media, labor unions, political parties, churches, etc.).

This political system allows the colonized populations to vote. However, through the operation of federalism, various other political arrangements, and population gentrification, the colonized are always either forced into a minority voting status, or are positioned as the majority of an electorate which is politically subject to a predominantly white jurisdiction. Thus, the impact of the vote of the colonized population inside of the electoral arena is minimal. More importantly, the colonized are rendered politically impotent by the operation of the Empire's economic system. It is this system which makes the decisions with regard to distribution of wealth and ownership of means of production; and it is these major decisions - made long ago - which have determined who has the ability to control the electoral system and American government with monetary contributions, material resources, and ownership of the work places and financial institutions.

The imperialist state and the political, economic and social systems of the Empire are all organized and structured on the basis of white supremacy. This has always been the case. So organized, these systems distribute the wealth that the imperialist state has stolen from its internal and external colonies in a white-first manner. In doing so, several different and distinct economic realities exist within the Empire. There is an economic life among the North American (white) population characterized by general affluence, a relatively high level of per capita net worth, a relatively small poor group, a

super rich bourgeois, a large petty bourgeois class, and a relatively small and well off working class. By contrast, the New Afrikan economy is impoverished. Poverty grips at least a third of the population according to the most conservative accounts. The bourgeois is almost non-existent, the petty bourgeois is marginal, most of this class is less than a step away from the working class, or worst. The working class is very large, but huge segments of it are generally without work, and many hover on the brink of permanent unemployment and a lumpen proletariat existence. Indeed large numbers of the population - particularly New Afrikan youth - have dropped into the lumpen group, which many now call a Black underclass. Actually, practically the entire New Afrikan nation constitutes an underclass in the context of the overall economic structure of the Empire. The per capita net worth of the New Afrikan is about ten times less than the North American. All classes in the New Afrikan nation are poorer than those in the North American nation, and the vast majority of workers, and New Afrikan petty bourgeois who are not already poor, are actually only a pay check or two away from poverty. The actual New Afrikan economy is, of course, dwarfed and totally dependent on the white one, due to the impact of imperialism. The economic conditions of the various other colonized nations are more similar to these in the New Afrikan nation than to those in the North American settler nation.

What this means is that all classes in the North American settler nation have an interest in North American imperialism. These economic conditions place all classes in the white settler nation in a national alliance with the imperialist state. The white working class has been a most reliable ally in this racist arrangement, because it has a vested material interest in it.

Neither the APSP (as Yeshitela imagines) nor anybody else will lead this class into a socialist revolution against the imperialist state until the material advantages associated with the white supremacist alliance no longer exists, or are outweighed by the material disadvantages in

## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

the relationship. These advantages will only disappear when the conditions of the white working class have changed, and when the quantitative change in these conditions have become a qualitative change in this class' position relative to the New Afrikan nation and other colonies. In other words, only when New Afrikans and others have removed themselves from underneath the feet of the white working class in the North American settler nation, will this class

Actually, since the socialist revolution against this state begins in North America with the anti-imperialist struggle of allied national liberation movements in North America, revolutionary incentive for white workers to join this anti-imperialist alliance grows with the success of the national liberation struggles. As these struggles increase the costs of the Empire's counter-revolutionary efforts, the Empire will certainly pass on to the white settler nation, and

particularly its workers, all the costs which well-organized populations in the colonies refuse to pay. With each tax in terms of finances, loss of life and resources, the advantages of the white worker's racist alliance with the imperialist state are diminished and eventually will be outweighed by the disadvantages of costs arising from protracted peoples wars for national liberation. This process sets the stage for the white workers participation in the socialist revolution in North America. Previously, i have described this situation as follows:

It is in the collective interest of each of the above-mentioned movements to dismantle the American Empire, thereby, weakening the imperialist state, and enhancing the opportunity for its final defeat and overthrow. The waging of peoples wars for land

and independence by each colony in the U.S. Empire will bring the Empire to its knees, thereby creating the conditions for serious material contradictions between white workers and the capitalist controlled U.S. government. Such conditions will leave the U.S. government ripe for the final death blow, which will be delivered by colonized populations fighting for national liberation and socialism, and white workers fighting for socialist revolution in the North American settler nation.<sup>24</sup>

In order for our colonized nation to effectively remove itself from the floor of the Empire's

# 25 KILLED

BY COMPANY GREED AND STATE POLICY.



Graphic by Eric Joselyn

cease to rely on and benefit from our economic exploitation.

Without these benefits, the working class of the settler nation must deal head on with the blood sucking capitalists ways of the imperialist state. For it is a state which will surely take from white workers and the white petty bourgeois what it can not get elsewhere. As a result, the white working class will have all the reason it needs to join the fight to overthrow what is left of the imperialist state, and its mega-buck masters.

On September 23, 1991, 25 workers were killed in a tragic fire at the Imperial food plant in Hamlet, North Carolina. These deaths occurred because of unsafe work conditions, greed and the owner, Emmett Roe's utter disrespect for human life.

economic system, or to wage a viable struggle toward this end, We must struggle to establish a New Afrikan state. Only through such a struggle can We best (a) fight the imperialist state without the immediate participation of the white working class, (b) fight the state and all its allies, including the majority of the white working class, and (c) develop and consolidate our resources and self-reliance sufficiently to secure ourselves from the anti-culture of white supremacy which will certainly survive the Empire, and only meet its final demise in the confrontation with New Afrikan state power. After all is said and done, We are not only our own liberators, but We are the only reliable guardians of our liberation once it is accomplished.

Our brother Yeshitela offers us political independence which does not include New Afrikan state power. Any Afrikan political independence in America will require Afrikan economic independence, and state power in America. No population anywhere in the world exists which has true political independence without economic independence, and state power. Nor does a stateless people exist who exercise independence in one part of the world on the basis of state power in another far off region of the world. What's more, there is nothing which concretely suggests that either of these phenomenal relationships are likely to occur.

Put simply and applied to our situation, what is being said here, is that no state based in Afrika is likely to send ships, tanks, airplanes or economic and political administrators here to protect us from the avarice or racism of the U.S. imperialist state or its white working class allies. In fact, most Afrikan nations on the continent are not any closer to being able to provide these types of resources for us, than We are to being able to provide such for ourselves; and at this perilous juncture of history, We must ask these questions. If We are to await salvation from the motherland, when will it come? During what phase of the Empire's current program for Black genocide will it occur? And how many of us will be left at that time?

Revolutionary New Afrikan nationalism answers these questions with the struggle for state power in North America. By so doing, We ensure that whatever We receive from Afrika, We will be in the best position to receive it, and in the best position to contribute to the struggle in Afrika as well.

There is much more which can be said and ultimately will be said on the need for New Afrikan state power. However, I will leave this issue for the present with these reminders from my previous remarks on the issue.

The liberation of the New Afrikan nation is a vital part of the revolution which will destroy this white settler state. The American state was built off the backs of the New Afrikan colony, the Native American colonies, and the colonized portion of Mexico. Only with the decolonization and liberation of Native American, New Afrikan and Mexican colonies, will the imperialist North American state see its ultimate demise. The New Afrikan national liberation struggle is vital to this process both quantitatively and qualitatively. New Afrikans constitute the largest single colonized population in North America. Moreover, the struggle to liberate the New Afrikan Blackbelt from the empire is key. The Blackbelt is the situs of many major USA military bases, factories, and trade ports. It has an abundance of important resources. Lumber, oil, cotton, soybeans, fish, fruit, vegetables and a wide variety of other agricultural products are just a few of the many resources in this area. Many industrial plants have been relocated into this area during the last 15 years. The majority of the New Afrikan population still lives in the Blackbelt and since the 1970's more Afrikans have been returning "down home", than have been leaving this New Afrikan home land.

Disregarding the need for a viable New Afrikan national liberation movement in North America disservice Afrikans everywhere, and in effect constitutes a defection from our obligation to play a major role in the anti-imperialist strategic alliance in the USA Empire. By such a course, We not only betray ourselves, but abandon native American, Mexican, Puerto Rican,

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and New Afrikan Caribbean nations, in the struggle against the Empire.

Not only does failure to build the national liberation struggle of New Afrika as a legitimate PAN AFRIKAN task disregard the self-determination rights of Afrikans in North America, but it immobilizes and trivializes the revolutionary potential of thirty million Afrikans on this continent. Such a policy spares the USA Empire one of our potentially most effective anti-imperialist weapons.

If our population of millions is unprepared to struggle for state power in a territory that our parents, grandparents, great grandparents and great great grandparents developed, inhabited for centuries, and fought white terrorists to win, We will hardly be able to prepare to struggle to liberate a continent which most of our people have never seen. Only a struggle for independence in America will best bring our New Afrikan population here into a revolutionary embrace with the New Afrikan revolution on the continent. This will be achieved as our respective liberation movements make serious reciprocal exchanges of political and military support, and material aid.

Revolutions are not fought on the basis of heritage or goodwill alone. History records no revolution in which millions have arose to combat imperialism solely for the sake of liberating a territory for which they have no personal memory, national attachment, or reasonable likelihood for future inhabitance.<sup>25</sup>

### NEW AFRIKANS AND NATIVE NATIONS

APSP Chairman Ornali Yeshitela charges that the ideology of NAPO and PGRNA unites with imperialist aggression against the native people by claiming an area of land that is the birthright of the native people. Both the theory and the factual basis of this charge are unsound.

The Code of Umoja of the PGRNA obligates it to recognize all just claims of the native nations.<sup>26</sup> NAPO is likewise obliged to respect such claims. Previously We have said:

Our claims bow to active native American claims which predate our own, where such claims are made by native Nations in the territory or seeking return to it. Not only do We recognize the justice of such claims, but We pledge to struggle to fulfill them as We struggle to establish our own sovereign state. These struggles are against the same imperialist. They are not contradictory.<sup>27</sup>

Many native Americans have supported the New Afrikan Independence struggle. As recently as February 7, 1990, Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement, and the Chippewa Nation expressed his support for our movement and our objectives. No native person that We are aware of has taken Yeshitela's view.

Yeshitela and the APSP have in fact previously advocated the establishment of "Afrikan Soviets" in North America. They also have declared themselves the "leaders" of socialist revolution in America. Why Yeshitela can presume to be the leadership of Native Americans and others in socialist revolution across North America, and claim the right to establish "soviets" across this continent, and yet find problems with our designs to establish a revolutionary state in the Blackbelt is unclear.

What is clear is that New Afrikan Independence movement claims are not made against Native nations, but against the imperialist that occupy the land. Our claims are based on birth right, bloodshed, development and long-time inhabitance of the territory, and on rights which derive from long-time political and military alliances and joint work with Native Americans, not to mention extensive blood ties with our native brothers and sisters. In various treaties between native people and the U.S. government, our land rights are upheld by the native nations.

It is also clear that relatively few native peoples presently live in the Blackbelt area in question, and that few have expressed any desire to return. There is an abundance of territory for all concerned. Historically, the Black nation has been an ally with the Red nation in the struggle for land. We have established joint nation-states like the Seminoles, and on occasion have estab-

lished Afrikan nation-states which have existed side by side with native states. We see no reason for our relationship to change. We have said as much before.

Each oppressed nation involved needs liberated territory. Neither is likely to succeed without the others support. There is sufficient territory for all who are entitled to it. So our movement envisions the liberated New Afrikan nation side by side with liberated Native American ones. Few Native American leaders We have discussed this with have found a problem with our approach. Any approach which leaves nearly 30 million Afrikans in America struggling for anything less than state power will not do.<sup>28</sup>

Among other things, the APSP-Yeshitela view suffers from a misconception of international legal and political principles. One nation's claim to territory by birthright, does not preclude another nation's claim on the same grounds or on other just grounds. In fact, in many cases more than one Native nation has birthright claims and/or other claims to the same land. In any case where different nations actively pursue such claims, a resolution should be made which does justice for all involved. This may necessitate a sharing of the territory if sufficient land exists, or it may mean that claims which are of less vintage or more tenuous must bow. Comrades in the struggle against imperialism will surely be able to resolve any such problems should they arise. Otherwise, We arrive at the ridiculous position of leaving the white settler state in control of the land.

#### OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE

Yeshitela makes numerous other charges against our movement. Below our responses are made seriatim.

He charges that to recognize the existence of the New Afrikan nation is to celebrate the history of slavery which created the conditions which prompted our national development. Obviously, if We follow and accept this argument, We would be constrained to withhold our recognition of numerous Caribbean, South and Central American nations, like Puerto Rico, Cuba, Grenada, Haiti and so on. In fact, it could be argued that recognizing Azania, Zimbabwe,

New Afrikan Abraham (center rear) served as an interpreter and leading member of the Seminole Nation in their 1825 negotiations with the U.S. government



Guinea, and virtually every developing Afrikan nation requires a celebration of colonialism. Indeed, taking the argument to its conclusion We would be precluded from recognizing virtually every so-called third world nation on the planet or risk being charged with celebrating imperialism. Moreover, liberation movements exist as a consequence of colonialism. Most liberation movements, and even presumably Yeshitela's organization developed out of the struggle against the colonizer. If We were to accept Yeshitela's thinking, We could not recognize that these movements exist, or certainly not celebrate their existence for fear of celebrating colonialism.

We cannot accept Yeshitela's reasoning. It is totally superficial. Any dialectical thinker should know that oppression always creates the conditions which give rise to its counterforce.

## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Slavery brought us together in America, not for the purpose of creating a New Afrikan nation, but to cripple our human development, and to work us like dogs, horses or cows. Fortunately, all did not go as the slave traders and slave masters planned. Our people pulled together for purposes of survival, and to struggle for freedom. It was the language, culture, institutions, and struggles which emanated from their resistance that developed our nation.

### REPARATIONS

Our movement, it is charged by Yeshitela, "barely even paid lip service to the demand for reparations" except when We "spoke or appeared otherwise at ANRO (African National Reparation Organization) sponsored tribunals until the U.S. colonial government agreed to pay reparations to the surviving Japanese..." This is a preposterous rewriting of history.

March 31, 1968 - The New Afrikan Declaration of Independence in paragraph two claims reparations from the United States government, "due us for grievous injuries sustained by our ancestors and by ourselves by reason of United States lawlessness." Shortly after reparations and independence petitions were circulated in Black communities. Thousands of signatures were collected. Later in 1968, John Conyers delivered a letter from PGRNA to the U.S. government, demanding reparations and independence.

1968/9 - I. Obadele wrote a book called *Revolution and Nation building*. This book, PGRNA literature, and organizers stressed the demand for reparations in countless community, national and mass meetings and campaigns.

1970-1971 - PGRNA Cadre developed grassroots reparation commissions throughout Mississippi. August 18, 1971, PGRNA work in Mississippi led to FBI/police military assaults. One police was killed, one was wounded, and one FBI was wounded. The RNA-11 were ar-

rested. Collectively they spent over 40 years in prison.

March 1972 - PGRNA presented the Anti-Depression Reparation Program - proposed resolution to the National Black Convention in Gary. It was accepted. Over 10,000 attended this event.

May 1972 - Anti-Depression Reparation program was mailed by PGRNA to every member of U.S. Congress and Senate.

June 1972 - The Anti-Depression Reparations Program was presented to the Mississippi Loyalist Democratic Party. It was accepted.

July 1972 - The Anti-Depression Reparation proposal was presented to the Black Caucus at the Democratic Party Convention. Two PGRNA Cadre were arrested and charged originally with ridiculous charges of trying to assassinate George McGovern; then framed on concealed weapon charges. Arrests were designed to undermine PGRNA efforts to highlight reparation demand. Each Cadre spent five (5) years in prison. One of these PGRNA Cadre was Ahmed Obafemi, who has subsequently attended an ANRO Tribunal. Yeshitela says Ahmed gives only lip services to the reparation demand.

March 1973 - Reparation workshop was held at International Afrikan POW Solidarity Day, which was called by PGRNA in Jackson, Mississippi. About 3,000 attended the entire conference.

September 1975 - First National Black Elections were held by PGRNA. Over 5,000 voted for reparations. Numerous meetings, community campaigns and media appearances stressed the reparation demand and freedom for POW's and political prisoners.

1970/71 - Imari Obadele made argument for reparations at Detroit City Council

Late 1970's - At PGRNA suggestion, and with PGRNA assistance National Black Law Students prepared and argued reparation and citizenship issues across the country for Frederick Douglas' Moot Court Competition.

1978-79 -Reparations were constant theme of National Black Human Rights Campaign and of Human Rights Demonstration at U.N. Five thousand (5,000) people attended. The U.N. General Assembly President was presented with human rights petition which included the case for reparations.

1983 to present -Reparations issue is addressed in virtually every year in annual Black Nation Day Conference sponsored by New Afrikan Independence Movement.

May 19, 1984 -Reparations is one of NAPO's founding principles. Point 9 of NAPO Principles and Programme of Action call for U.S. to pay reparations for slavery, colonialism, and genocide.

The above is merely a partial listing of our movement's reparations work, long before the Japanese reparation bill. The coalition of which NAPO and PGRNA are presently a part is called National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (NCOBRA). This Coalition and the workshop leading to its formation was definitely in its formative stages before the Japanese reparation bill was passed.

Yeshitela charges this Coalition with being a mere lobby group, and makes other disparaging remarks about it. The truth is that this is a broad base coalition. It is not a small political group like ANRO, which consists mainly of APSP supporters and members. Neither NAPO nor PGRNA exercises control over the Coalition; yet, if NAPO is persuasive within it, then its work will go far beyond lobbying efforts. In fact, its work already includes fo-

runs, circulation of mass questionnaires and other public work.

ANRO initially joined this formation. Ajamu Mwafrika, ANRO's director, spoke at NCOBRA's first public forum. He stated that ANRO's program involved mass work and legislative efforts. Now Yeshitela tells us that NCOBRA's legislative efforts distinguish it from ANRO. The implication is that NCOBRA will have less revolutionary mass impact, and is a less worthy organization than ANRO. Yeshitela is not the only APSP member who has attacked NCOBRA. Several weeks after Ajamu Mwafrika spoke at the NCOBRA forum in D.C., two APSP members rudely disrupted a NCOBRA meeting. Neither had been at a NCOBRA meeting before. "It was obvious that it was a preplanned disruption," according to NCOBRA Coordinator, Adjoa Aiyetoro.

The APSP's purported concern was NCOBRA's support for John Conyer's reparation bill. Neither before nor during that meeting, nor after, did NCOBRA commit itself to support the bill. In fact, the meeting was called to give Conyer's aide NCOBRA's objections to the bill. Thus, APSP's purported concern was obviously a pretext.

None of the arguments raised by Yeshitela justify APSP behavior. NCOBRA is a democratically run broad base coalition. It would appear that APSP, left NCOBRA because APSP could not control NCOBRA. APSP and any other genuine Black Liberation Movement organization is entitled to join NCOBRA and offer its leadership. But leadership will have to be earned, not imposed, and APSP has done nothing so far to earn it.

The mass work APSP boast of is not readily apparent. Contrary to Yeshitela's suggestion, have never indicated that APSP or ANRO had done good mass work. It remains to be seen. I do and still do commend them for consistently holding a Tribunal and recording incidents of oppression. I do so because i believe the idea of a tribunal, and of making a record is good. Both are tactics which the New Afrikan Independence Movement used around POW work and struggle



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against FBI aggression in the early and mid-1970's. So, We know the value of the methods. I have never suggested that ANRO or the Tribunal have had mass impact. The Tribunal which I attended in Philadelphia in the early 1980's only had about 20 people present, and it was a national effort. Several subsequent meetings have also been poorly attended from reports We have received.

The major public sessions that We have attended that NCOBRA has sponsored have been better attended, and have drawn a broader audience. NAPO believes that a broad coalition on the reparations is what is needed now. This is why We did attend the Afro-American Summit and address the issue. In doing so, NAPO and other NCOBRA members forced the convention to address the issue of reparations, although convention leaders never intended to do so. Popular support for reparations was apparent, and the convention did approve a reparations resolution.

NCOBRA may have already touched more of our grassroots population than ANRO. Certainly the New Afrikan Independence Movement has. The charge that our only contribution has been lip-service at APSP-controlled ANRO Tribunals is nonsense, as the record shows. But, more importantly, it should be noted that this type of arrogance is what has compromised ANRO ranks.

Since NCOBRA is a broad Coalition, some of the reparation positions in it are not revolutionary. NAPO's view is a revolutionary one. In fact, We see reparations as a principle organizing sub-strategy to build a grassroots self-determination campaign and peoples war.

Our position has not stopped us from working in alliances with honest political militants, social democrats, and other less than revolutionary reparation advocates. We did assist Massachusetts Senator Bill Owens in writing his reparations bill, after he called us and asked for our help. As a result of his bill the reparation issue has been the subject of many media programs. Literally thousands, if not millions, have now been exposed to it.

We did not write the Conyers bill. In fact, We, as NAPO, have not decided to support it. We have problems with it. We also did not write the Detroit City Council bill. Its author, Ray Jenkins, knows us and respects us, however, and respects our reparations work history. Consequently, he has asked us to appear on various radio programs with him.

Yeshitela claims that his organization's work is more mass-oriented than ours. He suggests that ANRO has the revolutionary view on reparations. I think these are claims which Yeshitela should be a bit more cautious in making. He should realize that the masses will make the final record on this question, not he, not ANRO. Moreover, if he feels compelled to continue such sectarian boasts, he should at least seek accurate information. Both his June and November 1989 comments on our reparation work are riddled with inaccuracies. Either he has been totally misinformed, or he has no regard for the truth. According to him, he was informed with regard to my speech on reparations in Los Angeles, prior to his November 1989 remarks. He says that a member of ANRO was present and took copious notes. If Yeshitela's comments are a reflection of the accurateness of the notes, Yeshitela would do well to order a copy of the tape "Reparations and Revolution", from Freedom Sounds Media Association at NAPO's Jackson, Mississippi, address.

Should there remain any question with regard to what inaccuracies appear in Yeshitela's editorial comments on our reparation work, the following are a quick summary of some of the most glaring:

1. His June 1989 assertion that our movement had only paid lip-service to reparations at ANRO Tribunals for the Japanese bill.
2. His November 1989 assertions that NAPO formulated legislation through Conyers and the Detroit City Council.
3. A general distortion with regard to the content and purpose of my Los Angeles presentation on reparations. Yeshitela in his November editorial suggests that I listed the history of

reparations in order to belittle the work of ANRO. My speech was about reparations, and outlines NAPO's revolutionary reparation position. The history helped to introduce the subject and place the work in perspective. Neither ANRO nor APSP was a major issue in the speech. If the actual history reveals that ANRO's role is less significant than Yeshitela imagines, this problem is not one which arises from my speech. If the history is inaccurate or incomplete, We would appreciate corrections or additions from any qualified source.

In closing on this issue, i note that those forces which comprise NAPO now did not join ANRO when it was created for several reasons

(a) Most of us were preoccupied with organizing around the Brinks case Freedom Fighters. Interestingly, this struggle included a successful fight to defeat the U.S. government's efforts to bar me from the Brinks case on the grounds that i was part of a revolutionary "terrorist" movement -the New Afrikan Independence Movement. In support of its case, the government presented a position paper in which i was quoted as advocating the taking of reparations by force. It seems that the U.S. government has never shared Yeshitela's doubts about the revolutionary character of our reparations position.

(b) Many of us were working to resolve internal contradictions existing inside the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The process took time.

(c) Many in our Movement were concerned with regard to what they identified as APSP's sectarian work style. As time has passed, this concern has grown. It is a serious concern today.

### U.S. IMPERIALISM HAS NO WORST ENEMY THAN OUR MOVEMENT

At great length, Yeshitela attacks Imari Obadele in the June 1989 Burning Spear. He repeats many of the same accusations in the July and November issues. His attack grows out of misconceived theory on the formation of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and

Yeshitela's analysis of an editorial by Obadele in the New Afrikan newspaper. Essentially Yeshitela, masterfully using overstatement, concocts the theory that Obadele and the PGRNA have made an alliance with the U.S. colonial state (the USA). In his November 1989 editorial, Yeshitela also, by inference, includes NAPO in this phantom pact with the devil. He does so by suggesting that his attacks on PGRNA and NAPO were justified by positions put forth by Obadele's editorial. He thereby imputes Obadele's views in the editorial to NAPO.

It may be useful at this time to remind the reader of a point made earlier. Although NAPO and the PGRNA are both part of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, neither NAPO and the PGRNA in general, nor NAPO and PGRNA President Obadele in particular, share ideological unity on all points. This is worthy of mention because some of Obadele's statements in the New Afrikan editorial in question reflect ideological positions on which there is disagreement between NAPO and the President. This reminder is also worthy of note in order to once again make it clear that this is NAPO's response to Yeshitela. It is not Obadele's.

Having clarified this matter, We now point out that Yeshitela's contention that Obadele, the PGRNA and/or NAPO have united with the U.S. colonial state is absurd. It is absurd with regard to NAPO because our work and theory have always taken an uncompromising stand against the Empire and the imperialist state.

The Constitution of our Organization clearly points out: ... The destruction of the American Empire in North America is imperative to the total liberation of the New Afrikan nation and the world. The Organization is committed to the destruction of the American Empire by liberation of the colonies within it.<sup>29</sup>

The first editorial in our very first edition of BAMN in August of 1984 also made our views clear. This editorial, which was entitled "Steadfast Resistance to Incorrect Ideas", pointed out why NAPO was not partaking in the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign. Among other things, it stated that New Afrikans need the

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destruction of the blood thirsty, imperialist North American State, and not a Black person in the overseer position. Nothing that our organization has done or said would suggest that We are not committed to our expressed mission.

President Obadele does not share our revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist view on the need to dismantle the Empire, and to destroy the imperialist state. Disagreement on this issue has for a long time been the source of contradiction and internal struggle within our Movement,



similar contradictions exist in virtually all national independence struggles.

In our view, President Obadele makes political errors in his editorial which arise from the fundamental error in analysis which presumes a negotiated peaceful co-existence of the New Afrikan state, once liberated, and the U.S. imperialist state. This error has led Obadele in his editorial to embrace expedient, but self-destructive policy, and to foster unrealistic expectations with regard to the imperialist state.

In describing a New Afrikan community March against drugs held in D. C., and in defin-

ing its political mission, and the national mission of similar campaigns across the Empire, Obadele in his editorial embraces two points outlined by one of the march leaders, and adds two points of his own.

He embraces the call for love, and adds the call for armed soldiers in our struggle against drugs. Both of these factors are important to the struggle against drugs, U.S. chemical warfare, and imperialism period. The righteous use of

both have long productive histories in our Black Liberation Movement, and in other revolutionary struggles.

Obadele's first error in his editorial, is in his embrace of the call for the use of the police of the imperialist state to deal with recalcitrant operatives in the drug traffic. This is a policy which neither addresses the drug crisis, nor answers the populations cry for security. It is a policy which serves to legitimize the

presence of the imperialist police in our communities.

These police and the U.S. government which they represent are in cahoots with the world's biggest drug cartels. The police and the U.S. government use the influx of drugs as an instrument of chemical warfare designed to destabilize our communities and to obstruct the revolution. The U.S. imperialist state will not stop drugs, but will only use the presence of drugs to justify the continued military occupation of our communities, and to wage low intensity warfare against our movement. Consequently, Brother Obadele's embrace of a policy which calls on

Fulani sunni-All, right and Chokwe Lumumba, center, shown at Brink's case press conference in Harlem, New York, after her release from jail in November 1981.

police of the U.S. imperialist state is self-destructive.

Furthermore, Brother Obadele also errs in suggesting that reparations might be secured from the U.S. government to repair our communities if We make it clear that We will use reparation for such purposes. Exposing that the damages incurred by our communities because of drugs is a proper basis for part of our reparations demand, is important, but suggesting that reparations will be granted by the government because the need is clear is wishful thinking — in fact non-revolutionary thinking.

Such wishful thinking and political errors do not make Obadele an ally of the U.S. imperialist state. Similar errors did not make Marcus Garvey an ally of the state. Garvey was of the opinion that a unified Afrikan state in Afrika could be liberated and could peacefully co-exist with the U.S. Empire. Garvey made errors because of this misapprehension. Among others was his efforts to reach an agreement with the Ku Klux Klan.

Obadele today, like Garvey yesterday, is objectively an enemy of the U.S. imperialist state because of his firm commitment to Afrikan state power. The creation of independent Afrikan states in Afrika and in America is a greater cost to U.S. imperialism than it can afford to pay. The U.S. government has never had any difficulty reaching this conclusion. Just as Garvey was a victim of government counter insurgency efforts in his day, Obadele has been a prime target of the same. The U.S. government has gone to great expense to discredit him through its counter intelligence program. The U.S. government and the Jackson police attempted to assassinate him on August 19, 1971. Failing to accomplish this, the U.S. government incarcerated Obadele for seven years. This is not the way they treat an ally.

#### **NAIM SERVES THE NEW AFRIKAN WORKING CLASS**

With his attack on Brother Obadele, Yeshitela finds a fresh opportunity to use some

old misplaced and ill-founded theory to continue the attack on our movement. He argues that the New Afrikan Independence Movement arises from the land cravings of a displaced black petty bourgeois. According to Yeshitela, a section of the class desperately reaches out to manufacture a New Afrikan nation in the Blackbelt for the purpose of finding land and achieving their bourgeois aspirations by building a black bourgeois state. Yeshitela further contends that this class does not presuppose an attack on U.S. imperialism (the U.S. Empire) which would destroy national oppression of Afrikans, as well as the class exploitation of workers, despite the fact that 90-94 percent of the Afrikan population within the U.S. are workers.

Yeshitela argues that Obadele's editorial in the New Afrikan proves his case. Whatever this theory's general worth might be, it is virtually useless with regard to the New Afrikan Independence Movement in general, and Revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalism in particular. As We have established, revolutionary New Afrikan nationalism as upheld by NAPO not only presupposes an attack on U.S. imperialism, but is absolutely committed to building the anti-imperialist alliance, to building the New Afrikan socialist state and to supporting the socialist revolution across this continent and elsewhere.

Secondly, as has already been indicated, the first recognition of the New Afrikan nation, and struggles to establish New Afrikan states arise from slaves, not from the black petty bourgeois.

Thirdly, class-conscious New Afrikan workers have always been prominent in the leadership of the 20th century New Afrikan Independence Movement, and the early 20th century Black independent state and Blackbelt self-determination movements. As in any national liberation struggle, class conscious workers and their scientific socialist allies from other classes have had on-going struggles with petty bourgeois leadership in the Movement. But the former has fared well in our Movement. Indeed, from the very start, even with a cross section of classes participating, the New Afrikan Declara-

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tion of Independence committed the New Afrikan Independence Movement to a basic socialist economic mission. Recorded as one of the aims of the revolution in the Declaration is the following: To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state and to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to society, and all its members..."<sup>30</sup>

About three years later, the PGRNA adopted a statement of Economic intent called the "New Afrikan Ujamaa".<sup>31</sup> It outlined a socialist system. The Afrikan Peoples Party was a scientific socialist party in our Movement. Several other socialist and communist organizations exist, or have existed, in our Movement. NAPO is a scientific socialist pre-party organization.

If there are land-craving, petty bourgeois aspiring capitalist in our Movement, they have, thus far, been soundly defeated.

Fourth, Yeshitela's theory fails almost before it begins. He attempts to argue that the black petty bourgeois of our nation are displaced or without a land-base, in the sense that the Jewish pro-zionist petty bourgeois was in Germany. This absence of a land-base led zionist to run the Palestinians off their land. He assigns the same role to the New Afrikan petty bourgeois. But it does not fit. Unlike the Jewish situation before the zionist invasion, there is already, and has been for over a hundred years, a substantial petty bourgeois population on the land in the New Afrikan Blackbelt. Indeed, it has generally been larger than the black petty bourgeois population outside the blackbelt. What's more, the only reason there is a sizeable New Afrikan petty bourgeois outside the Blackbelt is because this class and many of the rest of us were driven out of the Blackbelt, like the Palestinians were pushed out of Palestine.

Finally, We might ask, just who is it that Yeshitela supposes the Black petty bourgeois will run out of New Afrika, like the "Palestinians" were pushed out by the zionists? Certainly not the native people. There are very few of our native brothers and sisters in New Afrika. Our fight for independence, and the return of many of us who have left will create favorable conditions

for more native people to return to the area, and they will be more than welcomed home.

On the other hand, perhaps Yeshitela is concerned about us displacing the white North American population in the Blackbelt. Many of these are descendants of the terrorists who drove both the native population and our own from this land. If this be Yeshitela's concern, he should say so. Once said, it will eloquently explain itself, and Yeshitela's politics.

### WRONG AGAIN

Yeshitela suggests that theoretical short comings of everyone in the Black Liberation movement, except those who follow him, prevented all except he and his followers from correctly identifying the U. S. government's so called war on drugs as a counterinsurgency campaign against colonized New Afrikans. According to him, his "Afrikan Internationalist" creed endowed the APSP with sufficient vision to discern this imperialist plan.

We appreciate APSP's contributions on this question. But these contributions should neither be exaggerated, nor should history be so distorted. Yeshitela's revelations on the U. S. phony drug war, and the so-called anti-drug Czar's mobilization against our colonized population were published in the May 1989 edition of *Burning Spear*. Appearing in the Spring/Summer 1989 edition of *By Any Means Necessary* on page 8 an article written in the winter or early spring of 1989, by NAPO comrade Makungu Akinyela, was published. The article called, "Drugs and Gangs In The Age Of Imperialism", essentially pointed out how the U. S. government was in complicity with the flow of drugs into our community, how these drugs destabilized our communities, and how drug trafficking and associated crimes caused and/or facilitated by the U. S. government, was being used as a justification to wage war against our communities, and so called gangs in particular.

On page 6 of the same issue of *BAMN*, We also expose U.S. complicity in the drug traffic, and identify the same as a means to

combat our freedom struggle. This appears in an article called "Crack in the Rural South".

These articles do not use the words "counter revolution" or "counter insurgency", but with more detail in certain areas and less in others, Brother Akinyela makes essentially the same points on the current U.S. phony drug fighting initiative that Yeshitela makes. The other BAMN articles makes some of the same points in addressing the issue of dope inside New Afrika. For years in written material like "The Criminalization of the Black Community",<sup>32</sup> and "Notes on the Pontiac Case, Geno-

Imari Obadele's War in America, written in the 1966,<sup>34</sup> in an article called "Repression and Black Liberation"<sup>35</sup> which I authored for the Black Scholar in October of 1973, and in many other works by New Afrikan authors.

Indeed, in the recent T.V. series "Eye on the Prize", Malcolm X is shown making essentially the same analysis about the U.S. government's use of drugs and other crimes, that many of us have subsequently repeated with up-to-date details.

Thus, history reveals that the APSP/ Yeshitela counter-insurgency position takes no great leap from analyses which have preceded it, and is only marginally different from some contemporaneous with it.

Consequently, the theoretical superiority of what he calls "Afrikan Internationalism" is not manifest in the example Yeshitela offers to prove it. So Yeshitela fails to prove his point

#### THE REVOLUTION SETS REVOLUTIONARY CRITERIA

Given this failure, and others which are discussed herein, We cannot accept Yeshitela's criteria for being a "genuine revolutionary organization". Although on paper Yeshitela offers some helpful suggestions for development of revolutionary criteria, his application of these criteria is principally governed by self-centered, sectarian predilections which detract from whatever merit these suggestions might otherwise have.

Yeshitela in presupposing the singular authority and qualifications to dictate criteria for revolutionary theory and organization in our Black Liberation Movement, accuses what he calls "militant nationalists" with failing to make the distinction between war and revolution. This alleged error disqualifies such nationalists from receiving Yeshitela's blessings as revolutionaries. Precisely who this unfortunate group of non-Yeshitela-ordained militants are is not revealed.

**To support and wage  
the world revolution  
until all people  
everywhere  
are so free**

New Afrikan Declaration of Independence

cide and the New Afrikan National Liberation Struggle",<sup>33</sup> and in many other articles, We have made the point that the U.S. government was using the very criminal pathology it created in a conscious effort to wage genocidal war against our people. Likewise in countless speeches, like "War in America", which was delivered and recorded in November of 1981, We have made the point that the U.S.A.'s war against crime was a war against us. We, of course, usually point out how the cointelpro program, and other past and present secret war campaigns against Black revolutionary leadership, have compromised our liberation struggle against the U.S. government and the social pathology.

Actually, the basic theory involved with identifying this U.S. government counter revolutionary strategy is addressed substantially in

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However, the presence of the accusation in question in an editorial which has the New Afrikan Independence Movement as a primary target suggests that Yeshitela's accusation on this issue is also aimed at our Movement.

If so, the accusation is baseless. Our movement has always made distinctions between the revolution as a process building a new society and a new world order, and revolutionary war as a means of making revolution.

Our movement has exposed and outlined the implications of War in America and the need for our revolutionary force to win it in many of the writings and speeches already mentioned. We have done likewise in "The Afrikan Prisoner of War Movement",<sup>36</sup> in countless writings appearing in the New Afrikan Prisoner of War Journal, and elsewhere. At the same time, We have always been clear in our view of revolution as the struggle to establish a social order which ends oppression and promotes universal freedom.

The New Afrikan Declaration of Independence of 1968 says in part:

Ours is a revolution against oppression - our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for a better life, a better station for mankind, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We therefore see these as the aims of our revolution:

- to free Black people in America from oppression;
- to support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so freed;
- to build a new society that is better than what We now know and as perfect as man can make it;
- to assure all people in the new society maximum opportunity and equal access to the maximum.

In our constitution and in our Programme of Action, NAPO specifically points out that our National Liberation Movement is designed to establish socialism in New Afrika and Afrika. It also commit NAPO to the international struggle against imperialism, and all other forms of op-

pression. Elsewhere, We have explained that this commitment aligns us with universal revolution designed to defeat capitalism and imperialism, and to establish socialist economic systems, and peoples democracies worldwide.

Thus, neither the theoretical distinction between revolution and war, nor the strategic imperative of revolutionary war in our Black Liberation Movement is news to us. Moreover, We are unaware of any significant existing group of "militant nationalists" in the Black Liberation Movement who have failed to make such a distinction, or who threaten to confuse the Movement on the issue. We are, therefore, unaware of any present need to rally forces against any pervasive ideological confusion on the question. Consequently, We are inclined to believe that Yeshitela's purpose in raising the issue is a sinister one.

While making a thinly veiled attempt to seize ideological hegemony over the Black Liberation Movement, and declaring APSP as the vanguard of the Black revolution, Yeshitela runs head on into a glaring contradiction. It is a problem for this self-declared "vanguard" which arises from history itself. There has been a conspicuous absence of APSP or others within its "Uhuru Movement" or its "African Internationalist" tendency in the leadership of the armed struggle in the Black Liberation Movement. This is not only true with regard to the revolutionary clandestine expression of this struggle, but also with regards to national organization of active armed self-defense and security. While leadership in these areas of work is not conclusive proof of whether one is, or is not, a leading force in the Black Revolutionary Movement in America, it certainly is a relevant consideration. It is also the aspect of revolutionary struggle which is most obviously personified in revolutionary "War".

In contrast to APSP's relative absence from the leadership of armed struggle, is the pervasive presence historically of New Afrikan Independence Movement forces. This presence is depicted in numerous late 1960's armed rebellions throughout the country, in the self-defense

work of the Provisional Government's Black Legion and New Afrikan Security Forces, in the work of various units of the Black Liberation Army, specifically in the liberation of Assata Shakur, in the security work of NAPO's New Afrikan Security Union, and in many other ways.

So, how does APSP endeavor to prove its revolutionary credentials while questioning the revolutionary disposition of forces prominent in the most obvious engagements of our revolutionary war? One way is to denigrate the significance of the war and the theory of the warriors. Yeshitela has subtly attempted to accomplish this feat by conjuring up debate, and

focus on the distinctions between "War" and "revolution", while diverting attention from his "Uhuru Movements" minimal performance or nonperformance in the armed struggle, which is a critical aspect of the revolution.

**NEW AFRIKAN REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM IS REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM**

Not so subtle is Yeshitela's egocentric declaration that only those who accept the theory of Afrikan Internationalism as he defines it, are entitled to recognition as Afrikan revolutionaries in America. Neither the history, nor contemporary practice and theory of our Movement or that of many others in the Black Libera-

tion Movement can be liquidated, or redefined by Yeshitela's pen, or his severely flawed attempts to define Afrikan internationalism.

As revolutionary New Afrikan nationalists, those of us in the New Afrikan Peoples Organization are genuine Afrikan Internationalists. Like revolutionary Afrikan nationalists leading national liberation struggles across the Afrikan continent, in the Caribbean, and in South and Central America, We recognize that one of



7 provisional government workers marched through the streets of Jackson Mississippi in chains after the August 18, 1971 FBI's pre-dawn attack on the government center. After successfully defending themselves. These courageous sisters and brothers would become known as the RNA

the most fundamental contributions to Afrikan international liberation and unification is the liberation of this planet's many Afrikan nations. So, We make a qualitative contribution to the international struggle of the Afrikan masses by working relentlessly to liberate millions of New Afrikans and vast stretches of territory on this continent. In doing so, We not only make the maximum contribution to the Afrikan Liberation Movement worldwide, but decisively contribute to anti-imperialist socialist revolution throughout North America, and throughout the world. What We do is what Afrikan revolutionaries in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Tanzania, Azania, Jamaica, the Bahamas, Guyana, and elsewhere are doing and have done. We struggle for state power, and



the establishment of a revolutionary Afrikan state by which we will govern ourselves and exercise sovereignty on the land beneath our feet. So situated, We prepare to make a real political, economic and military embrace with our motherland, and other new Afrikan territories.

### YESHITELA'S DREAM

Obsessed with delusions of revolutionary grandeur, and set for combat with what he misconstrues as metaphysical theory, our Brother Omali Yeshitela conjures a magical potion of his own. He calls it Afrikan Internationalism. This formula is apparently somewhat inexact, but passionately guided by the spirit of the Afrikan past. It is, however, oblivious to Afrika's present situation. Consequently, despite good intentions, it is unprepared to chart Afrika's future.

At the core of this intriguing potion is a mismatch of Garveyism and abridged marxist theory. Under the magical powers of this formula a picture develops. It is a picture which focuses principally on the theory of primitive accumulation, and with it the examination of how our slave labor contributed to Euro-American capitalist development. Yet, it is a picture which focuses little on our development over the past four hundred years. We are depicted to be the same now as when We were kidnapped hundreds of years ago. In this picture, We are given the inanimate character of a stolen buried treasure. It is as if history for us stood still. Even cows, horses and rabbits once transferred to a different land base adapt to the new environment after four hundred years, and develop new relationships with each other, and with the land. Yet, it is said in this magical picture that We have not changed, have not developed, have not through our interaction with the environment and with each other developed a new Afrikan society which did not exist before.

It is here that this picture and reality become hopelessly estranged. For almost no Afrikan people are what they were 400 years ago. Euro-Americans, Native peoples, Asians

and others have changed as well. All over new nations have been developed, and the basis for new national liberation struggles have evolved. The New Afrikan nation is no exception to this trend.

Yeshitela's version of Afrikan Internationalism suffers from the pitfalls inherent in attempting to develop an Afrikan international theory, without a national one. The consequences of this error leaves Yeshitela and APSP without any true national liberation theory at all.

National liberation struggles are waged by colonized populations to liberate nations by winning state power over a national land mass. In all such cases in this world the people, the struggle, and the national territory co-exist in the same space at the same time.

Yeshitela's Afrikan Internationalism attempts that which can only be accomplished on paper. He places our national liberation struggle in America, but proclaims that our only liberated nation, and state will arise in Afrika.

What APSP's so called Afrikan Internationalism has endeavored to do is to theoretically liquidate not only our New Afrikan nation in North America, but to essentially eliminate scores of Afrikan nations worldwide, and to sweep away the national self-determination rights of Afrikan people in the process.

Some of the APSP's confusion undoubtedly arises from a failure to properly distinguish a state from a nation, and a failure to recognize the self-determination rights that nations possess.

"A state is the authority and political structure used to govern a group of nations, or a portion of a nation.

Unlike a nation ... a state is a political creation which can be established within a short period of time. A state can be the product of a single convention or the offspring of a protracted revolution. The description and operation of the modern state is often more or less illustrated in the State Constitution.

In our zeal to have the largest, strongest and most powerful state for the Afrikan masses, We must

## CHOKWE LUMUMBA

not forget that the Afrikan masses and the Afrikan working classes and peasantry are organized in, and express themselves through their respective nations.

The nation is an objective social, economic and political society which has developed organically over a period of years, and perhaps centuries. One cannot abolish a nation, and can eliminate one only by genocide.

Establishing a state or a Union over many nations does not eliminate the individual nations involved or extinguish their rights to self-determination. No truly revolutionary state — none of which are the true embodiment of the people's authority — can be created over multiple nations without the support and participation of those nations. Consequently, the establishment of the Unified Afrikan Socialist State in Afrika and among Afrikan states in America requires the consent and participation of all the Afrikan nations affected."

It also follows that one cannot by theory alone merge many nations into one, and thereby proclaim a nation to be, when it does not actually exist. At present, Kwame Nkrumah's call for one Afrikan nation under one Afrikan Government is a goal to be achieved not an accomplished reality.

Certainly, it is right that We speed up the process of organizing the people to demand the consolidation of the United Afrikan State or federation. Yet, nowhere are We justified to forsake or liquidate a legitimate Afrikan National Liberation struggle in the name of Pan Afrikanism, Afrikan Internationalism or any other process which either is, or purports to be, revolutionary. Unfortunately, the APSP has done precisely what should not be done.

By doing so, APSP has ideologically disarmed itself. It can make no demand for New Afrikan independence and statehood, since ac-

Representatives of the New Afrikan People's Organization, Akinyele Umoja, 2nd from left and Ahmed Obafemi, center, march in the International Peace Gathering in Tripoli, Libya in April 1987.



According to APSP the New Afrikan nation does not exist. It can not unite with white workers in an Empire-wide socialist revolution, because this reactionary group is presently disinclined to fight for change. Its commitments to develop state power and to the struggle for land rest only in Afrika, although APSP is in America.

So situated, the APSP, without change, will increasingly become isolated, sectarian and frustrated in the Black Liberation Movement. Its theory will become increasingly disconnected from any serious revolutionary work.

Its mission will increasingly become a quixotic adventure, leading not, as Yeshitela imagines, down a "black road" to socialism, but following a "yellow brick path" to nowhere. We hope that this does not occur.

### ON CRITICISM

Our objections to Yeshitela's attacks on our movement have been deemed by him to be "petty bourgeois fear and hatred of criticism". He calls his editorials "struggle" intended to induce us to "give political or ideological justification for our activities" and our existence. Yeshitela also suggests that his actions are necessitated by the urgency of the times, and the need to deal with the ideological "flabbiness" in the Black Liberation Movement.

One very serious problem with Yeshitela's position is that it is not an honest one. If his honest intent was to engage us in political debate or discussion which would ideologically tighten up the Movement, he had plenty of opportunity to do so before haranguing us with distortions and sloppy theory in his newspaper. At the APSP Congress on January 18, 1987, We offered a Solidarity Statement in support of the APSP, cited some areas in which We disagreed with APSP positions, and called for a process of continued dialogue toward unity.

At a follow-up meeting held at a later date during the same year, We specifically invited discussion, and/or debate, on many of the issues on which Yeshitela now publicly attacks us via his newspaper. When invited to politically

struggle over these issues face to face with our organizational leadership, in an effort to reach a genuine understanding of each other's positions, he and the other members of APSP leadership who were present declined to do so. We were told that such a discussion was not APSP's purpose in being at the meeting. Their purpose, so we were told, was to explore areas in which We could do joint work, not to debate ideology.

We did not decline the offer for joint work, but repeated what We had said at their Congress. We noted that real unity was a process, not an event, and the process required discussion on the questions that united us and those which divided us. Of major concern was APSP's misinformed and/or reactionary view on our struggle for land.

Another matter of concern was that APSP held great disdain for the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. This is a white organization which politically supports the New Afrikan Independence Movement. At one time this group was in APSP's solidarity formation, but withdrew because of what it called APSP's ideological unclarity on the "National question". We have never had a formal relationship with Prairie Fire, but many of its members are in the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, which works to fight white supremacy in the white community, and to build solidarity with our struggle for independence. The meeting ended with the APSP promising to ponder this matter and get back to us. This was over 2-1/2 years ago. We have not yet heard from APSP with regard to these "unity" discussions.

In view of this history, We find Yeshitela's explanation with regard to the public attacks on our Organization to be dishonest and highly unprincipled. There was nothing either necessitated by the present state of our movement, or justified by the history of our Organization's contact with APSP which would indicate that the APSP could not engage us in principled discussion or debate, if it wished to do so.

It should be noted that nothing said herein or elsewhere by our Organization reflects any aversion to political criticism, or debate. We see both as vital. In fact, We have both internally

and eternally been engaged in the practice of constructive criticism and political debate since our formation, and even prior to our founding, as individuals or representatives of other formations.

Indeed, our organization has been engaged in political debate recently with many of the Organizations in the Black Liberation Movement, on many of the same topics which are the subject of Yeshitela's ill-founded remarks. However, these debates have been and continue to be carried out in a secure and productive manner.

They are occurring in a non-public manner, or publicly after notice of the issues, and with preliminary discussion designed to correct gross misinformation and misconceptions in order to minimize the danger of public comment which mischaracterizes on the basis of distortions or mistake of fact.

Among genuine revolutionary groups this process helps to minimize enemy provocation and provides a better opportunity for maximum consideration of all factors involved, before any organization has publicly committed itself to that which might easily be shown to be erroneous information or thinking.

The Yeshitela method of publicly blasting revolutionary New Afrikan organizations without prior efforts to resolve conflicts and indeed after declining an opportunity to do so behind closed doors (as Malcolm X suggests) has worked to the detriment of the Black Liberation Movement on countless occasions. Garvey vs. the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood, Malcolm vs. Elijah Muhammad, West Coast Panthers vs. NY 21, Panthers vs. cultural Nationalist, and the Provisional Government Republic of New Afrika Constitutional Crisis of 1969/70 are all examples of the counter-revolutionary consequence of such behavior. The agents of the enemy are drawn to open "wild west" political shoot outs, between revolutionaries like flies are to feces. This type of debate helped to imprison Garvey, discredit the Blood Brotherhood, kill Malcolm, destroy the Panthers and divide the Provisional Government in the 1970's.

We emphasize that We do not believe that there should never be public debate or struggle between revolutionary groups. But We do believe that before such exchanges occur, maximum caution should be taken to insure that these debates are not self-destructive.

Of course, if fundamental objective, non-reconcilable contradictions exist between organizations, there may be no basis for discussion. We do not believe that such a gap separates our Movement from the APSP.

If the APSP feels otherwise, it should say so, and We will stand informed.

Before closing a point of self-criticism is appropriate. My comrades in NAPO, and in other worker in the New Afrikan Independence Movement have noted and criticized my use of pejorative labels in reference to the APSP on one occasion, and to its forerunner formation, JOMO (Junta of Militant Organizations) on another occasion. Both remarks were in reference to, and as a reaction to false accusations by Yeshitela. In one instance i called the APSP a "small political gang", in another, i made reference to JOMO, as still being in "political diapers" when the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika was organizing a grassroots reparation campaign in Mississippi in the early 70's.

Although some APSP members and their chairman have displayed bad judgment, disruptive behavior, and political immaturity in their provocative attacks and disrespect for various New Afrikan (Black) revolutionary and progressive organizations my above-noted reactionary retorts do little to place a correct political perspective on the situation. I apologize.

For all of us the recognition of errors, the ability to correct them, and to objectively examine the views and appreciate the contributions of others, is ~~important~~ important. The road to liberation is not a self-centered ~~one~~ one. Only those with a proper sense of revolutionary humility and objectivity will ultimately make real revolution, or formulate revolutionary theory. Such are the requirements of the revolution, and such are the qualities of political maturity.

## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

### ENDNOTES

1. CAN'T JAIL THE SPIRIT (Political Prisoners in the U.S. ), 43-93 (1989).

2. ASSATA SHAKUR, BLACK HUMAN RIGHTS STATEMENT 6, (1979).

3. E. MAGDOL, A RIGHT TO LAND 104 (1977).

4. *Id.* at 218.

5. M.R. DELANEY, THE CONDITION, ELEVATION, EMIGRATION, AND DESTINY OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, 209 (1852).

6. *Id.* at 11-15, 48-66. Delaney says that New Afrikans have rights in this country. He mistakenly and somewhat inconsistently calls these rights as U.S. citizens. However, a thorough reading of his works clearly discloses that he saw New Afrikans as a distant Nation with rights to self-determination.

7. H. HAYWOOD, BLACK BOLSHEVIK 124, 125 (1978).

8. T. VINCENT, BLACK POWER AND THE GARVEY MOVEMENT, 45, 46, 77.

9. HAYWOOD at 124, 125.

10. VINCENT, at 46, 47, 81, 83, 190, 191, 194, and 210. Vincent says that the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood was one of the first Black left organizations, and one of the first organizations to seriously consider a separate Black republic in the South. If so, the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood considered the New Afrikan ant Nation with rights to self-determination.

7. H. HAYWOOD, BLACK BOLSHEVIK 124, 125 (1978).

8. T. VINCENT, BLACK POWER AND THE GARVEY MOVEMENT, 45, 46, 77.

9. HAYWOOD at 124, 125.

10. VINCENT, at 46, 47, 81, 83, 190, 191, 194, and 210. Vincent says that the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood was one of the first Black left organizations, and one of the first organizations to seriously consider a separate Black republic in the South. If so, the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood considered the New Afrikan State in the South before the Communist blackbelt theory was adopted by the Communist International in 1928, the

ABB in most places has ceased to exist, so any position it held in the Black republic in the South had to exist before then. Since the ABB was a secret organization in the South, what its precise goals and objectives were in that area are not well known. (Vincent at 74) It is clear however that the ABB was a legitimate grass roots Black revolutionary nationalist organization which waged political military struggle with American government, the Ku Klux Klan, and other agents of White Supremacy in the South. It is also clear that the ABB did not get its Black Liberation policy from the Communists, since the Communist had no Black policy to dictate when ABB policies were formulated. T. Vincent says ABB had a "Communist" policy, but it was one developed by the ABB itself. (Vincent, at 83).

11. HAYWOOD at 227-235.

12. VINCENT at 79, 85.

13. HAYWOOD at 121-133, 227-268.

14. *Id.* at 230; Vincent, at 234, 235.

15. VINCENT at 189-214.

16. HAYWOOD, at 218-235.

17. *Id.* at 281-315, 320-325, 529-535, 609; VINCENT, at 241.

18. As indicated in footnote 10, consideration of the idea of establishing a New Afrikan republic in the South resurfaced most likely in the early 1920's in the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood. The idea was also raised, but rejected in the UNIA in the 1920's before the Communist international adopted the Blackbelt self-determination theory (VINCENT, at 234). So the theory of Blackbelt self-determination was not introduced into 20th Century public campaign which refocused the struggle for self-determination to the blackbelt homeland. As a public endeavor its impact on directing this vintage struggle back to the southeast was pronounced. The growth of CPUSA Black membership is evidence that the general idea is not alien, but was well received among New Afrikans.

19. MALCOLM X, AUTOBIOGRAPHY 367 (1965).

20. Lumumba, "Letter on 7th PAC", p.8 (Sept. 25, 1989).

21. C. Lumumba, "Letter to a Supporter", P. 4 (Dec. 23, 1989).

22. *Supra*, note 20.

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23. *Id.*, at 4.
24. *Supra*, note 21 at 3.
25. *Supra*, note 20 at 6-7.
26. CODE OF UMOJA Art. II, Sec. 3.
27. *Supra*, note 20 at 7.
28. *Id.*
29. NAPO CONST., Art. II, Sec. 11, Para. 4.
30. NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, March 31, 1968.
31. NEW AFRIKAN UJAMAA ( The Economics of the Republic of New Africa ).
32. Lumumba, NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLES ORGANIZATION, SOME LESSONS LEARNED, 17 (1985).
33. Lumumba, "Notes on the Pontiac Case, Genocide and the New Afrikan National Liberation Struggle" THE BLACK NATION, 13 FALL- 1981 ).
34. I. OBADELE, WAR IN AMERICA (1966).
35. Lumumba, "Repression and Black Liberation", THE BLACK SCHOLAR, Oct. 1973.
36. Lumumba, "The Afrikan Prisoner of War Movement and International Afrikan P.O.W. Solidarity Day", THE BLACK COLLEGIAN 20 (March/April 1973).



Chaka Fallah, on left, hero at the 'Battle at New Bethel' was assassinated on October 25, 1970

Kuwasi Balagoon, on right, hero of the 'Battle at Nyack' died on December 13, 1986 from lack of medical care while a prisoner of war in the state prison at Albany, New York.



## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

### THE BLACK NATION IN AMERICA A SHORT HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA

The Republic of New Afrika is the organized Black Nation in North America. The Republic of New Afrika is a colonial possession of the American Empire.

The United States of America is not a nation. It is an Empire. An empire is a state which has illegitimate control over a group of nations outside the legitimate boundaries of that state or a settler state with no legitimate boundaries. The United States government is not the government of a nation, but the government of a white supremacist American settler state established by Europeans. White settlers from Europe came to America, stole the Indian's land, enslaved Afrikans, colonized us and forced us to develop portions of the land, seized upper Mexico from the Mexicans, invaded Puerto Rico and other lands (Caribbean and Pacific Islands) and committed genocide against the red and black peoples of the Indian and New Afrikan nations respectively. This is how Europeans built an empire ... on stolen labor and stolen land, and called it the United States of America.

Black people have never been a part of the white European North American state. We are not now, nor have we ever been citizens of the United States of America.

The Black nation in North America began approximately around 1660. Forty-one years before this, it is believed, the first Afrikans were captured as slaves and brought to North America as indentured servants. First they were brought to Virginia. Then, during the next 40 increasing numbers of Afrikans were captured and brought as slaves into the British colonies of Virginia and Maryland; the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, and into the Spanish colony of Florida.

In the British colonies during the first 40 years, our Afrikan ancestors sometimes bought their "freedom", sometimes served out their indentures, and sometimes if their mothers were "free", they were born "free". But, around 1660 the racial prejudices and discriminations increased and hardened and the whites passed laws to make it impossible for Afrikans to join the new European state.

Because of the oppressive white European laws our Afrikan ancestors were forced to join together. Despite the continuous efforts to destroy all of our culture through brainwashing and separation tactics, some of our Afrikan culture survived, and was made into a New Afrikan culture by our experiences in North America, and this New Afrikan culture bound us strongly together as a New Afrikan nation as long ago as 1660. This is why we say the New Afrikan (Black) nation began in North America around 1660, and has been held captive by Europeans and Euro-Americans since its birth.

Our Afrikan ancestors merged into a New Afrikan nation in the Black Belt Territory, located on the Southeastern corner of the American (USA) Empire. This is where we were held as slaves, on lands where we lived in absolute majority until lynchings, rapes, cross-burnings, assassinations, economic terror forced our people to flee the Black Belt in large numbers. These refugees fled to various cities in the West, Northeast and Midwest portions of the United States Empire. Some in fact fled to Canada, where their escaped slave ancestors had settled in earlier years.



New Afrikan Freedom Fighters carry on the tradition of Afrikan revolutionaries like those on board the slave ship *Amistad*, who in 1839 overpowered their oppressors and commandeered the *Amistad*.

Even in the urban areas where the New Afrikan refugees settled, our ancestors were murdered, abused and subjected to all forms of discrimination and inhumane treatment. Yet the rapid development of American industry in the North, financed largely from the stolen wealth produced by our slave labor in cotton and tobacco fields in the Black Belt, created some jobs which

were available to our people. These were always the lowest paying, dirtiest and most dangerous jobs. Indeed our economic condition since slavery has merely been a modern-day extension of slavery. As in slavery, We remain a Black underclass lass.

Importantly, 53% of our total population never left the Black Belt. Since 1973, more New Afrikans have been moving back to the Black Belt than have been leaving.

### NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Throughout slavery and even on slaveships, during the middle passage between Afrika and America, our ancestors fought for freedom.

In Florida, an American Indian-Afrikan nation-state called the Seminole Nation maintained its independence off and on and conducted continuous armed struggle against the empire until the late 1880's and early 1900's. Despite many heroic efforts to establish Black Nation states in the 18th and 19th centuries, our independence struggle lacked national coordination and political support. No political formation was established which could organize the New Afrikan People for People's War, and properly raise popular support for the revolutionary armed freedom fighting slave rebels.

### Bankrupted Negro Leaders

National organizations of Black social democrats, reformers, integrationists and civil rights advocates have with the complicity of the United States government, big business, white "liberals" and often the United States Communist Party misdirected our people's popular struggle. This misdirection has pre-occupied large segments of the Black

middle classes with futile struggles for integration into American political, social and economic life, while the majority of the population — the impoverished masses — have been left with no real direction whatsoever. The results of these developments have led to increases in misery and crime due to mass despair and frustration.

### Black Nationalist Political Leadership

Prior to 1865 and the end of plantation slavery in the Black Belt, New Afrikan political leaders like David Walker and Henry Highland Garnett called for slaves to rebel and establish free states. Neither of these brothers, nor anyone else,

General Nat Turner and some of the freedom fighters as he admonish: "Our is a struggle for freedom. Ours must be deeds, not words"



In America, many armed slave rebels fought to escape the plantation and to establish a free Black State in the Black Belt, Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and others were among the long list of slave rebels who executed almost 300 known slave revolts. A famous white anti-imperialist named John Brown led a number of slaves in an unsuccessful armed attempt to set up a Black Nation state in the Black Belt.

Numerous Black Nation free communities were periodically established by escaped slaves. These communities endured for as long as eight years. They remained until defeated by superior white military force. In one instance one of these free states lasted for 75 years, in South America.



## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

built a national public political organization which advocated and supported slave rebellions. However, the calls for revolt were published by underground methods and inspired many slave rebellions.

It was the slave uprisings which started the collapse of the plantation slavery system. Slave rebellions terrorized whites. These whites in turn, developed a white abolitionist movement in the Southeast, the Black Belt territory. This movement favored the elimination of slavery and the repatriation of New Afrikans back to Afrika. This was felt to be essential to the protection of the white population.

The growing reliance on slave labor kept the movement from winning acceptance by the Southern plantation aristocracy, or by the Southern state governments which were controlled by the aristocracy.

The abolitionist movement caught on in the North, however, Northern white bankers and industrialists sought a method to limit the economic power of the plantation south, and to control the economic relationship (trade) between the South and industrialized England. The northern money man sought to control the United States economic policy so that they could industrialize. They sought to force the Southerners plantation owners to sell cotton Northward, rather than to England. If the South did so, this would allow the North to develop their industrial Empire.

The North sought to control the land in the West, so that Northern bankers and railroad tycoons could utilize it to develop industry, rather than allow the white Southern plantation aristocracy to dominate the Western expansion with plantations. Expansion of the plantation system westward would mean more cotton, and less American industry to process it into cotton products. This would leave the Southern plantation owners free to seek and find considerable fortunes in English and European trade. If so, the Northern money men would remain small-time industrialists inferior to the British. The Northern territory incidentally had few plantations. The Territory in the North was incompatible with the plantation economy.

Consequently, the abolitionist movement in modified form became of major interest to Northern money men. These would be rich ty



coons, successfully lobbied to limit the expansion of slavery in the West. Indeed with the election of Abraham Lincoln, the Northern banker's man, as President of the United States, it was clear that the Westward expansion of slavery and the plantation system would be halted completely.

The white Southerners named themselves the confederacy and seceded from the Empire. The Civil War of 1860 - 1865 was the result. During the course of the war, Lincoln was forced to go further on the issue of abolition of slavery than he had ever intended to go.

Desperately attempting to achieve military advantage over the South, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. This was a U. S. Presidential order which ended slavery under American law in all the states which were in rebellion. As intended, the Proclamation brought New Afrikans into a fragile military alliance with the North — and the military troops of the Empire. The New Afrikans were promised by Northern generals that, if the North won, the New Afrikans would be entitled to freedom and land. Free New Afrikan communities established by escaped slaves during the war were promised that their rights of self-government of these communities would be respected.

The influx of New Afrikans on to the side of the North was a decisive factor. The Southern Confederacy was defeated. Ultimately, New Afrikans were betrayed. Our self-determination rights were not respected. Land promised was never given, or was given and then taken away. Today some of the remaining land holdings of the New Afrikans are still being stolen by whites in various ways with American Governmental support.

THE NEW AFRIKAN  
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

WE, the Black People in America, in consequence of arriving at a knowledge of ourselves as a people with dignity, long deprived of that knowledge; as a consequence of revolting with every decimal of our collective and individual beings against the oppression that for three hundred years has destroyed and broken and warped the bodies and minds and spirits of our people in America, in consequence of our raging desire to be free of this oppression, to destroy this oppression wherever it assaults **mankind** in the world, and in consequence of inextinguishable determination to go a different way, to build a new and better world, do hereby declare ourselves forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens placed on us.

We claim no rights from the United States of America other than those rights belonging to human beings anywhere in the world, and these include the right to damages, reparations, due us from the grievous injuries sustained by our ancestors and ourselves by reason by United States lawlessness.

Ours is a revolution against oppression—our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for a better life, a better station for **mankind**, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We therefore see these as the aims of our revolution:

- To free black people in America from oppression;
- To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;
- To build a new Society that is better than what We now know and as perfect as **man** can make it;
- To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
- To promote industriousness, responsi-

bility, scholarship, and service;

— To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and **man's** pursuit of God and/or the destiny, place, and purpose of **man** in the

Universe will be without hindrance;

— To build a black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State

Government, or the achievement of the Aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;

— To end exploitation of **man by man** or his environment;

— To assure equality of rights for the sexes;

— To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual understanding among all people in the society;

— To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his natural rights;

— To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state to assure the benefits of this earth and **man's** genius and labor to society and all its members, and

— To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.

In mutual trust and great expectation, We the undersigned, for ourselves and for those who look to us but are unable personally to affix their signatures hereto, do join in this solemn Declaration of Independence, and to support this Declaration and to assure the success of the Revolution, We pledge without reservation ourselves, our talents, and all our worldly goods.

**NOTE:** This is the verbatim document written and signed on March 31, 1968. The use of male-centered language supports the historic oppression of women and denies the legacy of the indomitable fighting spirit of our foremothers. Our political growth and consistent struggle against sexist oppression demands the elimination of concepts, terminologies and practices that exclude, objectify and inhibit the necessary participation of women in our peoples struggle for independence. NAPO 1992

## ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

### THE NEW AFRIKAN CREED

1. I believe in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black people, and in our new pursuit of these values.

2. I believe in the family and the community, and in the community as a family, and I will work to make this concept live.

3. I believe in the community as more important than the individual.

4. I believe in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world. I believe in collective struggle; in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters.

5. I believe that the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control our lives.

6. I believe that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign black nation.

7. I believe that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.

8. I believe in the Malcolm X Doctrine: that We must organize upon this land, and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote that We are free and our land independent, and that, after the vote, We must stand ready to defend ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.

9. Therefore, I pledge to struggle without cease, until We have won sovereignty. I pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a better condition than the world has yet known.

10. I will give my life, if that is necessary. I will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this IS necessary.

11. I will follow my chosen leaders and help them.

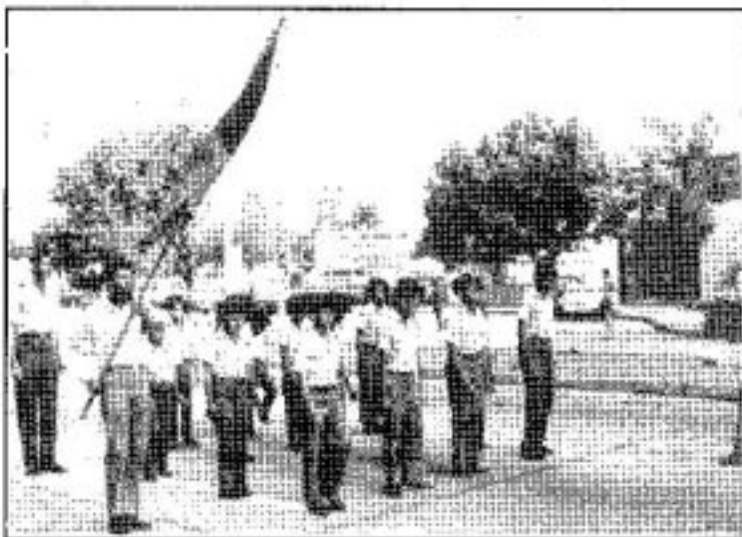
12. I will love my brothers and sisters as myself.

13. I will steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister, and spread no gossip.

14. I will keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that I am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.

15. I will be patient and upliftin gwith the deaf, dumb and blind, and I will seek by word and deed to heal the black family, to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside.

Now, freely and of my own will, I pledge this Creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if I prove false. For, I am no longer deaf, dumb or blind. I am, by inspiration of the ancestors and grace of the Creator—a New Afrikan.



The New Afrikan Scouts and the New Afrikan Panthers are programs centered around youth that the New Afrikan People's Organization has been organizing since their inception.

WHY WE USE NEW AFRIKAN

*"No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a flag-saluter or a flag-waver—no, not I."*

Malcolm X stated in 1964, Afrikan people in amerikkka were not amerikkkans. This was a recognition that many like David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet, Sojourner Truth, Martin Delaney, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, Cyril Briggs, Elijah Muhammad, Queen Mother Moore and countless other Black nationalist had made before Malcolm. This recognition was that Black people, Afrikan slaves and their descendants were, and are, a nation held captive by the Amerikkkan Empire. Malcolm recognized the Black Nation in North America was colonized. In other words, our political, economic and socio-cultural affairs were controlled by an alien entity; white amerikkka.

The masses of the Black Nation have experienced what Malcolm called "the amerikkkan nightmare". We have been the victims of amerikkka. We have experienced chattel slavery. We've experienced the lynchings. We have been deprived land, property and free economic development. We've experienced klan and police violence, inadequate housing, health care and education. Most of all, We have been denied human rights and dignity. We haven't been treated as citizens of amerika but victims of amerikkkan capitalist colonialism.

Recognizing our historical oppression and our need to be free and independent of the Amerikkkan Empire, 3 years after the death of Malcolm X, 500 Black nationalists met in Detroit, Michigan at the Black Governmental Conference. These brothers and sisters during the height of the Black Power Movement of the 1960s declared their independence from the Amerikkkan Empire and named the Black Nation New Afrika. The New Afrikan Peoples Organization embraces "New Afrika" as the name of the Black Nation in North America. We embrace the name and

concept "New Afrika" because it reflects our identity, purpose and direction.

"New Afrikan" reflects our identity as a nation and a people — a nation and people desiring self-determination. New Afrikans have been called "colored-Americans", "American Negroes", "black Americans" and "Afro-Americans." NAPO sees that all of these terms confuse a unique New Afrikan Nation with a "common history, language, economic life, consciousness manifested in an community of culture". Just as other new Afrikan nations appear today, fused together in the struggle against slavery colonialism and imperialism in Afrika (e.g. Zimbabwe, Ghana, Mozambique, etc.) and the Caribbean (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Grenada, etc.), We exist as a new Afrikan nation in North America.

"New Afrikan" reflects our purpose as We desire freedom, self-determination and independence. By stating We are New Afrikans, We clarify We want to be independent from the Amerikkkan Empire. We want land and national liberation. We no longer want the ruling class of the Amerikkkan Empire to determine our political, economic, socio-cultural affairs. NAPO sees that a People who do not control their own affairs is subject to genocide. When We control our won destiny We can determine our political, economic and socio-cultural affairs in the interests of our survival and development.

Our purpose is also to "free the land" of New Afrika. In 1968 the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika identified the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana as the New Afrikan National Territory. NAPO believes that these states and all areas in what has been called the Black-belt South is our land. It's this land that We developed substantiating our reality as a colonized nation. Oppressed nations who successfully defeated colonialism had to usurp their identity from oppressors. Zimbabweans had to assert their identity apart from Rhodesia; Mozambicans, Angolans and Guinea-Bissan, Cape Verdans from Portugal; Algerians and Guineans from the French. We must distinguish

our National Identity from our oppressors. Revolutionary psychiatrist and Freedom Fighter Frantz Fanon once stated:

"The tearing away, painful and difficult though it may be, is necessary. If it isn't accomplished there will be serious psycho affective injuries and the result will be individuals without an anchor; without a horizon, colorless, rootless — a race of angels. It will be also quite formal to hear certain natives declare 'I speak as a Senegalese and as a Frenchman...'; 'I speak as an Algerian and as a Frenchman...' The intellectual who is Arab and French or Nigerian and English, when he comes up against the need to take on two nationalities, chooses, if he wants to remain true to himself, the negation of one of these determinations."

Crystallizing our identity as New Afrikans helps us understand our reality as a colonized nation and what We need to do to be free rather than being confused looking for the system that oppresses us to free us. As New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Assata Shakur stated:

"They have oppressed us for 400 years. They haven't let us live in Amerikkka. They haven't let us be citizens. They haven't let us have justice, equality...so if they don't want to let us be free as amerikkans — then We'll be free as New Afrikans."

"New Afrikan" also speaks to our identity because that's what We are. Our Nation is primarily a racial, cultural, social fusion of various Afrikan ethnic and national groups — Iwe, Yoruba, Akan, Ashanti, Fante, Hausa, Ibo, Fulani, Congolese and several others — into a unique people. On this land our ancestors worked as bondspersons (slaves) without pay for our labor. Even though our homeland was in Afrika, our people developed historical, economic, spiritual ties to the New Afrikan National Territory. After the Civil War where We put our energies together to destroy the system of slavery, our people attempted to control the land We had worked for free only to have our efforts suppressed by the united states army, the ku klux klan and other white civilian armies. To state We are New Afrikan recognizes our continuing aspirations to "free the land."



## "Land is the basis of all Independence"

"New Afrikan" also recognizes our direction to build a NEW society based on new values. We reject the socio-economic system and values of our oppressors. We want to create a revolutionary, progressive, humane society where exploitation of humans by humans is eliminated and all can live in dignity, peace, respect. As conscious New Afrikans We work now to transform ourselves and our Nation from the decadent death-style of oppression to lifestyles of liberation. We can't wait for sovereignty to rebuild liberation and survival institutions. Collectivity, cooperation and community as opposed to selfishness, egocentrism, rugged individualism are Afrikan values that must be resurrected in New Afrikans.

We are New Afrikans. We are a Nation. We will be free. NAPO will work to assert our identity, purpose, and direction to continue the legacy of our ancestors; for our own progress and the future of generations yet unborn. Let us surface the New Afrikan Nation for ourselves, all Afrikans and all humanity.

**WHY WE SAY "FREE THE LAND!"**

"Free the Land" is the battlecry of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The NAIM is part of the Black Liberation Movement in North America that wants an independent Black Nation on land in North America. The land identified by the New Afrikan Independence Movement is primarily known as South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and other areas of what is now called the Black-belt South (the Southeastern part of the North American continent where Afrikan people are in the majority or have a historical/economical/socio-cultural relationship to). When We say 'free the land', this is the land We are talking about freeing.

Malcolm X once stated:

"Revolutions are fought to get control of land, to remove the absentee landlord and gain control of the land and institutions that flow from that land. The Black man has been in a very low condition because he has no control whatsoever over any land."

He later stated:

"A true Negro revolt might entail, for instance, fighting for separate Black states within this country..."

All nations and people wanting liberation from alien domination and seeking self-determination are fighting for land. When Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau were fighting Portuguese colonialization they were fighting for land. When Zimbabwe was fighting for independence it was fighting for control of its land. Azania (south afrika), Palestine, and Northern Ireland today all struggle for land and independence.

Land is essential for a peoples' development. In order to grow food and obtain natural resources (oil, gold, uranium, timber, etc.) land is necessary. A landless people is a dependent people. A nation with land can utilize its labor and technology to develop in its own best interest.

Land is also important for national identity — a nation's sense of peoplehood. People develop a material and spiritual relationship to land. Land they tilled; land they built upon; developed families and communities on. The land becomes tied to a people's national consciousness as a consequence of

their social and national development.

A nation for people means control over specific national territory with specific geo-political boundaries. Boundaries determine where the nation's political jurisdiction begins and ends.

NAPO sees that We must "free the land" of New Afrika because land and independence can best guarantee self-determination and liberation for our people. Without independent nationhood the Amerikkkan Empire will always control the affairs of New Afrikans. They will control the affairs of New Afrikans. They will control our economy; our education, security and all aspects of development. Only when We control the land and the institution on the land can We be the masters of our own destiny.

New Afrika — South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and other areas of the "Black-belt South" — must be free. Afrika is the homeland of all Afrikan people, but We have no realistic plan to transport 30 million captive New Afrikans back to Afrika. While in North America, New Afrikans have developed historical, economic, social-cultural and spiritual ties to the New Afrikan National Territory in North America. This is the land We became a unique New Afrikan nation on. This is the land We tilled without pay as bondspersons (slaves) and as sharecroppers. This is the land our people demanded after the Civil War and even attempted to establish New Afrikan governments on only to be subjugated by the united states army and the ku klux klan. This is the land We have fought to stay on even though millions of us were forced to flee to become refugees in Northern and Western ghetto reservations through white terrorism and economic pressure. This is the land We must have to be free.

We recognize the claims of Native American Indians to this land and will struggle side-by-side to help them to regain their land. At the same time since our captivity in the Western Hemisphere progressive Native Americans have recognized We had no choice in coming to North America and the majority of us have no realistic way to get back to Afrika.

We say "Free the Land" because We wish that our children live in dignity and prosperity. We wish to build a new society with new values and relationships. We say "free the land" because We want independence so We can insure our human rights are protected and that our land will be a zone and base for all who seek liberation and freedom.

**FREE THE LAND!**

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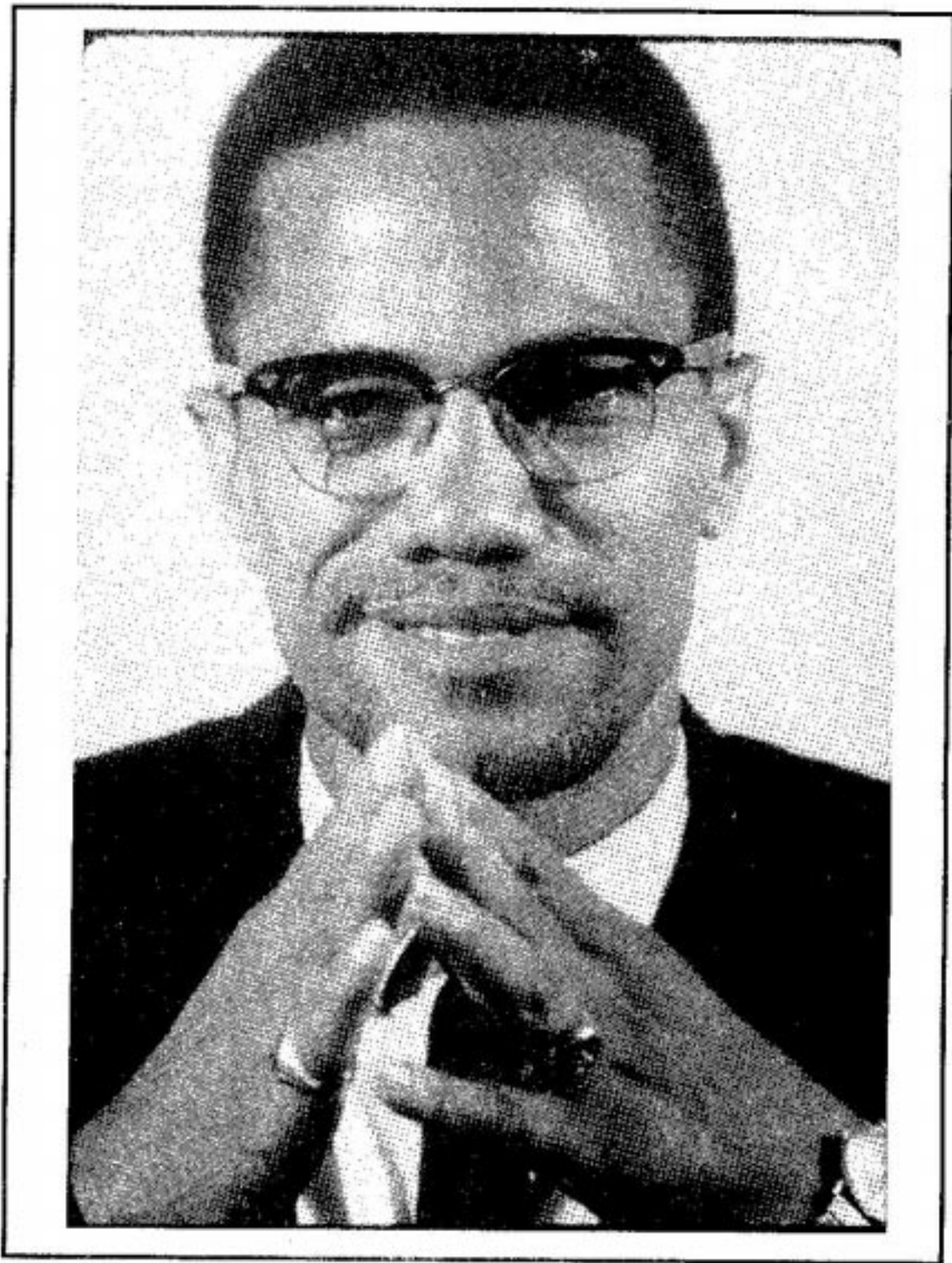
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