

AT THE HISTORIC NEW AFRIKA NATION DAY COMMEMORATING FIFTY YEARS OF EXISTENCE HELD IN DETROIT IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR 2018 SEVERAL OF US WERE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN A SESSION TITLED "ELDERS REFLECTIONS"

Here are some of my remarks

PGRNA REFLECTIONS (as seen through the eyes of a New Afrikan, Muslim, Garveyite and Panther)

by Bilal Sunni-AI

I seek refuge in Allah against misleading and against being misled into ignorance and oppression by others, And the worst oppression is self oppression. That which we allow to happen to ourselves and I ask Allah to guide my heart and my tongue in whatever I am caused to express in these reflections.

In the spring of 1968 I was already organizing the Bronx-Harlem chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. I had been and still am a Garveyite from birth. I was then and still am now a practicing Muslim. At that time not fully understanding what was meant by protracted struggle I was one of those youth that used the slogan "free by '73". Myself and several others in Harlem at the time were anxious to know the outcome of this Black Power Conference the founding Convention of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. This was the period of mass urban rebellions. There were a series of Black Power Conferences that created five to twenty-five year plans of policy development for the movement. The Black Power movement at that point was clearly a movement for self-determination. Direction for that movement was being established by the Black Power Conferences. In 1968 there were two Black Power Conferences. One in Detroit in March at which the Provisional Government of the RNA was founded. In August 1968 a BPC was held in Philadelphia at which time the Afrikan People's Party was founded.

We had in Harlem, at that time, the Harlem People's Parliament... a body of leaders appointed or elected to the Parliament that were concerned with establishing policy on how conditions of life could be affected through the actions of Harlemites independently. The Parliament accepted direction from the BPCs. Members of Parliament had relationships with newly independent countries and forces struggling for independence in Africa and the Caribbean. Many, about half of the members of the Harlem People's Parliament were priests in the Yoruba Temple. The Yoruba Temple was a group of Ifa practitioners who had organized themselves without Cuban leadership. The chief priest of the temple, Nana Osergeman Adefumi the first, became the Prime Minister of the Harlem People's Parliament and later became Co - Minister of Culture of the RNA. The leadership of the Yoruba Temple established the African Village in South Carolina, a continuation of the "going south" element within the movement.

There was an intermingling of those elders and the elders that were with the two organizations developed by Hajj Malik Shabazz /Malcolm X, Organization of Afro-American Unity and the

Muslim Mosque Inc.. The Muslim Mosque Inc developed a close relationship with the Asante Allahi Arabic Society, the oldest continuously existing indigenous community of Muslims in North America. It was headed by Sheik Hesham Jabber as the Amr. (Political leader of the Community distinguished from the Imam who was/is the spiritual leader of the community. The Imam was Muhammad Erzadeen.

Within a few years the Mosque of Islamic Brotherhood (MIB) was established with Sheik Ahmed K. Tawfiq as the Imam. Imam Talib AbdurRahman succeeded him and is still presently the Imam. There was the common reference to both Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn as "People's Republics" the People's Republic of Harlem and the People's Republic of Bed-Stuy. So there was a conscious body of politics that was operating in those areas that was separate from the conventional body of electoral politics that governed the overall society. Along with this independent political and social development there was a growing understanding that returning south was key to our national survival and development. Going south meant organizers with independent black political thought, over half of which was born in south would return to the southern part of the United States where many Africans had been held in bondage and where segregation was still the rule of law. Many were themselves escapees or children of escapees of white terrorist lawlessness in the south.

Our esteemed ancestor Queen Mother Audley Moore-EI, from New Iberia, LOUISIANA is a classic example of an activists within this body of thinking and action. She was one of the first, if not the very first signer of the New Afrikan DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE. She is the person from whom where I first heard the name New Afrika used as the name of our nation. The New Afrikan people were so defined to distinguish us culturally as well as ideologically from the terms "Afro-American" and/or "African-American". These were the two most progressive popular terms used to define during that period. The term "American" had been used by the colonial usurpers of the Western Hemisphere in their intent to transform the entire hemisphere into one white country. Disregarding the Indigenous name "Turtle Island" they used the term America chauvinistically to refer to the expansion of their efforts in the "americas". Afro and/or African -American began to mean Africans born in the United States of America rather than Africans born in the Western Hemisphere. After the War of 1812 Mexico and Canada although considered part of North America were clearly not part of "America". So the term New Afrika was clearly to distinguish us as a people and our territory from the white chauvinist reference to America.

Queen Mother Audley Moore was commonly called Queen Mother, because she was probably the first amongst us to be recognized and referred to as such. Queen Mother was part of that commingling of progressive black forces, nationalist, traditional Ifa practioners both Yoruba (Nigerian) and Akan (Ghanaian), communists, socialists, Muslims, Moors, gangsters, musicians, singers drummers and dancers. She had belonged to the African Desendants Land /Partition Party. That organization named nineteen states as our national territory. There were members of that party who had been involved with the Harlem People's Parliament and activists in the movement. I'm not sure which came first.

I remember being at a demonstration lead by Osergeman Adefumi, Prime Minister of the Parliament at that time that lead the community through some direct action taking over of some

apartment buildings in Harlem. The property was then used for administrative office space for Parliament initiatives on behalf of the people and also for housing. This is an example how they were teaching through action how self government develops and works. There were similar corresponding actions being taken in other areas of life, education, health and hospital facilities, community safety, firearm safety, food co-ops to name a few. The student movement activism of the late sixties / early seventies often used that same tactic. The taking over of property that housed state run institutions that failed to provide needed services to our community. Often these "takeovers" were socially/politically reinforced with the raising of the Red, Black and Green flags. The raising of the liberation flag was a signal to those not involved in the organizing that this action was consciously leading toward our people's liberation. I'm talking about New York before the spring of 1968. This was our experience as well as that of other geographical areas affected by independent revolutionary black nationalist politics.

I actually got involved with an RNA study group while serving time as a political prisoner in Soledad, California. 1969 through 1972. To capture and imprison urban guerillas Robert F. Williams being chosen as President in exile, and H. Rap Brown was chosen as Minister of Defense were big pluses. Robert Williams had a broad following of adherents to armed struggle. He circulated a newsletter, the Crusader which contained his pronouncements on armed struggle based on the activity of himself and other comrades of his in the U.S. armed services along with what he learned from the experience of other combatants while in exile in Cuba, Korea, Africa and China.

H. Rap Brown had emerged as a spokesperson for the youth. In his emerging as chairman of the SNCC He had been involved in advocating and providing armed defense for those involved in voter registration as well as building bases of Black Power in Alabama and Mississippi. He was part of the delegation to the 1964 Democratic Convention at which the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party sought to unseat the Delegation of the white Democrats of Mississippi. That was a turning point in electoral politics towards black independent politics and towards Black Independence.

These two men were drawing cards to the RNA not just because they were popular but for what they were popular for. They both had reputations for being brave, disciplined and dedicated to struggle and movement. There was mass acceptance and support of their being in exile (Robert Williams) and being underground (H. Rap Brown).

The other attraction to urban guerillas under lock down was that the RNA had been involved in shooting incidents in which the only casualties were the enemies. The attack on the government at the first anniversary of the founding at New Bethel in Detroit (Aretha Franklin's father's church. Then they won their court battles. Everyone arrested was released and then the two brothers arrested at the scene of the incident Chaka Fuller and Raphael were tried and acquitted. Then came the RNA eleven incident in which again no casualties except the enemies'.

When I was released from Soledad and returned to New York some of the people that I personally worked with mostly Panthers were also RNA citizens. In fact there were joint ministries of Information, Defense, and the development of the National Committee for the

Defense of Political Prisoners which was worked in by Panthers, RNA government workers and a host of other para-military groups whose work was resulting in swelling numbers political prisoners and prisoners of war. I took the oath in Brooklyn in February '72. I joined the New York Consulate as a work study cadre. We had to study, do work study and physical/military training. Every citizen had to. The "going south" program of the movement began to have structure within the PGRNA based on your progress with study, work study and training. The biggest difference I see going on today is the lack of this work, study and training.

We had a book called the Government Administration Handbook. The GAH outlined how a PGRNA local unit was to be organized. Each PGRNA unit was an administrative unit local president, secretary, treasurer and government workers in housing, education, healthcare, food, youth, culture, prisoner support, in fact each unit had a person leading and reporting on RNA 11 support activity. We have people who say they remember this being the case but the only copies of the Govt Administration handbook existing are. copies where this crucial information has been deleted. Nation building courses were developed for citizens of record to become government workers. The nation building course was designed to study history, history of struggle, the current struggle including study of current leadership. The other important thing was that everybody had to study self defense techniques as well weapon/firearms safety, weapons maintenance as well as target practice. Each unit of government workers engaged a weekly collective study process.

Under this system of organizing and using this process of recruitment every potential government worker cadre was grounded in mass work and had a level of training that each other could rely on. The trust level between cadres was raised to a higher level. This relationship of training and trust amongst the government worker cadres translated to greater levels of trust in and for the PGRNA by the public that "trust" was based largely on our being able to respond with predictable behavior.

The character of the local units and its leadership was qualitatively different from what it is now. . Likewise the character and quality of regional and national ministries was much different. Local, Regional and National Ministries made up of cadres disciplined by training, grounded in history, and mass struggle guided the work through local, regional and national conferences through which the ministries reported and interacted.

The ministries guided and tracked our work.

Nation building was focused on two fronts 1. Engage in struggle against the state to force the state to provide services and opportunities for our people's welfare.

2. The building of independent alternative institutions that develop our people's capacity to govern themselves.

This process was designed to engage people in actively challenging the state and to engage our people in institutional development in areas of self determination.

Through this process we saw the process of liberation. Block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, city by city, state by state, region by region, family by Family, gang by gang, association by association winning the hearts minds and allegiance our people. This painstaking process was abandoned for a legal concept of liberation which says that this work of engaging our people in the revolutionary process of liberation can be substituted by engaging our people in holding a plebiscite to transfer power from the oppressor state to the people by

vote. This was actually a change of direction called for by Imari Obadele in the second edition of "War in America" Without proper study the role of the plebiscite is grossly misunderstood. And it needs to be understood that a plebiscite is to determine the will and level of readiness of the people to be self governed. It is not done to transfer power. This erroneous counter revolutionary concept gives people false hope of easy victory. To prepare for a plebiscite is not merely to define the word "plebiscite" and hand people a ballot or tell them to go vote online. To prepare for a plebiscite is to engage the people in the revolutionary process of liberation so that they can have the experience that gives them the confidence to vote to be self governed. It is to be re-engaged in the work of voter education, this kind of voter education is one that clarifies to our people the difference between inclusion/assimilation and self determination. There is no easy way to gain our liberation. This erroneous concept gave rise to an even more erroneous concept, that revolutionary leadership could be selected through the popular vote. But the first erroneous concept that paved the way for the others to be accepted was the idea that we did not need a process of education that included a training program even out our development and allowed us to access our own and each others' strengths and weaknesses. At one point we were creating local units centered through study of history, disciplined by training, grounded in community service work. Without this process of recruitment and training the local units ceased to exist, followed by ministries ceasing to exist.

The PCC which was at one time was a body of disciplined cadre selected by disciplined cadre from disciplined cadre disintegrated into a group of individuals who had no grounding in history, or nor in mass work/community service not having a clue as to what a PEOPLES CENTER COUNCIL was supposed to do. The PCC is the highest legislative body in the nation of New Afrika. The PCC's job is to create legislation that is supposed to govern our lives. Initially rules to guide our work. The faulty notion of having to have democratic processes lead to the ultra democratic policy of creating an imitation electoral districts legitimizing this grouping by having them voted for by people without who had no clue as to what they were voting for. That moved the PGRNA to having people doing recruitment who were not clear on what they were recruiting people to do. The PCC moved from being the highest legislative body in the Nation to a group of individuals vaguely interested in talking about the concepts nationhood, National independence, national liberation but never studying these concepts.,, just talking about them.

The idea of a revolutionary provisional government of a people at war was/is totally missing from the present manifestation of the PCC and the move to using popular elections to build the PG has crippled the work. So now you have people in leadership with titles and positions who don't know anything about what they should be leading. People have begun trying to build a conventional government and act like a conventional government rather than structure a revolutionary Provisional Government that serves the New Afrikan masses. Unfortunately it appears that the lack of study renders these present PGRNA government workers to not know the difference.

The first national project that I remember getting involved with was the International New Afrikan Prisoner of War SOLIDARITY DAY. Held in Jackson, Mississippi in August 1973 on the second

anniversary of the arrest of the RNA 11. It brought together forces domestically as well as internationally in SOLIDARITY with New Afrikan PPOWs. This work was lead by the then National Minister of Information Fulani Obafemi. In fact it is where I got to study the work ethics and discipline of the National Minister of Information that lead to our eventual marriage in December 1976.

The first local project that I got involved with was the Lincoln Hospital drug detoxification program...Lincoln Detox. Under the leadership of the PGRNA ministry of Interior. The Interior ministry was headed up by brother Jeral Williams, today known as Dr.. Mutulu Shakur. Lincoln Detox was the program that had the lowest rate of recidivism in the entire world. Started by a takeover of the Nurses' residence at Lincoln Hospital by Black Panthers and Young Lords, holding them and negotiating with the City of New York and its Health and Hospitals for community organizers who had created programs to serve the people to get official salaries for their work. They served the mentally ill, the substance abusers, the welfare recipients, organized hospital workers., and organized the community. Maintained and built upon the SOLIDARITY of black and brown/New Afrikan & Puerto Rican. it was founded on. Lincoln detox was a central element in the building of BAD, the Black

anti Drug Movement. BAD was a national network of revolutionary substance abuse workers and centers. The primary centers of BAD were Lincoln Detox in the Bronx, New York and RAP INC. in Washington, D.C. The center became our center from which to combat genocide. Dr. Mutulu Shakur reported on research which provided proof that whether the drugs were over the counter or off the corner long and short term use of drugs was detrimental to our vital organs. It was hear that we began researching and applying Acupuncture becoming the first center in the country to offer Methadone detox and refuse to offer Methadone Maintenance as a program. As this became an obstacle for the Pharmaceutical companies being unable to claim to the public that Methadone Maintenance programs was a "service" to our community. The decision to stop serving as a Methadone Maintensnce program meant that funds from pharmaceutical companies and support from the state would soon be cut off. The detox collective formed BAAANA, the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America. Bought a building in Harlem and set up its own community based privately owned clinic and organizations.

Another area of work of the New York based RNA government workers was working with the National Committee for the Defense if Political Prisoners. the para-legal attachment to that committee became the embryo of the National Task Force for Cointelpro Resesrch and Litigation. This arm of Political prisoners support work actively compiled information gathered through on our prisoners that could persuade prosecutors that it was more expedient to let prisoners go than to bring into court more hard evidence exposing the US government's counter intelligence program.

I then also served as RNA Government worker in

After leaving New York I served as a government worker in Washington, DC, It was while serving as a government worker in Washington, DC that I noticed first the government

administration handbook wasn't being used. We reintroduced it, made some clear improvements and expansion in work. We also made some enemies. It was here that we also encountered liberalism and a tendency to do certain things based on unprincipled personal relationships. Particularly in regard to President Imari Obadele. I often challenged this tendency making more enemies. Especially when making statements that his ideas were from my point of view were not revolutionary nationalism. "How could you say that ? " Chokwe would ask. I could say that then and still say it now based on his own statements in his own writings. The points of clear departure already stated 1. his claim that working for US Army general excluded him from collective study and training. 2. The ideas that we we didn't need to engage in mass organizing around our people's needs but merely hold a plebiscite to win political control over a geographical area. I would humbly stand corrected if someone could point out to me any unsoundness in my position.

New Orleans, LA, once the capital of New Afrika. It was here that I experienced the inter-relatedness of different groups in people having joint allegiance. Particularly noticeable were the interaction and often identical personnel UNIA/ACL, the NOI and the PGRNA. This experience helped in the efforts at consolidating forces in the liberation movement and the independence movement. This process's gain in momentum was evident at the time of the us government's attack on the new Afrikan Liberation movement in October of 1981.

BYRDTOWN (Gallman), Mississippi . The work in Byrdtown was the development of a youth camp to prepare our youth to be leaders in the New Afrikan Liberation struggle. Without such an institution we could never win the hearts and minds of our offspring much less the hearts and minds of the masses of our people. This institution equips our movement to engage year after year , generation after generation in the continuous process of creating revolutionaries.

I was after being attacked by the state in 1981

working underground, traveling in exile through Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean. The PGRNA received tangible support from comrades in the New Jewel movement of Grenada, by providing front page coverage of our trial right up to the us invasion of Grenada and overthrow of Maurice Bishop and dismantling of the gains made through the New Jewel movement. While in us federal lockdown fighting the trial of my life for my life I was legally and politically represented by Counsel for the PGRNA, our warrior lawyer brother Chokwe Lumumba. After that trial the USA vs Dr. Mutulu Shakur et al renamed by The RNA vs the USA by our brother Chokwe Lumumba returned to the National Territory, There in Jackson, Mississippi he engaged in revolutionary political practices., the building of People's Assemblies, People's Platforms and the reactivation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party founded by Fannie Lou Hamer. Through these instruments there has developed a process for revolutionaries and for the community to enter the electoral process and achieve measurable results toward our eventual liberation.

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS TOWARDS A RECTIFICATION POLICY IN THE NEW
AFRIKAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT/ INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

COLLECTIVE STUDY, WORK STUDY, TRAINING, WORK & CRITICAL REVIEW

1. Everyone needs to engage in a review and restudy process. Older (in work) cadre must engage with each other on a collective process with one another to insure more evenly developed future cadre.
2. Every (new) interested party should engage with a study process before engaging in actual work.
3. After engaging in an organized study process each potential cadre should be part of a work/study process that gradually graduates that person to becoming an actual cadre.
4. Redevelopment of a Govt. Admin. Handbook.
5. Reengage process of establishing local units according to the proposed new govt administration handbook. Develop and include a work/study process.
6. Develop a study & training process that includes physical development so that everyone's level of physical capacity and endurance are can be assessed and critiqued.
7. Develop and establish a process of teaching, testing and grading. Employ SELF-CRITICISM
8. COMBAT LIBERALISM: engage in the UNITY CRITICISM UNITY process

We welcome comments, criticism., additional rectification, and honest dialogue on the subject.
FREE THE LAND ! BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!