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ROOTS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

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New Afrikan People's Organization/Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

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ONE NATION
ONE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT
MANY THEORIES

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 worldwide, 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.

A New Afrikan is an Afrikan born in North America. Afrikans born in North America hold many different theories. It follows that New Africans have many theories. Some are socialists, some are capitalists, some are nationalists, and 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. Therefore, the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) consists of a population of millions of people, with millions of ideas.

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.

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 (Audley) 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. 1

Shortly after her escape, revolutionary heroine (sheroe) Assata Shakur identified herself with the struggle to free the Republic of New Afrika.² 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 of the national struggle of the New Afrikan nation.

"Malcolm X had his dream"
And his dream was
LAND, NATIONHOOD.
And his dream, has become
my
dream"

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

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 (enslaved Afrikan who escaped) 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. 3

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. 4 In fact, one of Marcus Garvey's pre-Civil War "Back to Africa" 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."⁵ Delaney, like many Black emigrations, 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.⁷ Like Garvey, Briggs was a "race first" New Afrikan nationalist.⁸ 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.⁹

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.¹⁰

The CPUSA did reluctantly adopt a self-determination position on the "Blackbelt nation" in the Southeast in 1928 and 1930.¹¹ 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.¹² 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".¹³

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 10,000.¹⁴

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.¹⁵

THE PARENTS OF TODAY'S NEWAFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

The New Afrikan Independence Movement is a political child of Malcolm X and Queen 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 Hairy 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. 19

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.

"We believe that Afrikan people born in North America, descendants, of (enslaved peoples), 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.

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. 20

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, and developed the land and built institutions and buildings on the land. Though 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.

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.

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 misrepresents 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 Afrikans 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 paycheck 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. 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's 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 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 capitalist's ways of the imperialist state. For it is a state, which will surely take from white workers and the white petty bourgeois what it, cannot 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.

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 that 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 people's wars for national liberation. This process sets the stage for the white workers participation in the so-called socialist revolution North America. Previously, i have described this situation as follows: It is the collective interests of the above-mentioned movements to dismantle the American Empire, thereby, creating the conditions for serious material contradictions between white workers and the capitalist controlled US government. Such conditions will leave the US government ripe for the final deathblow, 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. 24

In order for our colonized nation to effectively remove itself from the floor of the Empire's 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 the only our own liberators, but We are the only reliable guardians of our liberation once it is accomplished.

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 Ricans, 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 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 arisen 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. 25

NEW AFRIKANS AND NATIVE NATIONS

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. 27

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 (their) support for our movement and our objectives.

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 birthright, bloodshed, development, and long-time inhabitation 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 established 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. 28

REPARATIONS

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, (US Congressperson) 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 arrested. 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.

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 and political prisoners.

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

Late 1970's - At PGRNA suggestion (through Kwame-Osagyefo Kalimara, Balsa Director of Community Services), and with PGRNA assistance National Black Law Students (Association) prepared and argued reparation and citizenship issues across the country for Frederick Douglass 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 the united states of America (an empire) 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.

CONCLUSION

The New Afrikan Nation exists because We continue to pursue Our human right of Self-Determination. As long as We remember Our ancestors, their legacy, and their sacrifices, We honor their contributions. We continue to do Our part in building revolution. We will continue to dismantle all forms of oppression and exploitation where ever it exists.

FREE THE LAND!!!

ENDNOTES

1. CAN'T JAIL THE SPIRIT (Political Prisoners in the U.S.), 43-93 (1989).
2. ASSATA SHAKUR, BLACK HUMAN RIGHTS STATEMENT November 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 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 African 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", p8 (Sept. 25, 1989).

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New Afrikan Peoples’ Organization (NAPO) founded May 19, 1984 – Chokwe Lumumba co-founder and 1st Chairperson.
Former Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi (2013-2014). Ancestor – February 25, 2014.
Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) founded May 19, 1990 – NAPO’s mass association.
<https://freethelandmxgm.org/>