

## NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

WE, 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 humankind 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 of 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 all, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We therefore see these 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 We can make it;
- \* To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
- \* To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service;
- \* To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and the pursuit of God and/or destiny, place and purpose of humankind in the Universe will be without hinderance;
- \* 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 achievement of the Aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
- \* To end exploitation of human beings by each other or the 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 or her 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 our 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.

## NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION OFFICIAL DOCUMENT IV(a)

### PROFILE OF THE NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (NAPO)

The New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) struggles for total independence of the New Afrikan Nation from the United States Empire (U.S.A.). NAPO fights to establish an independent New Afrikan State in the Black Belt territory now known as Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi. This territory has been defined by the New Afrikan Independence Movement since 1968 as the National Territory of the Republic of New Afrika. NAPO seeks the liberation of this land, and any adjoining Black Belt Territory which the New Afrikan nation needs and to which it is entitled. NAPO prepares and organizes the New Afrikan masses to liberate the land by People's War. NAPO SEES People's War as a mass national movement of the people which resists the colonial repression of the American Empire by protest, rebellion, boycotts, strikes, popular armed self-defense, various other acts of mass concerted action, and the application of revolutionary force by the Peoples New Afrikan Liberation Army.

NAPO and its security arm, the New Afrikan Security Union, organizes the mass action and self-defense components of Peoples War. NAPO claims no links to the Black Liberation Army or the New Afrikan Liberation Army, other than the natural political fraternity and sorority of brothers and sisters joined by political circumstances, spirit, history and common cause in struggle toward the liberation of the New Afrikan nation in North America. Yet NAPO is confident that the New Afrikan freedom fighting forces of the Black Liberation Army are organizing the New Afrikan Liberation Army in order to meet the needs of the masses and the requirements of Peoples War.

NAPO is committed to the creation of a New Afrikan Socialist economy in the Republic of New Afrika. NAPO opposes capitalism and seeks to establish a system of production and distribution owned and controlled by the masses, and designed to address and meet their needs.

NAPO is Pan Afrikanist. NAPO supports the liberation and unification of the Afrikan continent and the liberation and federation of all Afrikan nations and people throughout the world. NAPO seeks also the federation of New Afrikan nations in the Western Hemisphere.

As revolutionary Pan Afrikanist, NAPO supports the movements to overthrow or remove neo-colonialistic puppets in Afrika. Mobutu in the Congo (Zaire) is a prime example of a puppet that NAPO opposes. We oppose imperialism by all colonial and neo-colonial empires and their junior and regional empire building associates. As a revolutionary anti-imperialist organization, NAPO supports the struggles for the independence and reunification of upper Mexico (now called Southwest USA) with the Mexican territory below the Rio Grande. Likewise NAPO supports the struggles for sovereignty and independence of Red nations over their lands in North America, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, and the freedom struggles of all other colonies held within the United States Empire.

In fact, NAPO supports North American revolutionaries in their struggle to overthrow the present United States government. NAPO is absolutely aligned with the Native American, Chicano-Mexicans, and Puerto Rican revolutionary organizations in their resolve to

dismantle the illegal American Empire.

NAPO recognizes that the collective impact of revolutionary national liberation struggles in North America, Afrika and throughout the world, and the work of American revolutionaries will permanently break the back of American imperialism and destroy the illegal American State.

THE TEXT OF THE FOUNDING STATEMENT OF THE  
NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION

The New Afrikan People's Organization represents the coming together of heretofore different elements of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. While previously being affiliated with other autonomous groupings, these elements share a common strategic objective - that objective being self-determination, land and an independent nation state for New Afrikans colonized by U.S. imperialism.

After serious discession, taking place over a number of years, it has been decided that in the best interest of our movement and our nation, to unify our force around common principles, practice and discipline. It is to this end that the New Afrikan People's Organization has been formed.

It is our considered opinion that the New Afrikan Independence Movement has been suffering from a number of maladies, some self-induced, others the result of the oppressor nation's design to thwart our efforts towards obtaining self-determination and our human rights. Elitism, individualism and a lack of discipline within our ranks has only aided our enemy in discrediting and neutralizing the most valiant efforts of struggling New Afrikans.

Additionally, our responsibility to demonstrate our reliability and trustworthiness, remains a paramount concern. We must approach our struggle scientifically, organizing ourselves and utilizing our resources, both human and material, in a manner that is most useful to our National Liberation Struggle. We must demonstrate through community survival programs and organizational predictability that We can provide non-exploitative, humanizing alternatives to the system of subjugation that presently ensnares us. As We build for complete independence, We further recognize that We are confronted by a rapacious foe that seeks to continue its inhumane and illegal domination over us.

Our responsibility is to struggle unceasingly to bring an end to this situation. We cannot equivocate in our support of those who engage the enemy in political/military combat. For to do so, is to reduce our pronouncements to mere posturing, and to increase the danger to those engaging the enemy in this manner. It is therefore, our responsibility to champion our right to organize for the defense of our nation. We must not allow repression to make cowards of us. We must continue to organize for our National Liberation.

Some of the basic principles that will guide the New Afrikan People's Organization are the following:

**Land and Nationhood.** Land constitutes the material basis upon which We can exercise our collective will. An independent nation and state power provides us with the organizational mechanism that is the prerequisite for our continued freedom. Our labor and lives, expended in our national area, New Afrika, legitmizes our claim to this territory.

**Collective Leadership and Democratic Centralism.** - are fundamental processes required to eliminate elitism and individualism that has often characterized the leadership of organizations in our movement. These two features will enable us to engage in comprehensive

political analysis and responsiveness to our total organizational membership, as well as the masses of our people. They simultaneously assure the discipline required to make an effective organizational response to the schemes of our colonizers.

**Socialism and Anti-imperialism.** We advocate a non-exploitative, social economic system. One that benefits the masses of our people in an independent New Afrika. Our determination to end all exploitation of subjugated nations, inside and outside the boundaries of the U.S., is a fundamental principle that motivates us to have fraternal relationships to those forces struggling against imperialist domination.

**Reparations and Freedom for our Prisoners of War (P.O.W.'s) and Political Prisoners (P.P.'s).** A just settlement for legitimate claims that are pending against the U.S. imperialist state must be concluded. The super-profits gained because of our being brutalized and super-exploited must be returned to us. Also our P.O.W.'s and Political Detainees who forthrightly confronted our enemies and our heros and heroines must be returned to our nation.

**Humility and Discipline.** The eradication of arrogance and behavior that inhibits our ability to function for our nation and alienates us from the masses of our people. Relationships must be based on equality and mutual respect and no liberalism or anti-social behavior in our ranks.

**Self-defense and Political Development.** The unity of theory and practice must prevail. We must be physically fit and capable of defending our physical beings, while also being intellectually competent to defend our lives and bring new members into our organization. We have a responsibility to organize ourselves and our people for self-defense as well as fulfilling our political obligations.

Additionally, our political and material support for our combatants must never be compromised. We must fight against white racist domination and support others doing the same. These general principles and others will guide the New Afrikan People's Organization. We welcome those who are willing to join us in taking on the challenge that freedom requires that we meet.

**Build the  
New Afrikan People's Organization!  
Free the Land!**

## WHY WE USE NEW AFRIKAN

We embrace the name and concept "New Afrika" because it reflects our identity, purpose, and direction. "New Afrikan" speaks to our identity because that's what We are. Our Nation is primarily a racial, cultural, and social fusion of various Afrikan ethnic groups and Nations - the Ewe, Yoruba, Akan, Fante, Hausa, Fulani, Ibo and several others - into one, unique Nation.

"New Afrikan" reflects our identity as a Nation and a people - a Nation and a people desiring Self-Determination. New Afrikans have been called "Colored Americans," "American Negroes," "Black Americans," and "Afro-Americans." NAPO (New Afrikan People's Organization) sees that all of these terms confuse a unique New Afrikan Nation with a "common history, language, economic life, consciousness manifested in a community of culture." Just as other New Afrikan nations appear today, fused together in the struggle against slavery, colonialism and imperialism in Afrika (Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, etc.) and the Caribbean (Jamaica, Haiti, 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 American Empire. We want land and National Liberation. We no longer want the ruling class of the American 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 own destiny We can determine our political, economic and socio-cultural affairs in the interests of our survival and development.

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 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 amerikkkans - then We'll be free as New Afrikans."

"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, egocentricism and 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 battle cry of the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM). The NAIM is part of the Black Liberation Movement in north amerikkka that want an independent Black Nation on land in north amerikkka. The land identified by the New Afrikan Independence Movement is primarily known as South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana and other areas of what is now called the Black-Belt South - the southeastern portion of the north amerikkkan 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 land-lord, and gain control of the land and institutions that flow from that land. The Black [Nation] has been in a very low condition because [it] 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 peoples wanting liberation from alien domination and seeking self-determination are fighting for land. When Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau were fighting Portuguese colonialism, they were fighting for land. When Zimbabwe [and Namibia] were fighting for independence [they] were fighting for control of [their] land. Azania (south afrika), Palestine, and Northern Ireland today all struggle for land and independence.

Land is essential for a people's development...a landless people is also a dependent people...NAPO sees that We must "Free The Land" of New Afrika because land and independence can best guarantee self-liberation for our people. Only when We control the land and the institutions 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 40 million captive New Afrikans back to Afrika.

We recognize the claims of Native Americans 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 amerikkka and the majority of us have no realistic way to get back to Afrika.

...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!



## 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 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 plebisite, 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 uplifting with 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.

PRINCIPLES & PROGRAMME OF ACTION OF THE  
NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION

What We Believe

1. 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.
2. We believe that the New Afrikan nation is an internal colony, subjugated by the American Empire. The American Empire controls the political, economic and cultural development of the New Afrikan Nation.
3. We believe that due to the colonialism of the American empire, We are denied basic human rights outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These human rights include the rights of employment, the right to food, clothing, shelter and health care, the right to security from criminal violence, and our political beliefs. First and foremost, We believe We, the New Afrikan Nation and all other oppressed Nations, have a right to Self-Determination. We have the right to determine our political destiny and to form a sovereign independent, Nation State, the Republic of New Afrika.
4. We believe that the American Empire is guilty of genocide against our people through its role and participation through its role and participation in the criminal slave trade, the atrocities and lynchings, assassinations of our leaders, psychological terrorism and the creation of "conditions of life calculated to bring about the destruction of the group in whole or in part."
5. We believe that due to the conditions of life and atrocities caused by racism, colonialism, and genocide, New Afrikans have the right to defend themselves and end our oppression By Any Means Necessary!
6. We believe that, like all peoples and Nations fighting oppression, New Afrikans have the moral right to utilize armed struggle to defeat the colonialist system of oppression and win National Liberation.
7. We believe that in order for the New Afrikan Nation in North America to achieve total human rights and Seld-Determination it must wage a National Liberation struggle to win Land and Independence. Only through establishing a sovereign Republic of New Afrika can We achieve State power which will ensure our dignity, survival and development.
8. We believe the land where our people developed a unique culture and National identity, the land We developed first as slaves and then as sharecroppers, the land We fought Nightriders or the Klu

Klux Klan or the U.S. Government on after the American Civil War, is land that belongs to us as a people. This land, the Southeastern portion of the American Empire, primarily the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, is our New Afrikan territory.

9. We believe the American Empire, its government and institutions, owes the New Afrikan people reparations for the atrocities and damages suffered by our people due to slavery, colonialism, and genocide. Under International Law, We are entitled to repayment for the loss of life, forced labor and economic exploitation, psychological trauma, and many other atrocities that have retarded our national development. The American Empire has benefitted from this exploitation and oppression and must compensate our Nation for these damages and crimes.

10. We believe the American Empire and U.S. Imperialism not only oppresses and exploits our Nation, New Afrika, but exploits peoples and Nations within its borders: Hawaii, Northern Mexico (California, Texas, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico), Native American Indian Nations, Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico. Around the world U.S. Imperialism is the main opponent to liberation and social justice. Therefore, We are united with all struggles against colonialism, exploitation and imperialism worldwide.

11. We believe that our Nation and the masses of people worldwide have suffered from the capitalist mode of development inside the American Empire and around the world. Therefore, We support the struggles of working people to overthrow capitalist domination and establish their own socialist economy and development. As pro-socialists, We advocate the establishment of a socialist Republic of New Afrika.

12. We believe that all New Afrikan men and women engaging in armed struggle against the American Empire and the establishment of our Nation are our Freedom Fighters and must be supported. We believe any captured combatant OF OUR Nation is entitled to Prisoner-of-War status under International Law.

#### What We Call For

1. We call for the active resistance of our people to U.S. Imperialism and for full realization of our people's right to Self-Determination.

2. We call for the building and waging of a National Liberation Struggle for the establishment of an anti-sexist, independent socialist New Afrikan Republic, as an essential part of the achievement of New Afrikan Self-Determination in America.

3. We call for the establishment of an independent Republic of New Afrika in the territory now known as the states of South Carolina,

Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana and on any neighboring Black Belt land our Nation needs and to which it is entitled, subject to and in solidarity with the just claims asserted by Native American Indian Nations for Sovereignty over land in the New Afrikan Black Belt area.

4. We call for the eradication of sexist oppression, which limits women from reaching their fullest potential. We actively oppose all forms of sexism as manifested in our cultural, economic, political and social institutions, practices and beliefs.

5. We call for the opposition to the human rights violations and genocidal conditions faced by our people everyday.

6. We call for organized opposition to colonial institutions which deny our people the ability to control and create a better life.

7. We call for the organization of New Afrikan people's institutions to build Centers of Self-Determination and resistance to colonialism and genocide. New Afrikan people's institutions should concern themselves with building our people's consciousness and sense of self-reliance through serving our basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, health care and education.

8. We call for the active organization of our people to defend themselves from white supremacist violence. Self-defense is the basis of our Nation's survival.

9. We call for support for New Afrikan Freedom Fighters engaged in armed struggle for National Liberation. Armed struggle is the basis of our Liberation.

10. We call for support of our captured Freedom Fighters. We must struggle for their recognition as Prisoners of War and fight for their release.

11. We call for non-collaboration as a fundamental principle of our Independence movement. This includes those forces in solidarity with us. We cannot betray our principles/movement by giving information to any agency or representative of white supremacy and U.S. Imperialism (FBI, CIA, grand juries, courts, etc.).

12. We call for the waging of cultural revolution to combat the decadent and individualist culture of Western Capitalism and U.S. Imperialism. As a New Afrikan Nation suffering from colonialism and cultural imperialism, We must recapture the control of our minds by redefining and reinforcing cultural and spiritual institutions and values which will enable our people to assert our human dignity and determine our collective destiny.

13. We call for united action of Afrikan people worldwide to fight against racism, colonialism, and imperialism. As Pan-Afrikanists, We see the struggle of Afrikan people as one struggle. We must

build unity with the struggle of our Brothers and Sisters on the Afrikan homeland, in the Caribbean, and throughout the Diaspora.

14. We call for active resistance to the imperialist and militarist foreign policy of the American Empire. We see National Liberation and Anti-Imperialist forces around the world as allies and We pledge solidarity in the struggle against our common enemy.

15. We call for a front of all patriotic forces committed to the National liberation of New Afrika. A New Afrikan Liberation Front will come into being through consolidated struggle of New Afrikan activists and Freedom Fighters to achieve political unity and organizational predictability. This force will be able to lead our people to victory through a protracted struggle for Land, Independence and Socialism.

16. We call for a unification movement of all sectors of the masses of the New Afrikan Nation to fight our common oppression and for our survival and National Liberation. In spite of our religious and ideological differences, the New Afrikan masses must realize that through unity We can all progress together.

## MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

**CHOKWE LUMUMBA**  
**Chairperson, New Afrikan People's Organization**

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### The New Afrikan Revolution and Malcolm X

The revolution, the New Afrikan revolution, is building despite, and to some extent as a response to, the treacherous climate of government political repression, drugs, crime, despair, confusion, misleadership, misdirection and the resurgence of naked white superemacy. Over the past twenty years the New Afrikan revolution has surfaced and has sprouted from the grassroots.

It has found fertile ground amongst impoverished New Afrikan (Black) people bedeviled by AIDS, unaffordable health care, environmental racism, wholesale imprisonment, mentacide, insecurity, police terror and other conditions of life calculated to bring about the New Afrikan Nation's demise in whole or in part.

This revolution is taking root among embattled Black workers beset by discrimination, under- and unemployment, poor working conditions, cutbacks, disappearing employee benefits, so-called right-to-work laws and other vicious anti-worker programs and initiatives by profit-hungry corporations, state, federal and local governments, and double-crossing officials.

An endangered Black youth population, Afrikan conscious students and Black women constantly confronted with sexism and racism are also fertile fields for the New Afrikan revolution's growth.

This revolution is one designed to achieve self-respect, self-defense and self-determination for the New Afrikan Nation by any means necessary.

The New Afrikan Revolution arising from the Black grassroots is an absolute enemy of white supremacy and its foremost action program: united states imperialism. The revolution isn't designed to avoid, to reform or to collaborate with white supremacy and imperialism but to destroy these evils.

Today the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, The New Afrikan People's Organization, The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, the Spear and Shield Collective, the Black Workers for Justice and the Afro-American Liberation League and others are in the national forefront of this rising revolution, as are the defense committees organized to win the freedom of Geronimo Pratt, Mutulu Shakur, Sundiata Acoli and other political prisoners/prisoners of war.

The father of this revolution is Malcolm X. Before he died Malcolm joined Queen Mother Moore and others in planting the seeds which have produced today's upcoming New Afrikan Revolutionary Movement in the US Empire (usa).

The first fruits of Malcolm's Revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalist teachings arose in the form of the Organization of Afrikan-American Unity; in the growth of the Revolutionary Action Movement; the nationalist conversion of SNCC and various other Civil and Human Rights groups like the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) in Detroit; in the formation of the Black Panther Party of the 1960s and the House of Umoja. It also arose in the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, the New Afrikan Independence Movement and in the development of the

Black Liberation Army.

Government repression and political misdirection succeeded in destroying/crippling the first fruits of the labors of Malcolm, Queen Mother Moore and the others who tilled the Black soil in the '60s. However, the revolutionary principles calculated by these political mothers and fathers remained intact and were well ingrained in the New Afrikan Independence Movement which survived and matured throughout the '60s, '70s, '80s and into the '90s despite many problems and setbacks.

The most important revolutionary principle and objective that the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) has preserved and maintained from the 1960s Black Liberation Movement is the principle of self-determination and the goal of establishing an independent New Afrikan Nation here in amerika. The NAIM upholds this principle and pursues this goal by waging struggle to liberate New Afrikan/Black-belt territory in the Southeast (Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi) and to establish an independent Black Nation-State in that area. Malcolm spoke generally of this objective as follows: Just as it took nationalism to bring about THE INDEPENDENCE OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN AFRIKA AND ASIA (emphasis added), the goal or objective of the political, social and the economic philosophy of Black Nationalism is designed to bring about the complete independence of Black people in this country...if we control our own community now then perhaps we will later be able to control our own country, our own nation and govern ourselves and in some way have control over our own destiny. This philosophy (will) eventually lead to the complete physical independence of Black people in this country."<sup>1</sup>

Malcolm specifically spoke to the question of struggling for independent Black states years before the modern-day New Afrikan Independence Movement was launched.

In the mid-60s Malcolm said, "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>2</sup>

There is today popular recognition of the heroic accomplishments of Malcolm, the father of the New Afrikan Revolution.

While the growth of the revolution has been steady but relatively slow, the popular recognition of Malcolm as a Black hero has grown at warp speed. Malcolm is on t-shirts, buttons, posters, hats, tv programs, in songs, magazine articles, books and schools textbooks where he was never discussed before. Soon Malcolm will be the subject of a Warner Brothers picture directed by Spike Lee.

Malcolm warned that many would try to mischaracterize him and his work after he died. He was right. As expected, the new popular "Malcolm Movement" has been joined by opportunists of various sorts, ignorant "experts" on Malcolm and imperialist agents intent on derailing the new movement, defusing it or misdirecting it toward total incompatibility with Malcolm's expressed principles and beliefs.

So We now hear and see commentators and authors proclaim that Malcolm was a "great American". Our brother, Spike Lee actually appeared on the tv program "Saturday Night Live" clad in a garment with a red, white and blue star-spangled X on it.

Meanwhile, Playthell Benjamin, writing for Emerge Magazine calls the movie Spike's directing a "quintessentially American story".<sup>3</sup>

Considering who Malcolm was and what he represented, Brother Benjamin's comment on the film leaves us with one of two possible disappointing conclusions: either Lee's film is NOT about Malcolm, or Benjamin's critique doesn't accurately address the film.

Malcolm was quite clear on the question of whether or not he was an amerikan and indeed, he was clear with regard to whether any of us New Afrikans (Blacks born in amerika) are amerikans. Malcolm noted that because a kitten is born in an oven doesn't make it is biscut. Malcolm further said: "No I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of Americanism...I'm speaking as a victim of this American system...I don't see any American dream, I see an American nightmare."<sup>4</sup>

When Malcolm called us Afrikan-Americans or Afro-Americans, he, unlike many who use the term today, was not suggesting We were citizens of the united states or part of the amerikan political, economic, social systems. He was merely saying that We are Afrikans and he was describing where We are physically located. He explains as follows: "... In this country ... you and I, 22 million Afrikan-Americans - that's what we are - Afrikans who are in America. You're nothing but Afrikans!"<sup>5</sup>

Today, We use the term New Afrikan to identify ourselves as Afrikans in amerika. We realize that We are Afrikans who are a part of the New Afrikan Nation which has evolved in amerika, as New Afrikan nations like Azania, Namibia and others have evolved on the Afrikan continent and as New Afrikan nations like Jamaica, the Bahamas, Guyana, Haiti and others have evolved in the Caribbean. In using the term, which was unavailable to Malcolm when he lived, We affirm our Afrikan identity, and like Malcolm, reject the amerikan brand that our oppressors once placed on our bodies and now leave on our minds. This mind-brand is a colonial mentality which has us identifying with our oppressors.

When authors, filmmakers and commentators tell us that Malcolm was a great "American" they are perpetuating the colonial mentality. They're playing a major confidence game; attempting to misuse the name of the most outspoken proponent of an independent Afrikan and New Afrikan identity to obscure that identity and to promote a false and foolish sense of "American" identity and patriotism among our people. Since history and current events demonstrate that the amerikan system has always victimized us, the objective of this con game is ultimately to convince us to victimize ourselves.

We must be forever careful not to reach conclusions about Malcolm's views by merely listening to what others say about Malcolm. We should listen to what Malcolm said in his own words. Following this plan of operation We will easily identify the malicious falsehoods and character assassinations intended and incorporated in the trash recently written by the caucasian named Bruce Perry. He has the audacity to claim his manuscript is the most extensive biography of Malcolm. Using Macolm's own words as a guide We will also avoid the pitfalls of placing Malcolm in the ranks of predominantly-white, so-called communist/socialist groups who now claim him/his works.<sup>6</sup>

We will also avoid the ridiculous mistake of allowing anti-Black Nation organizations who denounced/avoided Malcolm while he was alive to now claim unity with his thinking. Most importantly, reading his own words avoids the serious mistake of assuming that



Malcolm ever stopped being a revolutionary nationalist in order to become something else. On February 18, 1965, three days before he was killed, Malcolm was still describing himself and his organization as nationalist.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, his revolutionary nationalist analysis that We are a colonized Nation of people in amerika was the core of his presentation one week before he was killed.<sup>8</sup>

It's also important to note that We must not mistake the opportunists, false experts, and agents who attempt to infiltrate and misdirect the Malcolm Movement as the actual movement or as the source of the Malcolm Movement's origin.

Unfortunately and incorrectly, some have argued that the upsurge in interest about Malcolm is a conspiracy to undermine the leadership of Minister Farrakhan, to dishonor Elijah Muhammad or to discredit the Nation of Islam.

In fact, the New Malcolm Movement (MM) is a product of the unwavering commemoration of Malcolm by nationalists and some muslims since his death; the tireless and wise work of the NAIM to resurrect New Afrikan mass consciousness about Malcolm and his work. In the 1970s NAIM leader and present prisoner of war Mutulu Shakur called for a Malcolm X Reclamation Campaign. This Campaign was launched by Dr. Shakur and his New Afrikan compatriots in Harlem, NY with a '78 Malcolm X Memorial Rally at the Audubon Ballroom. This was the first major political event at the Ballroom since Feb. 21, 1965 when Malcolm was assassinated. Over one thousand persons attended.

That year and every subsequent year the NAIM held Malcolm memorials and birthday celebrations in Harlem and throughout the Us Empire as part of the campaign. In '79 over 5,000 New Afrikans marched on the United Nations under a National Black Human Rights Coalition banner which featured a picture of Malcolm superimposed over the UN Building and arising from the masses over the slogan "Human Rights is the Right to Self-Determination".

After New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Assata Shakur was liberated from prison three days before the march, she issued a message from "Somewhere In The World" proclaiming that Malcolm's dream of independence and Black Nationhood had become her dream.

In the late '70s and early '80s various New Afrikans under the leadership of Dr. Imari Obadele, I established a Malcolm X Party. In '84 the New Afrikan People's Organization was founded on May 19th, Malcolm's birthday. Brother Ahmed Obafemi of NAPO assumed the mantle of leadership over the Malcolm X Reclamation Campaign. The By Any Means Necessary! newspaper was born with Malcolm on the masthead. Each year's commemoration of his assassination and birth brought about new colorful and powerful Malcolm posters which were pasted to the walls on Harlem, Bronx and Brooklyn streets. Malcolm buttons sold by NAPO went like hotcakes; his "Last Message" pamphlets also sold by NAPO went almost as well. One major Malcolm program sponsored by NAPO was a rap concert which gathered many young New York rap acts that performed and allowed those attending to listen to raps about the Black Nation's rise and songs about Malcolm X.

In the mid-'80s NAPO led a successful campaign to change the name of Lenox Avenue, a major Harlem street, to Malcolm X Blvd. This was also done by Sonny Carson, a nationalist political activist in Brooklyn, NY, culminating in a successful effort to change a Brooklyn street's name to honor Malcolm. This effort happened before the Harlem event.

When Spike Lee filmed "She's Got To Have It", one scene vividly

depicted a Malcolm X poster in the Brooklyn background. This poster was one of many street momentos left over from the promotion of Malcolm programs sponsored by NAPO in the '80s. From the streets decorated with these posters and the neighborhoods where the Malcolm street changes occurred would come an army of young rappers. These soldiers would arise with their admiration of Malcolm flowing from their poetic tongues: "Malcolm X - No Sell-Out...Malcolm X - No Sell-Out!" and so on.

These young rappers, influenced by the environment which the NAIM consciously created, would help to accomplish that which the NAIM couldn't accomplish alone. Now a new Malcolm movement is off the launch pad in full force, capturing the hearts, minds and creative genius of millions as it spreads.

For us to reduce this great movement or its extraordinary origins to a tale of government intrigue is for us to actually conspire against ourselves. Such misplaced accusations not only undermine the great revolutionary work undertaken by the NAIM in laying the foundation for the MM, but it is a slap in the face to nationalists, muslims and others who followed and have valued Malcolm's guidance for years.

Of greatest concern is the fact that if such reckless misinformation is left uncorrected it could torpedo the most promising movement among our youth since the '60s. A movement which is sorely needed to help win over our youth to our liberation struggle being waged in the face of the pervasive presence of drug economies, "be all you can be" military/mercenary campaigns of the u.s. armed forces and lures of a variety of private and public soldier-cop police jobs. All this takes place in a decaying amerikan economy which can no longer employ most of us in productive occupations.

Unfortunately, there are uncomfortable aspects to resurfacing the spirit and message of Malcolm. There are unanswered questions and issues to be resolved. One remembers the great leader of the NOI, Elijah Muhammad, embracing John F. Kennedy warmly as "our president" and expressing sorrow at his death. Kennedy is the same president who publicly endorsed the Black rights struggle while his administration slyly spied on it leaders and united with its dixicrat enemies. Kennedy also gave his c.i.a. the license to kill our beloved brother Patrice Lumumba in the Congo and attempted to kill Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Brother Muhammad's sympathy for Kennedy was in stark contrast to his cold-blooded disdain for Malcolm and his wife and children after their house was bombed; it contrasted also with Elijah's frigid public denuncements of Malcolm when Malcolm was assassinated. Malcolm, of course, was the person who had helped bring the Nation and Elijah from relative obscurity to the strongest single organization in the New Afrikan Nation.

One will also remember our brother and revolutionary spokesman telling us to settle our differences in the closet, away from the white man's eyes and ears. He then announced thru that same man's media that Elijah Muhammad had engaged in inexcusable sexual promiscuity within the Nation. Elijah was of course, Malcolm's political father and in many respects the only father he had after his biological one was murdered in Malcolm's early years.

We also can recall Minister Louis Farrakhan fanning the flames of hatred against Malcolm and helping to create the atmosphere which allowed the united states government and perhaps others to

take Malcolm's life on one hand, and to place the blame for that murder squarely on the Nation on the other hand. Malcolm was the mentor of Louis Farrakhan and certainly the person more than any other, except Farrakhan himself, responsible for Farrakhan's extraordinary charismatic appeal and political eloquence.

These grave mistakes by some of our greatest leaders are confusing and distressing to our youth, to say the least. More importantly, these errors reflect serious problems and political differences in our movement and in the way We have sometimes resolved them. Perhaps not the least of our problems and differences is the way We view leadership. There are those among us who seek to deify certain leaders and wrap them in a cloak of infallibility. This a most serious error and one which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for leaders to collectively resolve problems and for new leaders to challenge old ones; or for new and advanced ideas to replace or expand old ones.

No matter how distressing or uncomfortable, our errors of the past must be addressed. Such is necessary because many of the problems underlying these errors still exist today. Consequently, exposing, studying and resolving these problems in a politically mature fashion is essential for our future.

Since the youth are the future, their participation in the analysis of the past and plans for the future is critical.

The growing New Afrikan revolution requires no less. Today this revolution has visibly resurfaced the legacy of its father, Malcolm X. Not only as a source of inspiration, and direction, but as an important part of a critical revolutionary analysis. To denounce this new Malcolm Movement because of its embarrassments or discomforts is counter-productive and non-revolutionary. As revolutionaries, We must be committed to positive change and the most fundamental part of change is the change We must bring about in ourselves.

#### FREE THE LAND

#### NOTES:

1. "MALCOLM SPEAKS AGAIN", Freedom Sounds Tapes; available at P.O. Box 31762, Jackson, Ms 39286
2. "AUTOBIOGRAPH OF MALCOLM X", p. 367
3. "SPIKE LEE: BEARING THE CROSS", P. Benjamin, EMERGE, Nov. '91 p. 26
4. "THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET", Malcolm X Speaks, p. 26
5. *ibid.* p. 27
6. MALCOLM X SPEAKS", p. 194-5
7. *ibid.* p. 197
8. "THE LAST MESSAGE OF MALCOLM X", p. 19-20

WHO ARE NEW AFRIKAN  
POLITICAL PRISONERS  
AND PRISONERS OF WAR?

During the past twenty years a very active theoretical struggle has unfolded around the New Afrikan Independence Movement's stand on New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. jails and prisons. A major subject of this struggle has been the evolving definition of New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

A tendency within the Movement has recently arisen which believes it necessary to make a sharp distinction between New Afrikan and non-New Afrikan (e.g. "black") political prisoners and prisoners of war. Two reasons are put forth for making such distinctions: 1) the New Afrikan Independence Movement needs to strengthen its ideological and structural base; 2) the struggle to assert New Afrikan nationality is a form of the struggle between contending ideologies.

The Need To Assert New Afrikan Nationality

The struggle for an advanced, comprehensive and ideologically consistent political line within the New Afrikan Independence Movement is an expression of necessary theoretical debate which must occur in order that contradictions within the Movement and contradictions between the people and the oppressive state may be sharpened and resolved, and so that the Movement may hasten the realization of its goal of national independence and socialist development. Theoretical struggle is necessary because different ideas exist within the Movement - ideas which have their basis in the class forces which exist inside the nation - and it is thus an expression of class struggle within the nation and within the Movement.

For nearly thirty years the New Afrikan Independence Movement has led a revitalized theoretical struggle within the nation to further develop (and to make predominant), the line which asserts the strategic goal of national independence for Afrikan people inside present U.S. borders. This was not a new undertaking.

From the fifteenth century, at which time the colonial contradiction in the Western Hemisphere between Afrikan peoples and European settler-colonialists has its origins, the primary contradiction within the colonized nation has been expressed, on one side, by those who sought to assimilate themselves into the U.S. as, in effect, partners in imperialist oppression and plunder.

This historic struggle between those who "want in" and those of us who "want out," is more than a mere strategic difference between sectors of a single movement: Those who pursue national independence embrace one ideology and belong to one movement, and those who oppose this movement clearly belong to another and embrace a different ideology.

The other major movement of Afrikan people inside the U.S. is most often referred to as the "black liberation movement." Whatever this movement may be about, it is not about national liberation. If it were, then it would be described in terms of the nationality of the people pursuing their existence as a nation-state independent of the U.S.

It is extremely necessary that the New Afrikan Independence Movement assert, at every opportunity, its separate (national) identity from all movement which do not seek the establishment of a sovereign and independent state for Afrikans in the U.S., because the failure to do so will impede the national liberation struggle.

The question of national identity is uniquely important to Afrikans in the U.S., unlike most peoples who struggle for national liberation. The colonization of Afrikan peoples in the Western Hemisphere was facilitated by forms and techniques of oppression which were designed to undermine or destroy our original identities as peoples - peoples who shared similarities with each other, and who shared differences from the people of the oppressive settler-colonies.

So long as We maintain our sense of similarity between ourselves and the sense of difference from the oppressor (and the sense of dignity inherent in our sense of separate identity), then We will continue to resist oppression and fight to regain our independence as a people - a people separate and distinct from the oppressive state.

The distinct national identity of New Afrikans, when expressed by us as a group/movement/people, characterizes the fundamental contradiction which exists between our nation and the U.S. settler-imperialist state. Our form of national identification signals: 1) the actuality of our separateness; 2) our desire to be free of the culture of the U.S. and to be free of it political jurisdiction.

### Conscious and Unconscious New Afrikan Citizens

The New Afrikan Independence Movement recognizes two basic classes of citizens: 1) Unconscious; 2) Conscious. The Movement recognizes three categories of New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. prisons and jails: 1) Captured Citizens (unconscious); 2) Political Prisoners (conscious); 3) Prisoners of War (conscious).

Our stand ON New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. prisons and jails rests on our understanding of the different levels of consciousness and commitment among them, and upon recognition of the different kinds of activity that they were and/or engaged in.

The formal distinction between "Conscious" and "Unconscious" New Afrikan citizens was made - and the importance of the distinction was emphasized - in the first Article of the Code of Umoja, our nation's Constitution:

### Article I New Afrikan Citizenship

Section 1 - Citizenship by Birth: Each New Afrikan person born in America is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 2 - Citizenship By Parentage: Any child born to a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 3 - Citizenship By Naturalization: Any person not otherwise a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika may become a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika by completing the procedures of naturalization as provided by the People's Center Council.

**Section 4 - Pre-Ratification Citizenship Retained:** Each person who is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika at the time of the passage of this CODE OF UMOJA is hereafter a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

**Section 5 - Right to Choice of Citizenship:** Notwithstanding Sections 1,2,3, and 4 of Article 1, the right of any person to expressly deny or renounce his/her citizenship shall not be denied.

**Section 6 - Citizenship of Other Afrikans:** Persons of Afrikan descent, wherever their original place of birth or domicile in the world, have a right to New Afrikan Citizenship, as provided by the People's Center Council.

**Section 7 - Conscious Citizenship:** All citizens of the Republic of New Afrika who are aware of their citizenship are conscious New Afrikan citizens. As a result of an over 300 year-old policy of force and fraud used by the United States government and the governments of various American states against the New Afrikan nation, many citizens of the Republic of New Afrika are not aware of their human right to New Afrikan Citizenship and indeed are not aware of the existence of the New Afrikan nation in North America. The growth of a conscious New Afrikan citizenship is related to the success of the liberation struggle. The objective measurement of that growth shall be a consideration in the development and implementation of Provisional Government policy, programs and structure as determined by the People's Center Council.

One cannot fight for national independence if one is unaware of the very existence of the nation, i.e., if one's nationality is not New Afrikan. Unconscious citizens owe no permanent allegiance to the defined objectives of New Afrikan People, and they owe no allegiance to any organ of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, e.g., the Provisional Government, The New Afrikan People's Organization, the Spear and Shield Collective, or the New Afrikan Communist Organizing Committee.

Because New Afrikans are engaged in a struggle for national independence and socialism, and because of the Movement's relative weakness at present, its aim with regard to the U.S. prison system is not to reform it. We plan to secure the release of all New Afrikan citizens from U.S. prisons - but We will do so only as a consequence of successful national liberation revolution.

We will continue to struggle to secure the release of certain prisoners, and We will struggle to improve the treatment and the living conditions of captured citizens. However, the success of these efforts will themselves greatly depend upon our effective engagement in struggle in all spheres of the lives of the masses of New Afrikan people.

The Movement's major responsibility toward imprisoned unconscious citizens is, at this time, to promote New Afrikan consciousness, and to involve them in structured activity that will promote the further development of the Movement and its struggle for national independence.

#### New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War

New Afrikans held by the U.S. as Political Prisoners and those held as Prisoners of War, are Conscious Citizens of the nation, i.e., they are conscious fighters of a people struggling against colonialism and for national self-determination and independent state power. New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War

have sworn a general allegiance to the nation and its objectives, and sworn a particular allegiance to one of the formations of New Afrikan Independence Movement.

The primary distinction presently drawn by the Movement between New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War is that the latter are classified as the armed forces of the nation. New Afrikan Prisoners of War are armed anti-colonial combatants; they are members of structured military arms of political organizations; they are commanded by persons responsible for their subordinates; they adhere to international humanitarian law, i.e., they meet all criteria of said law, and they should be accorded Prisoner of War status and treatment by the U.S.