



*Essays by Comrade Triumphant*

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# Preface

Triumphant is one of the myriads of prisoners in the United States who have joined the mass organization *United Struggle Within* (USW) and taken up Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) as their guiding ideology for struggle and revolution. During eir time spent as a revolutionary inside the belly of the beast, Comrade Triumphant has led campaigns against censorship, torture, and brutality in the facilities ey has been in. In good Maoist fashion, ey always criticized and self-criticized as ey saw fit, and didn't hold back out of personal friendship or pride. In this sense, Comrade Triumphant is not only a revolutionary that leads the imprisoned masses, but one that communists everywhere should listen to.

This zine is a selection of essays written by Comrade Triumphant on the topic of the New Afrikan (Black) nation. The core essays take us through a summary of the class development of New Afrika, the various political movements that came from those different classes, and how they approached the national question in a land where nation is the principal contradiction. Additional pieces apply this historical materialist analysis of the past to many of the ideas in our movement today to provide the spear point for our movement, which is our most advanced scientific understanding. For New Afrika to achieve true independence and self-determination this understanding must take concrete form in a disciplined communist party.

Comrade Triumphant's essays in this pamphlet hold high value for not only New Afrikans in the United States, but all oppressed nations seeking liberation from imperialism. Part one covers specific essays on the national question, and part two covers news articles by Triumphant that have been published previously in *Under Lock and Key* – MIM(Prisons)' official newsletter free for prisoners. The art has been compiled from the various submissions we have received from comrades inside.

- *Plastick of MIM(Prisons)*

## About us

### What is the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons?

MIM(Prisons) is a cell of revolutionaries serving the oppressed masses inside U.\$. prisons. We uphold the revolutionary communist ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and work from the vantage point of the Third World proletariat. Our ideology is based in dialectical materialism, which means we work from objective reality to direct change rather than making decisions based on our subjective feelings about things.

Our name stems from the legacy of the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), and their party based in North America that did most of the prisoner support work that is the focus of what we now do. When that party degenerated, the movement turned to a cell-based strategy that we uphold as more correct than a centralized party given our conditions in the United States today. Defining our organization as a cell means that we are independent of other organizations, but see ourselves as part of a greater Maoist movement within the United States and globally.

We believe **imperialism is the number one enemy** of the majority of the world's people; we cannot achieve our goal of ending all oppression without overthrowing imperialism. History has shown that the imperialists will wage war before they will allow an end to oppression. Revolution will become a reality within the United States as the military becomes over-extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony.

As revolutionary internationalists, we support the self-determination of all nations and peoples. We support nations which choose to delink from the imperialist economy, including the right of the internal semi-colonies to secede from the United States. Today, the U.\$. prison system is a major part of the imperialist state used to prevent the self-determination of oppressed nations. It is for this reason that we see prisoners in this country as being at the forefront of any anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement.

Within U.\$. borders, the principal contradiction is between imperialism and the oppressed nations. Our enemies call us racists for pointing out that the white oppressor nation historically exploited and continues to oppress other nations within the United States. But race is a made-up idea to justify oppression through ideas of inferiority. Nation is a concept based in reality that is defined by a group's land, language, economy and culture. Individuals from oppressed nations taking up leadership roles within imperialist Amerika does not negate this analysis. The average conditions of the oppressed nations are still significantly different from the oppressor nation overall.

MIM(Prisons) expresses general unity with all other groups and outbreaks against imperialism; mass movements against oppression have as many forms as forms of power. In this spirit, we insist on telling the uncompromising truth and discussing and criticizing the strategy and tactics of any given action. MIM(Prisons) encourages everyone, communist or not, to be involved in the struggle against imperialism.

Our focus on prisoner support is not a dividing line question for us. In fact, we believe that there is a dire need for Maoists to do organizing and educational work in many areas in the United States. We

hope some people are inspired by our example around prisons and apply it to their own work to create more Maoist cells and broaden the Maoist movement behind enemy lines.

MIM(Prisons) distinguishes ourselves from other groups on the six points below. We consider other organizations actively upholding these points to be fraternal.

1. **Communism is our goal.** Communism is a society where no group has power over any other group.
2. **Dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary.** In a dictatorship of the proletariat the formerly exploited majority dictates to the minority (who promoted exploitation) how society is to be run. In the case of imperialist nations, a Joint Dictatorship of the Proletariat of the Oppressed Nations (JDPON) must play this role where there is no internal proletariat or significant mass base that favors communism.
3. **We promote a united front with all who oppose imperialism.** The road to the JDPON over the imperialist nations involves uniting all who can be united against imperialism. We cannot fight imperialism and fight others who are engaged in life-and-death conflicts with imperialism at the same time. Even imperialist nation classes can be allies in the united front under certain conditions.
4. **A parasitic class dominates the First World countries.** As Marx, Engels and Lenin formulated and MIM Thought has reiterated through materialist analysis, imperialism extracts super-profits from the Third World and in part uses this wealth to buy off whole populations of so-called workers. These so-called workers bought off by imperialism form a new petty-bourgeoisie called the labor aristocracy; they are not a vehicle for Maoism. Those who work in the economic interests of the First World labor aristocracy form the mass base for imperialism's tightening death-grip on the Third World.
5. **New bourgeoisies will form under socialism.** Mao led the charge to expose the bourgeoisie that developed within the communist party in the Soviet Union and the campaign to bombard the headquarters in his own country of China. Those experiences demonstrated the necessity of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class struggle does not end until the state has been abolished and communism is reached.
6. **The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was the furthest advancement toward communism in history.** We uphold the Soviet Union until the death of Stalin in 1953, followed by the People's Republic of China through 1976 as the best examples of modern socialism in practice. The arrest of the "Gang of Four" in China and the rise of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union marked the restoration of capitalism in those countries. Other experiments in developing socialism in the 20th century failed to surpass the Soviet model (i.e. Albania), or worse, stayed within the capitalist mode of production, generally due to a failure to break with the Theory of Productive Forces.

## **What is United Struggle from Within?**

United Struggle from Within (USW) is a MIM(Prisons)-led mass organization for current and former U.\$. prisoners. USW is explicitly anti-imperialist in leading campaigns on behalf of U.\$. prisoners in alliance with national liberation struggles in the United States and around the world.

USW won't champion struggles which are not in the interests of the international proletariat. USW will also not choose one nation's struggles over other oppressed nations' struggles. USW should work independently, but under the guidance of MIM(Prisons) to build public opinion and independent institutions of the oppressed in order to obtain state power independent of imperialism. Members don't have to agree with MIM(Prisons)'s cardinal points (see above) but they can't consciously disagree with any of them.

## **Part One: POWER TO NEW AFRIKA!**



# 1. ARE YOU NEW AFRIKAN? THE ANSWER MAY SURPRISE YOU.



A crowd of New Afrikans gather with one man holding a newsletter with Malcolm X's message on the front page.

The author offers this piece to hopefully provide understanding surrounding frequent queries regarding the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) and the New Afrikan national identity.

The term and national identification of New Afrikan dates back to March 31st, 1968. On that date a national “Black” nationalist convention ensued in Detroit, Michigan. That

national convention was years in the making, which illustrates that the nationalist tendency among Afrikan descendants did not begin with the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA) on the above date.

In his 1964 speech ‘Ballot or the Bullet’ Malcolm X said:

*“And in this manner, the organizations will increase in number and quality, and by August, it is then our intention to have a Black nationalist convention which will consist of delegates from all over the country who are interested in the political, economic and social philosophy of Black nationalism ... And at that time, if we see fit then to form a Black nationalist party, we’ll form a Black nationalist party. If it is necessary to form a Black nationalist army, we’ll form a Black nationalist army.” [1]*

The development of the Revolutionary Action Movement and eventually the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense established in 1966 and the coast-to-coast networks that these organizations and other sub-groups within that development allowed for the advancement Malcolm spoke of.

The advancement in ‘quantity and in quality’ that Malcolm spoke of was a firm reality by 1968, and the convention of March 1968 saw the establishment of the confirmation of Malcolm’s vision. On

that date the PG-RNA was founded, and the new Afrikan Declaration of Independence was ratified. The five hundred plus delegates present at the convention signed this declaration and took an oath to uphold the aims listed within the Declaration. Our esteemed ancestor, Queen Mother Moore-El, from New Iberia, Louisiana, was the first signer of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence. Finally, at that convention the nation of New Afrika was determined. The Black Panther Party has also founded itself around this time in 1966 which speaks to the next stage in which New Afrika's revolutionary movement headed towards a higher stage.

Also in 1968, in the month of August, another revolutionary nationalist convention was held – this one in Philadelphia, at which time the Afrikan People's Party (APP) was founded. This is significant to showcase the persistence of the nationalist tendency among New Afrikans, those Afrikan descendants in amerikkka. For this was only four months after Dr. MLK's assassination, and thus shows the direction the 'woke' masses desired to advance the movement towards.

The PG-RNA did not waste time. In its first year of existence the RNA petitioned the U.S. in pursuit of secession. In the immediate aftermath of the PG-RNA's petition for a land grant on the merits of the initial reparations promise (40 acres and a mule), the federal and state pigs began to attack New Afrikans. At the 1st anniversary of the founding of the PG-RNA, pigs attempted to ambush a public gathering in Detroit at New Bethel Baptist Church (Aretha Franklin's father's church) where over 140 people were in attendance. The ambush ended with one dead pig and one wounded, no New Afrikans were imprisoned, after pigs dumped over 400 rounds into the church.

The PG-RNA and its citizens continued to attempt to obtain land within the determined national territory using legal means, only to be derailed by enemy sabotage via COINTELPRO. In a December 2nd, 1970 memorandum from the Special Agent in Charge in Jackson, Mississippi to J. Edgar Hoover, it states:

***Counter Intelligence Operations Being Effected, Tangible Results (Republic of New Afrika):***

*Since March 1968 ... the RNA has been trying to buy and lease land in Mississippi ... Counter intelligence measures have been able to abort all RNA efforts to obtain land in Mississippi. [2]*

So in light of all the above, what or who is a New Afrikan? A conscious New Afrikan is one who has taken the oath mentioned above, one who has declared themselves “forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of Amerika, and the obligation which that country’s unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens, placed upon us.” [3]

The New Afrikan is a conscious participant of the NAIM; they may or may not be a communist, some are anarchist, autonomous, or Muslims. Moreover, New Afrikans are not only nationally minded but internationalist as well. New Afrikans are also revolutionary Pan-Afrikanists.

The above illustrates the Conscious Participants of the NAIM. Those who work to establish an independent territory within the current borders of the U.S. There are also New Afrikans who are not conscious of their historical national identity. Some of these actually reject their Afrikaness and these types are usually Uncle Tom, petty bourgeois and national bourgeoisie elements who’re truly enemies of the People. The unconscious New Afrikans identity with terms such as “Negro”, “Afro-American”, “American”, “Afro-descendants”, “African-American”. As Malcolm X stated, these are those, “trying to crawl back onto the plantation”. New Afrika and the Nationalist Tendency: The key contradiction within the New Afrikan nation (I’m speaking on both conscious and unconscious elements) is that of independence versus integration. We can call this New Afrikans versus house n\*\*\*\*as, and on a philosophical note, historical dialectical materialist versus post-modernist thought. New Afrikan citizens must not view the integrationist tendency with a liberal eye. For without successfully struggling against this tendency in all its manifestations, New Afrikan independence will be only a pipe dream.

First, it is paramount that we acknowledge that there are both objective and subjective conditions which allow the integrationist, “Black” Amerikan tendency to be the primary or leading aspect of this contradiction. Throughout the history of our existence in the Western hemisphere, external forces have mandated and carried out policies and tactics to rupture our ties (subjective & objective) to the Afrikan continent. Over time, our internal forces acted in the same light, so much so that it became and remains an act of resistance to reconnect any ties to one’s Afrikan identity. Through the brutalities of enslavement and the subsequent hoarding of capital by the United Snakes, the

subjective and objective conditions emerged to allow the tendency to de-Afrikanize one's people to flourish. For at such point in time, Afrikans in this hemisphere had adopted, both willingly and forcefully, the cultural tenets of the oppressor nation and lived in a more developed land and society, although we weren't allowed to benefit completely from this advanced development. Furthermore, there are also objective and subjective realities which allow for the existence of the revolutionary nationalist and/or independence tendency among New Afrikans. "As long as there's New Afrikan People, who struggle against national oppression and oppression in all other forms, there'll be a need for the higher expression of 'the People's beat', i.e. the need for a [New Afrikan] Party." [4]

Objectively, there is no New Afrikan Political body supported by the masses today. This reality is rooted in the objective failures of comrades from decades ago, particularly in the high tide of the 1960s and 1970s. Following their initial successes, "vanguard forces manifested the ideological deficiency in struggle not only against the empire, but also in struggle against pseudo- and petty bourgeois forces inside the nation." [5] New Afrikans, since that epoch, have failed to sum up the lessons from the internal deficiencies of the past and have therefore lost in the battle of ideas. As stated above, the independence-versus-integration contradiction among semi-colonized nations, boils down to a dialectic between historical dialectical materialism versus post-modernist philosophy. The 'war for the New Afrikan mind', as coined by the New Afrikan Liberation Collective, must be the chief focus of each and every New Afrikan cadre today. In these ideological battles, we must focus on (1) strengthening and spreading national consciousness in order to reinforce the New Afrikan National identity by using dialectical materialism to ground our nationalism, (2) the development and use of ideas to inspire and guide the construction and operation of ideological principles and institutions.

Furthermore, the internal characteristics (the impetus of change as Comrade Mao explained through dialectical materialism) of the tendency toward national independence exists and has existed since before the advent of the transatlantic slave trade. This tendency has developed through internal and external contradictions to arrive at its current stage. For those who're New Afrikans, those who follow the national independence tendency, "there's never been a national 'question' for us, only a task, a goal: the struggle to regain our independence as a separate People with interests that oppose those of the empire." [6] The conditions which allow the persistent existence of the nationalist

tendency revolves around the fact that, “the New Afrikan struggle to regain independence has taken place in two fundamental stages: (a) the stages of colonialism most commonly referred to as ‘chattel slavery, (b) the stage of neo-colonialism, from 1865 to the present.” [7] “During the first stage of the struggle, it was essentially a struggle of the whole nation against the oppressor nation and for the national independence. During the second stage, it has been a struggle for the majority of the nation against the oppressor nation for national independence and socialism; and also a struggle of a minority of the nation for ‘equality within the capitalist system’ and to impose that definition of what they want upon the majority.” [8]. First, we will establish the following analysis of Our nationalism on the basis of our continued colonization and resistance to genocide.

The American Heritage Dictionary defines a “colony” as a “group of emigrants settled in a distant land but subject to a parent country; 2. A territory thus settled; 3. Any region politically controlled by another country.” Clearly, New Afrikans collectively fall under the description of a colony or colonized nation. To be particular, and even more precise in regards to our status as a national subject to colonial domination, we’re presently in a precise neo-colonialism and have been at least since the triumph of the civil rights era, which ended legal segregation. Our neo-colonial status had distinct qualities but also similar to other neo-colonies internationally. In similarities we are also dictated to, directly, by a class of comprador bourgeois elements. These look like Stacey Abrams, Barack Obama, Michael Jordan, and others who act as a go between between for the New Afrikan masses and the bourgeoisie of the Amerikan ruling class. Our particular characteristics of neo-colonialism was the fact that due to our internal placement within United States’ borders, We are not an economically exploited nation anymore. Instead our freedom is compromised by our inability to freely develop outside of the Amerikan imperialist economy, politics, and bourgeois hegemony.

Some comrades say that “neo-colony” or “semi-colony” are more appropriate terms due to our position in the First World, but the point still stands and we can all agree: New Afrika is colonized. The reader can clearly ponder on the consistent injustices suffered by New Afrikan people, which at their cost are derived from our dependence (politically, economically, socially) on outside, alien forces; this is the objective evidence of our colonization and thus of our national reality and need for National independence and socialism. The same source defines “genocide” as, “1. The systemic annihilation of a racial, political, or cultural group.”.

Next, we must look to the U.\$. Civil War, which was carried out to ensure industrial domination over agriculture. As New Afrikans became the decisive force of that war (both through our military prowess and a general strike of workers (slaves) walking off the plantation and/or refusing to work and thereby undermining the KKKonfederate economy), lands were confiscated throughout the KKKonfederacy and put into the hands of the New Afrikans. This act was no act of charity or goodwill. Rather, it was in accordance with “Special Order 15”, part of a reparations package consisting of forty acres and a mule for those New Afrikans who fought for Our independence from the slave economy. New Afrikans demanded this as part of Our compensation for the decisive role we played in the war and it was approved by Abe Lincoln. It was with the above knowledge that the founding citizens of the RNA outlined five states that were formerly KKKonfederate states as our National territory, the Republic of New Afrika (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina). As the hystorical pattern goes, every time the colonized nation of Afrikans in ameriKKKa (or ANY colonized nation in the United \$tates for that matter) make social political and socioeconomic advancement, the U.\$. bourgeoisie and its managerial class (labor aristocrat/petty bourgeoisie) clamp down on its state-sanctioned terrorism, national suppression, as is common of an imperialist (anti-freedom) empire. And as the pattern goes, “repression breeds resistance”. On February 5, 1866, Senator Charles Sumner addressed the Senate: “...Now the moment has come when the vows must be fulfilled to the letter. In securing the equal rights of the freedmen and his participation in the government which he is taxed to support, we shall perform our early promise of the fathers, and at the same time the supplementary promises only recently made to the freed men as the condition of alliance and also against the rebellion. A failure to perform these promises is political and moral bankruptcy.” [9]

As we know, now over a century later, this “promise” has not been acted on, and the reason it hasn’t is due to the inherent parasitic nature of the U.\$. empire. A delegation of twenty New Afrikan leaders during the Civil War met with General Sherman of the Union. When asked if they preferred to be part of the U.\$. or live separately, nineteen of twenty said, “live by ourselves.” [10] The U.\$. government (Union) quickly handed over the confiscated land to the New Afrikans who worked it and killed for their liberation (independence). Eventually, President Andrew Johnson would oversee the strategic re-establishment of white supremacy in the South, and consolidated ameriKKKan white nationalism, and returned to its former policy with regard to New Afrikans prior to the Civil War: that of exploitation and colonization. Johnson’s advisor, Carl Schurz, observed, “The

emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only insofar as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up. But although the freed man is no longer considered property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all independent state legislation will share the tendency to make him such. The ordinances abolishing slavery passed by the conventions under pressure of circumstance will not be looked upon as barring the establishment of a new form of servitude.” [11] Thus we can see the economic component making our continued national subjugation necessary for the imperialists.

Today, the New Afrikan continues to play an important role in the realization of wealth for the U\$. bourgeoisie. This is seen in the realm of entertainment where New Afrikan culture is produced for the benefit of white Amerikkkan profits (and pleasure), and not serving the interests of the people from which it originated. New Afrikans are also found disproportionately in many distribution/service industries that are integral to Amerikkkan consumerism. Yet, today, we are no longer, for the most part, exploited workers; we are also consumers of goods that have been produced, for the most part, by exploited workers in other countries. We benefit from the higher wages and lower prices in the United States. Yet our consumerism is rooted in the reality of property relations, and it will remain so until National Independence and Socialism are achieved. Thus, forms of actions like Black-owned record labels aren’t powerful enough to solve this contradiction despite its influence and stronghold in national culture. Historically, these forms of New Afrikan led companies were in fact integral to make certain Amerikan consumer products easier to be sold to the New Afrikan masses to the benefit of Amerikan markets and corporations – not actually keep the wealth in the New Afrikan nation as the pro-black capitalist theory has hypothesized.

In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War and subsequent decades, the reality of Our re-enslavement was easily observed and therefore the independence tendency gained traction and held prominence. Henry Adams testified before the U\$. Senate Committee on Petitions on behalf of “Black” independence-seekers (New Afrikans) who filed a petition in 1874 in Louisiana and Mississippi, “Well in that petition, we appealed there if nothing could be done to stop the turmoil and strife, and give us our rights in the South, we appealed then at that time for a territory that could be set apart for us to live in peace and quiet.” [12] It is important to point out that from the end of the Civil War in 1863 until 1868, when the 14th Amendment was ratified, that New Afrikans were

not citizens of the United States or any other recognized government body. During those five years, New Afrikans were sovereign, independent land holders in the South. New Afrikans were FORCED to accept U.S. citizenship without our proper informed consent, as the re-consolidated Union looked to spread the market of racist-industrial capitalism into the Southern and Western regions of what is now the United States. Since that time, various persons and groups have arisen among the New Afrikan Populace and sought to reclaim and regain Our promised land and Our former position as sovereign, independent New Afrikan nationals.

In the 1920s, Marcus Garvey and the UNIA organized 5 million Afrikans in an effort to return to Afrika. The United States' strategically targeted Garvey and upon convicting him of federal mail fraud, confiscated his ship line (utilized to bring Afrikans back to Afrika) and a rubber plantation in Liberia, selling them to Firestone, B.F. Goodrich. This showcased their true motive for attacking him, to quell the nationalist and Pan-Afrikanist tendencies of the Afrikan diaspora. Since 1940, Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam (NOI) sought land for Afrikans in the United States. The original Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, in their original tenth point of its ten-point program and platform, called for, "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace. And as our main political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black People as to their national destiny." [13] The above version of the tenth point is not often disseminated. As many Huey P. Newton loyalists and inter-communal disciples are adverse to the revolutionary nationalist tendency just as Newton became after his release from prison, at which time he began to be guided by idealist and post-modernist philosophies which denigrated his faction of the BPP into reformism. In the end, no faction of the BPP handled the two line struggle well as Eldridge Cleaver promoted adventurism and abandoned revolutionary politics altogether for conservative electoral politics.

In the 1890s, Thomas Fortune and the National Afro-American League championed the cause of a separate nation for New Afrikan people. In the 1870s, New Afrikan people in Mississippi and Louisiana petitioned congress for a separate territory. The first permanent residents after the First Nation Peoples in what is now the United States were slaves that rebelled against Spanish enslavers, won their independence and joined the Native Peoples in what is now S. Carolina, in 1526. All this is to showcase that the desire and tendency to seek National independence is a long-standing one



amongst Afrikan descendants in North America, and that the current national identification of “New Afrikan” signifies the continual development of the national reality that is New Afrika. It is the duty of all citizens of New Afrika to disseminate this version of our hystorical quest for liberation from imperialism and ameriKKKan domination. We must win the “war for the New Afrikan mind” before we will win a Protracted Peoples war for independence and socialism.

### **An Analysis of New Afrikan National Development:**

First off, it is a must that We clarify that New Afrikan revolutionary nationalism is not a mere response or reaction to white racism. Many elements, both within the nation and without, perpetuate this incorrect, metaphysical notion. This notion undermines the New Afrikan struggle by blanketing our movement as racist and reactionary.

This notion is incorrect because it is metaphysical and it is metaphysical because it fails to take into account the independent internal development of the New Afrikan nation. That is, that development that was not caused by the national oppression and exploitation of New Afrika. The process of development for New Afrika as a distinct nation within the confines of ameriKKKa must be analyzed using the method of dialectical-materialism. Dialectical-materialism tells us that change must come primarily from within. Thus to truly grasp the reality of a New Afrikan nation in the western hemisphere, it is necessary to begin back on the Afrikan continent, particularly West Afrika, where most of our captive ancestors were taken prisoner from. It is important to realize that West Afrikan peoples such as the Yoruba, Ibo, Dahomey, Ashanti, Wolof, Mandinka, and many others had developed distinct city-states, kingdoms and empires. Our People had Our own political and social systems, land, language, cultural customs, and economics that were relatively advanced. These were self-determined Free People. Would-be New Afrikans were not a blank slate, nor a docile monolith, when Europeans ripped them from the African continent. Dialectical-materialism describes the internal change of a phenomenon as a transformation from quantitative change to qualitative change. That means that many smaller changes over time eventually result in a new form of the phenomenon. As civilizations with relatively advanced economics, these African peoples had developed class divisions, and the Maafa only influenced the development of the productive forces and thus only influenced class relations within New Afrika by way of partially paralyzing the free development of the classes which had already existed. Even prior to arrival on ameriKKKan shores,

New Afrika began to form. That is to say that the first quantitative changes began to take place during the middle passages. Alex Haley's "Roots" epic illustrates wonderfully how during the middle passages, the various Afrikan captives began to collaborate to attempt to overcome language barriers, overlook religious (Islamic-Christianity) differences, and gender separatism, in order to REGAIN their freedom, that is, their free development. The qualitative leap that was the forging of a new nation occurred as Afrikans held captive in the western hemisphere could no longer relate to each other on the basis of Our old Afrikan identities (Yoruba, Ibo, Dahomey, Ashanti, Wolof, Mandinka, etc.). We instead related to each other on the basis of Our captivity and particularly Our collective desire to REGAIN Our freedom. That is, Our free development, Our INDEPENDENCE.

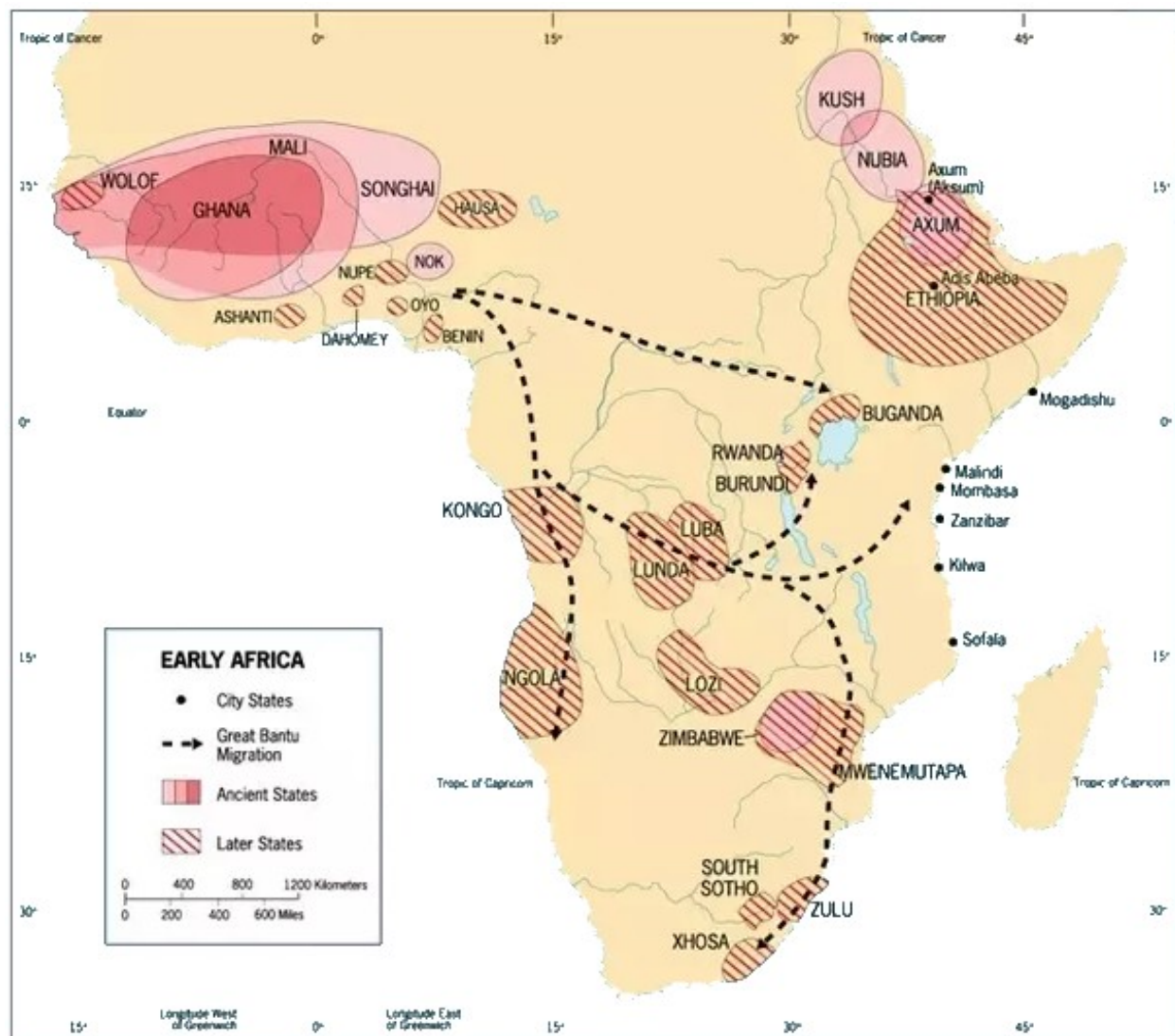


Figure 1: Pre-colonial African empires and kingdoms; and the Great Bantu Migration

Also, it is paramount to acknowledge here that in relating to each other on the basis of Our captivity (a new qualitative development) and Our collective desire to REGAIN independence, and to see all of Us as able to exercise said Independence, that We related in a qualitatively NEW way. A New

Afrikan way. Why a New Afrikan way? you may ask. Well, simply put as recorded: Our captors instituted a strategy to ensure Our continued national exploitation and subjugation via the policies restricting slave labor to Afrikans as well as policies mandating that only Afrikans would be born into slavery. Thus this paralysis on the free development of the productive forces was unique to Afrikans, making the ways that we related to each other a NEW Afrikan way. To restate it more clearly and precise, we'll quote Comrade Atiba Shanna here:

“...the role of the social productive forces in the development of social relation in continental Afrikan societies, influencing the moves away from communal ownership to private ownership and appropriation, and the emergence of class-based social distinctions. Such development was in process prior to European contact, arising on the basis of conditions particular to indigenous social formations. New Afrikan colonial oppression [slavery] merely manifests the ‘partial paralysis’ of this process which nevertheless continued to develop under conditions of oppression, but was now distorted as the result of the loss of the FREE OPERATION of the national productive forces.” [14]

Atiba continues,

“the development of class structure in the New Afrikan nation didn't begin on the North Amerikan continent, but on the Afrikan continent; the development of productive forces on the Afrikan continent had already reached a level leading to class divisions, e.g., ‘the potentiality of such development was already contained in its evolutionary process’. Colonization in the U.\$. merely influenced the particular form that class relations inside the New Afrikan nation have taken, and partially paralyzed their ‘speed’ and ‘course’ which accounts for the existence of MATERIALLY-BASED differences in interest among New Afrikans, from the Colonial Period to the, i.e., ‘integrationist’ and the ‘nationalist’ trends. Thus, We see the error in the ‘nationalism is a response to white racism line’ because it is (1) a misuse of the dialectical-materialist philosophy and method of analysis, (2) it reinforces neo-colonialism, distorts and seeks to liquidate the inherent drive toward a renewed/independent national existence derived from the state of independence prior to colonial bondage...” [15]

Who are ‘We’:

“‘The People’, for us, are any and all of the children of our land who struggle against Portuguese colonialism [U.\$. imperialism] and who cooperate either overtly or covertly with Our Party. Those who are against the struggle and against the Party, those who serve the Portuguese colonialists [amerikan imperialists] or in any other way seek to destroy Our Party, do not deserve to be counted among Our People. They are not Our People.” — Amilcar Cabral [16].

Despite the damages done by slavery and the subsequent national subjugation of our People, there is a sufficient source of foundational tools for a New Afrikan national reality and identity right here in

the confines of north amerika. As it stands, the previously mentioned Afrikan peoples were not utterly destroyed but merely transformed and those of Us brought over here captive and against Our will have not been destroyed. Our Afrikanness has not been destroyed; it has been transplanted and transformed. We, the captive nation of Afrikans, in this hemisphere, were independent and self-determined and were forced into national dependency, thus Our social and productive relations have been distorted and suppressed. It is prerequisite that Afrikans in this hemisphere study, grasp, identify, analyze, reinterpret Our hystory, which is Our Story. It is prerequisite because some of Us after five centuries of subjugation no longer possess the inherent drive to be independent. We don't desire to REGAIN Our sovereignty because We don't identify ourselves as having ever been an independent, self-governing body of People. Thus, We accept the continued national oppression because most of Us have divorced ourselves from Our Afrikan roots. It is a must that i pinpoint here that i am not promoting any form of cultural nationalism. Quite the contrary, what i am promoting is the need to reclaim Our INDEPENDENT identity, Our freely developed identity, thereby developing Our connection to Our Nation (New Afrika), not the nation/empire of our hystoric oppressors (ameriKKKa). "And who are We? Some of US were 'slaves' wanting 'equality with the slave master', while others were Afrikans, wanting to REGAIN their independence. Some of US were 'coloreds' wanting the 'freedom' enjoyed by the settlers, while others were still Afrikans, wanting 'some land of our own'. Some of US were 'negroes', wanting the vote so we could participate in meaningless elections, while others were still Afrikans or New Afrikans, wanting a 'Black belt republic'. Some of US were 'black ameriKKKans', wanting to acquire 'black capitalist power' by being allowed 'parity' in an alleged pluralistic society, while others were still Afrikan or New Afrikans, wanting national liberation and socialism." [17].

**In conclusion:** By now, the reader should begin to grasp that, for five centuries, New Afrikan People have been engaged in a protracted war to REGAIN Our National independence. That is to say to REGAIN the ability to freely develop for Ourselves the social and economic relations of Our People. This protracted war, which has varied in intensity over time, was initiated by acts of war on behalf of euro-ameriKKKkan capital accumulation. Thus the fundamental contradiction between the oppressed New Afrikan nation and the oppressor settler empire now known as the United States of ameriKKKa, was formed and still remains in varied intensity. The changed form of oppression (slavery, peonage, Jim Crow, ghetto-poverty, police terrorism, disproportionate punishments, etc.) and the varied levels of intensity at a given phase of this war doesn't signify the ending or non-

existence of the war. This is because war is the highest expression of contradictions and as long as the contradiction between the ameriKKKan empire and the captive, colonized New Afrikan nation remains, We will continue to see some form or expression of oppression—national oppression—at varied intensity. To end said national oppression, we must resolve the contradiction, and since this contradiction began with Our forced dependence—national dependence—it will only be resolved when We achieve independence (on a national scale) from capitalist-imperialist relations of all kinds.

Accordingly, it should be apparent that the nationalist tendency within the fundamental contradiction is materially-based, clearly on the demands of the fundamental contradiction and not merely a “Black-racist reaction”. Furthermore, We would be remiss if We neglected to state that the integrationist tendency is materially-based as well. In the final analysis, one’s adoption of either depends on one’s particular class make-up and class consciousness (internal dynamics). Comrade Assata Shakur called Malcolm X “the father of Our New Afrikan nation”, and he articulated the above point this way: “if you are afraid of [New Afrikan] nationalism, you’re afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love [New Afrikan] nationalism.” [18]

Atiba breaks it down thusly,

“Underlying the integrationist tendency is the desire to perpetuate capitalist relations and to become part of ameriKKKa rather than undermine it. The integrationists do not oppose the capitalist-imperialist system as such; they’re just uptight because they don’t get ‘proportionate share’ in the privileges and spoils of the empire, and would like to see oppression and exploitation ‘at home’ and abroad take place in a more ‘humane and democratic fashion’. It is by breaking with this bourgeois tradition the new movement must show its most distinguishing characteristics.” [19]

The ‘new movement’ mentioned by Comrade Atiba is a New Afrikan Communist (MLM) Vanguard Party, functioning semi-underground, under the philosophy of dialectical-materialism and the political slogan/line of “RE-BUILD”, as opposed to the FOCO-BLA slogan/line of “Build to Win”.

The revolutionary nationalist tendency within the fundamental contradiction between New Afrika and the ameriKKKan empire can be summarized as follows: “Just as the New Afrikan struggle for socialism seeks to re-establish in contemporary forms the principles underlying Afrikan Communalism [primitive communism, not to be confused with modern ‘intercommunalism’]. Similarly, the new movement seeks to express in contemporary fashion the orientation and style of

the nation during the colonial [slavery] period. The orientation is genuinely nationalist (as opposed to those so-called nationalists who are really ethnic pluralists) and the style was furtive..." [20]

So in closing, We, New Afrikans, are likened to those 'field negroes' who wanted to get away, separate from the oppressor and REGAIN their own humynity by REGAINING what they knew they had lost, their social, political, cultural, and national independence and the necessary LAND to RE-BUILD said independence.

### **Are you a New Afrikan?**

#### Sources:

1. *Malcolm X Speaks*, "Ballot or the Bullet", pg. 41
2. *Agents of Repression*, W. Churchill, Chapter 2, pg. 59.
3. Ibid
4. Spear and Shield Pub., *Vita Wa Watu*, book twelve, pg. 14
5. Ibid, pg. 28
6. Ibid, pg. 29
7. Ibid, pg. 29
8. Ibid, pg. 29
9. *A Soldier's Story*, Kuwasi Balagoon, Brinks Trial Opening Statement, pg. 108
10. Ibid
11. Ibid
12. Ibid, pg. 104
13. *An Updated History of the New Afrikan Prison Struggle*, Sundiata Acoli
14. Spear and Shield Publishing, *Vita Wa Watu*, book twelve, pg. 30
15. Ibid
16. *Guinea-Bissau: A study of Political Mobilization*
17. Spear and Shield Publishing, *Vita Wa Watu*, book twelve, pg. 31
18. *Malcolm X Speaks*, "Message to the Grassroots", pg. 10
19. Spear and Shield Publishing, *Vita Wa Watu*, book twelve, pg. 32
20. Ibid

## 2. COMBATING BAD IDEAS IN THE NEW AFRIKAN NATION PT. 1



Power to the New Afrikan Nation!

The question of nationality has always been a controversial topic among New Afrikan/Black people in the confines of the U.\$. empire. Recently there has been discussion among comrades and people of Our nationality who identify as something besides “New Afrikan” as to what the “actual” identity of Our nation is. New Afrikans (conscious citizens) seem to have the most advanced and materialist outlook on this question while other bodies within Our nation tend to cling dogmatically to one form of metaphysics and cultural nationalism or another. However, it is essential that we New Afrikans engage these elements in ideological struggle, not allowing petty differences such as a mere name to separate us in an antagonistic manner.

We should have strategic and ideological confidence and by having such, We should invest time in allowing these other “nationalists” to compare ideologies through the process of unity-struggle-unity. Below We list a general outline of how comrades may possibly combat these other outlooks and win over Our peers to the ideology of revolutionary nationalism.

1. Comrades, one of the keys to proselytizing Our peers has nothing to do with what We are actually talking about – it has to do with *how* We approach Our peers. It does not benefit Our cause to approach the situation in an antagonistic manner. We wanna take the opportunity to *learn from* the masses, not assume a posture as if We know everything and Our views are all

that there is. What We have witnessed here is Comrades approaching discussions with the masses of Our people with an attitude that stems from Our die hard gang bang days.

Comrades must practice leaving that mentality in the past and approach these “nationalists” as what they are to us – countrymen/wimmin and potential comrades. We must set the standard for social relations for the future independent nation now.

2. Comrades should, if possible and given their conditions, initiate a group cipher session, wherein all serious adherents of the various “nationalist” groups can come together in an assembly format and initiate ideological discussions, focusing on the differences after illuminating Our similarities. If comrades can pull such a function off, that means peace is at a relative high at the locale and comrades should capitalize on that. It is important that We note here that leaders from each sector should be compelled to verbally articulate, if possible, the basic agenda(s) or program(s) of their ideological bent. We note this because it is important to allow Our peers to give account as to what their particular school of thought is struggling for, and more importantly if they/We are living up to what We are supposedly for. Furthermore, at these ciphers, each group should share what they feel are the key issues/contradictions that ail Our people. It must be stressed that We are all one people regardless of the names and/or ideological bent that we adhere to. Our articulated goal of organizing such an assembly should be to advance a correct line for the liberation of Our nation. Such is something all parties should be able to agree on.
3. Comrades, when We expound on the concept of New Afrikan revolutionary nationalism, We elucidate upon the philosophy of historical and dialectical materialism, and its significance to the development of Our nation. Focus less on the name or identity of “New Afrikan” and more on the material development of New Afrika.
4. Comrades, after clearly articulating and struggling on the above point, We should have won over Our peers to the materialist conception of the development of the nation. This may take multiple ciphers, and that is fine. As long as We have an audience, We elucidate our line. In fact, the more frequent the ciphers are assembled, the more we develop working unity among each other. Next, We must compare the efficiency of Our different ideologies by comparing the historical record of the development of the nation and which practice has been the most



effective at advancing our people towards **FREEDOM**. We must demarcate between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism and allow Our historical track record to speak for itself.

5. Comrades, while practicing unity-struggle-unity, it is advantageous to build/practice unity by implementing tactics that increase the material conception of collectiveness among Ourselves and the other “nationalists.” These can include such things as sponsoring a “**COMM-UNITY MEAL**” after ciphers, where Our people can relax after debate, chill, kick it, and share a meal together. We, New Afrikans, should lead these ventures as to show & prove Our sincerity and the advanced stage of Our line and practice. We can sponsor weight lifting contests, sprint races or relays, etc. Be creative. The point is to build and practice comradeship and community among New Afrikans, both conscious and unconscious. Those who may not pay attention as much to the correctness of Our line can be won over by the sincerity of Our practice. Each New Afrikan national is an individual representation of what We are trying to build. Therefore Our practice must exude the principles of communism. Mao Zedong described communists as such:

“A communist should have largeness of mind, and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions...” (1)

**CONCLUSION:** In essence, comrades, what we’re looking to do, if We wish to further advance the struggle for New Afrikan independence, We must adopt a non-liberal approach. We must struggle proactively against reactionary tendencies within Our collective body, thereby strengthening Our nation. Comrades should take care to observe those elements that take to Our line, and formulate RNA study groups so that those who choose to do so can delve deeper into New Afrikan Revolutionary nationalism and Maoism. As it stands at this stage, the most important



thing We can do to advance Our nation's cause is to wage all out war for the New Afrikan's Mind, and thereby cultivate new and more advanced cadres who are equal to the tasks of New Afrikan revolutionary nationalism, national independence, and socialism on the road to communism.

## **POWER TO NEW AFRIKA & FREE THE LAND**

### **Sources**

1. Mao Zedong, "Combat Liberalism"

### 3. COMBATING BAD IDEAS IN THE NEW AFRIKAN NATION PT.2



*A crowd of Black Panther Party cadre all raise their party issued copies of Quotations of Chairman Mao*

Power to New Afrika!

Comrades, recently we released a brief dictum and outline regarding proposed methods in dealing with internal national contradictions among those who're revolutionary New Afrikan nationals and partisans of other proposed nationalist bodies within our nation. It was brought to the attention of the author of that piece that many important issues, or contradictions among the people were not analyzed, and that they should have been. It is in that spirit we will do our best to correct that negligence, by touching on a few matters of importance to our cause, New Afrikan national independence and socialism.

At this time we as a collective of New Afrikan people, our various ethnicities, schools of thought and the various classes of Our people, find Ourselves at a stage of struggle that can be characterized as the democratic revolutionary stage. At this stage We're charged with building momentum, and independent institutions, in preparation to seize and wield state power. As such it is Paramount that We, New Afrikan communists, not make the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people become antagonistic ones, as in doing so We would only be serving the interests of imperialism.

At this stage the conditions yield themselves to the possibility for a broad united front within the

masses of the nation. By this we mean principled unity between various classes, and sectors who stand in contradiction, can for now, put disagreements on the back burner, and take up a unified front approach in struggle against our hystorical enemies.

Some may say, correctly, that this is easier said than done. So what, we must ask, stands in our way of taking up such an approach that has proven effective in revolutions hystorically? In the most basic sense, our internal contradictions are ideological: Revolutionary-VS-Reactionary nationalism; Materialism-VS-Idealism; and Socialism-VS-Black capitalism. All these contradictions within our collective body are determined by the main, or principal contradiction within Our nation which is independence-VS-integration.

Now we said above that Our contradictions were non-antagonistic and thus can be temporarily put on the back burner and yes, we think this true. BUT, in order for this to occur and for the masses of New Afrikans to benefit on a national scale two things must occur, and these are:



*(1) The people must be made to realize who/what their enemy is (capitalist-imperialism)*

*(2) And the TRUE communist within the New Afrikan nation must take the reigns of leadership in the current popular unrest, and social discourse.*

The first on the list is important because when the people TRULY realize who/what Our enemies are the path we must travel to resolve the contradiction of Our semi-colonized reality, becomes more

elucidated. The second on the list is paramount, as one of the most important aspects of the correct policy for a National United Front is that the proletarian, or in Our case the proletarianized (ideologically) party lead the front, while allowing all organizations to exercise independence, the Party must set the tone by being most in tune with the objective conditions facing the people. One

may say, “well first WE need a party”, and this is certainly correct. Therefore one of the duties of the cadres is to not only formulate a New Afrikan COMMUNIST(MLM) Party, but to ingratiate that Party into the people’s struggle(s). We must compel Our people to see and accept the need for and the benefits of a party. Here, We say “a” party because the anarchist tendency has become more popularized within the New Afrikan body than it had been in past times of Our national development. And now We have observed that those of Our people who have been on the front-lines in the recent upsurges are mostly adverse to the idea of party building. We also note that these same elements have not articulated their desire for NATION BUILDING either. What we’ve seen is the result of Us, New Afrikan Communists, leaving the popular front exposed, and by doing so WE have allowed anarchists and anarchist-like ideas to seep deep into our youthful and dynamic rebels. Thus, We must fault Ourselves and correct these errors.

Above we stated that Our internal National contradictions are ideological. By national We mean ALL African descendants in North Amerika. Also it is good for us now to state that all ideological struggle is the reflection of objective contradictions, they’re class differences manifested in the form of contradictory ideas. Comrades, within the U\$. prison setting, particularly among New Afrikan people, the basic contradictions between nationalists is that of Cultural Nationalism-VS-Revolutionary Nationalism.

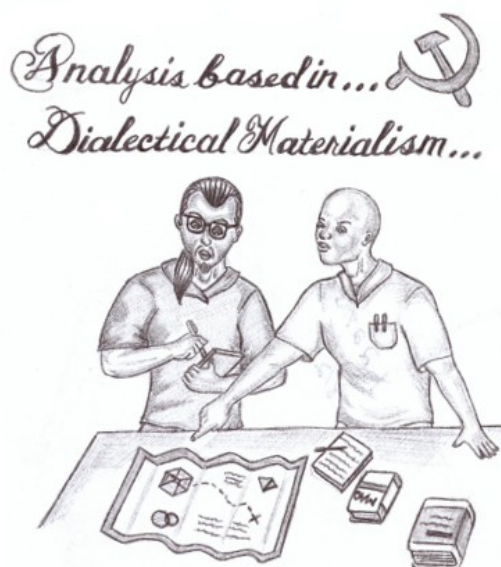
This contradiction is still a reflection of class differences even though these ideas are found within one lumpen class. How? Simply, it is that cultural nationalism is bourgeois, and therefore has hystorically been promoted or at least tolerated by the bourgeoisie, and reactionary elements of all stripes. In contrast, revolutionary nationalism is a proletarian concept. While the petty-bourgeois intellectuals’ desire to delude the masses with empty esoteric mysteries, the proletarian revolutionary nationalist elements promote and desire the complete emancipation of our nation and ALL oppressed nations globally. We do not hide Our politics and thus we make Our desires known. So We see that the contradiction that We deal with on the inside on the ideological front is determined by the influence being exerted by both aspects of the fundamental contradiction in capitalist society, bourgeoisie/proletariat. In this case the bourgeois is represented by the various forms of cultural nationalism in Our nation (NOI, 5%NGE, MSTA, Rastafari, etc). While the proletarian thought is represented by the conscious citizens of the Republic of New Afrika, and the N.A.I.M., as We don’t see any others who’re not “New Afrikans” propagating nor practicing

revolutionary nationalism, at this time to be a revolutionary nationalist within the so-called Black nation, is to be a New Afrikan.

As, we know some comrades may take issue to Our listing of the above groups as bourgeois, as some New Afrikans are also members, adherents, and/or believers, in these various schools of thought, and others not listed, we will expound Our position.

First off, what is revolutionary nationalism? It is that nationalism that holds as its goals the abolition of the current relations of production and industry under capitalism. This means a revolutionary nationalist in the age of capitalist-imperialism must by necessity be a socialist. Such is the proletarian nature of Our struggle and ideology as revolutionary New Afrikan nationals.

In contrast the other groups named above and others that aren't, either don't address the origins of our oppression(economic) or overtly promote black capitalism. Comrades, who are in these groups will readily agree with the above assessment, yet such comrades remain propagators of these ideologies because they're personally still struggling between proletarian and bourgeois influence, and at the root of such influences on the thought of the people is the battle between materialism, and metaphysics. There does exist large sectors of conscious citizens who still hold to aspects of our history that make us susceptible to metaphysical idealism. This tendency must be combated and corrected constantly if the people are to be freed from all the aspects of the old world which obstruct the complete liberation of the people.



#### WHY ARE WE SOCIALISTS:

*“Socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces. The change-over from individual to socialist collective ownership in agriculture and handicrafts and from capitalist to socialist ownership in private industry and commerce is bound to bring about tremendous liberation of the productive forces.” - Mao Zedong, speech at the supreme state (25 Jan 1956)*

The above quote from Mao elucidates a general definition of what socialism is, now. We wanna expand upon why we seek to unite Our people in the quest for socialism after national

independence. To expound on Our logical connection to socialism We must go back to the time when we were forcefully migrated to Turtle Island, acts of war brought Us here and forced us into dependence on a national scale. We remain dependent today. Here we mean that we're dependent politically, economically, socially and culturally on an alien occupying force. This is what we mean when we say we're a colonized nation. When war was brought to our doorstep it initiated Our colonization, and as such the contradictions that emerge historically in every colonized nation emerged within New Afrika as well. Namely, Oppressor/Oppressed nation (Amerikkka-VS-New Afrika), during the stage of enslavement there was the owners of the means of production (slave masters & planter class)-VS-slave class, the exploiters/the exploited, compradors or traitors/the masses (slaves, peasants).

All these contradictions and others emerged, but the principal one being that of the Amerikkkans versus New Afrika. We were originally forcefully migrated to a feudal society that survived with the slave economy as its principal money-getter. The Amerikkkan 'revolution', was the consolidation of state power by a new class, relatively new, that is the bourgeoisie, which had been subordinated in the feudal economy by the lords of the British Crown. The bourgeois democratic republic of AmeriKKKa, from henceforth operated as a capitalist economy and as the saying goes the empire was built on the backs of slaves.

Thomas Sankara, at the U.N. General Assembly said it like this, "it is Our BLOOD that fed the rapid development of capitalism, that made possible Our current state of dependence, and that consolidated our underdevelopment. For every Black person that made it to the plantation, at least five others suffered death or mutilation. I purposely leave out the devastation of Our continent and its consequences". (1)

With all the above stated plainly We think it is clear that a major component of Our collective-national struggle for liberation has, since the inception of capitalism made possible by Our colonial domination under the guise of chattel slavery, ALWAYS been anti-capitalist, as WE have hystorically been oppressed not merely by 'the white man', but by 'racially' driven capitalist accumulation, and exploitation. It is a fairly recent phenomenon that has Us as a non-exploited yet oppressed nation, and this assimilation into the Amerikkkan economy comes only after Our greatest advances toward independence personified through the Black Liberation Movement; Black



capitalism is and has always been a tool of Our enemies to subdue Our revolutionary initiative. To pacify our people in order to maintain a large chunk of their domestic consumers market, and keeps us solely dependent upon our enemy, Our colonizer, Our enslaver, Our kidnapper, the Amerikkkan nation/empire.

So We say We are socialist because We New Afrikans, like most of the world, have been hystorically victimized in the name of the furtherance of the system of capitalism. Furthermore, it wouldn't be advantageous for Us to combat the enemy with his own tools, and thus We look to the hystorical progress of humynity as it has rebelled, struggled, and warred against capitalism and imperialism. We dare you to pose to yourselves the same question We ask: 'what tool(s) have the world's people used to overthrow capitalist-imperialism and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie'? Answer: NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM!!!!

So preceding from the above logic WE say that an independent national territory is mandatory, because surely the imperialist will not allow a contradictory economy to take prominence. Such an economy would have to be independent politically and all other aspects in order to freely develop as a nation. So we say that those who are not struggling for an independent national territory and the implementation of a socialist economy, are not working towards the best interests of the New Afrikan peoples. Those who fall into this grouping and there are MANY, these either of the metaphysician cultural nationalist, or in some other form, these divert the peoples energies into empty avenues of rebellion.

We're not interested at this time in every one consciously claiming New Afrikan as their nationality. What is more important is that these other 'nationalists' get on board with the revolutionary program for national independence and socialism. Keep your name and identity if you wish. Hystory has shown us that national liberation struggles haven't been won by one single faction fighting alone. The Chinese had various nationalities in their fight. In West Africa, Burkina Faso, many nationalities fought and won national independence. As tribalism and contradictions between ethnic groups had to be struggled against in other national liberation movements WE too struggle with 'ethnic groups' and other nationalities among the diverse and complex people of New Afrika, we only desire to unite all factions of the people in a quest for national liberation and socialism on the road to communism. In doing so we hope all parties welcome, as WE do, criticism/self-criticism



and the desire and ability to correct wrong ideas and practices.

As any genuine political struggle requires rigorous, theoretical debate, in these stormy times we cannot leave our enemies of yesterday and of today with an exclusive monopoly over OUR thought, imagination and creativity. It is time for the people to STAND UP!!! And when the people stand up imperialism trembles.

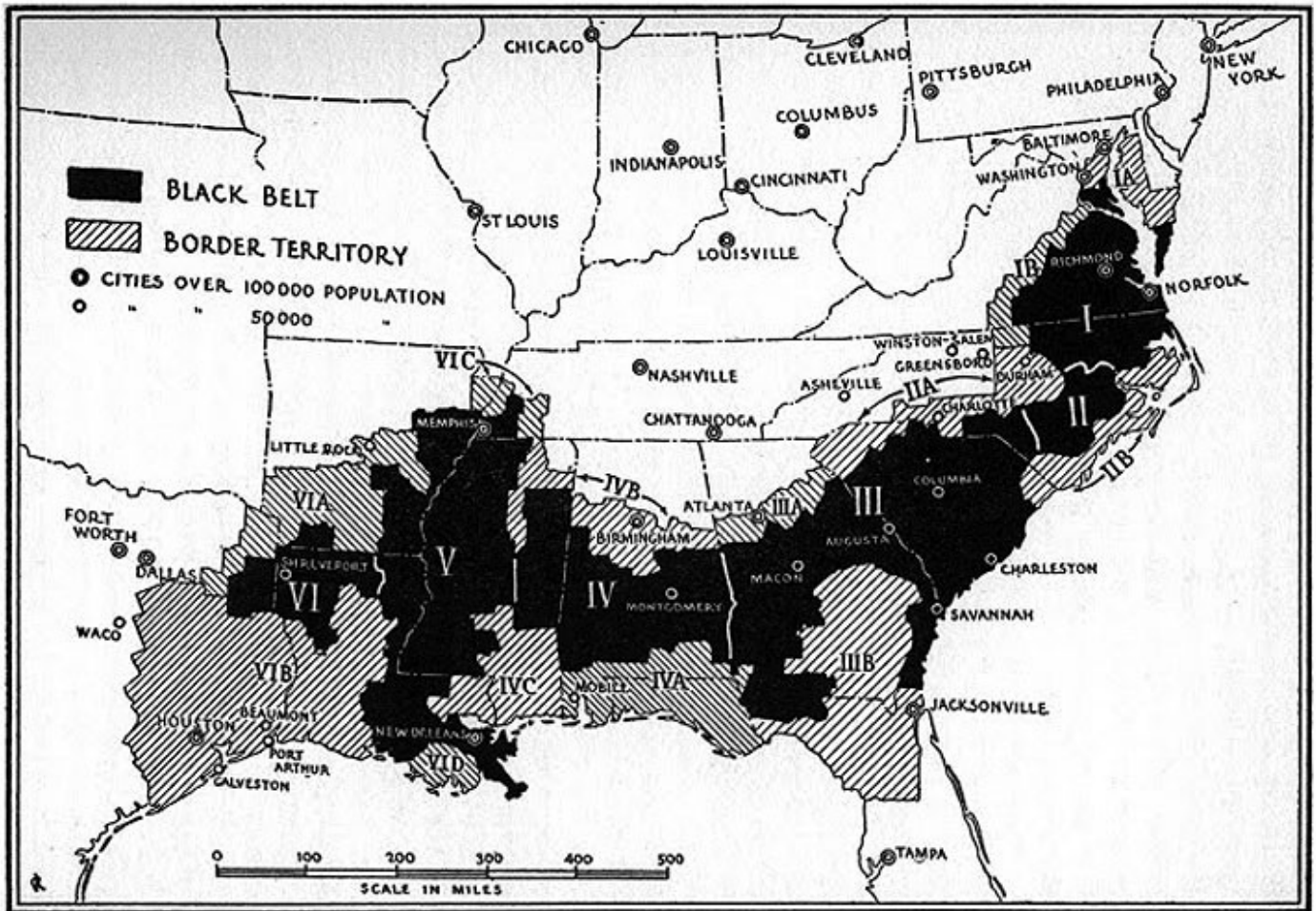
We will broach the topic of COMBATING IDEAS IN THE NATION again as circumstances deem necessary as we are sure they will do so as the struggle for correct thinking and action is ceaseless.

Until that time, Comrades continue to be fierce in struggle. Power, Glory, Dignity, and Freedom, to the New Afrikan nation! And Death to imperialism!!!

Notes:

1. Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-1987

## 4. RE-BUILD NEW AFRIKA!



BLACK BELT AND BORDER TERRITORY

A LOOK AT OUR STRUGGLE: In a previous chapter We spoke to our past as a Nation, a colonized nation. It was said, "When war was brought to our doorstep it initiated Our colonization, and as such the contradictions that emerge historically in every colonized nation emerged within New Afrika as well." We listed the contradictions of oppressed/oppressor nations (New Afrika/Amerikkka), owners of the means of production during enslavement (slave master & planter class)/versus the slave class. These We listed previously, here we will add some others. Mainly there is the question of the roles played by the First Nations. In some instances they played a progressive role of solidarity to the New Afrikan adopting Our peoples as their own, and fighting alongside Our people. At other times they enslaved Us. The Republic of New Afrika, Our national territory encompasses land that first belonged to the key indigenous participants in the enslavement of the New Afrikan. These are but aren't limited to those who the 'pale faces' called 'The Five Civilized Tribes', these are those who made agreements with the invaders that were favorable to the latter.

In terms of contradiction this one (New Afrika-VS-First Nations) does still exist although it is not at an antagonistic state. We promote solidarity among Our peoples and in order to combat what could become an antagonistic contradiction when New Afrika wins independence, We say we must start building concrete unity with these two sides now through dialogue and solidarity and practice. This unity must also extend to the oppressed nations of Chican@s, Boricuan@s, and myriads of other nations struggling to liberate themselves from Amerikan oppression whether they be internal semi-colonies within U.\$. borders or territories of the United \$tates.

We believe that the most internationalist strategy for not only resolving this contradiction but building and maintaining principled unity and liberation for all domestic oppressed nations of North Amerika is the Joint Dictatorship of the Proletariat of Oppressed Nations(JDPON). In this particular united front the proletarianized forces within each oppressed nation are united to capture and maintain the liberation of the oppressed nation against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its interests. We can start building this united front now through actions. The prison movement can provide an example in this front. In Texas, groups like Texas Team One have already been successful in unifying oppressed nation prisoners and revolutionaries from the Chican@ and New Afrikan nations.



Another contradiction not mentioned previously is, those internal contradictions that have, in more modern times, manifested themselves in the contradiction of, integration-VS-independence, which is now Our principal contradiction among the New Afrikan nation overall. In prior epochs this manifested itself in terms of slaves in the deep South (New Afrika) where conditions of enslavement were reportedly harsher and thus was used as a punishment to keep the slave class in line. The other

aspect of this being slaves in the Mid-Atlantic region (Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, etc.). These slaves enjoyed a more laid-back form of slavery and some were complacent with their lot. Of course there was and still is the house negro-VS-field negro, the negro overseer-VS-the New Afrikan slave, and other contradictions.

As we've stated, today all these have manifested themselves in the contradiction of integration-VS-independence.

This principal contradiction of Ours deserves great attention as it determines the other, many contradictions We face as a nation. We shall look at hystorical points of Our liberation struggle and analyze them accordingly.

During slavery Our struggle was a national liberation struggle, that is to say that all New Afrikans wanted to be free from oppression and exploitation. However, because of Our being almost entirely shut out of any meaningful education, we were not in a position to know what to do with freedom. Also socialism as a viable alternative was not known to Our people yet. The October Revolution had not yet occurred. Thus upon FIGHTING for and winning Our emancipation, the broad masses of Our nation were by and large too dependent upon Our external enemies for assistance, and those few bourgeois negroes that took leading position some were for NATIONALISM, as can be witnessed by Union General Sherman's meeting with a group of 20 New Afrikan ministers in Savannah, GA, where General Sherman asked the ministers, "In what manner would you rather live, scattered among the white, or in colonies by yourselves?" They famously answered, "By Ourselves for there is a prejudice against us in the south that will take years to get over." (1)

Other "educated" negroes began to assimilate and integrate. In 1870-1871 we saw the first "Black" members of Congress, all except one coming from our national territory: 3 from S. Carolina, 1 from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and finally 1 from Florida. These men chose like many others to "make AmeriKKKa great" instead of charting their/Our own course.

Now we fast forward to another point of significance, that being the beginning of the 20th century where the main vessels of struggle were the NAACP, representative of the petty-bourgeois or talented tenth. On the other hand the most significant organization of that time would have to be

Marcus Garvey's UNIA. The struggle between these two organizations, and their main proponents is well documented. At the same period there was the African Blood Brotherhood, which had the political line most aligned with modern day New Afrikan nationals, from their adoption of Marxism, to the organizing for New Afrikan land ownership in the National territory. Tunis Campbell and the Georgia Freedmen, who organized for self-determination in the St. Catherine Sea Coast isles, and of course there is the successful lobbying of Harry Haywood, to Lenin's Communist Party to support proposals for an independent New Afrikan republic in the south.

During the time spanning 1907-1925, there was intense struggle between these two contradictory aspects within Our nation's liberation struggle. So We must ask ourselves: What classes and sectors were leading each aspect and which of them possessed the correct line? The UNIA and the African Blood Brotherhood were both formed and led by men from the West Indies. Marcus Garvey was raised in a privileged upbringing compared to the masses of Black Jamaicans of his era. He would fall in the class of petty bourgeois, but he was one of a nationalist ideological bend whom steadfastly ingratiated himself with the Black peasant masses and the much smaller black proletariat, in the Americas, the Indies, and Afrika. Thus we say Garvey was for the people's best interest at the time. That is not to say he didn't make mistakes. The African Blood Brotherhood for African Liberation and Redemption, (ABB), was the first Marxist revolutionary Black nationalist organization in the U.S. The ABB was founded in 1917 and grew extensively during the summer of 1919, known as Red Summer, wherein race riots broke out all across the empire. The ABB operated as a semi-underground formation that practiced and promoted armed self-defense as well as New Afrikan community self reliance. The ABB was headquartered in what was our Mecca, Harlem, NYC. The ABB consisted of mostly World War 1 combat veterans, who while in France fighting educated themselves on the class struggle with the Marxist classics, and staying abreast to the happenings in Russia. Cyril Briggs, a native of the Caribbean island of Nevis, was the founder and leader of the ABB. The ABB arose at a time when the largely peasant New Afrikan nation was being proletarianized at a rapid pace. (2)

This proletarianization was caused by the "Great Migration", the forced exodus of New Afrikans from Our National Territory to the northern and western city ghettos, and the opening of industrial jobs for Our people for the first time as a result of World War I. Hence, Briggs and his comrades were proletarians with a proletarian outlook and program that included National independence. The

ABB and the UNIA, were both highly successful in organizing the broadest masses of Our nation as well as linking our struggle concretely with the international anti-imperialist struggle. For this reason We say that they advanced Our people further than the NAACP, but they didn't enjoy the same fame or support on the popular front. This of course is due to their class make up and the fact that the integrationist aspect as always, is aligned with the empire's agenda, thus the colonizer controlled popular front has and will always lend credence to those people and groups, and ideas that in the final analysis, run counter to the interest of Our nation.

On the above mentioned groups, NAACP, UNIA, and the ABB, they each represented a different ideological, and/or class tendency within our nation. The NAACP represented not only the tendency towards integration, but also the pro-Black capitalist trend, as representative of the comprador bourgeoisie of the New Afrikan nation. The UNIA was totally against any form of integration, but also represented the pro-Black capitalist trend. The UNIA was for independence and nationalism, opposing assimilation as a viable strategy. However, Garveyite nationalism was a bourgeois nationalism, expressed by a national bourgeoisie. The line of demarcation between the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie is expressed historically by the fact that the comprador bourgeoisie has usually aligned itself with the imperialist, and acts as a buffer, controlled by those imperialists, between the powers that be and the oppressed masses. In contrast the national bourgeoisie is that sector of the nation that represents the capitalist class within the nation that sees it as advantageous to its class interests to remove the imperialists' power structure from its midst so that it can take its place as the power/establishment of the nation. The national bourgeoisie are the bourgeoisie of New Afrika which are stunted by imperialism (the rich hustlers, the lumpen-bourgeoisie with aspirations to be a capitalist) and the comprador bourgeoisie (rappers with legal finance capital, New Afrikan politicians, etc.) are the bourgeoisie that needs U.\$. imperialism to exist in order for them to get the most profits.

In terms of the nationalist organization We've listed that are represented in the contemporary prison system, they're the descendants of the UNIA and Marcus Garvey, in that they are also bourgeois nationalists who provide no alternative to or for the people in regards to the TRUE source of our oppression, that being the competitive economic system of capitalist imperialism.

While bourgeois nationalism's progressive nature today in New Afrika is nowhere near as high as it

was in revolutionary China (or even the days of UNIA), this is a characteristic that could change through time. In the meantime we tend to look at these heirs of New Afrikan bourgeois nationalism which exist today (such as Nation of Gods and Earths; Moorish Science Temple of America; the Rastafarians; and etc.) which planted among the first world lumpen as allies under the proletarian-led United Front. This is very evident in the pages of *Under Lock & Key*, and the work these groups/movements have done with United Struggle from Within in U.\$. prisons.

Back to the era in question, the ABB represented the trend towards independence, that being national independence, as well as a collectivized economic, social and political framework (communism). Of the three, the ABB was the only organization led by the New Afrikan proletariat. Towards the mid 1920's and into the 1930's the ABB would be absorbed into the Communist Party USA, which would be the beginning of its undoing.

We've elucidated the above to showcase the paths of these national trends among our people, and how they've played out for us historically. We've shown which classes, in the past played which roles in the development of our nation. Here, we continue. So, as we've seen and can infer from the above the most revolutionary and advanced sector of our nation was absorbed into the CPUSA, and these elements subsequently were persuaded to put Our Quest for New Afrikan national independence and socialism on the back burner while they waited on the solidarity and support from the amerikkkan 'left', and joining and supporting them in their struggle for economic advance within the amerikkkan economy system as they put forth the revisionist, Khrushchev-initiated "peaceful transition to socialism". In the basic observation Our advanced elements were misled because they allowed themselves to be dictated to by the whims of the white oppressor Amerikkkan nation. So essentially the comrades erred in putting aside the principal contradiction in the stage of imperialism which is oppressed nations vs oppressor nations (New Afrika VS. Amerikkka). Their 'solidarity' with the white 'left' allowed them to forget that WE are a colony of Amerikkka and thus all solidarity from whites must be in the furtherance of OUR national independence.

By the dawn of the 1950's the old revolutionary element of New Afrika had been severely decimated. The FBI initiated their 'Red Scare' and "Communist Witch Hunt" causing many to go underground, exile, be imprisoned or quit the revolutionary agenda cold turkey. While the imperialist-colonial occupying force warred on the remnants of Our advanced elements, groups like

the NAACP, SCLC and CORE, whom all propagated the same petty-bourgeois-centric integrationism, powered by a Christian idealism took the popular-center stage. This development was assisted by the United States political apparatus and its media. These elements, as they do today, saw to it to put the most conservative, petty bourgeois 'negroes', in the handpicked 'leadership' roles. Thereby they mislead the masses.

It is important to point out here that during that same epoch (1930's-1955) significantly diverse classes began to develop within the New Afrikan nation. From emancipation until WWI New Afrika was a predominantly peasant/agricultural proletarian nation confined to the territory of the Republic of New Afrika. In this period there was a growing lumpen-proletariat class that was being formed as New Afrikans migrated to and adjusted to city life. As the population competing for jobs grew, employment became harder to get, which led to idleness, which in turn led to social-crime and general anti-people behavior. This lumpen-proletariat was the precursor to today's First World Lumpen. Due to the overt national oppression (racism) that was present in the job market at the time, employment for New Afrikans was too unstable for the presence of an organized proletariat in most sectors. So as this population of New Afrikans were being proletarianized simultaneously they were lending themselves toward lumpen tendencies.

During this time another very interesting thing occurred which was that the New Afrikan proletariat began to move in a petty-bourgeois direction. In the 1950's this development wasn't readily noticeable, but in the coming decades as it expanded throughout the nation the bourgeoisification of Our proletariat - through the plunder of U.S. imperialism which previously only reached to the Amerikan (white) counterparts in previous decades - would become inevitable.

Due to all the above developments the 1930's-1955 were dominated by two trends within New Afrika: those trends were the petty-bourgeois, integrationist, black capitalist trend and the rising, seemingly new, metaphysical (religious) cultural nationalism, that is essentially an esoteric bourgeois nationalism. In this time the bourgeois nationalists such as Father Divine, Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple of America (MSTA) came into existence, as well as the Nation of Islam, which came into being in the 1930's. These bourgeois nationalist formations were led by bourgeoisified proletarians, and they organized mostly among the urban lumpen-proletariat. Marcus Garvey spent much time encouraging the need for a 'negro' religion. The MSTA, headed by Noble



Drew Ali, was considered that religion among nationalists. These metaphysical-minded nationalists saw that in order for New Afrikan people to break free of their national oppression one thing they would have to free themselves from was the religion of their/our colonizer. For all intents and purposes this was thinking in the correct direction, however, what they didn't grasp, much like Our cultural-religious nationalists of today don't grasp, is that religious thinking itself is what the New Afrikan people must free Ourselves from, as such thinking is essentially metaphysical philosophy. As WE continue to wallow in metaphysics and post modernist thinking WE only stunt our advancement as a nation.

Now, then as now WE revolutionary nationalists can ally with these nationalists, as we have to first get FREE, as in national liberation, before we can build socialism. Here we continue to follow the development of Our nation.

So as it stands during the epoch of the 30's-55 the proletariat was relatively revolutionary, although there were some reactionary elements, or rather conservative ones. It is this conservative working class of New Afrika that was leading these bourgeois nationalist formations. More important to our discussion is that by taking the lead at that time and organizing among Our lumpen-proletariat, these elements led potentially revolutionary elements towards idealizing and pursuing upward mobility in the form of embracing middle class Amerikkkan morality, and Pro-Black capitalism as a form of progress. This is the collective attitude that Russel "Maroon" Shoatz speaks of when he says "... being driven by two major motivations; the acquiring of enough education or apprenticeships or, the use of their unskilled labor or street smarts to land "good" jobs or establish hustles to make as much money and obtain as many material trappings as possible; and secondarily to use their education, apprenticeships, unskilled labor, street smarts, jobs, hustles and the material trappings provided by them to win a measure of respect and dignity from their peers and society in general." (3)

What Maroon didn't touch on was that it was the petty-bourgeois and bourgeoisified workers, along with the decimation of our revolutionaries, that allowed this useless attitude to settle and thrive in Our nation. As this attitude settled and thrived amongst the people, the bourgeois nationalist tendency gained a head of steam, as the population only desired to feel good about themselves and the metaphysical cultural nationalist were/are good for this role. That is to instill a psychological sense of self-worth, without actually altering the material conditions that actually cause the lack of

self-esteem in the first place, nor do they attempt to alter the conditions. And here lies the issue, in which WE assert that such an approach to the liberation of Our people will not be successful. Hystory is on Our side in this assertion as nowhere has there ever been a national liberation won by way of metaphysical-religious cultural nationalism.

As 1955 approached, it saw an evolving lumpen-proletariat, which was being pulled in two directions. One being that of the bourgeoisified proletariat, and the other toward what would become the First World Lumpen. However, the principal class leading Our nation at the time would be the 'talented tenth' or petty bourgeoisie. Again those more revolutionary New Afrikan elements that were among the ABB, and the CPUSA, had been, for all intents and purposes wiped out by the enemy state with the help of the modern day 'black overseer'/'house negro'. That being the petty bourgeois elements. We see an example of this when W.E.B. Dubois and the NAACP were used by the federal government to convict and exile Marcus Garvey. Due to that and other such actions the petty bourgeoisie was free to lead Our national liberation struggle down a road towards integrationism, black capitalism, christian idealism, and bourgeoisification. Meanwhile the bourgeois nationalist tendency was merely tolerated, as in the final analysis it is not harmful to the advancement of capitalist-imperialism. Revolutionaries must not be liberal in regards to the manifestation of bourgeois-metaphysical nationalist in Our midst, but must combat and draw lines of demarcation.

Up until 1955, Our national struggle had developed only on a quantitative level, from the civil war up until 1955. However, beginning in 1955 with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, things took a turn of intensification, and eventually a qualitative leap would occur in the mid 1960's. As we look closer at these events we'll see that the petty bourgeoisie led the struggle. The leading few among the petty bourgeois enriched themselves at the expense of the masses and Our liberation. As told by Malcolm X, in his "Message to the Grassroots" speech, the 'big six', that is MLK jr, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, the biggest 'hand-picked' leaders of the civil rights movement were paid by the U.\$. President Kennedy, 1.5 million dollars to co-opt the previously grassroots-led March On Washington. And as such they served to quell the rising revolutionary fervor that was building among the New Afrikan masses. That was in 1963. For 8 years the masses had followed the petty bourgeois, and they had become tired of their form of struggle, thus Our people began to go in another direction, beginning in 1963, and this was crystallized in the summers

of 1964 and 1965 during the uprisings that engulfed New Afrikan areas around the empire. Here was the qualitative leap as the new generation of New Afrikans began to replace the old, and with it they brought another, although not new, direction to Our struggle. That being independence not integration and the popularization of the socialist road began to take root within the New Afrikan communities, though not all of them.

At this epoch the most significant organizations that were representative of the three tendencies we've previously laid out were, SCLC, NAACP, SNCC. They represented the most conservative elements within Our nation, their tendencies lending to integration, pro-capitalism (which began to be called 'Black Power'), and a philosophic bend towards idealism manifested itself in pacification (non-violence). There was also the Nation of Islam, representing the metaphysical religious cultural nationalism, which took prominence along side the popularity of Malcolm X.

Revolutionary nationalism wouldn't rear its head in an organized form on a national level until 1966, when the Revolutionary Action Movement, along with its military unit, the Black Guard, would become the first group to adopt the identity of "A revolutionary Black Nationalist Organization". Also at the same time groups which came in areas such as Lowndes county Alabama Freedom Organization, would become a template to the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and other similar formations. One of these formations not often talked about is Freedom City, the brain-child of Los Angeles SNCC (after it became the Student National Coordinating Committee). Cliff Vaughns pushed to have Watts secede from Los Angeles and incorporate itself as "Freedom City". Vaughns advertised it as the ultimate solution to the infamously repressive LAPD, which the reader shall recall were the reason the Watts Riots kicked off in 1965. Vaughns proposal was in place in 1966. He also promised that 'as a first order of government business', the new city would "establish a municipal commission to bond ex-convicts...No resident of Freedom City who has been convicted of a crime and who has paid his debt to society will be denied work because of his past offense." Moreover, secession would reverse a history of national subjugation. Until 1926, Watts, in fact, had been a separate city, but it was annexed by Los Angeles, at a time of migration of New Afrikans from Our national territory, in order to prevent New Afrikan majority rule. The proposal for Freedom City garnered broad support from all different sectors and classes within the local New Afrikan community. This included the New Afrikan bourgeoisie represented by politicians and the NAACP. However, the national leadership of the NAACP completely disapproved, overriding the

local NAACP. Roy Wilkins called the program 'Black racism' and a "reverse Hitler" and thus crushed the hope for national support of the FREEDOM CITY initiative. Further, Wilkins and the NAACP's equation of 'Black Power' and political independence as reverse racism, gave the imprimatur to discredit, defund and destroy initiatives such as black studies, independent Black candidacies, defense campaigns backed by nationalist organizations, and so on. (4)

Thus we use the above example to showcase the reactionary role the New Afrikan comprador bourgeoisie in general and the NAACP in particular has played in the development of Our national liberation struggle. And also, we want to point out to the reader that the bourgeoisie and the NAACP has and remains the pillar of the integrationist tendency and we say this to showcase that the integrationist tendency within New Afrika has always played a reactionary and counter productive role, and thus We say it is time for us to break away from the control/influence of this comprador bourgeoisie within New Afrika, and consolidate a New Afrikan communist party (MLM), which is necessarily proletarian and a national united front led by said party, for the liberation of the New Afrikan nation.

Here, WE look to speak to both the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, and the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. We address these two together because through the most revolutionary period of the former, these two practiced a policy of dual membership. As such many New Afrikans, particularly on the east coast, were also Black Panthers.

The Panther Party was founded in October of 1966, yet it was not its initial founding that signified a qualitative leap in the development of Our nation's independence struggle. What DID signify that qualitative leap was the expansion of the party and its consolidation around the various cities and states within the Amerikkkan empire.

Why do WE say this was a qualitative development? Previously We alluded to the failure of revolutionary comrades who were absorbed into the CPUSA. These were our most advanced comrades at that time and that was a time when the objective conditions here and internationally favored revolution. Comrades of the epoch, with their failure, set Our national independence back tremendously! Their failure allowed the petty-bourgeois and counter-revolutionaries to take the leading role as the driving force of Our nation's struggle(s). And how/why did they fail? The reader

will acknowledge, as WE do that our failure in that epoch was due principally to Our failure to establish an independent communist party for Our nation, and thus that mistake led to the subsequent mistake of Our being absorbed into the CPUSA, and finally misled away from the road to national independence. As a consequence communism was de-legitimized among the people.

Therefore, when the BPP for self-defense was consolidated around the country a qualitative leap took place, in that the revolutionary nationalist, proletariat, Maoist, tendency took the principal role in our struggle. For the first time We had a nationally organized party, a communist party. Its advanced Maoist line is what made the BPP an altogether different animal.

When, in March of 1968, the PGRNA was founded and the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence was ratified, the BPP had newly become a national party. The PGRNA, in its own way signified a new development, as it became the embodiment of the independence, revolutionary nationalist tendency. The main difference was the BPP's overtly Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. Meanwhile, the early stages of the PGRNA did see a more diversified division of labor, and a strong organizational structure, which was guided by the "Government Handbook."

As stated these two organizations were tightly intertwined for some time. Many well known Panthers were also New Afrikans. These included, Mutulu Shakur, who led political education courses for BPP cadres, Assata Shakur, Kuwasi Balagoon, Bilal Sunni-Ali, Atiba Shanna, and many others. We pinpoint here that the qualitative leap wasn't simply the emergence of either one of these organizations, but rather the various social and economic and political realities that were unique to that time birthed the qualitative change in the struggle for New Afrikan liberation, that principally was personified in these two organizations.

So what split the union between these two forces for revolutionary nationalism? In the final analysis, the split took place due to virtually the same ideological contradictions which We've lamented in 'Combating Ideas in the New Afrikan Nation.' Partisans of the PGRNA, and its citizenry, had tendencies leaning towards metaphysics, idealism, and cultural nationalism, which in turn undermined the ideological strength of the revolutionary nationalist tendency. The PGRNA was more diverse in its class makeup, consisting of a more wide variety of the entire New Afrikan nation than the BPP did. However, many of the noteworthy leadership of the PGRNA had been petty

bourgeois, and the combination of these two components attributed to the failure to put forth a correct ideology and political line. On the BPP's end they became a personality cult around Huey Newton, and thus people of sound ideological bend in the party were either shut up, or every one simply went with Huey's ideas and those of a small host of Huey loyalists.

Subsequently, when Huey returned from prison with a new ideology, and guided by a new philosophy (metaphysics/idealism), there were few with the ideological muscle, or Party clout to combat what should have been opposed (intercommunalism).

New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists today can take away a basic lesson from each of these groups. We should emulate the division of labor from the PGRNA, its more ideologically equality amongst members. We should emulate the BPP's adoption of Maoism, historical dialectical materialism, and its proletarian and lumpen-centric leadership. In short WE must build a NEW more advanced and ideologically sound New Afrikan COMMUNIST (M-L-M) party, and of course this is what is meant by OUR slogan RE-BUILD!!!

### **Overview:**

Looking at the more current landscape, it is easy to see the same class, and economic forces at work within OUR nation. For instance, during the 2020 uprising, in cities across the empire it was none other than that same NAACP that played the role of modern overseer, acting to keep the rebellious colonized subjects docile and 'peaceful'. (5) The influence of the anarchist and post modernist trends could be clearly seen, in the form of struggles and the ideologies behind them. The predominance of these tendencies within the national front is a direct result of the increase of assimilation and economic integration of the New Afrikan masses. WE didn't see a proletarian influenced revolt, and WE say that the reason why is because there essentially is no proletarian class within the nation of New Afrika. Those youth and the BLM activist that were front and center in the 2020 uprisings, were petty bourgeois, or petty bourgeois influenced, centered in post-modernist philosophy.

Due to the qualitative leap made by the Black Liberation Movement, and that era, the amerikkkan bourgeoisie utilized its newfound imperialist power gained after WWII to ingratiate or integrate previously ostracized colonies, New Afrika, and wimmin in general being chief among them. As a

result of this integration of the nation, the lumpen-proletariat developed further in line towards the First World Lumpen, a qualitatively different class than the lumpen-proletariat. The First World Lumpen was consolidated during the decades between the mid 1960's and mid 1980's. Since that time the New Afrikan proletariat's previously mentioned bourgeoisification has been consolidated as well. Thereby what was previously OUR proletariat is now a lower level petty bourgeoisie whose leaning towards integration and Black capitalism, being led by a mixture of post-modernism, and pseudo-Marxism, which is dictating the movement of our national liberation struggle.

In contrast, the lumpen of New Afrika have become the most potentially revolutionary vessel for the liberation of Our nation, that is to say the class struggle between the New Afrikan lumpen and the petty bourgeoisie/labor aristocracy, and particularly their struggle for the leading influence of Our national liberation struggle, will be decisive battles as WE observe which direction our struggle will go. In the past lumpen have played both progressive and reactionary roles in our fight. Today a new revolutionary fervor is picking up amongst the lumpen class that is in captivity, but the lumpen outside the razor wire walls is still either indifferent, or reactionary.

The principal task that must be taken up at this stage by all New Afrikan revolutionary nationals is the consolidation of the lumpen into an organized body. The Prison Lives Matter initiative, along with the United Struggle from Within, are setting good examples of this and ALL conscious citizens of New Afrika should contribute to both of these. As for the consolidation of lumpen along with the various classes on the outs, such must come about through active community interaction by New Afrikan cadres, in the quest to build dual power. The conditions in the national territory are ripe for revolutionary organizing, particularly in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. These states still have a very high number of New Afrikans concentrated within them. More important is the fact that these states also rank among the highest in illiteracy, poverty, disenfranchisement, poor healthcare and other signs of national oppression. Cadres need to be more active in the national territory.

In conclusion, WE wanna encourage all New Afrikans in captivity to become and remain all the way revolutionary. There are too many of us returning to the outs and not ingratiating ourselves in the revolutionary circles of our nation, and the impact of this is clearly showing, as there is no organized revolutionary body supported by the masses of our nation.

If Black Lives Matter is the most revolutionary sector of Our people we're in trouble! We've seen above where the petty-bourgeoisie will lead us when they aren't nationalists (early NAACP, Big Six). The most basic understanding that radicals need to grasp is that we're oppressed by the competitive economic system of capitalist-imperialism. In this epoch the system is imperialism. Prior, it was basic free competition capitalism and before that feudalism, and prior to that the slave economy, which was the first variation of competitive economics that evolved out of communal/socialistic economics that humans originally organized ourselves under. Competitive economics evolved out of the advent of private property, and particularly private ownership of the means of production, and so too did the gender oppression of wimmin, the formation of stratified society or classes, which evolved into states with the purpose of consolidating and protecting the ownership of the means of production, i.e. furthering the status quo. Such is the duty of the state under the advent of competitive economics.

These are the systems and the actions done in furtherance of them, which has enslaved, colonized, neo-colonized, male-dominated, police terrorized Our people. We say this to say that the current activists at the forefront of New Afrikan(Black) unrest, are not attacking imperialism, the current economic system which dominates the world.

WE challenge all New Afrikans in the various nationalist formations and schools of thought to GET SERIOUS ABOUT GETTING FREE!!!

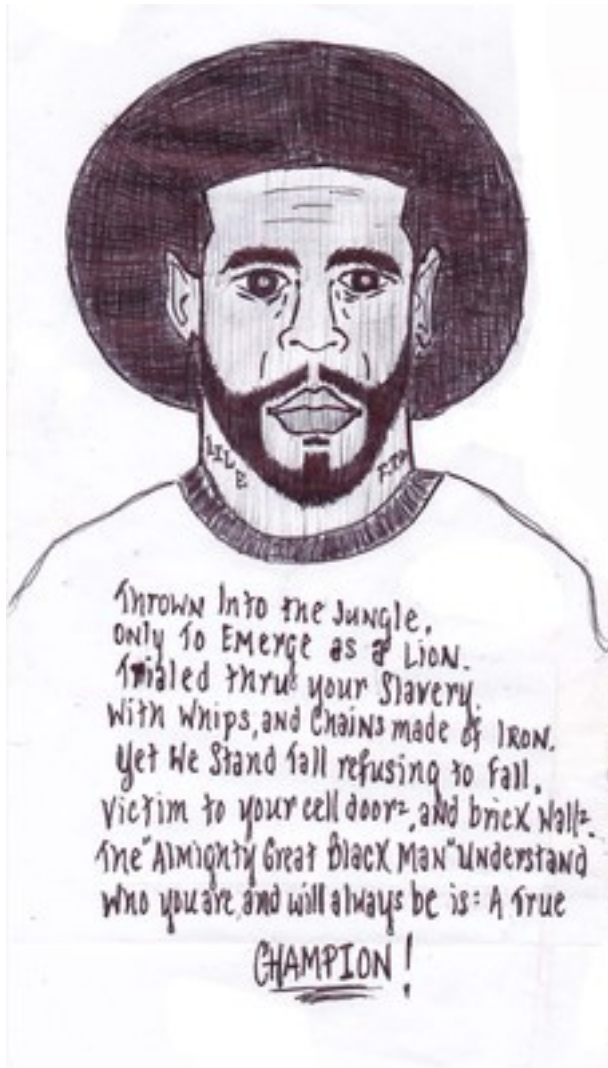
REBUILD!

Notes:

1. *A Soldier's Story*, Kuwasi Balagoon
2. "The African Blood Brotherhood and the Proletarianization of Blacks in America", by Tom Big Warrior, printed in, *Right On!* #22
3. *Liberation or Gangsterism: Freedom or Slavery*, Russel Maroon Shoatz
4. *Set the Night On Fire: L.A. in the Sixties*, Mike Davis and John Wiener
5. *Notes From the Rockford Rebellion: From a New Afrikan Anarchist Perspective*; author unknown.



## 5. BANGIN' THE RED BLACK AND GREEN



The colors of red, black and green were first popularized in 1920 by Marcus Mosiah Garvey, as a representation for the Pan-African movement. The colors were officially introduced in the form of 'the Pan-African Flag,' on Black August 31st, 1920, which was the first annual 'International Black Day.' On that day, as part of the First Annual Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World, Garvey addressed the people as the Provisional President of Africa (a liberated Africa). He unveiled the red, black and green flag as the official 'Colors of the African Race.'

Since Garvey's time the colors of the Red, the Black and the Green, in various variations, have been used to represent the liberation movements and anti-colonial struggles of African and New Afrikan people. Thomas Sankara, revolutionary anti-imperialist, president of the revolutionary government of Burkina Faso

(formerly Upper Volta) in West Africa from 1983-1987, made the following statement while speaking in Harlem:

*"Our revolution is symbolized by our flag. It's our country's new flag. Our country has also changed names. As you can see, this flag resembles the flag of your party [All-African People's Revolutionary Party]. It's because we too are in that party, it's because we're working for the same cause as that party. That is why, quite naturally, the colors of the flags resemble each other. And these colors have the same meaning. We didn't use black because we're already in Africa. But you can consider the two flags to be equivalent."*

The flag of Burkina Faso is red and green with a yellow star in its center. The red represents the revolutionary struggle (more on this later), the green represents agriculture (land), abundance and

hope, and the yellow star is for the country's riches and bright future.

Quite a number of African nations upon achieving independence, really a form of neo-colonialism, adopted these different colors as the symbols of their nation's struggle and a few even admitted that they did such in the name of Garvey's vision for a united and liberated Africa.

The generalized symbolism for the red, black and green within the New Afrikan nation, also adopted from Garvey, are as follows: Red is for the blood shed by Our people during Our centuries long struggle(s), the Black, is of course to signify Us as Black – New Afrikan people, that that blood shed was shed for the struggle for Black – New Afrikan people specifically. The green, symbolizing the land that is the liberated national territory. This flag is meant to inspire one to act, bring FREE THE LAND! into reality.

As COMMUNIST New Afrikans, We have a distinct perspective of the world, and because we have that distinct perspective, which stems from Our adoption of MLM principles, We must also distinguish Ourselves in regard to the symbols We identify with. A flag of any type or of any color is an identifier. It is supposed to identify the persynalized struggle of a nation, tribe or group. For this reason, We, New Afrikans, don't identify with the Amerikkkan red, white and blue. For Us it is a symbol of oppression, exploitation, invasion and genocide. For this reason, both consciously and unconsciously, Our people have been drawn to identify Ourselves with various symbols and flags, these differ widely depending upon one's class makeup. Bourgeois, petty bourgeois and labor aristocrat New Afrikans largely identify with the 'Stars and Stripes' while the lumpen within the nation often do not identify with any flag or nation, which is a manifestation of the lumpen's reality as being that ostracized sector of the socio-economy. These lumpen largely identify with the riches that they dream of possessing. They wish to be among the petty bourgeois and national bourgeoisie, and they thus identify with what they call the 'hustle' or the 'paper chase.' There are of course the lumpen who do identify with a flag and/or nation. That is in reality what we would refer to as lumpen organizations. Again, the objective and subjective alienation from the socioeconomic structure leads the lumpen to not only survive economically but to also develop cultures or sub-cultures and traditions which are alienated from the mass culture and traditions.

As United Struggle from Within(USW) and *Under Lock & Key(ULK)* are directed towards the

lumpen, we will pay due attention to this subject from the lumpen perspective. We think it is important to touch on this point because many comrades and would-be comrades are very eclectic, and the mixture of different schools of thought dilutes Our ideological integrity as COMMUNISTS.

When it is said, as has been said in the past, that the lumpen are the most potentially revolutionary class in the United States and the First World, this is a generally relative statement. For it is only accounting for the lumpen's economic separation from the economy, but the lumpen MUST undergo an internal transformation on an individual basis, proletarianizing themselves, before or as they act in the furtherance of revolutionary COMMUNIST struggle.

*The revolution aims to transform all aspects of society – economic, social and cultural. It aims to create a New Afrikan with exemplary morality and social behavior that inspires the admiration and the confidence of the masses. Neo-colonial domination led to such a state of deterioration of Our society that will take years to cleanse. (1)*

USW members, whether New Afrikan or otherwise, must forge a new consciousness and a new behavior with the aim of setting a good example for the masses. While making, or rather Building, revolution, we must pay attention to Our own qualitative transformation. Without a qualitative transformation of the very people who are supposed to be the Builders of the revolution, it is practically impossible to create a new society rid of corruption, theft, lies and individualism in general. We must strive to have Our actions match Our words and watch Our social behavior so as to not open ourselves up to reactionary critics, who wish to delegitimize all things and people of revolution.(2)

In the prison context WE must distinguish Ourselves from the 'gangs' and parasitic behavior. A while back *ULK* published an issue with the topic of 'Overcoming the Gangster Mentality.'(3) In that issue many writers made what We can call encouraging comments about gangsterism/gangs. While WE understand that the issue of shedding ones self of gang identification is a process that takes time, WE must begin to stress the importance and encourage COMMUNIST and SINCERE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS to make the qualitative leap out of the gang identity, gangsterism, and its flag(s).

The various tribes within Our nation have their own 'flags' and those flags have their own meanings. Those meanings aren't altogether different than that of Our national flag. However, those meanings only identify with ones specific tribe/set etc., and thus this causes the continued division among Our class and Our nation(s). As New Afrikans, and as USW one of Our main objectives is to foster PEACE and UNITY, within the prison setting and among Our people in general. Along these lines it is clear that OUR active participation and affiliation with reactionary lumpen orgs is contradictory to OUR cause and it is a counter-productive contradiction. This tendency that many of Us behind the wall still lean towards must be combated, and not viewed with a liberal eye. We say PUT YO FLAGS TO THE USE OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE NEW AFRIKAN NATIONAL REALITY. We wanna set Our sights further than achieving the rank of OG or Certified G, or a '5 star general,' or anything of the sort. We wanna set our sights on being government workers and administrators of Our own nation. We wanna be architects of a new world and a new reality free from oppression, and We say leavin Our bangin' days in the past is the first way to start. We tell Our youth, sis-stars and brothers, to UNITE & produce under the banner of the red, black and the green.

*Look u a Blood and ima Crip, but I figure WE can get back to that Black Shit, instead of kilin' and bangin' for crack shit Is N\*\*\*az too stuck in they ways? I know WE long overdue but is WE ready for change? STAND UNDER ONE FLAG LIKE AN ARMY BRIGADE -*  
*Nipsey Hussle*

Now, we must touch on the New Afrikan national flag and the pan-Afrikan flag. Above, We stated the Red on the flag of Burkina Faso represents the revolutionary struggle. What did the Burkinabe mean by this? By revolutionary struggle they meant their own persynal revolutionary experience. As We know no two revolutions are the same. What they also meant by revolutionary struggle is the revolutionary science which guided their persynal revolutionary experience. That science was dialectical materialism. That science was Marxism-Leninism (prior to the popular acceptance of Maoism). This is the same science which is to power and guide Our persynal revolutionary experience.

We articulate the above to say, or propose rather, that We New Afrikan COMMUNISTS should distinguish the symbolism of the colors of Our flag. The Pan-Afrikan flag, which the New Afrikan

national flag is adopted from, was put forth by Garvey who himself was anti-communist.

*The fiery communists are fighting against one class interest for the enthronement of theirs – a group of lazy men and women who desire to level all initiative and intelligence and set a premium on stagnation – and so Our world goes wrong.*

Further, he says:

*I am against communism as it is taught in America, because it is even more vicious than all the other 'isms' put together. In America it constitutes a group of liars, plotters and artful deceivers who twist a one-third truth to a whole big lie, and give it out to the unthinking clientele for consumption. Communism among negroes in 1920-21 was represented in New York by such negroes as Cyril Briggs and W.A. Domingo, and my contact with, and experience of them, and their methods are enough to keep me shy of that kind of communism for the balance of my life. A group of men of any ism or party who would seek to kill or illegally or improperly dispose of a political adversary because he doesn't agree with their particular brand of politics are not associates for those who seek the perfection of government ... the American negro is taught/warned to keep away from communism, as it is taught in this country; he should work, watch and wait for his own opportunity, which is largely to his own making. (4)*

We've shared this quote from Garvey to insinuate that We must distinguish Our flag's symbolism from a brother who did denounce what was at the time the most revolutionary tendency within Our nation.

Along these lines (in reference to the RNA flag) We say that the Green, is placed first to symbolize the importance of LAND and that WE must FREE THE LAND first before We can establish a new socialist economy and culture. The Red has always been an emblem of Honor within the international communist body. Thus We say that the Red of our flag should not only represent the fallen comrades but further it must represent Our commitment to COMMUNISM and the SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION. The Red is second in order because after We free the land We can build socialism, not before. The Black is simply a symbolic statement to express that We are those Black

people who were warred upon and abducted, who were enslaved, who fought, killed and died for Our emancipation (don't let NO ONE insinuate it was given to us), who've struggled ceaselessly against colonial and neo-colonial domination under the rule of Amerikkkan settler-colonialism and imperialism, and finally We are those people who have (who WILL) liberate Ourselves by establishing Our own socialist nation: The Republic of New Afrika!

**In Conclusion:** We say to all those leaders behind the walls, within those lumpen orgs, OUR NATION needs you to stand out (distinguish yourself), be exemplary, **Bang the Red, Black and the Green!**

*Now if We wanna live the thug life and the gangsta life and all of that, okay so stop being cowards and let's have a revolution. But We don't wanna do that, dudes just wanna live a character. They wanna be cartoons, but if they really wanted to do something, if they was that tough alright, let's start Our own country, let's start a revolution, let's get out of here, let's do something. (5)*

Re-Build!

**Sources:**

1. *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-1987*, pg. 101-102.
2. see the *Revolutionary 12 Step Program* by a USW comrade for a guide to transformation from the gangster mentality to the proletarian mentality
3. *Under Lock & Key No. 68*, May 2019.
4. *Selected Writings and Speeches of Marcus Garvey*, p.190.
5. Tupac Amaru Shakur interview from prison.

## **Part Two: Abolish Amerikkka!**

# 1. WE STILL CHARGE GENOCIDE: WILL THE REAL NEW AFRIKANS PLEASE STAND UP!

In *ULK #73*, MIM (Prisons) published one of my articles entitled “Da Struggle Continues: We Still Charge Genocide.” In said article i announced the coming of the international tribunal 2021, which took place October 22-25, and has now passed. In this article we will look to a few of the events that have taken place since that previous article, and how it pertains to Our plans going forward.

For those who do not know the verdict given by the International Jurists was an emphatic **GUILTY** of all charges. These charges include:

- Police racism and violence
- Mass incarceration
- Political prisoners and prisoners of war
- Environmental racism
- Health inequalities

In the wake of the hystoric verdict leaders of this campaign announced the next step forward being the establishment of what they’ve coined a ‘People’s Senate’. This infrastructure is a key stepping stone for New Afrikan, Indigenous, and Chican@ nation citizens to



formulate the common unity needed to eventually conduct a U.N. supervised plebiscite which will finally legitimize Our quest for Self-determination.

Ultimately, that is the reason the tribunal was so important. With the advent of the guilty verdict the political line that seeks revolutionary nationalism for internal semi-colonies in north amerika has



been legitimized within the eyes of the international community, and the United Nations (U.N.).

While Our struggle(s) have long been legitimate in Our own eyes, when establishing an independent nation it is prerequisite that a nation gain international diplomatic support. In the past New Afrikans have had such support. However in recent decades such support has waned as New Afrikans have become increasingly more bourgeoisified, and more and more assimilated. As a result other countries have been hesitant to step out on a limb in support of amerikanized 'negroes'.

Now with the advent of the People's Senate We will possess the infrastructure to properly seek out reparations, and independent nationhood. Up until this point the reparation push in this present landscape has been one which revolutionary nationalists would be hard-pressed to support. This was because the institutions and hand-picked persyns chosen as the voice for reparations movement were amerikanized negroes, seeking further assimilation into amerika, utilizing the economic plight of segments of New Afrika to advance their own agendas. With the People's Senate, We will guarantee a people's voice, and a people's control of the direction of Our collective movement. Incarcerated persyns may also take part in this People's Senate. You should contact the Jericho Movement for further details on how to participate. #Power Moves

The above-mentioned international tribunal took place in Harlem, at the Malcolm X and Betty Shabazz center, which is the exact location Bro. Malcolm X. was assassinated.

Now, 56ADM (56 years After the Death of Malcolm), those men who've languished behind bars falsely framed by the U.S. government for Bro. Malcolm's murder were officially exonerated 18 November 2021. This long overdue exoneration came about after a February 2020 Netflix documentary, *Who Killed Malcolm X* aired, and its startling conclusion initiated calls from the Shabazz family to re-open the case of Bro. Malcolm's assassination. The basic conclusion is that the actual shooter, along with others present were working on behalf of the FBI, when they murdered Malcolm X on the orders of their masters.

Of course to many this is not 'news', but merely a confirmation of a long-held belief. What is outrageous to this writer is that with the government basically admitting to assassinating one of the

greatest and best leaders We've had for the New Afrikan liberation cause, the level of outrage is basically zero. Brother Malcolm once said that We have gone from a race of warriors and untamed runaways, to a race of complicit house n\_\_\_\_ers. Sad, but true. When the U.S. can for all intents and purposes admit to assassinating Malcolm X, a liberatory leader, when Kyle Rittenhouse can be found not guilty (more on this later) and there is no outrage or sustained resistance, when Ahmaud Arbery's murderers begin trial and not ONE New Afrikan persyn is selected on their jury in a county that is 25% New Afrikan (more on this later) and there is no outrage nor sustained resistance, We've become complicit in Our own oppression. We've capitulated to the will of Our enemies.

### **WILL THE REAL NEW AFRIKANS PLEASE STAND UP!!!!???**

AS if Our case for Black secession, and a socialist Republic of New Afrika weren't clearly justified, events like Kyle Rittenhouse's acquittal, and the lack of Black jurors in the case of Ahmaud Arbery underscore grievances issued by generations of neo-colonized Afrikans in amerika. What We as a people must overstand is that these issues do not persist because of racism. Malcolm X wasn't assassinated by racism, but by a corrupt power structure. Kyle Rittenhouse's murder of two Black Lives Matter supporters and the wounding of a third, wasn't acquitted by a racist, nor because of racism, as his victims were white themselves. Instead he was acquitted because the political orientation that led to his actions (settler-colonial imperialism) is part and parcel with the political identity of the corrupt power structure. And finally, the murderers of Ahmaud Arbery are being tried by a jury of their peers, while New Afrikans have been pleading for the same consideration for literally centuries, because their actions were in furtherance of the corrupt power structure's sustained power. That is while some of us have been struggling to 'FREE THE LAND!', a New Afrikan is unable to run FREELY in the LAND. The devilish cowards that murdered brother Ahmaud reinforce the colonial relationship between New Afrikans and the white settler amerikans.

The time has come to move away from BLACK LIVES MATTER to the NEW BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT. We are not fighting racism, We're fighting oppressive and exploitative POWER. In order to ever be FREE, in order to have a REAL influence on whether or not incidents like those mentioned here ever happen again, We must obtain POWER, and We must

exercise POWER in non-exploitative or oppressive manners. To accomplish this, the formula is simple, We must organize now for people's WAR, Vita Wa Watu, to seize power, and implement socialist (non exploitative/oppressive) power.

**LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF MALCOLM X**

**WILL THE REAL NEW AFRIKANS PLEASE STAND UP**

**POWER MOVES**

## 2. “STOP FORMOSA!” IS A BATTLE FOR LAND AND SELF-DETERMINATION

News from the National Territory: Republic of New Afrika

On a 85 mile stretch of Earth in Louisiana, from the Mississippi near Baton Rouge, to New Orleans, New Afrikans who were recently liberated from the chains of Amerikkkan color-caste colonialism (slavery), managed to buy land and found numerous ‘Black Towns’ as they were called. These ‘Black Towns’ thrived for five generations, in what was once plantation country, but is now the heart of Our Republic of New Afrika. However, since the 1990s, domestic neo-colonialism has ravaged the health of New Afrikans in towns such as ‘Freetown’ and ‘Welcome’ Louisiana. So much so, that this stretch of land is commonly called ‘Cancer Alley.’

Multi-national petrochemical corporations have targeted this land in order to capitalize on various objective realities. Plentiful water, cheap land, access to natural gas, huge tax breaks and lax regulation attract these international conglomerates (Koch Industries, Royal Dutch Shell, Exxon Mobil Corp, and others). These imperialist companies have built over 200 petrochemical factories and refineries on Cancer Alley. Since 2015, seven huge complexes have been built, and five more are in the process of being built.

New Afrikan wimmin are now leading a fight to stop the fossil fuels pipelines and plants from multiplying and further polluting the land and air within Our national territory.

Currently, a proposed Formosa chemical complex is the center of this struggle, and as is all too often the reality, the New Afrikan masses of Louisiana leading the struggle against these Amerikan corporations aren’t receiving aid from the Provisional Government or other collectives of conscious citizens. The people need Our leadership to frame this struggle for what it is: a manifestation of the worldwide fight against imperialist greed as it pertains to environmental national oppression.

Formosa Plastics Corp. announced in 2018 that they would be building a 14 plant complex in St. James Parish, which is just north of New Orleans. These factories will not only spew various cancer-causing agents into the air and water, but will also produce the throw away plastics that We

as a global community are desperately striving to eliminate. Every year the Formosa project will pump 800 tons of toxic chemicals, 6,500 tons of air pollutants and 13.6 million tons of greenhouse gases into the air. Additionally, wastewater and spill dumped into the Mississippi River will further endanger sea life in the Gulf of Mexico.

Democratic Governor John Bel Edwards has given Formosa a ten year tax break totaling \$1.5 billion, which is \$1.25 million per job since Formosa has promised 1,200 jobs to boost the local economy. Instead the New Afrikan sistahs who're leading the struggle are demanding reparations for those affected by these corporations' projects. St. James Parish is 91% New Afrikan with an average income of \$17,000 a year. Surely jobs are needed, however, 85% of employment at the plants have gone to euro-Amerikkans.

Neo-colonial puppets have exploited the dire situation of the grassroots. Yet Cancer Alley, and St. James in particular, has 50 times the national average of cancer cases. Cedric Richmond spent 10 years in the House as a former congressman and ignored the people dying in Cancer Alley, his fellow New Afrikan people. Instead he allowed these corporations easy access to the land, while building his political career by heading the Congressional Black Caucus, he then co-chaired the Biden campaign, and is now a senior advisor to the President. What does this tell us? It should tell us, that for all the 'BlackLivesMatter' posturing done by demokkkrats, the reality is that these are still imperialist politicians and are the enemies of the people.

Many grassroots groups such as RISE St. James have been at this struggle for decades and have also had significant wins against these corporate entities. In 1993, 1998 and 2019, these groups led the charge in order to have proposed factories and plants blocked.

This year, Sharon Lavigne, founder of RISE, spoke to the U.N. on the perils of 'environmental racism.' These New Afrikan wimmin are putting up a valiant fight, refusing to leave their homes and heritage (New Afrikan). This is obviously a struggle for land.

Currently the Formosa project is on hold due to community unrest. The U.S. Army Corp of Engineers withdrew a wetlands permit and a lawsuit challenging 14 air permits is going to court.

To show your support to these modern day New Afrikans, sign the petition at [stopformosa.org](http://stopformosa.org)

Notes:

Lois Danks, Battling racist Polluters in Cancer Alley, June-July 2021 Freedom Socialist Newspaper

## Appendices

## 1. Notes on Spellings

It may be necessary to include the following information, for those who may not know or are curious. On the spelling of 'Afrika' and 'New Afrikan':

"We of the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) spell Afrikan with a 'K' as an indicator of our cultural identification with the Afrikan continent and because Afrikan linguists originally used 'k' to indicate the 'c' sound in the english language. We use the term New Afrikan instead of Black to define Ourselves as an Afrikan People who have been forcibly transplanted to a new land and formed into a New Afrikan nation in North America." [1].

Further, on capitalization:

"[i]n the grammar of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the first-person singular is not capitalized ['i'] and the first letter in the first-person plural is capitalized ['We']. This is the application of a principle of the New Afrikan Creed: The Community is more important than the individual'." [2].

On 'Amerikkka' and 'United \$tates': Amerikkka is the white settler nation which has occupied North America since the 1600s. The United \$tates is the country of the Amerikan nation, that occupies many other nations as semi-colonies.

"We takes the spelling of Amerika with a "k" from the revolutionary movements of the 1970s. The term "United States" is inappropriate for a country that occupies thousands of First Nations, the Black nation, Aztlán and Puerto Rico. This country is not in fact "United" but is a substantial empire extending throughout u.\$. borders and beyond.

"We use angry language because the oppressed and exploited have a lot to be angry about, these are the people in whose interests we work. If you want an organization that uses calm tones, the Democratic Party or the Greens might be for you. Our middle-class critics are inclined to believe that there is a neutral educational tone appropriate for all communications. In reality, a neutral tone is not appropriate for the emergency situation that exists today." [3]

On womyn and humyns:

"In order to cut back on the psychiatry industry's collections, MIM will now allow the spelling of humyn as the more general and correct or universal form of "human" to be consistent with it's already passed policy on "womyn." This will be to oppose seeing humyns as derived from men. The proletariat bears the more universal truth than the bourgeoisie does and wimmin bear more of the truth than men do." [4]

Let it be known that the enemy only wins when We are convinced to let them have their way. Re-Build!



2. Footnotes to Akinyele Umoja's '*Maroon*', *Kuwasi Balagoon and the Evolution of Revolutionary New Afrikan Anarchism*.
3. Letter to the University of Michigan Daily from the Maoist Internationalist Movement, 15 December 1999, *MIM Notes 200*.
4. 1997 MIM Congress Session II: Resolution on Changing Spelling of "human"

## 2. Abbreviations

**BPP** – The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (founded 1966 in Oakland, CA): While the organization existed into the late 1980s, it had peaked by 1970-71. MIM(Prisons) upholds the BPP from 1966 until 1969 or 1970 as the prime example of Maoist organizing in the United States to date.

**BLA** – Black Liberation Army: originally founded as the underground army of the Black Panther Party, it represented an independent organization after a split in the BPP and repression of Panthers (notably in New York City) that led many to go underground.

**CPUSA** – Communist Party – United States of America (founded 1919): CP-USA was the fraternal party to the socialist Soviet Union. While following Josef Stalin's lead (the General Secretary of the Soviet Union, and head of the Communist International) on the Black Belt Thesis, this party has always been a part of the euro-American labor aristocracy. Today it is a toothless organization steeped in electoralism.

**MLM**- Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: The third stage of development of revolutionary science that started with Karl Marx, was advanced by the creation of the Soviet Union under V.I. Lenin's guidance and again with socialist China where Mao Zedong was the primary ideological leader. See definitions below for more info on what Maoism entails.

**NAACP** – National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (founded 1909): founded as an organization to combat racial discrimination, the NAACP has always been an integrationist organization that is dominated by bourgeois reformists today. One of its founders, W.E.B. DuBois is an important New Afrikan historian and leader who went on to become a communist aligned to Maoist ideas. Robert F. Williams was another famous NAACP leader during the 1950s who later went into exile in socialist China and influenced the BPP. Williams was elected the first president of the RNA at its founding in 1968.

**NAIM** – New Afrikan Independence Movement: a general term for the movement for self-determination of the New Afrikan nation in an independent territory and state. While this term evolved with the Republic of New Afrika, it could also be applied to earlier organizations that upheld the Black Belt Thesis.

**RNA** – Republic of New Afrika (founded in 1968 in Detroit, MI): at its founding the RNA declared its intent to create an independent Black Nation (New Afrika) in the Black Belt southern states where most New Afrikans resided at the time. The RNA created the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, appointing leadership positions to Robert F. Williams and Betty Shabazz.

The RNA lives on in the spirit of the NAIM.

**SCLC** – Southern Christian Leadership Conference (founded 1957): founded and led by the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. to bring together other organizations, mostly churches, involved in the fight for civil rights (voting, use of public space, free speech). The SCLC still exists as a non-governmental organization based in Atlanta, GA.

**SNCC** – Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (founded in 1960): A multi-national student youth group which birthed many radicals/revolutionaries such as Kwame Ture, Jamil Abdullah al-Amin, etc. Organized sit-ins and marches in a de-segregation effort which are popular in Euro-Amerikan school textbooks today.

**ULK** – *Under Lock & Key*: The newsletter of the anti-imperialist movement in U.\$. prisons, ULK is edited and published by MIM(Prisons) and mostly written and illustrated by USW and other United Front organizations behind bars. Originally a section of the newspaper *MIM Notes* written by prisoners, in 2007 MIM(Prisons) launched *ULK* as its own newsletter focused on the prison movement.

**UNIA** – Universal Negro Improvement Association (founded 1914): A bourgeois nationalist organization founded by Marcus Garvey famous for its foundational aspects of Pan-Africanism and going back to Africa. Like many bourgeois nationalist organizations, much of its legacy can be respected and supported while many aspects criticized.

**USW** – United Struggle from Within: the MIM-led mass organization for prisoners and former prisoners, see introduction to this pamphlet for more info.

### 3. Useful Definitions

**anarchism:** Anarchists aim for a classless society free of oppression. They differ from communists in that they don't support the strategy of building a party based on democratic centralism to end oppression and they disagree that there will be a necessary stage of dictatorship of the proletariat before communism can be achieved. Although they have a hatred for oppression and authority, the groups are principally a First World phenomenon and have never won a revolution. (*MIM Theory 8: Anarchist Ideal* by MIM )

**anti-imperialism:** The belief that nations have the right to struggle for liberation when faced with oppression by other nations. Opposing imperialism means opposing the system where some nations use their power to exploit other nations' wealth. Imperialism stifles all indigenous economic and political activity in the oppressed nations. Anti-imperialists work to end the system of imperialism which allows a few nations to profit at the expense of the majority.

**anti-imperialist united front:** The loose alliance of classes and organizations that work to undermine imperialist domination. To achieve our principal task, we must unite all who can be united on the side of the oppressed against imperialism. Developing an anti-imperialist United Front, is facilitating the growth of the winning side of the principal contradiction in the world today.

**bourgeois nationalism:** Ideological expression of the upper and middle classes of oppressed nations, often implicitly identified with the capitalist-imperialist system yet dissatisfied with the current order and their place within. Bourgeois-nationalism can play both a progressive role, insofar as it can be incorporated in the broad united front against imperialism, or a reactionary role based in its tendency to capitulate to imperialism and impose its own system of oppression. (RAIM glossary)

**bourgeoisie:** The bourgeoisie is the exploiter class most characteristic of the capitalist system. Their wealth is obtained from the labor of others, in particular the proletariat.

The term "bourgeoisie" now usually refers to the capitalist class in common usage. The capitalist class is that class of people who own enough property that they would not have to work to make a living. The capitalist class only works if it wants to. Also included in the term are people with very powerful positions in production or government generally. A ruler may or may not have great assets on hand, but if s/he really wanted them, s/he has the power to get them. For example, Ronald Reagan made a speech in Japan with a \$1 million fee after he retired from the presidency. If he had been "poor" during the presidency, he still would have been part of the "capitalist class." What he was doing was central enough to the ruling class of capitalism that he had de facto access to the means of production, even if he had gambled away his ranch and other assets in Las Vegas while he was in the White House.

An overly restrictive definition of capitalist is someone who owns the means of production--factories, tools and patents for example. What is important is not the literal ownership of means of production but access to those means of production. Such access could be merely the ability to get a loan so large that it is possible to live off the business connected to such a loan. Access to political information in the military, intelligence or executive branch would make it possible to be rich making a speech like Reagan did or by selling secrets to foreigners. People with such access to information also may be bourgeoisie. For example, Reagan could take

his \$1 million speech fee and convert it into means of production such as ownership of tools and factory buildings. Whether he does that or not, we can say he has "access" to the means of production.

There is another common and critically important usage of the term "bourgeoisie." Technically the bourgeoisie includes other sections, including those more numerous than the capitalist class. The "petty-bourgeoisie" or "petit-bourgeoisie" refers to people who are exploiters but not on the scale of the capitalists. The petty-bourgeoisie often owns its own means of production or professional skills but does not hire enough workers to be able to quit working and still live a life of leisure. There are other categories of bourgeoisie that are not capitalist, such as what Mao called the "comprador bourgeoisie" which owes its existence to imperialist capitalists and cannot function on its own as a capitalist class.

**cadre:** Literally, a frame or framework; a nucleus of trained, experienced activists in an organization capable of assuming leadership and/or training and educating, (instructing) others to perform functional roles (*Black Liberation Army Political Dictionary*)

**cadre organization:** In contrast to a mass organization, a cadre organization recognizes the importance of a worked out ideology to decide its line and actions. They strive to play a vanguard (leadership) role within a movement. Membership requires a higher degree of ideological unity and standard of discipline than a mass organization.

**COINTELPRO:** short name for the Counter Intelligence Program of the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation, which was used to refer to specific secret and typically illegal government operations; more generally used to refer to systematic campaigns directed by the Bureau against a wide array of selected domestic political organizations and individuals, especially during the 1960s (*Agents of Repression: FBI Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* by Churchill, Ward and Jim Vander Wall , p. 37-38)

**comprador bourgeoisie:** In colonized nations this class acts as junior partners to the imperialists in exploiting the colonized people. As a class, their interests are tied closely to those of the imperialists even if they have a national interest in independence. They sell out their nation for personal benefit.

**cultural nationalism:** this is an idealist form of nationalism, which looks to the past to establish a national identity rather than taking destiny into our own hands and creating a new future.

"Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists." -- Huey P. Newton, 1968 (*The Black Panthers Speak* by Foner, Philip S. (editor) , p.50)

**dialectical materialism:** The world outlook (or philosophy) first developed by Marx and Engels by combining a dialectical approach with a materialist study of the world. The dialectical materialist theory of knowing and doing is a constant cycle of knowledge development. Perceptual knowledge is used to make judgments and inferences, from which one forms rational knowledge, which one redirects to social practice.

This revolutionary practice produces objective and subjective results, which become additional perceptual knowledge. (*MIM Theory 9: Psychology* by MIM , p. 92)

**dialectics:** The study of contradictions within the very essence of things. The scientific analytical approach to studying contradictions within nature taking into account the historical development and the interaction of related things. Dialectics holds that nothing exists independent, isolated or unconnected, but that all phenomena are connected and part of the whole. They are dependent upon and determined by each other.

Dialectics also holds that all things are in a constant state of motion, i.e. changes. They move from a qualitative level with constant small changes to a qualitative level when their very essence or character make a giant leap to a new existence. These changes follow a definite pattern determined by the external and internal contradictions within themselves. This being that all phenomena are made up of opposite forces, i.e. internal contradictions, which are the basis for change and that all external forces, i.e. external contradictions, interact and become the conditions or impetus to change. (*Black Liberation Army Political Dictionary*)

**First World lumpen:** The class of people in the First World who are excluded from the productive process. By virtue of living in the First World this class, on average, receives more material benefits from imperialism than the global proletariat. As such their interests are not the same as the exploited classes and we do not include them in the "lumpen-proletariat." But their conditions in many ways parallel those of the lumpen-proletariat standing in stark contrast to the majority of the First World populations. (*Fundamental Political Line of the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons* by MIM(Prisons) , Section 2)

**focoism:** The belief that small cells of armed revolutionaries can create the conditions for revolution through their actions. Demonstrated revolutionary victories, the successes of the foci, are supposed to lead the masses to revolution. Focoism often places great emphasis on armed struggle and the immediacy this brings to class warfare. Focoism is different from people's war in that it doesn't promote the mass line as part of guerrilla operations. (*What is MIM?* by MIM )

**idealism:** The concept that mind is primary and matter is secondary. Idealists believe that all things originate from the idea and that matter is only a reflection of what exists in the mind, as one perceives it. The physical world can only be conceived as relative to, or dependent on the mind, spirit or experience. (*Black Liberation Army Political Dictionary*)

**imperialism:** Imperialism is an economic system that V.I. Lenin defined as the "highest stage of capitalism." It became well pronounced in the early 1900s, and is defined by the globalization of capital, the dominance of finance capital and the division of the world into imperialist and exploited nations; the latter Maoists see as the principal contradiction in the world today.

As the economic system that dominates the world, imperialism determines much of the material reality that all inhabitants of planet Earth face today, including war, poverty and environmental destruction. This means that the status quo promoted by imperialist interests is the biggest hindrance to change. As the dominant imperialist power, both financially and militarily, the United States generally serves as the primary target of our attacks as anti-imperialists. (*Fundamental Political Line of the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons* by MIM(Prisons) , Section 2)

**individualism:** A narrow selfish approach or outlook based upon putting oneself before the interests of the people, organization, and comrades. A bourgeois tendency expressed in the "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" theory. (*Black Liberation Army Political Dictionary*)

**integrationism:** the political strategy of incorporating into the oppressor nation as equals rather than struggling for self-determination; for example, the idea that the oppression of New Afrikans can be ended by having more New Afrikan cops, lawyers and politicians.

**lumpen-proletariat:** In a world where the vast majority must sell their labor power to survive, the lumpen-proletariat are those who are not able to sell theirs due to the limitations of capitalism at providing full employment. This class is rarely employed, often living as parasites on other proletarians. A small portion of the proletariat in Europe when Marx first wrote about them, the lumpen-proletariat has become an important class in itself. With the rise of mega-slums in the Third World following the period of neo-colonialism, this class has surpassed 1 billion people. (*Fundamental Political Line of the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons* by MIM(Prisons) , Section 2)

**Maafa:** a Kiswahili word which gives definition to the catastrophic event experienced by millions of African people during the middle passage journey from Africa bound for enslavement in the Americas.

**Marxism-Leninism-Maoism:** MLM, or Maoism is the ideology which emerged from the first successful Third World peasant revolution that liberated China in 1949 and guided the building of socialism in that country until capitalists seized power in 1976. Maoism is a higher stage of revolutionary science built on the foundations of Marxism and Leninism, and developed by the experience of the Chinese people who took up the revolutionary project during that time. Since then, it has influenced all the subsequent anti-colonial struggles in Africa and Asia and inspired many other revolutionary movements including ones inside the United States.

Maoism is famous for many changes in China, including: land reform; collectivization of agriculture; abolishing China's huge drug addiction problem; ending pornography and prostitution; eliminating the practice of breaking wimmin's feet (footbinding) to make them smaller and supposedly cuter; establishing China's first law allowing divorce; and eventually instituting worker-run industry without private property in the means of production.

Mao developed and popularized the philosophy of dialectical materialism. A major contribution was the thesis that the superstructure of society can at times be primary over the economic base; that the subjective can be primary over the objective, which challenged the deterministic readings of Marx of the past. This theory was proven true in the revolutionary era in China when the Red Army built base areas that prototyped socialist relations of production and culture as a form of dual power prior to liberation from Japanese imperialism. This experience was important for the development of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat after the communists seized power in China. In this stage, the theory that the superstructure can be primary was proven true once again in the struggle against the theory of productive forces. Maoism put politics in command, sacrificing immediate improvements in economic output, in favor of transforming the relations of production in order to unleash the new productive forces under socialism.

Related to this transformation of social relations, Maoism stresses reliance on the mass line in leading the vanguard party. Both are examples of Mao's saying that the masses alone make history. It is by collecting

the ideas of the masses and synthesizing them through practice that the vanguard finds the correct path to creating a new society that serves the people. The strategy of Protracted People's War put the mass line in practice, and connected both the party and the army to the masses in a way that transformed all involved. This culminated in the masses of Chinese people ousting a financially, technically and even for many years numerically, superior occupying force. The mass line continued to be important under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and was again brought to the forefront during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), when the masses of people were engaged in the struggle to distinguish the socialist road from the capitalist one.

Complete revolution is fundamental to Maoism. This means that all social, cultural, political and economic relations must be revolutionized. People will not be liberated by simply breaking the state or smashing capitalism. China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the best example we have of this attempt to completely eradicate capitalist influence, and build a society free from oppression. A country whose majority was illiterate peasants, facing preventable illness, drug addiction and brutal abuse was transformed into one where everyone was engaged in regular political study sessions directly related to the daily needs of their local community — where the basics of food, clothing, shelter and health care became universal.

More specifically, and dividing supposed communists everywhere, Mao was the first communist leader to argue that class struggle continues under socialism and that such struggle must go on within the the communist party and against the bourgeoisie inside that party. Mao warned that without successful struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party, there would be a restoration of capitalism done in the name of socialism at first — as in fact happened in the Soviet Union and China. Since much of Mao's writing merely continues previous Marxism-Leninism or because many of the new parts of Marxism-Leninism contributed by Mao are now widely accepted, it is Mao's doctrine on the bourgeoisie in the party above all which continues to separate Maoism from other varieties of supposed communism to this day.

New Democracy is another development we take from Maoism, that some dogmatists still use to dismiss the Chinese revolution as a bourgeois revolution. Semi-feudal/semi-colonial nations in the age of imperialism need to first liberate themselves from imperialism before they can build a socialist society. This national contradiction is resolved with a new democratic revolution which unites the national bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and the exploited classes under the leadership of the proletariat.

Related to New Democracy is the relationship between the vanguard party and the united front against imperialism, and the importance of the leadership role of the proletarian party in relation to the united front. Similarly, Maoism stresses the importance of an army that is led and directed by the party. These lessons are vital to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat today, especially in the exploited Third World countries. (*Fundamental Political Line of the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons* by MIM(Prisons) , Section 2)

**materialism:** The doctrine that matter is the basis of reality. A method of philosophic inquiry which sees material and social circumstance as paramount in shaping individual and social consciousness. Materialism developed in opposition to philosophical Idealism, which saw consciousness and ideas as the force giving order to the physical world. Materialist philosophy tends to look at how the social relations of production in a society give shape and form to the society and its members, i.e. how production and economic activity tend to determine laws, values, ideology, forms of government, etc.

As Lenin succinctly explained: "things exist outside us. Our perceptions and ideas are their images. Verification of these images, differentiation between true and false images, is given by practice." (V.I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-criticism: Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy*, Chapter 2.2) (RAIM glossary)

**metaphysics:** "beyond nature or the physical world", the metaphysical worldview starts from basic principles, or ideas in peoples' heads as the foundation for how things are in real life. As opposed to the dialectical worldview, that sees things in a constant state of change, metaphysics sees things in a stable state always abiding by these principles or laws for all time; for example, there is a metaphysical view that humyn nature is to be greedy, while the dialectician recognizes greed as a characteristic of humyns in a given time and place (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism: Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy* by Lenin, V.I. )

**nation:** "a nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make up manifested in a community of culture." - J.V. Stalin

Nation is the predominant form of organization of humyn beings in the era of imperialism. As national markets and borders became important to the economic destiny of a region, the nation-states of Europe took form first. For the exploited, the national project is taken up in resistance to imperialism because it hinders their economic development. (*Marxism and the National Question* by Stalin, J.V. )

**nationalism:** an ideology based around the identity of a nation; the character of this ideology will depend on the position of that nation in the global economic system and the political development of the people of that nation; nationalism has been part of both the most oppressive and most liberatory social movements in the era of imperialism

**neo-colonialism:** A covert form of colonialism, in which the colonizing countries transfer wealth from the colonized countries without explicitly taking over political control of the subjugated nations. (*MIM Notes 115, p. 4*)

**oppressor nation:** Imperialism is defined by the principal contradiction between oppressed nations and oppressor nations. The oppressor nations are those who control and oppress other nations for their own benefit. Oppressor nations are the dominant imperialist nations, such as Amerika, Britain, Japan, Australia, France, Germany, etc. They are the minority of the world's people.

**peasantry:** The class of people who labor on the land and possess their means of production: tools and the land itself. A defining characteristic of the peasantry is that it must pay rent or a tribute to maintain its possession of the land. Members of this class are peasants. (*A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* by Tom Bottomore)

**petty bourgeoisie:** Generally the petty bourgeoisie is the group between the bourgeoisie and the working class, sometimes called the "middle class." They are economically self-supporting or even earning more than they consume for their own support. This class includes those who own their own means of production and work for themselves. They cannot generate sufficient surplus value from exploitation of others to live without working themselves, so they are not primarily exploiters, unlike the bourgeoisie. Two sub-groups:



1. **Owners of Capital (small businesses, real estate, stocks, etc.):** Owns their own business or has means to or has ability to get loan to start a small business. The pure petty bourgeois class is separated from the labor aristocracy by their ownership of wealth.
2. **Labor Aristocracy:** Unlike the traditional petty bourgeoisie, they do not own their own means of production and so must work for others. But unlike the proletariat and semi-proletariat the labor aristocracy in the First World earn more than the value of their labor and therefore have interests that fall in the bourgeois camp allying with imperialism.

Also written petit-bourgeoisie. (*MIM Theory 1: A White Proletariat?* by MIM , p. 5)

**post-modernism:** A trend in academia and teaching which says there is no truth and everything is relative; post-modernism opposes a scientific approach to humyn society.

**power:** in the context of liberation struggles this term means the ability of people to define a phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner. (*Interview with Huey Newton 1968*)

**principal contradiction:** The highest priority contradiction that communists must focus their energy on for a long period of time - a strategic period. The concept of the principal contradiction comes from dialectical materialism, which says that everything can be divided into two opposing forces. These contradictions are the basis for any changes that thing goes through. Every phenomenon or problem has a principal contradiction within it. Defining the principal contradiction in humyn society is a crucial step in transforming it.

The principal contradiction in the world today is between the imperialist countries and the countries they oppress and exploit. Based on this fact, we say the principal task is to build public opinion against imperialism and to build institutions of the oppressed that are independent of imperialism, in order to seize power from the imperialists.

**proletariat:** The group of people who have nothing to sell but their labor power for their subsistence. The proletariat does not draw any profit from any kind of capital because they have none. There are several groups that fall within the proletariat:

1. The working proletariat are exploited by others who make a profit off of their labor.
2. The non-working proletariat make up the reserve army of the proletariat. In current times this group is usually temporarily unemployed and seeking employment. The long-term unemployed usually fall into the lumpen-proletariat.
3. The lumpen-proletariat, a group of people who are unable to sell their labor power in the long term and so end up living as parasites on other proletarians. This group is found in the Third World, and is distinct from the First World lumpen.

Proletarians are propertyless and thus have "nothing to lose but their chains." The proletariat is the least conservative element of society. (*MIM Theory 1: A White Proletariat?* by MIM , p. 5)

**racism:** MIM observes scientifically that race does not exist and that what really happens in the United States is national oppression, not racial oppression. "Racism" does exist as an element of the superstructure of society, that is to say the ideas and culture, but "racism" is a product of national oppression, including the exploitation and enslavement of various nations by others. Racism can only be disguised, never eliminated,

by propagating politically correct attitudes, because racism is just a justification for exploitation and enslavement. To rid the world of this exploitation and enslavement, and hence racism, requires armed struggle against the imperialists.

For more on racism's inherent presence in capitalism, see "Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy" by H.W. Edwards (*MIM Theory 1: A White Proletariat? by MIM , Appendix 3*)

**reformism:** Working within the current system to make changes without fundamentally changing the current system through revolution.

**revolutionary nationalism:** an ideology that sees the solution to the plight of the oppressed nation in liberating itself from the global imperialist system to attain self-determination; revolutionary nationalists see the struggle of the nation as primary; they may or may not be communists

**self-determination:** In reference to oppressed nations and people, the principle of or ability to choose the course of future development free of reactionary, outside interference. (*RAIM glossary*)

**semi-colony:** An oppressed nation that is colonized by an oppressor nation, but does not exhibit all of the characteristics of a traditional colony. Within the United States we speak of the internal semi-colonies of New Afrika, Boricua, Aztlán and various First Nations. As imperialism has advanced, the Americans no longer depend on these nations as sources of new wealth as they do the Third World nations that we would call colonies, or, most likely, neo-colonies.

**settler:** Foreign invader who establishes permanent residence in an occupied land.

**subjectivism:** The belief that what one feels or likes is true or supreme. (*Combating subjectivism in all arenas, from cigarettes & drugs to...*)

**united front:** The strategy of uniting various organizations and individuals for cooperation towards a common goal, while maintaining the independence of initiative of each organization within the united front.

Historically the most important application of this strategy has referred to uniting the popular classes for the struggle against imperialism. As Mao wrote about the united front in the war against Japan:

"To sustain a long war by long-term co-operation or, in other words, to subordinate the class struggle to the present national struggle against Japan--such is the fundamental principle of the united front. Subject to this principle, the independent character of the parties and classes and their independence and initiative within the united front should be preserved, and their essential rights should not be sacrificed to co-operation and unity, but on the contrary must be firmly upheld within certain limits." (*THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE AND INITIATIVE WITHIN THE UNITED FRONT* by Mao Zedong)

**vanguard:** The party (group or individual) with the most advanced political line.

## **4. Recommended Readings**

The following publications are available from MIM Distributors in exchange for cash, postage stamps or work trade.

\$8 - Proletarian Feminist Revolutionary Nationalism by MIM/MIM(Prisons)

\$6 - Defend the Legacy of the Black Panther Party!/BPP Newspaper Collection – assembled by MIM(Prisons)

\$10 - Chican@ Power and the Struggle for Aztlán by a MIM(Prisons) study group

\$1 - Maoism and the Black Panther Party by MIM

\$20 - Black Against Empire by Joshua Bloom & Waldo E. Martin, Jr.

\$8 - Blood In My Eye by George Jackson

\$15 - To Die for the People by Huey P. Newton

\$15 - Revolutionary Suicide by Huey P. Newton

\$15 - The Huey P. Newton Reader

\$12 - The Black Panthers Speak by Philip Foner

