

1. Communicate national policies to other consulates
2. Develop communications channels for soliciting story material from the other consulates.
3. Arrange speaking engagements for ~~me~~ before clubs and organizations, vet⁸s groups, campus clubs, etc, including whites. Goal of one speech per week per officer.
4. Arrange university lectures
5. Solicit testimonials saying black nationalism is an honorable solution as any other
6. Search black newspapers for lists of clubs and their officers and follow up to acquire their meeting dates, size, big annual affairs, etc.
7. Contact Journalism school at Lincoln University and get list and addresses of all black newspapers in U.S.
8. Get names and addresses of all black police groups, and of black police officers who may be sympathetic or who will listen to our arguments. They can act as ~~sources of information~~ ^{informants or inform} among other officers.
9. Maintain scrapbook for The Republic
10. Develop fact profile sheets on our officers and ~~xxxx~~ other citizens most prominent in the revolution.
11. Maintain files on black activists of all kinds, citizens or otherwise.
12. Maintain files of statements by all whites who favor or are sympathetic toward separation or ~~no~~ community or local control.
13. Explore idea of a ~~communications seminar~~ national communications seminar for black ~~xxxx~~ mass media representatives.
14. Join underground and revolutionary press services and associations
15. Keep updated list of all officers in the Republic, african names and slave names. addresses
16. Form letter requesting permission to reprint or for photographs.
17. Explore idea of films being produced on Freedom corp and Black Legion.
18. Make liberal use of tape recorder at ^{important} all meetings and public gatherings.
19. Develop film strip and flip charts ^{visual} for/accompaniment during speeches.



Ken goes over the trial with his secretary, Annabelle Figgins

The Viera-Fuller Trial, in which Ravitz and Cockrel were joined by O. Lee Molette and Sheldon Halpern was the final setting for the delivery of two profound blows to the belly of the unjust system of justice.

The Recorder's Court Jury Commission, appointed by the Governor and supervised by the Recorder's Court through the Presiding Judge, was exposed for practicing the wholesale exclusion of persons from jury service who did not appear inclined to function as rubber stamps for a fascist-lawless system of injustice.

The historic importance of this expose is not yet fully comprehended as the struggle continues with cases on appeal, raising the question of the propriety of the process of jury selection in past trials.

After the jury challenge a jury was picked in the case that was 12 black and 2 white, and after all the testimony was in, 10 blacks and two whites agreed (after a most heroic struggle by the Black women of the jury led by Matilda Johnson, Shirley Robinson and Rosemary Jackson) to free Rafael Viera and Clarence Fuller of the Murder and Assault charges against them.

So it can be seen that blow after blow was dealt to a system that is unyielding in its opposition to the demand for justice that is being made by all who oppose this racist imperialist system.

The New Bethel Case is not completed - a Par complaint still hangs over Cockrel's head, but no one can deny the emphatic victory that the people can claim as a result of the events set in motion on March 29, 1969.

THE AFRIEM' CONSUMER BONDING COMPANY, INC.
1621 East Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27403

POSITION PAPER #1

THE AFRIEM' BONDING COMPANY

BACKGROUND

"THE STUDY OF HISTORY REWARDS ALL RESEARCH" MALCOLM X

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS VERY PLAIN. HISTORY BOOKS DESCRIBE THE PIONEERS AS BEING PERSONS WHO WERE THE SOCIAL OUTCASTS, THE MILITANTS, THE INDENTURED SERVANTS, ANARCHISTS, OUTSIDERS, BONDSMEN AND BONDSWOMEN, DEGRADED, OPPRESSED HUMANS, DEBTORS, THE EXPLOITED, THE VICTIMS OF IMPERIALISTIC DEHUMANIZING WAGE SYSTEMS, MIGRANTS WHO ESCAPED FROM FEUDAL SLAVERY TO BECOME A PART OF IMPERIALISTIC CAPITALISM CALLED WAGE EARNER. THESE SETTLERS MIGRATED FROM EUROPEAN GHETTOS TO BECOME LEGAL HUMAN EXTERMINATORS AND EXPLOITERS OF WESTERN ASIA. THEY NOT ONLY STOLE THE WESTERN ASIANS LAND BUT ALMOST DESTROYED EVERY HUMAN NATION THAT OWNED THE LAND, SO THAT THEY (THE EUROPEANS) COULD HAVE A "CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS" THESE RIGHTS BEING "LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

PURPOSE:

"EACH GENERATION MUST, OUT OF RELATIVE OBSCURITY, DISCOVER ITS MISSION, FULFILL IT OR BETRAY IT." FRANTZ FANON

THE FACT THAT BLACKMEN AND BLACKWOMEN ARE NOT TREATED AS HUMAN BEINGS GIVES US A MISSION, TO OBTAIN AND SECURE HUMAN RIGHTS BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.

THE AFRIEM' BONDING COMPANY IS ANOTHER MEANS OF FOCUSING HUMAN ATTENTION TO AND GETTING RID OF HUMAN SUFFERING. WE SERVE THE PEOPLE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE BILL OF RIGHTS, AMENDMENT NO. 8 "EXCESSIVE BAIL SHALL NOT BE REQUIRED, NOR EXCESSIVE FINES IMPOSED, NOR CRUEL AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT INFLICTED."

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARTICLE # 9 "NO ONE SHALL BE SUBJECT TO ARBITRARY ARREST, DETENTION OR EXILE."

FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR MISSION WE THEREFORE HAVE BROUGHT INTO BEING A "PEOPLE'S BONDING COMPANY" A HUMAN BONDING SERVICE DEDICATED TO AIDING THOSE HUMAN BEINGS WHO SUFFER FROM THE CORRUPT - IMPERIALISTIC - COLONIZING - CAPITALISTIC - SOCIETY WHICH ADMITS IT'S RACIST NATURE WITHOUT STRIVING TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR ITS VICTIMS. THESE SOCIAL VICTIMS, POLITICAL PRISONERS, DISEASED ALCOHOLICS, SO-CALLED CRIMINALS, ADDICTS, DEBTORS, THE OPPRESSED, THE EXPLOITED SHALL BE OFFERED A BONDING SERVICE AT HALF THE PRESENT RATE AND EVENTUALLY CERTAIN SOCIAL VICTIMS SHALL PAY NO MONEY FOR BOND SERVICE.

THIS IS A BLACK COMMUNITY SELF-HELP PROJECT

JOIN TODAY

JOIN TODAY

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT

Greensboro Association of Poor People
914 1/2 Correll Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Cultural Exchange
124 Northwest Boulevard
Winston Salem, N. C.

The House of Weusi Umoja
1621 E. Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

J. A. L. Associates
1001 W. Trade Street
Winston Salem, N. C.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE AIMS OF THE REVOLUTION

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

- TO free black people in America from oppression;
- TO support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;
- TO build a new Society that is better than that we now know and as perfect as man can make it.
- TO assure all people in the new Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
- TO promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service;
- TO create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds, and man's pursuit of God and/or the destiny, place, and purpose of man in the universe will be without hindrance;
- TO build a black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the aims of the revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
- TO end exploitation of man by man or his environment;
- TO assure equality of rights for the sexes;
- TO end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society;
- TO protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his natural rights;
- TO assure justice for all;
- TO place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the State to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to society and all its members; and
- TO encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devetion to the revolution.

THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

Box 667, Detroit, Michigan 48206

Chicago Consulate
Meets on Thursdays 7:30 P.M.
Affro - Arts theater
3947 South Drexel Blvd.

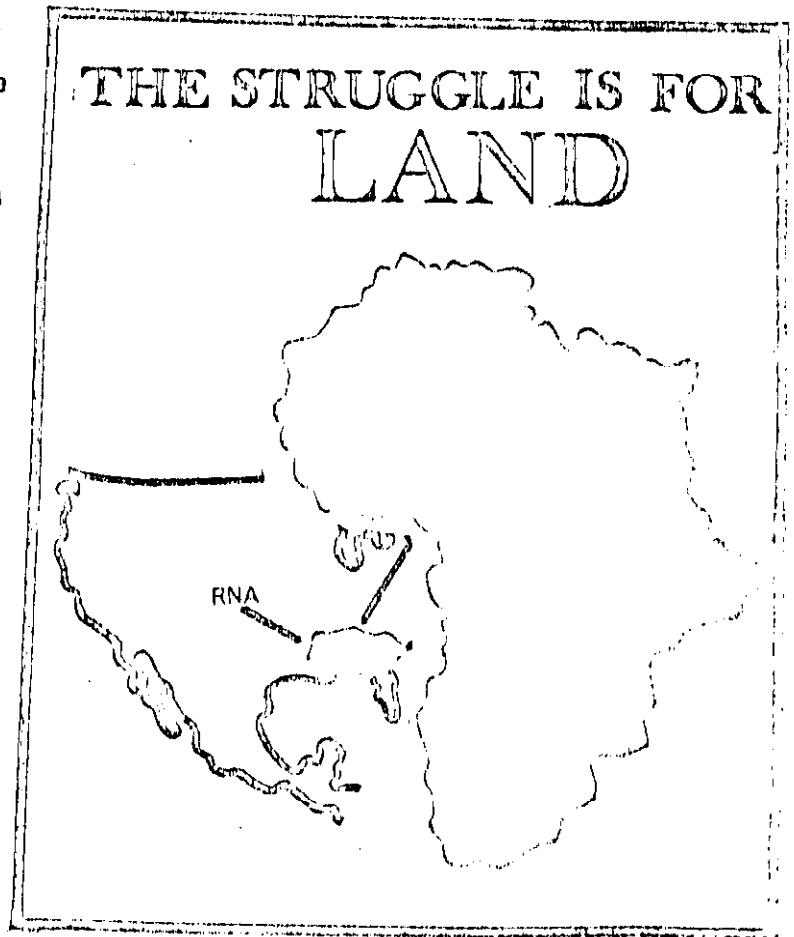
WITHDRAW YOUR CONSENT

are at a crucial point. The Black Man must not be
icked into going to war over a limited issue.

must deal with S.T.R.E.S.S., however, we must keep in
nd that S.T.R.E.S.S. represents the white ruling class.



The only way that we can become powerful is to develop
as a SEPARATE PEOPLE.



we must fight, let us fight for true liberation. We know We hear a lot about STATES RIGHTS and nothing about
representatives of the white ruling class came to the basic RIGHTS OF A PEOPLE.

ICA and violated OUR WILL. They brought us here

ast OUR WILL. Not only was OUR WILL violated but

LAND relationship was interrupted. LAND is the

of POWER therefore, when we were taken from OUR

D we became powerless. We cannot forget about

ICA because if we forget about AFRICA, we would

at our violated will. We need knowledge and control of

Will in order to RESIST. WE MUST TAKE BACK

LAND AND OUR WILL.

The right to self determination. The right to fight against
the enemies of self determination. The United States
became the enemy of Black People when it violated the
AFRICAN WILL.

The only reason that we are slaves is because the white
ruling class controls guns. Recent changes in gun control
laws mean that the white ruling class is in an arms race
with Black People. The United States is disarming Black
People. You are Black Don't Give Up Your Gun

D is our GOAL; FREEDOM is our PURPOSE.

SUPPORT

THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

THE STRUGGLE IS FOR LAND

Business is CAPITALISM. Capitalism works against people. It is morally wrong to steal, yet Monopoly Capitalist Businessmen steal from the American people everyday. Capitalism is the rich stealing from the poor. Capitalism must be stopped.

It is the duty of the People to change a Corrupt Government. The United States Government operates with the consent of the governed.

WITHDRAW YOUR CONSENT

WE ARE AN AFRICAN PEOPLE

In march 1968 black people from many parts of America came together in Detroit and decided to use the 'the right to choose' which our ancestors had never been allowed to use. We chose NOT to be American citizens.

Republic of New Africa

*An African Nation in the Western Hemisphere
Struggling for Complete Independence*

Box 50896

New Orleans, Louisiana 70150

As the answer to our people's problems of poverty and oppression We chose to set up an independent nation - and called that nation the Republic of New Africa. We then created basic law and elected a provisional government- a government being people to run the nation,

We know that all Black people in America, no matter where We live - have always made up a black nation, in the midst of the United States. We simply never had a government before, or independent land. Those who declared independence and created the RNA Government in 1968 were taking the first steps to make us a nation for real-independent and powerful. But the nation-the Republic of New Africa- does not belong only to those who met in 1968.

The Republic of New Africa belongs to the people, to all of us. The present Government of the Republic merely serves us, now, until we - all of us together - choose a new Government.

democracy, the government and the people should be Political leaders in this country are controlled by less "lobbying" or political sellouts are an accepted of this government.



government is CORRUPT. The DOPEMAN and the SE are ONE AND THE SAME.

cannot win our struggle for FREEDOM if we continue to allow the United States Government to HOOK US on drugs such as HEROIN and METHADONE.

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

NATION BUILDING CLASSES

PART I

I. What is a Nation?

- A. People with a common culture
- B. People with a common government
- C. People with a common land
- D. Often people with a common race.

II. There are at least two types of nations.

A. European nations

- 1. People in the nation all have individualistic mentalities.
- 2. They form a nation only to further individual interests.
- 3. War is the major factor which made it in the individual interest of Europeans to form nations.
 - a) Crusades made feudal lords more dependent on kings. This gave the first push toward centralized European nations.
 - b) William of Normandy in England, Joan of Arc in France, and Bismarck in Germany waged wars that pushed European individualists together.

B. African nations (traditional)

- 1. People are members of one family, there is no recognition of the individual and no individualistic mentalities.
- 2. Gikuyu (Kikuyu-Kalenjin), Yoruba, Ibibio, Songha, Ashanti, and Ghana are examples of African family nations.
- 3. African family nations were built on blood ties and social interdependence between brothers, sisters, parents and children. While western nations were built first on the popular belief of individuals in the divine right of kings and later on so-called social contracts between each individual and the government.

C. Traditional nations of Africa were carved up by the war-like white boy.

- 1. Otto Von Bismarck called a Berlin Conference in 1885 and honkies came and divided Africa into arbitrary boundaries. This broke up traditional family nations.
- 2. Part of Africa now lies on so called "American" soil. The white boy carved millions of Black people from the African homeland and shipped them to America where they became a Black diaspora - a group of wandering Black men - taken into slavery, and snatched from the whole.
- 3. One entire African family nation must be formed from the divided parts by:

- a) Each part freeing itself from the white boy.
 - b) Each part aiding the other parts toward their independence.
 - c) All parts drawing together into one Africa and becoming interdependent on each other as they break the honky chains.
 - d) One Africa will be a family nation based on African tradition and reason and not the individualistic minded tradition of the white boy.
- Many parts of Africa now struggle in confusion caused by indoctrination in the white boy's ways.
- Family nations lasted for thousands of years (i.e. Ethiopia 1,000 B.C., Egypt 4241 B.C.)
- Individualistic nations have been here but a minute in comparison, and yet they are now crumbling (i.e. England 1066 or 1489, U.S. 1791).

- 4. One Africa will move toward one revolutionized world, free from oppression and oppression.

III. Now we have a nation.

A. It is not America

- 1. America is a honky nation

- 2. The government is a honky government

- a) The government is the decision maker of and for the citizens of the nation - the nations people.

- b) U.S. Government is of and for honkies.

- c) The U.S. Constitution, which is the professed basis of U.S. government, was made by honkies for honkies (Blacks: 3/5 of a man).

- d) After so called emancipation, Blacks were made so called citizens, but worked on the same plantation for the same white boy and under the racist laws and law enforcement as when they were called slaves.

- e) When emancipation did not even meet international requirements. No choice was given to Black people to:

I) Leave U.S.

II) Be citizens of the U.S.

III) Be compensated by U.S. and to set up a nation of our own.

- 3. The culture is a European culture: materialistic, individualistic and imperialistic.

- 4. The land is owned by honkies.

B. The Republic of New Africa is the Black Nation of the Black man in the Western Hemisphere.

- 1. New Africans have a common culture, a common way of life. New Africans are once dead Negroes who have been reborn.

(Negroes have an imitation culture. A way of life forged from the white boy. Negroes are imitations. The white boy named and made Negroes invented the word and molded the characteristics which go with it. Negro is a polite word for nigger.)

- a) Culture is:
 - Mythology
 - History
 - Economic Organization
 - Political Organization
 - Social Organization
 - Fables
 - Creative Motif

- b) Mythology is the science of teaching values through fiction tales.

--The mythology of New Africa begins with the mythology of Old Africa. (Aesop's Fables and will continue with the growth of New Africa. (But the Negro still waits for a honky Santa Claus to come down his chimney.)

- c) The history of New Africa begins with the history of man and continues until this day. The history of the Negro is a sub-section of European history. Negro history begins with the death of the Black man and ends with his rebirth.

- d) New Africa presently has the infant stages of political, social and economic organization.

1. Political Organization

- a) "Political" means decision making
 - To the honky, Politics decides who gets what when and how
 - To us, Politics decides we get what, when and how
- b) New African decision-making is organized through unity and for unity. The Declaration of Independence sets basic principles. The Code of Omoja describes political structure and political rules.

2. Social Organization

- a) Child rearing
- b) education
- c) recreation
- d) interpersonal relations
- e) family regulation and cooperation

- a) Strong children arise from strong parents. Nation builders are raised not born.
- b) Family must be educated to deal successfully with their physical and social situation.

- c All recreation should produce physical and mental development
- d Each family member must relate to each other family member as a complimentary part, teacher to learners, leaders to followers, brother to brother, parent to child, sister to sister, brother to sister.
- e The family is regulated by adherence to values. Values are taught, learned, practiced and then legislated into law.

3. Economic Organization

"Economics" means production.

1. New African economics is called New African Ujamaa.
2. Under this system, everyone in the community works together, according to each person's ability, to produce the six material Essentials of human life: food, housing, clothing, health services, education and defense.
3. These material Essentials are then distributed to everyone (much as pure water is distributed today according to need, at almost no individual cost).
4. Western concept of equal distribution is rejected as inefficient and wasteful. Ujamaa distributes according to need.

----Brother with four children needs more than brother with none.

----Sick brother needs more medicine than a well one.

----Brother with one leg needs less shoes than brother with two.

----Equality of distribution is insufficient because needs are not the same.

5. Surplus wealth - after needs are provided surplus wealth is divided among all workers equally as disposable income. Disposable income is for savings and leisure activity.

c) Ethos

1. Ethos is the major characteristics of a culture.
2. Black Culture has two: Soul (sensitivity, creativity and impulse) and physical development.
3. Negroes relinquish soul to imitate whiteness. Negroes destroy their physical development with smoke, dope, drink, pills and laziness.

f) Creative Motif

1. Creative Motif is an overall motivation of a culture to create.
2. New Africans must be motivated to build their own nation to be beautiful and beneficial.
3. New Africans should also be motivated to eliminate all that prevents their creativity,

structure of government structure
The function of the local or state or government center is
to recruit citizenry resources and devotion for the nation
from the local colony. New Africa is a nation family. The
Omar House in Detroit for example is one household in that
family.

3. The Republic has land. The Republic is the nation of the
Black man in the Western Hemisphere. All the land which
Black people have traditionally lived on and built in the
Western Hemisphere is land of the Republic of New Africa.

4. New Africa is a nation with a common race. This race is
Black.

a) Race is sociological not pure biological.

b) Race is identified by color, culture and consciousness.

c) 1. Most Black people have a common dark color, however
many Black people do not have a dark color and many Negroes
do.

2. Culture is even a better tool to identify Blackness.
Virtually all persons who are a part of Black culture
have a Black way of life - are Black people.

3. Consciousness, all those with Black consciousness are
Black People. Consciousness presupposes culture and
surpasses color. Black Consciousness means to accept
the fact that you are Black, be proud of it and deal
with it.

IV. Our nation is in captivity.

Our culture, government, land and race are all captive.

In following classes we will deal with why and how we are in captivity, and
what we must do to free ourselves.

PART II.

I. Political - Economic Systems

A. Capitalism: An economic system wherein the major means of production and
distribution of wealth is controlled by a few who exploit the masses:

1. Means of production

a) natural resources

b) labor

c) skills (brains)

d) machinery

- b) destructive things
- c) destructive creatures.

2. The Republic has a government

- a) People's Center Council - 1) President, 2) Vice Presidents
3) Consuls, (other local heads), 4) ministers.
- b) Local structure

people's culture in each particular nation. Socialism in China is applied through Chinese institutions, in New Africa, through New Africans institutions. (Ujamaa). A socialist nation meets the needs of all of its people.

- F. Communism: According to Karl Marx's theory, this is the final stage of socialism in which all forms of government will fade away. There is no communist country in the world today.

In general the theories of Karl Marx are inadequate to describe Black politics, economics or any other Black experiences. Marx was a European with a European frame of reference. At the moment he theorized a dialectical progression from feudal state- to capitalism - to socialism, African states already had socialist states, and had had them for thousands of years. Furthermore African states have never had any real capitalism (only colonialism and neo-colonialism) and it is doubtful that we ever will.

II. How these Poli-economic systems effect us.

- A. Our oppressor is a capitalist nation. In fact it is the foremost capitalist-imperialist nation in the world. It not only exploits a huge portion of the world, but it controls other capitalistic-imperialist nations who are also exploiting weak nations. The U.S. is the terminal of exploitation.
- B. We are colonized by the United States. In fact we are the main cog in the United States colonial machinery. Our labor built and still maintains the monsters (G.M., Ford, Dow Chemical) that exploit the world.
1. We are divided into scattered reservations, which have spread out from a southern base. Our largest concentration remains in the South.
 2. Collectively these reservations constitute one scattered colony.
 3. Labor and brainpower are the main products exploited from our colony. Our land was stolen in Africa. In America we were never allowed to own land, but developed that of the slave master.
- C. We are kept in captivity by mercenaries, missionaries and military.
1. Mercenaries are the mass of honkies who plan, support and help operate racist institutions and commit individual acts of racism. (Bomb churches, lynch Blacks, etc. American honkies are the highest paid mercenaries in the world. Actually Negroes are small time mercenaries since they are busy mimicking the honky.
 2. Missionaries are the honky "Educators", media operators and religious leaders. Negroes are puppet missionaries.
 3. Military on the CIA, the local pig, the FBI, the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force, and of course, Negroes are here also, i.e. two gun Negro-Rent-a-cop.
- D. Our colonization is our problem. Our problem is physical and mental, external and internal, honkies and Negroes.

I. Decolonization is Building and liberating a Nation.

A. Building before liberation makes liberation possible.

1. We cannot liberate what we do not have.
2. We must be a people with common culture, government, and land before we can free ourselves as a nation.

B. Building after Liberation prevents liberation from being in vain.

C. Liberation is necessary for a colonized people who wish to be colonized no more.

II. Decolonization is revolution. Revolution is internal and external dealing with mental and physical shackles, dealing with our Negroisms and our honkey oppressors.

A. The internal revolution is a prerequisite for the external one.

1. An external revolution without internal substance is invalid and artificial. Materialism, individualism and imperialism is destructive in any clothing or any colour.
2. A Negro Revolution is impossible. Those who initiate the system are not willing or capable of changing it.
3. Cadillacs, dope, liquor, bowing snuffing and smoking; don't start or win revolutions.
4. Internal revolution requires unity, men without values cannot work together because men without values are mutually unpredictable.
5. Internal revolution requires adherence to values.
6. New African Values System is based on Nguza Saba Kwanza (seven principle of nationalism). And expressly stated in the New African Creed.
7. The creed translates into duties for each citizen; Every citizen must:
 - a) be informed
 - b) study and practice the creed
 - c) pay taxes
 - d) sell newspapers and distribute literature
 - e) Take out petitions (reparations and Vietnam)
 - f) accept assignments of work based on talent, aptitude & training
 - h) be a missionary

B. The external nationalist revolution requires 8 elements

1. Skills (Brains)
2. Labor
3. Natural resources
4. Internal support
5. International support
6. Internal military viability
7. Second strike capacity
8. Limited objective — *from states —*

- 1 Black people now have more skills than many other under-developed, neo-colonialized nation.
- 2 Labor is abundant in the Black nation, but it is all for the white nations.
- 2 The South land has an abundance of natural resources and access to the ocean to trade for more.
- 4 Internal Support must come in terms of the devotion, the resources and the lives of Black people north and south; those who are New African, those who are to be New Africans those who support New Africa and who will.
- 5 International support
 - a) We must take our case to the U.N. Courts, where they can be heard by arising third world nations and European nations jealously and individualistically competing with the U.S.
 - b) Alliances with Nuclear powers (China)
- 6 Internal military viability—a Black Army (The New African Security Force) equipped physically and mentally to defend the nation.
- 2 Second striking capacity — A underground force in the cities which burned in 138 cities in 1968 (After King's death), Detroit, 1967, Newark, 1968, Watts, 1965, and which is not connected with the Republic, but tends to deal whenever the Black nation is attacked.
- 8 Limited Objective: We settle for five of the least developed states in the United States, along with machinery and funds to develop them. This is a meager reparation for 400 years of subhuman abuse. This gives the U.S. the greatest possible opportunity to concede justice to the Black man.

Nationalism

- A. A Black Nationalist seeks to build a Black Nation.
- B. A Black Nationalist is a cultural nationalist and a revolutionary nationalist. *According to my thinking*
 1. There can be no Black Nation without a Black culture.
 2. There can be no independent Black nation in the United States without a revolution. Decolonization is revolution.

PART IV.

A class trip to the Topographical center is suggested here.

PART V.

Review

1. What is a nation?
2. What two types of nations have Black people come in contact with?
3. What is our (the Black) nation?

4. What is our government, culture, land and race? Explain.
5. The Republic is a captive nation. Explain.
6. List six poli-economic systems (or theories) and explain.
7. Which systems affect the Republic and how?
8. What is Decolonization?
9. What does revolution involve, where is revolution?
10. What is Nguzo Baba Kurenga?
11. What are the 8 elements necessary for external nationalist revolution?
12. What is nationalism?

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE

ALL PRAISES TO THE BLACKMAN

B I R T H O F O U R N A T I O N

On March 31, 1968, almost two hundred black people --- men and women, young and old, from all over the United States --- signed a Declaration of Independence, declaring Black people in America "forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States." This historic signing took place in the auditorium of the Black-owned Twenty Grand Motel in Detroit. It was the fruit of two days of intense deliberations, some held at Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna, some at Wayne State University's Helen DeRoy Auditorium, some in suites of the motel. At the same time these dedicated men and women brought into existence THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA --- A Black Nation, to which all black people in America, who wish to, can swear allegiance. And they elected officers of the Government. These officers will carry out the aims of the Revolution stated in the Declaration. These officers --- the government of the REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA --- will see to it that Black people and our new Black Nation become, in fact, free, independent, and successful.

WHY WAS IT NECESSARY TO CREATE OUR OWN NATION AND GOVERNMENT?

WE HAVE NEVER BEEN CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES. Black people have never had legal citizenship in the United States. To begin with, when our ancestors were set free from slavery, they should have been allowed to choose whether they wanted (1) to be United States Citizens, (2) to go back to Africa or somewhere else, or (3) to set up their own nation. This is international law: if a slave is set free, the slave master cannot tell that slave what to do once he is free. (If he could, the 'freed' slave would not be free) But that is exactly what the slave master did to us, to our ancestors. In the 13th and 14th Amendments, the slave master said we were free and at the same time said we were citizens. This was an illegal act by the slave master, the United States Government: by forcing citizenship upon us --- in other words, by telling us what to do after we were supposedly free --- the United States wiped out that freedom and without freedom there is no citizenship.

The grant of freedom and citizenship in the 13th and 14th Amendments was not really a grant of freedom and citizenship anyway. A citizen has all of his rights and privileges guaranteed and protected by the government. The government protects the citizens rights against both the government itself and other citizens. Where a government does not do this, there is no citizenship. In the Black man's case, the 13th and 14th Amendments, which were supposed to give freedom and citizenship to the Black man, protected the Black man's rights only against the government itself: they did not--- and do not --- protect the Black man's rights against other citizens. This was true even though at the time the Amendments were made law the Black man was living in the midst of white citizens who were hostile to him and constantly taking away his rights. Therefore, because the law which was supposed to grant freedom and citizenship to the slave did not guarantee his rights against other citizens, the grant of freedom and citizens, the grant of freedom and citizenship never really was made.

These two reasons --- first, that the Black man never had a choice, and, second, that the 13th and 14th Amendments do not give the Black man the protection that they have to give him in order to make him a citizen --- are why we have never been citizens of the United States.

WE HAVE NEVER BEEN A PART OF THE AMERICAN NATION. Though our people have struggled for 100 years to change the American Nation and become a part of it, we have failed to become a part of it --- we still live separately, go to school and church separately, socialize separately, and act and react separately (and differently). And there is no real hope now that we can change America; after 100 years of struggle and a full decade of intensely confronting racist evil with loving non-violence, we find that white people who are in the majority do not really want America changed. On the other hand, Black people could not become a part of America unless she did change, for there is too much racism, inequality, and oppression for us to join in America as she now exists.

BUT, MOST IMPORTANT, WE FORMED A NEW NATION BECAUSE WE CAN SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS ONLY THROUGH BEING A SEPARATE, INDEPENDENT NATION WITH OUR OWN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT.

OUR PROBLEMS

JOBS. Unemployment and under-employment (low-paying part-time jobs), and discrimination are fantastically high for Black people in the Black ghettos of the North and the Black counties of the South. In the Ghettos, one out of every three people is either unemployed or under-employed. And all over America the Average white high school

graduate earns more than the average Black college graduate -- the result of persistent discrimination.

In The Republic Of New Africa, the government will guarantee decent jobs for everyone by using tax dollars to open as many factories and businesses, owned by the people themselves, as are needed. Also, any company that discriminates against black workers in hiring, promotion, or training will be taken over and run by the government, The Republic of New Africa. But sovereignty is needed for this: Complete freedom, a separate nation.

No Black mayor, No Black city council, no Black county commission, elected as part of the United States Government, could use tax money to open factories and businesses to end unemployment. No Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could take over white companies for discriminating against Black people. Therefore, no Black mayor, city council, or county commission could end unemployment and underemployment, or quickly wipe out job discrimination. Our independent, separate government, The Republic of New Africa, could and will!

THIS IS ONE TOP REASON WHY BLACK PEOPLE HAVE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT --- THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA -- AND WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT IT.

BUSINESS CONTROL AND PROSPERITY. Merely driving white businesses out of Black neighborhoods and opening black businesses in their place will not guarantee Black control and prosperity. To open Black businesses where white businesses have run away will help keep money in the Black community, but it will not guarantee prosperity. Prosperity will come from Black businesses growing and they will grow only if they can get trade credit (this is when wholesalers give businessmen 30 to 90 days to pay) and only if they can be fair and plentiful to bank credit. When businessmen can't get trade credit and bank credit, they have to charge more and they stay small, fail, or fall under control of bigger white businesses.

No Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States Government, could prevent this or guarantee trade credit or black control of banks. Bank charters are given out by the state and the federal governments. And the United States Central Bank --- The Federal Reserve System which makes and controls credit, is an arm of the National Government, which Black people have no chance of controlling.

But an independent Black Government could guarantee trade credit, bank justice, and control and growth of black business. For, an independent Black government would control and operate its own central bank and give out bank charters.

THIS IS ANOTHER REASON WHY BLACK PEOPLE HAVE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT -- THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA -- AND WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT IT.

FREEDOM FROM RACIST WARS. No Black mayor, city council commission, elected as part of the United States government, could protect Black youth from being drafted and made to fight in racist wars, like the war in Viet Nam. Nor could any such mayor, city council, or county commission keep tax money from being used in support of such wars or in support of countries that oppress Black people.

But, as a citizen of an independent nation, The Republic of New Africa, no Black youth could be legally drafted and made to serve in the United States Army. And no tax money of citizens would be used to support such a war or to aid racist South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portugal, vicious oppressors of Black people. In fact as an independent nation, we can stand up before the world and denounce racist wars of the United States and United States support of racist countries, and we can use our government power against such perfidy. No Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could do this.

THESE ARE TWO MORE REASONS WHY BLACK PEOPLE HAVE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT --- THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA --- AND WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT IT.

SECURITY AGAINST CURFEW AND NATIONAL GUARD OPPRESSION. In the years since 1964, when Black guerrillas in Harlem began the Black man's new war in America,

the white governors of American states, aided by white mayors of cities where black people live, have taken to imposing unjust curfews upon black people and patrolling our streets with trigger-happy, anti-black national guard troops and police. Because this police power and emergency power are held not only by mayors but by state governors, no Black mayor, city council, or county commission, elected as part of the United States government, could stop this. But an independent government, The Republic of New Africa. Our Army and police will be used to protect our land and citizens (and not oppress them) and to crush any other army, police or National Guard force that attempted to violate our sovereignty.

THIS IS A FURTHER VITAL REASON WHY BLACK PEOPLE ORGANIZED A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT -- THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA -- AND WHY YOU SHOULD SUPPORT IT.

WHERE IS OUR LAND?

Our land is in two areas.

FIRST, scattered across America, our land is sections of the Northern cities where our people now live and have lived, in some, for over two hundred years.

SECOND, lying in a great Black belt across the South, our land is the counties of the South where we have lived and worked the land and clung to it for 300 years despite the most brutal oppression the world has known.

ALL OF THIS LAND IS ILLEGALLY HELD IN CAPTIVITY, AS A COLONY, BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

HOW SHALL WE GET CONTROL OF OUR LAND?

BY BLACK DETERMINATION. The first step is to decide in our hearts and minds that the land in the South (The Black Counties) and the land in the North (The Black Ghettoes) are ours and that in these areas we will not be oppressed or controlled by anyone.

BY ADHERING TO INTERNATIONAL LAW. The next step in gaining control is to hold elections among ourselves in the Black ghettos and the Black counties, before the eyes of the world, with United Nations world observers, to take our consent from the government of the United States and give that consent to the Republic of New Africa. Under international law government "derives from the consent of the governed." We have a right to choose whether we want the old, oppressive government of the United States or our own new government, The Republic of New Africa, brimming with great hope and promise.

BY DIPLOMACY AND MILITARY ACTION. Finally, we will seek to negotiate and use other diplomatic means to achieve recognition of our control and peace and safety for our citizens and our land. Like any sovereign nation, we reserve the right to military action in defense of our national integrity.

JOIN THE BLACK LEGION! TRAIN FOR THE PROTECTION AND SURVIVAL OF SELF AND KIND.

CHICAGO CONSULATE
3947 Drexel
Thurs. 7:30 p.m.

BLACK PEOPLES INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE
(headquarters) UHURU HOUSE
4700 Cadillac
923-0415

Peace and Power Brothers & Sisters:

It is never wise to entrust the investigation of a murder to the prime suspect of that murder. We, as intelligent Black persons, therefore, will not rely on the Detroit Police Department to make any serious effort to investigate the death of Brother Chaka (s.n. Clarence Fuller). Instead we have formed a Black Peoples Investigation Committee which will initiate a professional investigation into the Brothers murder.

For this effort we must be supported financially and politically. You have in the past, through words and actions, indicated a sincere desire to halt the lawlessness, and abuse perpetuated against the Black Community by the police department (the Algiers Motel Incident, the New Bethel Incident); the list is long and revolting. The assassination of Brother Chaka personifies a heinous disregard for Black lives. These actions must be stopped, and if our elected legislators, and so called spokesmen do not address themselves to these issues that threaten our very lives, then we the people must accept this responsibility.

We are asking that you make financial contributions, and support, in every way possible in our collective effort to investigate the murder of Chaka. We also ask that you sign a petition supporting BLACK PEOPLES INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE.

All checks, pledges, and cash may be delivered to UHURU HOUSE, 4700 Cadillac, Detroit, Michigan, 48221. Checks should be made payable to the "BLACK PEOPLES INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE". Any information known that might help this investigation may be called in at 923-0415.

BROTHER CHAKA LIVES!!!

(For further information contact:)
Sister Ayodele
Co-ordinating Secretary
Black Peoples Investigation
Committee

We/I pledge \$ _____ and my support to the Black Peoples Investigation Committee.

Signature _____

"Brothers and Sisters, beware of the local police - they are armed and dangerous. We have brutes in blue probing the streets of the Black Community under the jive disguise of "protectors of liberty", but wantonly beat and kill Black people in the name of "law and order". The Black and poor of the U.S. and others of the Third World People must band together to throw off this yoke of oppression imposed upon us by racist white america."

BROTHER CHAKA . . .

[illegible]

Gubert L. Raiford

NOTES ON THE BLACK EXPERIENCE



The Black Experience is sitting in a predominantly white class and having a white professor teach directly to you.

The Black Experience is being congratulated because Willie Mays hit a home run.



The Black Experience is reading an account of a murder and a newspaper with no thought for the victim, but rather, sending up a servant to say that the perpetrator is not guilty.

The Black Experience is going to the police department and having a white caseworker say that you are not guilty because you will not take your husband to court.



The Black Experience is going beyond that white caseworker to the black administrator who tells you the same thing.



The Black Experience is having to tell your four-year-old son that if he insists upon wanting to be white, then he will have to get himself a new set of parents.



The Black Experience is having to feel guilty and apologetic for being middle class.

The Black Experience is trying to decide whether or not you are black enough for blacks or too black for whites.



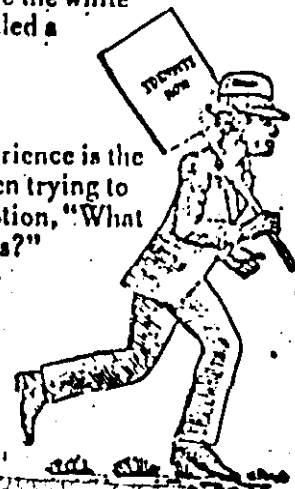
The Black Experience is having the price of collard greens, pig feet, and chitterlings go sky-high simply because you decided to call them "soul food," thereby creating a gourmet market.

The Black Experience is listening to the Osmond Brothers and feeling that they robbed the Jackson Five.

The Black Experience is being called a thief and a con man when your white counterpart is referred to as an embezzler. It is being called militant when your counterpart is called liberal. It is being called a numbers racketeer when the white counterpart is called a Wall Street broker.

The Black Experience is being called a welfare recipient while the white counterpart is being called a Lockheed executive.

Finally, the Black Experience is the perplexity you face when trying to answer the asinine question, "What is it the black man wants?"



All Praises due to the Blackman

I don't know

Father

Women

Brother

Sister

Come in

of

House

Bringers of good spirits

Pick it up

Peace be with you

Seeing you brings us peace

Meeting you have been a pleasure.

TITLES

MAULANA

MASTER TEACHER

KARENKA

NATIONALISM

MAULANA KARENKA

MASTER TEACHER OF NATIONALISM

IMAMU

HIGHEST PREIST

KASISI

CHAPLIN

AMIRI

COMMANDER

KALMU

AGENT

...We Also Want Four Hundred Billion Dollars Back Pay

by Robert Sherrill

*These are the demands of the Republic of New Africa,
a growing movement to form
a Black nation within the United States*

One day late in May, Brother Imari, Minister of Information for the Republic of New Africa, pulled up to the United States Department of State Building in a taxi and told the driver to keep the motor going because he would be right back out. Inside, James McDermott and Charles Skippon, who introduced themselves to Imari as "special assistants to Secretary of State Dean Rusk," formally received Imari's note requesting the opening of negotiations between the United States and New Africa. The note's demands were simple but rather sizable: New Africa's officials wanted \$200,000,000,000 in "damages" and they also want the U.S.A. to give up five Southern states—Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. McDermott and Skippon took the note politely and said they would start it through the proper diplomatic channels. Two minutes after the simple ceremony in the lobby began, Imari was back in his cab and on his way to Michigan, which is his home.

All was not exactly as it appeared. Only loosely speaking were McDermott and Skippon "special assistants" to Secretary Rusk. More accurately, they are plainclothes State Department cops—security officers—who sometimes carry pistols and who handle demonstrations, protests, and body traffic. The State Department had understood that the Republic of New Africa was sending a large group; the diplomats, envisioning a possibly riotous demonstration, alerted District of Columbia police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and dispatched McDermott and Skippon to grapple with the black emissaries. "You can imagine our surprise when the 'large group' turned out to be one man," says Skippon, who recalls the episode with polite contempt. He can't remember what happened to the petition. "It was turned over to the appropriate-country desk. I don't recall specifically; the bureau of African affairs, I believe, because they call themselves 'New Africa.' What they did with it, I don't recall. Well, I mean, how do you deal with a non-entity?" he asked, laughing.

But Imari (who is better known as Richard B. Henry at the Detroit Arsenal, where he works as a technical writer for the U.S. Army Tank Auto Command) and other cabinet members in the government of New Africa are not laughing, and they think Dean Rusk won't think it so funny either when his native state, Georgia, is part of their black nation.

The President of New Africa is Robert F. Williams, a former North Carolinian who fled this country one jump ahead of the sheriff (Williams says the charges were trumped up, and there are some grounds for thinking so), and he now commutes between Peking and friendly nations in Africa while awaiting his new kingdom to be set up by the faithful back home. But the real power behind the movement is Imari's brother, Milton R. Henry, a Michigan attorney who for six years served on Detroit's city council and who ran for United States Congress in 1964, losing to another Negro, John Conyers; Henry says the election was rigged. Milton Henry has taken the name Galdi, which he says is Swahili for "guerrilla," although he doesn't mind if it is confused with "gorilla" because he admires King Kong.

First Vice-President in the illusive Republic, Henry is also chairman of the Malcomites, a society whose membership is secret but whose purpose is not. It seeks to establish the Republic of New Africa in these steps: (1) Arm the black communities of the North and West, and if whitey tries anything rough, blast hell out of him. Henry has two well-kept AR-15's—lightweight, semiautomatic, 20-cartridge rifles—in his home and frequently conducts target practice for his family and his friends. Plenty of other Malcomites, he says, are doing the same. (2) Ship about a million well-armed blacks into Mississippi, take over all of the sheriffs' jobs through the ballot box, seize the government, and then move on to Alabama and repeat the process; the next three Southern states would be seized in no special order, but it would be done in the same way, by shipping in armed blacks who would first try to grab the governments by voting and, if that didn't work, by guerrilla warfare.

Inside the loosely knit community of 23,000,000 Negroes in this country, the recently revived proposal for the creation of a separate black nation from a portion of the United States has probably more support than whites would like to think.

The nation was officially alerted in 1967 to how restless the natives of Harlem and Samtown and Bootville really are when the Conference of Black Power met in Newark, New Jersey, and passed with tumultuous cheers a resolution calling for "a national dialogue on the desirability of partitioning the U.S. into two separate and independent nations," one black, one white. Most newspapers reacted with either shock or outrage, especially when the Black Power conferees illustrated what they had in mind by physically ejecting white newsmen in a rather rough style.

In the South, of course, where black militancy moves much more slowly, one will find few Negroes who are even aware of the proposal; but in the black neighborhoods in Northern and West Coast cities, the dream is dreamed quite regularly; and among the black intelligentsia, it is considered a legitimate topic for cocktail-party debates; as often as not the argument turns not around the desirability of separation but about the means to achieve it and the geographic area to be demanded of whitey.

Robert Hutchins, director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, says ghettologists estimate that about thirty percent of the black slum-dwellers are advocates of separatism, at least in the Los Angeles area; inasmuch as fifty-seven percent of Los Angeles' blacks live at slum level, this means only about one-sixth of the Negro total, if these experts know what they're talking about, would like to leave this country and set up one of their own. But even one-sixth, if applicable to slums everywhere, comes to a million or so Negroes eager to make the break and who are—according to the timetable of New Africa's politicians-in-exile—ready right now to get things started with guns. A Columbia Broadcasting System poll last year found only six percent of the blacks ready to carve out a portion of this country or go abroad; but even that amount comes to 1,380,000, and the CBS poll

When the separatists quarrel, it is only over such things as how much of the U.S.A. they should take with them. Whereas the New Africans would leave out Florida as militarily indefensible, Robert S. Browne, an assistant professor of economics at Fairleigh Dickinson University whose article, "The Case for Black Separatism," is now required reading in many black campus study cells, thinks the Henry group is stingy to stop with five states; he wants to take North Carolina as well and considers it utterly "ridiculous to talk about leaving Florida isolated down there." That makes seven states. Some leaders of C.O.R.E. think a better number is thirteen — a kind of patriotic salute to the original American colonies.

It would be only natural if the proposal for seizing land were directed toward the South from a feeling of vengeance, but separatist leaders claim that their desire for Dixie is directed by logic. "Not so much because the blacks are there in large numbers, although that is part of the reason," says Browne, "but because their roots are there even if they are not physically there any longer. Most of the blacks in the North were either born in the South, or their parents were. Also, we would want a coastline, and this would put us in the closest proximity to Africa and the West Indies."

Although the new nation would expect the United States to set it up in business by paying \$400,000,000,000 (since filing the letter with Rusk, the money demand has been doubled) in reparations for the black man's three hundred years in slavery and by paying off the industries and white landholders whose possessions would be seized by the New Africans, they would also try to float large loans with other nations. On this the separatists also disagree; Henry wants to borrow from Red China, but Browne prefers drawing working capital from Sweden on the grounds that "the whole thing is so shocking to most people that there is no reason to inflame them further by talking about aid from Communist China." Browne is such an impressive smoothie in his advocacy that Hutchins' philosophers in Santa Barbara had him out for three days of serious discussion. Henry's invitations come, more often, from the rougher militants who like to hear him rage against "the coercive rapes which our sisters suffer routinely at the hands of white swine." Actually Henry is a very sophisticated fellow, widely traveled (Africa five times), a graduate of Yale Law School, and with plenty of perspective on his own life, which began in Philadelphia as one of a middle-class family of eleven, all of whom, he recalls without embarrassment, "wanted to be good Americans. My mother used to put out flags on the Fourth of July." But now his business is roasting the white pig, basted with dreams of a kingdom stretching from the expropriated lands of Judge Leander Perez on the West to Mendel Rivers' military bases on the East, where a black-man's life would be legally polygamous and tuned to what he calls "the beautiful on-going drums of New Africa."

How would it be possible to effect the transfer of power, money and land from the United States to the Republic of New Africa? In the following interview, Henry attempts to explain it:

Q: Do you consider your government already in existence?

A: Certainly. We are the government for the non-self-governing blacks held captive within the United States. We meet once a week in every consulate, and we have consulates in most of the larger cities right now. New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Cleveland—you name it. We're thin in the West, but we have strong consulates in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Soon we will be organizing a Congress.

Q: Are these just paper consulates?

A: They are real consulates with a consul and a vice-consul and at least two secretaries. We should be issuing passports but if we did the U.S. government would probably use that as an excuse to crack down on us.

Q: How do you propose shifting your government-in-exile into the Deep South and setting up a government-in-fact?

A: We have already begun the shift. We have bought a hundred acres in Mississippi. That isn't much land but it is sufficient for a base headquarters. Like the Jews moving into Israel we will start to organize along the lines of cooperative and collective farms. You have to be able to feed your people. But the collective farm does more than just provide food. It's a center where people can get together, can politic themselves and can protect themselves.

Q: How many blacks will you ship into Mississippi to take control?

A: It won't have to be many. With a small movement of people we can do it. There are less than three million people in Mississippi and the blacks are already more than forty percent; in some counties they are fifty to seventy-five percent. Having a majority isn't meaningful until the day comes when we have enough people standing at the polls with guns to protect our vote.

Q: Does that mean you intend to seize the ballot machinery by democratic methods or by force?

A: Nothing is really peaceful. We may have to use arms. We will take over Mississippi county by county. To do that, we must have the power to get our votes counted. This embraces two needs: the power to ward off economic pressure and the power to ward off physical pressure. The reason we are setting up a Black Legion is so we will get our votes counted. If you bring in enough voters to take over a county, that gives you a sheriff. If you are wise in selecting your county—particularly in the Mississippi delta—you will have a large number of blacks to build with. Then we will have a legitimate military force, legitimate under U.S. law, made up of people who can be deputized and armed. The influence we will then exercise over the whole area of Mississippi will immediately be disproportionate to the numbers under our command. If we had only four sheriffs down there, with all that can be done with deputizing, we could change the state of Mississippi. Why did the Jews go into the Palestinian area and buy land? Because it gave them a base from which they could legitimately say, "We have land and we want to change the sovereignty." That's the way we are operating already.

Q: Where are you getting your money to buy the land? And where will you get your money to ship in blacks from the North?

A: Each black citizen is asked to buy one-hundred-dollar Malcolm X land certificates. It's something he can cherish and show to his children to prove he helped set up the black nation. The average black man can afford a hundred dollars. He can afford money for everything else under the sun—he doesn't have any objection to buying the most expensive automobiles and everything else, and they wear out in three years. He sure can afford a hundred dollars to put down on his land.

Q: Will you feel you can take over the five states when you have five black governors?

A: We may not have to wait until we control these governors' offices before we make our demands as a new nation. The real question is not whether we control the governors but whether we control the land, and we can do that by controlling the sheriffs. That's the important thing: having physical control of the land. In terms of real control of the land and real confrontation—there will be other things going on in this country. It could be burned to the ground while U.S. officials are playing games with us. They could be engaged in very costly guerrilla activities. The problems in the North

Q: If the government sees what you are up to and moves in to stop you, do you think you could whip the U.S. Army?

A: With the aid of nuclear weapons from our allies, such as China, sure we could. China could never help us until we could show that we were capable of a separate, independent existence. But we could show that by controlling a land mass. We could show it by the actual fact that we were there and had a majority of the people and were not subject to U.S. jurisdiction. Then China would back us with missiles. But we don't want to fight. It's better to have nice relations. We would only have to neutralize the U.S. Army, not fight it. We don't want another Vietnam, flames and napalm. Neutralizing the U.S. is the only way Castro could survive, and that's the way we would do it, too.

Q: At this point China is only a tentative hope for you to rely on. What do you have in the way of retaliatory firepower to fall back on until you can be sure of China's help?

A: We've got second-strike power right now in our guerrillas within the metropolitan areas—black men, armed. Say we started taking over Mississippi—which we are capable of doing right now—and the United States started to interfere. Well, our guerrillas all over the country would strike. Our second-strike capability would be to prevent the United States Armed Forces from working us over, not the local forces. The local forces couldn't compete with our forces. We can handle them. The second-strike capability already exists, and all the United States has to do to find out is to make the wrong move. The guerrillas will be operative until we take possession of the physical land. Ultimately, when we have the land, we will get the missiles from around the world.

Q: What makes you think the U.S. will let you have the land when they wouldn't let the Confederacy secede?

A: It's a different situation. The South could be defeated separately, but if the whites defeat our objectives, the country will be ruined in the process. There are a sizable number of people who want self-determination, separation, land. They want that more than life itself. They can't shoot all of us. They can't shoot enough to discourage others. You see, the Revolutionary War would not have worked if that could have happened. And the war in Vietnam isn't doing so good. They aren't going to win in Vietnam and they can't win in the United States. We can fight from within. How are they going to get us out of here? Where would they make the guns to shoot us—in the United States? Do you think we are just going to let them keep on making guns? How will they transport their guns and soldiers—on railroad trains? The United States can be destroyed.

Q: Do you mean you would do all this by sabotage and guerrilla warfare?

A: Obviously. We're within the country. This country will either talk to the separatists today or will talk to them later. At which time perhaps this country will have lost a great deal, in terms of lives and property.

Q: As for the blacks who stay behind in the United States after you separate, how do you foresee defending them from revenge?

A: I don't think that is possible, and this is one reason why most of them will come with us. It would be like Germany. Some would want to stay behind, but you get rid of ambivalence by oppression. There were some Zionists who even kind of welcomed the oppression because it helped unify the people toward the ideal of creating a nation. We've always said the white man is making more converts than we ever could. Every day the police walk through the black ghettos they make more converts than we can.

Q: When you have cut away the South as your own nation, what would happen to the industries that are already there, such as the steel companies around Birmingham?

A: We keep them. We take them and we keep them. The United States would pay reparations to those companies as part of our conditions for reparation. The U.S. could give the companies tax credits for their losses. In those terms it wouldn't be very costly to the U.S. And of course our government would operate the plants. We don't have any hang-ups on socialism, which we call "ujamaa," which is broader than socialism. It's an African conception of the organization of society. It means we have total responsibility for one another.

Q: Where will you get your technicians during the transition period?

A: If we need outside technicians, they'll be given resident visas. White people who feel they can live in the kind of society we're talking about can stay. But they'll have to be cognizant of the fact that we'll have a new kind of law. The white industrialists and technicians have too much power in Africa. I'm impressed every time I go back there—they have too damn much power in Africa. One of the things Castro did that helped his survival was to cut off the head of the industrial monster in the midst of his government. This is one of the problems in Algeria—they can't get out from under this economic thing. Those industrial guys are *powerful*.

Q: Since many of the whites who stayed on would hate your guts, wouldn't you be afraid of sabotage and guerrilla reprisals from them?

A (laughing): That kind of white would want to move. They'd say, "Those goddamned niggers." I know there'd be a lot of people calling the President a bastard. Some of us who are helping getting the thing underway may never live to see the actual fruition of the government. But the government will go on.

Q: You say that your black followers are arming themselves for the day of separation. But where is this evident? If the blacks were really arming in large numbers, seriously, wouldn't the destruction and bloodshed in the riots of recent years have been far greater than it was?

A: The blacks have been arming along defense lines so far. We are now going through the period of holding action. But most astute people see that a different pattern is developing. Everywhere you can see a frustration, the willingness on the part of black people to say the hell with it. Some black people right now are so keyed up they just want to shoot it out. They want it all right now—right now. They don't want to wait. So far there has been sparing use of the gun and the Molotov cocktail. But we are urging that every black home have a gun for self-defense against the possibility of a Treblinka.

Q: Do you have a gun?

A: Just a minute—I'll show you. [He came back with two rifles.] These are AR-15's. Like the weapon used in Vietnam except not fully automatic. It's semi. Holds a clip with twenty cartridges in it. It's beautiful on the range. Lightweight, any girl can handle it. My wife shoots. These are the kind of weapons we suggest women have so that if there be a Treblinka every block will be able to defend itself. We train regularly. This is important because most of us like myself—I was in the Air Force—the only thing I had really seen was that Army .45 and the little button on the stick. I didn't know what the machine guns looked like and it didn't worry me. I just knew that if you pressed the button, the thing went off. I bought these rifles in the last couple of years, when I realized the seriousness of the thing. It's just incredible to think that you have to prepare to defend your very existence against the possibility of annihilation.

Q: You actually think the white man might try to annihilate you?

A: On sure. All the whites around us are better armed than we are.

Q: What would trigger a serious white attack on the blacks in this city?

A: Anything could do it. We have people (Continued on page 146)

INTERVIEW WITH MILTON HENRY

(Continued from page 75)

were treated as openly. The day after the riot in my city. One night when I went out to see a friend and he was going to tell me. Now suppose one of those racists made the mistake and really did that you can't tell what might happen. There are plenty of whites, and some police are among them, who are trying to good talk into doing something with the hope that it will help generate the garrison state. But if they trigger that, they will also help the separatist movement. Just imagine, at my age—I'm forty-nine—I've never known a minute's peace in this country. I've struggled like hell all my life just to live with people.

Q: Well, why don't you get completely away from it all by moving to Africa? You like Africa, don't you?

A: I love it. Every time I go over there I feel a peace, which is an important thing for me. For myself, I would personally like to go to Africa and say to hell with it.

Q: Your forebears came from what section of Africa?

A: Probably West Africa. That region around Ghana, the Cameroons, in that area. But we don't know where we came from—this is one of the tragedies of our past. You have a name which is in fact your name, and that is quite different from my having a name like Henry. Nobody in Africa is named Henry. Such a hell of a thing for me to be named Milton Henry. That's an Irish name, for god's sake. I have no damned business—it's a hell of a name. It means that somebody, way back, owned my parents or screwed my parents. It's a mark of shame. It would be so nice to know that maybe I did have people who were among the Ashanti in Ghana.

Q: Then why don't you load up your people and go back to your fatherland instead of heading South?

A: It's a good idea, but logistically it is very unsound because of the difficulties of moving people, furniture, mastering the culture. Anyway, could you tell me what nation we might be able to move back to? It's easier to put furniture on a truck than to get it across that ocean.

Q: What would you have in the South but a black extension of the United States?

A: My goodness. Our social life would be different. We would try to reinstitute the dance as it is in Africa. So many things. The whole business of polygamy.

Q: You say you would allow your men to have more than one wife?

A: Absolutely. It's an African custom. Here in America we can't do that, so this is one reason for not staying in the United States.

Q: Would you have party politics?

A: I don't think so. Let me explain something. In America, which is an older country, you can afford to have changes of the leadership. But it makes no difference whether you have Nixon or Humphrey.

Q: You mean you won't be voting at first?

A: No, we can't have that kind of vote at first. The persons responsible for bringing that government into existence are entitled to have some say about who is going to run that government. As your government then becomes really secure, you put into effect an increasing degree of democracy. You get your parties institutionalized like in America and then it doesn't make any difference whom you elect.

Q: How long would you foresee that first period lasting?

A: Not too long—not more than thirty or forty years. Look at Russia—they started in 1918 and they're now getting to the point where they might consider a form of elective process. We cannot permit any elective process that would overthrow the government, at the start. This voting business is something that secure governments can afford.

Q: What would you do about immigration?

A: Of course black people would certainly be allowed to come in. White people we would subject to very rigorous examination to determine whether

they were really interested in a synthetic society and had goodwill toward our nation. How to test them? A lot of ways—see what they had done, what their views are. If they couldn't pass simple tests we wouldn't want to be bothered. We don't want saboteurs and provocateurs in our country. If whites didn't have any overt things against them, they would be perfectly welcome. They would not come in as citizens but on trial; if they do things to show their interest they'd be entitled to join with us. If they didn't, then they'd have to go. They'd be given resident visas, permits to come in and live for a restrictive purpose. There

would be no quota—just according to our needs, absolutely according to the needs of the nation.

Q: What sort of governmental structure do you see? A Congress?

A: Oh, yes. There are a lot of good things contained in the basic idea of this government. Ghana is constitutional—many of the ideas are quite similar to those here. This country had good ideas, a good thing going if they could make it work. It works for whites. The structure, the idea of the balances—very good. It has its hang-ups.

Q: There would be poor people in your society, wouldn't there?

A: Yes. But poor people in my society with hope. That's a lot of difference. Everybody in my society will have hope—they really will—that one day they may be President. As one little boy said at one of the council meetings, "You know, for the first time I really have the understanding that I might be President." It's a hell of a thing to sit down in a legislative body as I did for six years on the city commission and see everybody under the sun being made mayor but you. And this is by the vote of your brother councilmen.

Q: You going to have compulsory military service?

A: Absolutely. Every man should be

willing to defend the nation, every woman.

Q: Would there be unions in your nation?

A: I would be inclined to discourage them, particularly if they were along the lines of American organized labor. American organized labor is part of the institutional side of capitalism, which is undesirable. When you talk about the movement toward integration and inclusion into all the instrumentalities of government and the institutions, then you have to look further than whether we get a good job in terms of three dollars an hour. Can we get the fifteen-dollar-an-hour job—

can we get the job where we really plan, and that sort of thing? The union doesn't even recommend black candidates.

Q: If you could get the fifteen-dollar job, would you like to stay in this country?

A: If this country could make the kind of modifications I'm talking about, yes. That'd be fine. I wouldn't mind staying. If they had a truly synthetic society—if I could be, as a black man, representative to an African country, and be a black man, not a blue-eyed black; if I had the right to rise up and modify the policies of these companies, so that General Motors

would not move in South Africa, movement of I could do it. If the liberal after this of this whole country were changed so that I could participate in it, then we'd have the kind of government I'm talking about having down there. But this country won't make these changes—not educationally; it persists in maintaining its myth. There's so much that has to be changed, I don't think the country is willing to do it. It'd be easier to give me four states.

Q: How is it a black man who feels as you can be friendly to a white man?

A: (laughing): It's not a personal thing. It's an institutional thing. We've got an institutionalized oppression that we've got to break. We have to break those bonds. So then we can live as we would be inclined to live. With decency toward one another. We don't have any inclination to be nasty to you. It's the institutions that keep us from living.

Q: But I suppose there will be a period of transition where people won't be able to separate black faces from black institutions and white faces from white institutions?

A: That's one of the problems of our mythology. We have a mythology that is developed, that is important to the development of any movement, of course. And we move by the mythology. Eric Hoffer said you cannot build a movement without a devil, but you can build a movement without angels. And you see the essential is to build a movement. In the mythology of any movement—we're analyzing the situation—you cannot build without a devil. And the very fact you begin to talk in devil terms means that some may not comprehend the humanity of black people. Some blacks will not be able to comprehend any humanity in white people. And that's unfortunate. Our problem is to build the movement. We have to paint the picture, to create the mythology, to give life to it. We have to change it. There's no terms you can think up that would be any better than to say the white man is a devil. That term embraces the conception of the destruction of life.

Q: How would you go about moving the cities who are unacceptable to you who don't want to stay because they don't wish a black government? A: That's their problem. They will have forty-five states they can move to. The United States has great ca-

pacity to move men and equipment. It has moved half-a-million men into Vietnam. It will be much easier to move several million out of the South. The U.S. is the greatest country in the world for moving things.

Q: Wouldn't you feel bad about moving out a white Georgian, say, who liked Georgia?

A: I wouldn't have any worries about him. Absolutely not. He's enjoyed Georgia far too long. Besides, he's had the benefit of Georgia goods off my back. Let him go up North. If he loves Georgia that much, let him live under our dominion. We're not going to intimidate him, beat him, keep him from going to the polls. Or anything like that. But if he doesn't like us, because of racial views, if he can't stand living under black people, I don't have any sympathy for him. I don't have any more sympathy for him than the government of Kenya has in encouraging those Indians to go over to London. The hell with it.

Q: Let's get down to day-to-day things. What about the Georgian who just couldn't get around the lifetime habit of using the word "nigger"?

A: That's all right—we'd educate him. We've got a good possibility with those television sets. The cultural realigning of a whole people. Everybody in our government would be subjected to a kind of propaganda. We would gear our literature, our theatre—that's why our artists would be able to make a new life in terms of developing literature and plays and all of that.

Q: This hypothetical Georgian—maybe he didn't watch TV and maybe he still went around saying nigger and he called you that, and worse things. What would happen?

A: He would be subject to governmental pressure. We're going to have a criminal code which would deal with socially indefensible acts.

Q: What if I owned a newspaper down there and editorialized against those black monsters?

A: You would be in trouble. That kind of freedom of the press cannot be justified. The Russians are right in that area. You have to think about what they're saying. When they start censoring people for putting out counterrevolutionary literature, they're right in that. You can't have people directing the minds of the young in this fashion.

Q: Some white liberals are now proposing to let you set up independent cities in the black neighborhoods that exist in our urban centers. Would you settle for that much independence?

A: A nation within a nation, helped by the major nation. Once again, that's no good. We could never have any control in that situation. The whites would have us surrounded. We would be at their mercy. They would control the food supply, the transportation, the utilities. We would still be subject to the white man.

Q: Would you accept it as an intermediate step?

A: No. We could get bogged down in that for another hundred years and eventually find we would have to get out anyway. So the thing to do is do it now. That is the only answer: get out. 46

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

The REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA is an all Negro organization founded in Detroit, Michigan in March, 1968. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, who was then residing in Peking, China was named its President-In-Exile.

The purpose of the RNA is to establish an independant black nation within the United States, demanding the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, in addition to \$10,000 per black citizen as payment for 400 years of ancestral slave labor.

The RNA has an army known as the BLACK LEGION, dedicated to black freedom and committed to the concept of systematic armed revolution. The RNA plans to establish an underground BLACK LEGION in addition to an above ground BLACK LEGION in order to avoid detection by Police.

September 1969, shortly after the return of Robert F. Williams, he resigned from the RNA. At this time MILTON HENRY and RICHARD HENRY took over the leadership of the RNA. A split developed, each HENRY having their own faction of the RNA.

CODE OF UMOJA

To provide a basis for oneness of the Black Family within the Black Nation, To succeed in our struggle for Independence in the Western Hemisphere, and to pursue relentlessly the liberation of oppressed people throughout the world, WE the people of the Republic of New Africa hereby declare the Code of Umoja as the sole rule of our Nation.

ARTICLE I

All people of color who pledge allegiance to the Republic of New Africa may become citizens of the Republic of New Africa.

ARTICLE II

1. The People's Center Council will make the national policy of the Republic of New Africa. Voting members of the Council will be the chairman and Vice Chairmen (whose titles, respectively, as executive officers of the nation are President and Vice President) and RMA Consuls or one comparable local official from each Consulate or organized RMA community which has no Consul. The National Ministers will be no-voting Council members.
2. Council sessions shall be convened four times each year, in January, April, July, and October, when all citizens shall convene to offer proposals and suggestions. The Council shall also meet at any special session called by the Chairman or 25% of the Council membership.
3. The first session after the ratification of this Code and all subsequent special sessions shall be at a place designated by the Chairman, except that all special sessions called by 25% of the People's Council shall be at a place designated by that 25%. Every other session will be at the location designated by a majority of the People's Center Council at the preceding session, unless an emergency should cause the chairman to designate another location. One-third of the People's Center Council's Voting membership must be present before it can exercise any of the powers vested in it by the Code of Umoja.
4. By two-thirds majority vote of its voting members in session, the People's Center Council will amend, alter, or add to the Code of Umoja. All such legislation will be National in scope and effect, and therefore will be binding on the entire Nation.
5. The President will be the Commander and Chief of the National Security Force. He will enforce the Code of Umoja and defend the citizens and territory of the Republic of New Africa. He will appoint the National Ministers to serve for three years, subject to the approval of the majority of the voting People's Center Council members present. Likewise and in like manner he will fill all vacated offices of the National Cabinet for the remainder of that unfinished term. He will carry out the Aims of the Revolution initiating necessary action not prohibited by the Code of Umoja.
6. The President and Vice Presidents, with authorization of the President, shall have the power to remove or suspend any Consul or comparable officer. But the People's Center Council shall have the power to reinstate such an officer or confirm his removal.
7. The first President of the Republic will be elected March 27-29, 1970, by a majority vote of all New Africans, aged 16 or older, who participate in the March 27-29, 1970 Republic of New Africa Regional Conventions. The first four Vice-Presidents of the Republic will be elected March 27-29, 1970 by a majority vote of New Africans, aged 16 or older who participate in the March 27-29, 1970 Republic of New Africa Convention in their Region. Eligibility, time, and method for voting in all subsequent National or Regional elections will be determined by a two-thirds majority of the voting members of the People's Center Council.

8. The President and even Vice President will serve until he resigns, becomes physically incapable of serving or is voted out by a two-thirds of all voting members at the People's Center Council, while in session of the Council. Any person removed from office may be re-elected by New African citizens.
9. At their first session in the President's term, the People's Center Council will place four Vice-Presidents first, second, third, and fourth in line of emergency succession to the Presidency. If the President should resign, be removed from office or become physically incapable of serving, he will be succeeded (until another President is properly elected) by the highest available Vice President in the line of emergency succession. If none be available, the President's successor, until another President is properly elected, will be selected by the People's Center Council.
10. There will be in the National Cabinet a Vice-President for every region of the Republic of New Africa and National Ministers for every National Ministry the People's Center Council shall establish. Every RNA region in existence at the ratification of this Code shall be a RNA region under this Code, and, as provided by the People's Center Council new regions may, from time to time, be established.
11. Every RNA Consulate in existence at the ratification of this Code shall be an RNA Consulate under this Code and as such is a local part of the National family. And as provided by the People's Center Council, new Consulates and local Communities will from time to time, attach to this family.
12. The members of each Consulate and local Community of the Republic of New Africa shall elect a Consul or comparable official (or officials). The term of the Consul or comparable official (or officials) shall be as long as the citizens of that Consulate desire, but all such Consuls and officials may be removed at any time by a majority of their Consulate members or two-thirds of the People's Center Council. Each such Consul or comparable official shall preside over a Consulate or Community in the manner designated by its members, provided that:
 - A. An official is appointed or elected in each Consulate or Community who will assume all duties of the Consul or comparable official (officials) during his (her) absence.
 - B. The Code of Umoja is enforced in each Consulate and Community.
 - C. All directives issued by National Minister or a Vice President under the President's authorization, or by the President, shall be followed by all Consuls or comparable local officials, except that no such directive may levy taxes.

ARTICLE III

1. The Judicial power of the Republic of New Africa shall be vested in the People's Center Council and the Tribunals.
2. Each local tribunal will have original jurisdiction over all cases and dispute that arise in its local area and concern the Republic of New Africa. The People's Center Council will be the final interpreter of the Code of Umoja and will have appellate jurisdiction over all cases and disputes heard by the local tribunals. The People's Center Council will also make appellate rules and procedure. But the Council reserve the power to refuse the appeal of any matter it deems of a local nature.

ARTICLE IV

The Code of Umoja shall be ratified and take effect at the March 2 - '9, 1970 Regional Conventions.

AMENDMENT I
(May 21, 1971)

Each Government Center worker of the Republic of New Africa is required, at a minimum, to perform government work for the number of hours determined to be feasible by the Administrator, or his designate, after consultation with that worker.

Likewise and in like manner performance of government work shall be required of Consulate and New Community workers, consistent with the determination of their Consul or Mayor.

AMENDMENT II
(May 22, 1971)

No local or national government official of the Republic of New Africa shall resign his or her office, without the consent of the authority or authorities responsible, as provided by the Code of Umoja, for his or her appointment.

This provision is not to be misconstrued to subject the resignation request of any Government official to the determination of persons who have vacated the positions which entitled them to the appointment or election of said official.

AMENDMENT III
(July 17, 1971)

Ujamaa shall be the accepted economic system of the Republic of New Africa, and shall be instituted in New African life-style.

The New African Ujamaa is defined by the official New African Ujamaa document and by directives and interpretations of the People's Center Council as recorded in official People's Center Council minutes.

AMENDMENT IV
(July 17, 1971)

Any male citizen of the Republic of New Africa may have as many wives as he can marry in conformity with the Code of Umoja marriage requirements, as long as all parties to the plural marriage agree.

AMENDMENT V
(July 19, 1971)

1. All persons married under the laws of the United States or any of its government subdivisions, after March 31, 1968, must be remarried under New Africa Law.

2. Any member of the People's Center Council and/or any local minister of Health and Welfare may issue and approve an application for marriage. Before an application is approved, the applicants must be interviewed to determine if the parties to the marriage can fulfill the following requirements:

- a) to be willing to support to the utmost the liberation and the building of the Republic of New Africa.
- b) to meet the health requirements with particular respect to communicable and hereditary matters, as set by the Minister of Health and Welfare.
- c) to ensure that the marriage contributes to the maximum good to all familiarly related parties, and to provide avenues to eliminate legal complications involving the United States of America.

AMENDMENT V
(July 19, 1971)

3. Any member of the People's Center Council and/or any local Minister of Health and Welfare may issue and approve an application for divorce. Before an application is approved, the applicants must be interviewed.

AMENDMENT VI
(July 19, 1971)

No citizen of the Republic of New Africa may use, sell, give away, cultivate, trade, transfer, or possess marijuana.

CODE OF UMOJA

Alteration I in article II section II

(Changed from Amendment I to Alteration I November 28, 1971 - New Orleans PCC)

The President and each Regional Vice President, under the President's authority, shall ordain and establish temporary Consulates and temporary Government Administration Center and by 2/3 vote of the voting People's Center Council members, temporary Administration Center shall become Consulates and Government Administration Centers.

ARTICLE. _____

THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

1. The People's Center Council. The Supreme legislative power of the Republic of New Africa shall be vested in a People's Center Council, which shall be composed of the Supreme Senate of the People, the National Council of the Territory, and the National Council of Ministers. (The People's Center Council shall convene once a year,) in January or February, at a date and place to be fixed in advance by the People's Center Council. The People's Center Council shall enact rules for its own operation; a quorum for doing business shall be based upon the membership of the Supreme Senate of the People. The People's Center Council shall ~~xxxxxxx~~ elect a Chairperson, who shall be the Chief of State of the Nation and shall not be the same person as the President. The People's Center Council may also provide by law for the election, by the People's Center Council, of a number of Vice Chairpersons, not to exceed five, and shall establish an order of succession. The People's Center Council shall provide for such other Committees and officers as shall be appropriate for the efficient functioning of the Center Council. ~~Txxxxxxpiaxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~ Special sessions of the People's Center Council may be convened by the Chairman on his own initiative or shall be convened ~~xxxx~~ by the Chairman when petitioned by one-fourth of the national Senators or the President or the Vice Presidents acting together.

2. The Supreme Senate of the People. The Supreme Senate of the People shall be composed of the Chairpersons, the Vice Chairpersons, the President, the Vice Presidents, and 500 national Senators who shall be apportioned among the people on the basis of a census approved by the People's Center Council in 1974, 1980, and every ten years thereafter, and who shall be elected by direct popular vote., as

provided by law. The Supreme Senate may initiate, consider, and pass legislation on every subject, except that this Code of Umoja may only be changed in accordance with the procedures contained in this Code, and the New African Creed may only be changed by a referendum of the People, and no law affecting the internal affairs of the National Territory, except as such law concerns foreign affairs, defense and national security, and economic development and international trade, may be passed unless a consensus or a majority of the Senators from the National Territory, present and voting, or meeting as the National Council of the Territory, shall also agree to such law.

3. The National Council of the Territory. The National Council of the Territory shall be composed of the Senators elected to the People's Center Council from the National Territory and such Chief Ministers of from the Districts, Regions, and Localities of the National Territory as shall be authorized by vote of the People's Center Council. Such Chief Ministers may participate in the deliberations and processes of the National Council of the Territory and the People's Center Council but shall have no official vote, unless such Ministers are also duly elected Senators of the Supreme Senate of the People. The National Council of the Territory shall elect its presiding officer, who shall be called a Chairperson, and such Vice Chairpersons, not to exceed three, and other officers as shall be deemed necessary to the efficient functioning of the Council, and shall establish its rules of procedure, subject to approval of the People's Center Council. The National Council of the Territory shall meet at least once a year as the National Council, on a date to be fixed by the Council, which precedes the meeting of the People's Center Council. Legislation of the National Council of the Territory shall be binding as law upon the officials and residents of the National Territory.

4. The National Council of Ministers. The National Council of Ministers shall be composed of those National Ministers appointed by the President to his Cabinet, with the advice and consent of the People's Center Council, and such Chief Ministers of the Nation as the People's Center Council may provide by law. The President shall preside over the National Council of Ministers, and the Council may meet at the call of the President or as the Council shall determine by a consensus or a majority vote at each session, or upon call of one-fourth of its members. The deliberations of the Council shall concern, especially, ways of improving the administration of the law, and the Council of Ministers may make specific legislative recommendations to the People's Center Council, and to the Cabinet, but the Council may not of its own power pass legislation or issue rules affecting anything other than the Council's own operations, and its communications to the President or his Cabinet shall be advisory only. But this provision shall not be construed to prohibit the Ministers of the President's Cabinet or the other Chief Ministers from issuing binding rules and regulations for the nation as the law permits in carrying out their individual official duties. The members of the National Council of Ministers may participate in the deliberations and processes of the People's Center Council but shall have no official vote, except as such individual members are also duly elected Senators.

5. Local Structure. The people of every Senatorial District are hereby constituted a People's Senatorial Council, which shall be presided over by the duly elected Senator of the District, and whose primary purposes shall be to receive information on the deliberations of the People's Center Council and the affairs of the Nation, to instruct the Senator and make recommendations to the President and other officers of the Government, and to motivate all citizens to pay taxes and

otherwise participate in the processes of Government and in achieving the success of the Revolution. Voting qualifications of the people in the Senatorial Councils shall be established by the People's Center Council or, in the National Territory, by the National Council of the Territory. ^{People's} The Senatorial Councils may legislate for the District, in accordance with this Code of Umoja and the law as established by the People's Center Council. Similar local Councils may also be established within the Senatorial Districts, with the consent of the People's Center Council and, in the National Territory, the National Council of the Territory. In the National Territory the ~~People's Center Councils~~ People's Senatorial Councils and the People's Local Councils may create executive structures and elect executive officers as shall be provided in law by the National Council of the Territory and the People's Center Council.

ARTICLE ____

~~for~~

THE EXECUTIVE POWER

1. The President. The chief executive power of the nation shall be vested in the President, who shall be the chief executive officer, and such Vice Presidents as the People's Center Council shall establish by law. It shall be the duty of the President to execute the law and to take those actions necessary to achieve the Aims of the Revolution as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. The President shall be a voting member of the National Council of the Territory, and he shall be the Chief Executive officer of the National Territory, seeing that the laws of the National Council of the Territory and the People's Center Council are faithfully executed. The President shall be the Commander-in-Chief of all defense and security forces of the Nation. The People's Center Council may provide for the election of Vice Presidents on a Regional basis, and all Vice Presidents, ^{which} ~~which~~ shall not be more than five in number, shall be responsible to the President.

The Regional Vice Presidents
xxx shall have the power to coordinate and direct the execution of the
law and the carrying out of Government business in their Regions.
The People's Center Council shall provide by law for succession to the
Presidency.

2. Election of the President. The President and the Vice
Presidents shall be elected by direct, majority vote of the people, as
the People's Center Council shall further provide by law, at elections
at which the Senators of the Supreme Senate of the People are also
elected, and such elections shall be held once every five years,
beginning in March 1975, except that the People's Center Council may
at any time, by a majority vote, call for new elections, which shall
be held according to law. The terms of persons elected at such call
elections shall, again, be for five years, subject to the People's
Center Council's continuing power to call for new elections.

3. Ambassadors In the United States. The Senatorial and Local
Councils outside of the National Territory and in the United States
may elect Ambassadors-of-Council who shall be responsible to the
President, and any Regional Vice President, for the carrying out of
Government programs at the Senatorial and local levels. The Ambassador-
of-Council shall be the chief executive officer in his area and will
coordinate and direct the work of the various Ministries. The
President, and the Vice President xxxxx acting for the President,
may remove the Ambassador-of-Council and fill any vacancy by
appointment until a special election can be promptly xxxxxxxx held.

ARTICLE ____

RATIFICATION AND AMENDMENT

Ratification.

1. ¹ This Code of Umoja shall become law when approved by a
majority of the people voting in Regional Conventions in January, 1975,
as shall be provided by the People's Center Council.

2. Amendments. Changes to this Code of Umoja may be proposed by the people in Convention or by majority vote of the People's Center Council. An Amendment or change shall become a part of the Code when approved by two-thirds of the people voting in a popular election or in convention. The People's Center Council must arrange for such a popular election or convention within two years of a duly voted proposed change or Amendment.

ARTICLE _____

THE JUDICIAL POWER

1. Supreme And District Courts. The Judicial power of the Republic of New Africa shall be vested in a Supreme Court of four Associate Judges and one Chief Judge; in a system of District Courts, each ~~xxxxxx~~ presided over by a District Judge, which District shall be the same as the Senatorial Districts of the Nation, and in such inferior Courts as the People's Center Council and the National Council of the Territory shall create by law. The Judges of the Supreme and District Courts shall be elected, in direct popular elections separate from those for President and Senators of the Supreme Senate of the People, as shall be provided by the People's Center Council and the National Council of the Territory, for terms of three years, but these terms shall become terms lasting for the period of good behavior unless the People's Center Council, or the National Council of the Territory for judges in the National Territory, shall, at their first sessions after the expiration of the second year of such judgeships, vote that any Supreme or District Judge should not continue in office after expiration of the third year. A Supreme or District Judge can only be removed by impeachment and trial in the People's Center Council, except that District Judges in the National Territory may be removed by impeachment and trial in the National Council of the Territory.

2. Competency of Courts. The Supreme Court and the District Courts shall be competent to determine whether the law conforms with the Code of Umoja and the aims of the Revolution as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. The District Courts shall have appellate jurisdiction with respect to local courts, and individuals shall have the right of appeal to the District Courts where violations of the Aims of the Revolution are at issue and as otherwise provided by the People's Center Council and, for Courts in the National Territory, by the National Council of the Territory. Appeals to the Supreme Court shall be at the discretion of the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court may exercise original jurisdiction, at its discretion, where the aims of the Revolution are at issue.

3. Administrative Structure for Courts. The People's Center Council shall provide by law for the financing of the Supreme and District Courts and shall authorize an Administrative structure for these Courts which shall make possible the efficient dispensing of true justice.

4. Rights of the People. The People's Center Council shall provide for systems of criminal and civil justice, which shall be in conformance with the Aims of the Revolution and the New African Creed and which shall thoroughly protect the rights of the people and of the individual.

#####

THE TEN CODE For RNA communications informath

IO- 1 Unable to copy (transmission)
 IO- 2 Signals good
 IO- 3 Affirmative, will do, granted
 IO- 4 Message received
 IO- 5 Relay
 IO- 6 Busy, stand by
 IO- 7 Out of service
 IO- 8 In service
 IO- 9 Repeat (transmission)
 IO- 10 On minor detail, subject to call
 IO-11 Remain in service
 IO-12 Visitors or officials present
 IO-13 Weather and road conditions
 IO-14 Correct time
 IO-15 Have kn possession, property and prisoner
 IO-16 Pick up property, prisoner, etc.
 IO-17 Urgent, rush present detail
 IO-18 Anything to us?
 IO-19 Nothing to you
 IO-20 Location
 IO-21 Call _____ by phone
 IO-22 Report in person to _____
 IO-23 Arrived at scene
 IO-24 Finished with last assignment
 IO-25 Disregard last information
 IO-26 Holding suspect
 IO-27 Operator or officer on duty
 IO-28 Full registration information
 IO-29 Check records for wanted person, vehicle
 IO-30 Does not conform to rules and regulations
 IO-33 Emergency traffic this station
 IO-34 Major crime alert
 IO-36 Confidential information
 IO-41 Beginning tour of duty
 IO-42 Ending tour of duty
 IO-44 Message received by all concerned
 IO-50 Accident
 IO-51 Wrecker needed
 IO-52 Ambulance
 IO-55 Driving while intoxicated
 IO-59 Convoy or escort
 IO-60 What is next number
 IO-61 CW(morse code)traffic
 IO-62 Teletype traffic
 IO-63 Answer our number
 IO-64 Message for local delivery
 IO-65 Net message assignment
 IO-66 Cancellation
 IO-67 Clear for net message
 IO-68 Dispatch information
 IO-70 Fire
 IO-79 Report progress on fire
 IO-87 Paychecks out
 IO-88 Advise present phone no. of _____
 IO-89 Radioman (needed or will arrive)
 IO-93 Fre uency check
 IO-94 Give a test

A .-
 B -..
 C -...
 D -..
 E .
 F -..
 G --.
 H
 I ..
 J ----
 K -..
 L -...
 M --
 N -.
 O ---
 P -...
 Q --..
 R -..
 S ...
 T -
 U ..-
 V -...
 W -..
 X -...
 Y -...
 Z ---..

PERIOD -...-
 COMMA -...-
 INTERROGATION -...-
 QUOTATION -...-
 COLON -...-
 SEMICOLON -...-
 PARENTHESIS -...-
 WAIT -...-
 DOUBLE DASH(BREAK) -...-
 ERROR(ERASE SIGN) -...-
 FRACTION BAR -...-
 END OF MESSAGE -...-
 END OF TRANSMISSION -...-
 INTERNATIONAL DISTRESS
 . . . - - - . . .

A = ALFA
 B = BRAVO
 C = CHARLIE
 D = DELTA
 E = ECHO
 F = FORGET
 G = GOLF
 H = HOTEL
 I = INDIA
 J = JULIETT
 K = KILO
 L = LIMA
 M = MIKE
 N = NOVEMBER
 O = OSCAR
 P = PAPA
 Q = QUEBEC
 R = ROMEO
 S = SIERRA
 T = TANGO
 U = UNIFORM
 V = VICTOR
 W = WHISKEY
 X = X-RAY
 Y = YANKEE
 Z = ZULU

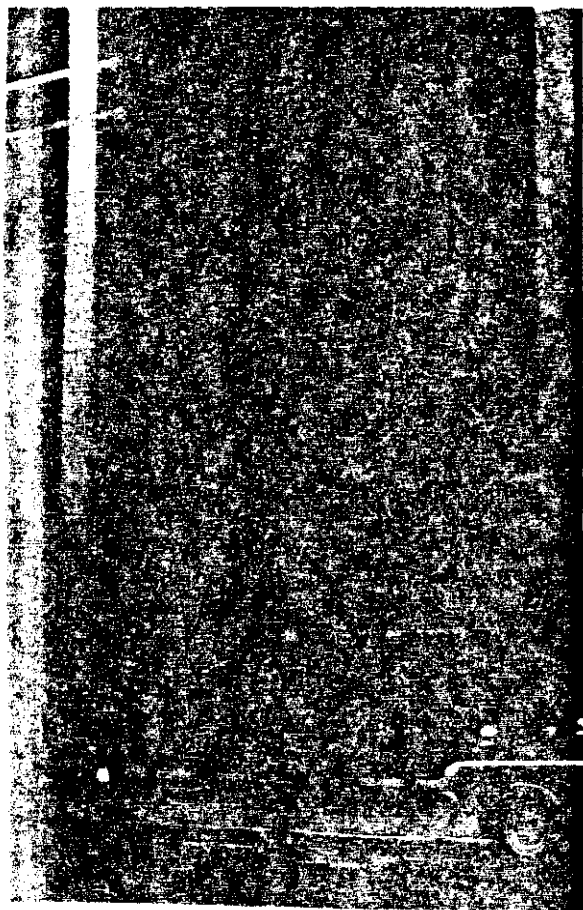
The League of Revolutionary Black Workers presents the New Bethel Defense Fund Benefit

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is sponsoring this Cabaret Benefit for the New Bethel Defense Fund, in appreciation of the tireless work and energy which the lawyers of the New Bethel trial have offered to the Black Community of Detroit. Kenneth Cockrel, Justin Ravitz, O. Lee Molette and Sheldon Halpern are four lawyers who have shown their commitment to the struggle against oppression by offering legal services to those who have been attacked by the racist and reactionary military and judicial arms of the state. This service to the oppressed peoples of our community has many times been given without consideration of a reimbursement. The New Bethel Defense Fund was formed out of a concern that these courageous lawyers be recognized for their past achievements and that they be able to continue their work in the future. The proceeds from this benefit will be given to the New Bethel Defense Fund so that they may provide material support to these lawyers to enable them to carry on the defense of our people in their struggle for liberation.

DARE TO FIGHT! DARE TO WIN!



Members of the Republic of New Africa "herded up like cattle"



New Bethel Baptist Church

It is the position of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, that the American Legal System is simply a functional appendage (or instrument) of a larger system of racism and imperialism that operates to preserve the power of the ruling class and to maintain the degradation of those who do not own and control the means of production in this society, and the rest of the world.

The events following the March 29, 1969 "New Bethel Incident" constituted a classic instance in which the oppressors sought to use their "legal" weapon to compensate for the deficient operation of their para-military arm, the Metropolitan Police Department of the City of Detroit.



Michael Czapki

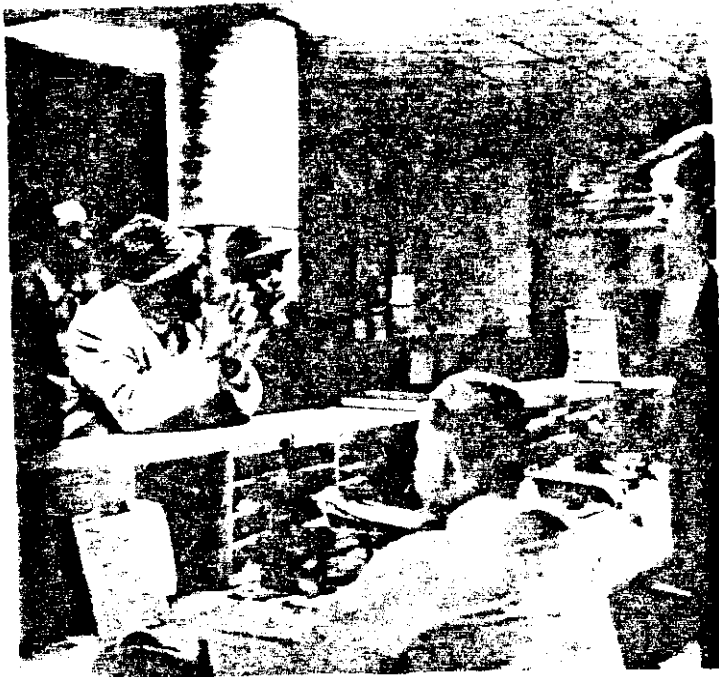
THE shooting of officers Czapki and Worobec, in the vicinity of Linwood and Philadelphia near the New Bethel Church was a crisis for the local rulers, that was without precedent, but the response of the system was the typical clumsy, incompetent response we have come to expect from the enraged racist.

All of the occupants of the Church at the time the police shot their way into the Church were arrested and taken to 1300 Franklin for processing.



Richard Worobec





Judge Crockett enforcing the law



The Black Community united in support of Judge Crockett

State Rep. James Del Rio initiated action that led to Judge George W. Crockett, Jr. convening a hearing on a Writ of Habeas Corpus at Police Headquarters that concluded in the Wayne County Prosecutor, a white lawyer, contemptuously stopping the hearing and depriving the arrested blacks of due process of law.

Crockett cited Cahalan (the white lawyer) for contempt and ordered him to appear at noon in his courtroom on the Sunday following the shooting, but Cahalan ignored that order, and Crockett subsequently dropped his contempt action against the white lawyer and public official.

All of the arrested persons were released, except two, David Brown (later to become a "star" prosecution witness) and Kirkland Hall who was charged with a minor felony.

The result from an outraged local establishment and its racist constituency was a demand for Crockett's head, literally and figuratively.

But the attack upon the conservative judge, who "merely" followed the law was resisted by a united black community that said "if, Crockett goes, Detroit goes too!"

After that show of strength, the rulers, still licking their wounds from their second defeat (the first defeat was on the street March 29, 1969) geared up the machinery of their unjust system of "justice" to swiftly exact retribution for their losses.

Alfred Hibbitt, who had been charged with Assault with Intent to Commit Murder, after turning himself in, appeared before Recorder's Court Judge Joseph Maher for an Examination on the charge.

Ken Cockrel, Chuck Ravitz and Brother Galdi, were defense attorneys in the case.

Justin Ravitz, Alfred Hibbitt, and Galdi





Judge Maher functioning as an agent of the police, instead of as an independent jurist, abruptly terminated the hearing, doubling Hibbitt's bond while doing so, giving rise to the attack on his actions that resulted in the Recorder's Court vs. Kenneth Cockrel Contempt Case, the third defeat for the rulers.

The defense team of local and national lawyers, took the position that Cockrel's language ("that judge was a pirate, bandit, racist honky dog fool who knows no law") was protected by the first Amendment to the United States Constitution, and more importantly, was stone true.

The people of the city rallied to resist this attack, attended Peoples Court in Kennedy Square, took over the Courtroom of Wayne Circuit Judge Joseph A. Sullivan who presided over the hearing on the contempt, and dealt a resounding blow to the unjust legal system with the result being the contempt was dismissed and Hibbitt's bond was reduced from \$50,000.00 to \$10,000.00.

In the Hibbitt trial a jury of 6 blacks and 6 whites, led by Sam Stark as foreman, dealt a fourth defeat to the rulers by voting not guilty, and thus preventing a judicial kidnapping from being consummated.