

# SOULBOOK

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# SOULBOOK

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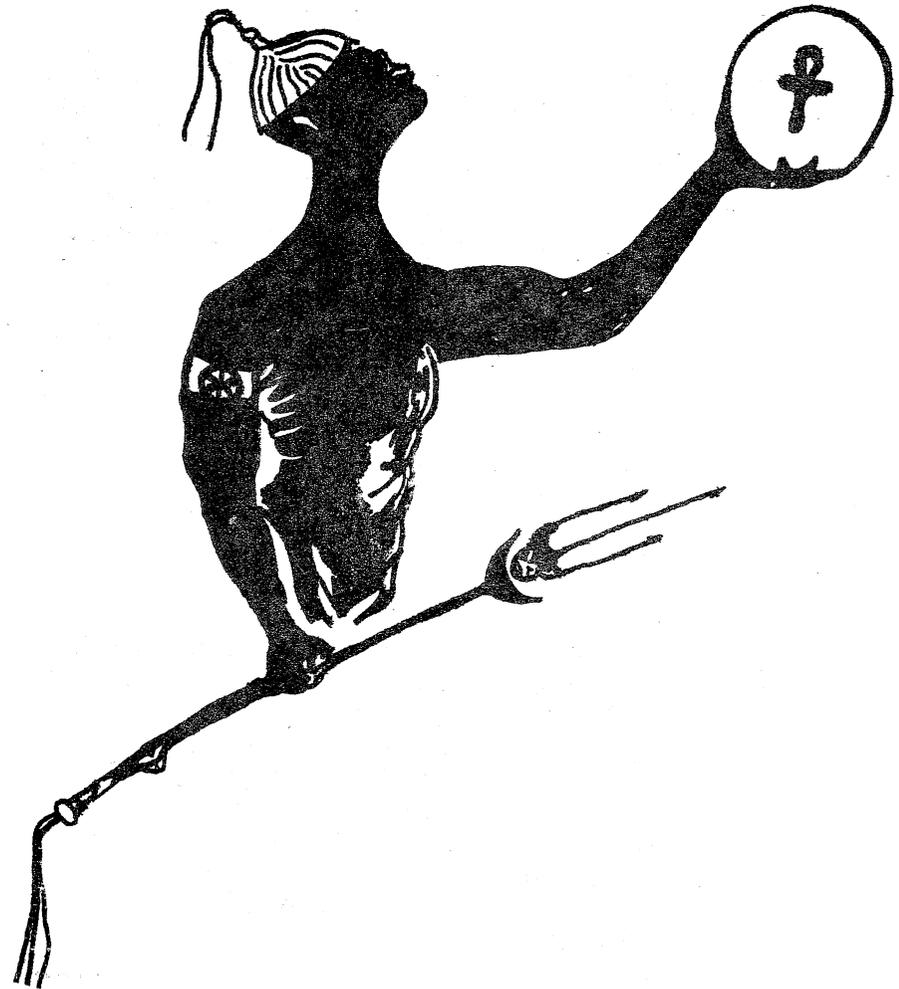
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# SOUL BOOK



SOULBOOK dedicates this issue to:

## I. AFRIKANS IN THE U.S. (NEW AFRIKA)

- a. November 5, 1979, U.N. Territory, New York City. The significant manifestation of support for the call of Self Determination and Human Rights for the New Afrikan Nation in the u.s. which was shown by the New Afrikan revolutionaries, activists, and our allies in general, and ASSATA SHAKUR, the brilliant revolutionary, Black Nationalist woman, in particular.
- b. To the New Afrikans of McDuffysville, Fla. who have manifested such a valiant struggle against the violation of our peoples human rights; to the Haitian brothers and sisters who come to Florida to starve a little better inside north american imperialism and who have come to recognize the need for New Afrikan/Caribbean peoples solidarity in our common struggle against u.s. imperialism/racism.
- c. The victims of the "Peoples" Temple hoax and the murdered at "Jonestown", Guyana.

## II. CARIBBEAN

- a. The New Jewel Movement, the people and the revolutionary government of Grenada who broke up the game of 'musical chairs' neocolonial 'democracy' in the commonwealth Caribbean by eliminating the Gairy dictatorship of Grenada by the only means available to the progressive forces: armed overthrow of the traitors of the Grenadian people.

- b. The Guyanese people in general, and the political prisoners of Guyana in particular, who are the victims of the "Peoples" Temple hoax, and the "House of Israel" hoax, both perpetrated by the dictatorship of Forbes Burnham, C.I.A., and the "Peoples" National Congress. This is a human rights struggle.

## III. AFRIKA

- a. The Patriotic Front and its struggles to achieve human rights and independence for the people and land of Zimbabwe.
- b. The brothers and sisters of Soweto, Azania who have been denied their human rights by being convicted of 'sedition' in the white colonial racist courts of south afrika.

## IV. ANTI-IMPERIALIST THIRD WORLD

- a. 'Que viva al Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional de Nicaragua!  
'Felicidades en su victoria contra la dictadura y sistema de la facilia abrutada de Somoza!
- b. The successful struggles and continuing revolution of the Iranian, Kurdish, and other oppressed people in Iran against the u.s. imperialist and the u.s. supported regime of the corrupt shah.
- c. The struggle of the Afghan nation against the aggression and imperialism of their enemies in the world.

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# SOULBOOK

## EDITORIAL



New Afrikan Nationality &  
National Territory





Black Nationalism is, in its major part, our peoples' maintenance of our spiritual, cultural and political links with our Black civilization of Afrika even though we were uprooted from Afrika's land mass and torn from our respective Afrikan nations, whether they were Yoruba, Zulu, Mandingo, Malagasi, et. al. Consequently, we were forced, because of being seperated from our various Afrikan nation areas and not allowed to speak our distinct Afrikan language, to rely on the Afrikan psyche which was a direct product of the Afrikan civilization as a mechanism for our resistance to our new oppressor and as a reaffirmation of ourselves as a people.

So when we are talking as an Afrikan people maintaining our nationalism we are not talking about a nationalism that was imposed by the slave master/slave trader/imperialism; we are talking about a nationalism which was and is decidedly dependent on the values, and strengths of our Afrikan civilization which provided the necessary SOLIDARITY for Afrikans in spite of a loss of our respective national languages, and therefore destruction of our old Afrikan national identity. From the beginning of the slave trade up until the present our people have contined to exhibit a pattern of determination of resistance. This pattern of resistance was , at the very least, a determination to maintain our life forces and what else we could see and feel as being commonly our own, as Afrikans, which the aggression of the slave system did not steal from us as a people. Therefore, the

question arises whether or not we had anything left of value, which our people protected from the enemy, and which was the basis of our survival and therefore the roots of our reforging of a New Nation.

The relevancy of our Afrikan civilization is tied to the basis of us being kidnapped and stolen from Afrika. Would not the fact that the Afrikans who came here involuntarily, as slaves and as indentured servants of the european settler colony of north ameri a, came with an agrarian technology that was indigenous to the mode of production of all Black Afrikan societies graphically demonstrate the significance of Afrikan civilization to our condition and status in the plantation system? Is it not a fact that this level of development of the Pan Afrikan civilization created, by its agricultural expertise and labor the plantation system - a mode of production never before seen in the western hemisphere?

We believe that we belong to the Afrikan Civilization and are and have always been Afrikans in the CIVILIZATIONAL sense of the word which CHEIKH ANTA DIOP so brilliantly elucidated in his epic work the CULTURAL UNITY OF NEGRO AFRICA. Diop has clarified that there is such a factor as Civilization which clusters of nations can identifiably be grouped, and that the Afrikan, from Ancient Egypt to our contemporary days has maintained the centrality of the Afrikan woman in all levels of our societies. He has thoroughly elaborated the centrality of the Afrikan Woman in all levels of our societies and which is certainly true with respect to Afrikans in Mississippi (albeit in distorted form) as it is in continental and Caribbean societies. Furthermore, that the Afrikan has never thought of basing lasting morals or meta-

physics on pessimistic foundations; this becomes clear whether we analyze the Blues, Reggae or more traditional Afrikan Cultural Systems; the philosophical outlook predominately rests upon finding the optimistic even in the face of a severely bad situation, i.e. slavery, imperialism and capitalism.

Since we had to maintain our relations with our enslaved Afrikan brethren through an imposed language, which we were unfamiliar with, we had to seek other means of solidarity. This was because the first prerequisite to resistance is at least the rudiments of solidarity. Regardless of whether our people spoke different languages and distinct customs we had to find a common mode of communication to bring about the solidarity of our people in the face of the destruction of our Afrikan nationalities (and the destruction of Afrikan international Drum communications system which was at least indigenous to most of West Afrika). Therefore this constant struggle to achieve a NEW solidarity of our people was and makes us distinct for previously being Afrikan of various nationalities on our mother continent of Afrika. We were a group of Afrikans from virtually all Black Afrikan societies determined to maintain what bound us together as people in the most principal sense, and which had been transmitted through Afrikan women: our determination to resist our oppressors and to maintain our humanity. The Afrikans who developed the plantation system fought against the efforts to destroy their Afrikan familial names; and even when these battles were temporarily lost our Afrikan ancestors continued to resist this aggression against our humanity. Thus, on account of this resistance our Afrikan civilizational strengths and features became the major part of the collective per-

sonality of our people. So it was ironic that we became a NEW AFRIKAN nationality by relying on the OLD AFRIKAN CIVILIZATION within us, the only psychosociological fibre which was able to survive the 'middle passage' of the slave trade and the terrorism of the plantation system's "breaking in" process, as well as the peculiar isolation of the north american system of slavery.

Furthermore, the monolithic dependence of Black people colonized in the u.s. on the Afrikanity as expounded in this civilizational context is so well entrenched in all levels of our existence, as a people, that it has been a significant mode of defense in the face of the dehumanizing process of the u.s. domestic imperial system. In fact, it comprises even, at times and in certain circumstances, more than many other Afrikan peoples the basis of our 'psychological makeup manifested in a community of culture'. I say this because in many areas of the world 'which the plantation system built' - which is the Americas and the Caribbean - the Afrikan nationality is based almost exclusively on one OLD Afrikan nationality or another, or there are still conflicts that appear to be based on the lack of integration of old Afrikan nationalities into a new Afrikan nationality. However with Afrikans colonized in the u.s. the culture is clearly homogeneous, absorbing all the Afrikan elements into a body and outlook which clearly distinguishes it from the cultures of the european settler nation-state of the u.s., but undeniably anchored in the rhythms of our Afrikan Civilization. Without the maintaining of the centrality of Afrikan women in all levels of our impoverished and colonized society as well as the optimism of our Afrikan outlook permeating and piercing through the european religions

which were forced on our ancestors, our attempts to bring about a new cohesion and integration of our people would have been destroyed long ago.

Therefore, in a word, it was because of the PAN AFRIKAN character of our solidarity we were able to become a NEW nationality in the face of resisting the destruction of our old Afrikan nationalities by the imperialist slave traders' and slavemasters' plantation system. Thus, in a real scientific and historical sense we are Afrikans, but also a new Afrikan nationality and hence we are NEW AFRIKANS and not Afro-americans as we have been led to believe on account of the lack of maturity of our Black nationalist ideology; which like everything else which characterizes a colonized people: our nationalism has been forcibly arrested and distorted because we have been denied the free development of nations.

LONG LIVE NEW AFRIKA!

REMEMBER THE JONESTOWN MASSACRE!

THE BLACK NATION CHARGES GENOCIDE!!

# Black Struggle...

## National Liberation



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**'WE ARE OUR OWN  
LIBERATORS'**

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THE LEGAL FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF NEW AFRICA, NEW AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP,  
AND THE PRESENT NEW AFRICAN GOVERN-  
MENT

Prior to the united states Confis-  
cation Acts of 6 August 1861 and 17 July  
1862 and the Emancipation Proclamation,  
which went into effect on 1 January 1863,  
"persons" - so dominated by Article One,  
Section 2, Paragraph 3 of the united  
states Constitution; Article One, Section  
9, Paragraph 1, and Article Four, Section  
2, Paragraph 3 of the same Constitution -  
- kept in slavery in the united states were  
legally held to be a class of property.  
Those held in slavery were of the African  
race, since according to Mr. Chief Justice  
Taney of the united states Supreme Court,  
speaking for the majority in Dred Scott  
v. Sandford (1857) 19 How 393

'the traffic in slaves in the  
united states has always been  
confined to them.'

That these enslaved Africans were a class  
of property prior to the 1863 Emancipation  
Proclamation is made abundantly clear by  
the same Chief Justice Taney in Dred Scott  
v. Sandford, Supra. He said:

'Now ... the right of property  
in a slave is distinctly and  
expressly affirmed in the  
Constitution. The right to  
traffic in it, like any ordi-  
nary article of merchandise  
and property, was guaranteed  
to the citizens of the united  
states, in every state that  
might desire it, for twenty

## The Article Three Briefs

... the right of liberty  
would extend to the right to set up an  
independent state of its own ... "

years. And the government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time, if the slave escapes from his owner .. and no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description.

2. However, in 1862, acting under his war powers and "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion," united states President Abraham Lincoln issued an Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect on 1 January 1863. On that date, with that act, the Chief Executive of the united states significantly enlarged the new class of free men which had been first called into existance by the Confiscation Acts of 6 August 1861 and 17 July 1862 and which theretofore did not exist in united states legal contemplation. Moreover, this new class of free men was not made united states citizens - subsequent united states Congressional debates settled this point beyond doubt - nor did the Acts or the Proclamation which created this new class in any way include this class inside the american political-social community. This new class clearly was left outside of the american political-social community. The pertinent words of the Emancipation Proclamation are these:

That on the first day of January, in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty

three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the united states, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the united states, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

\*\*\*\*

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the united states, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

3. In January 1865 the united states Congress passed and President Lincoln signed, a proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the united states Constitution, abolishing slavery. That Amendment - which confirmed what the united states Congress and President Lincoln had done in the Confiscation Acts and what Lincoln had done in the Emancipation Proclamation, and went on to

extend the abolition of slavery to the whole class of persons held in slavery in the united states - became part of the organic law of the united states when it was ratified by the requisite number of states in December 1865. Again, like the Confiscation Acts and the Emancipation Proclamation before it, this Amendment confirmed the creation - in legal contemplation - of a new class of free men but, significantly, left this class outside of the american political-social community. Like the Emancipation Proclamation before it, the Thirteenth Amendment contains no statement of political or social rights in the american community which were, by either the Acts, the Proclamation, or the Amendment, conferred by the american community, at that time, upon this former class of property now became a class of free men. And subsequent history makes clear that no conferring of political or social rights in the american community was intended. The new class was simply created and left.

4. But, being composed of free men, as the Proclamation so emphatically insisted and the Amendment confirmed, this new class and its members individually were possessed of rights - irrespective of action or inaction by the american community - simply because they were no longer property but free men. We take as our guide the american Declaration of Independence, the foundation upon which the united states Constitution itself rests. This Declaration tells us that men, as opposed to property, are endowed with certain "unalienable rights" and that among these rights are life and liberty. The new class of men, and its members

individually, though left outside of the american political-social community, nevertheless possessed the unalienable right of liberty. Indeed the possession of this right becomes of immense importance precisely because the new class was left outside of the american political-social community.

5. And what exactly is the right of liberty? Mr. Chief Justice Warren, writing for a unanimous court in the 1954 decision in Bolling v. Sharpe 347 US 497, 98 L.ed 884, 74 S Ct 693, said:

Although the Court has not assumed to define "liberty" with any great precision, that term is not confined to mere freedom from bodily restraint. Liberty under law extends to the full range of conduct which the individual is free to pursue, and it cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective.

6. It is of relevance to remark here that since the new class existed outside of the american political-social community, a "proper governmental objective" could not be determined by reference to the americans alone: there were now, because of the Confiscation Acts and the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment, two separate communities, each with its own view of a proper governmental objective. By definition no limiting of liberty for a class or for individuals who possess liberty

as an inherent right can ever occur in a legal sense without the consent of said class or individuals. And as we shall show, the nationalist portion of the new class never gave such consent to the american community either explicitly or implicitly.

7. Above all the right to liberty inhering in the new class and its individual members necessarily extended to political activity. And the most pressing political matter facing the new class was the matter of its future political construction and/or future political relations. Certainly the liberty of the class would extend to the right to seek admission, as citizens, to the american community. The right to liberty for the class would extend to the right to return home, to Africa; for, these men were in america as the result of kidnapping and wrongful transportation. The right of liberty would extend to the right to general emigration. And, not least, the right of liberty in the new class would extend to the right to set up an independent State of its own: for, after all, this class had been legally constructed by the Confiscation Acts and the Emancipation Proclamation, and confirmed by the Thirteenth Amendment, outside of the american community, and fould itself on "american" soil in great numbers, extreme poverty, enforced ignorance, and severed homeland ties precisely because of wrongful kidnapping, wrongful transportation, and wrongful exploitation, all by the americans. Importantly, all four options - all four of which would actually be pursued by members of the new class in exercise of

their inalienable liberty - were conceded to the new class by the united states government when first confronted by the existence of the class.

8. In his first message to Congress in December 1865, united states President Andrew Johnson conceded the right of the new class to general emigration, including necessarily the right to return home, to Africa. Said President Johnson: "While their right to voluntary migration and expatriation is not be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization."

9. Earlier the united states President Abraham Lincoln, acting under authority given him by the Confiscation Act of 17 July 1862, sought to colonize slaves freed by the war, in Panama. In this same period Mr. Lincoln received an island from Haiti, by cession, and here he attempted through the Secretary of the Interior, in 1863, to settle members of the new class in an independent state of their own, similar to Liberia. Four hundred members of that portion of the New Class which sought independent Statehood actually went to the island. But the project was ill-supported, and many died. The rest returned to the united states in a united states naval vessel, rejoining their fellows in the struggle to secure full sovereignty for the independent New African nation - but, now, on the soil where they had been for generations. This activity of the american "executive Government," to use President Lincoln's words, in negotiating with this first Government created in the united states by the nation-

alist portion of the new class, points clearly to the fact that the American government understood that in addition to the right to join the American community and the right to return home (to Africa) and the right to emigrate elsewhere, the new class also possessed, as a matter of that liberty which is an inalienable right of men, a fourth right: the right to establish formally its own independent nation. Moreover, having worked in conjunction with that nation's Government in the United States in the Haiti-ceded island project, the American Executive Government had given recognition to the independent New African nation that had already formed among a portion of the new class. Lincoln's action was completely consistent with the obligation which the Emancipation Proclamation placed on the United States to "recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons". It was, moreover, consistent with the directions given by Congress in the Confiscation Act of 1862.

10. In like manner, proceeding under powers granted by the United States Constitution and by Congress in the Confiscation Acts and by the President in the Emancipation Proclamation, other representatives of the United States Executive Government extended recognition to other centers of Government of the New African nation. During the Christmas season of 1864, for instance, United States Secretary of War Edwin McMasters Stanton and United States Army General William Tecumseh Sherman met in Savannah, Georgia, with a Black Government

Council representing the new class. As a result of these negotiations, General Sherman issued his Special Field Order Number 15, dated 16 January 1865. This order set aside for Blacks "the islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for 30 miles back from the sea and the country bordering St. Johns River, Florida." The Order further said, "... in the possession of which land the military authorities will afford them protection until such time as they can protect themselves or until Congress shall regulate their title." Further, in accordance with the negotiating position of this Savannah-based Southeast Coast New African Government, General Sherman's Order also provided that "on the islands and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white persons whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the free people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress." Forty-thousand members of the new class were settled under this order.

11. Here, then, was the establishment of self-government New African communities under the protection of the United States on land to which the Americans claimed ultimate title but to which the New Africans had been given possessory title by General Sherman, acting lawfully for the Congress and the President. It must be recalled that the judgment of the United States Congress as expressed in the

Wade-Davis bill of 4 July 1864, and confirmed later by the Reconstruction Act of 1867, was that the States in rebellion had all committed "suicide" as States and were now in the status of territories. Under Article Four, Section Three, Paragraph Two of the united states Constitution, Congress had and has "Power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the united states," and General Sherman - proceeding under the Confiscation Acts and the Emancipation Proclamation - was acting as agent not only of the President but of the Congress. Thus, his transferring of the land to the New African communities was completely in accordance with the law. And the placing of the communities under united states protection with only possessory titles put the New African nation here on a footing with the various Indian nations. That neither General Sherman nor the South east Coast New African Government expected the New African communities to remain for long under united states protection is clearly captured in the words of General Sherman's order which envisioned the development of New African military capacity. The General promised the protection of united states military authorities "until such time as they can protect themselves ..." It is to be kept in mind, however, that this center of the New African nation, while in a subject relationship to the united states, was nevertheless a center of free men possessed of the inalienable

right to liberty, including self-determination, just as were the thirteen British colonies in america. The parallel with the Thirteen Colonies, and with Liberia, is further heightened by the language used by General Rufus Saxton, who was placed in charge of Executing the Sherman order, when he, General Saxton, was called upon later to testify. Said he: "General Sherman's Special Field Order Number 15 ordered their colonization on forty-acre tracts ... Public meetings were held and every exertion used by those whose duty it was to execute this order to encourage emigration to the Sea Islands, and the faith of the Government was solemnly pledged to maintain them in possession."

12. Similar centers of the New African nation under New African Governments were established in Mississippi. Captain John Eaton, named Superintendent of Negro Affairs by General Ulysses Grant in 1862, had, by July 1864, settled 72,500 members of the new class "in cities on plantations and in freedmen's villages, "almost all of whom, Superintendent Eaton reported, were "entirely self-supporting - the same as any industrial class anywhere else - as planters, mechanics, barbers, hackmen, draymen, etc., conducting enterprises on their own responsibility or working as hired laborers." Davis Bend, Mississippi, in what is now Wilkinson County, including the plantations of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, was occupied by the Union Army in December 1864. Here a New African government was established with all the property under its control and with districts

under New African sheriffs and judges and other officers. Again, as on the East Coast, the centers of New African Government in Mississippi remained under the protection of the United States Army and ultimately subject to united states law, like many of the Indian nations. But also, like the East Coast centers of the New African nation, these communities were established on land that was in territorial status, and they were composed of persons who, like the residents of the Thirteen Colonies, possessed the inalienable right to liberty.

13. Moreover, the Liberian experience was quite close in point of time to Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, their subordinate officials, and the united states Congress. Liberia was settled by the private enterprise of freed slaves and white supporters, with united states government help in 1822. In 1847 it was declared a republic. The words and deeds of the said united states officials with respect to the Haiti-ceded land, with respect to the South Carolina Sea Islands, and with respect to the Mississippi frontier make clear that a similar establishment was envisioned by them.

14. Consistent with this impressive pattern of recognition and with an understanding of the right of the new class to independent Statehood, President Lincoln, following the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment by both houses of the united states Congress in January 1865, and his signing, but prior to ratification by the States, directed General Butler to report to him on the

logistics of removing the whole class or, at least, "the Negroes whom We have armed and disciplined." President Lincoln went on to add: "I believe that it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have to themselves." Thus, by word and action, did the american government recognize the fledgling New African nation and the right of the new class, in exercise of its inherent liberty, to independent Statehood.

*In its mild form, sedition means civil disobedience, non-compliance, and passive resistance. In its more extreme form, it means rebelliousness, riotousness, subversiveness, and extremism. All of these words were applied by the United States government to Black leaders and to all forms of Black protest throughout our sojourn in America, but especially during the sixties. These same words shall be used against us as we protest our deteriorating condition in the 1980s.*

## New Afrikan Literature

by Baron James Ashanti

"The art of revolutionary literature linked with concrete social practice ... can raise the consciousness of an oppressed people."

(first installment)



The thrust of this brief paper will be to show the need for a cultural revolution among Afrikan People in amerika and the potential role that literature can play in the movement towards Afrikan State Power on the North Amerikan Continent; the freedom of this independent Afrikan Nation would be insured by its scientific socialist governmental form.

This is not a survey of Neo-Afrikan literature, but rather a theoretical point of venue, a catalyst for dialogue among Afrikan writers in amerika. There can be no progress within the literature without internal struggle, in the form of ideological/philosophical debate. To be discussed also are certain trends within particular disciplines and the possible affects these tendencies have on the masses of Afrikan people as the perceivers of art. Although the tendencies mentioned may be more recognizable in one discipline than another, the tendencies are quoted because more or less they are universal within the literature.

I have mentioned the terms Afrikan masses, and Neo-Afrikan literature, what follows comes by way of explanation. At Literary Conferences and seminars dealing with Black arts and letters it is disconcerting to note that as one listens one hears Afrikan brothers and sisters born in the amerikan region of the afrikan diaspora as Black amerikans. This is said as if we are amerikans who just happen to be black, as if we, as an Afrikan people came to amerikan shores like other illegal settlers and immigrants. As the revolutionary Black Nationalist Malcolm X stated, "just because you're born in an oven don't

make you a biscuit." When Afrikans from the continent refer to us as Black amerikans a dichotomy is drawn between us and they. Perhaps our continental brothers do not perceive the alienation which is caused by their perpetuation of that kind of social balkinization. The dynamic mentioned is particularly interesting because some of the same brothers who participate in it claim to be Pan Afrikan in their world view. Although Afrikans in amerika have developed New Afrikan culture where we populated the south as slaves, we are still nonetheless Afrikans.

Using an empirical approach to Jamaica's cultural mores, who can deny that there exists Twi, Hausa, and Igbo linguistic influences upon the Jamaican Nation-Language? In the same country, Jamaica, who can deny the fact that the Pocaimina and John Canoe religious sects have large Afrikan influences which guide their modus operandi? Who can refute the fact that there are startling similarities between the Haitian Religion of Voodoo and the Continental Afrikan religion of the Yoruba Peoples? Who then has the falsified courage to examine the cultural mores of the Sea Islands (located off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia) and say that the presence of the Ewe, Yoruba, Fante, Twi, Bambara, Melinke, Wolof language does not exist in the Gullah Dialect?

The present study, by revealing the very considerable influences of several West Afrikan languages upon Gullah will, it is hoped, remove much of the mystery... (1)

As an Afrikan people kidnapped from our indigenous and original sociological environment, we, in amerika, were never given a choice after our so-called "emancipation"

from chattel slavery (1863) to either accept or reject amerikan citizenship. We are a captive Afrikan people who have never given up the Afrikanity.

Taking an objective look at the manner of oppression which Afrikan people face in amerika, we must clearly see that no tool such as culture, which may be transformed into weapons of colonial liberation can be allowed to exist in an apolitical vacuum of upward mobility or right wing opportunism.



We, as an Afrikan people confined in amerika by an illegal settler state, are in a life and death struggle with the worlds' colonizer, amerika. This fact is made more apparent and explicit by current disclosures that the amerikan C.I.A. has interfered with the internal affairs or the sovereign governments of: Allende's Chile, MPLA's Angola, the People's Republic of Viet Nam, Revolutionary Cuba, Lumumba and the Congo, etc., etc.,. As an Afrikan People, we have in amerika, a first hand experience with the world's jailer. It was the enslavement of Afrikan People's colonized as one nation within the borders of an illegal settler nation, which built the platform for the euro-amerikan industrial revolution which in turn created the material basis for the rise of industrial capitalism as a system of world wide exploitation of workers. Yes, Afrikan People inside amerika do have a specific first hand knowledge of the world's jailer, for amerika being the mother country of world wide imperialism, is

the world's jailer.

Afrikan People in amerika exist in a modern age which holds historic significance for mankind. It is a time for celebrating the victories of the world's National Liberation Struggles. It is a time for celebrating the victories of a United Vietnam, of Angola, and Mozambique. It is a time for the destruction of the racist regimes of southern Afrika. It is inhumane for one to submit to one's oppressor, because relenting to oppression denies the oppressed their humanity.

The fact that the Afrikan masses are under seige from the dominate euro-amerikan proletariat of amerika is more palpable in view of attacks of certain white left formations in Atlanta, and New York and Boston, using physical intimidation of Afrikan Grass-roots organizations and workers; in Boston as members of the white proletariat (some would call the working class comrades) went on a rampage, culminating in an Afrikan Lawyer being clubbed with an amerikan flag; in New York as Afrikan Workers' homes were bombed after they moved into a predominately white neighborhoods. Amerika's bourgeoisie, after erecting a world platform of exploitation from profits squeezed from an Afrikan underclass goes even further. The amerikan bourgeoisie, in the form of Nelson Rockefeller own a monopoly on the synthetic heroin, Methadone. Methadone maintenance is in fact a chemical war of attrition.

As Revolutionary Black Nationalist, our analysis of any portion of our liberation struggle must be scientific, for we can no longer allow critical analysis to be directed from a vague emotionalism which was the hallmark of Black Cultural Nationalist in the mid 60's and early 70's. These are hard times.

Try as we might, Afrikan People cannot prove to themselves, nor to the world's

anti-imperialist and to the socialist camp, that they are a free people. We can't do it and be telling the truth at the same time. We may be the only slaves on the globe who drive luxury limousines, but we are still slaves.

If we are not free, the buck dancing of Andy Young notwithstanding, then what are we? We are a colonized People. Being colonized People we can only free ourselves through political struggle. As this related to culture only a National Liberation Struggle can produce a National Culture, of which literature is an extension. This cultural liberation front should create the basis for dialectical materialism which changes objective reality, which when it interacts with historic due process, changes a people's definition of themselves and their relationship to self determination:

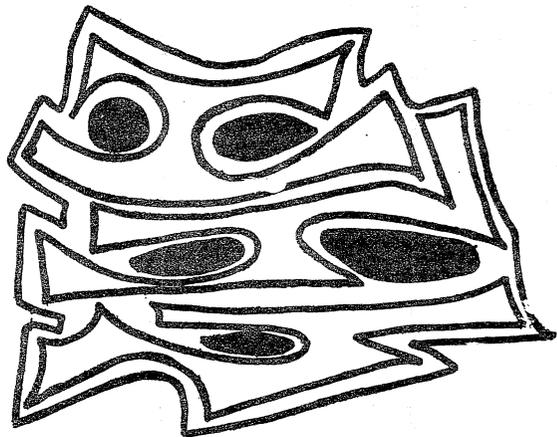
To fight for a national Culture means in the first place to fight for the Liberation of the nation, that material keystone which makes the building of national culture possible. (2)

Culture is a survival vehicle of a people. It is through a literate form of communications that scientific investigation and the process of scholarship can be pursued. For it can be truly said that there is no progression of civilization without the advancement of scientific investigation and use of progressive techniques of scholarship.

The role of literature, given it being a vehicle of literal communications and given the stage of the Afrikan Liberation Struggle inside amerika, can carry both a vanguard and supportive impact on the Black Liberation Movement. In the sphere of a forward thrust, Afrikan Literature can be used to explain elements of their working class. Political Manifestoes and position papers are both valid forms of literature. Afrikan Literature can support a National Liberation Front on a day to day basis through popularization of revolutionary principles through

poetry, drama, novels, songs, etc. When the disciplines mentioned are produced with the intent of political struggle and Afrikan Self Determination those themes become understood by the Afrikan Masses on a daily pragmatic level and internalized.

The art of revolutionary literature linked with concrete social practice and scientific political development can raise the consciousness of an oppressed people domestically colonized as an Afrikan Nation. The function and phenomenon of conscious raising is particularly relevant to oppressed peoples. It is through this aspect of self-determination that a people can analyze their alternatives to colonization.



# Popular Issues



# Guyanese Peoples View of The

## Jonestown Massacre

by Eusi Kwayana

"... in Guyana 914 persons, some 80% of them Black ... could die, mostly in one locality and all on the orders of one man."

The Editor:

It is the general opinion of the masses of Guyanese that the Jonestown massacre took place because of the glaring undemocratic way in which the ruling party governs under a fairly democratic written constitution.

For example, on January 8, 1979, not two months after Jonestown, the parliament, by a majority, passed a law which postpones local government (municipal and district council) elections for the fourth time running. The disputed referendum to abolish referenda took place only July 10 last. Thus the massacre is symbolically wedged in between two major breaches of democracy.

Guyana is a country in which ministers and other leaders of the ruling party (PNC) were required to declare in writing to their Leader, Mr. Burnham, by March 31, 1975, all their assets, "wherever held".

The Leader in turn was expected to submit his own assets to himself. The opposition in parliament wrung from the government in 1975 a promise that assets would be published in July or August, 1975. They were not published then.

Finally, after other promises to publish, in a press interview in the Guyana Chronicle during the referendum campaign, the PNC Leader said that he and a party committee had checked the

assets submitted and found them to be in order and that he had decided not to publish them.

It is this climate that Jonestown became possible. For this reason also, the issue is seen at home as human tragedy made possible only by the political culture of Guyana, or rather, the culture of its ruling party.

As organisations which fall outside the ruling party and its sphere of influence, members of the Council of National Safety are painfully aware of the readiness of the security forces and their various intelligence arms to infiltrate, penetrate, impose surveillance over and carry out searches against those who do not toe the line politically.

#### Powers

The security forces, the leaderships of which have all proclaimed allegiance to the ruling party and the Prime Minister personally, are armed with tough laws such as the Firearms Act and the all embracing National Security Act. This NSA bestows certain emergency powers without the need for the declaration of a state of emergency.

Under the Firearms Act firearm licences are issued on the decision of the Minister of Home Affairs.

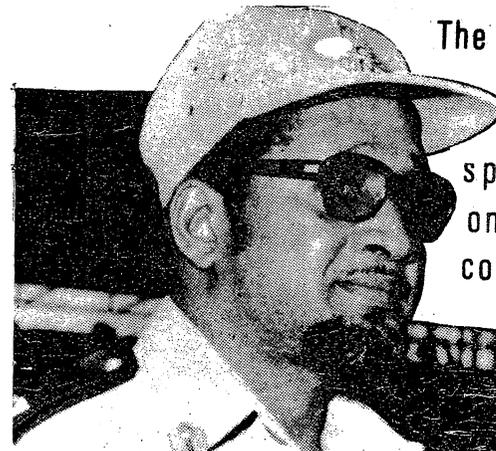
There are laws for the expulsion of undesirables. In fact two Afro-americans were in January 1973 simply arrested and expelled without ceremony.

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Apart from the police and the Guyana Defence Force, Guyana has also the Guyana National Service - a partly armed force - and the Guyana People's Militia, which is a PNC militia. Then there is the YSM cadres, an armed paramilitary group of the PNC's Young Socialist Movement.

A University of Guyana researcher into our "military balance" (Mr. K. Dammas) has estimated that there is one officially armed unit to every 35 inhabitants of Guyana. Assuming the loyalty of the troops - and there has been little question of this - the regime is able to deal with almost any threat to security and any breach of the peace.

When, therefore, it is suggested that the police and the army were too callous or cowardly to intervene in the shooting at Port Kaituma one must ask what were the general instructions of these forces in relation to People's Temple. Our information is that they had always been told that Jonestown was not within their jurisdiction. Jonestown developed as a "state within a state" on the direct instructions of the PNC regime.



Prime Minister Burnham, in National Service uniform

The Government, caught between worsening economic problems and widening opposition, now spends 10% of its budget on the army, but with little comfort for housewives and trade unions.

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The Council of National Safety was formed as a response to the fact that in Guyana 914 persons, some 80 percent of them Black, an undisclosed number of them Guyanese, some 200 of them children, a number of them Amerindian and all of them human beings, could die, mostly in one locality and all on the orders of one man.

It was also formed because of the certainty that this could happen only because our government, well reputed for its powerful defence of dispossessed Africans in Southern Africa, could violate our national sovereignty by aiding and counselling the development of a state within a state, based on undemocratic rule, within its borders.

Although the Prime Minister who heads this government has not condescended to address Guyanese on the issue of Jonestown, he has given interviews to sections of the u.s. press. In one newspaper, he is reported as saying that he wants to "close the chapter of the People's Temple as soon as possible".

The state-owned Guyana Chronicle and radio stations have declared that the government has no intention of holding an enquiry. The whole thing is, it seems, "an american problem". And it is only left for the u.s.a. and the Guyana governments, we are told, to work things out.

This is not the view of the Council of National Safety. The majority of the small and dwindling population of our country is far from callous.

Rather than seeing it as an american problem, we see it as a tragedy linking the people of our two countries - one large, one small, and this letter aims at attempting to establish links at the level of press, organisations and individuals, around the Jonestown issue.

## **Commonwealth action urged on Human Rights violations in Guyana**

Far from working to "close the chapter" the people are demanding an independent enquiry into the secret history of Jonestown, from the granting of the land and the renaming of a portion of the Kanaua Creek basin to the massacre, and the inventory taking.

On December 19, 1979, hundreds of citizens broke a police ban to carry out a one-mile demonstration in the city to demand an independent enquiry. The police failed to break up the march, although they made physical attempts to do so. A rally held the same night at Bourda attended by a crowd estimated as "the largest in recent times", supported the CNS demand for an enquiry into Jonestown.

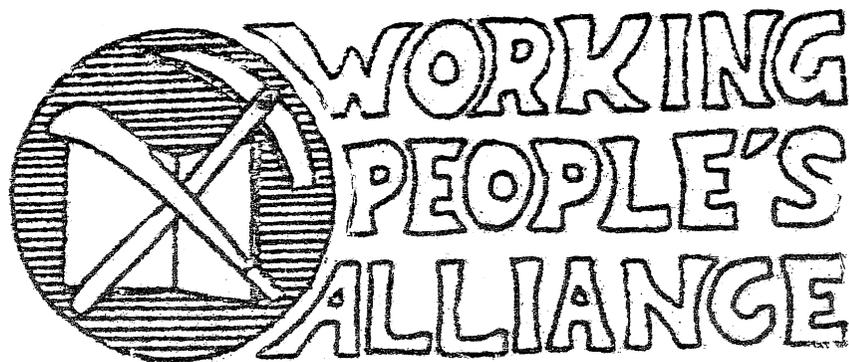
## Issues

As a result of overwhelming demands from the people, the state-owned Guyana Chronical has vaguely reported that the government has agreed to set up a Commission of Inquiry into the "entire tragedy of Jonestown" headed by a person of "judicial stature". No information has been given about the terms of reference and the personnel of the proposed Commission.

The Council of National Safety will not regard as serious any inquiry that fails to encompass every aspect of Jonestown, from its establishment to its destruction, and to satisfy Guyanese that the Commission of Inquiry is genuinely independent.

Several of the issues the CNS proposes to raise will touch on Guyana-u.s.a. relations. Why, for example, was Congressman Ryan allowed to go on his mission without police protection? What information about operations of the People's Temple in relation to Guyana was given to Guyana by the u.s.a.? How could the same u.s.a, which complains about due process of law in the Stoen case, wink at rigged elections and fraudulent referendum statistics in Guyana?!

EUSI KWAYANA  
Secretary,  
Council of National Safety  
(CNS) Georgetown



Give support to the only political party in Guyana which has demanded an impartial inquiry into the "Jones-Town Massacre." Send check or money order made out to the Working Peoples Alliance (WPA). Please send donations to:

c/o Boxholder  
P.O. Box 1718  
Hyattsville, Maryland 20788



## A Black Political Prisoner's Appeal



credit: Laurie Zuckerman

### Mahali Mchawi Obadele

"... near a place called Leland, Mississippi I passed a patrolman who signalled me to pull over. I did, and when I looked up through the rear view mirror the patrolman had drawn his revolver and was taking aim .... He then fired at our car."



Dear Soulbook:

I am in real need of your help and will state as briefly as I can the facts surrounding my case:

Firstly, let me state that all of us had been once convicted of a felony. Myself, 24 and Scott, 26, were both on parole from the Federal Prison system. We truly don't consider ourselves members of this country, taking into view the treatment that we and the many others that are in our situation here receive, i.e., our Race/Class. Really we had hopes of going home - Africa - and leaving this place, the u.s. for good. Being we have in no way been treated as citizens. This letter to you is an act of true need. As we have no money at this time and are in dire need of legal assistance. I will now state the facts of our situation, and will be totally honest and directly to the point.

In September, 1977, while traveling through Mississippi, North on Highway 61, we stopped at a small store near Vicksburg, Ms. My co-defendant went in to purchase a few good articles and cigarettes. At this time he had a verbal exchange with the store owner, a Mr. Max Holden. They had words and Holden called him a nigger and stated that he could not get a damn thing in his store. My co-defendant then

punched Holden in the face, out of anger. He got back into the car and told me what happened. We then drove up the highway and stopped and purchased the things we wanted at another store.

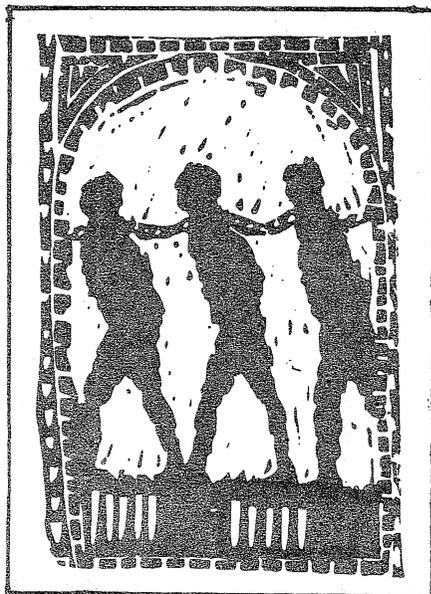
When we left Holden's store, he called the police and stated that we robbed him of \$350.00 and pistol whipped him in the head.

A few hours later near a place called Leland, Mississippi I passed a patrolman who signaled me to pull over. I did, and when I looked up through the rear view mirror the patrolman had drawn his revolver and was taking aim. I was shocked! He then fired at our car. The bullet hit the upper door on the driver's side, and knocked a piece of chrome from the door. (This evidence however, was completely overlooked and skillfully covered up with the help of our so-called attorney). Also, let me state here that we were traveling with all of our personal belongings in the car. A number of firearms included. The patrolman received return fire and was wounded in the face. I did not make the connection of this exchange, with Holden until the other officers that arrived stated that we were suspects in a bank robbery in some town that I can't recall the name of. When the F.B.I. came they must have realized that they made a mistake. Then I heard something about a store robbery.

We first went to court for the alleged robbery, Vicksburg, Ms. in Judge Ben Gouder's court. While there we talked

to two different court appointed attorneys. Each of them said, after talking with us, that they could not handle the case for various reasons. Like the day we were to go to court, the court appointed us a Mr. J. Mack Varner. They said that the lawyer we had, had taken sick. We asked him if they really think we would go to trial for our lives on the spur of the moment with him. We sat and talked and felt him out. His true colors came out shortly. He even made a statement that, "I'd rather be out someplace fishing than to be here messing with this," he almost said shit. We decided then that the best thing to do was to have him dismissed and see if we could obtain legal assistance from some other place, or try to deal with our own defense. We asked him to see if he could get a continuance in order for us to get acquainted with him and him with our case. Judge Gouder flatly refused this. He stated that we were going to trial that morning! Varner made it clear that he was totally ready to go to trial. We protested, openly, what they were attempting to do to us. The judge continued the trial to that afternoon! Stating that he felt we had enough time to acquaint ourselves with Varner and him with us and our case. We did. The man was clearly attempting to sell us out. When we were taken back to court that afternoon, we attempted to dismiss Varner and try to get time to seek legal assistance elsewhere or prepare to defend ourselves. Gouder refused. We then began to protest, in court, to let the people be aware of what they were attempting to do to us. Each time that

they tried to go on with the railroading procedures, we protested. Each time we were taken out of the courtroom to the judge's chambers and threatened by Gouder. Finally, he ordered us gagged in the courtroom and that was how the trial went. With us gagged and handcuffed and Varner acting as if he was defending us.



They had already intimidated Forbes, age 17, the day that we were arrested, and told him that he would get total immunity from the charges if he said what they want him to say. You know how that is done, don't you? He did as he was told and was not charged of anything to my knowledge. We were tried and convicted and sentenced to serve a term of life in prison without parole, all in one afternoon there in Judge Gouder's court in Vicksburg, Mississippi.

The trial in Washington County (Greenville, Ms.) was a repeat of the same, only it was not as overt. We were appointed, by the court, attorney's John C. Webb and Sidney J. Martin. I can remember Martin objecting not once during the course of the whole proceeding. We tried to get him to fight, but he would not fight, he just sat there. He even let the D.A. pass color photos, pictures of the gaping wounds that were taken before surgery. You can imagine the affect this had on the jury. Some even openly cried there in court.

We were convicted and sentenced to serve thirty (30) years, after we serve the life without parole sentence. That patrolman who was wounded later died. We had not heard from Martin, until about a week ago, he came here to inform us of some research he had undertaken. He found that by Mississippi law, we, after the death of said patrolman, could at any time be re-indicted for capital murder and to use his words, "you would probably get the Gas Chamber". He said he would return with a paper that we could sign if we wanted to. What he was bringing us was another "deal" as he had done before our trial. The paper he wanted us to sign was stating that we would like to drop our appeal, that he was supposed to have filed, and at the same time, drop all possibilities of appealing in the future. He also stated that no one else knows about this law, and that we should not make waves with that appeal thing, and chances are that we won't hear anything else on the matter. All the times that I've written to him in the past, I RECEIVED NO ANSWER. And now all of a sudden he made two trips

down here to talk with us about the appeal thing. He made it a point to keep a picture of the gas chambers in our minds. We did not sign the papers, and asked him to get a continuance on his brief time limit. He said he probably can.

This is our present situation here. You can probably see what the thing is. Our situation is bad. Being both parolees, poor and on top of that, Black. You know also that in this race/class orientated society that this does make a difference. I realize that I am sometimes blunt here. Believe me, its only in my efforts to be totally honest and to the point with you. We need help in the form of a criminal attorney who is "willing" to help us attempt to bring out the facts in this matter, and bring this into the courts. A grave injustice has taken place, and I guess it will even be taken further (the gas chamber) if we don't somehow retain an attorney who truly wants to get at the truth and defend my co-defendant and myself. You have our permission to share this letter and statement of facts with anyone that you believe to be interested in the courts dispensing justice, and assist us in this matter.

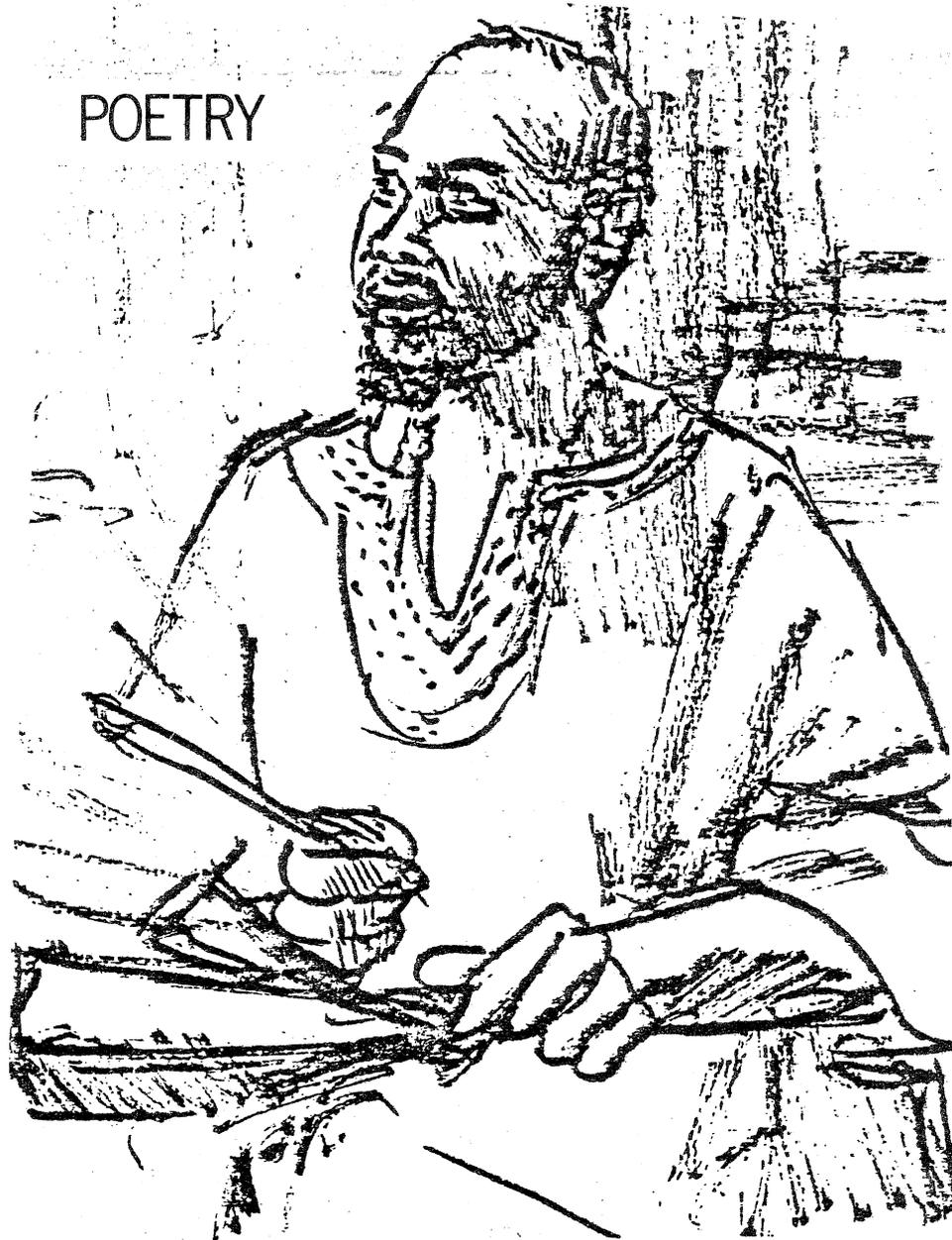
Any effort you make to help us in this case would be greatly appreciated, as we are on trial here for our lives.

You have our regards.

Sincerely,

Mahali McHawi Obadele

POETRY



New Afrikarts

## Revelations

Behold the book was placed before me and  
it bore the seal of death..,

And a voice commanded me to read  
there of And go forth prophesying of  
things to be ...

And the writings of the book were  
a brand unto my eyes blinding me.

it is written, Selah

And in the day of the night which is to  
come mighty tremors will gird the earth,  
shaking it as a leaf in storm, then will  
issue forth the trumpeter winds, the  
dark winds that burn sere and scorch the  
flesh and it will be a sign

and in the day of the night to come  
your white and blue skies will yellow  
and taint with the breath of the lion,  
and the encroaching jungle  
will heave and move forward. And your  
pleasures will be carrion and ashes.

Selah

And in the day of the night to come the  
children of your blandness spewed from  
your bloodless loins  
will be gutted in an orgy of blood,  
and their bones affixed as crosses on  
your doorsteps to guide our way in  
darkness. Selah!

And on the eve of the night which  
is to come

You will quake palsied with knowing,  
and You will run to your hiding  
places, away from the black wrath  
among you, to find your retreat  
blocked by jungle, the black hordes  
surrounding you, and it is night.

And in this night from the airless  
tombs which you have sentenced unto us  
we will issue forth, a mighty army of

spectres  
wraiths, destroying your cities,  
desecrating your  
altars, and your benediction will be the  
cold kiss of destruction and you will  
flee screaming to your graves and we  
will fatten and grow strong on the sweet  
food of revenge and wax mighty, and  
black Afrika will Triumph and the  
castrated sons of her flesh will issue  
forth new life

long live Afrika

Carol Turner



THE REVEREND ELDRIDGE LEROY CLEAVER SPEAKS

ABOUT SAL-VATION

The Lorrerd works in mysterious ways, friends.

Five years ago,

I was a lost man, hunted, debauched

unrepentant; wallowing in

sin and selfishness: a fugitive

from all that is fine and decent; filled

with barbaric passions, utterly lost.

To Cuba, Algeria, all Africa, I wandered

among alien races, unable to stifle the

evil choking the beauty in my

rebellious soul.

Then forced to the final quick of the

blade, harassed and brutal, restless,

insane with bitterness, I made a vow

to end my worthless life. Yes, friends,

suicide! (What could I do, my books were

confiscated, my royalties, my

international image--all of that

money, that--thousands of

dollars--and Don Cox, that

idealistic fool--I...)

Excuse, me friends, back to the narrative:

Stranded in Paris, with Kathleen & a few

followers, I couldn't face it all; I

moved with demonic swiftness to that

bridge over the Seine: a silent drop

into oblivion, darkness blotting out

time itself. Then love smiled down

upon me: blessed with Grace, I began

having visions: my life and false

gods flashed before me in an aura

of satanic darkness: I saw

Mao and Che Guevara, Lenin, Fidel

Castro outlined in horizons bloody

with ruined cities, starving

millions, fire, plague, endless

corpses; well I tell you, I was

burning in eternal damnation,

drowning in howling fury: why

sometimes--sometimes now, why I

can still hear their siren song--

I--I looked up into the eternal

white glow of the moon and saw

His blessed face: saw JEEEEEEEEESUS

smiling down at me and knew that I

had found SAL-VATION.

Yes Friends, as the scriptures say, He  
washed me white as snow!           And now  
Borrrrrrrrrn Again

I renounce my sinful ways:  
the maaaaaad anarchism and hate-filled  
days,

when I mounted a wave of black-  
jacketed violence and denounced  
my birthright, spat upon OUR FLAG,  
fought cops and avowed

Godless communism!

Yesssss, friends, if He can forgive  
a sinner like me, a man who renounced  
his country, his FLAG, who robbed,  
and raped innocent white women,  
smoked dope, hung out with Black  
Communist criminals

I know, in my heart, He'll hear your  
prayers

and forgive. O Yes! O Yes, He will!

People doubt my sincerity. Their eyes  
meet mine and quickly dart away.

They observe my conservative  
dress and life-style

slowly shake their heads

or mutter dark threats.

"Traitor, agent, sell-out"—these are

the spittle of words flung into my face

by those with whom I braved

life and death (those same ones who

bow their heads to Black hatred,

Africanism and other alien ideologies.

Who speak treason against our country,

conspiring with Castro or black criminals

in carnivals of bloodlust and rape,

plundering New York, burning and

looting our cities in orgies of

black savagery, returning us to the

jungles of our inglorious Past.

But I say, as He said: "Forgive  
them Lord, they know now what  
they do!"

O you angry, discontented, you howling  
masses, you wretched sinners raging for  
a believable dream--JEEEEEEEEESUS

IS CALLING!

Won't you join him in a real  
revolution--that marches into  
the slumbering soul, rouses  
the trumpets of the heart  
to announce the Son of God?  
Won't you join him, friends,  
won't you submit to Love and  
SAL-VATION? Won't You?

--USHERS PLEASE COME FORWARD

WITH YOUR OFFERING PLATES!

Askia M. Toure

## State of the Union Message

Without laughing, I imagine in Congress this  
message on the state of the Union: a tragic situation

In the substratum we have left only 75 years  
of iron  
50 years of cobalt  
But what of 35 years of sulfur and 20 years of  
bauxite,  
what is there in the heart?

Nothing, zero,  
mine with ore  
cavern where nothing stirs  
not a drop of blood

Emmet Till

your eyes were sea shells wherein sparkled the  
headiness of your 15 year old blood.  
your young eyes were never old  
or rather upon them weighed,  
more than could all the sky-scrappers, five centuries  
of executioners or witch burners,  
five centuries of bad gin of fat cigars  
of fleshy paunches filled with slices of rancid  
bibles  
five centuries bitter mouth of hags' sins  
they were five centuries old Emmet Till  
five centuries is the age without age of the  
stake of Cain

Emmet Till I say:

"in the heart zero  
not a drop of blood"

and as for yours, may it hide the sun from me, may  
it mingle with  
my bread

---"Boy from Chicago  
is it always true that you  
are equal to a white?"  
He believed so. Even at the edge of night  
at the edge of the Mississippi drifting between  
the high banks of racial hatred its bars, its  
barriers, its sepulchral avalanches he believed.  
He believed that a negro was equal to a white.

---"Boy from Chicago..."

So much sweeps away the wounded pride of racial  
vanity and its cracking of whips  
listen to the smooth singing of the bird of the  
blood in the blue hedge of the veins  
he foresees, mounting in the surprisingly blue  
field of sky  
above the drowsiness of the bluffs  
---the step of a mourner, the step of a gleaner---  
your stealthy step, O vehement sun

then the night remembered its arm  
and Big Millam's heavy pistol  
on the living black wall of golden flesh  
wrote in rusty letters the sentence and the  
state of the Union:

panting humming screeching  
boring drilling  
the earth says barks bibles  
bulldozers  
the sky says sky-scrappers

I say silence  
I say enough  
20 years of zinc  
20 years of copper  
15 years of petroleum

and the 180th year of these states  
but in the heart---painless clock  
nothing, zero  
not a drop of blood  
in the brutish sterilized white  
heart.

by aimé césaire

## Message sur l'Etat de l'Union

Sans rire, j'imagine au Congrès ce message sur  
l'Etat de l'Union: situation tragique

plus ne nous reste au sous - sol que 75 ans  
50 ans de cobalt  
mais pour 35 ans de soufre et 20 ans de  
bauxite, au coeur quoi?

Rien, zero,

mine sans minerai  
caverne ou rien ne rode  
de sang plus une goutte.

Emmet Till

tes yeux étaient une conque marine où pétillait la  
bataille de  
vin de ton sang de quinze ans.  
Eux jeunes n'avaient jamais eu d'âge  
ou plutôt sur eux pesaient  
plus que tous les gratte-ciel, cinq siècles de  
tortionnaires  
de brûleurs de sorcières,  
cinq siècles de mauvais gin de gros cigares  
de grasses badaines remplies de tranches de  
bobles rancies  
cinq siècles bouche amère de péchés de rombières  
ils avaient cinq siècles Emmet Till  
cinq siècles est l'âge sans âge du pieu de Cain

Emmet Till je dis:

"au coeur zéro  
de sang pas une goutte"

et pur le tien, qu'il me cache le soleil, qu'à  
mon pain  
il se mêle  
--"Garçon de Chicago  
c'est-il toujours vrai que tu vaux  
autant qu'un blanc?"

Il croyait. Meme au bord de la nuit  
au bord du Mississippi charriant entre les  
hautes berges de la haine raciale ses barreaux,  
ses barrières, ses tombales avalanches,  
il crut. Il crut qu'un nègre valait un blanc.

-"Garçon de Chicago..."

Autant en emporte le froissement du vent racial  
et son  
cliquetis de fouets  
lui écoute dans le bleu buisson des veines  
chanter égal l'oiseau du sang  
il devine par-dessus le sommeil des berges  
monter dans le bleu champ surprenant  
---pas de pleureuse pas de glaneuse---  
ton pas furtif soleil véhément

alores la nuit se souvint de son bras  
et le gros colt de Big Millam  
sur le noir mur vivant de chair aurorale  
en lettres de rouille écrivit la sentence et  
l'état de l'Union:

halètements vrombissements miaulements  
forements perforements  
la terre dit banques bibles bulldozers  
le ciel dit gratte-ciel

je dis silence  
je dis assez  
20 ans de zinc  
15 ans de cuivre  
15 ans de petrole

et l'an 180 de ces etas  
mais au coeur-indolore horlogerie  
rien, zéro  
de sang pas une goutte  
au carne blanc coeur désinfecté.

par aimé césaire

(réimprimé de Présence Africaine)



**ASSATA SHAKUR**  
**Black Freedom-fighter**



**Liberated**



## Special Focus



## New Afrikan View —



PORTRAIT OF A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY  
WOMAN: DARA ABUBAKARI OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA

Of late, much controversy has been focused on the "role of the Black woman" in our struggle for national liberation. Amid this furor we must not forget the clear delineation of Afrikan and Indo-European development demonstrated by Cheikh Anta Diop. He shows us that different material realities resulted in alternate paths of civilizational development and also produced a divergence in the perceptions and status of women in these two fundamentally different superstructures.

It must be further noted that our current struggle against white colonial settler domination is not only a struggle for political and economic independence, it is also a confrontation between our Afrikan ethos and the attitudes of our colonizer. Of course it goes without saying, we cannot build a new nation without rejecting the values imposed upon us by the slaveholders. Such is the case with our perception of our women - on which Diop counsels us, "... when the security of the group was the primary concern, the respect enjoyed by either of the sexes was connected with its contribution to this collective security."<sup>1</sup> This axiom is still functional for us as we are engaged in a collective struggle for survival.

While Diop has provided us with the scholarly/theoretical framework from which we can determine the nature of both males' and females' level of participation in our liberation movement and our civilization in general practical examples have been provided for us by the liberation movement itself. The fact of the matter is Black women like Queen Nzinga, Harriet Tubman, Fannie Lou Hamer, Queen Mother Moore, Assata Shakur, and others have demonstrated that in theory and practice the struggle for Black national independence and Black womens' rights are inseparable. Their bold deeds and clear insights should have put the sexist/anti-Afrikan restrictions advocated from certain sections of our movement to rest. Yet another testament to our need to employ

all of our resources - human (male and female) and material - in our quest for self determination is Sister Dara Abubakari.

Dara Abubakari was elected the third (3rd) President of the Republic of New Afrika at a national meeting in Waveland, Mississippi in November 1978.\* She thus becomes the first president of this nation building Black organization to be "born and bred" in the nation area. Her life spans sixty-five (65) years of which she has been both a participant and witness to the evolution of our liberation struggle.

Born into an activist family of Garveyites, Dara soon joined her father,



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\*The presidency of the RNA is currently being contested by former President Imari Obadele.

a Baptist minister and her mother, a Missionary in their struggles for Black self determination. In the 1930's she was an activist in the defense of the Scotsboro Boys, five (5) young Black men who were framed for the supposed "rape" of two white women on a southern freight train which stopped at Scotsboro, Alabama while enroute to Memphis, Tennessee. Sister Dara's diligent involvement in court cases concerning injustices against Black people from the 1930's to the present gained the recognition of Amnesty International in the internationally known organization that investigates acts of political repression in countries the world over.

In the late 1950's Dara helped organize the New Orleans Public Education Association and later became president of Citizens for Quality Education, two groups working for improved public school education. She was a founding member of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), a southern based inter-racial education organization. Dara served as assistant to the Executive Director and a member of the Board of Directors of SCEF. Dara was also both a Vice President and President of the SCEF Board of Directors.

"Way back in '53 I used to think that there was hope that maybe Black and white people together could solve all the problems," she states, "... I learned it is not true. I am a self declared separatist now." So from 1968, when the Republic of New Afrika was founded in Detroit, to the present, Dara

has been engaged in building a separate nation for Black people within the borders of the present day united states.

Sister Dara's political activities have also included struggling on the welfare rights front. Sister Dara and Queen Mother Moore are founding members of the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, a southern based Black women's organization incorporated in Louisiana in 1958 and instrumental in having 23,000 Black families restored to the welfare rolls in Louisiana after they had been denied welfare benefits because the mothers in these families were alleged to have given birth to children out of wedlock, so called illegitimate children.

Also at this time, in conjunction with the struggle for welfare for the 23,000 families of Louisiana, the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, under the leadership of Queen Mother Moore, the organization's President, and Sister Dara, the Executive Secretary, began a refinement of the concept that Black people in the u.s. constituted a nation in the u.s., a captive nation for which independence was necessary and to which reparations were due. This claim of recognition of nationhood status for Black people in the u.s. was filed in 1958 at the United Nations by Queen Mother Moore representing the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women.

Also engaged in voter registration, in New Orleans in 1963, Dara organized a



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voter registration project which ran day and evening classes for Black voters and mounted a series of demonstrations against discrimination in voter registration. Dara was arrested many times for this campaign to register "citizens" of the u.s. in order to exercise their right to vote. It is ironic, because years later as Vice President of the National Territory and now President of the Republic of New Afrika, Dara is registering Black people in the south and all over the u.s. to seek land and independence and asking them to become citizens of the Republic of New Afrika.

Sister Dara's travels have taken her to Cuba (during the u.s. ban on travel to that country) and to countries in Latin America and Europe, on many occasions representing the Black Nationalist Movement in the u.s. in efforts to secure international recognition and support for our national liberation struggle. Such committment for over 45 years is remarkable when you realize the toll of jailings, killings and setbacks we've faced. In addition to a very active public life Sister Dara has been married for 44 years, is the mother of 10 children, grandmother of 40 children and great grandmother of 8. She is truly a testament to the accomplishments of Black women in our struggle for national liberation.

Armed with the theory and knowledge derived from practice we can pave the

way for a greater utilization of our resources in our struggle for independence. Discarding european derived perceptions we can build a movement that expresses our needs and aspirations.

"So, Comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies which draw their inspiration from her.

Humanity is waiting for something other from us than such an imitation, which would be almost an obscene caricature.

If we want to turn Afrika into a new Europe, and america into a new Europe, then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us.

But if we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must make discoveries.

If we wish to live up to our peoples' expectations, we must seek the response elsewhere than in Europe." <sup>2</sup>

Soulbook salutes Dara Abubakari and affirms the right of Black women to

full participation in our national liberation struggle!

Together we will win!!!

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Footnotes -

1. Diop, C. A., Cultural Unity of Black Afrika, pg. 36.
2. Fanon, Frantz, The Wretched of the Earth, pg. 255.



Frelimo fighters during the struggle for independence—"I met women who were involved in the liberation struggle on all fronts"

Van Lierop

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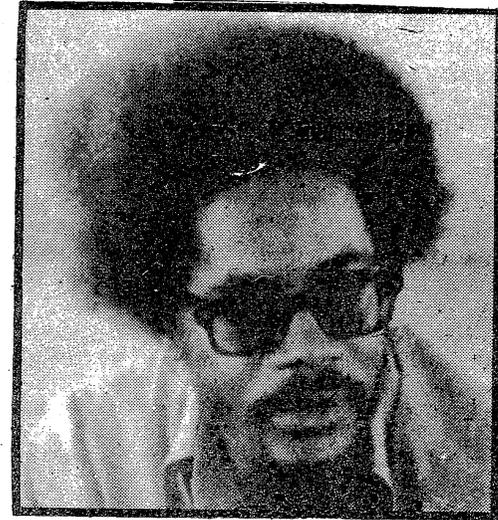


"Human Rights is the right  
to self-determination"

Malcolm X

a Tribute to:

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On Friday, June 13, 1980 in Georgetown, Guyana, Walter Rodney, revolutionary Pan Afrikanist and brilliant historian, was assassinated by order of the forces of Forbes Burnham. This vicious act shows the world a desperately bankrupt and corrupt Guyanese Government. The spirit of Walter Rodney will continue to live in the hearts and minds of oppressed and colonized people everywhere.

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