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# Repression and Black Liberation, by Chokwe Lumumba With Introduction by Akinyele Umoja

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## Repression and Black Liberation, by Chokwe Lumumba<sup>1</sup> With Introduction by Akinyele Umoja

AKINYELE UMOJA

Chokwe Lumumba organized the International African Prisoners of War (APOW) Solidarity Day in Jackson, Mississippi in 1973. APOW Solidarity Day mobilized thousands from around the United States to Jackson to expose the repression against Black liberation forces and to gain support for incarcerated activists and soldiers of the Black Power Movement. In the article “Repression and Black Liberation,” Lumumba argues that the US government engaged in a “secret war” against the Black Liberation movement.

Two years before publication of the article, through the expropriation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files, the Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) was exposed by radical activists. The revealing of COINTELPRO provided evidence of the US government’s covert war on the Black Freedom Movement. Lumumba’s fellow citizens of the Provisional Government of Republic of New Africa (RNA) were held in captivity in Mississippi and US federal prisons in the case of the RNA 11. The FBI and

police contingent resulted in the death of Jackson Police Lieutenant William Skinner, and the wounding of another officer and a federal agent. It is now known that the entire pretext for the raid on the RNA headquarters was a COINTELPRO operation designed to destroy the RNA.

Lumumba was assigned to organize defense efforts for the RNA 11. “Repression and Black Liberation” was published before Congressional hearings and litigation by movement activists disclosed to the public COINTELPRO’s widespread damage, disruption, and violation of the Black Power organizations and activists. The article responds to a political environment in which the Black Power Movement had experienced intense hostility and repression with hundreds of activists incarcerated or forced into exile, and some—like Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, and Carl Hampton—assassinated.

The original preamble to this article states that Chokwe Lumumba “married Anasa Lumumba on December 19, 1970.” This union produced one child, Kambon Mutope, and ended after a few years. After his divorce from Anasa, Chokwe Lumumba married Nubia Alake (born Patricia Burke) in 1980.

### Note

1. This article was first published 1973.



# REPRESSION AND BLACK LIBERATION

**T**HE SURPRISE ATTACK has been one of the most effective methods employed by political-military sources to subdue their opposition during the course of international warfare. As demonstrated by the Nazi blitzkrieg at the dawn of the second World War, this tactic is of supreme benefit to the aggressor because it minimizes the opportunity for those who are targets of the attack to mount a prepared response. The prime element of this tactic is the target nation's unawareness, its failure to detect the attack any appreciable time in advance. Such unawareness is the major advantage to the attacker and of serious disadvantage to the attacked.

Envision, if you will, an expanded application of this tactic to the current situation. The situation is such that the streets are filled with total warfare. The element of surprise is the point of attack. The target is unaware of the attack. The determination is to prolong the attack. The advantage is to the attacker.

In the current situation, the attack is against the black community. The attack is intensified. The attack is widespread. The attack is on campuses. The attack is on the physical. The attack is on the spiritual. The attack is on the physical. The attack is on the spiritual. The attack is on the physical. The attack is on the spiritual.

a list of others too long to record in this space. Massacres, as the Algiers Motel in Detroit, at Attica Prison in New York, at Jackson State College in Mississippi and Southern University in Louisiana, are in vogue. Within the last two years a new fad of white terrorism has been popularized by zero-visibility police commando unit called S.T.R.E.S.S. which has inflicted summary execution on over 20 unarmed black victims in the city of Detroit. Mass invasion of black homes has also been a pass-time of S.T.R.E.S.S. Although young blacks between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five have been the primary targets of these killings and invasions, persons from all sectors of the African communities have been preyed upon. The victims include: ministers,

who was shot to death. The Sheriff's Deputy was wounded on the floor offering his life.

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CHOKWE LUMUMBA, Minister of Justice of the Republic of New Africa was born Edwin Finley

Detroit, Michigan. Brother Lumumba was also the National Coordinator for the historic First Inter-

Taliaferro, on August 2, 1947 in Detroit. He graduated from Kalamazoo College, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, June 7, 1969. Lumumba was a law student at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan when he became a citizen of record and a Black Legioner of the Republic of New Africa in July of 1969. He married Anasa Lumumba on December 19, 1970 in a New African ceremony in

national African Prisoner of War Solidarity Day Observance held in Jackson, Mississippi on the 29th and 30th of March 1973. Over sixty sponsoring organizations joined the RNA Provisional Government in successfully completing Solidarity Day activities without incident. Nearly 3,000 attended. This was the largest political gathering of blacks in Mississippi since the Civil Rights era.

## by CHOKWE LUMUMBA

same. The 400,000 front-line local armed forces units (aka/police departments) are digging in, or rather moving out into black communities. The array of weapons and equipment they sport is undistinguishable from that used by the U.S. and its functionaries to wage war in Indo-China, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique or Angola.

The U.S. Federal Government has developed the infamous C.I.A. to train units of urban police. As the military budget which finances imperialistic wars outside of this continent has ascended in fantastic leaps and bounds, funds of troops on the domestic front

trived "Secret War" as President Imari Obadele, I termed it. It is a war most frequently waged on *unprepared* persons in the African communities on this continent, however, it is importantly a war fought against segments of the African population who know what it is and as a consequence readily increase the price America must pay to conduct unrestrained hostilities against blacks. Mark Essex, John Percy Boyd, Mark Bethune, and the slain warriors of the Black Liberation Army in New York are African compatriots due the highest order of respect and appreciation.

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...our reality. It is to realize that in America there does exist a very carefully con-  
wounded, and also left wounded one FBI agent) and many others who could be named. These are the living heroes of the armed struggle in North America. While many of our revolutionaries wait for the already-in-process armed struggle to begin, these along with their deceased comrades have with various *prepared responses* decidedly elevated the value of black life in the calculated view of tin-badge-carrying murderers who must be reminded from time to time that taking black lives may cost white ones.

These men and women have righteously heeded the sound teachings of our ancestral brethern Nat Turner, Cinque Simba, and others whose perennial participation in the armed struggle for freedom and survival has helped significantly to preserve us to 1973 when We<sup>o</sup> can now speak of brightening prospects for independence. Of course these important reminders are not conclusive. They do serve more effectively to divulge the secret than an infinite number of words. Yet the war goes on and We remain its principle target. What We must do is terminate the war. Which

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Mississippi, for instance, where even the unreliable white census takers (who admit

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William Waller, make the decisions which govern both the black and the white in the state. Of course, little consolation can be found in turning to the United States Federal structure where there is at the helm Mr. Nixon, who long ago has demonstrated criminal irresponsibility towards the 30 million blacks he holds captive under his purview, and who now is shown to be even a questionable executive for white people and an unquestionable crook.

As for the Congress, the best efforts of sixteen blacks are often drowned in a sea of over 500 mostly unsympathetic Caucasians who are feverishly wondering what to do with "their niggers."

Who do We, over 800,000 blacks throughout the state, turn to for local government? As expected, if We turn to white government We do indeed turn to white folks in government. Although 25 of 82 counties in Mississippi are majority black (his count again), 12 more are between 40 and 50% black, and 21 others are over 30% black, only 39, or less than 2% of the over 2,500 county elected officials are African

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missing 5,000,000 people – 7.7per cent of the black population) say the black population is 37%, We have only one State Legislator, Representative Robert Clark, out of the 174 who, along with the white racist governor

And to those who are happy not to be in Mississippi, i might point out that Africans in this state are more “fortunate” in regards to executive representation in white government than the ½ million Africans in Detroit, or the ½ million in Philadelphia, the 1½ million Africans in New York City, or the million Africans in Chicago.

In Gary, Indiana where over 92,000 blacks have Mayor Richard Hatcher, a strong and respected blackman at the helm one would expect and will find that black people receive the best consideration that black people can get from white government. However, even this is obviously inadequate amidst the pollution, poor housing, and other usual symptoms of the ghetto ills, which bear striking testament to the veracity of Mayor Hatcher’s assertion that white enterprise and not he governs the city of Gary. Indeed the moral of this sad story is fully demonstrated by the white me

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\* It is a rule of New African grammar and a principle of New African thought that our “WE’s” are capitalized and our “i’s” are small, since “the community is more important than the individual.”

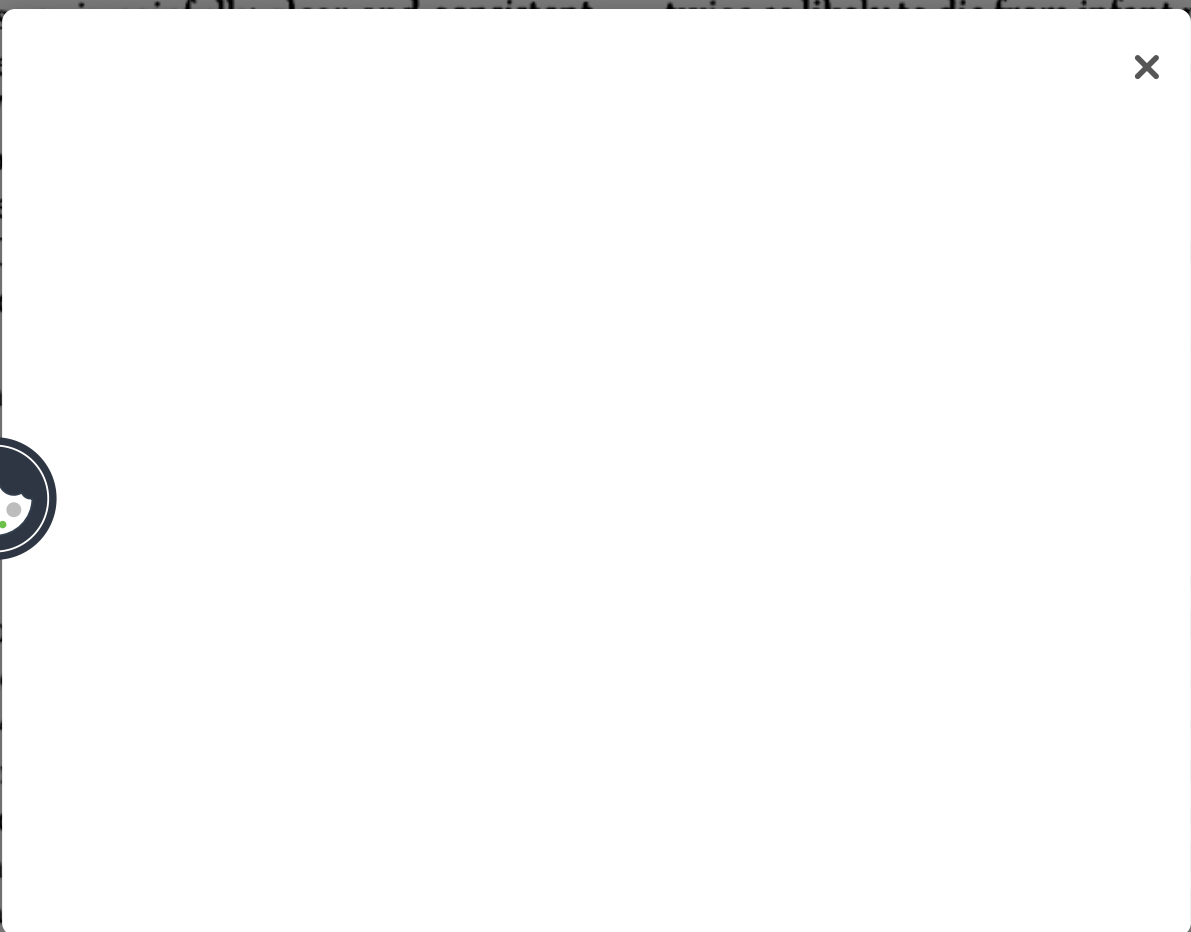
jeopardy of being turned to the street.

How do blacks live outside of Mississippi in 1973? Pitifully. In 1963, the year Martin Luther King marched on Washington, U.S. President John F. Kennedy touched the heart strings of the world in a brilliant piece of oratory which revealed that the two black babies died for every one white baby who died that year, that a blackman was twice as likely to be unemployed as a whiteman that year and that blacks earned less and were less educated and lived in more dilapidated homes than did whites.

In 1973, the year U.S. President Richard “Watergate” Nixon has withdrawn almost 1 billion dollars from social programs and declared the “war on poverty” over, it appears that Mr. Kennedy’s rousing recitation of black suffering had little more value than a good speech technique. This year our babies are still twice as likely to die from infant mortality, We are twice as likely to live in slums, twice as likely to be unemployed, and still twice as likely to be assaulted and killed. We are also told that blacks are twice as likely to be assaulted and killed. We are twice as

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ended rate which is only 0.5% for whites in the same state. In spite of what is most optimistically discribed as a fragile health care condition here, there is a governor who plays political games at every opportunity with funds for the two busiest black medical centers in the state (Mount Bayou Center, and the Jackson-Hinds Health Center). By vetoing medical center funds, he literally places thousands of sick black human beings in

1973, over 100 years after over two hundred years of slavery under the U.S. and its predecessor white governments.

Such performance by a government has never been permanently tolerated by any people as serious as We are about advancing their prospects for survival, freedom, and prosperity. The Cuban Revolution (I & II), the French Revolutions, the Irish Revolutions (South and North), the African Revolutions in Kenya, Tanzania and across the motherland, and the American Revolution are all instances in which people have or are putting unacceptable governments out of business or putting them off their land. Indeed, in all of these instances people have been a great deal less

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war of 1812? Our predicament under American Government can only be explained in terms of the incompetence, unwillingness, and/or unconcern on the part of American Government. What the Republic of New Africa's Declaration of Independence says, what the Congress of African People's Founding Papers say, and what millions of blacks are saying today is that neither of these are acceptable explanations in

**I**N MARCH OF 1968 WE did in fact exercise our right to this option and, by process of a genuine exercise of international politics, fashion a provisional African government in Northern America. Thereby, the scattered African nation on this continent was transformed into an internationally recognizable alternative to the United States of America, available to those of us who choose it. Though this transformation was effected with the physical presence of 500 black nationalists and with a Declaration of Independence signed by only one hundred of these, the present evidence of 5,000 New Africans of record and the concious citizenship of several others

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temporary reality of basically white government of African people in North America, and throughout this world, evidences that the only satisfactory means for us to assure for ourselves fundamental human liberties and a better life is to avail ourselves of a self determination option due us under the proper interpretation of international law, and interestingly enough, an option which We have held in abeyance since the middle of the white civil war *even by U.S. LAW.*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>o</sup> See President Imari Obadele's article "The Struggle Is For Land" *The Black Scholar*, February 1972.

products of organizing units of African independence fighters which appear as New African schools, government centers, consulates study groups, ujamaa enterprises, theater groups, economic development organizations, student unions, prisoner collectives, revolutionary political parties, and various other forms which ingrain the burning question of independence in the African communities they touch. The seeds fall on filthy factory assembly lines, in sooty steel mills, on dangerous streets, in overcrowded apartment

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the clearest of political terms — the sovereign exercise of complete political authority and economic control over a contiguous mass of land (Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana is our projection). This independence work, although significantly the product of the persistent, bold and correct application of political science by a devout few, is much more importantly a composite of the energies and resources of thousands — to be millions — in North America.

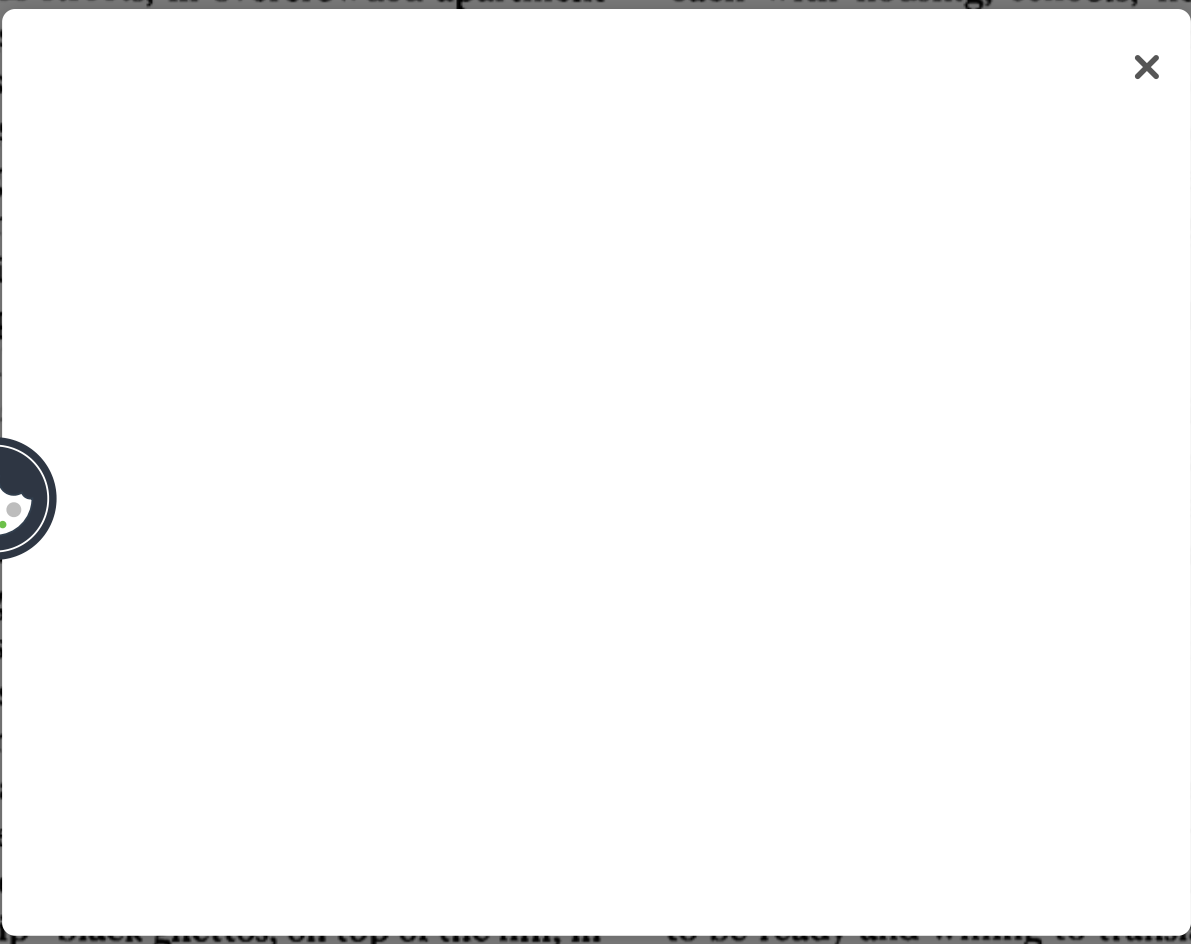
What is happening, is that across this continent, in the African communities, independence seeds are being laid. These seeds are

tion of self sustained New Communities — with industry — which will form the infrastructure of the economy of the independent nation and which will be principal features of black economic power inside and outside the Republic of New Africa.

Liberation is a collective project which involves us — you, me, and others. The struggle is on and the call is out. From virgin land in Mississippi and other areas of the deep south We will build several new black communities, each with housing, schools, health centers,

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black reservations. They fall in places, on minds and in lives which have already been fertilized by elements of unmitigated oppression.

Importantly, these seeds are being carefully and centrally disposed amongst the 500,000 blacks who occupy, along with 100,000 whites, a 15,000 acre strip of land, called Kush, which extends along the east bank of the Mississippi River from Memphis, across Wilkinson County in the southwest corner of the state of Mississippi. Here the fruit of our seeds – the independence of the nation – will arise in its nascent stages of physical visibility. This will be achieved through the complementary developments of an independence plebiscite (a freedom vote in which blacks visibly express allegiance to their nation), and construc-

At this very moment the life of prisoner of war, Ahmed Obafemi, is in danger in Railford Prison in Starke, Florida, because of a letter he has written to the governor of that state, Rubin Askew, advising him of the putrid conditions inside the prison and implicating prison officials in the recent death of a black inmate. Askew of course has not responded, but State

officials warned state officials surprise. F.B.I. and police at his state tical ar Obafemi Sone Sec Democ copies of form pro was the proposal that Con the paym to Africa interfere with the peaceful completion of a black plebiscite.

bars. At this very moment Judge Waller Nixon, the U.S. federal prosecutor in Jackson, Mississippi, the F.B.I. and some of the most racist white Americans on this planet are preparing to try the RNA-11, Vice President Hekima Ana, Offogga Qudduss, Tamu Sana Ana, Njeri Qudduss, Chumaimari Fela Askadi, Addis Ababa, and 16 year ole Karim Njabafudi for the alleged shooting of a F.B.I. agent who attacked them at 6:30 A.M. in the morning, with the help of over forty companion 'law officers'. Also coming to trial as one of the eleven is brother Imari Obadele who is said to have somehow commenced a conspiracy responsible for the shooting of this agent one month before anyone, with the possible exception of God, knew that this agent or any other would execute the reckless sneak attack.

automobile.

We advised Rubin Askew by letter and phone that his state agencies and agents (particularly Judge Gilmore of Dade County Circuit Court, who set the exorbitant bonds and presided over the trial, and who was recently indicted for bribery in another case) were serving as willing and enthusiastic instruments

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Jackson F.B.I. agents knew that the Anti-Depression Program had been accepted by the Democratic Loyalist Delegation from Mississippi and that Ahmed and Tarik both were to meet me in Miami where the Program would again be presented. They took this opportunity to wire the Convention security fraudulent information, thereby, causing Ahmed and Tarik to be arrested while my wife and myself were attending a Delegates Black Caucus session. They were originally charged with the absurd and totally unsupportable "suspicion of conspiring to assassinate George McGovern." Within an hour after their arrest this nationally publicized charge was dropped, but they were retained on enormous bonds of \$100,000.00 each on spurious weapons charges and later convicted after a short trial and sentenced to the maximum sentence possible (5 years). Although agents admit that both brothers were unarmed, they alleged to have found guns under the seats of their unoccupied

ambiguous black "pursuit of freedom" into a planned struggle for a well defined liberation objective-to free the land.

It is a movement of North American African people from a position of forced or uniformed "consent" to American Government and U.S. paper "citizenship" to a responsible position of consent to New African and RNA citizenship (either record citizenship or non-record citizenship). The central motivation behind this movement is the *independence question* – or rather our answer to it. Even though men might be, to paraphrase the U.S. Declaration of Independence, commonly disposed to suffer abuses as long as they be sufferable, America's abuse is far beyond the limits of our endurance and far too stifling of our ambitions to make "giving America one more chance" a plausible option.

It has become apparent that many are reserving their answer until the answer to a related question becomes obvious to them:

### "CAN WE WIN"?

We can and will if we pay the price. It will cost our sacrifice, hard work meticulous planning and persistence. The perverse political

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tinuously exhausting our noblest energies, our genius, and spilling our blood for the most paltry considerations (poverty programs, etc.) owed one group of human beings by another, only to find them inadequate by the time We are granted them, if We are granted them at all, and only to have them withdrawn or extinguished at the caprice of venomous racists as soon as time and our innate drive for survival forces us to develop a dependence on their existence. Even if such scripture could be found We would instantly dismiss it as a journal of oppression.

Actually, We have some major nation building credentials. Although this is *our* first independence project, We have to our own displeasure constructed a mammoth portion of white America — helped design its capital city, advanced its technology, manufactured its wealth and fought its wars. Surely our concerted efforts as 30 million — or a major fraction thereof — are worth at least five states for ourselves — the ones they call underdeveloped and poor for the same reasons We deem them unpolluted and ripe for development.

something important to say about our prospects for success. Furthermore, I might add, that “what We can stop doing”, is as important as “what We can do.” We can stop perpetuating white America — stop buying her products, building her buildings, making her cars, delivering her mail, and so on. Stop in whole or in part, stop for a short time or a long time, stop in one area or in several areas. Stop however, whenever and wherever it behooves us and stop in a manner which has the most devastating effect.

Victory is not only possible, but it is near. Consider it further, if you are not convinced. Persuade you We may, but inform you We will. To quote President Imari, “The struggle for the land is on.” No longer is it merely an exercise of the mind or a topic for debate, it is physically in process. Even as you contemplate its merits, We urge your support. Advise and criticize if you will, for this is essential to eventual success. Philosophize if you insist. But give. Give generously and sacrificially toward this movement by those of us who have made a choice. Even to the skeptic or the critic who feels this momentous process of human

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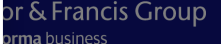
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