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Repression and Black Liberation, by Chokwe Lumumba[1] 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 Jackson police arrested 11 RNA activists after a pre-dawn raid of the group's headquarters on August 18, 1971. The gun battle between RNA security and the FBI/Jackson 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. Chokwe Lumumba, "Repression and Black Liberation," in "Black Soldier II." *The Black Scholar*, 5, no.2 (1973): 34–42. DOI: 10.1080/00064246.1973.11431358

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REPRESSION AND BLACK LIBERATION

THE 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 the element of unawareness. Imagine a situation in which the aggressor artfully constructs and employs this principle to fashion a total war strategy. In such a situation the element of unawareness extends beyond the point of attack and in fact lingers from attack to attack. Here the target nation's unawareness remains a principal feature and a determining factor throughout a duration of prolonged hostile aggression toward it by its adversary.

In the last decade rampant aggression against African captives by our aggressor intensified to the level of a blitzkreig. Blood flowed from speaker's platforms, on college campuses, in prisons, and on the streets. The widely employed technique of assination has physically eliminated Malcom X, Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, George Jackson, 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, housewives, a 57 year old man who was shot to death in his home, and a black Sheriff's Deputy who was murdered as he sprawled wounded and helpless across an apartment floor offering his badge as I.D. and begging for his life.

THE AGGRESSION NOW accelerates and the forecast for the immediate future says "more to come." Naked acts of repression have an immediate effect of intensifying it. The recent shooting of a ten year old youth in New York, for instance, has brought rebellious masses to the street in that city and as we approach 1974, more of 1967 and 1968 may well be in store. It is at least the expert opinion of American "law enforcement" that they along with irresponsible government, have properly created conditions which warrant more of the

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 Legioneer 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, finance of troops on the domestic front has also rocketed. The so-called U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in Washington, D.C. will issue and estimated 2.5 billion dollars to its North American police troops during the nixt fiscal year. Still not comfortable, local units will dip healthily into city and state revenue sharing funds to further boost their fire capacity. They are and have been *prepared for war*!

Though they are and though the proposition of attempting the select or complete liquidation of blacks in Northern America is by all indications being considered as a serious alternative by a white government which has nearly eliminated a non-white population before, some of us with good African minds are unaware of the war being waged in North America — *of which we are principal targets, Imagine that!*

To imagine this situation is of course to recognize our reality. It is to realize that in

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 compartriots due the highest order of respect and appreciation.

Joining this esteemed group of liberation fighters whose lives have been taken in the armed struggle are the surviving sisters and brothers of the Black Liberation Army in New York who have moved to an offensive and brought the secret war out front; Ahmed Evans, the renowned freedom fighter and prisoner of war accused of leading a black rebellion in Cleveland in 1968; Fela Olatunji and Macheo Sundiata who along with their comrade and unit leader Antar Rah (an astonishing devout and courageous brother who recently drowned in the act of saving a drowning Cuban sister in Havana) silenced a police assailant in Alberquerque, New Mexico and caught a diverted plane flight to Havana in November 1971; the RNA-11 members who successfully defended themselves in the now famous August 18, 1971, 300 round, pre-dawn attack by FBI agents and Jackson police on the Government Residence of the RNA (which left

recognize 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* 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 means that We must alter our dependent situation. We are at present dependent on the very power which wages war against us. We must become increasingly and completely independent of this power and, at the same time, We must become a viable power ourselves. Only then can We and will We make it more expensive for America to continue its wanton aggression than it is for it to bring it to an end.

BROKEN DOWN TO ITS most basic element, our problem is one of insufficient power. We do not effectively control or even substantially influence the political, economic, and social systems which run us. All the institutions and services which are vital to our life processes are administered by an alien government. In Mississippi, for instance, where even the unreliable white census takers (who admit

Government Residence of the RNA (which left one police aggressor dead and another one

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 brothers or sisters. None of these are sheriffs and most are officials with minor authority. Evan Doss of Clairborne County is the only black tax assessor We have, and this aptly explains the pseudo-legal theft of black land in Mississippi by most of his counter-parts in the 81 other counties.

Of the 80 cities in this state which have over 2,500 people, 19 are black majority cities, 9 more are over 40% black and 24 others are over 30% black. None have a black mayor or any semblance of adequate representation on their city commissions. Only 4 black mayors are to be found in the state: Charles Evers of Fayette (population 1626), N.B.Brooks of Falcon (population 220), Moses Lewis of Winstonville (population 327), and Earl Lucas of Mount Bayou (population 1354). In other words only 3547 blacks of 800,000 in the state enjoy (or suffer) the presence of a blackman in a chief executive office at any level of American national state or local government.

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

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

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 saga is painfully clear and consistent; white men control white governments.

In 1973 the consequences of subjugation to white governments are still severe. In Mississippi We have less than one black doctor for every 20,000 black persons. As is the case throughout the so-called United States of America We die mostly from hypertension, infant mortality, protein deficiency, and maternal mortality, not from sickle cell anemia. We die mostly from causes medical attention can correct, not from diseases which are incurable. We die because We have in some cases too few and other cases no doctors. For every thousand births 47.8 of our babies will die, 108.4 of our mothers will die and over 30% of our births will go medically unattended.

This contrasts sharply with a 22.7 per thousand infant mortality rate amongst whites, a 25.5 per thousand maternal mortality rate amongst whites and a maternity unat-

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 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 three times more likely to live in dilapidated homes, twice as likely to be unemployed, still less educated, and still receiving less income. Now We are also told that our women are four times as likely to be killed, raped, robbed or seriously assaulted and We have found that our homes are twice as likely to be burglarized.

WHY IN MISSISSIPPI, a state which had a $120,000,000 surplus at the end of the last fiscal year, must We live like this? Why must We live like this under domination by the U.S.A. – a nation which has over 83 billion dollars to use for a military defense budget for 1974, although it has not been attacked in 1973 for which it has a 77 billion dollar defense budget and in fact has not really had to defend itself militarily since the British-American

tended rate which is only 0.3% 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 tolerant than We. Thus it should be no surprise to anyone that *there are Africans on this continent who are claiming the right to govern themselves*. Although there are several Africans here, among them astute black political minds like Julian Bond, the Black Caucus, Robert Clark, and Aaron Henry, who will continue to endeavor to transform American Government into a more responsible vehicle for black people.

It is clear that a sizable and growing number of us have sincerely wished them well and departed this exercise. Our departure does not necessarily mean that We consider the aims of our brethern to be unworthy, but it does represent a decision on our part that the possibility of blacks transforming American Government is too remote at this time to continue to occupy the central focus and main energies of the liberation struggle on this continent. In our view, both the history and con-

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

In 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 confirms that the founders of the Provisional Government mirrored the precise independence aspirations of many more.

The founding of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa (which incidently compares quite favorably to the 1776 assembly of a few hundred white nationalists in Philadelphia to allege grievances against the King of England and to sign the U.S. Declaration) was an essential preliminary to the work New Africans have been engaged in for the past five years. As most readers are undoubtedly aware, in particular those who read "The Struggle Is For Land",* the substance of this work is the implementation of a sequence of economic, political, and social strategies designed to win independence for Africans on this continent who desire it and fight for it, and to substantially improve the life condition of those who do not desire independence. Independence here is seen in

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.*

* See President Imari Obadele's article "The Struggle Is For Land" *The Black Scholar*, Feburary 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 buildings, in the dilapidated homes of hungry fatherless children, in the corridors of school buildings, on the yards and in the dormitories of college campuses and also invariably in the classrooms of so-called academic institutions by gratis of the freedom fighters in their student population, faculty or administration. They fall in the offices of collasping poverty programs, into the funerals and memorial services for black victums of police execution, sacrifice abroad, dope at home and medically unattended sickness. They fall in the midst of the largest conventions and the smallest caucuses of Africans gathering on political questions. They fall in prisons and in black neighborhoods where economic deprivation and social pathology are so acute that they leave men killing one another and pilfering each other's crumbs. But they also fall in small "blue chip" black ghettos, on top of the hill, in the gardens or along the boulevards on the

the clearest of political terms — the soverign 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 poower 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 community centers, day care facilities, and centers for communications and visual arts each for 500 families and each cooperatively owned by the families that live there. Each will be equipped with a housing plant and at least one other plant geared toward self-generating wealth. We make it happen when We become members of the Society for Development of New Communities, Inc. and contribute five dollars or more a month. We make it happen when black planners, architects, engineers, and black labor convert our dollars to bricks and turn these bricks into building on a New Community site.

ARE WE SHOCKED and appalled at the incarceration and torment of our prisoners of war? Certainly We ought to be and We ought to be ready and willing to translate our bitter passion into sound support for those behind

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-

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.

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 have reportedly visited Ahmed and warned him to "watch what he says about state officials." Askew's silence is of course no surprise. It was he who silently allowed the F.B.I. and the U.S. Secret Service to use the police agencies, the courts and the judges in his state as tools to achieve the blatantly political arrest and incarceration of Ahmed Obafemi and our New African comrade Tarik Sonebeyatta. Both men were arrested by Secret Service agents at the July 1972 Democratic Convention as they distributed copies of the Republic of New Africa's platform proposal to the Democrats. This proposal was the Anti-Depression Program, a RNA proposal to the U.S. Congress which calls for that Congress to enact legislation authorizing the payment of $400,000,000.00 in reparations to Africans in North America and forbidding interference with the peaceful completion of a black plebiscite.

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 for this exercise of psuedo-legal U.S. politics. He naturally chose to ignore the matter, despite his pre-convention retoric which assured prospective Convention participants that Chicago type police gestapo tactics would not be used in his state.

At this very moment Muhammad Ahmed, chairman of the African People's Party, Ruchell Magee and others need your support. Write the prisoners, it helps. Some can use foodstuffs and clothing. Above all, make sure that nobody you know sits on a jury and sends a liberation fighter to jail.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR independence is indeed a momentous undertaking which requires the support and/or active participation of all Africans on this continent who have the proper vision of themselves. It is a process no less profound than the transformation of an

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 assasinate 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 paraphase 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 relationship between 30 million blacks and the white government on this continent is not an exception to the most fundamental principle of political science which says "government is derived from the consent of the governed." Here is a principle which has held fast throughout revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America where We have witnessed the demise of sophisticated and technologically advanced military giants at the hands of spirited and determined people without the spoils of imperialist wealth. Of course We do not forget, or We will be reminded that our struggle is unique: but are not they all? Certainly We, who have more skills and more money than, and as much reason as independence fighters anywhere are not outside the historical imperatives which have carried these unique struggles on to success. Nowhere is it written that We shall here in North America always be subjects or slaves con-

It is true, that despite our past contributions to our colonizers the current processes of monopoly capitalism (ie. automation), Nixon-Agnew politics of the '70's and the increasing reluctance of the white sources to fund negro education institutions or to finance Blacks in white schools, reflect the growing expendability of black people in American political and economic life. However, *We are not expendable yet.* We are still — like the Germanic slaves and servants in Rome, before it fell — centrally and integrally woven into the manufacturing, communications, transportation, distribution, and military systems of American imperialism. Without embarking on a lenghty and perhaps legally hazardous discussion on our ability to defend the results of a successful plebiscite vote, let me say that those who know say We can make it more costly for our enemy to fight us, than for our enemy to leave us alone.

The forces which set 128 cities aflame in '68 and shook Newark and Detroit in'67, New York in '64, and Watts in'65 should also have

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 inadquate 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.

dynamics may be an error, We beckon for support For all of our sakes, let not the *absence of your support* be the *margin of our mistake.*

We can win, and indeed We will. Not because it will be easy, for it will be extremely hard, but We will win because We will have it no other way. Our victory will indeed be quite a trick, but unlike any other proposition for our freedom, in our time, *our only magic is us.*

FREE THE LAND!!!

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. whereever 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 contempalte 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 sacrifically 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

Notes

1 This article was first published 1973. Chokwe Lumumba, “Repression and Black Liberation,” in “Black Soldier II.” The Black Scholar, 5, no.2 (1973): 34–42. DOI: 10.1080/00064246.1973.11431358

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