



# BAMN

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

# BAMN



## SPECIAL ISSUE:

### 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION

On the 40th Anniversary of the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) and the 60th Anniversary of Malcolm X's iconic *"The Ballot or The Bullet"* Speech, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) highlights the revolutionary impact and legacy of NAPO, its founders, and our beloved Malcolm X have had on the New Afrikan Nation.



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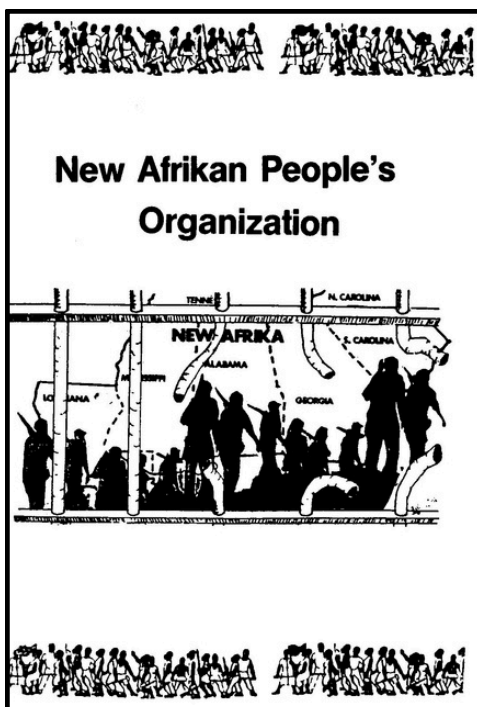
## FROM THE BAMN STAFF

Free The Land New Afrikans, friends and foes!

***By Any Means Necessary Journal*** is the periodical of the **Malcolm X Grassroots Movement**. MXGM is an organization of New Afrikans dedicated to Self-determination, Self-Defense and Self-Respect. We are building a network of freedom fighters for the protracted struggle for land and independence, the same as Malcolm X. *By Any Means Necessary* is the record of our journey to free the land.

My opening greeting was my attempt to mirror the wit of Malcolm X as he opened his groundbreaking speech **“The Ballot or The Bullet”** sixty years ago in Detroit in 1964. We find ourselves at similar crossroads as genocide rages on and we trek through the swamps of disharmony that will be the presidential elections of the U.S. Empire. It's a timely communique then as it is now. We invite you to reflect on his message and how it still applies today.

This year also marks the 40th anniversary of **New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO)**. MXGM was founded by the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) as its mass association in 1990. An African proverb says a child who pays respect to the elderly will live long enough to enjoy the fruit of their respect. We are the fruits of their labor and in honoring them we honor the best in them and what they gave us. ***By Any Means Necessary*** was the name of their newspaper at their founding and where we draw the name of this journal. In this edition, we pay tribute to the *“crown of the New Afrikan Independence Movement”* and two of its warrior women Chinganji Akinyela and Safiya Omari.



Included is a special section *Warrior Women, Always Present! Study New Afrikan Women* which makes plain as Malcolm X did, the vital role of New Afrikan women as leaders, strategists, and organizers in our liberation struggle.

On behalf of the BAMN News Staff, welcome to our first edition of the year!

*Jomo Muhammad*

MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT  
NATIONAL INFORMATION COORDINATOR



**SPECIAL ISSUE:****CROWN OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT:  
THE NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION AT 40 YEARS!**

BY JOMO MUHAMMAD, MXGM'S NATIONAL INFORMATION COORDINATOR



**THE BRAVEST BLADES OF GRASS SHOOT UP,  
BOLD AND FULL OF LIFE.  
WATCH. THE GRASS IS GROWING.**

– ASSATA SHAKUR

On May 19th, 1984, on what would have been Malcolm X's 59th birthday, **the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) was born**. Carrying on the tradition of Revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalism for forty years, the New Afrikan People's organization is a crown of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The crown is the part of a grass' root system – just above ground – which ensures continual growth of its shoots and blades. Growing the New Afrikan Independence Movement and carrying the tradition of struggle from one generation to the next is the revolutionary mission and living legacy of the New Afrikan People's Organization. We celebrate the dedication and sacrifice of its bravest blades, known and unknown, who have waged unceasing a protracted struggle for the freedom, self-determination, and national independence of the New Afrikan Nation and the building of a new world.

The New Afrikan People's Organization is the story of a courageous cadre of “quiet warriors” as they call themselves from the nine different organizations in the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Where others were falling back, they bravely entered. *Straight ahead!* They shot into the grassroots of the Black nation to build a mass national movement to free the land and fight for the abandoned and the shunned – our political prisoners, prisoners of war and political exiles. Many of its co-founders were themselves, captured Black Liberation Army combatants or underground being hunted by the empire at the time of its founding. **Some have only been able to be recognized for their contribution to the New Afrikan People's Organization at their transition.**

### **The Text of the Founding Statement of the New Afrikan People's Organization**

The New Afrikan People's Organization represents the coming together of heretofore different elements of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. While previously being affiliated with other autonomous groupings, these elements share a common strategic objective - that objective being self-determination, land and an independent nation state for New Afrikans colonized by U.S. imperialism.

After serious discussion, taking place over a number of years, it has been decided that in the best interest of our movement and our nation, to unify our force around common principles, practice and discipline. It is to this end that the New Afrikan People's Organization has been formed.

It is our considered opinion that the New Afrikan Independence Movement has been suffering from a number of maladies, some self-induced, others the result of the oppressor nation's design to thwart our efforts towards obtaining self-determination and our human rights. Elitism, individualism and a lack of discipline within our ranks has only aided our enemy in discrediting and neutralizing the most valiant efforts of struggling New Afrikans.

Additionally, our responsibility to demonstrate our reliability and trustworthiness, remains a paramount concern. We must approach our struggle scientifically, organizing ourselves and utilizing our resources, both human and material, in a manner that is most useful to our National Liberation Struggle. We

must demonstrate through community survival programs and organizational predictability that we can provide non-exploitative, humanizing alternatives to the system of subjugation that presently ensnares us. As we build for complete independence, we further recognize that we are confronted by a rapacious foe that seeks to continue its inhumane and illegal domination over us.

Our responsibility is to struggle unceasingly to bring and end to this situation. We cannot equivocate in our support of those who engage the enemy in political/military combat. For to do so, is to reduce our pronouncements to mere posturing, and to increase the danger to those engaging the enemy in this manner. It is therefore, our responsibility to champion our right to organize for the military defense of our nation. We must not allow repression to make cowards of us. We must continue to organize for our National Liberation.

Some of the basic principles that will guide the New Afrikan People's Organization are the following:

**Land and Nationhood.** Land constitutes the material basis upon which we can exercise our collective will. An independent nation and state power provides us with the organizational mechanism that is the prerequisite for our continued freedom. Our labor and lives, expended in our national sea, New Afrika, legitimizes our claim to this territory.

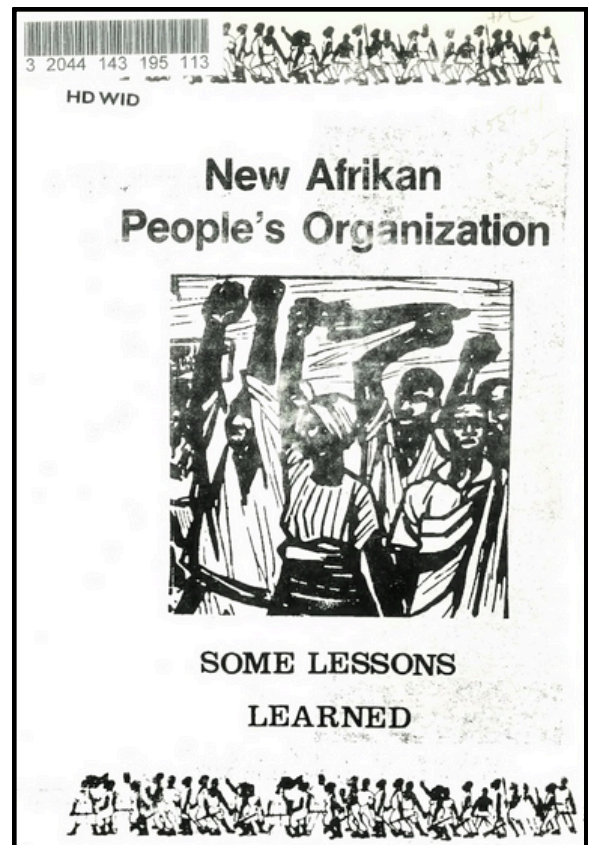




In the finest tradition of African revolutionaries, they made their great return to the land stripped and stolen from our ancestors, scattering themselves across Our National Territory. Wherever they rooted, they seeded the twin principles of land and nationhood, collective leadership and democratic centralism, socialism and anti-imperialism, reparations and freedom for political prisoners, humility and discipline, self-defense, and political development. A commitment to being reliable and trustworthy, NAPO members have opened centers of survivals, built schools and camps for children, mobilized campaigns and coalitions, freed their comrades, and organized communities of resistance around the African values of collectivity, cooperation, and community. From their four decades of revolutionary organizing grew new shoots of struggle: the New Afrikan Security Union, the New Afrikan Scout Organization, New Afrikan Women’s Task Force, and its mass association, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. Fulfilling the New Afrikan Creed of bringing those left by the wayside, the New Afrikan People’s Organization has molded generations of New Afrikans out of southern soil transforming it into Malcolm’s red clay.

Bold and full of life, New African People’s organization’s legacy continues to be written by newer generations who have answered the challenge that freedom requires We meet. We are thankful for **the lessons learned**. The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement salutes the New Afrikan People’s Organization for 40 years of tireless struggle for self-determination, self-defense, and self-respect!

*FREE THE LAND! FREE THE LAND! FREE THE LAND! BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!*



# UNITED NATIONS OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS HEARD TESTIMONY FROM HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND SURVIVORS OF POLICE VIOLENCE

By kwame-osagyefo kalimara  
Photographs by Molefi Askari



*EMLER coordinating team for Atlanta visit.*

In February of 2023, the International Independent Expert Mechanism to Advance Racial Justice and Equality in Law Enforcement (EMLER) expressed grave concern over the deaths of Keenan Anderson on (3 January 2023) and Tyre Nichols (7 January 2023) by police in Los Angeles and Memphis.

This team's investigation has sought detailed information on the Anderson and Nichols incidents and other incidents from varying government bodies to evaluate the applicability to the use of less-lethal weapons vis-à-vis applicable human rights standards.



The experts believe that force used violated international norms “protecting the right to life and prohibiting torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.” These standards are outlined in the **United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials** and the **Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials**.

The United Nations legal experts are Justice Yvonne Mokgoro (South Africa, Chair), Dr. Tracie Keese (United States of America), and Professor Juan Méndez (Argentina). They were appointed by the President of the Human Rights Council in December 2021 to serve as independent experts

Prior to the EMLER U.S. visit, Collette Flanagan, founder of Mothers Against Police Brutality said, “Extrajudicial killings have become increasingly routine in American policing,” “They happen literally every day. These deadly police brutality represents a massive human rights violation that falls most heavily on people of African descent. We welcome the Expert Mechanism to Atlanta in the name of our martyred children. We hope this visit will help us move our country to live up to its obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights agreements.” Her remarks echo thousands of the voices of mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, the voices of our communities crying for systematic change.

**The United Nations experts visited five United States cities: Washington D.C., Atlanta, Los Angeles, New York, and Minneapolis**, beginning on 26 April and concluding 2 May. Its first visit was in Atlanta, ending in New York. The themes for the US visits were:

*Families Affected by State Violence*  
*School-to-Prison Pipeline*  
*Human Rights Violations in Angola Prison*  
*Political Prisoners*  
*Access to Justice*

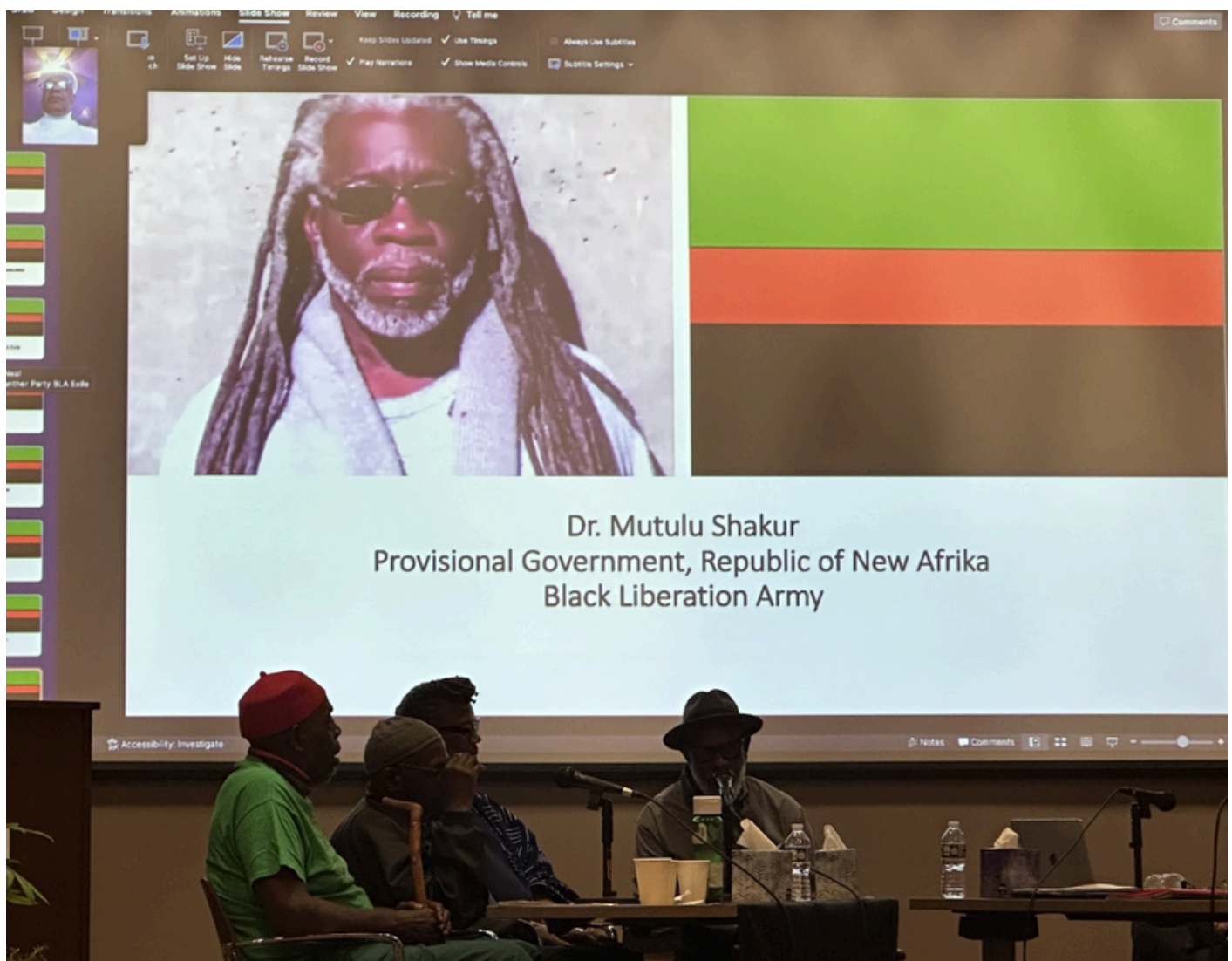


*Atlanta Chapter of Malcolm X Grassroots Movement supporting the EMLER visit.*



On the 12-day visit, the legal experts received testimony from victims of policing abuses, representatives of civil society, and federal, state, and local officials, as well as police representatives and unions, city administration, and other representative groups. EMLER sought to create a foundation for accountability for all sectors impacted.

Tracie Keese, an expert member of the EMLER team said, according to their **preliminary statement** “We saw some promising initiatives centering the voices of victims and survivors, as well as law enforcement initiatives that could be replicated throughout the United States. We welcome the reparatory measures taken so far, including executive orders signed in 2021 and 2022, as well as individual reparation initiatives by way of civilian settlement for damages, but we strongly believe that more robust action, including on part of federal authorities, is needed to result in strong accountability measures for past and future violations.”



*Atlanta Political Prisoners, Political Prisoners of War and Exiles panel. Bilal Sunni-Ali, Masai Eehosi, Chinganji Akinyela and Watani Tyehimba seated.*

We are thankful for the EMLER visits; however, we know that whatever their final report recommends the United States Empire is committed to the oppression and exploitation of New Afrikan/Black people because it serves their interests in maintaining power by any means necessary. Any language it may select to use in legislation and policy has no teeth without enforcement. In the history of white supremacy progress had been cosmetic. There is a concerted effort to return this country back into a Jim Crow era. According to the Amsterdam News “Jackson, Mississippi’s Black community is outraged that state lawmakers are moving closer to establishing a separate justice system in Jackson for whites and African Americans. **According to Mississippi Today**, the proposed new law would let the state’s white chief justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court, its white attorney general, and its white state public safety commissioner appoint new judges, prosecutors, public defenders, and police officers to run a new district in the city that includes all the city’s majority-white neighborhoods. Such a move would create a separate justice system for whites in an area where whites are statistically the majority. And it would happen without a single vote from any of Jackson’s 80 percent Black residents for any of these officials.”

In February 2023, **The New Yorker** interviewed Congresswoman Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez. She said regarding Jim Crow: “You have it already happening in Texas, where Jim Crow-style disenfranchisement laws have already been proposed. You had members of the state legislature, just a few months ago, flee the state in order to prevent such voting laws from being passed. In Florida, where you had the entire state vote to allow people who were released from prison to be reenfranchised after they have served their debt to society, that’s essentially being replaced with poll taxes and intimidation at the polls. You have the complete erasure and attack on our own understanding of history, to replace teaching history with institutionalized propaganda from white-nationalist perspectives in our schools. This is what the scaffolding of Jim Crow was.”

**The Baptist News Global Opinion** article by Rodney Kennedy in April 2023 said “The recent actions of the Tennessee Legislature to expel two Black Democratic representatives scream for answers. Why would members of the Republican Party, who have spent the past seven years swearing on a stack of Bibles, sometimes held upside down, that they are not racist, engage in a blatant act of racism? The answers are buried in our past, but at least part of the answer may be that arrogance makes some people too blind to know better.”

In a recent conversation with Civil Society representatives who attended all the EMLER site visits, they remarked that “things all over are getting worse. All our intense anger is justified!” It has been argued that we must continue to use all vehicles available to us, demanding our human rights. EMLER is just one tool in which we must exploit, educating our masses.



**OF ALL OF OUR STUDIES, IT IS  
HISTORY THAT IS BEST QUALIFIED  
TO REWARD OUR RESEARCH.**

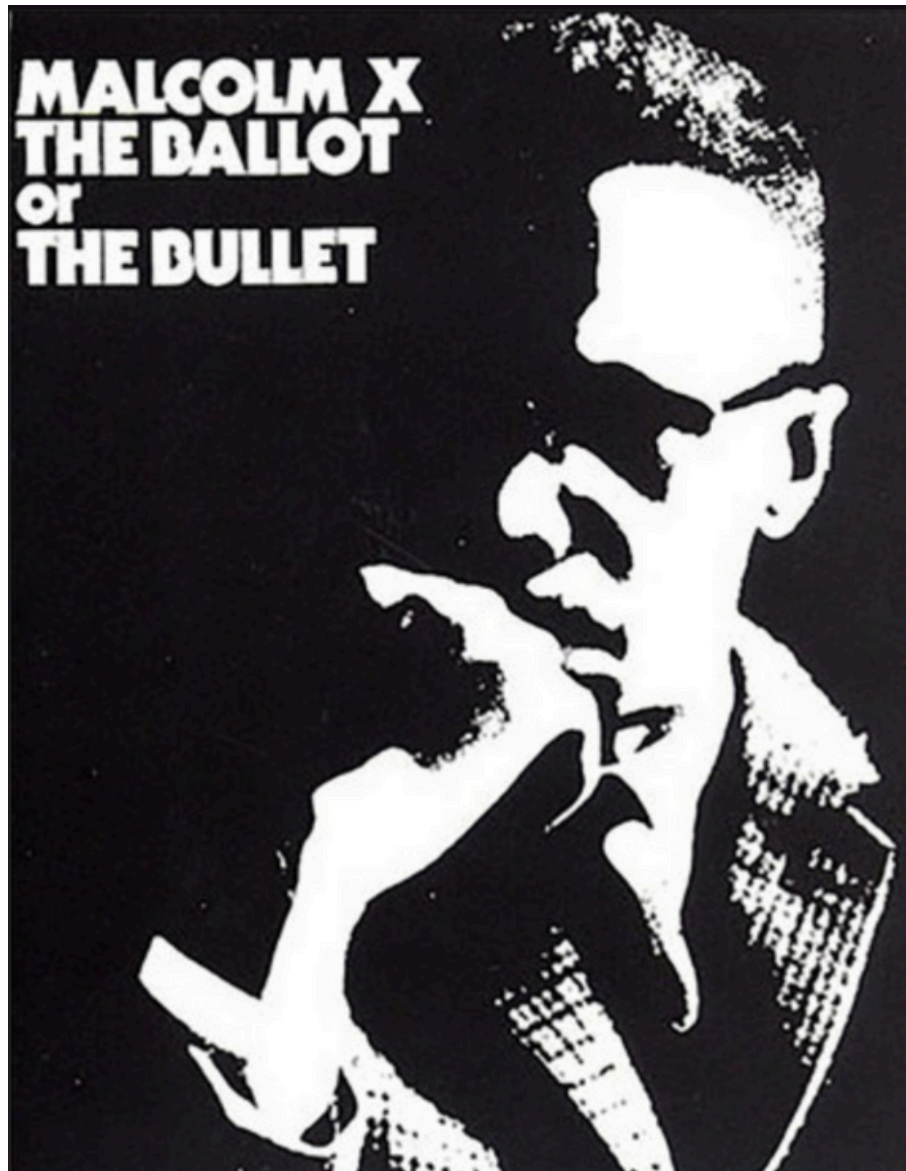
– MALCOLM X

## 60 YEARS LATER

BY JOMO MUHAMMAD, MXGM'S  
NATIONAL INFORMATION  
COORDINATOR

### "The Ballot or The Bullet "

delivered by **Malcolm X** in April 1964 is a defining moment in the development of Revolutionary New Afrikan/Black Nationalism. Considered by many as one of the greatest orations of the 20th Century, it is a powerful declaration of Black Nationalism as a philosophy and a program for action. First delivered in Cleveland nine days before, the speech at King Solomon Baptist Church in Detroit was organized by the Northern Grassroots Leadership Conference which included Detroit revolutionaries, Reverend Albert Cleavage, James and Grace Boggs, and Milton Henry, who would become the first vice president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika.



The Ballot or the Bullet comes one month after his departure from the Nation of Islam and his secret recruitment by **Muhammad Ahmad** into the **Revolutionary Action Movement**. This is an important and often overlooked detail to understanding the speech's impact and reach. Malcolm is not just giving "a speech" to the two thousand people present in the audience, he is giving coded instructions to the clandestine network of Black freedom fighters of the Revolutionary Action Movement. The "Ballot or the Bullet" is one of Malcolm's first communiques as its International Spokesman.



***AFTER BREAKING FROM THE NATION OF ISLAM, MALCOLM SUCCESSIVELY PROGRESSED FROM REVOLUTIONARY PAN-AFRICANISM TO ONE OF THIRD WORLD INTERNATIONALISM. AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH, HE WAS MOVING TO A POSITION OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.***

– MUHAMMAD AHMAD, WE WILL RETURN IN THE WHIRLWIND, PG 124



Sixty years later, "The Ballot or The Bullet" remains a timely communique to today's New Afrikan freedom fighters seeking to build a movement for revolutionary action. Malcolm shines a light on the perpetual source of our ongoing problems. He clearly points out the unending nightmare of our "political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation" originates from the same source, as it does today, the United States Empire aka America. The speech directs our political eyes to bravely face the true nature of revolution and what is required of us to bring it about. Malcolm makes Black nationalism plain, defining it as "a self-help program, a do-it-yourself philosophy, a do-it-right-now philosophy, an it's-already-too-late philosophy" that transforms us personally and unites us collectively to end our oppression and determine our destiny. He encourages us into a political maturity that knows what "politics is supposed to produce" and what it will not produce. Malcolm's most important communique is coded in the title itself. Like Eshu, the African trickster deity, for Malcolm it was never the Ballot OR the Bullet, it was BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

As you read or [listen to The Ballot or The Bullet Speech](#), highlight or underline passages that stand out and still apply to us today. Make notes in the margins, where you assess conditions have changed and what is different.

## THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET

BY MALCOLM X  
 ORIGINALLY DELIVERED ON APRIL 3, 1964 IN  
 CLEVELAND, OH & APRIL 12, 1964 IN DETROIT, MI

Mr. Moderator, Rev. Cleage, brothers and sisters and friends, and I see some enemies. *[laughter, applause]* In fact, I think we'd be fooling ourselves if we had an audience this large and didn't realize that there were some enemies present.



*Michael Ochs Archives / Corbis*

This afternoon we want to talk about the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet explains itself. But before we get into it, since this is the year of the ballot or the bullet, I would like to clarify some things that refer to me personally, concerning my own personal position.

I'm still a Muslim. That is, my religion is still Islam. *[applause]* My religion is still Islam. I still credit Mr. Muhammad for what I know and what I am. He's the one who opened my eyes. *[applause]* At present I am the minister of the newly founded Muslim Mosque Incorporated, which has its offices in the Theresa Hotel right in the heart of Harlem, that's the black belt in New York City. And when we realize that Adam Clayton Powell, is a Christian minister, he has Abyssinian Baptist Church, but at the same time he's more famous for his political struggling. And Dr. King is a Christian minister from Atlanta Georgia, or in Atlanta Georgia, but he's become more famous for being involved in the civil rights struggle. There's another in New York, Rev. Galamison, I don't know if you've heard of him out here, he's a Christian minister from Brooklyn, but has become famous for his fight against the segregated school system in Brooklyn. Rev. Cleage, right here, is a Christian minister, here in Detroit, he's head of the Freedom Now Party. All of these are Christian ministers *[applause]* ...all of these are Christian ministers but they don't come to us as Christian ministers, they come to us as fighters in some other category.

I am a Muslim minister. The same as they are Christian ministers, I'm a Muslim minister. And I don't believe in fighting today on any one front, but on all fronts. *[applause]* In fact, I'm a Black Nationalist freedom fighter. *[applause]* Islam is my religion but I believe my religion is my personal business. *[applause]* It governs my personal life, my personal morals. And my religious philosophy is personal between me and the God in whom I believe, just as the religious philosophy of these others is between them and the God in whom they believe. And this is best this way. Were we to come out here discussing religion, we'd have too many differences from the out start and we could never get together.

So today, though Islam is my religious philosophy, my political, economic and social philosophy is black nationalism. You and I – *[applause]* As I say, if we bring up religion, we'll have differences, we'll have arguments, and we'll never be able to get together. But if we keep our religion at home, keep our religion in the closet, keep our religion between ourselves and our God, but when we come out here we have a fight that's common to all of us against a enemy who is common to all of us. *[applause]*

The political philosophy of black nationalism only means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community. The time when white people can come in our community and get us to vote for them so that they can be our political leaders and tell us what to do and what not to do is long gone. *[applause]*

By the same token, the time when that same white man, knowing that your eyes are too far open, can send another Negro in the community, and get you and me to support him, so that he can use him to lead us astray, those days are long gone too. *[applause]*

The political philosophy of black nationalism only means that if you and I are going to live in a black community – and that's where we're going to live, 'cause as soon as you move into one of their....soon as you move out of the black community into their community, it's mixed for a period of time, but they're gone and you're right there all by yourself again. *[applause]*

We must, we must understand the politics of our community and we must know what politics is supposed to produce. We must know what part politics play in our lives. And until we become politically mature, we will always be misled, led astray, or deceived or maneuvered into supporting someone politically who doesn't have the good of our community at heart. So the political philosophy of black nationalism only means that we will have to carry on a program, a political program, of reeducation – to open our people's eyes, make us become more politically conscious, politically mature. And then, we will – whenever we are ready to cast our ballot, that ballot will be cast for a man of the community, who has the good of the community at heart. *[applause]*

The economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that we should own and operate and control the economy of our community. You would never have found—you can't open up a black store in a white community. White man won't even patronize you. And he's not wrong. He got sense enough to look out for himself. It's you who don't have sense enough to look out for yourself. *[applause]*

*Associated Press, August 6, 1963*





The white man, the white man is too intelligent to let someone else come and gain control of the economy of his community. But you will let anybody come in and control the economy of your community, control the housing, control the education, control the jobs, control the businesses, under the pretext that you want to integrate. Nah, you're out of your mind. *[applause]*

The political ... the economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that we have to become involved in a program of reeducation, to educate our people into the importance of knowing that when you spend your dollar out of the community in which you live, the community in which you spend your money becomes richer and richer, the community out of which you take your money becomes poorer and poorer. And because these Negroes, who have been misled, misguided, are breaking their necks to take their money and spend it with the Man, the Man is becoming richer and richer, and you're becoming poorer and poorer. And then what happens? The community in which you live becomes a slum. It becomes a ghetto. The conditions become rundown. And then you have the audacity to complain about poor housing in a rundown community, while you're running down yourselves when you take your dollar out. *[applause]*

And you and I are in a double trap because not only do we lose by taking our money someplace else and spending it, when we try and spend it in our own community we're trapped because we haven't had sense enough to set up stores and control the businesses of our community. The man who is controlling the stores in our community is a man who doesn't look like we do. He's a man who doesn't even live in the community. So you and I, even when we try and spend our money on the block where we live or the area where we live, we're spending it with a man who, when the sun goes down, takes that basket full of money in another part of the town. *[applause]*

So we're trapped, trapped, double-trapped, triple-trapped. Any way we go, we find that we're trapped. Any every kind of solution that someone comes up with is just another trap. But the political and economic philosophy of black nationalism...the economic philosophy of black nationalism shows our people the importance of setting up these little stores, and developing them and expanding them into larger operations. Woolworth didn't start out big like they are today; they started out with a dime store, and expanded, and expanded, and expanded until today they are all over the country and all over the world and they getting some of everybody's money.

Now this is what you and I – General Motors, the same way, it didn't start out like it is. It started out just a little rat-race type operation. And it expanded and it expanded until today it's where it is right now. And you and I have to make a start. And the best place to start is right in the community where we live. *[applause]*

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So our people not only have to be reeducated to the importance of supporting black business, but the black man himself has to be made aware of the importance of going into business. And once you and I go into business, we own and operate at least the businesses in our community. What we will be doing is developing a situation, wherein, we will actually be able to create employment for the people in the community. And once you can create some employment in the community where you live, it will eliminate the necessity of you and me having to act ignorantly and disgracefully, boycotting and picketing some cracker someplace else trying to beg him for a job. *[applause]*

Anytime you have to rely upon your enemy for a job, you're in bad shape. *[applause]* When you — and he is your enemy. You wouldn't be in this country if some enemy hadn't kidnapped you and brought you here. *[applause]* On the other hand, some of you think you came here on the Mayflower. *[laughter]*

So as you can see, brothers and sisters, today — this afternoon it is not our intention to discuss religion. We're going to forget religion. If we bring up religion we'll be in an argument. And the best way to keep away from arguments and differences, as I said earlier, put your religion at home, in the closet, keep it between you and your God. Because if it hasn't done anything more for you than it has, you need to forget it anyway. *[laughter, applause]*

Whether you are a Christian or a Muslim or a nationalist, we all have the same problem. They don't hang you because you're a Baptist; they hang you 'cause you're black. *[applause]* They don't attack me because I'm a Muslim. They attack me 'cause I'm black. They attacked all of us for the same reason. All of us catch hell from the same enemy. We're all in the same bag, in the same boat.

We suffer political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation. All of 'em from the same enemy. The government has failed us. You can't deny that. Any time you're living in the 20th century, 1964, and you walking around here singing "We Shall Overcome," the government has failed you. *[applause]* This is part of what's wrong with you, you do too much singing. *[laughter]* Today it's time to stop singing and start swinging. *[laughter, applause]*

You can't sing up on freedom. But you can swing up on some freedom. *[cheering]* Cassius Clay can sing. But singing didn't help him to become the heavyweight champion of the world. Swinging helped him. *[applause]*

So this government has failed us. The government itself has failed us. And the white liberals who have been posing as our friends have failed us. And once we see that all of these other sources to which we've turned have failed, we stop turning to them and turn to ourselves. We need a self-help program, a do-it-yourself philosophy, a do-it-right-now philosophy, a it's-already-too-late philosophy. This is what you and I need to get with. And the only time – the only way we're going to solve our problem is with a self-help program. Before we can get a self-help program started, we have to have a self-help philosophy. Black nationalism is a self-help philosophy.

What's so good about it – you can stay right in the church where you are and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. You can stay in any kind of civic organization that you belong to and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. You can be an atheist and still take black nationalism as your philosophy. This is a philosophy that eliminates the necessity for division and argument, 'cause if you're black, you should be thinking black. And if you're black and you not thinking black at this late date, well, I'm sorry for you. *[applause]*

Once you change your philosophy, you change your thought pattern. Once you change your thought pattern you change your attitude. Once you change your attitude it changes your behavior pattern. And then you go on into some action. As long as you got a sit-down philosophy you'll have a sit-down thought pattern. And as long as you think that old sit-down thought, you'll be in some kind of sit-down action. They'll have you sitting in everywhere. *[laughter]*

It's not so good to refer to what you're going to do as a sit-in. That right there castrates you. Right there it brings you down. What goes with it? What – think of the image of someone sitting. An old woman can sit. An old man can sit. A chump can sit, a coward can sit, anything can sit. Well, you and I been sitting long enough and it's time for us today to start doing some standing and some fighting to back that up. *[applause]*

When we look at other parts of this Earth upon which we live, we find that black, brown, red and yellow people in Africa and Asia are getting their independence. They're not getting it by singing, "We Shall Overcome." No, they're getting it through nationalism. It is nationalism that brought about the independence of the people in Asia. Every nation in Asia gained its independence through the philosophy of nationalism. Every nation on the African continent that has gotten its independence brought it about through the philosophy of nationalism. And it will take black nationalism to bring about the freedom of 22 million Afro-Americans, here in this country, where we have suffered colonialism for the past 400 years. *[applause]*

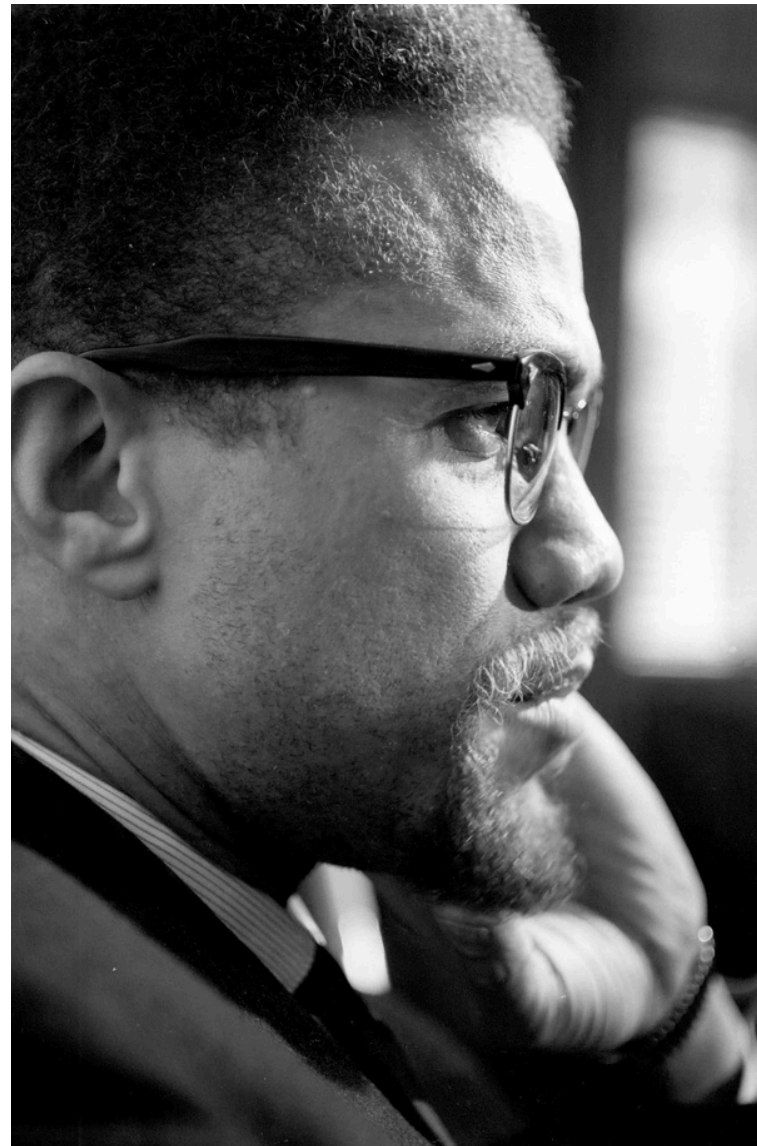


America is just as much a colonial power as England ever was. America is just as much a colonial power as France ever was. In fact, America is more so a colonial power than they, because she is a hypocritical colonial power behind it. *[applause]* What is 20th – what, what do you call second-class citizenship? Why, that's colonization. Second-class citizenship is nothing but 20th slavery. How you gonna to tell me you're a second-class citizen? They don't have second-class citizenship in any other government on this Earth. They just have slaves and people who are free! Well, this country is a hypocrite! They try and make you think they set you free by calling you a second-class citizen. No, you're nothing but a 20th century slave. *[applause]*

*Michael Ochs Archives / Getty, 1965*

Just as it took nationalism to remove colonialism from Asia and Africa, it'll take black nationalism today to remove colonialism from the backs and the minds of twenty-two million Afro-Americans here in this country. And 1964 looks like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet. *[applause]*

Why does it look like it might be the year of the ballot or the bullet? Because Negroes have listened to the trickery and the lies and the false promises of the white man now for too long, and they're fed up. They've become disenchanted. They've become disillusioned. They've become dissatisfied. And all of this has built up frustrations in the black community that makes the black community throughout America today more explosive than all of the atomic bombs the Russians can ever invent. Whenever you got a racial powder keg sitting in your lap, you're in more trouble than if you had an atomic powder keg sitting in your lap. When a racial powder keg goes off, it doesn't care who it knocks out the way. Understand this, it's dangerous.



And in 1964, this seems to be the year. Because what can the white man use, now, to fool us? After he put down that March on Washington – and you see all through that now, he tricked you, had you marching down to Washington. Had you marching back and forth between the feet of a dead man named Lincoln and another dead man named George Washington, singing, "We Shall Overcome." *[applause]*

He made a chump out of you. He made a fool out of you. He made you think you were going somewhere and you end up going nowhere but between Lincoln and Washington. *[laughter]*

So today our people are disillusioned. They've become disenchanting. They've become dissatisfied. And in their frustrations they want action. And in 1964 you'll see this young black man, this new generation, asking for the ballot or the bullet. That old Uncle Tom action is outdated. The young generation don't want to hear anything about "the odds are against us." What do we care about odds? *[applause]*

When this country here was first being founded, there were thirteen colonies. The whites were colonized. They were fed up with this taxation without representation. So some of them stood up and said, "Liberty or death!" I went to a white school over here in Mason, Michigan. The white man made the mistake of letting me read his history books. *[laughter]* He made the mistake of teaching me that Patrick Henry was a patriot, and George Washington – wasn't nothing non-violent about ol' Pat, or George Washington. "Liberty or death" is what brought about the freedom of whites in this country from the English. *[applause]*

They didn't care about the odds. Why, they faced the wrath of the entire British Empire. And in those days, they used to say that the British Empire was so vast and so powerful that the sun would never set on it. This is how big it was, yet these thirteen little scrawny states, tired of taxation without representation, tired of being exploited and oppressed and degraded, told that big British Empire, "Liberty or death." And here you have 22 million Afro-Americans, black people today, catching more hell than Patrick Henry ever saw. *[applause]*

And I'm here to tell you in case you don't know it – that you got a new, you got a new generation of black people in this country who don't care anything whatsoever about odds. They don't want to hear you ol' Uncle Tom, handkerchief-heads talking about the odds. No! *[laughter, applause]* This is a new generation. If they're going to draft these young black men, and send them over to Korea or to South Vietnam to face 800 million Chinese... *[laughter, applause]* If you're not afraid of those odds, you shouldn't be afraid of these odds. *[applause]*

Why is America – why does this loom to be such an explosive political year? Because this is the year of politics. This is the year when all of the white politicians are going to come into the Negro community. You never see them until election time. You can't find them until election time. *[applause]* They're going to come in with false promises. And as they make these false promises they're going to feed our frustrations, and this will only serve to make matters worse. I'm no politician. I'm not even a student of politics. I'm not a Republican, nor a Democrat, nor an American – and got sense enough to know it. *[applause]*

I'm one of the 22 million black victims of the Democrats. One of the 22 million black victims of the Republicans and one of the 22 million black victims of Americanism. *[applause]* And when I speak, I don't speak as a Democrat or a Republican, nor an American. I speak as a victim of America's so-called democracy. You and I have never seen democracy – all we've seen is hypocrisy. *[applause]*

When we open our eyes today and look around America, we see America not through the eyes of someone who has enjoyed the fruits of Americanism. We see America through the eyes of someone who has been the victim of Americanism. We don't see any American dream. We've experienced only the American nightmare. We haven't benefited from America's democracy. We've only suffered from America's hypocrisy. And the generation that's coming up now can see it. And are not afraid to say it. If you go to jail, so what? If you're black, you were born in jail. *[applause]*



**... WE SEE AMERICA NOT THROUGH THE EYES OF SOMEONE WHO HAS ENJOYED THE FRUITS OF AMERICANISM. WE SEE AMERICA THROUGH THE EYES OF SOMEONE WHO HAS BEEN THE VICTIM OF AMERICANISM. WE DON'T SEE ANY AMERICAN DREAM. WE'VE EXPERIENCED ONLY THE AMERICAN NIGHTMARE.**

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If you black you were born in jail, in the North as well as the South. Stop talking about the South. As long as you south of the Canadian border, you South. *[laughter, applause]* Don't call Governor Wallace a Dixie governor, Romney is a Dixie Governor. *[applause]*

Twenty-two million black victims of Americanism are waking up and they are gaining a new political consciousness, becoming politically mature. And as they become – develop this political maturity, they're able to see the recent trends in these political elections. They see that the whites are so evenly divided that every time they vote, the race is so close they have to go back and count the votes all over again. Which means that any block, any minority that has a block of votes that stick together is in a strategic position. Either way you go, that's who gets it. You're in a position to determine who'll go to the White House and who'll stay in the doghouse. *[laughter]*

You're the one who has that power. You can keep Johnson in Washington D.C., or you can send him back to his Texas cotton patch. *[applause]* You're the one who sent Kennedy to Washington. You're the one who put the present Democratic administration in Washington, D.C. The whites were evenly divided. It was the fact that you threw 80 percent of your votes behind the Democrats that put the Democrats in the White House.



When you see this, you can see that the Negro vote is the key factor. And despite the fact that you are in a position to be the determining factor, what do you get out of it? The Democrats have been in Washington, D.C. only because of the Negro vote. They've been down there four years. And they're – all other legislation they wanted to bring up they've brought it up, and gotten it out of the way, and now they bring up you. And now they bring up you! You put them first and they put you last. Because you're a chump! *[applause]* A political chump.

In Washington, D.C., in the House of Representatives there are 257 who are Democrats. Only 177 are Republican. In the Senate there are 67 Democrats. Only 33 are Republicans. The party that you backed controls two-thirds of the House of Representatives and the Senate and still they can't keep their promise to you. 'Cause you're a chump. *[applause]*

Any time you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promise that it made to you during election-time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that party, you're not only a chump but you're a traitor to your race. *[applause]*

What kind of alibi do come up with? They try and pass the buck to the Dixiecrats. Now, back during the days when you were blind, deaf and dumb, ignorant, politically immature, naturally you went along with that. But today, as your eyes come open, and you develop political maturity, you're able to see and think for yourself, and you can see that a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat – in disguise. *[applause]*

You look at the structure of the government that controls this country, is controlled by 16 senatorial committees and 20 congressional committees. Of the 16 senatorial committees that run the government, 10 of them are in the hands of southern segregationists. Of the 20 congressional committees that run the government, 12 of them are in the hands of southern segregationists. And they're going to tell you and me that the South lost the war? *[laughter, applause]*

You, today, are in the hands of a government of segregationists. Racists, white supremacists, who belong to the Democratic party but disguise themselves as Dixiecrats. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat. Whoever runs the Democrats is also the father of the Dixiecrats. And the father of all of them is sitting in the White House. *[applause]* I say, and I'll say it again, you got a president who's nothing but a southern segregationist *[applause]* from the state of Texas. They'll lynch in Texas as quick as they'll lynch you in Mississippi. Only in Texas they lynch you with a Texas accent, in Mississippi they lynch you with a Mississippi accent. *[cheering]*

The first thing the cracker does when he comes in power, he takes all the Negro leaders and invites them for coffee. To show that he's all right. And those Uncle Toms can't pass up the coffee. [laughter, applause] They come away from the coffee table telling you and me that this man is all right [laughter]. 'Cause he's from the South and since he's from the South he can deal with the South. Look at the logic that they're using. What about Eastland? He's from the South. Why not make him the president? If Johnson is a good man 'cause he's from Texas, and being from Texas will enable him to deal with the South, Eastland can deal with the South better than Johnson! [laughter, applause]

Oh, I say you been misled. You been had. You been took. [laughter, applause] I was in Washington a couple of weeks ago while the senators were filibustering and I noticed in the back of the Senate a huge map, and on this map it showed the distribution of Negroes in America. And surprisingly, the same senators that were involved in the filibuster were from the states where there were the most Negroes. Why were they filibustering the civil rights legislation? Because the civil rights legislation is supposed to guarantee boarding rights to Negroes from those states. And those senators from those states know that if the Negroes in those states can vote, those senators are down the drain. [applause] The representatives of those states go down the drain.

And in the Constitution of this country it has a stipulation, wherein, whenever the rights, the voting rights of people in a certain district are violated, then the representative who's from that particular district, according to the Constitution, is supposed to be expelled from the Congress. Now, if this particular aspect of the Constitution was enforced, why, you wouldn't have a cracker in Washington, D.C. [applause]

But what would happen? When you expel the Dixiecrat, you're expelling the Democrat. When you destroy the power of the Dixiecrat, you are destroying the power of the Democratic Party. So how in the world can the Democratic Party in the South actually side with you, in sincerity, when all of its power is based in the South?

These Northern Democrats are in cahoots with the southern Democrats. [applause] They're playing a giant con game, a political con game. You know how it goes. One of 'em comes to you and make believe he's for you. And he's in cahoots with the other one that's not for you. Why? Because neither one of 'em is for you. But they got to make you go with one of 'em or the other.

So this is a con game, and this is what they've been doing with you and me all of these years. First thing, Johnson got off the plane when he become president, he ask, "Where's Dickey?" You know who Dickey is? Dickey is old southern cracker Richard Russell. Lookie here! Yes, Lyndon B. Johnson's best friend is the one who is a head, who's heading the forces that are filibustering civil rights legislation. You tell me how in the hell is he going to be Johnson's best friend? [applause] How can Johnson be his friend and your friend too? No, that man is too tricky. Especially if his friend is still ol' Dickey. [laughter, applause]

Whenever the Negroes keep the Democrats in power they're keeping the Dixiecrats in power. This is true! A vote for a Democrat is nothing but a vote for a Dixiecrat. I know you don't like me saying that. I'm not the kind of person who come here to say what you like. I'm going to tell you the truth whether you like it or not. *[applause]*

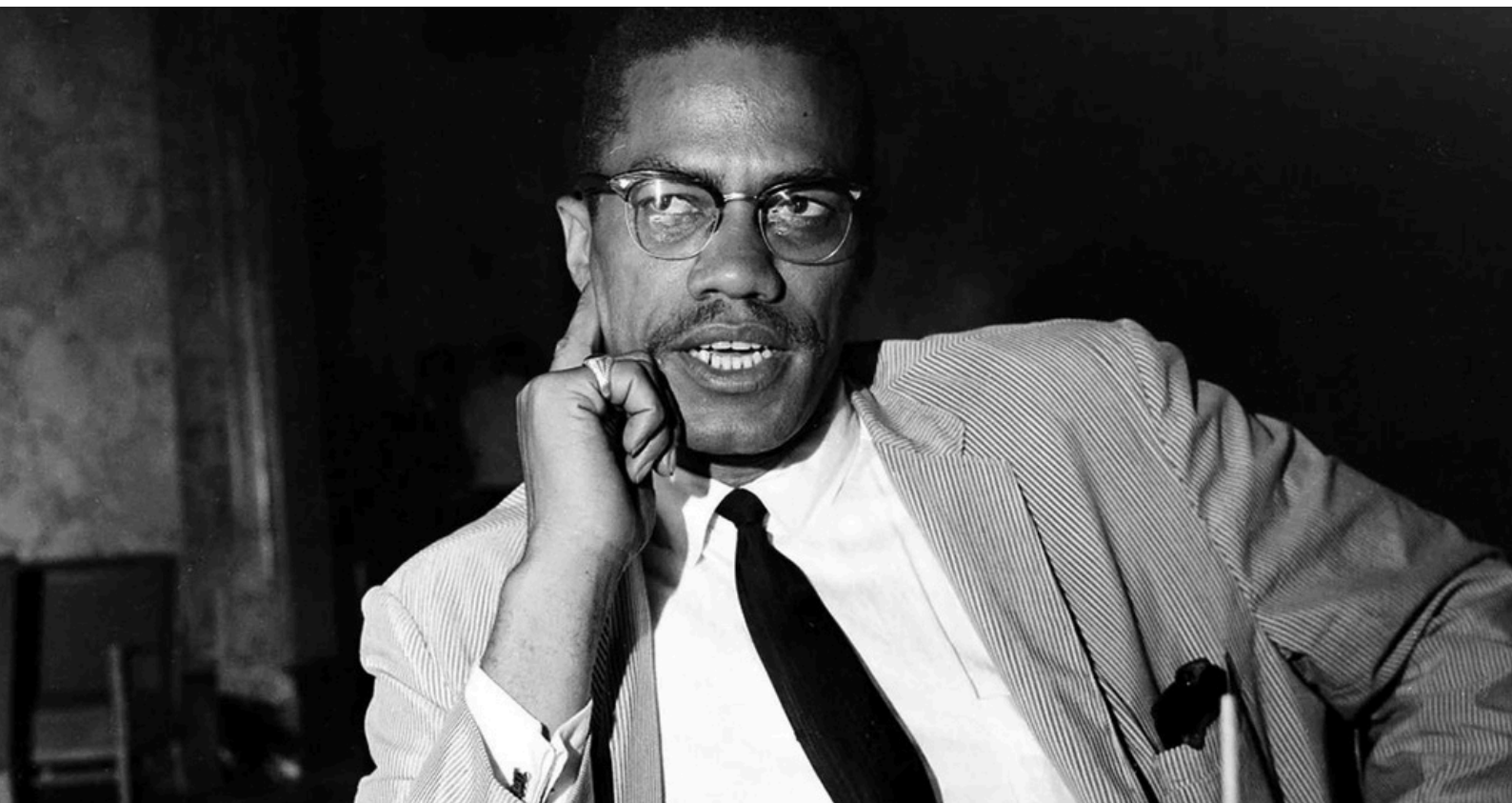
Up here in the North you have the same thing. The Democratic Party don't – they don't do it that way. They got a thing they call gerrymandering. They maneuver you out of power. Even though you can vote they fix it so you're voting for nobody. They got you going and coming. In the South they're outright political wolves, in the North they're political foxes. A fox and a wolf are both canine, both belong to the dog family. *[laughter, applause]* Now, you take your choice. You going to choose a northern dog or a southern dog? Because either dog you choose, I guarantee you, you'll still be in the doghouse.

This is why I say it's the ballot or the bullet. It's liberty or it's death. It's freedom for everybody or freedom for nobody. *[applause]* America today finds herself in a unique situation. Historically, revolutions are bloody, oh yes they are. They have never had a bloodless revolution. Or a non-violent revolution. That don't happen even in Hollywood *[laughter]* You don't have a revolution in which you love your enemy. And you don't have a revolution in which you are begging the system of exploitation to integrate you into it. Revolutions overturn systems. Revolutions destroy systems.



***THIS IS WHY I SAY IT'S THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET. IT'S LIBERTY OR IT'S DEATH. IT'S FREEDOM FOR EVERYBODY OR FREEDOM FOR NOBODY.***

*Associated Press, May 21, 1964*





A revolution is bloody, but America is in a unique position. She's the only country in history, in the position actually to become involved in a bloodless revolution. The Russian Revolution was bloody, Chinese Revolution was bloody, French Revolution was bloody, Cuban Revolution was bloody. And there was nothing more bloody than the American Revolution. But today, this country can become involved in a revolution that won't take bloodshed. All she's got to do is give the black man in this country everything that's due him, everything. *[applause]*

I hope that the white man can see this. 'Cause if you don't see it you're finished. If you don't see it you're going to become involved in some action in which you don't have a chance. We don't care anything about your atomic bomb; it's useless, because other countries have atomic bombs. When two or three different countries have atomic bombs, nobody can use them. So it means that the white man today is without a weapon. If you want some action you've got to come on down to Earth, and there's more black people on Earth than there are white people. *[applause]*

I only got a couple more minutes. The white man can never win another war on the ground. His days of war – victory – his days of battleground victory are over. Can I prove it? Yes. Take all the action that's going on this Earth right now that he's involved in. Tell me where he's winning – nowhere. Why, some rice farmers, some rice farmers! Some rice-eaters ran him out of Korea, yes they ran him out of Korea. Rice-eaters, with nothing but gym shoes and a rifle and a bowl of rice, took him and his tanks and his napalm and all that other action he's supposed to have and ran him across the Yalu. Why? Because the day that he can win on the ground has passed.

Up in French Indochina, those little peasants, rice-growers, took on the might of the French army and ran all the Frenchmen, you remember Dien Bien Phu! The same thing happened in Algeria, in Africa. They didn't have anything but a rifle. The French had all these highly mechanized instruments of warfare. But they put some guerilla action on. And a white man can't fight a guerilla warfare. Guerilla action takes heart, take nerve, and he doesn't have that. *[cheering]* He's brave when he's got tanks. He's brave when he's got planes. He's brave when he's got bombs. He's brave when he's got a whole lot of company along with him. But you take that little man from Africa and Asia; turn him loose in the woods with a blade. A blade. *[cheering]* That's all he needs. All he needs is a blade. And when the sun comes down – goes down and it's dark, it's even-Stephen. *[cheering]*



**SO IT'S THE, IT'S THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET. TODAY, OUR PEOPLE CAN SEE THAT WE'RE FACED WITH A GOVERNMENT CONSPIRACY. THIS GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED US.**

So it's the, it's the ballot or the bullet. Today, our people can see that we're faced with a government conspiracy. This government has failed us. The senators who are filibustering concerning your and my rights, that's the government. Don't say it's southern senators, this is the government. This is a government filibuster. It's not a segregationist filibuster, it's a government filibuster. Any kind of activity that takes place on the floor of the Congress or the Senate, that's the government. Any kind of dilly-dallying, that's the government. Any kind of pussy-footing, that's the government. Any kind of act that's designed to delay or deprive you and me, right now, of getting full rights, that's the government that's responsible. And anytime you find the government involved in a conspiracy to violate the citizenship or the civil rights of a people in 1964, then you are wasting your time going to that government expecting redress. Instead you have to take that government to the world court and accuse it of genocide and all of the other crimes that it is guilty of today. *[applause]*

So those of us whose political and economic and social philosophy is black nationalism have become involved in the civil rights struggle. We have injected ourselves into the civil rights struggle. And we intend to expand it from the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. As long as you fight it on the level of civil rights, you're under Uncle Sam's jurisdiction. You're going to his court expecting him to correct the problem. He created the problem. He's the criminal! You don't take your case to the criminal, you take your criminal to court. *[applause]*

When the government of South Africa began to trample upon the human rights of the people of South Africa they were taken to the U.N. When the government of Portugal began to trample upon the rights of our brothers and sisters in Angola, it was taken before the U.N. Why, even the white man took the Hungarian question to the U.N. And just this week, Chief Justice Goldberg was crying over three million Jews in Russia, about their human rights – charging Russia with violating the U.N. Charter because of its mistreatment of the human rights of Jews in Russia. Now you tell me how can the plight of everybody on this Earth reach the halls of the United Nations and you have twenty-two million Afro-Americans whose churches are being bombed, whose little girls are being murdered, whose leaders are being shot down in broad daylight? Now you tell me why the leaders of this struggle have never taken [recording impaired ] [their case to the U.N.??]

So our next move is to take the entire civil rights struggle – problem – into the United Nations and let the world see that Uncle Sam is guilty of violating the human rights of 22 million Afro-Americans right down to the year of 1964 and still has the audacity or the nerve to stand up and represent himself as the leader of the free world? [cheering] Not only is he a crook, he's a hypocrite. Here he is standing up in front of other people, Uncle Sam, with the blood of your and mine mothers and fathers on his hands. With the blood dripping down his jaws like a bloody-jawed wolf. And still got the nerve to point his finger at other countries. In 1964 you can't even get civil rights legislation and this man has got the nerve to stand up and talk about South Africa or talk about Nazi Germany or talk about Portugal. No, no more days like those! *[applause]*

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So I say in my conclusion, the only way we're going to solve it: we got to unite. We got to work together in unity and harmony. And black nationalism is the key. How we gonna overcome the tendency to be at each other's throats that always exists in our neighborhood? And the reason this tendency exists – the strategy of the white man has always been divide and conquer. He keeps us divided in order to conquer us. He tells you, I'm for separation and you for integration, and keep us fighting with each other. No, I'm not for separation and you're not for integration, what you and I are for is freedom. [applause] Only, you think that integration will get you freedom; I think that separation will get me freedom. We both got the same objective, we just got different ways of getting' at it. [applause]

So I studied this man, Billy Graham, who preaches white nationalism. That's what he preaches. [applause] I say, that's what he preaches. The whole church structure in this country is white nationalism, you go inside a white church – that's what they preaching, white nationalism. They got Jesus white, Mary white, God white, everybody white – that's white nationalism. [cheering]

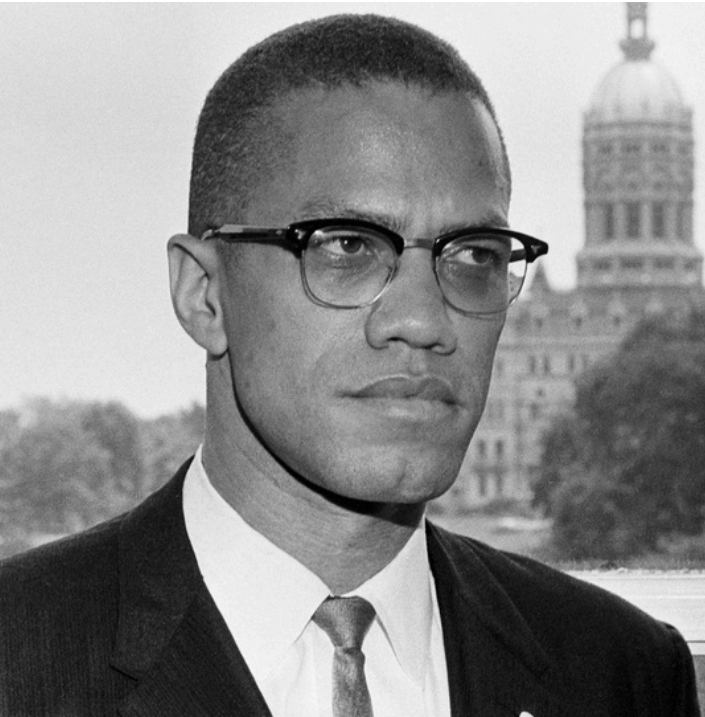
So what he does – the way he circumvents the jealousy and envy that he ordinarily would incur among the heads of the church – whenever you go into an area where the church already is, you going to run into trouble. Because they got that thing, what you call it, syndicated ... they got a syndicate just like the racketeers have. I'm going to say what's on my mind because the preachers already proved to you that they got a syndicate. [applause] And when you're out in the rackets, whenever you're getting in another man's territory, you know, they gang up on you. And that's the same way with you. You run into the same thing. So how Billy Graham gets around that, instead of going into somebody else's territory, like he going to start a new church, he doesn't try and start a church, he just goes in preaching Christ. And he says anybody who believe in him, you go wherever you find him.

So, this helps all the churches, and since it helps all the churches, they don't fight him. Well, we going to do the same thing, only our gospel is black nationalism. His gospel is white nationalism, our gospel is black nationalism. And the gospel of black nationalism, as I told you, means you should control your own, the politics of your community, the economy of your community, and all of the society in which you live should be under your control. And once you...feel that this philosophy will solve your problem, go join any church where that's preached. Don't join any church where white nationalism is preached. Why, you can go to a Negro church and be exposed to white nationalism. 'Cause when you are on – when you walk in a Negro church and see a white Jesus and a white Mary and some white angels, that Negro church is preaching white nationalism. [applause]



But, when you go to a church and you see the pastor of that church with a philosophy and a program that's designed to bring black people together and elevate black people, join that church. Join that church. If you see where the NAACP is preaching and practicing that which is designed to make black nationalism materialize, join the NAACP. Join any kind of organization – civic, religious, fraternal, political or otherwise that's based on lifting the black man up and making him master of his own community. *[applause]*

*Universal History Archive/ UIG via Getty images, Malcolm X meets with Fidel Castro in Harlem, 1960*



*UNC Press, Malcolm X meets with members of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, September 1964*



**SPECIAL EDITION:****STUDY NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN'S HISTORY**FROM MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT'S GENDER & SEXUAL JUSTICE COMMITTEE  
ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED FOR WOMEN'S HISTORY MONTH 2024

***OUR PURPOSE AS BLACK PEOPLE IN LIFE IS TO LEAVE A LEGACY FOR OUR CHILDREN AND OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN. FOR THIS REASON WE MUST CORRECT HISTORY THAT AT PRESENT DENIES OUR HUMANITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION***

– QUEEN MOTHER AUDLEY MOORE

This Women's History Month, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement invites us to continue to build that legacy Queen Mother champions. This month and everyday MXGM invites, champions, and challenges us to create a world where women, girls, gender-expansive, and non conforming beings are our full selves, and THRIVING! With the state of the world, there is a charge on each of us. What kind of legacy will we build for the world we want to live in... from the Congo, Ayiti, Sudan, Uganda, Ghana, and Palestine... here in this Empire and other places unnamed but not overlooked. It is Our Duty to WIN! The people shall win. The legacy of New Afrikan Womanism is long in it's dedication to freedom. We honor them and we continue the legacy. Let us know the legacy you are building.

MXGM's Grassroots Liberation School invites you to study the teachings, lessons, and wisdom from some of our beloved revolutionary New Afrikan and Afrikan women who were freedom fighters, organizers, theorists, leaders, cultural workers, and much more. We encourage folxs to learn from women, gnc, and gender expansive folks beyond Women's History Month, because the struggle is far from over. We must challenge sexist and patriarchal oppression against our vulnerable community members here and abroad. As we figure out ways to sustain our protracted struggle, lest we forget the contributions, sacrifices, and victories by our Afrikan and New Afrikan women warriors!

**[Study New Afrikan Women Here.](#)**





# THE WOMEN ORGANIZED ARE BUILDING TO WIN

BY CHINGANJI AKINYELA

REPRINTED FROM CHAMPIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE APRIL 28, 1989



**WE ARE MOTHERS, SISTERS, WARRIORS, QUEENS, TEACHERS, HEALERS, BUILDERS AND PROTECTORS. WE ARE NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN, DETERMINED AND COMMITTED TO THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ALL AFRIKAN PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.**

– THE NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION (NAWO)

The above statement clearly reflects the true nature of the New Afrikan woman's role in the struggle to free our people and to free our land. It is true that we have been involved in every aspect of our liberation struggles. We have headed organizations, unafraid to take leadership, even when we did not feel confident, because it needed to be done. We have taken on responsibilities when nobody could be spared to take on the less than glamorous jobs. We have raised our children, created alternative schools, maintained our homes and cared for the children of others so that they could be freed for other work. We have nurtured, given love and spirit to the movement. We have been a part of the underground and the above ground movements for freedom. We have truly been a part of the struggle for liberation of New Afrika.

Several new writings have highlighted the contributions of the New Afrikan woman. Paula Giddings' When and Where I Enter has become standard text for the New Afrikan woman seeking to develop a "herstory". Assata, An Autobiography takes up where Malcolm X left off and documents a New Afrikan woman's involvement in the struggle during the seventies and a truly contemporary woman's perspective that has inspired us all. Angela Davis', Women, Culture and Politics even devotes a couple of chapters to New Afrikan women's issues and our struggles to break the shackles of oppression on all levels.



*Chinganji Akinyela, representing the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO), interviews Assata Sahkur in Cuba after the release of "Assata, An Autobiography", Rebuild Collective's [YouTube Page](#).*



The list of contributions of the many New Afrikan women to our struggle is long. Our great warrior, sister, Harriet Tubman continues to leave a legacy that only a few have matched. Through her skills, wits and intellect she commanded the underground and never lost a battle. This woman personally led three hundred slaves to freedom and in later years tried to establish a home for the aged. She even went so far as to sell fruit and publish a biography to try to raise money for the institution.

Fannie Lou Hamer was a most profound heroine. At 44 years old she became involved with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the voters registration drive in Mississippi. A sharecropper's daughter, she was a courageous woman. She registered to vote at the risk of losing her job. She said that she was "sick and tired of being sick and tired... we just got to stand up... for ourselves and our freedom." For her activism she was arrested several times but continued to devote her life to what she believed was right, total freedom and human rights.

Rosa Parks is said to have touched off the civil rights struggle. She was one of the first women to join the NAACP in Montgomery, Alabama. But she is well known for refusing to give up her seat on the bus. This created enough fervor and momentum to launch the bus boycott in Montgomery that would elevate Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr to leadership. Sister Rosa Parks continues to take an active role in the movement today and stated that she saw her action as a catalyst, a way of moving people to action.

An organization of women, hardly mentioned in "herstory" accounts that should not go unmentioned by any grouping of nationalist women, is the Ethiopian Women's Association spearheaded by Queen Mother Audley Moore. This women's organization clearly stated that Afrikan women are an integral part of the Afrikan national liberation struggle. In a position paper prepared by the Ethiopian Women they clearly state that they see Afrikan people in this country as a nation. Queen Mother Moore has traveled all over the world arguing for reparations. She has made presentations to the United Nations. She has presented papers documenting why New Afrikans are a colonized nation worthy of land and independence. Besides building international solidarity, the Ethiopian Women's Association did extensive work in the South against the lynching of New Afrikan men.

These and other heroines served as role models for Assata Shakur. And so we have one further example of a truly dedicated sister who has sacrificed for the liberation of our people. Becoming politically aware and conscious during the late 1960's and early 1970s - Assata Shakur became involved in the Black Panther Party. Her book in and of itself is a contribution to our struggle for liberation. Her work prior to going to prison and now in political exile is exemplary. She continuously struggled around the need for political education on all levels of organization. She asserted herself and demanded respect for the sisters in a male dominated organization.

She worked for the Black Panther Party's free breakfast program for children as well as taught in the Panther schools and the community health clinics run in New York. This caused her to come under the scrutiny of COINTELPRO, the FBI counterintelligence program, a secret campaign to expose, disrupt, misdirect and neutralize the activities of "black nationalist hate-type groupings and their leadership, spokesman, membership and supporters". Assata decided to go underground so as to continue her political work and development. On May 2, 1973 she was arrested after a shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike. The shootout resulted in the death of a white state trooper and brother Zayd Malik Shakur. Assata was incarcerated for over six years during which time she gave birth to her daughter, Kakuya

On November 2, 1979, Assata was liberated from prison by the Black Liberation Army. Her liberation came only two days before the Black Solidarity Day March to the U.N. to call for Land, Independence and reparations led by the National Black Human Rights Coalition. Assata is now celebrating well-known political exile in Havana, Cuba where she continues to act as an international diplomat on behalf of the struggle for liberation in the U.S. Just recently in October 1988, she participated along with other New Afrikan women in the Third World Women's conference held in Havana. Her liberation from prison revitalized the Black Liberation movement and is a victory for the struggle for land and independence.

*SHOBHA/Contrasto/Redux, Assata Shakur in Cuba in 1998*



Sister Nehanda Abiodun, a soldier in workers dress, continues to evade the FBI and represent to us a victory for the movement. Nehanda is the former editor of the *New Afrikan*, the newspaper for the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. She was actively involved in the Black Acupuncture Association of North America (BAANA). She was also a part of the New Afrikan Security Forces. She was forced underground after being accused of being a participant in the October 1981 expropriation of a Brinks truck. She was forced to leave her two children, but in a statement attributed to her on Mother's Day 1984 her commitment to the struggle for land and independence is stronger than ever. She states that her sacrifice and her life is no different than that of any of our other heroines that have gone before us nor that of our mothers, sisters and aunts. She states that a New Afrikan woman "will do what she must do when she must do it and by any means necessary!"

The decision to go underground is a courageous one. It is not an easy decision. In an interview with the New Afrikan People's Organization, Sister Assata said that although she is now fortunate to be with her daughter and free in one respect, being in exile is another type of confinement. She lives in another culture, she does not have free and open communication with her mother, aunt and sister, she can not go visit old friends and she can not continue her political struggle in the same active manner. Being a victim of colonialism and choosing to be a Freedom Fighter creates other pressures. As New Afrikan women both Assata Shakur and Nehanda Abiodun had to decide which type of confinement was better, where could they be most effective, where they could continue their work and could/would their families understand.

*Dara Abubakari, former President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, Queen Mother Moore, and others at the National Human Rights Demonstration at the United Nations, November 5, 1979*





Again these are not easy decisions and it is us, New Afrikan women that must help ease the pressures of such choices. As we have done before, we must open our doors as the underground railroad. We must help take care of the children, spend time with them and assure them that they are loved, help them understand sacrifices and be willing and able to comfort and nurture them through the anger that will surely come when their parents are not present at important events. We must educate, agitate, organize so that the sacrifices made are not in vain. It sounds cliché, but it is true. We must be, "Strong Women Comin' ..."

*Nehanda Abiodun and Assata Shakur in Cuba*

Sisters Safiya Bandele, Vergie Muhammad, Urayoana Trinidad and Yuri Kochiyama have all made tremendous contributions in the struggle for our liberation. But acting individually or in small collectives their impact is limited. We must build a New Afrikan Womens' Organization. There have been several, attempts to do this, the New Afrikan Womens Organization, The Black Womens Task Force, are example of past efforts. New Afrikan women are the poorest sector of people in the u.s. New Afrikan families are 40 percent of the nearly 4 million homeless in the U.S. 68% of New Afrikan children in Black female headed households are poor. Among New Afrikan women who live alone the poverty rate is 82%.



The racial gap in unemployment has increased across the board between Black and white men, Black and white women, black and white youth. In 1980, two out of five New Afrikan single mothers were working. But when former U.S. president Reagan cut back CETA jobs this has had a devastating effect on the employment of New Afrikan single mothers. We are in need of extensive, accessible childcare. Our conditions demand that we organize now.




We could almost ignore every other issue related to New Afrikan women and explore only the area of Health care to see the effects of our national oppression. We lack adequate, affordable health care. Our impoverished state makes quality health care unavailable to us. Pregnant women have been known to give birth in cars and parking lots of hospitals because hospitals have refused them entrance if they don't have health insurance. Guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' does not include guarantees for quality health care despite income. We are in need of health care. We are most susceptible to hypertension and lung and stomach cancer. Even though cervical cancer ratios have decreased among white women they have increased among New Afrikan women. With regards to the AIDS epidemic, of those women who contract AIDS, the majority are New Afrikan.

We are an unorganized sector of the New Afrikan nation and we have some serious issues that must be attacked! We must be organized around the liberation of our people. If we are unorganized, undisciplined and unpoliticized, then we, who as a group compromise a majority of our people, will be the weakest link of our nation. We will be (and we already have been, ask Fulani Sunni Ali, Jerri Gaines, etc.) who the enemy will attack most viciously.

We all must become involved at every level of organization and struggle. We must know why we are struggling and how our particular jobs are important to the movement. We must organize to fight the bourgeois tendency of "Black Feminism", women's lib in colored face. Our fight is not with New Afrikan men, our fight is with imperialism and colonialism.

Our primary problem is that we are an oppressed nation. Our job is to organize and be used as tools by the New Afrikan Nation to further our war for national liberation. Our job is to move our Sisters to fight for the future of all New Afrikan children, the way we fight for our biological children on all levels of struggle in all levels of organization.



New Afrikan People's Organization  
Salutes

**Champions of the  
Human Rights Struggle**

**SAFIYA BANDELE  
VERGIE MUHAMMAD, Ph.D  
DR. URAYOANA TRINIDAD  
YURI KOCHIYAMA**

Fifth Annual Grassroots Tribute

"Human Rights is the Right to Self Determination"  
-Malcolm X

**THE WOMEN ORGANIZED ARE BUILDING TO WIN**  
*by Chingungi Akinyela*

"We are mothers, sisters, warriors, queens, teachers, healers, builders and protectors. We are New Afrikan Women, determined and committed to the total independence of all Afrikan people everywhere". The New Afrikan Women's Organization (NAWO)

The above statement clearly reflects the true nature of the New Afrikan woman's role in the struggle to free our people and to free our land. It is true that we have been involved in every aspect of our liberation struggles. We have headed organizations, unafraid to take leadership, even when we did not feel confident, because it needed to be done. We have taken on responsibilities when nobody could be spared to take on the less than glamorous jobs. We have raised our children, created alternative schools, maintained our homes and cared for the children of others so that they could be freed for other work. We have nurtured, given love and spirit to the movement. We have been a part of the underground and the above ground movements for freedom. We have truly been a part of the struggle for liberation of New Afrikan.

Several new writings have highlighted the contributions of the New Afrikan woman. Paula Giddings', *When and Where I Enter* has become standard text for the New Afrikan woman seeking to develop a "herstory". Assata's *An Autobiography*, takes up where Malcolm X left off and documents a New Afrikan woman's involvement in the struggle during the seventies and a truly contemporary woman's perspective that has inspired us all. Angela Davis', *Woman, Culture and Politics* even devotes a couple of chapters to New Afrikan women's issues and our struggles to break the shackles of oppression on all levels.

The list of contributions of the many New Afrikan women to our struggle is long. Our great warrior, sister, Harriet Tubman continues to leave a legacy that only a few have matched. Through her skills, wits and intellect she commanded the underground and never lost a battle. This woman personally led three hundred slaves to freedom and in later years tried to establish a home for the aged. She even went so far as to sell fruit and publish a biography to try to raise money for the institution.

Fannie Lou Hamer was a most profound heroine. At 44 years old she became involved with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the voters registration drive in Mississippi. A sharecropper's daughter, she was a courageous woman. She registered to vote at the risk of losing her job. She said that she was "sick and tired of being sick and tired... we just got to stand up.. for ourselves and our freedom..". For her activism she was arrested several times but continued to devote her life to what she believed was right, total freedom and human rights.

Rosa Parks is said to have touched off the civil rights struggle. She was one of the first women to join the NAACP in Montgomery, Alabama. But she is well known for refusing to give up her seat on the bus. This created enough fervor and momentum to launch the bus boycott in Montgomery that would elevate Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr to leadership. "Sister Rosa Parks continues to take an active role in the movement today and stated that she saw her action as a catalyst, a way of moving people to action.

An organization of women, hardly mentioned in "herstory" accounts that should not go unmentioned by any grouping of nationalist women, is the Ethiopian Women's Association spearheaded by Queen Mother Audley Moore. This women's organization clearly stated that Afrikan women are an integral part of the Afrikan national liberation struggle. In a position paper prepared by the Ethiopian Women they clearly state that they see Afrikan people in this country as a nation. Queen Mother Moore has traveled all over the world arguing for reparations. She has made presentations to the United Nations. She has presented papers documenting why New Afrikans are a colonized nation worthy of land and independence. Besides building international solidarity, the Ethiopian Women's Association did extensive work in the South against the lynching of New Afrikan men.

These and other heroines served as role models for Assata Shakur. And so we have one further example of a truly dedicated sister who has sacrificed for the liberation of our people. Becoming politically aware and conscious during the late 1960's and early 1970's - Assata

# NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN SPEAK

INTERVIEW WITH SISTER SAFIYA KYIKAZI-OMARI

REPRINTED FROM **BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY VOL. 4, NO. 3**

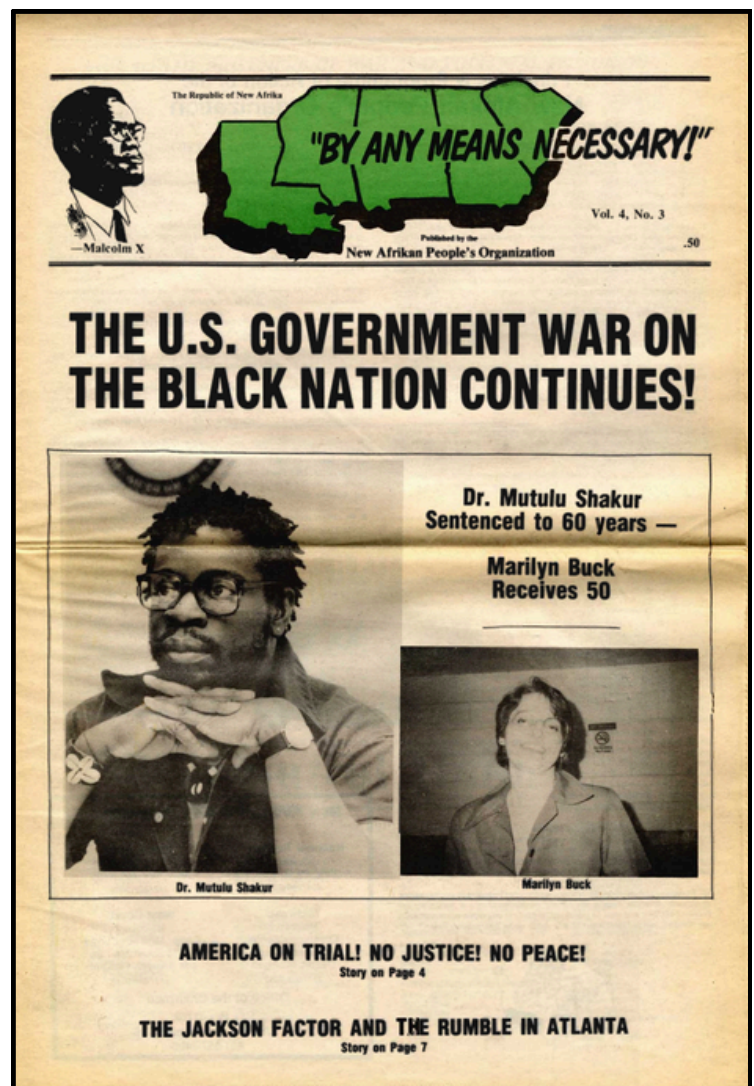
Many New Afrikan (Black) women are trying to balance a job and a family and are often doing so with great amounts of guilt and fatigue. How do we balance these things and take part in the liberation of our people? How do we strengthen and support our men without slipping into traditional and too often subservient roles? What does the white woman's movement have to do with us? What is our responsibility in the movement to guarantee independence for our nation?

The New Afrikan People's Organization hopes that this interview with Sister Safiya Kijakozi-Omari (SKO), Our national secretary, will help answer some of these questions. No one has all the answers, but through sharing in Sister Safiya's experiences we may gain knowledge and strength.

**NAPO:** The New Afrikan People's Organization sees Afrikans in America as a colonized nation. We feel the most effective way to win our freedom as a people is to fight for land, independence and an end to imperialism; we would therefore no longer be a part of America, but a sovereign Black Nation. As women, what is our responsibility to the independence movement?

**SKO:** The responsibility of women is that of any other person involved in the liberation struggle. We must participate in the fullest aspect not just in peripheral roles. We have to participate in the leadership, the direction and growth of the struggle. We're not just here to make babies for the revolution, we're here to make the revolution.

**NAPO:** How are you able to balance being a wife, mother, a working woman and an activist in the independence movement?



Original Print of **By Any Means Necessary Vol. 4, No. 3**

**SKO:** The biggest problem I have in trying to balance everything is the guilt I feel as a mother, in terms of being away from my children so much, particularly because they're small. If one of them scratches their knee and I'm not there, I feel as though I could have prevented it if I was there. Over the last year and a half I've done quite a bit of soul searching to solve this problem. I've been able to come to terms with it by keeping a focus on why I'm doing what I'm doing. It may sound like a cliché, but it's actually the reality-I do what I do because of my children and the children of the nation. If you keep that perspective, then you realize that you're not being frivolous, you're doing a task that for whatever reason you've been chosen to do. There is a spiritual component to it also. That spiritual component for me becomes apparent when I recognize that I wasn't put here in a vacuum. For whatever reason the Creator has seen fit to give me certain skills and certain strengths that enhance the struggle of our people. Then my ancestors, the freedom fighters before me sacrificed so I'd have the opportunity to develop those gifts. I have to use them. I have a responsibility to the Creator, the ancestors and my people to carry on the struggle. I can't sit back and say my job is too much, or being a mother is too much and use that as an excuse not to struggle. It's all a part of the struggle. I can't dissect my life and say I'm a revolutionary, I'm a mother, I'm a professional; Safiya is all of these things. If I fail to fulfill one of these aspects than I'm not fulfilling myself. That's not to say that everybody can be perfect at everything. It's a constant juggling act. It's just like in a relationship. It's not always 50/50. There is going to be flip/flop. It's not stagnant. At some point in time I might have to give 70% to this family and 30% to organization work. On the other hand, if the organization is in crisis, it might demand 60% of my time. I don't want sisters to see their families as something separate and apart from the struggle. Their families are a part of the struggle.

**NAPO:** How can the organization support you in insuring that your family is a part of the struggle?

**SKO:** Whatever formation you're struggling with has to have the perspective that the family is part of the struggle or you're going to be at odds because of all you have to do as a revolutionary woman. Part of the problem is the attitude sisters encounter, both by brothers and other sisters, in regards to what is traditionally and incorrectly considered woman's work: childcare, laundry, cleaning, etc. Many of these things keep women from participating in the struggle, because they're made to feel like failures if these things aren't done. It isn't humanly possible to do political work and then come home and do everything needed to run a household. The organization has to recognize that all of these things are a part of having an effective organization and an effective struggle. Brothers and sisters have to address these problems together. Childcare has to be a priority to the organization. It can't just be relegated to women. The organization has to be able to use all of its members to the fullest-men and women. If a brother's not meeting his obligations in the household, thus preventing a sister from meeting her organizational responsibilities, then the organization has to sit down and talk to the partner involved. If a sister is using

household responsibilities as an excuse for not doing organizational work, then she has to be struggled with. As much as possible the organization has to involve our children, our youth, in what we are doing. So, it really is a matter of taking theory of full participation of women and putting it into concrete practices on all levels. We have to reevaluate the way we look at the family and the roles of men, women and children. We have to systematically combat sexism on all levels: organizationally, culturally, spiritually and in the home.

**NAPO:** Our oppressors have done everything in their power historically and currently to emasculate our men. How do you help strengthen your man's self concept and at the same time develop and maintain your own?

**SKO:** The key is respect. Anywhere there is respect you have a mutual base of support. I see myself as having talents in writing, speaking, moving and shaking. I can get things done. Those particular skills give me visibility. That visibility is sometimes intimidating and threatening not only to the man you're involved with, but the men around you. I find myself having to make sure that I allow people to fulfill and express themselves in the ways they feel comfortable. For instance, my husband isn't a very verbal person and coming from a western educational background, you find yourself judging people based on how well they can argue a point, on how articulate they are, which is a false standard of judgement. So I found that I had to really learn how to listen. And that even though Safiya might think her way is best, that's not always the case. I had to stop jumping in and finishing his sentences for him. Because that showed that I was so busy figuring out what he was going to say that I wasn't listening to what he was saying. I have also learned to appreciate the strengths and skills that he has. These skills didn't necessarily project him, but they most certainly enhance his desirability as a husband and comrade. Relationships are based on respect and as long as you have respect and a concern for what others might feel you don't have the problem of emasculation.

**NAPO:** How does being in the leadership of NAPO affect your marriage?

**SKO:** It has affected my marriage considerably. It has truly both challenged both of us in terms of "practicing what we preach". It's easy to say that you believe that women should be equal and full participants in the struggle but to have it in your bedroom is totally different. My husband hasn't reacted differently from the way most brothers would if they were in the same situation. There has been resistance but there has also been pride. He's proud of me. He's also been supportive - most of the time. We've gone through a lot of struggle. Even though he is struggling against his sexism, there are times when he feels that he's being taken advantage of by virtue of the situation. For example, when I have to travel, which is quite a bit, he gets left with three kids. My trips may range from a weekend to several days at a time. Of course, he gets upset. It's not always sufficient to say this is my organizational responsibility; so we fight about it. But the bottom line is he has never refused to take care of them or do some household task. He recognizes the importance of



what I do. On the flipside, I'm not always appreciative of the contributions he makes and I should be. Simply because I know and he knows it's the right thing to do, it doesn't make it the easy thing to do; and that should be acknowledged. The resistance to my being in leadership that comes from my husband is also reflective in other brothers. So he may not be getting the kind of support he needs from outside of the relationship. You have to know when to stop being the leadership of the organization. You have to know when to be friend and lover and not boss.

**NAPO:** Certainly, most New Afrikan women would agree that sexism exists in all areas. How do the women of NAPO deal with sexism in the organization?

**SKO:** From my experience, we've met it head on. We try to identify it and then we struggle consistently with brothers and even sisters; because we have some sexist attitudes of our own. From a systematic approach, we have established a New Afrikan Women's Task Force. One of its functions is to deal with sexism within the organization. We identify the problem, expose it, try to correct it and if necessary steps are taken to discipline the offender. The Task Force also encourages sisters to develop themselves politically and physically so they can be full participants in the organization. The Task Force insures the development of women for leadership roles. In my own personal experience I've found that many of the women who have committed themselves to our liberation are not the type of women to allow sexist attitudes to prevail in the structures that they're working in. These sisters struggle formally and informally, within themselves, the organization and in the community for the eradication of the problem.

**NAPO:** All women are oppressed but certainly the oppression of white women is different from that of New Afrikan women. What are the differences?

**SKO:** The fundamental difference is that white women aren't oppressed as a colonized nation. The white woman benefits from the oppression not only of the New Afrikan woman, but the New Afrikan Nation as a whole; and she always has. The other difference is that white women often participate in the oppression of New Afrikan women. For example, when Shirley Chisholm, a member of the National Organization of Women, announced her candidacy in 1972 she expected NOW to endorse her. She thought they would put the full weight of their organization behind her campaign. What she found was, even though the members of NOW were ready for a woman to have power, they were not ready for a New Afrikan woman to have power. In actuality they sabotaged her bid for support in the organization itself. After the white male presidential candidate betrayed NOW, they decided to back Ms. Chisholm; but it was too little, too late. Even when women were trying to get the right to vote, white women in the south didn't support New Afrikan women's rights. The National Association of Colored Women fought hard for the right to vote for themselves and New Afrikan as a whole. But white women, in what was considered the most radical party of the time, The Woman's Party, promised senators that by no means were they considering Negro women when they struggled for voting rights. The

perception of white women in regards to New Afrikan women is still racist. And like any other liberal, when they get pressed to the wall their allegiance lies with their own, not with us. The feminist movement has been projected as anti-male and lesbian dominated. That certainly isn't what New Afrikan women are about. Our relationships with our men are fundamentally and historically different. Our history on the Afrikan continent and here in North America is full of New Afrikan women leading struggles and significantly contributing to the wellbeing of the family. New Afrikan women and men have had to depend on each other. White feminists take circumstances they cannot fully understand-why New Afrikan men and women relate to each other the way they do-and capitalize off of the contradictions to create further schisms between New Afrikan men and women so New Afrikan women will be more likely to support their movement. Our historical foundations for the building and maintaining of our family units is quite different from theirs. For instance, Afrikan women both on the continent and here in amerika were never considered liabilities. We've always been considered assets. In their history, women were considered as property, more of a liability than an asset. The white man's woman was considered his burden. White women are oppressed because they are women. New Afrikan women are oppressed because they're women and members of a colonized nation. Even if all New Afrikan men stopped being sexist tomorrow, New Afrikan women still wouldn't be free. New Afrikan women are going to struggle against sexism in our men, while We simultaneously fight side-by-side with them to win our nation's liberation.

**NAPO:** Safiya, you're the National Secretary of NAPO. Some might say that being a secretary is a traditionally female position and therefore your appointment isn't significant. Explain how being National Secretary is an important appointment in the organization?

**SKO:** It's not the traditional position. It's a key role in the organization and a great honor. In NAPO the only leadership positions that are projected are the Chairman and National Secretary. The appointment reflects my comrades' confidence in my development and my ability to represent NAPO nationally and internationally. My job is not just typing and filing. I'm a part of the decision and policy-making body of one of the fore most revolutionary nationalist groups in our liberation movement.



***NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN ARE OPPRESSED BECAUSE THEY'RE WOMEN AND MEMBERS OF A COLONIZED NATION. EVEN IF ALL NEW AFRIKAN MEN STOPPED BEING SEXIST TOMORROW, NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN STILL WOULDN'T BE FREE. NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN ARE GOING TO STRUGGLE AGAINST SEXISM IN OUR MEN, WHILE WE SIMULTANEOUSLY FIGHT SIDE-BY-SIDE WITH THEM TO WIN OUR NATION'S LIBERATION.***

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE

Third Session Permanent Forum on People of African Descent and the Peoples of African Descent 16 April – 20 April 2024 UNHQ, Geneva, Switzerland

# **AFRIKAN CULTURAL REPRESENTATION MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THE AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF AFRIKAN WOMEN**

Submitted by Dr. kwame-osagyefo kalimara

New Afrikan People's Organization/Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and  
the Aging People in Prison Human Rights Campaign

Afrikan nations have liberated themselves from colonial rule only to become neo-colonial instruments of white supremacy. In a few Afrikan nations we see that their economic currency is still being produced in Europe.

Culturally the face of Afrikan people must represent who We are or ought to be. Dr. Asa G. Hilliard argues that this is a process of revolution, the reclaiming of Afrikan Ancestry and Culture. He says We must choose "To Be African or Not to Be." Being authentic is challenging given the intentional strategy of racism/white supremacy/imperialism and patriarchy. As a people, we must have a vision of the community We are building. Self-determination also takes into consideration where we have been as a people and our challenges presented by our enslavement and colonization.

In Atlanta, Georgia, in the united states empire, for more than 20 years, the United Nation of Ifa Orisha Vodun has recreated a Gelede Festival. Gelede is a powerful celebration which is honored in the nations of Nigeria, Benin, Togo, and Burkina Faso to name a few. This annual festival generally takes place in spring (March-May) among the Yoruba people in south-west Nigeria. It honors the sacred "empowered Mothers." It recognizes the spiritual powers in which Afrikan women have in societies. The Gelede in its performance shares with the community a diagnosis of the problem(s) confronting the community; it prescribes the "medicine" to cure the dis-ease/illness, and lastly assists in administering the "medicine," creating the healing/wellness.

Gelede New Afrika in honoring the above tradition is part of a movement in North America which fights against gender oppression, global white supremacy, and patriarchy in all its forms. "In 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly. The international community believes that it has made important advances struggling 'against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.' While it is important to know that laws have been enacted and international human rights instruments created banning racial discrimination, the United Nations acknowledges its continued existence." (The Struggle Continues: A Progress Report for Discussion on Afrikan Work on the United Nations "World Conference Against Racism." January 8, 2006, Kwame'-Osagyefo Kalimara).

We must also remember our Afrikan women's tradition of women warriors.



**IF YOU WANT TO KNOW WHO I AM  
I AM DAUGHTER OF ANGOLA, OF KÊTO AND NAGÔ  
I DON'T FEAR BLOWS BECAUSE I AM A WARRIOR  
INSIDE OF SAMBA I WAS BORN  
I RAISED MYSELF, I TRANSFORMED MYSELF, AND  
NO ONE WILL LOWER MY BANNER, O, O, O.  
I AM A WARRIOR WOMAN DAUGHTER OF OGUN AND YANSÂ**

– SONG FROM AN ALBUM BY BRAZILIAN SINGER CLARA NUÑES

Afrikan women in their capacity as “warriors” have never been invisible. Their contributions throughout history have been monumental. However, history books have been nearly silent consciously because of the patriarchal behaviors of men of all races and nationalities. As an Afrikan people We have fought diligently to correct the omissions of Our collective contributions to world history and because of these efforts there have been more notations of women to balance Our collective narratives. Because of the centuries of male domination there is little recorded evidence available. Researchers must be creative to uncover data to draw conclusions on the contributions of women.

Lucille Mathurin Mair's *The Rebel Woman in the British West Indies during Slavery* is an example of the task of researchers to uncover the warrior traditions of Afrikan women. She used court records and other sources from 1655 – 1844 to show the resistance to slavery of Jamaican and other Caribbean women. Editors David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine's *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* is another treatment of the warrior inclusive of how she negotiated other aspects of the enslaved condition.

The challenges of white supremacy and patriarchy conspiracy forces upon us the perpetual question: How are We as a people to provide the full range of roles and opportunities for Our young women? One step is sharing the contributions openly and boldly.

In Dahomey in 1645 King Ada Honzoo created the Amazons or Mino (our mothers in the Fon language), all women front-line combat military arms unit of modern history. This unit grew from a few hundred to over 4,000 warriors. The name of their first battalion was the “Elephant Destroyers.” The second battalion were named the “Reapers.” The Amazons were feared in west Afrika for nearly 250 years.



Cécile Fatiman was a Haitian Vodou Priest/Mambo, who in 1791 led the vodou ceremony at Bois Caïman, which is considered to be the official start of the Haitian Revolution. Bookman Dutty until recently received the sole credit for coordinating the ceremony and initiating the revolution.

In the 18th century Queen Nanny of the Jamaican maroons, a spiritual leader and warrior, led numerous campaigns in freeing enslaved Afrikans. Some accounts credit her for freeing more than 800 Afrikans over the course of 30 years.

Queen Mother Yaa Asantewaa of the Edweso ethnic group of the Ashanti nation created and led an army against the British in the 1900s. The British sought to steal the Golden Stool, the nation's symbol of unity and sovereignty. Only after several thousand British troops amassed, was she captured along with several advisers, and they were subsequently exiled.

Nehanda Charwe Nyakasikana led a rebellion against the British South Africa Company in Mashonaland (now Zimbabwe) in the late 1800s. She was a spirit medium and warrior. She was captured and executed by the British colonists.

Carlota Lukumi was a Yoruba enslaved woman in Cuba. She and Fermina, also enslaved, led a rebellion at the Triumvarato sugar plantation in Matanzas (1843). Carlota fought for over a year before capture, torture, and execution by the Spanish colonialist of Cuba.

In the united states empire my personal sheroes are Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, Queen Mother Audley Moore, Queen Mother Dara Abubakari, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Ella Josephine Baker. The availability of biographical information on these women is accessible. These warrior women are with the ancestors, and it is always Our collective responsibility to invoke them in Our movements for human rights and sovereignty. Absent this small list are Our freedom fighters who are still struggling for Our people.

Nehanda Abiodun and Assata Shakur are two New Afrikan warrior women of whom Our level of support must rise. They have challenged white supremacy and patriarchy as participants in the Black Liberation Movement and particularly the New Afrikan Independence Movement and Pan Afrikanist Movement. Their leadership has been exemplary. Both women were exiled in Cuba, with their continued support of Our warrior women.

Nehanda Isoke Abiodun is a founding member of the New Afrikan People's Organization and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. Prior to her current membership in NAPO and MXGM, she was a worker in the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika.

As part of the National Black Human Rights Coalition, she was instrumental in the United Nations Demonstration charging the United States government with genocide in 1979. Nehanda also assisted in healing addicts at the Black Acupuncture Association of North America with Dr. Mutulu Shakur. The United States government believes she assisted in the liberation of Assata Shakur from the Clinton New Jersey prison in 1979. Moreover, Nehanda is also wanted for a string of expropriations in the empire. Her work while in exile was educating Cubans and those who travel to Cuba about the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Nehanda is also an important element in the Cuban Hip-Hop music community.

Assata Olugbala Shakur is a former member Black Panther Party (BPP) and is a member of the underground formation the Black Liberation Army. Assata in May 1973 was involved in a shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike where State Trooper Werner Foerster was killed and Trooper James Harper injured. Zayd Malik Shakur was killed and Sundiata Acoli was wounded along with Assata.

Assata has been accused of several crimes ranging from murder, attempted murder, armed robbery, bank robbery and kidnapping. There were three acquittals and three dismissals. However, in 1977 she was convicted of first-degree murder of Foerster. In 1979, November 2nd, three days before the United Nations March for Human Rights and an End to Genocide, Assata was liberated. In 1984 Cuba gave her political asylum. With a \$1 million bounty for her capture, in 2005 the FBI classified Assata as a domestic terrorist. With an increased bounty of \$2 million on May 2, 2013, the FBI, with the blessing of Barack Obama and Eric Holder, added Assata to the Most Wanted Terrorist list. The first woman on this list shares space with Taliban and Hezbollah leaders.

*Dr. Kwame-Osagyefo Kalimara testifying in Geneva, Switzerland*





Warrior women, always present, must be Our clarion call, announcing Our collective work as men and women for independence and self-determination of Our people. As a New Afrikan nation it is Our duty to support Our political prisoners, prisoners of war and exiles. The failure of support betrays Our ancestral legacy. (Warrior Women, Always Present, Kwame-Osagyefo Kalimara, April 2004).

As I close, remember that in our study of our cultural practices and history, we must not be romantic. We have contradictions which must be challenged. For example, gender diversity existed on the Afrikan continent PRIOR to the foreign invasions. Its denial serves the interests of those who continue to divide us in our pursuit of our liberatory work for self-determination, human rights.

We must also teach the recognition that We are in a protracted war, a war on Afrikan peoples, and our strategies and tactics as a people must reflect this in our work. Anything less is insanity! Moreover, we must NOT continue to respond episodically. We are in a *protracted war!*

Lastly, of this body, the Permanent Forum on Peoples of African Descent, We respectfully demand that Special Rapporteur on Afrikan/Black women be established, a Permanent Forum on African/black women be established, a Permanent Forum on Afrikan/black Maternal Health be established, and reparations are long overdue! The genocide, ethnocide and menticide of Afrikan women, children and men must end NOW. Black lives matter! Black Power. Ancestral blessings. Free the Land!!!

*With Dr. Delois Blakely in Geneva, Switzerland*





Getty Images, Assata Shakur in Cuba 1987



***THEY THINK THEY KILLED YOU /  
BUT I SAW YOU YESTERDAY.***

– ASSATA SHAKUR, “YOUNGBLOOD”

## **our hereafter**

BY SACHARJA, AFTER MALCOLM X AND NAPO

astronomy says that we see the past  
when looking up at the cosmos  
in a cloudless night sky.

light's speed through time-space  
and to our eyes

is proof—like our people—that  
none of this is limited

especially recently, our days feel old  
like they've been had many times before  
til they became histories and  
inheritances

demanding to be dealt with here, after

# **Culture**



our hereafter is a meeting space  
a nexus of what's not new  
what survived nevertheless  
what's now, next, and what's never-ending

ancestors, from ascension to altar.  
I see the persistent call and answer  
til we free the land through the formations  
they forged and fortified into a type of forever

I see MXGM and I see NAPO 40 years ago.  
I see Malcolm and his message 20 years before that.  
a freedom fighter's foresight that faithfully foreshadows  
how we paper citizens suffer from the U.S. empire's existence  
at our expense as it enforces our everyday erasure.  
now we also see this country's constant collapse  
that's asking us to give energy to what will be here after

I see how exposing these contradictions  
with the consciousness Malcolm mentioned  
comes at a cost critical to our considerations.  
I see constellations of assassinations  
and the state's choice of chains for incarcerated elders  
isolated from kin and care or forced into exile  
to avoid being made an example of how  
hurt comes to folks tryna make this homeland not hostile

I see Nehanda and her borderless bravery  
using her gifts as a daughter of Oshun  
detoxing the Bronx to bring her people some prosperity.  
showing up for women and captured comrades  
using Cuban coalitions to strengthen transnational solidarity

her roles and responsibilities still resonate.  
I see her in the refractions of rays on rivers  
running and renewing so she's of reality's remembrance  
related to the evergreen and the ever-growing  
global mindset Malcolm saw as our guidance

but this poem ain't a case for immortalizing our people  
as some pacifying consolation to how the state takes them from us.  
I wanna see more elders enjoying ease  
before they become a part of everything in that different kinda way.  
my sight's set on that more than anything  
coming from a November 2024's first Tuesday

and like in 2020 with the *other* war criminal  
I still see misinformation and repeat infections.  
more individualism and less communal introspections.  
it's clear our civic duty is to deny the dead,  
the dying, and discarded with these elections

but I still see questions and creations of what we can do  
what we can build more of using the models left by Mutulu  
when we see the needs of our neighbors and know  
that neglect is this nation's necropolitics and our *deja vu*

so why would I vote for either party?  
their project's been tryna kill my mom and me  
and so many others in each of our communities  
and when we're all still here, after the political theater  
how are we gonna keep each other alive? seriously...

I see the empire nearing its expiration  
and I see that as grounds for experimentation  
imagination and organizations as veneration

once awakened, will we have a willingness?  
to work for a home here, after all we witnessed  
can critique cradle creation?  
that's gonna be our repeating litmus

cuz we Black and New Afrikan as in  
we belong to a beginning struggling to happen  
memory is an act of recreation and recognition  
that heaven, hope, and homecoming  
all speak to what we see as part of abolition:

our hereafter  
where we transition  
as in we're made metaphor  
in word and in the world  
we made better for  
the people and the places we loved  
and fought hard not to betray  
with loves not law-abiding  
but loyal to ours locked away  
we steady tryna live the litany  
that we still see from Chokwe

rooted in this hereafter,  
I'm a poetree tracing truths  
where politics meets science and spirit  
I'm locked in, looking back, and looking up to  
the souls and surroundings made simultaneous  
the sun giving me a sustenance  
similar to what the ancestors have said

winds blow  
like they're making the sky's wishes heard  
that we be stewards  
of what our soldiers started  
that we study and strategize  
from their stories  
and their senses of selves  
all stunning  
and staying  
like starlight

# FIVE POINT EAR PROTOCOL FOR LIBERATION AFTER MUTULU SHAKUR

By ángel griot

Free the Land!

Can I stick your ear,  
Using needles—or [vaccaria] seeds?

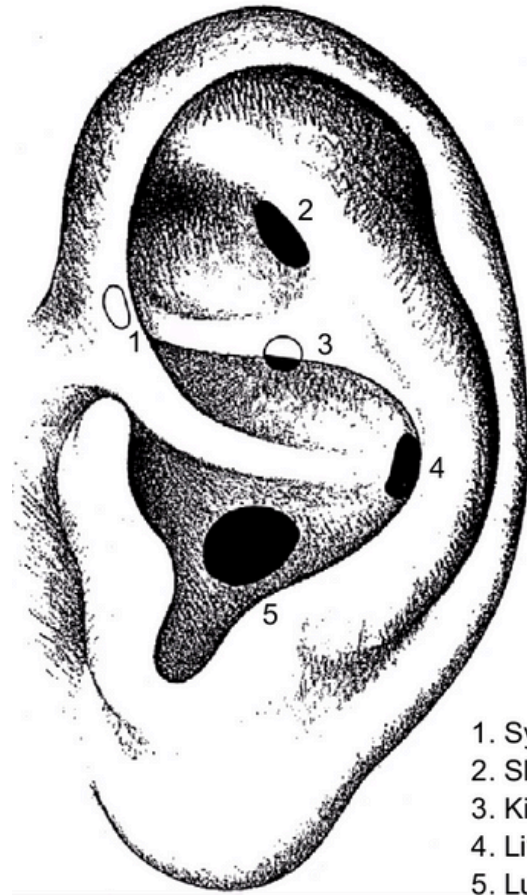
With love, care. **[education]**, & *liberation*

To treat and tend the  
Grief, rage, and isolation

Caused by **[the ills of]** capitalism

After the love & care penetrates  
The soul by way of the 5 points:

*Shen-Mein*  
*Sympathetic*  
*Liver*  
*Kidneys*  
*Lungs*



1. Sympathetic
2. Shen Men
3. Kidney
4. Liver
5. Lung

Can I spit some revolutionary New Afrikan ideologies?

To initiate the journey of  
decolonization & consciousness

**[by any means necessary]**

While you sip on some warm herbal-honey infused tea.



# CIRCUMSTANCES OF BIRTH

BY KENDRA M-FIYA (MISSISSIPPI FIRE)

*Zine for Kamau Sadiki, Assata Shakur, Waleed Abu Daqqa, Sana'a Salama and all who give life to revolutions.*

We have been here before  
Conceived despite the confines of captivity  
Parents handcuffed by colonizers  
Conceived by smuggling your Father's sperm into an Israeli prison  
Conceived in the Eighties while colonizers flood our communities with crack  
Just as their ancestors decimated China with opium

We have been here before  
Charging you with genocide before  
Giving birth in captivity  
Carrying movements in our wombs  
Building Samud in watermelon fields  
Plotting liberation in the dirt of US empire

Laboring in revolution  
Our daughters remember  
Despite the circumstances of our births  
We have been here before  
We shall return again  
We are life everlasting

# WE WILL LOOK FOR YOU IN THE WHIRLWIND!

THE NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION & THE MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS  
MOVEMENT REMEMBER SEKOU MGOBOZI ABDULLAH ODINGA  
ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED ON JANUARY 21, 2024

The New Afrikan People's Organization and its mass association, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, salute the life of one of our greatest New Afrikans and conscious citizens of the Republic of New Afrika, Black Liberation Army combatant, and former political prisoner of war, **Sekou Mgobozi Abdullah Odinga**. He was our grassroots general, gentle giant, beloved comrade, devoted husband, father, and grandfather.

Sekou Odinga was a devoted Muslim, who understood that his political commitment to free the land was aligned with his faith's call to stand against oppression and genocide. He often began his speaking engagements with a Bismillah and introduced himself as a humble servant or slave of Allah. As a youth, Saladin and the Shakur family introduced him to Malcolm X and nurtured his spiritual and political development. Saladin Shakur sent him literature and speeches during his incarceration at Comstock and would later shuttle him to the NY Mosque to hear Malcolm speak. Though he took the last name Odinga, he considered himself a Shakur and a sibling of Lumumba, Zayd, Mutulu, Afeni, and Assata. He would share it was Assata Shakur who gave him his first Quran and growing up people often would misidentify him as one of Saladin's biological children.



**SEKOU ODINGA** • 1944 - 2024



**OF ALL OUR STUDIES, HISTORY IS BEST QUALIFIED TO REWARD OUR RESEARCH. AND WHEN YOU SEE THAT YOU'VE GOT PROBLEMS, ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS EXAMINE THE HISTORIC METHOD USED ALL OVER THE WORLD BY OTHERS WHO HAVE PROBLEMS SIMILAR TO YOURS.**

– MALCOLM X

After witnessing and studying the success of liberation movements happening in Africa, Sekou became convinced that “only after a successful armed struggle would New Afrikans gain freedom and self-determination.” He took the name “Sekou ” from Guinean Liberation leader and its 1st President Sekou Toure and “Odinga” from Kenyan revolutionary Oginga Odinga of the Mau Mau. Believing like them and Malcolm X that a revolutionary struggles for land and independence, he became a committed New Afrikan Freedom Fighter. He was a member of Malcolm X’s Organization of Afro-American Unity and co-founder of the Grassroots Advisory Council where he organized for community control of Federal Anti-Poverty Programs. Joining the Black Panther Party in 1968, Sekou was a founding member of the Bronx Branch and was elected as a Section Leader. Like many members of the BPP in New York, he declared his allegiance to the Republic of New Afrika in 1969. J Edgar Hoover’s declaration to destroy the Black Panther Party through COINTELPRO and the torture of fellow BPP comrade Joan Byrd by the police sent Sekou underground on January 17th. He escaped a NYPD raid of his apartment by jumping out of the window, negotiating two stories, and hiding in the neighborhood overnight. His daring escape earned him the affectionate nickname of “Spiderman” among his comrades. As pressure mounted with the mass arrests of the Panther 21, he and other BPP co-defendants went into political exile in Algeria. There they established the Party’s International Section and won international solidarity from liberation struggles around the world.



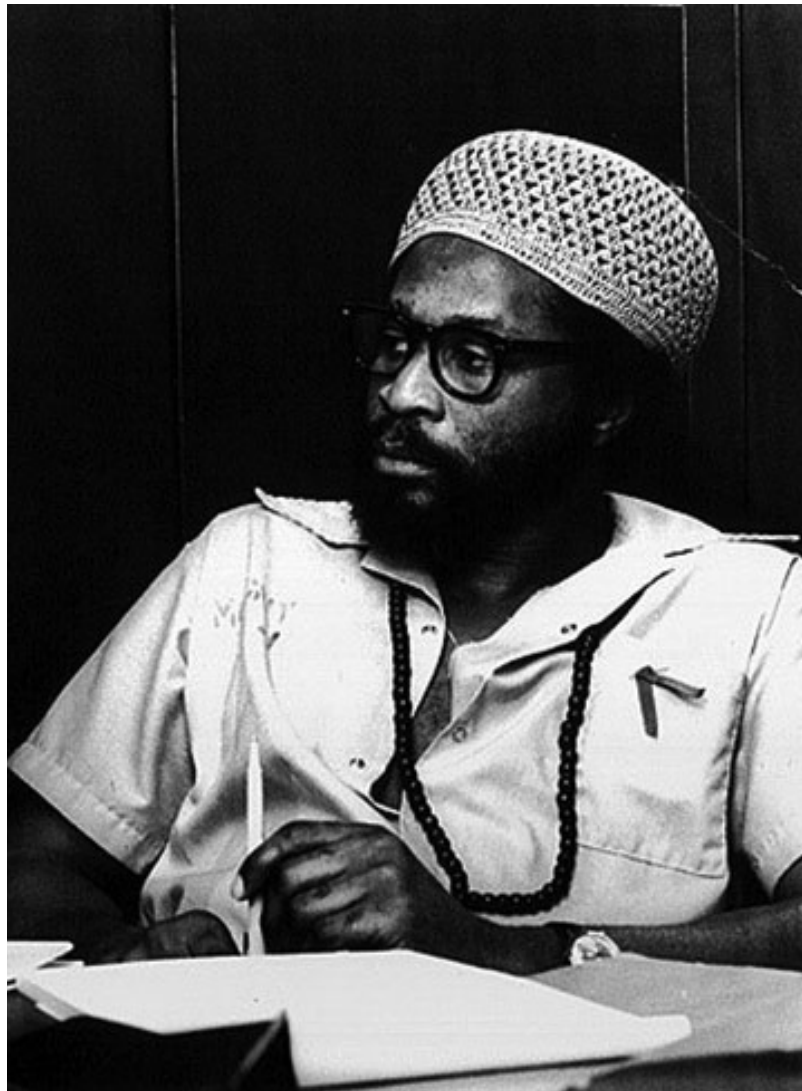




***I WAS SEKOU ODINGA WHO THEY HAD WANTED SINCE 1969.***

After relationships in Algiers began to break down under US political pressure, Sekou decided to return to the United States in 1970 to resume the clandestine armed struggle he believed was necessary to end our national oppression. Sekou was a Black Liberation Army combatant in the New Afrikan Independence Movement for over a decade until his capture on October 23, 1981. Sekou and BLA comrade Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata were ambushed in a shootout in Queens by a New York Police Department (NYPD) and FBI Joint Task Force. Sekou witnessed the extrajudicial execution of Mtayari and was severely brutalized and tortured by the police. In 1983, Sekou was convicted under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act for the BLA's liberation of Assata Shakur, an armored truck appropriation for half a million dollars which, authorities state went to "Black children, health care and political causes, including support to families and legal defense of political prisoners and the African liberation movement in Zimbabwe."

The question of ongoing support and defense of BLA soldiers like Sekou Odinga became a dividing issue in the Black Liberation Movement and the White Left. Many organizations and groups abandoned political support and defense of our freedom fighters and soldiers, fearing it would bring the empire's repression on themselves. The New Afrikan People's Organization was born in response to this and a call made by Sekou to support the BLA and all New Afrikan freedom fighters. He is considered a founding member of NAPO, along with Dr. Mutulu Shakur and Nehanda Abiodun, who were also underground at the time of the organization's founding. Sekou Odinga would serve 33 years in state captivity until the Sekou Defense Committee, led by organizer and wife, dequi kioni-sadiki won his release in 2014.



*Courtesy of the Free Sekou Odinga Campaign Website*



In the decade from his release until his transition, he remained an organizer for self-determination and the release of political prisoners. He worked with the Jericho Movement, the Release of Aging People in Prison campaign (RAPP), and lent support to the freedom campaigns of other political prisoners. “Anything for Mutulu” was his response to any request made during our Free Mutulu Now Campaign. He also provided counsel and support to Our New York chapter and mentorship as a MXGM Freedom Fellow of the Movement for Black Lives in 2020. In 2018, he and other Black Liberation organizers and former political prisoners launched the **Spirit of Mandela (SoM)**, a coalition of Black, Brown, and Indigenous Peoples and their allies to bring international attention to U.S. human rights violations. In 2021, the SoM Coalition organized an international tribunal that charged and convicted the United States government, its states, and agencies on five counts of human and civil rights violations.

“  
**ANYTHING FOR MUTULU.**

Our grassroots general, gentle giant, beloved comrade, devoted husband, father, and grandfather, made his return to Allah surrounded by family and comrades on January 12th, 2024. For months, Sekou fought and resisted, like he did oppression, “an infection that doctors said most would not have survived.” In his moment of need, the community he fought for, fought by his bedside, raising over sixty thousand dollars for his care and coordinating support for dequi and his family. His life will be remembered as an exemplar of what it means to be a Muslim and New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist. **We who still believe in land and independence will look for you in the whirlwind.**

*LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF SEKOU ODINGA!  
 FREE THE LAND!  
 FREE EM ALL!  
 BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!*



**STUDY SEKOU!** MXGM's Grassroots Liberation School has curated a digital collection of writings, videos, and art honoring the political legacy of our grassroots general, Sekou Odinga. Check out "**The What's Inside**" for a full list of the collection.

# BLACK LOVE IN ACTION 2024 FOR KAMAU SADIKI

BY MARIA FERNANDEZ, SADIKI SQUAD NO.1 /MXGM'S FREE EM ALL COMMITTEE



The great New Afrikan Revolutionary, Assata Shakur teaches us that *freeing political prisoners must be our number one priority*. She charges us with the critical work to build a grassroots movement to **#FreeKamauSadiki** – this is people work, this is liberation work, this is *Black love work*.

The **2024 Black Love in Action to Free Kamau Sadiki** was coordinated by the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement in support of the **International Campaign to Free Kamau Sadiki**. The week of action raised awareness around the plight of former Black Panther Party and political prisoner Kamau Sadiki, who turned 71 on February 19th. Kamau Sadiki has been a political prisoner twice over. In the 1960s he was a Prisoner of War as a Black Panther in the New Afrikan Independence Movement and, since 1999, he has been a political prisoner for not betraying Assata Shakur and Our movement for land and independence.

Sadiki Squads across the empire educated, motivated, and organized those who believe in love, faith, and justice to endorse the International Campaign to Free Kamau Sadiki, build local Sadiki Squads of 3 or more people in a city or town willing to organize to support the campaign, and raise the resources needed to bring him home in 2024.

Activities began Monday, February 12th, with a virtual launch educating our people on who Kamau Sadiki is and why he must be free. We dropped our **organizers' toolkit** and encouraged people to change their social media profile pictures to bring attention to our beloved elder.

On Tuesday, our D.C. Chapter hosted a Black Love in Action Letter Writing on **Black Love Day**. Kamau Sadiki's story is one of Black love personified. His courage and devotion reflects the meanings of the day. Writing political prisoners is a tangible way to let them know We have not forgotten them and keep them connected to the community and our movements.





Our Philadelphia Chapter and the **Neighborhood Martial Arts Project** held a virtual Kupigana Ngumi for Kamau Sadiki on Thursday. Kupigana Ngumi is the New Afrikan Combat System developed for the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Kamau Sadiki was a disciplined martial artist and enjoyed the rigor and practice. Today he is fighting a different fight, Hepatitis C, Cirrhosis of the Liver, Sarcoidosis and the state prison's medical neglect.

The next day, radical educators and youth workers across the u.s. empire hosted Ice Cream Socials **teaching Our children and young people** about their important role in the struggle and Kamau Sadiki. He answered the call to fight for freedom when he was a youth, like many of the Black Panthers – lil Bobby Hutton and Joan Tarika Lewis and Mumia Abu Jamal. We also learned that Kamau Sadiki loves Butter Pecan ice cream!

Sadiki Squads were all hands on deck over the weekend spreading awareness about the International Campaign to Free Kamau Sadiki by tabling at local community events, flyering in their neighborhoods, and asking local businesses and residents to put up our #FreeKamauSadiki posters. Saturday, our Atlanta Chapter partnered with the Atlanta Chapter of **Black Alliance for Peace** and the International Campaign to dedicate their monthly Umoja-fied Time to learn about the plight of Baba Kamau and other political prisoners and incarcerated elders who suffer in prison from medical neglect.

The week of action concluded on Kamau's Birthday on Monday, February 19th with a *Happy 71st Birthday Love-A-Thon to Kamau Sadiki* hosted by International Campaign to Free Kamau Sadiki. It was a beautiful evening of music, art, poetry, and speakers in celebration of Kamau Sadiki. We heard moving testimony from Kamau's family, comrades and loved ones on why the only solution is for Kamau to be released.



The Free Em All Committee extends revolutionary gratitude to all those who contributed to making the Black Love in Action a success. *AND* there is more organizing to be done to bring Kamau home. We need all of us to free our political prisoners and prisoners of war. Here's how *you* can get involved:

- Follow and encourage others to follow the [@FreeKamauSadiki](https://www.instagram.com/FreeKamauSadiki) Instagram page and subscribe and encourage others to subscribe to the International Campaign to Free Kamau Sadiki linktr.ee at <https://linktr.ee/freekamausadiki>.
- Join or organize a Sadiki Squad at [bit.ly/SadikiSignUp](https://bit.ly/SadikiSignUp). Where there are 3-4 people who want to organize for Kamau Sakidi's release, we will be there.
- Donate and encourage others to donate to the International Campaign to Free Kamau Sadiki (check the Free Kamau box!): [bit.ly/SadikiDonate](https://bit.ly/SadikiDonate). Financial support is critical for our incarcerated political prisoners, elders, and community members.
- Submit a piece (poetry, prose, meditation, reflection, or flash fiction) to the upcoming Free Kamau Sadiki Zine by June 1st, 2024: [bit.ly/SadikiZine](https://bit.ly/SadikiZine).
- Write Kamau Sadiki. Writing political prisoners is a tangible to let them know we have not forgotten them or their sacrifice. He loves sci-fi and afro-futurism!

Freddie Hilton (Kamau Sadiki) #0001150688  
Augusta State Medical Prison, Bldg 23A-2  
3001 Gordon Highway, Grovetown, GA 30813

*Complimentary Poster on Next Page*





# FREE KAMAU SADIKI!

Kamau Sadiki is a devout Muslim, a loving father of two daughters and grandfather of five, and a veteran of the Black Panther Party and the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Kamau joined the Black Panther Party at the age of 18 in Queens, New York. On November 3, 1971, an Atlanta police officer was murdered. The witnesses failed to identify Kamau from a photographic line-up and there was no physical evidence that implicated him. In 1971, the Atlanta police department closed the case as unsolved.

In 1999, the FBI in pursuit of collaboration in their attempts to recapture Assata Shakur (the mother of one of Kamau's daughters), a political exile in Cuba, threatened him with life in prison if he did not assist them. When he did not comply, the FBI convinced Atlanta police to re-open the case and charge Kamau. He was arrested in 2002 in Brooklyn, New York some thirty-one years later after the murder.

While Kamau has been unjustly imprisoned, his two daughters graduated from college and now have families of their own. In order to address the ongoing medical neglect and wrongful conviction, **the only solution is for Kamau to be released.** His family has been waiting for a long time to welcome him home.



KAMAU  
**FREE**  
SADIKI  
#FreeKamauSadiki



# FROM PALESTINE TO NEW AFRIKA, FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

FROM MXGM'S NEHANDA ABIODUN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE & FREE EM ALL COMMITTEE  
ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED ON PALESTINIAN PRISONER'S DAY 2024

Violent repression of political leaders is a common tactic used by oppressive regimes. In Israel and the United States, prison-industrial complexes use sophisticated technologies to implement fatal tactics of torture, which include starvation and strangulation in an effort to kill grassroots organizers, resistance fighters, and everyday people. Today, thousands of Palestinians are held hostage in inhumane conditions inside of Israeli prisons, with thousands more detained in secret “administrative detention.” They are often held without trial for years on end.

2.3 Million New Afrikans are held in the concentration camps better known as the U.S. prison system. Orisanmi Burton writes in “The Long Revolt” (2023) that the modern Amerikan prison system was designed to repress [New] Afrikan revolutionaries. Burton recognizes the ‘long revolt of Attica,’ **as a period of intensified [New] Afrikan civil, social, and armed resistance that stretched across the 1970s and 1980s.**

Furthermore, the prison system became a central pillar of state counterinsurgency against New Afrikans – imprisoning the masses in open-air prisons, ghettos, and redlined neighborhoods with militarized police and armed settlers. Conditions on the inside were even worse, with New Afrikans being systematically abused physically, emotionally, and sexually.

The Israeli prison system shares a similar, wicked history. As New Afrikan revolutionaries experienced torture behind the walls during the 1970s, Israel built secret camps across the desert to imprison Palestinian nationals and resistance fighters. Israeli and U.S. military-prison officials exchange secrets, tips, and information. The IDF is a thought partner to the CIA and shares information, training, and tactics on how to best surveil, control, and imprison an entire nation of people. The IDF is responsible for training U.S. Law Enforcement agencies under the “Law Enforcement Exchange” program. Israel sells its surveillance technology to the U.S. police state to surveil [New] Afrikan people. Likewise, the U.S. arms the Zionist entity to repress and exterminate the Palestinian people.

From Occupied Palestine to Occupied New Afrika, no amount of torture can break the spirit of our freedom fighters. The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement calls for an end to the Deadly Exchange of genocidal violence between Israel and the United States. We call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners. Free Kamau Sadiki, Free Imam Jamil Al-Amin, Free Mumia Abu Jamal, Free Marwan Barghouti, Free Ahmad Sa’adat, Free Rev. Joy Powell – FREE EM ALL!

*Video Sources: **Political Prisoner Imam Jamil Al-Amin Interviewed by Fred Hampton Jr.** and **Political Prisoner Marwan Barghouti Speaks on Palestinian Resistance***

# MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT STANDS WITH THE STUDENTS!

FROM MXGM'S NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement supports efforts of the students to stop the genocide in Palestine. **Around the country** we are seeing young people come together to demand the United States stop funding a genocide. The State's response has been violent with the use of tear gas, tasers, rubber bullets, dragging, and arrests. The young people have been brave!

This response is the **militarized policing that Cop City** represents. We must support the resistance and call to end genocide! All genocides, from Palestine to Sudan, from Congo to Haiti. Snipers on school buildings, calling in the national guard and threatening to take away federal funding is an assault on civil and human rights to protest, freedom of speech and the moral duty to speak out for humanity!

We must not allow our oppressors to make permanent their perpetual war to dominate and pacify our communities here and abroad, while criminalizing our human right to protest. These universities encourage students to develop critical thinking and make their impact on the world. Now that students at over three dozen campus are critically thinking about our responsibilities to end this genocide and responding accordingly, these institutions choose to punish them and reinforce the State's compliance with genocide. There are **69 proposed "Cop City"** complexes slated to be built. We must understand the connection and threat. Cop City, as an international police training center, would increase the export of this deadly trend of racist policing across the globe.

We must stand with the Students! We demand a ceasefire and end to genocide! We must **organize a New Afrikan uprising rooted in self-determination, human rights, and reparations.**

We must be ungovernable! Let Your Motto Be Resistance! Free Palestine!

*REUTERS/Mike Blake, April 25, 2024*



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