

On Malcolm X and Leadership

Chokwe Lumumba

May 19, 1980 was Malcolm X Day. Throughout the New Afrikan Nation and in New Afrikan communities throughout America, on May 19, We commemorated and celebrated the life of El Haj El Malik Shabazz-Malcolm X.

Brother Malcolm was born on May 19, 1925, fifty-five (55) years ago in Omaha, Nebraska. Fifteen years ago on February 21, 1965 Malcolm was slain as he stood at the speakers platform in the Audobon Ball Room in Harlem, N.Y. delivering a message to his people. Malcolm faithfully served as a revolutionary messenger of the New Afrikan Liberation Struggle right up until his final breath. February 21, 1965 is another day most of us commemorate each year since it is the day of the death of our Shining Black Prince, Malcolm X.

It is appropriate that We commemorate both of these days, because together they mark the boundaries of Malcolm's life. And it is Malcolm's life that We celebrate not his birth or his death. Malcolm's life is the thing that makes his birth and death worth remembering.

He was and is important to us because he lived for us. The first portion of his life were years of learning and experiences. These were bitter experiences like the racist murder of his father in Lansing, Michigan and the illness of his mother. Then there were experiences with the sorted life in Boston and Harlem. There were then enlightening and educational experiences in prison where he encountered the teaching of Elijah Muhammad and finally emerges as a minister in the Nation of Islam.

All these experiences prepared Malcolm to speak with insight, wisdom and authority as a messenger to and a spokesman for the New Afrikan (Black) Nation in America. Malcolm, because of his studies and experiences, knew the weaknesses, the strengths, the potential and the needs of New Afrikan (Black) people and this knowledge enabled him to provide effective leadership and guidance.

Malcolm's leadership was exemplified not only in his charismatic presence or his uncompromising profile but was manifested in the principles Malcolm articulated and clarified. These principles did not begin with the birth of Malcolm nor did they end with his death. These are revolutionary principles which both predate and postdate Malcolm's physical existence. However Malcolm's ability to discern revolutionary principles in the context of the New Afrikan experience and to transmit these principles with clarity in powerful messages to New Afrikan people made him a valuable asset to the New Afrikan National Liberation struggle.

Today We say "Malcolm lives" and "long live Malcolm X". We say this



neither to idolize or deify Malcolm, nor to pretend that Malcolm's charismatic physical presence is still with us. We shout these slogans as an acknowledgement of the continued existence in our thoughts and work of the revolutionary principles projected by Malcolm and We chant these slogans to encourage the continuation of these principles as operational guidelines in our thoughts and our work. Thus Malcolm's projection of revolutionary principles is more valuable to us than Malcolm's charismatic presence or his powerful profile. His presence physically and his profile fades with our memories, yet the principles when taught, learned and practice truly live forever.

The following are revolutionary principles Malcolm expounded. These principles are incorporated in what We now call the *New Afrikan Political Science*.

Unity - As stated by Malcolm We must come together on the basis of what We have in common. We have a common enemy and We must unite to defeat that enemy. Amilcar Cabral once said concerning the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau "Our entire struggle for liberation was a struggle for unity". Likewise the New Afrikan National Liberation struggle is a struggle for unification of our selves. Saying that it is a "struggle" for unity means Unity does not come without struggle. It in other words, does not come easy. Yet like liberation Unity as a mass reality and a functional operating principle can be achieved. It is our mission to achieve it.

Self Defense - Malcolm understood as We must that the defense of ourselves is vital for our security, our survival and for our advance. We must defend not only our physical existence but We must secure and defend all our human rights. We must deal by those means necessary with anyone who would deny us any of our human rights.

Human Rights - Malcolm taught that We should internationalize our struggle. We should seek human rights as human beings not just civil rights as United States subjects. We should not be restricted to seeking recognition of civil rights as United States subjects. We should not be restricted to seeking recognition of civil rights in courts and governmental bodies of our human rights violations. Malcolm urged that We struggle for our human rights here on this continent and unite with those forces in the world who will contribute to this fight.

Self-Determination and Independence - As Malcolm indicated self-determination is the most important human right. Without self-determination there is little hope that any of our other human rights will be consistently and properly observed and recognized. Malcolm also pointed out that only when We exercise control over the institutions which control us will We be assured that these institutions will operate in our best interest.

We must operate these independently of our enemies. To control the institutions We must control the land on which the institutions are built. Thus Malcolm said, land is the basis of freedom, power and independence. A revolutionary, as Malcolm said, struggles for land.

Black Nationalism - Malcolm X was a black nationalist and a leading proponent of black nationalism. Black nationalism was as Malcolm saw it the struggle of Black people for land and independence. It is the struggle to free the Black Nation and to free land for the Black Nation. Understanding it in this same way made Malcolm a revolutionary nationalist. As Malcolm pointed out a revolution is a struggle for land. Thus Malcolm identified himself as both a revolutionary and a black nationalist. Indeed to Malcolm a true black nationalist was by necessity a revolutionary. Malcolm said, "...if you love revolution then you love black nationalism, if you love black nationalism you love revolution". Like Malcolm We should strive to be revolutionary Black Nationalist. We should understand that to win the freedom of our Black Nation will require a revolution.

Pan Afrikanism - Malcolm X was a Pan Afrikanist. Malcolm understood our historical links and blood ties to Afrika. He sought to make us aware of struggles on the continent and he sought to encourage our support of these struggles. He also sought to make the Afrikans on the continent aware of our struggle and to enlist their support of it. Malcolm saw Pan Afrikanism as the struggle to liberate all - Afrikans and all Afrika. This includes the struggle to liberate the nations on the Afrikan continent and the New Afrikan Nation on the North American continent. The New Afrikan independence fighter continues in the legacy of Malcolm X.

Revolution - Malcolm was a revolutionary and was a proponent of revolution. As a proponent of revolution he defined revolution in its clearest sense. Revolution he said is a struggle for land. A struggle of the landless, those who control no land, against the landlords, those who do control land. He also pointed out that "revolution means bloodshed". Malcolm indicated that the United States could permit a bloodless revolution. Yet Malcolm was not naive enough to believe that the United States would allow revolution without bloodshed. We also should not be so naive. Realizing that the United States government and economic tycoons are not inclined to allow revolution without bloodshed makes it clear that We must prepare to shed blood. We must prepare to shed as little of our blood as possible, and as much of the enemies blood as necessary.

We all must push forward utilizing the foregoing principles as our guide. As these principles lead us to National and Pan Afrikan Liberation Malcolm's message and work will be fulfilled.

BLACK FACTORY WORKER STRUGGLES AGAINST RETURN TO ALABAMA TORTURE

On November 10, 1977 Charles Brown was seized from his job in a Detroit Automobile factory and jailed in the Wayne County Jail in Detroit. The next day he was placed on a twenty-five thousand (\$25,000) dollars bond by a white suburban judge who was visiting the Detroit Recorder's Court. At the same time Detroit Police Department and the Wayne County Prosecutor began proceedings to have Brown sent to Alabama Prison in accordance with a request by the Governor of Alabama that he be sent there to serve the remainder of a twenty-five year term.

On June 14, 1976 Charles Brown escaped from Atmore Prison in Alabama. He was serving a 25 year term for a conviction for Arm Robbery. He was convicted in 1974 in Bessemer, Alabama by a predominantly all white jury for the alleged robbery of a white grocery store. He had no convictions before this robbery conviction and has had none since. The person originally described as the robber did not match Charles Brown's description. However it is believed that Brown was framed by the police in collusion with state witness after Brown refused to give information that the police believed he had.

Brown was sentenced to serve his time in a prison which was so infested with rats, rapist, insanity, racists guards and life endangered perils that it was rules cruel and unusual by a Federal Court in Alabama in 1976 while Brown was incarcerated. The Prison was so bad that the attorney for the state of Alabama was forced to admit that it was cruel and unusual. Indeed one expert witness, a United States Public Health Officer, toured facilities at the prison and said that he found the facilities wholly unfit for human habitation according to virtually every criterion used for evaluation public health inspectors.

In January of 1976 a Black Recorders Court Judge George W. Crockett Jr. (well known for his forthright acts of justice in the RNA New Bethel Case in 1969), refused to let the Governor of the State of Michigan send another Black man name Alphonsa Blount back to Alabama

prison. Judge Crockett also found that the conditions of the prison were, cruel and unusual.

On December 19, 1977 Charles Brown's attorney Chokwe Lumumba, Midwest Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika successfully motioned for a bond reduction for

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Caught Between A Rock and A Hard Place:

CENSUS 1980

Lary Rand

CAUGHT BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE CENSUS 1980

Article I of the United States Constitution mandates that a census be taken every ten years beginning in 1790 for purposes of reapportionment to the House of Representatives. Prior to the ratification of the fourteenth amendment in 1868, article I also mandated that New Afrikans be counted as three fifths of a person. Obviously then, Black people were not viewed as humans and were not worthy of a full-count for purposes of the census. The ratification of the fourteenth amendment did change the language of article I and the term "three fifths of a person" has not been a part of the United States constitution since July 9, 1968. However, a study of the history of the census reveals very clearly that little if anything has changed about the accuracy of the counting of New Afrikans in the United States.

The Census Bureau readily admits that it undercounts Blacks and Hispanics in much larger ratios than it does whites. Census officials attempt to justify this contradiction by shifting the blame on the people, citing fears, distrust and a lack of understanding as reasons. In efforts to combat the under-count of Black people, the Census Bureau creates eloquent sounding programs designed to improve public understanding of the census. To date, none of these programs have been effective. The discrepancies remain and in all probability will be even greater in the 1980 census.

In 1977 the United States Census Bureau developed a program designed to increase the accuracy of the count, especially the count of Blacks and Hispanic populations. The 1980 program calls for sending educational training packages for a four part course on the census to schools throughout the country; sending professional athletes to speak to school children about the importance of complying with the census; urging school children to persuade and assist their parents in filling out and returning the census form; attempting through multi-media to convince the public of the Census Bureau's private and confidential nature; hiring of more people who are well known and respected in their communities; and the hiring of more Black and Hispanic census takers among other things.

This program like others before it is not working. Hiring has been hampered by political patronage on one hand, and administrative ineptness on the other. Many supervisory slots were not filled when they should have been because of political infighting between census bureau administrators and politicians seeking to place their supporters in these temporary jobs as a form of patronage. The hiring of Blacks and Hispanics is falling well below projected quotas a factor that the census bureau says is linked to the low scores received on the exam that all census-takers are required to take. In some predominately Hispanic populated areas, as many as fifty percent of those taking the exam are failing. Some of the Census Bureau's own high ranking employers have charged that the exam is unnecessarily biased and difficult.

Another means of insuring a more accurate count was to make a Spanish language version of the census form available this year. This goal has been met, a Spanish language version of the census form is available, but only upon request! Will this technique bring about a more accurate count of Hispanic persons? Will people needing a Spanish language version of the census form either write or phone in for it? Is this managerial ineptness or purposeful circumvention of stated intent?

As stated earlier, the constitution requires the census only to count the population for purposes of reapportioning congressional representation. Nonetheless, the list of questions on the 'long form' grows longer with each census count. This year's short form contains 19 questions while the long form contains 65 questions! The long form will take the average person at least an hour to complete, not counting the time it will take them to dig out the records they will need to complete it with! By-and-large all questions on the form that do not deal with the number of people in a household, have nothing to do with the census itself. Rather, these questions are "forced" upon the census takers by other government agencies for their own use, and as an aid to capitalist enterprises in their marketing efforts. Many people feel inclined to comply with the census because it is reportedly linked to the distribution of government funds for public assistance and community programs.

political representation and the general distribution of federal funds for schools and other public institutions. However, because of the number and nature of the questions the census asks, people are skeptical of the census' real purpose. Some of the questions clearly constitute an invasion of privacy while others are transparently racially motivated. Examples of privacy invasion questions includes but is not limited to questions about mortgages, income, insurance, utilities and taxes. An example of a racially motivated question is the ethnic background query. This question requires all non-whites (Third World People) to specify what kind of non-white they are. On the other-hand, whites have only to say that they are white, nothing more, not German-White, not Polish-White, nor Jewish-White - just plain white is enough.

The 1980 census is also making a big effort to count "illegal-alien" living and/or working in America. As encouragement for aliens to be counted, as well as to quell the broad public skepticism about the bureau's motives, the census people have been doing a lot of public relations on the questions of confidentiality. The census bureau claims that the returns are strictly confidential and that identification information contained in them is not made available to other government agencies. Aliens fear that this is not the case, that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) will have access to the files resulting in large scale busts and deportations. History is on the side of the aliens. INS has in the past gained access to the census files and staged busts based on information contained in the files. In fact, recent news articles reported that census files were used to round-up 800 Mexican aliens in Phoenix, Arizona in conjunction with this year's census! In addition, many legal citizens have experienced unwelcome visits from the I.R.S. and other government agencies after returning their census forms.

We are ever mindful of the fact that most media and especially Black-

media is strongly pushing for full participation of Third World People in the census count. For the most part, Blacks who advocate full participation do it for good reason; Better representation of Blacks in the country's political systems and federal funds for poor communities, housing, schools, transportation and etc. These factors are all at least partly correct. The other part is that a number of those advocates have personal interests tied to the establishment political system and/or to the various federal programs that are established and funded based on census reports.

Whether We should participate or not would be a much easier question to answer if it were simply about a count. But it does not take 19 or 65 questions to get a count. It would perhaps be an easier decision to make if they really wanted to count us - but as we can see from the design and implementation of their programs their intentions are no different than when we were counted as three fifths of a person. It would perhaps be an easier decision to make if census files were really secret, but they are not. It would be an easier decision to make if we could see some positive material relationship between federally funded programs and the health, safety, welfare, housing and education of our people. Again, there is none, our conditions in this society have consistently grown worse as our numbers have increased. Our rate of unemployment is at its highest, education in public schools is at its lowest; our housing comprises the majority of the absolute worst; our income is the lowest; humane and quality health care is an illusion; our infant mortality rate has actually risen in some areas. IN SHORT IT IS CLEAR THAT We are still poor, hungry and powerless in America. Our share of the pie is still the crumbs off the floor. So here we remain "caught between a rock and a hard place". The laws that govern this country on the one-hand and the political realities on the other-hand, damned if we do, damned if we don't.

BLACKS' DESTINY IN OWN HANDS...



Malcolm X

Sister Ibadun Sundiatta a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika, and a member of the New York Branch of the New Afrikan Womens Organization (NAWO) spoke about NAWO, an organization comprised of revolutionary nationalist women who have adopted the motto "Liberation Thru Participation". NAWO is dedicated to the struggle of Black people in the United States for their right to land, independence, and self determination. Sister Ibadun talked about the need for revolutionary nationalist women to organize around the issues that are pertinent to our national liberation, pointing out the fact that historically when ever women have taken an active role in their national liberation struggles, those struggles have taken a qualitative leap forward. She ended her presentation by reconfirming NAWO's dedication to keeping

Assata Shakur free, and the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation.

The major address of the evening was given by Etherero Akinshgun, Vice President of the National Territory of the Republic of New Afrika. His primary topic was the Malcolm X Doctrine, within which he discussed the right of the colonized New Afrikan Nation, to reparations, and a plebiscite (a freedom vote) to determine their own destiny. Brother Akinshgun in his elaboration of the Malcolm X Doctrine stressed that this document inconjunction with the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence, and the New Afrikan Creed are the foundations of the New Afrikan Political Science.

As he continuously hammered home the deplorable life of Black People under an oppressive United States Government he urged New Afrikans to return to the national territory and struggle to FREE THE LAND!

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