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UJAMAA FOR LAND AND POWER

by YUSUFU SONEBEYATTA (Joseph F. Brooks)

MOST IDEOLOGIES or value systems¹ that have dealt with changing the circumstances of the black man in America, in whole or in part, have been essentially, among other things, about:

1—Garveyism, or mass exodus from the North American continent;

2—The Civil Rights movement, or integration of the black man into all of American white dominated and controlled institutions;

3—The Nation of Islam, manifested in doing for self and nationbuilding, but without specifics as to where that land base for the nation is and dependent on divine intervention;

4—The Black Panther Party, which started as a black nationalist movement and later developed into internationalism and is now dialectically determined by the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, to be "Intercommunalism";

5—Community control of the inner city, with the suggestion that a self-sustaining political-economic base can result for Africans in America.

These five general examples are only illustrative and not inclusive; there have

been many combinations of those examples named. All five general divisions as ideologies or value systems emerged as solutions for changing the circumstances of the black man and have failed to win mass support or to answer the general problem of mass political-economic powerlessness and social instability of black folks.

This is not an essay on the general divisions of black ideologies or value systems development, named above. The author presumes that the reader has knowledge of these five divisions and suggests that the ideology of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), which will be discussed, is a result of all five.

WHAT ARE THE goals and strategy to achieve land and power by the Republic of New Africa?

In 1968, Imari Abubakari Obadele, I (S. N. Richard Henry), then Minister of Information and now President of the RNA set forth those theoretical considerations necessary for a successful revolution in America. In his book *War in America*, Brother Imari theorizes how the black man can win a war in America and go on to establish a sovereign black nation on this continent, taking

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1. The designation of ideology is its reference to its two distinct parts: 1) goal culture, or the alternative view of society transformed and 2) transfer culture, or how the revolution will transform the society to that goal culture. Value system(s) lack one or both of these directions. Also see: Johnson, Chalmers, *Revolutionary Change*, Little, Brown and Company, 1966.

in what is now Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. The strategy to achieve this calls for:

1—*A holding action in the North*, with armed black communities, sympathetic to the Republic of New Africa, and supporting the Republic with money, skills, information, political pressure, and people;

2—*A major drive to win black control* in Mississippi, where a near-majority of black people live, based on the principle of winning the consent of the people; convincing black people to take their consent from the government of the United States and give that consent to the government of the Republic of New Africa; this is concurrent with similar drives for black control in Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina;

3—*A vigorous military campaign*, based on defense of property in the South purchased by the Republic of New Africa and defense of land over which the Republic claims sovereignty by reason of black people a) having lived traditionally on the land and worked it, b) having fought for the land and clung to it, and c) having taken their consent from the United States and given it to the Republic of New Africa;

4—*The pursuit in the United Nations* of the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of New Africa and the right of black people to reparations, including not only money, machinery, factories, and laboratories, but land from the United States government;

5—*The cultivation of support* for the Republic among the Afro-Asians; the achieving of diplomatic recognition from these nations; the seeking of alliances with the Afro-Asians, including the nuclear-armed Chinese, to discourage U.S. federal power from reckless attacks on the Republic;

6—*The use of state power* in the Republic to purify and improve education to end discrimination and unemployment; to start and run industries;

7—*The creation of economic unions and a common market* between the Republic and the black Caribbean nations, with Africa, Asia and South America;

8—*The development of economic alliances* and stronger political aggregates, starting first, perhaps, with a federation linking the black state on the continental U.S. with the black-controlled nations of the West Indies and Guyana.²

THE STRATEGY IS energetic and rational as it has been a key in recruiting and organizing thousands of New Africans (citizens of record of the RNA) in both the national territory (the five states of the Southeast) and in the foreign territory outside the South represented by several highly organized consulates in major urban U.S. centers. Concurrent with the enumerated strategy outlined above, there will be strategically planned plebiscites in any given area of the national territory, or outside for that matter,³ when consent of the people of the RNA's objectives are known. Plebiscites could be held in various ways under the supervision of several combinations, and certainly, if the proper momentum is achieved, by the United Nations. Central to the idea of plebiscite as envisioned by the RNA is the theory of expanding sovereignty where the consent of the people is systematically won, covering an ever-widening geographical area. These victories by the people as represented through their government, the Republic of New Africa, will be secured, in part, by the suc-

2. Brother Imari, *War In America, the Malcolm X Doctrine*, Detroit, Mich.: The Malcolm X Society, 1967, pp. 62-64.

3. See: "Oceanhill-Brownsville Project, New York, 1968," *Revolution and Nation Building*, Detroit: The House of Songhay Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 35-38.

cessful demonstration of nation-building. This goal is conceived in the development of Ujaama production service units for the near future in Hinds and LeFlore Counties, Mississippi.

Functionally, what are RNA Ujaama production service units, and how will society be organized in the Republic of New Africa? The aims of the revolution embodied in the Declaration of Independence begins to spell out these considerations. It reads in part:

- To build a new society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it;
- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service . . . ;
- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of God and/or destiny, place and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance;
- To build a black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the new society, the new state government, or the achievement of the aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
- To end exploitation of man by man or his environment;
- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;
- To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing solubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the society;
- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual and his natural rights;
- To assure justice for all;
- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to society and all its members;
- To encourage and reward the individual for hard work, initiative, insight and devotion to the Revolution.⁴

UJAAAMA, OR FAMILYHOOD, makes clear the necessity for collective hard work and responsibility for the benefit of all the people. This is just as the reorganization of Tanzanian society has shown, since 1967 when the Arusha Declaration, the government's policy on socialism and self-reliance, was enacted. New African Ujaama is the economic determinant of the Republic of New Africa.

New African Ujaama charges the government, as per the aims of the revolution to "place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state" The preamble of New African Ujaama assumes that charge and indicates the purpose of that trust placed in the state, the Republic of New Africa. It reads: "The fundamental objectives of our national economic activity are: 1) to provide for every individual in the society five essentials of decent human life: food, housing, clothing, health services, education, and a sixth essential — defense; 2) to provide for the nation as a whole a sufficient surplus wealth to achieve our world freedom commitment and, afterwards, the full blown pursuit of exploration, research, and inquiry."

Certainly the provision for adequate food, housing, clothing, health services, education and defense for black people in America has not been the case, except for the very small black middle class. Further, these services have been provided for the black masses in unequal and inconsistent fashion; they have been dispensed by white dominated and controlled institutions as to degrade and humiliate black people.

The policy of the government of the Republic of New Africa is to organize production in such a way as to make available to every person in the society, the above named essentials of life. This, of course, assumes central planning, which by its nature presumes a certain continuity of authority to get a job done. Continuity will be maintained, for the Republic of New

4. See: *Basic Official Document, The Republic of New Africa.*

Africa understands the diversity, both politically and economically, that it must face as it strives for even political-economic development. That diversity is recognized in the preamble, and reads: "Each community will strive for self-sufficiency in economic production, but will concentrate on those products and services which, because of nature and other factors, it can produce more efficiently than others. To the extent that transitional circumstances will allow, New Africans, wherever, are conscious of the benefits of cooperative economics and practices."

ESSENTIALLY THE Republic of New Africa will be competing with the United States to win the support (consent) of black people away from white institutional dependence that has been developing over the last twelve generations. The task of the Republic, then, as I envision it during the active phase of the revolution, is to develop *RNA people institutions* that meet as efficiently as possible the food, clothing, shelter, health, education and defense needs of all New Africans, both actual and potential. It is a massive survival system of economic cooperation that we must plan and implement to demonstrate first of all, to the indigenous black population of the national territory and secondly, to those blacks outside the South, the potential and necessity for land and power on this continent in our time.

We can return later to the significance of Ujaama production service units and people institutions, but let us now turn to a general discussion of the ability of the RNA to win the consent of black people in America for land and power.

White dominance of blacks is determined to the extent that black people do not understand or realize the white man's tactic of divide and conquer, or domestic neo-colonialism. In terms of winning the consent of black people from the United States to the RNA, the major concern is countering white propaganda — the benefit of white domination over blacks. This

propaganda, which is usually marketed by the black middle-class and other white liberals, serves only in the end to render the masses of blacks victims of more deprivations, and elevates a few blacks to illusionary middle-class security.

What are the objective conditions?

In the North, where black labor has migrated from the South because of agricultural displacement, the labor force is becoming as increasingly under-employed (lumpen) in the 1970's, as it was in 1945-1950 in the urban-rural South. Prospects of survival for the African in America are lessening as the era of capital intensive production and technocracies is here to stay.

What must the present and future displaced black labor force be told or offered to win its consent for the Republic of New Africa and prepare for an exodus back to the South? An educationally organized approach about black labor's circumstances in the North with prospects for their future in the U.S. economy presented by the Republic of New Africa, would certainly present a convincing argument for black separation and independence on grounds of mere survival.

First of all, the thirty-five to forty billion dollars annually that blacks represent as a market is not reflective of black economic security. For example, as reported in the 1962 Statistical Abstracts of the United States,⁵ of the 7,134,000 blacks living in urban areas, 6,429,000 earned less than 5,000 dollars a year, 3/5 of which earned less than 3,000 dollars per year.

The picture with regard to black labor is even more serious when the nature of capitalist production is demanding more highly skilled labor. For at the same time, educational opportunities to provide skilled training for blacks, either cannot keep pace with this demand or is lacking altogether. This trend of intensive capital production has, therefore, shifted black labor from

5. U.S. Government, *U.S. Statistical Abstracts*, (1962).

manufacturing and other related industries into the service sector where labor rates have traditionally been very low. With the increased supply of black labor in this sector, including a high proportion of women, labor rates can only be expected to fall further. At the same time, unemployment in other sections is generally increasing for blacks.

Prospects for black labor are meager. An increasing number of blacks either face the military as unskilled laborers (where black soldier casualties are reported at 22% and blacks are only 10% of the country's population), the welfare dole, or incarceration when no alternatives for subsistence exist. Welfare rolls have increased in 1962 from 3,828,000 recipients to 4,495,000 in 1965 and to 8,300,000 in 1970. If public assistance is any reflection of non-job opportunities for blacks, who are a consistent high percentage of the recipients by logical extension, given the present rate of black technological displacement, all blacks, excluding perhaps professionals, can expect to be formally restricted wards of the state in the not too distant future.

LET US NOW turn for a moment to the prospects of winning the consent of the black man within the national territory from the United States to the Republic of New Africa.

Marvin Griffin, a white man who served in 1968 as George Wallace's temporary vice-presidential running mate, was reported to have remarked about the southern black man's potential to be won over by the Republic of New Africa as follows: "The Negro down here who is in farming or in business, he ain't getting any help from his Negro neighbors who aren't working. He gets all his help from his white neighbors and from the U.S.A. Most of it comes from his neighbors who are white. I don't think he would be willing to trade off what he's got now."⁶

THERE WAS A similar remark made on the same question by James Martin, reported to be the most powerful Republican in Alabama. According to Martin, "Negroes draw strength from the white community. Negroes do better when they are dispersed than they do when they are concentrated, economically and socially too, because when they are together they get frustrated from their own failures. I'm in the oil business and I just got through setting up a Negro in a service station. He is energetic and all that, but he needed our guidance. On his own, I'm doubtful that he could have done it."⁷

Setting aside the slave master mentality of the two white southerners quoted above and taking into account that a great number of southern blacks are involved in semi and unskilled labor in southern urban centers similar to that of the North, or working as tenant or lowly paid farm workers or sharecroppers, the winning of their consent from the United States to the Republic of New Africa can be determined. An essential part of winning their consent rests with the ability of Ujaama production service units and people institutions of the Republic of New Africa, isolated throughout the South, to first of all subsidize those blacks heretofore dependent upon the white aid indicated by Griffin and Martin quoted above, and secondly, to absorb as priorities into the Ujaama production service units and their ancillary people institutions, those blacks subsisting in the agricultural sector. This can be accomplished by the Ujaama production service units with the right combination of an agricultural-light industry economic base, planned strategically to stabilize the southern, urban-rural black population and to attract additional northern blacks as measured capacity dictates. The financing and skills for such a scheme could come from citizens and non-citizens of the Republic of New Africa located in the North, as well

6. Robert Sherrill, "Birth of a (Black) Nation", *Esquire Magazine*, January, 1969, pp. 143-144.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

as the South. We are talking about a massive development plan to win land, power and political independence.

LEGAL QUESTIONS regarding the African in America is another arena for winning consent. Citizens of the Republic of New Africa do not regard themselves as citizens of the United States by virtue of the fact that black people are a kidnapped people held against their will in the U.S. The RNA takes the position that the type of freedom given the black man without his consent, i.e. the Emancipation Proclamation and the alleged Fourteenth Amendment, are void because black people could not vote and were powerless on these matters. Further, under international law a people so released from slavery as the Emancipation Proclamation claimed, should have had several choices, none of which were given to the black man:

First, to be allowed to return to his homeland, Africa.

Second, to be allowed to choose (before the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment that blacks did not vote for) to be a citizen of the United States.

Third, the right to establish a separate nation.

Fourth, the right to migrate to any other sovereign nation.

For these reasons the RNA demands reparations for this due process under the law never given us, and also for the free labor stolen from the person of all black people. Likewise, a plebiscite to determine the citizenship options for a kidnapped people under international law has high priority for the Republic of New Africa and rests on a solid foundation to further win the consent of black people from the United States to the RNA.

In the context of general economic decline and a war being fought in Indo-China, the question of international alliance and aid for the Republic of New Africa to win its objective of an independent nation on this continent, in our time, can now be addressed.

Essentially, this is a highly speculative question and could only be determined by the ability of the Republic of New Africa to sufficiently arouse the consciousness of the black man with regard to his political-economic powerlessness and non-citizenship status. Furthermore, the idea of political independence and how to achieve it through the "Ujaama production service units-expanding sovereignty" strategy must remain out front and deal with minimizing uncertainty and welding black unity (umojia) around RNA objectives. Only then would any military, political-economic, internationalist support in favor of the RNA come forward. That is, if discipline and unity within the RNA exist as the conflict of the Republic intensifies towards exercising sovereignty over its national territory (acting like a government), then meets the United States rejecting that sovereignty, a stand-off may occur of sufficient magnitude to accelerate the RNA struggle to the international level. Accomplishing this would simply mean that the RNA would be capable of controlling a given land mass through a network of people institutions sharing work and responsibility.

THE FIVE STATES of Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina where black people are dispersed in near majorities, suggests the idea of successful guerrilla warfare being waged. There are also the potential northern guerrillas who were trained in several uprisings during the 1960's, many of whom have recently migrated from the South. Further, there is the trained black soldier whose reaction would be undeterminable given the reckless use of force against the Republic of New Africa by the United States. Circumstances such as these raise the question: Can the United States afford a "war in America"? I think not. The Republic of New Africa will, therefore, pursue its revolutionary aim with the consent of black people to seek land and power on this continent in our time.

What implications are there for the ideology of the Republic of New Africa with regards to social change theory?

THERE ARE several arguments energetically put forth suggesting how individuals, indeed groups, resist change for varying reasons. A synthesis of several arguments could read: Assume that, in order to survive in their environment, people depend upon patterns of relationships which are more or less stable and predictable. If we did not know how others would react to our behavior, or what response their behavior expected from us, we would be helpless and confused. The pattern of a person's relationships defines who he is (his social identity) both for himself and others, and the disintegration of that identity is threatening. Social change implies disruption in patterns of relationships, and if it is far-reaching enough, begins to threaten this sense of identity. Thus, there is a powerful conservative impulse in all of us, which resists change — even when we may also be voluntarily seeking change.

The desire to conserve and protect our present relationships (which have a reassuring familiarity, even if they do not satisfy us) conflicts with the desire to construct a new pattern of relationships better adapted to our situation (which can only come about through a process of disruption). The process of transition is likely to involve much ambivalence. A sense of loss and helplessness may give rise to apathy, hostility, guilt, attempts at withdrawal, rigidity, and ritualistic behavior. The outcome of any process of change is likely to depend as much on the way people cope with the process of change, the way the process is structured, as upon the ends sought.

One way to speculate on the above proposition on resistance to change, as applied to the Republic of New Africa, would be to assume varying degrees of responses among blacks according to age, religion, socio-economic level and class aspirations,

sex and time in place of residence. These several categories could individually, or in combination, be examined according to the proposition. Let us deal briefly with a surface analysis of the possible responses of these so-defined categories.

The new black middle-class both in the North and the South that has acquired its status as a result of the expanding opportunities of the welfare state since the New Deal of the 1930's and the Full-Employment Act of 1946, is few in number as a percentage of the total black population but predictable in terms of the change the Republic of New Africa suggests. Integration of as many white social, political and economic institutions as possible typifies the goal of this class. Whether or not "true" integration is taking place (for it is what you believe), this class so intensely aspires to be white that the prospects of a black independent nation for them will probably be totally rejected. In fact, the rejection could take on the character of hostility, rigidity or even suicide of the anomic variety. This assumed response of the black middle-class is not confined solely to middle-aged blacks, but also to those blacks in the 25-40 year age bracket who have degrees and are reaping benefits of recent anti-poverty, model cities, and other related programs.

ON THE OTHER hand, we have those blacks who are a majority at the other end of the socio-economic scale. They are the millions of blacks who are unskilled, on welfare or rotating from one form of public assistance to another. There would be a disruption of the pattern of relationships this class has developed, which is essentially dependent upon a system beyond their control; and therefore, responses as to joining a black nation would vary. At one extreme, we may find among all ages, total rejection of such an idea that may even manifest itself in withdrawal, apathy, or a rejection of nationality (race). The other could be seen as accepting in whole or part the possibilities of a black nation.

With regard to age, the younger blacks (excluding those previously defined as middle-class aspirants) could be seen as most receptive to RNA objectives. There would be little to lose given the "miseducation process" and non-job opportunities of this group. The older blacks, however, would generally be conservative and unwilling to chance the success of a black nation, even if its feasibility were understood by them.

Generally, black women would be more resistant to the change proposed by the RNA than black men. This assumption rests on the fact that black women have traditionally developed more relationships with established institutions as workers and recipients of welfare and, therefore, could be considered as more conservative.

Even as black church attendance is decreasing, the black church remains as the dominant and most viable institution in the black community. It is an institution that is both economic and political and controlled with a heavy hand by the black minister. The response of the black religious community would depend to a great extent upon how the minister perceived the proposed change. Undoubtedly, the change would be perceived with conservatism for it is very rare that the black minister will respond to change positively if it threatens his captive congregation which is "his" source of political-economic power.

The longer a person or community has been settled at a given residence or geo-

graphical area, the less receptive that person or community would be to RNA relocation objectives. It is the young, recent migrant from the South who has recently located in northern urban centers who would be most receptive to the RNA objectives. For it is to this young black, who has come away from poverty in the South since the 1950's only to experience it again in the North, that the idea of a black nation would be most appealing.

WITH THESE CATEGORIES crudely defined, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of culture as an overriding factor in the preceding analysis.

The cry for black power that emerged in the 1960's and was manifested by "black is beautiful," "buy black," "black ownership," and "cultural nationalism," is a cultural expression of a people gone denied. Currently black culture is commercialized by white capitalism. However, to underestimate the potential of a cultural revival, which is only a beginning of a people knowing who they are or all that they can be, would be to deny history. Therefore, the revival of black culture as observed by this author, should prove through protracted struggle, to be sufficient as a transitional bridge that would serve to minimize uncertainty, maintain the identity of African people in America and render us less conservative to the notion of land and power. *FREE THE LAND!*