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Subjugated Territory: The New Afrikan Independence Movement and the Space of Black Power

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SUBJUGATED TERRITORY:
THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT
AND THE SPACE OF BLACK POWER

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
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And I will give this people favor in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty:[1]

Exodus 3:21

The Holy Bible,
King James Version

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[1] This passage comes from the Biblical story of the Israelites' exodus from slavery in Egypt to their Promised Land. Black cultures have adopted the story as a metaphor for the black freedom struggle in places where African-descended peoples trace their history of settlement to trans-Atlantic slavery. The passage is also a prophetic symbol of black nationalism's apocalyptic tradition in the United States.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABB	African Blood Brotherhood
ADNIP	African Nationalist Partition Party of North America
ANPP	African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party
APP	African People's Party
APPC	African People's Party Cadre
BLA	Black Liberation Army
BPP	Black Panther Party
COFO	Council of Federated Organizations
COINTELPRO	Counterintelligence Program
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPUSA	Communist Party of the United States of America
CRC	Combahee River Collective
DPD	Detroit Police Department
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GOAL	Group on Advanced Leadership
IATU	International All-Trades Union of the World
JCVB	Jackson Convention and Visitor's Bureau
LRBW	League of Revolutionary Black Workers
MFDP	Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
MSSC	Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission
MXGM	Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NALF	New Afrikan Liberation Front
NAPC	New Afrikan People's Court
NAPO	New Afrikan People's Organization
NASF	New Afrikan Security Force
NBFO	National Black Feminist Organization
N'COBRA	National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations
NOI	Nation of Islam
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OAAU	Organization of Afro-American Unity
PCC	People's Center Council
PG-AACN	Provisional Government of the African American Nation
PG-RNA	Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika
PRLC	People's Revolutionary Leadership Council
RAM	Revolutionary Action Movement
RCCD	Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders
RNA	Republic of New Afrika
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
TRFW	Testimony of Robert F. Williams
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League
USCB	United States Census Bureau
USCCR	United States Civil Rights Commission

USDIHRS   United States Department of the Interior Heritage and Recreation Service

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I study the black revolutionary nationalist geography of the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) and the anti-racist space of Black Power. I adapt social theorist Henri Lefebvre's concept of representational space to show how New Afrikan revolutionary nationalism intersects with space, place, and scalar politics in a representational space of black radicalism that confounds dominant notions of race, cultural identity, and national belonging in the United States. NAIM originated in 1968 when several-hundred black nationalist delegates met at the National Black Government conference in Detroit to create the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. New Afrikan nationalism proclaims its main goal to be the achievement of black liberation through the establishment of a black-majority nation-state in the Deep South. NAIM also represents a trend of Black Power distinguished by geographical thought and spatial practices rooted in long-held ideas of black territorial independence in America and the scalar politics of pan-African internationalism. New Afrikan nationalists built their representational space of black radicalism to include a material dimension comprised of physical mobilization sites that extend from the racially segregated urban space of inner city black neighborhoods to the boundless global networks of transnational social movements. Nationalists also used discursive place-making practices to create an imagined geography of black liberation that they articulated in organizational literature, public speeches, media appearances, and alternative map-making. I ground my research theoretically in constructionist concepts of space, place, scale, race, and nation, and borrow ideas from social movement theory, feminist theory, political economy, and Black Power studies scholarship. I combine hybrid research and analytical methodologies that include ethnographic fieldwork approaches, place-frame discourse analysis, semiotics, and geographic information systems. I

conducted much of my fieldwork in the vicinity of Jackson, Mississippi, a central place in

NAIM's struggle since the late 1960s. My ethnographic methodology triangulates interviewing,

participant observation, and archival research to learn about NAIM's geography from activist

histories, public events, and historical documents. As the first geographic study of New Afrikan

nationalism, my work adds an original cultural and historical study of African American space to

the canon of geographical research.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Project Description and Research Question

In this research, I study the geography of the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM), which emerged as a political response to racial oppression in the United States.[2] I first learned of NAIM in 2008 while reading George A. Davis's and O. Fred Donaldson's *Blacks in the United States: A Geographical Perspective* (1976). The book includes a short passage that briefly mentions the Republic of New Afrika in a wider discussion on alternative African American-led proposals for equitable socio-economic development (Davis and Donaldson 1975: 242). As a student of social movements and their historical geographical efforts to reshape the human landscapes of capitalist societies, I became intrigued with NAIM's daring call to battle racial inequality in America by creating an independent black nation-state on U.S. soil. Considering the brutal history of racial violence in the United States, I asked myself what late-twentieth century political geographical endeavor could be more difficult and fraught with obstacles than NAIM's nationalist struggle for black liberation. As a geographer, I wanted to see what America's racialized landscape looked like from the viewpoint of NAIM's radical space of Black Power. Furthermore, I wanted to learn about Black Power and black nationalist politics in the Deep South, a region where African American activists launched the Civil Rights movement and fought back the ruthless surge of white reaction that opposed them.

NAIM is a revolutionary territorial nationalist movement struggling for black self-determination and the establishment of a sovereign socialist nation-state in the American Deep South. Its call for national independence originated in the interrelated contexts of the Civil

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[2] The term "New Afrikan" came into common use around 1976 when NAIM activists adopted it to replace the original term "New African." Although it indicates a form of language-based cultural politics, New Afrikan nationalist theorist Imari Obadele explains that "the 'k' is used in the spelling of Afrika, instead of the 'c,' simply because some scholars believe that this is more faithful to a distinction between a 'Soft' C and 'Hard' C. The use has no other significance" (Obadele, 1998: iv).

Rights and Black Power movements in the United States and national liberation struggles in colonized areas of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. New Afrikan nationalists or "conscious citizens of the Republic of New Afrika" as they call themselves, base their national identity upon the political, cultural, and biological consequences of racial oppression that shaped the black population as descendants of African captives sold in the United States during the years of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Raising the banner of Black Power and the politics of black nationalism in the 1960s, NAIM aspired to create a "New Society" by liberating the Republic of New Afrika, a proclaimed black-majority country with a "subjugated national territory" encompassing the five southern Black Belt states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Early leaders in the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA) forwarded a national liberation strategy that included holding a black plebiscite in accordance with international law, and pressuring the U.S. government to award African Americans money and land as reparations for slavery.

Despite being largely absent in the historiography of the United States, it is nevertheless a fact that a varying segment of African American society has supported black territorial nationalism as a viable political orientation since the early twentieth century. As a recent expression of this orientation, NAIM's struggle stands among many other African American attempts to solve the problems of racial inequality that have shaped the course of American history. Furthermore, and what is particularly significant to geography, is that New Afrikan nationalists positioned space, place, and scalar politics at the forefront of their theory and practice perhaps unlike any other political tendencies in the history of black struggle. This emphasis on geographical processes is what attracted me to NAIM. My study focuses on a period of NAIM's struggle from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s when the momentum of the

Civil Rights and Black Power movements subsided before the arrival of refortified conservatism in the 1980s. This historical period saw NAIM's geographical imagination germinate into a wide array of spatial practices such as building physical spaces of mobilization, discursive place-making and alternative mapping, and forging a scalar politics that elevated the movement's spaces of engagement from black urban ghettoes of northern and southern cities in the United States to the global struggles against imperialism and colonialism in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

In this study, I ask how space, place, and scalar politics intersected with NAIM's struggle for Black Power and an independent black-majority nation-state. Geography influences the shape of social movements because the particular places where activists form ideas and organize mobilizations change in terms of their cultural, political, and economic characteristics. By studying NAIM from a geographical standpoint, my study provides insights into how spatial differences in the conditions of African American everyday social reproduction, social and political culture, demographics, political networks, and mobilization resources influenced black social movements. Such features distinguish places from each other and shape social movements in unique ways, including their material and discursive constructions of place. Black Power ideologies and political practices are place-based responses that involve constructing alternative spaces of social reproduction, as New Afrikan nationalists demonstrated in their revolutionary struggle for an independent country. Black nationalism's geographical thought and spatial practices are important for understanding how everyday place-based experiences influenced black radical conceptions of race, social justice, equality, and belonging in the United States. They underlie creation of material spaces of mobilization and the imagined geographies of idyllic utopian futures. NAIM's struggle to liberate the Republic of New Afrika and build its

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thriving New Society demonstrates the interconnectivity between material and imagined spaces, and as geographer James Tyner writes, represents a black revolutionary attempt to "remake American spaces" (Tyner 2006: 5). In the end, my research presents a uniquely original cultural and historical study of an African American social movement's attempt to overcome racial and national oppression by building an alternative black radical human geography in the United States. In answering my research question, I produce a work that contributes an examination of African American people and places that the corpus of geographical research literature sorely lacks.

To help answer my research question, I build on an interdisciplinary literature of critical human geography and African American studies that has recently demonstrated the importance of considering space, place, and scale in the study of African American social movements. I employ a conceptual framework that combines French social theorist Henri Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space with social constructionist notions of space, place, and scalar politics. Lefebvre's conceptual triad of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces provides a way to apprehend the unfolding of NAIM's geography as the construction of a representational space of black radicalism. NAIM's representational space of black radicalism includes a geographical imagination and spatial practices driven by a deep yearning for freedom, justice, equality, and the creation and control of space long denied in the everyday social reproduction of black America. Social constructionist notions of space, place, and scalar politics allow the geographical processes that these notions represent, to be viewed as embedded in the competition among social groups over producing space according to particular interests, beliefs, and desires shaped by class, race, gender, age, religion, and ethnicity. To collect data that would help me to better understand such processes, I designed a hybrid research

methodology that triangulates interviews, participant observation, and archival research. To analyze the data gathered during my fieldwork, I employ a methodology that includes political economy, historical geographical analysis, discourse analysis that interconnects with social movement theory and semiology, and geographic information systems.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 discusses the study's theoretical underpinnings and presents a review of geographical research literature in which I directly situate my study. The review begins with an examination of Henri Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space, which serves as the main theoretical approach supporting this study (Lefebvre 1991: 11, 26, 36-37, 65). Lefebvre's theory is central to the ways in which I use the concepts of space, place, and scale. A key feature of Lefebvre's theory is the interpretation of social space through a conceptual triad of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39). Reviewed next is how geographers introduced and adapted Lefebvre's theories beginning in the early 1970s, with particular attention to how his theories influenced relational constructionist notions of space, place, and scale (Harvey 1973: 14, 302-303; MacKinnon 2010: 23; Marston 2000: 220, 2004: 173-174; Massey 1994: 253-254; Merrifield 1993a: 106, 1993b: 525; Smith 2008: 227; Soja 1980: 207-211, 224; Wainwright and Barnes 2009: 970). Such notions help apprehend the formation of politics of place and scalar politics, which I give significant attention to in this research.

After considering Lefebvre's importance to this work, the chapter moves to a review of geographic research about social movements. Discussed are the main strands of social movement theory and the ways in which geographers have improved them by pointing out the relationship between contentious politics and space, place, and scale (Leitner et al. 2008: 159;

Martin 2003: 730; Martin and Miller 2003: 144; Miller 2000: 5, 37; Routledge 1993: 21, 33). The last segment of this review looks at research into the representational spaces of black radicalism (Heynen 2009a, 2009b; McCann 2000; Tyner 2003, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Tyner and Kruse 2004; Wilson 2000). Such research adds a critical race theory approach to an epistemological framework that combines constructionist notions of space, place, and scalar politics. My study of NAIM is immediately situated in and positioned to contribute to such research.

Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive discussion on the research and analytical methodologies I use in this study. It begins by focusing on the research design and details of qualitative methods I used during fieldwork conducted from 2009 to 2012. These methods included semi-structured interviews, archival research, and participant observation (Baxter 2010: 81; Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2002: 199). Political and ethical concerns of fieldwork and participant observation are addressed using feminist considerations of situated knowledge production, reflexivity, positionality, betweenness, and the social construction of "the field" (Abbott 2006: 326; Crang 2002: 647, 2003: 494, 2005: 225; DeLyser and Karolczyk 2010: 470-472; Driver 2000: 267-268; England 1994: 80; Haraway 1988: 575, 578, 581; Herbert 2000: 550, 563; Hyndman 2001: 263; Katz 1994: 67; Kobayashi 1994: 73; McDowell 1992: 399, 409; Rose 1997: 305-306; Sidaway 2000: 260; Sundberg 2003: 180-182; Till 2001: 47). This is followed by an explanation of the qualitative analytical methodologies of discourse analysis advanced by cultural geographers (Hannam 2002: 194; Jackson 1989: 167; Painter 1995: 136, 145; Waitt 2010: 218, 234). Elucidated are the theoretical aspects and practical techniques of collective action place-frame discourse analysis and visual semiotic approaches to analyzing the alternative map-making practices of social movements such as NAIM (Martin 2003: 733; Wood 1992: 35,

101-110). Considered last is the reflexive use of GIS for quantitative spatial analysis and as a component of qualitative research and analysis.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion of definitions, concepts, theories, and research approaches regarding nation, race, black nationalism, and Black Power. The chapter builds this conceptual foundation to improve understanding NAIM's formation and political goals in mid-twentieth century America, a period widely remembered for the major protest actions of the Civil Rights, anti-Vietnam War, and counterculture movements. The chapter examines major paradigms and interpretations of nation and nationalism, the links between race and state power, major orientations of black nationalism and patterns of their scholarly interpretation (Anderson 1991: 3; Balibar 1996: 135, 138-139; Blaut 1987: 13; Bracey et al. 1970: xxvi-xxix; Conversi 2006: 15-21; Goldberg 1993: 30, 2002: 195; Herb 1999: 14-16; Moses 1996: 4-5; Ogbar 2004: 3; Robinson 2001: 52, 56, 67-69; Smith 1989: 341, 1998: 223-224; Spencer and Wollman 2002: 27-49; Umoja 2005: 529; Van Deburg 1997: 4). Outlined are the historical antecedents and contemporary context of Black Power-era nationalism. Considered are the intellectual contributions of Black Power Studies scholarship and the necessity of paying attention to nuances of history and geography (Cha-Jua and Lang 2007: 265-266, 281; Joseph 2001: 2-11, 14; Theoharis and Woodard 2005: 12-13).

Chapter 5 discusses existing academic research on NAIM, accentuating works that are sensitive to space and place. While not products of geographic research, these works nevertheless emphasize and urge the need for place-centered approaches. Some of these works move towards coinciding with the notion that the discursive and material construction of space, place, and scalar politics of black revolutionary nationalism constitute a representational space of black radicalism (Cunnigen 1999: 87; Davenport 2005: 137; Kelley 2002: 125). The chapter also

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provides a comprehensive, original discussion on the historical evolution of black territorial nationalism in the United States through an examination of NAIM's twentieth century antecedents. NAIM's antecedents include the African Blood Brotherhood, the Communist Party of the United States of America, the National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State, the Nation of Islam, the African Nationalist Partition Party of North America, the African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party, the Provisional Government of the African American Captive Nation, and the Revolutionary Action Movement (Briggs 1958: 2-3; Draper 1960: 322-326; Haywood 1948: 205; 1978: 127, 256-269; Kuykendall 2002: 20; Ogbar 2004: 8; Stanford 1986: 30). As the PG-RNA's predecessors, these antecedent groups developed prototypical ideas and strategies that resurfaced in NAIM's nation-building efforts in the 1960s and 1970s. Several of these groups connected through common members such as Queen Mother Moore and brothers Milton and Richard Henry, who later became NAIM's founders and early leaders. The chapter shows how these groups demonstrated an evolving continuity of ideas regarding black revolutionary nationalism, self-determination, and territorial separation in the United States.

Chapter 6 largely relies on primary source documents such as organizational books, newsletters, and correspondences, to provide insights into NAIM's structure, theories, strategies, values, programs, and actions during a period spanning much of the Black Power-era from the mid-1960s to early 1970s (Obadele 1968, 1975a, 1987; Sherrill 1969). This early period of NAIM's history flourished with creative political thought and activity that centered on the struggle to liberate the national territory of the Republic of New Afrika, the movement's proposed country. The Republic of New Afrika's materialization as a new country embedded within a world of nations would result from NAIM's successful efforts to pressure the United

States into ceding the southern states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina (Obadele 1968: 29-30, 54; Sherrill 1969: 72). New Afrikan nationalists considered the national territory's liberation as a major step towards the creation of a New Society, the black radical alternative to the Great Society that President Lyndon B. Johnson envisioned for America. The movement's leaders imagined the New Society as a black utopia unshackled from the racial oppression that had long crushed black America (Obadele 1968: 29). With self-determination and sovereignty as its goals, NAIM developed and promoted ideas and practices of black liberation unlike any other group in late-twentieth century America's political landscape.

Chapter 7 uses mainly primary source data such as PG-RNA organizational texts and police surveillance memos to show how NAIM constructed a material space of mobilization at the national scale across the United States and at the local scale in Detroit, Michigan. New Afrikan nationalists created these spaces by striving to meet the ideals set forth in the Malcolm X Doctrine, NAIM's central political thesis, and by forming and working in PG-RNA administrative regions, consulates, and government centers. The PG-RNA's Freedom Corps and Black Legion were also key New Afrikan institutions that extended the geographical scale of NAIM's mobilization space. Detroit has importance as the place where the PG-RNA originated and operated one of its most active and influential consulates. The Detroit consulate's founding, structure, and political practices show how PG-RNA workers constructed NAIM's mobilization space at the local scale in a large industrialized northern city. To better understand how NAIM's space unfolded within Detroit's black *de facto* segregated neighborhoods, the chapter discusses the historical formation and spatial patterns of socio-economic and political features comprising the city's racialized human landscape. These patterns and features originated in racial and ethnic tensions following rapid early and mid-twentieth century population increases in the city.

Driving this growth was an influx of job seekers lured by Detroit's attraction as America's manufacturing center. The chapter also situates the PG-RNA among other Black Power groups such as the Nation of Islam, Reverend Albert B. Cleage's Black Christian Nationalist Movement, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which together made Detroit a national source of black radical thought and action.

Chapter 8 moves away from the North to provide a comparative study of the construction of NAIM's physical space of mobilization in the South, where the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina comprised the subjugated national territory of the Republic of New Afrika. It examines the place-based locational factors that led the PG-RNA to shift the epicenter of the New Afrikan liberation struggle from Detroit to Jackson, Mississippi. NAIM's move to the South also featured important organizing stops in places such as New Orleans and the small rural towns of Bolton and Brownsville in Hinds County, Mississippi. The construction of NAIM's mobilization space in Mississippi demonstrated the movement's adherence to the Malcolm X Doctrine, which designated the state as the geographical starting point for the liberation of the Republic of New Afrika's national territory (Obadele 1968: 27, 30-31). Socio-economic and political processes that grew out of the city's history as the capital of Mississippi, a state known for its fierce resistance to racial equality, shaped the features of NAIM's mobilization space in Jackson. The New Afrikan movement in Jackson originated in 1969 with local organizers Carolyn Williams and Jomo Kenyatta (Henry J. Hatches, Jr.). In 1971, the PG-RNA established its national headquarters at 1148 Lewis Street in west Jackson. New Afrikan activists constructed a mobilization space in Jackson situated within an already existing space of mobilization that the Civil Rights and student anti-war movements created a few years earlier. However, the New Afrikan national liberation struggle soon found

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itself, and its space of mobilization, in the crosshairs of state and mass media attempts to destroy it (Lumumba 1973: 34- 42, 1981: 72-81; Obadele 1987). The press' sensationalistic stories about NAIM cultivated popular approval for state repression of the movement, which included turning PG-RNA meeting places and organizing centers into targets of police surveillance, infiltration, raids, and attacks. The chapter concludes by examining how these counteractions led to NAIM's near demise in the mid-1970s.

Chapter 9 demonstrates how the PG-RNA constructed NAIM's representational space of black radicalism through the discursive practices of collective action place-framing and alternative map-making (Larsen 2004: 30, 2008: 174; Martin 2003: 730-731, 736, 747). In terms of Lefebvre's theory of social space, New Afrikan nationalists used such practices to challenge the oppressive power of abstract and conceived space over the lived space of black America. The chapter presents two methods of discourse analysis to learn about these practices. The first is collective action place-frame analysis, which forwarded by geographer Deborah Martin, is a form of discourse analysis coupled with social movement theory. Its strength lies in its ability to show how place is implicated in the ways social movements such as NAIM motivate people to action, describe problems, and propose solutions. I apply place-frame analysis to an array of PG-RNA organizational texts that shaped New Afrikan discourse from the late 1960s to mid-1970s. NAIM's discourse is also situated in the broader discourse of Black Power that other black radical activists and groups produced during NAIM's formative years (Robinson 2001: 70).

The second method of learning about NAIM's place-making discourses uses a Barthean semiological approach to examine the PG-RNA's alternative map-making practices (Barthes 1964: 35; Wood 1992: 103, 116). The practice of alternative mapping is an important tool for marginalized groups and social movements in challenging abstract space (Parker 2006: 477;

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Peluso 1995: 385-386; Wood 1992: 44, 182-195). The PG-RNA followed the model of the

Black People's Topographical Research Center to produce a range of maps showing the

subjugated territories of the Republic of New Afrika. These are analyzed as semiological signs

comprised of signifiers, signifieds, and signification codes to show that maps are not a simple

means of showing reality, but are powerful forms of language that communicate ideas, claims,

and ideologically-driven visions of past, present, and future places (Barthes 1964: 42; Wood

1992: 19, 76, 103-104, 116, 134). Discussed is the relationship between place-naming and

place-making, and how maps of the New Afrikan national territory became symbols of Black

Power, New Afrikan nationalism, and a quest for freedom (Wood 1992: 118-121).

　　　Chapter 10 illustrates how NAIM's transnational scalar politics grew from the practice of

revolutionary pan-Africanist internationalism, a political strategy aimed towards uniting black

freedom struggles around the world. In advancing its goals of national liberation, NAIM

constructed a transnational scalar politics that has had a lasting impact on North American

society and the cultural and political dimensions of black nationalism and pan-Africanism. Set

in motion by renowned black nationalist leaders Malcolm X and Robert F. Williams, the

revolutionary internationalist approach found torchbearers in pioneering New Afrikan

nationalists Gaidi and Imari Obadele and other members of the PG-RNA. As discussed in

Chapter 2, NAIM's scalar politics demonstrated what geographers Neil Smith called "scale

jumping" and Kevin Cox termed "spaces of engagement" (Cox 1998: 1-3, 7, 15, 18; Smith 1996:

72-73, 2008: 232). As a social movement based in the United States, NAIM's scalar politics

"jumped" local, state, and national scale spaces of engagement by reaching for political support

in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In addition, by framing their struggle as part

of anti-colonial liberation struggles around the world, New Afrikan nationalists showed that

repression in the United States was not unique, and that although NAIM was a relatively small movement, it was not alone on a global scale. New Afrikans built a space of engagement consisting of global political alliances and networks by advancing the idea of the PG-RNA as a foreign government subjugated in the United States. This led NAIM to develop a transnational scalar politics that made common practice of adopting ideas and practices from several world regions. NAIM's transnational scalar politics focused on strengthening the movement's control over its "spaces of dependence" in those places where its material space of mobilization unfolded in the United States (Cox 1998: 2, 7). The chapter also shows how 1960s Black Power radicalism drove a creative transgression of hegemonic black identities, socio-political norms, and spatial boundaries in the United States to construct a distinct New Afrikan national movement and identity. Chapter 11 concludes the dissertation with a summary of key research findings.

CHAPTER 2
THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Lefebvre's Theory of Social Space

I guide my study using Henri Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space as he expounds it in *The Production of Space* (1991). Geographers have turned to Lefebvre's ideas and methods of inquiry since the early 1970s. His theory of the production of space has been foundational to the development of social constructionist notions of space, place, and scale, which I employ in this study. Lefebvre was born in 1901 in Hagetmau in the French Pyrenees. The First and Second World Wars, Russian Revolution, 1968 French uprisings, and years as a Parisian Marxist intellectual, shaped Lefebvre's life and ideas. In the 1920s, Lefebvre attended the Sorbonne, became interested in the surrealist art movement, and joined a group of young philosophers who engaged the ideas of Spinoza, Hegel, Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Marx. He belonged to the French Communist Party and joined the Resistance against Nazi occupation and the Vichy government. In 1958, the Communist Party expelled him for opposing its Stalinist orthodoxy. In subsequent decades, Lefebvre developed his ideas through study, writing, teaching, and political activism. Before his death in 1991, Lefebvre authored over 60 books that have influenced Marxism, structuralism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, and existentialism (Gottdeiner 1993; Harvey 1991; Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996).

First published in 1974, and translated from French to English in 1991, *The Production of Space* is the last of seven books that Lefebvre began writing in 1968 that explore themes of urbanization and production of space. Lefebvre wrote the book to elevate space in critical social theory and radical political practice. The book is historical, philosophical, and complicated in writing style, content, and reasoning. It includes ruminations on philosophy, history, geography, politics, art, literature, semiotics, architecture, urban planning, the state, and everyday life

(Gottdeiner 1993; Harvey 1991; Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996). Lefebvre worked to articulate a "unitary theory" of social space that shifted importance "from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*" (Lefebvre 1991: 11, 37). His theory of the production of space holds that "(social) space is a (social) product" and "knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production" (Lefebvre 1991: 26, 36). Lefebvre demonstrates that "every society . . . produces a space of its own," by examining the Western social construction of absolute space and its "strictly symbolic existence" and social reality (Lefebvre 1991: 31, 236, 251).

As a Marxist humanist, Lefebvre views social space from the vantage point of class-structured society of global capitalism. He sees class struggle inscribed in space and recognizes that certain ontologies of space serve bourgeois class hegemony (Lefebvre 1991: 10-11). His theory of social space shows dialectically how certain social constructs of space, such as absolute space, undergird the social production of space (Lefebvre 1990: 11). Lefebvre's theory also intends to inform a political project whereby a new spatial politics can emerge to reappropriate space from the dominant mental and physical space perspectives that maintain power inequalities within the capitalist system. While elaborating on the political aspects of his theory, Lefebvre writes, "By seeking to point the way towards a different space, towards a space of a different (social) life and of a different mode of production, this project straddles the breach between science and utopia, reality and ideality, conceived and lived" (Lefebvre 1991: 60). Lefebvre understands that social change means changing space, and that such a project requires thinking about space as a social construct (Lefebvre 1991: 59).

A key entry point into Lefebvre's theory is his discussion on how the social production of space is hidden from everyday plain sight (Lefebvre 1991: 65). For Lefebvre, this concealment

is produced by what he calls the double illusion of transparency and opacity. In the illusion of transparency "space appears as luminous, as intelligible, as giving action to free reign" (Lefebvre 1991: 27). The illusion of transparency is located within the realm of mental space, philosophical idealism, and abstract representation. This was the space of philosophers and theorists whose conscious and unconscious adherence to Cartesian and Kantian ontologies of absolute space separated space from society. The illusion of opaqueness, or realistic illusion, falls within the realm of physical space and appeals "to naturalness, to substantiality . . . [where] 'things' have more of an existence than the 'subject,' his thought and his desires" (Lefebvre 1991: 29). This materialist view of space preoccupies itself with superficial appearances and collections of quantitatively measurable things-in-themselves (Lefebvre 1991: 27-30; Soja 1989: 122-126). Lefebvre maintains that the interaction between the two illusions is just as important as the concealing effect each has in isolation (Lefebvre 1991: 30).

Lefebvre's unitary theory of space dialectically combines the "fields" of physical space, mental space, and social space to overcome the double illusion (Lefebvre 1991: 11). In Lefebvre's view, social space subsumes mental space and physical space, and contains the social relations of production and reproduction demanded by the capitalist mode of production (Lefebvre 1991: 27, 32; Soja 1996: 62). As a result, Lefebvre develops a "conceptual triad" to study and unravel the production of space. Lefebvre's triad conceptualizes social space and its production as a temporal, scalar, social, political, and economic process in which power, knowledge, and ideology shape the contentious participation of agents representing the state, capital, and society (Harvey 1989: 261; Lefebvre 1991: 33, 38-39, 52; Merrifield 1993b: 523-524; Soja 1996: 66-67). The triad contains three dialectical moments including spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39).

Spatial practice is perceived space or the built physical environment comprised of the spatial and temporal routines of everyday life (Lefebvre 1991: 39). Lefebvre explains that "the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it" (Lefebvre 1991: 38). Representations of space refer to conceived space and include the signs, codes, knowledge, and discourses of urban planners, developers, cartographers, engineers, and other professed authorities. To prevail as capitalist society's dominant space, conceived space relies on knowledge, power, ideology, marginalization, homogenization, and violence. The state protects conceived space as one of the global free-market economy's major pillars (Lefebvre 1991: 39, 49, 64, 373). Mental space and physical space are two dominant perspectives based on ideological dualism, but their unified impact on social space plays out in conceived space by influencing how developers, planners, and architects design the shape of spatial practices and lived space. Representational space refers to lived space or the everyday space of users of the built environment. Lefebvre describes representational space as "the dominated - and hence passively experienced space - which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (Lefebvre 1991: 39). People create representational space by building counter-spaces and differential space that resist cultural, political, and economic domination, restore social integrity, and welcome differences of race, ethnicity, sex, and age (Lefebvre 1991: 52, 382; Merrifield, 1993b: 524). In this way, Lefebvre's notion of representational space is crucial to understanding NAIM's material and imagined geographies as comprising a representational space of black radicalism.

Lefebvre's theorization employs the reasoning method of dialectical materialism, which he spatializes in the triad's three moments of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. The method can be viewed as a relational ontology and epistemology in which seemingly

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independent things are understood through their relationships with ever-changing interconnected

processes embedded in social and material contexts (Harvey 1995: 5; Ollman 1971). Dialectical

materialism originated with Marx's materialist adaptation of Hegel's idealist dialectics. While

discussing his method's development, Marx writes, "For Hegel . . . the real world is only the

external appearance of the idea. With me the reverse is true, the ideal is nothing but the material

world reflected in the mind of man, and translated into forms of thought" (Marx 1977: 102).

Dialectics asserts that the whole and its parts interact to give each other meaning. For example,

capital is not only wealth and productive property, but also a process containing the flow of

differentiated exchange values that combines with the circulation and fixed moments of

commodities, money, and productive activity (Harvey 1995: 15; Merrifield 1993b: 520). Flows

and fixed moments of capital cannot be understood separately or outside of their relationships

that form a totality.

However, ideological influence and the limitations of human perception abstract social

relationships and totalities and make them seem invisible. Marx illustrates this phenomenon in

his concept of the fetishism of commodities,

> the impression made by a thing on the optic nerve is perceived not as a subjective
> excitation of that nerve but as the objective form of a thing outside the eye. In the act of
> seeing, of course, light is really transmitted from one thing, the external object, to another
> thing, the eye. It is a physical relation between physical things. The commodity form,
> and the value-relation of the products of labor within which it appears, have absolutely no
> connection with the physical nature of the commodity and the material relations arising
> out of it. (Marx 1977: 165)

Fetishism of commodities suggests that ideology and limitations in human perception combine to

make recognition of fixed forms as moments within relationships elusive. An illusion results in

which the world is seen as being comprised of things-in-themselves with each possessing their

own reality. Such views underlie atomistic Cartesianism and positivist ontologies, which see

things, systems, and structures as self-evident, stable, and discrete objects. This is represented in the notion of the whole being the sum of its parts, in which the whole has no bearing on its parts and vice versa. However, the importance of holistic totality in dialectics does not mean enclosure, but rather signifies a recognition of and way to apprehend capitalism's totalizing nature (Harvey 1995; Merrifield 1993b: 517). Dialectics holds that change is a normal intrinsic property of all things. The internal heterogeneity of things and processes generates contradictions that, as incompatible developments within a totality, produce change. Contradictions problematize atomistic ontologies that hold that things are internally homogenous and detached from generative sources of change. However, dialectics is also problematic because its open-endedness, combined with the complexity of interconnected multi-scale processes and relationships, can result in a perplexing array of outcomes. To maintain focus, the scope of dialectic inquiry requires identifying smaller sets of key generative principles that can unify and differentiate the broader totality (Harvey 1995; Merrifield 1993b; Ollman 1971, 2003; Soja 1989).

Lefebvre's Influence in Geography

Geographers recognize Lefebvre's work as a wellspring of ideas that has generated new perspectives on space, place, time, scale, urbanization, spatial politics, social movements, social difference, and everyday life. Lefebvre's theories have especially attracted geographers involved in advancing social constructionist notions of space, place, scale, and nature. Geographers responding to human geography's positivist and humanistic orientations in the 1960s and 1970s developed constructionist approaches by focusing on the interconnections among social, cultural, political, and economic processes and space, place, and scale. Constructionist approaches have evolved to examine how social actors deploy power, knowledge, and ideology to make

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construction of space, place, and scale a contentious process (Cresswell 2004; Gregory 1994; Harvey 1973, 1996; Marston 2000, 2004; Merrifield 1993a, 1993b; Smith 2008; Soja 1989, 1996; Unwin, 2000).

David Harvey's post-quantitative work is the most significant to popularize Lefebvre's ideas in geography. Harvey's far-reaching engagement with Lefebvre's ideas begins in *Social Justice and the City* (1973), a book marking Harvey's radical abandonment of quantitative geography, a subfield in which he was a trailblazer. The book consists of previously published papers examining the nature of theory, space, social justice, and urbanism (Harvey 1973: 13). It is organized into two parts that contrast liberal positivist and socialist dialectical understandings of urban problems (Harvey 1973: 10). In this movement towards a dialectical perspective, urbanism shifts from being a thing-in-itself to something from which a wider totality of social processes could be apprehended (Harvey 1973: 16). The second part of the book opens with Harvey's discussion on status-quo, counter-revolutionary, and revolutionary theory in geography. Harvey calls for a revolutionary theory to give geography relevance and political awareness (Harvey 1973: 150). On this point Harvey writes, "It is the emerging objective social conditions and our patent inability to cope with them which essentially explains the necessity for a revolution in geography" (Harvey 1973: 129). Harvey argues that such a revolution would come by "marshalling concepts and ideas, categories and relationships into such a superior system of thought when judged against the realties which require explanation that we succeed in making all opposition to that system of thought look ridiculous" (Harvey 1973: 146). It is in such a context that Harvey brought Lefebvre's ideas into geography in the early 1970s.

More concisely, Harvey introduces Lefebvre in a discussion on urbanism that critically reflects on ideas from Lefebvre's books *La revolution urbaine* (1970) and *La pensée marxiste et*

la ville (1973) (Harvey 1973: 302). Harvey considers Lefebvre's ideas on urbanism and his use of dialectical materialism as effective tools for the study of urban problems. While explaining Lefebvre's significance to his own work, Harvey states, "The only other work I can call upon is that of Henri Lefebvre . . . I feel more confident in appealing to Lefebvre's work and material collected in this volume, in attempting to fashion some general conclusions concerning the nature of urbanism" (Harvey 1973: 302). Although he relied on Lefebvre's writings that preceded *The Production of Space*, Harvey's thinking on urbanism was already converging with Lefebvre's dialectical conceptualization of social space. Harvey demonstrates this when he writes, "urbanism is not merely a structure, it has attached to distinctive ideologies . . . and therefore has a certain autonomous function in fashioning the way of life of a people. And urban structure, once created, affects the future development of social relationships and the organization of production" (Harvey 1973: 307). In the 1980s and 1990s, Harvey adapted Lefebvre's conceptual triad of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces, along with French theorist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus, to a heuristic device that he developed to characterize major changes "in the class content and the nature of spatial practices" (Harvey 1989: 261, 264, 1990: 218, 222). Harvey ultimately gave the device four additional dimensions including: accessibility and distanciation, appropriation of space, domination of space, and the production of space (Harvey 1990: 222). In *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1990), Harvey writes, "We owe the idea that command over space is a fundamental and all-pervasive source of social power in and over everyday life to the persistent voice of Henri Lefebvre" (Harvey 1990: 226). Harvey's work led geographers to a deeper engagement with Lefebvre's ideas for exploring a wider range of research areas.

As one of Harvey's former graduate students, Neil Smith has attracted many geographers to widely engage with Lefebvre's ideas since the 1980s. Smith makes significant use of Lefebvre's theories in his book *Uneven Development, Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* ([1984] 2008). Smith critically weighs Lefebvre's ideas before adapting them to his theorization of uneven development, which propounds theories of the production of nature and the production of scale. For instance, Smith indicates a "conceptual indeterminacy" in Lefebvre's mixed use of metaphorical and material concepts of space, claiming that the former reinforce retrogressive ideas of absolute space (Smith 2008: 125). While Smith acknowledges Lefebvre's seriousness about the role of space in maintaining late capitalism, he sees his theory as underdeveloped in terms of explaining how the production of space actually happens. Smith claims that this gap in explanation is due to Lefebvre's overdetermining the reproduction of social relations of production under capitalism (Smith 2008: 125). He also points out Lefebvre's "traditional" attitude toward nature (Smith 2008: 249). Smith briefly discusses antecedents of Lefebvre's ideas in Marx's treatment of the annihilation of space by time and universalizing tendency of capital, and Rosa Luxemburg's and Vladimir Lenin's theories of imperialism (Smith 2008: 129).

Smith's production of nature thesis draws from Lefebvre's theory on the production of space, while also heavily relying on Marx's writings (Smith 2008: 249). Smith makes the connection that "the production of space is the logical corollary of the production of nature" (Smith 2008: 92). For Smith, the production of nature represents capitalism's transformation of primordial nature into a "product of social production" (Smith 2008: 50). This process abstracts nature from use value into exchange value. This change profoundly impacts human-environment interaction and perpetuates the contradictions of uneven development, which include internal

social divisions and environmental destruction (Smith 2008: 50, 58-59, 89). Smith also

underlines the importance of Lefebvre's ideas on social difference to spatial politics when he

states, "his inclusion and affirmation of what we would call different subject positions . . . is in

broad sympathy with contemporary political theories built around the social construction of

difference" (Smith 2008: 227).

Ed Soja's efforts to spread Lefebvre's ideas in geography are well known. In 1980, Soja

presented his Lefebvrian-inspired "socio-spatial dialectic" in response to what he saw as Marxian

orthodox resistance to neo-Marxist urban spatial analysis, which the former accused of

transgressing the bounds of traditional class analysis (Elden 2001: 813; Soja 1980: 207-208, 211,

224). Soja posited the social-spatial dialectic to reinsert the social production of space into

Marxist analysis rather than viewing space as "externalized and incidental" to social formation

(Soja 1980: 224). Soja promoted the socio-spatial dialectic in subsequent years and continued to

work along many other lines of Lefebvre's thought. Soja wrote the books *Postmodern*

Geographies (1989), *Thirdspace* (1996), and *Postmetropolis* (2000), pondering Lefebvre's ideas

on the rights to the city, everyday life, the production of space, and urban revolution (Soja 2000:

101).

Soja's books orientate Lefebvre's theory towards the development of a postmodernist

geography. The last two books present sustained re-engagements with Lefebvre's *The*

Production of Space, which Soja praises as "arguably the most important book ever written

about the social and historical significance of human spatiality and the particular powers of the

spatial imagination" (Soja 1996: 8). In *Thirdspace* (1996), Soja examines urban space through a

dialectic method he calls thirding-as-Othering which consists of the "trialectics" of Firstspace,

Secondspace, and Thirdspace perspectives (Soja 1996: 61). Soja's thirding-as-Othering is based

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on Lefebvre's unitary theory of mental, physical, and social space. Soja argues that as a result of the dominance of empiricist Firstspace and idealist Secondspace dualism in geography, "The intrinsic, dynamic, and problematic spatiality of human life is thus significantly muted in its scope and explanatory power" (Soja 2000: 11, 74-79). Following Lefebvre's attack against the double illusion, Soja asserts that Firstspace and Secondspace dualism could be dismantled by combining thirding-as-Othering with a sustained exploration of Thirdspace epistemologies (Soja 1996: 14, 1999: 74).

Thirdspace epistemology adapts Lefebvre's concept of social space, but with a particular focus on what Lefebvre calls differential spaces or counter spaces. Soja describes Thirdspace epistemology as being concerned with "the chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, [and] emancipation" (Soja 1996: 68). Soja's Thirdspace represents a movement towards a new cultural politics that accentuates difference in the counter-hegemonic struggle against subjection, domination, and exploitation (Soja 1996: 88). Soja is critical of the way modernist identity politics tend to reduce differences to socially constructed binaries of black and white, male and female, capital and labor, subject and object, and heterosexual and homosexual (Soja 1996: 90). He holds that such binaries produce political fragmentation because they privilege certain radical subjectivities and exclude others (Soja 1996: 90-91). Soja urges a disordering of difference from the binarism of modernist cultural politics. He argues for this as a way to revise radical subjectivity and to become the "basis for a new cultural politics of multiplicity and strategic alliance among all who are peripheralized, marginalized and subordinated by the social construction of difference" (Soja 1996: 93). In the new cultural politics, Thirdspace becomes a site where the disordering of difference and the "empowering of multiplicity" can take place (Soja 1996: 95-96). Soja sees Thirdspace perspectives in postmodernist, feminist, post-Marxist,

and postcolonialist writings, which present cognitive remappings of human spatiality's "real and imagined spaces" from the scales of the body to the globe (Soja 1996: 99). Soja also examines Thirdspace empirically by exploring center-periphery relationships within the modern metropolises of Los Angeles and Amsterdam. In these studies, Soja attempts to understand "what Lefebvre was to describe as the simultaneous tendencies towards homogenization, differentiation, and hierarchical ordering that thread through the specific geographies of the modern world" (Soja 1996: 17). In this way, Soja's adaptation of Lefebvre's ideas is particularly useful in examining the relationships between space and resistance.

The development of dialectical and relational constructionist approaches to space and place demonstrates significant use of Lefebvre's theory of space. These approaches view space, place, and society, as a unified process that forms a totality. Radical geographers introduced such approaches in the 1970s to challenge the domination of materialist and idealist ideological dualism in the discipline (Harvey 1973: 14; Massey 1994: 253-254; Soja 1980: 210; Wainwright and Barnes 2009: 970). Certain differences exist between dialectical and relational approaches in which the former maintain space and place distinctions, while the latter attempt to remove them by focusing more on their relationships (Wainwright and Barnes 2009: 970). David Harvey, Andrew Merrifield, and Doreen Massey are important contributors to the development of dialectical and relational constructionist perspectives on space and place (Harvey 1996; Massey 1994; Merrifield 1993a, 1993b; Wainwright and Barnes 2009). Demonstrating a dialectical approach, Harvey states, "places are constructed and experienced as material ecological artifacts and intricate networks of social relations" (Harvey 1996: 316). In accordance with the principle of totality, dialectical approaches hold that space and place cannot be fully

comprehended in separation because they give each other meaning in a relational process (Harvey 1996: 316).

Merrifield's work notably advances dialectical notions of space and place (Merrifield 1993b: 519; Wainwright and Barnes 2009: 970). Merrifield, another of Harvey's former graduate students, argues that the dialectical approach, "contrasts markedly with atomistic, mechanistic, empiricist viewpoints. These latter, Cartesian-inspired, conceptions tend to separate out and 'thingify' different aspects of social reality, treating it as consisting of 'discrete objects' without any interconnectivity" (Merrifield 1993b: 518). He defines space as a flow consisting of circulating "capital, money, commodities, and information" (Merrifield 1993b: 525). Place emerges as "the locus and a sort of stopping of these flows, a specific moment in the dynamics of space-relations under capitalism" (Merrifield 1993b: 525). Merrifield equates the space and place relationship with the conceived space and lived space dialectic in Lefebvre's triad (Merrifield 1993a: 106, 1993b: 525). Viewing place as lived space, Merrifield states, "place is not merely abstract space, it is the terrain where basic social practices - consumption, enjoyment, tradition, self-identification, solidarity, social support and social reproduction, etc. - are lived out" (Merrifield 1993b: 522). Dialectical approaches such as those Merrifield puts forth challenge space and society dualism by sensibly reconnecting the relationship between spatial and social practice.

Massey's work is foundational to the development of relational notions of space and place located within the realm of Lefebvrian-inspired approaches. For Massey, space is "constructed out of interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales, from the most local to the most global" (Massey 1994: 264). "A 'place,'" Massey explains, "is formed in part out of the particular set of social relations which

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interact at a particular location" (Massey 1994: 168). By viewing places as embedded in vast

socio-spatial relationships, Massey conceptualizes them as always changing and boundless,

having contested identities, and deriving specificity and uniqueness from changes in their

constituent relationships (Massey 1994: 155-157). Massey describes her concept of place as an

"extroverted" interpretation of place, and contrasts it with "reactionary" notions that view places

as having single homogenous identities and social boundaries between locals and outsiders

(Massey 1994: 152, 154). She describes the latter idea as a frequently expressed defensive

response driven by feelings of insecurity and vulnerability generated in the escalating experience

of time-space compression produced by modern technological advances and economic

globalization (Massey 1994: 151).

Politics of Place

Dialectical and relational constructionist approaches to space and place have led to new

ways of looking at the politics of place by conceptualizing social space as a product of

interconnected social relations. Harvey starts by examining how capitalism's continuous effort

to resolve its general crises through "spatial fixes" results in socio-spatial transformations, vast

differentiation, and uneven development (Harvey 1995: 295). Such a process has thrown places

into greater political and economic competition with each other. Ironically, competition has

made places more homogenized while advertising superficial "differences" to attract investment

and intensify consumption (Harvey 1996: 298). The homogenous quality of places demonstrates

that capitalism's hegemonic ideals are increasingly and uniformly dominating the production of

space. Social groups connect to this process in different ways. Massey's idea of power

geometry holds that social relationships embed space with "power and symbolism, a complex

web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and co-operation" (Massey 1994:

265). The power geometry of space shapes where individuals and groups are located in socio-

spatial relationships, and their ability to impact those relationships. However, while the power

geometry inherent in capitalist social space dominates everyday lived space, it nevertheless

creates opportunities for resistance. According to Harvey,

> The historical geography of place construction is full of examples of struggles fought for
> socially just reinvestment (to meet community needs), for the development of
> "community" expressive of values other than those of money and exchange, or against
> deindustrialization, the despoliation of cities through highway construction, and the like.
> (Harvey 1996: 298)

Hence, the production of space is a political process, and viewing it as such facilitates

understanding the politics of place because such a view holds place and politics as being

inseparable.

The politics of place becomes evident when the social production of space is viewed as a

process full of power relationships and social contention. Merrifield affirms this when he states,

"Place emerges through the interpretation of objective and subjective forces; it is a state of being

. . . as well as a formative political-economic process" (Merrifield 1993b: 522). Harvey

acknowledges the impact of social struggle upon the historical geography of capitalist

development when he states that "explicit struggle on the part of the oppressed or active

engagement in the politics of place construction by otherwise disempowered social groups has

played a role in that development" (Harvey 1996: 321). Class, race, gender, ethnicity,

nationality, and age differences play into the politics of place and the production of space. Some

geographers have recognized how capitalist abstract space dominates cultural differences. For

example, Massey's feminist approach expands geography's purview to examine the relationship

between space and gender. Massey states, "The hegemonic spaces and places which we face

today are not only products of forms of economic organization but reflect back at us also - and in

the process reinforce - other characteristics of social relations, among them those of gender"

(Massey 1994: 183). This notion can be extended to consider the relationship between social

space and a wider range of cultural differences and identities including race, ethnicity, religion,

and nation.

Scalar Politics

Thinking about space and place as social constructs led to the critical rethinking of scale

beyond the traditional notions of cartographic scale, operational scale, and observational scale

(Lam 2004: 25-26; McMaster and Sheppard 2004: 5-7, 15). This resulted in the development of

relational constructionist approaches to scale that reject the idea of geographic scale being

primordial, hierarchical, nested, bounded, stable, permanent, and fixed, as held in terms of local,

regional, national, supranational, and global scales (Leitner 2004: 238; Marston 2000: 220-221,

2004: 173-174; McMaster and Sheppard 2004: 15). Interest in relational constructionist

approaches to scale grew upon a theoretical concern to understand how relations and processes

operate, interact, shape, and comprise social practices at different scales (MacKinnon 2010: 23;

Marston 2000: 220, 2004: 173-174). Constructionist notions view scale as produced,

maintained, and destroyed by social, cultural, political, and economic processes (Marston 2004:

173). Understanding the production of scale involves looking at political economy and the

interaction between structures and agency such as capital, markets, the state, and social

movements (MacKinnon 2010: 28; Marston 2000: 220, 2004: 175). The production of scale as a

social process involves contestation, which brings attention to the politics of scale or scalar

politics (Brenner 1997a, 1997b; Cox 1998; Leitner 2004; MacKinnon 2010; Marston 2000, 2004;

McMaster and Sheppard 2004; Smith 1996, 2004, 2008).

Geographers often credit Lefebvre's theory of the social production of space for generating the development of constructionist notions of scale (Brenner 1997b: 276-80; MacKinnon 2010: 23; Marston 2000: 226-227, 2004: 173-174; McMaster and Sheppard 2004: 15; Smith 2004: 196-197). While Lefebvre's treatment of scale in *The Production of Space* was more implied, he gave overt attention to it in discussions on state spatiality and globalization in his book *De l'Etat* (1976) (Brenner 1997a: 138-158, 1997b: 276-277; Smith 2004: 198). While discussing Lefebvre's importance to constructionist approaches to scale, urban theorist Neil Brenner states, "Lefebvre conceived space as a *scaffolding of scales* (global, national, urban) upon which capitalism has been continually territorialized, deterritorialized, and reterritorialized throughout its long run history" (Brenner 1997a: 143). Scale and the production of space are interconnected, as Smith indicates when he explains, "The production of geographical scale provides the organizing framework for the production of geographically differentiated spaces and conceptual means by which sense can be made of spatial differentiation" (Smith 2004: 197). Smith's ideas on the production of scale, scale jumping, and scale bending, have been foundational to theorizing scale construction and the politics of scale (MacKinnon 2010: 24; Smith 1996: 72-73; 2004: 202, 2008: 232). Drawing on Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, Smith argues, "Different societies produce geographical scale integral with the production of space . . . scale demarcates the space or spaces people 'take up' or make for themselves" (Smith 2008: 229-230). For Smith, scale is politically constructed in "a dialectic of cooperation and competition which always involves social struggle" (Smith 2004: 197). The politics of scale develop in Smith's concept of scale jumping, which he describes as a political strategy used either for or against the domination of capitalist abstract space (Smith 1996: 72-73, 2008: 232). Scale jumping is a process whereby groups build political power to affect outcomes in the

politics of place. The process begins with building a locally cohesive power base and subsequently climbing or jumping "nested hierarchies of scale," which have been socially constructed (Smith 2008: 232). By jumping scales, political groups circumvent obstacles and garner support and resources at higher scales. This is evident when neighborhood groups bypass local government unresponsiveness by appealing to state or federal level government in attempting to achieve local objectives.

Related to Smith's idea of scale jumping is his concept of scale bending, which holds that scales are malleable and open to restructuring, stretching, contraction, and fragmentation by social, political, and economic processes (Smith 2004: 193, 201-208). This is evident in how economic globalization increases the scales of transnational corporations and global cities while decreasing the previously dominant scale of nation-states (Smith 2004: 203-206). Scale bending is also closely related to identity politics as marginalized groups use cultural identity to extend scales of the body such as in anti-racist and anti-sexist movements (Smith 2004: 207-208). Scale jumping and scale bending demonstrate how the social construction of scale involves myriad contending social processes whereby agency and structure interact in the production of space and place.

Kevin Cox's notions of spaces of dependence and spaces of engagement, as well as his extension of Smith's concept of scale jumping, are significant to constructionist theorization of scale and the politics of scale (Cox 1998: 1, Marston 2000: 226). Cox develops these notions in an attempt to discern the form and content of the politics of space, which he argues emerge in the contingent relationship between spaces of dependence and spaces of engagement (Cox 1998: 2, 18). Spaces of dependence consist of local social, cultural, and economic interests upon which various groups depend (Cox 1998: 2, 7). Political actors construct spaces of engagement to

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secure spaces of dependence. As spaces of dependence exist at multiple scales, the construction of spaces of engagement must rely on scale jumping and building networks of associations linked to centers of social power (Cox 1998: 2-3, 15). Cox points out that scale jumping does not always involve ascending from small to large scales, but might require descending from large to small scales (Cox 1998: 7, 18). Illustrating this is when a utility company with a large service area or space of dependence builds a space of engagement by appealing to a local government that controls a smaller segment within the company's service area (Cox 1998: 7, 18). The goal of constructing spaces of engagement is to extend and secure territoriality over the space of dependence (Cox 1998: 7). Cox is also critical of the way that scales of political practices are expressed in areal terms, and proposes that they be depicted as "networks of associations" (Cox 1998: 3). For Cox, "networks of association" is a more accurate metaphor because it reflects the unevenness and porosity that characterize the scales of political processes (Cox 1998: 3).

Danny MacKinnon has theorized scalar politics by combining political economy and poststructuralist approaches. He argues that the strengths of the political economy approach include "its non-fixed conception of scale, concern with relationality through the concept of the politics of scale in particular, and sense in which scales pre-exist emergent social activities as a result of past processes of social construction" (MacKinnon 2010: 23, 26). To counter-balance political economy's emphasis on the materiality of scale construction, MacKinnon borrows poststructuralist considerations for the performativity and discursive construction of scale (MacKinnon 2010: 28). These considerations recognize that while scale construction is embedded in material processes of political economy, scales are also "represented and understood through particular narratives and discourses" (MacKinnon 2010: 28). For MacKinnon, scalar politics contains four elements: the object of scalar politics is the scalar

aspects of political processes rather than scale itself; a focus on the ways in which political actors strategically deploy scale; a concern for pre-existing scales constructed by previous social processes, and a focus on how actors and processes construct new scales at the intersections of existing and newly emerging scales (MacKinnon 2010: 29-31).

Sallie Marston's research takes an approach that combines political economy and feminist theory to examine scale construction as a result of social reproduction. Her theoretical concern with social reproduction is to show that developing an understanding of scale construction requires looking at the totality of political economy and not just the relations of capitalist production, which has hitherto dominated political economy approaches (Marston 2000: 219, 2004: 171-173). To this end, Marston presents empirical studies that demonstrate how the political mobilization of the women's reform movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, challenged and reshaped local and federal state scalar fixes in the United States (Marston 2000: 235, 2004: 171, 184). Within a wider urban white middle-class attempt to build social power, and at a historical moment preceding women's suffrage, the women's movements employed a discursive framework of maternalism and domesticity that extended the scale of the home by including the city and nation within conceptualizations of the home (Marston 2004: 182-185). This ultimately impacted the state's mediation of the divergent needs of capital accumulation and social reproduction, and expanded the state's function from managing capital to providing social welfare (Marston 2004: 171, 182-184). The women's movements' actions resulted in an outcome that included the establishment of the U.S. Child Bureau and U.S. Women's Bureau, whose legacy continues with the Aid to Dependent Children program (Marston 2004: 183-184). The 1930s New Deal and 1960s social movements led to new policies that revised the scalar fix between home and state, but these have been increasingly

undone by conservative-led economic restructuring and the subsequent reduction of social

welfare programs since the 1970s (Marston 2004: 184-185).

Social Movements

Geographic research on social movements has grown slowly since its beginnings in the

1970s (Miller 2000: 1). Moreover, other social sciences have largely ignored geography's

potential to improve social movement theorization and research (Marston 2003: 227; Martin and

Miller 2003: 143). Geographer Byron Miller hypothesizes that this scant recognition might be

attributed to lingering dualistic ontologies of space, frequently changing geographic concepts,

and the rigidity of academic boundaries that hinder interdisciplinary research (Miller 2000: 7).

Marston sees this absence as possibly resulting from the rapid disappearance of geography

departments since the 1950s in prominent Ivy League universities (Marston 2003: 227). Despite

the more recent "spatial turn" in the social sciences, the development of spatial perspectives in

social movement research has remained marginal (Miller 2000: 36). Nevertheless, within this

margin, geographers have demonstrated the importance of space, place, and scale to

understanding social movements.

Social movement theorization and research are largely based in sociology and political

science where three main approaches have been used: traditional collective behavior theory,

resource mobilization theory (RMT), and identity-oriented approach (IOA) (Cohen 1985: 663;

Hannigan 1985: 438; Miller 2000: 19; Routledge 1993: 22). Prevalent in the 1950s, and

influenced by social breakdown theories, traditional collective behavior theory viewed social

movements as spontaneous and amorphous anomalies resulting from strains in rapidly changing

social systems. It regarded social movements as synonymous with formal organizations that had

central leadership and rank-and-file structures. Restiveness and agitation emotionally motivated

movement participation, and charismatic leaders easily manipulated irrational rank-and-file members (Cohen 1985: 671-672; Hannigan 1985: 437-445). Shaped by the Civil Rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s, RMT approaches gave more attention to elite power struggles, and conceptualized social movements as strategically driven towards achieving institutional change. RMT saw movements as still represented by formal organizations, but with contextually contingent structures, and having some reliance on external financial and symbolic resources. As a positivist approach, RMT examined questions of participation through the lenses of classical economics and rational choice theory (Cohen 1985: 674-690; Hannigan 1985: 437-445; Miller 2000: 19; Routledge 1993: 22-23). IOA emerged in Europe after the 1968 French uprisings, influenced by Alain Touraine's action theory and Manuel Castells' theory of urban movements. IOA describes social movements as innovative, anti-institutional, and spontaneous, but oppositional. Participation includes rational choice and moral considerations. Unlike its predecessors, IOA focuses on cultural identity formation, ideology, solidarity building, and defining adversaries. It shifts importance from organizations and their internal structures to thinking about movements as totalities of wider social relations (Cohen 1985: 692-705; Hannigan 1985: 437-445; Routledge 1993: 22-23).

Geographers have critically indicated that these theories restrict fuller understandings of social movements because they ignore the role of space in contentious politics. They argue that space is intricately connected to social movement agency and formation, organizing and recruitment strategies, structure and resources, decision-making, political ideology, collective identity formation, place-making discourses, alliance building, scalar politics, and territoriality (Leitner et al. 2008: 159; Martin 2003: 730; Martin and Miller 2003: 144; Miller 2000: 5, 37; Routledge 1993: 21, 33). Towards this end, geographers have developed several spatial modes

of social movement analysis that often employ relational constructionist notions of space, place, and scale, political economy, and various strands of social and cultural theories. Foundational work in this area includes geographer Paul Routledge's *Terrains of Resistance* (1993), a study of India's non-violent Chipko and Baliapal movements. Critical of aspatial RMT and IOA, and informed by Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, Routledge presents a place-centered approach in which he develops the concept of terrains of resistance (Routledge 1993: 29, 35). He defines terrains of resistance as, "the dialectic between domination and resistance and how this dialectic is manifested within time and space with reference to the agency of social movements. A terrain of resistance refers to those places where struggle is actively articulated by the oppressed . . . " (Routledge 1993: 35-36). Using a constructionist notion of place, Routledge structures his approach around geographer John Agnew's three elements of place: locale, location, and sense of place (Agnew 1987: 28; Routledge 1993: 28). Locale refers to the everyday setting where social relations unfold. Location is the larger-scale geographical context that shares social relations and history with a locale. Sense of place pertains to place-connected human subjectivities that develop in everyday life and manifest in cultural expressions (Routledge 1993: 36). Routledge asserts, "the constituent elements of place . . . and their mediation of movement agency provide important insights into the landscape of struggle and its place-specific character" (Routledge 1993: 36). In Routledge's view, social movements are part-and-parcel of the milieu of social relations and power geometries that constructs and reproduces space and place.

Byron Miller and Deborah Martin have notably attempted to improve social movement research by demonstrating the importance of using a spatial perspective in political process and mechanisms approaches which concentrate on political context and opportunity structures

(Martin and Miller 2003: 143; Miller 2000: 24). Martin and Miller do this by critically engaging

with the processes and mechanisms program that social movement scholars Doug McAdam,

Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly present in *Dynamics of Contention* (2001) (Martin and Miller

2003: 149; McAdam et al. 2001; Tilly 2003: 221). While Martin and Miller agree with the

program's relational and contextual approach, they point out that "how processes and

mechanisms engage each other, and the outcomes they produce, is a spatially and historically

contingent matter" (Martin and Miller 2003: 145). They illustrate this contingency by

elaborating on the spatiality of mechanisms that underlie collective identity formation,

mobilization, and pathways of social movement contention (Martin and Miller 2003: 150).

While doing so they assert that "the mechanisms and processes of contention are innately and

necessarily spatial; altering their spatial constitution alters their operation" (Martin and Miller

2003: 150). Martin and Miller explain that environmental, cognitive, and relational mechanisms,

which refer to external, subjective, and intergroup changes, are implicated in the structures and

processes of social space (Martin and Miller 2003: 150-151). They recommend using Lefebvre's

triad of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces to improve understanding how contentious

politics and space interconnect (Martin and Miller 2003: 14-17; Miller 2000: 11). Martin and

Miller present Lefebvre's triad as being able to "enhance our understanding of the dynamics of

contention because it recognizes simultaneously, yet potentially contradictory, experiences of

space. It calls attention to landscapes of inequality and differences in ways that abstract aspatial

approaches cannot" (Martin and Miller 2003: 147). From this vantage point, social movements

are seen as groups of actors within the wider context of dialectical social processes that comprise

the production of space.

Martin advances this perspective in her concept of place-framing. She put forward place-framing as a way to show how social movements use discursive constructions of place to build collective identity and social action (Martin 2003: 730). Martin develops place-framing by adapting sociologists David Snow's and Robert Benford's collective-action framing analysis, an approach that focuses on how social movement language and practices "articulate issues, values, and concerns in ways that foster collective identity and activism" (Martin 2003: 733, 736). Collective-action framing analysis examines three main elements: motivational, diagnosis, and prognosis (Martin 2003: 736). The motivational element describes the collective action community and calls it into action. The diagnosis element defines problems and their causes for which social action is required. The prognosis element refers to the solutions that people can realize through social action (Martin 2003: 736). Borrowing from Snow's and Benford's approach, Martin describes place-frame analysis as being able to "assess the degree to which various types of activist frames draw upon and constitute place-based identities or offer alternative geographies grounded in the spatialities of daily life" (Martin 2003: 747). Martin demonstrates the effectiveness of place-framing analysis by employing it in an empirical field-based study of local community development organizations in a neighborhood within St. Paul, Minnesota. While Martin's bases her research in a single neighborhood, she points out that researchers can use place-frame analysis to examine social movements spanning across multiple locations and varying scales (Martin 2003: 747).

<div align="center">**Black Power Studies**</div>

Situating NAIM historically requires a consideration of the Black Power movement, which black nationalism heavily influenced. The Black Power Studies subfield leads the way in advancing Black Power movement research. Consisting mostly of historians, the subfield

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represents the latest wave of post-World War II black liberation movement scholarship (Joseph 2001: 2). Historian Peniel E. Joseph argues that Black Power did not draw sustained attention from academics until recently because of its vilification as the Civil Rights Movement's belligerent antithesis, its dismissal by mainstream historians as trivial, a dearth of archival material, and the wide decline of African American protest movements (Joseph 2001: 2). However, Joseph attributes recent interest in Black Power Studies to "the continued resonance of postwar Black Power radicalism" (Joseph 2001: 2). He explains that Black Power Studies developed over a sequence of four stages. The first stage began during the early Cold War era of the 1950s, but was eclipsed by the Civil Rights Movement. Preceding Black Power's formal arrival in 1966 by several years, the first stage saw the mounting growth of black critical analyses of race, class, and geopolitics, and an increasingly radicalized black press (Joseph 2001: 3-4).

The second stage coincided with the Black Power movement from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. It featured writings by activists, workers, intellectuals, and student journalists, who concentrated on themes of self-defense, class struggle, feminism, anti-colonialism, and radical internationalism (Joseph 2001: 4-5). The second stage also initiated publication of the autobiographies and memoirs of iconic activists that began with *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) (Joseph 2001: 4). The third stage followed Black Power's decline in the mid-1970s and lasted until the 1990s. While autobiographies continued to dominate, the third stage saw the introduction of more comprehensive studies of Black Power that were interested in areas such as the movement's broader cultural impacts. The third stage also witnessed the popularization of Black Power as the cause of the Civil Rights Movement's destruction (Joseph 2001: 7-8). The current, fourth stage began in the late 1990s and is producing the most sustained systematic

research on Black Power to date. It is distinguished from previous stages by a more critical consideration of historical and geographical contexts (Joseph 2001: 8-12). Emergent research areas include Black Power's traditions of self-defense, national and international impacts, cultural politics, gender relations, social programs, prison activism, and state-led subversion (Joseph 2001: 8-11).

Black Power Studies scholars bring attention to the importance of including geographical considerations in historical research. Commonly referring to "geography" and "location" without explaining such terms, historians seem to regard them synonymously with space, place, scale, and region. Joseph mentions the importance of location in his assertion that "historians need to know how black political radicalism differed and converged, dependent on geographical location, political organizations, and historical circumstances during this era" (Joseph 2001: 14). Theoharis and Woodard emphasize the significance of place and scale when they state that "Black Power was local as well as national, tactical as well as ideological, and garnered numerous local successes . . . Looking at Black Power at the local level gives us a much different view of its texture and tactics" (Theoharis and Woodard 2005: 12). They add that "the movement was developed and realized by local people (not brought to them by movement leaders" (Theoharis and Woodard 2005: 13). Historians Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang are critical of how historians' periodization schemata treat geographical differences. They see the Long Movement schema covering the early to late twentieth century, as constructing a temporal and spatial continuity between the North and the South that overlooks and minimizes important regional differences in social structures, politics, and economy (Cha-Jua and Lang 2007: 281). Pointing out how Long Movement interpretations produce what could be described as placelessness, Cha-Jua and Lang argue that "by treating considerations of place as

theoretically ephemeral, the Long Movement scholarship dispenses with the role of space and political economy in shaping specific, historically bound modes of social interaction" (Cha-Jua and Lang 2007: 266). These scholars point out that an understanding of black social movements cannot be adequately achieved without a close analysis of their relationship with space and place. This creates an opportunity for geographers to make an important contribution to Black Power Studies.

Previous Research on NAIM

Research on NAIM is limited to a small group of journal articles, book chapters or chapter sections, and a handful of PhD dissertations and master's theses. As Peniel Joseph argues, the scarcity of research on NAIM can be in large part attributed to the overall indifference of academics towards the Black Power movement (Joseph 2001: 2). Another reason for this might be found in the way early historiography of Black Power portrayed NAIM as a short-lived fringe group that disintegrated in the early 1970s (Hall 1978; Pinkney 1976: 176). However, the recent growth of Black Power Studies has included a revived interest in NAIM. Although historians dominate Black Power Studies, research into NAIM is moderately interdisciplinary with broad interest in the movement's aspects of self-defense, media representation, lifestyle politics, prison activism, student activism, state repression, gender relations, and transnationalism (Berger 2009; Berger and Dunbar-Ortiz 2010; Cunnigen 1999; Davenport 2002, 2005; Gaines 2003, 2013; Kelley 2002; Obadele 1985; Ogbar 2004; Onaci 2012; Ragsdale 1983; Umoja 2013b; Wilson 1986). Thus far, no geographers have written about NAIM, with the exception of this author's study of the movement's transnational politics (Karolczyk 2013: 123).

While the majority of these works are not expressly geographical, some nevertheless consider the importance of spatial or place-based approaches. In his study of NAIM's repression by covert police action in Detroit between 1968 and 1973, political scientist Christian Davenport writes, "far too little effort has been spent discussing the importance of place as well as diffusion across space within domestic conflict situations" (Davenport 2005: 137). Sociologist Donald Cunnigen's work indicates some of the place-based implications of NAIM's early 1970s efforts in Jackson, Mississippi. Interested in NAIM's impacts on black student activism in Jackson, Cunnigen argues that the movement's lack of local roots as a northern transplant worked against it and made it "vulnerable to harassment by local and state government agencies," and unable to compete with local civil rights groups which "offered tangible benefits such as better food, education, day care, and better housing" (Cunnigen 1999: 87).

A consideration of NAIM as a representational space of black radicalism becomes visible in historian Robin D.G. Kelley's outline of the movement's evolution from its Detroit origins to its more recent branches in formations such as the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (Kelley 2002: 124). While not specifically using the terms of Lefebvre's triadic framework, Kelley nevertheless looks at how the aspirations, values, and meanings of NAIM's revolution are represented through the discursive construction of an imagined space of New Afrikan liberation. Shifting from strictly empirical analyses of NAIM's practices of territoriality, Kelley states, "if we treat the land issue literally in terms of controlling territory with national borders and moving people back and forth across those borders, then we miss key elements of the RNA's vision and its implications for a broader black radical conception of freedom" (Kelley 2002: 125). Without downplaying the political meaning that control of land as an economic resource had for NAIM, Kelley affirms, "perhaps more importantly, land is space, territory on

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which people can begin to reconstruct their lives. The dream, after all, is to create a new society free of the overseer's watchful eye" (Kelley 2002: 125). To apprehend NAIM's discursive constructions of space, Kelley examines foundational movement texts such as "The Anti-Depression Program of the Republic of New Africa" which presented a socio-economic blueprint for the New Afrikan nation-state. Kelley's observation again coincides with the notion of NAIM as a representational space when he states that Imari Obadele, the program's author, "portrayed the new nation as a beautiful, free space for black people, somewhat reminiscent of the way black people have imagined Africa. It stood in stark contrast to the overcrowded, rat infested ghettoes many urban African Americans knew as home" (Kelley 2002: 124). My study complements Kelley's work by using Lefebvre's theory to approach NAIM's material and imagined geographies as forming a representational space of black radicalism.

Race and the Representational Spaces of Black Radicalism

I situate my study of NAIM more directly in research that examines the geography of black radicalism. As a recently emerging area of interest within geography, such research explores the relationships between constructionist notions of space, place, scale, race, and social movements. The work of Bobby M. Wilson, Eugene McCann, Nik Heynen, and James Tyner particularly exemplifies this research area (Heynen 2009a, 2009b; McCann 2000; Tyner 2003, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Tyner and Kruse 2004; Wilson 2000). A body of research challenging empiricist studies of ethnic and racial spatial analysis in the late 1980s was a precursor to the more recent studies of black radical movements. Informed by cultural theory, this earlier research focused on the mutual social constructions of race and space (Bonnett 1996: 872-875; Dwyer 1997: 448; Mitchell 2000: 230). Prime examples of such work include Peter Jackson's *Race and Racism, Essays in Social Geography* (1987) and *Maps of Meaning* (1989),

and Kay Anderson's study of Vancouver's Chinatown (Anderson 1987: 580; Jackson 1987: 3, 1989: 132). Biographical studies of black radical intellectuals James Baldwin, W.E.B. Dubois, and Richard Wright initiated research into the spaces of black radicalism in the mid-1990s (Dwyer 1999; Sibley 1995; Tyner 2004: 331; Wilson 2002). Since then, geographers have not shown more than a marginal interest in black radicalism, leaving a large gap in the geographic study of urban space, race and social movements (Tyner 2006a: 156; 2006b: 105). As one of the small group of contributors in this area, Tyner states, "black separatism, black radical thought, and crucially, the Black Power Movement have received minimal attention in the geographic literature. And yet fundamental geographic concepts, including territoriality and scalar politics, are key components of black separatism and black power" (Tyner 2006b: 105). The small body of literature that does exist shows that the geographies of black radicalism are significant to understanding the social construction of racialized space, the politics of place, and the scalar politics of black social movements.

Wilson's *Race and Place in Birmingham, The Civil Rights and Neighborhood Movements* (2000), examines the Civil Rights Movement and the politics of race and place in Birmingham, Alabama. Wilson combines critical race theory with a political economy approach to trace the impact of race and racism on the social relations of production and reproduction in Birmingham from the end of slavery and Reconstruction to the city's rise and fall as the South's coal mining and steel production center (Wilson 2000: 29, 128, 138). Birmingham's industrial elite maintained the white supremacist rule of their slave-holding ancestors through legal racial segregation and controlling access to jobs, housing, education, and political participation (Wilson 2000: 29-30). According to Wilson, "With economic domination and cultural hegemony, the regime exploited black labor by any means other than slavery" (Wilson 2000: 30). However, the

formation of the Civil Rights Movement shook up Birmingham's racist status quo, and represented "new modes of social and political expression" for blacks (Wilson 2000: 83). Local groups like the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights received support from the larger Southern Christian Leadership Conference to battle Birmingham's racist apparatus consisting of Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene "Bull" Connor, the White Citizens' Council, Ku Klux Klan, the National States' Rights Party, and pro-segregation business groups and labor unions (Wilson 2000: 74, 79-101). While the civil rights struggle in Birmingham resulted in political reforms and improved communication between local government and black leaders, it more importantly aroused a deeper sense of black pride, confidence, and identity. Wilson interprets the Birmingham struggle as momentous in sparking a new era of black radical consciousness and black power politics that had a national reach (Wilson 2000: 100).

Wilson also theorizes the origins of racism as a social construct that functions to support the capitalist mode of production (Wilson 2000: 13). He locates the construction of race in the modernist cultural form that the Enlightenment project and the rise of nation-states shaped during capitalism's early stages (Wilson 2000: 13-16). Wilson discusses how the Enlightenment's ideals of human universalism and equality applied only to European nation-states, whose vast majority of white citizens accepted racial exclusion as normal social practice (Goldberg 1993: 33; Wilson 2000: 17). Racist thinking justified colonialism, imperialism, and slavery, which spread racial oppression around the world (Wilson 2000: 15-17). It instituted white supremacy in the early history of the United States and legitimated chattel slavery despite the ideals of freedom and democracy that the patriots of the American Revolution championed (Wilson 2000: 17). The legacy of this early racist thought continues today in the perpetual reproduction of black social, political, and economic disempowerment. Wilson elaborates that

the political function of the modernist cultural form is "to exclude the economically and racially marginalized others who were identified as polluting the body politics" (Wilson 2000: 20). He approaches this exclusionary practice using Lefebvre's concept of abstract space, which considers how the demands of capital dominate everyday lived space (Wilson 2000: 21). However, such domination sparks resistance manifesting a politics of identity that draws not only on race, but on people's attachment to place (Wilson 2000: 181, 191).

McCann's work invokes Lefebvre's conceptual triad to explore the role of race, identity, and protest in the production of space. He demonstrates this in an empirical study examining the formation of and reaction to a black urban protest that formed in response to a white police officer's shooting death of an unarmed black male teenager in Lexington, Kentucky in 1994 (McCann 1999: 164). McCann makes the critical point that Lefebvre's theory is deficient in any consideration of race. However, he suggests that a careful contextualization of Lefebvre's theory in American cities can help geographers to better grasp the relationship between race and urban public space (McCann 1999: 164). McCann argues that Lefebvre's conceptual triad of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces can be used to "capture bodily experiences toward space and therefore suggest that the racially 'marked' bodies will have a particular relationship to, and constitutive role in the production of abstract spaces which always attempt to elide difference" (McCann 1999: 179). In following Lefebvre's theory, McCann explains that capitalist abstract space dominates public space by attempting to define the kinds of activities that are allowed and prohibited in space, and by erasing any traces of historical social struggles over the production of space (McCann 1999: 169). He holds that state-led processes that maintain segregation homogenize difference, and that "groups who are not included in this image of the world that valorizes wealthy White suburbs and White downtown business spaces are continually made to

feel out of place at the same time as they are told that if they want to prosper they must assimilate" (McCann 1999: 171). However, abstract space's domination is not absolute, but open to forms of everyday resistance and larger "out of place" actions such as the Lexington protest (McCann 1999: 171, 175). Through everyday resistance, McCann argues, "groups such as African Americans, whose lives, histories, and spaces are so often marginalized by capitalist abstract space, can challenge the dominant representations central to that space" (McCann 1999: 171). By contesting abstract space, dominated groups affirm their rights to the city and difference (McCann 1999: 181).

McCann is particularly interested in Lefebvre's concept of representational spaces (McCann 1999: 177, 180). He explores representational spaces as they appear in political cartoons and an editorial that the Lexington *Herald-Leader* newspaper published following the police shooting and protest. McCann adapts Lefebvre's triad to his analysis by temporarily separating representational spaces from spatial practices and representations of space "for heuristic purposes" (McCann 1999: 177-178). As representational spaces, the cartoons and editorial presented critical commentaries on social divisions in Lexington's racialized landscape and black perceptions of white suburbanites (McCann 1999: 173-175). He argues that the cartoons and editorial "had a significant impact on the spatial practices of Lexington's residents because they shine a harsh light on the role of planners and the everyday lives of middle-class Whites in the production of exclusionary, abstract, public spaces" (McCann 1999: 173). Abstract space defines belonging and exclusion according to race and other socially divisive categories. This results in a social space that reproduces certain power geometries and social inequalities. However, exploration of representational spaces provides a way to learn how blacks and other oppressed groups reappropriate lived space and assert difference.

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Heynen uses a Marxist, feminist, anti-racist theoretical framework and mixed methods empirical study to learn about historical and present-day spaces of black radical urban movements (Heynen 2009a, 2009b). He examines how the Black Panther Party's (BPP) Free Breakfast for Children Program connected to a scalar politics whereby eliminating local childhood hunger and improving everyday social reproduction in black communities across the United Sates could eventually unite and empower similarly oppressed communities around the world (Heynen 2009b: 408, 415). According to Heynen, the BPP's Breakfast Program originated to improve black communities by "starting at the scale of the individual body but also for the sake of building a political base that could be used to resist the hegemonic repression of the U.S. government and capitalist interests more broadly" (Heynen 2009b: 415). Heynen interviewed former BPP members and associates, and read FBI COINTELPRO documents to learn how the Breakfast Program's scalar politics coincided with the concept of intercommunalism that Huey P. Newton, the BPP's defense minister and chief theoretician, developed (Heynen 2009b: 408, 415).

Posited in the volatile socio-political context of the late 1960s and early 1970s, Newton's concept of intercommunalism held that capital had prevailed over and subsumed the power of nation-states, which in turn reorganized the world into dispersed communities. Consequently, revolutionary political organization was to focus on uniting those scattered communities where state-led repression protected capital domination (Heynen 2009b: 416-417). For Heynen, the relationship between the BPP's Breakfast Program and intercommunalism is important to the broader understanding of politics of scale because it "exhibits how individual actors transform and reproduce the material foundations of life in scaled ways, and transform the geographies of survival" (Heynen 2009b: 417). Heynen also points out that the Breakfast Program affected

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gender roles in the notoriously patriarchal BPP. For some male Panthers, participation in feeding and caring for children brought them to a realization of misogynous repression within traditional patriarchal social formations. As a result, these men moved towards denouncing conservative notions of masculinity that sustained patriarchy in the BPP (Heynen 2009b: 413).

Lefebvre's concern for everyday life influenced Heynen's focus on social reproduction. Heynen explains that, "Lefebvre began to demonstrate that those who study the foundations of repressive society in everyday life are obligated simultaneously to focus on social reproduction" (Heynen 2009b: 408). As a radical geographer, Heynen critically points out that while empirical research since the 1990s has effectively mapped the spatial patterns of poverty, "these kinds of responses are insufficient both as insights into and frames for actually ameliorating poverty" (Heynen 2009a: 189). Echoing Harvey's call for revolutionary theory in geography, Heynen circumvents liberal approaches to racialized poverty when he states "solutions to this rooted reality require something too often marginalized in mainstream public policy, a serious critique and response to the rhythms and designs of capitalist political economies" (Heynen 2009a: 189). Everyday life under continuous racialized poverty reproduces a deeply entrenched nihilism that becomes a quality of place. However, by drawing on the insights of philosopher Cornel West, Heynen believes that non-European concepts of utopianism and "the long tradition of grassroots utopian thinking within minority and poor people's movements throughout U.S. history" can reverse such hopelessness (Heynen 2009a: 191). In seeking out empirical examples of a grassroots utopian tradition, Heynen examines the black radical McGee family which has struggled to end racialized poverty in Milwaukee over several generations (Heynen 2009a: 187).

Again using a radical theoretical framework and field-based mixed methods approach, Heynen delves into the life histories of McGee family members who have strategically walked

the line between informal revolutionary politics and formal electoral politics (Heynen 2009a: 188). The McGee family's activism shares a history with the BPP as Michael McGee, Sr. was a founding member of the BPP's Milwaukee chapter and a subsequent local offshoot group called the Black Panther Militia (Heynen 2009a: 193). McGee, Sr. and his son Michael McGee, Jr. have continued to support BPP style survival programs in Milwaukee in their capacities as independent activists and elected city aldermen. Heynen points out that the McGees have employed a scalar politics reflecting the BPP's notion of intercommunalism in their attempts to build networks with the governments of Iraq and Venezuela (Heynen 2009a: 194, 196). Informed by his empirical research and focus on social reproduction, Heynen concludes that it is necessary for "radically utopian alternatives" to be incorporated into geographical thought (Heynen 2009a: 198).

Tyner's research into the geographies of Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party provide foundational insights into the relationships between space, place, scalar politics, social movements, everyday life, racism, and black radicalism (Tyner 2003, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Tyner and Kruse 2004). His analysis brings together constructionist notions of space, critical social theory, and empirical methods that largely employ an analysis of key selected speeches and writings (Tyner 2003: 168, 2004: 330; Tyner and Kruse 2004: 28, 40). Tyner began his initial research into the geography and critical race theory of Malcolm X as a way to "highlight the experiential and geographical aspects of Malcolm's evolving epistemology . . . with the intent of contributing to the advancement of a critical race pedagogy in geography" (Tyner 2003: 176). Developing over the course of several journal articles, much of Tyner's work eventually culminated in *The Geography of Malcolm X: Black Radicalism and the Remaking of American Space* (2006). Tyner's work demonstrates Malcolm X's geographical imagination, geopolitical

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views, and politics of place and scale (Tyner 2003: 174; Tyner and Kruse 2004: 26). This work

is significant to human geography and the wider social sciences because, as Tyner asserts, "the

geography of Malcolm X was unarguably one of producing a space of social justice" (Tyner

2006a: 164). Despite Malcolm X's thorough critiques of and resistance to institutionalized

racism, and more so because of them, the conservatism dominating the public sphere has

marginalized his ideas (Tyner 2006a: 38).

Tyner approaches the geography of Malcolm X and the spaces of black radicalism more

broadly through the lens of Lefebvre's notions of representations of space and representational

space (Tyner 2006a: 163, 2007: 218). He underscores the dialectical construction of space,

place, and racial identity by showing how representations of space and their materialization in

social segregationist practices produce a racialized space where "ghettos" and the "inner city"

are identified with black people (Tyner 2006a: 65). As a result of such practices, "the *place* of

African Americans becomes fixed" in a way "to occupy the lower rungs of a racially defined

class hierarchy" (Tyner 2006a: 65-66, 68). Black radicalism's building of representational

spaces of black separatism had resisted racist representations of space and their reification as

spatial practices (Tyner 2006a: 71). This is consistent with Tyner's statement that "Black

radicalism is about alternative geographies, of social and spatial transformations; black

radicalism is about the remaking of spaces" (Tyner 2007: 219). Tyner looks into the historical

development of an array of black separatist notions in the theories, debates, and spatial practices

of W.E.B. Dubois, Frederick Douglass, Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, Booker T. Washington,

Marcus Garvey, and the Nation of Islam's Elijah Muhammad (Tyner 20006a: 71-75). Tyner

writes that "separatism was not new. However, the black separatism that gained notoriety during

the 1960s in large part because of the actions of Malcolm X– was unique because it entailed a

harsh critique of the American Dream" (Tyner 2006a: 84). As a son of Garveyite parents, and as the Nation of Islam's spokesman, Malcolm X signified an important link in the development and diffusion of black separatist thought in the United States.

Within Malcolm X's articulation of black radical representational spaces was the replacement of negative stereotypes with positive images of African Americans. Tyner indicates that Malcolm X recognized that racist images of African Americans "fostered an environment that facilitated a banal perpetuation of discrimination and prejudice, oppression, and exploitation" (Tyner 2006a: 107). Tyner views this as a discursive practice akin to theorist Edward Said's concept of Orientalism when writing, "just as Orientalism defined the West in a relational sense, so too has the discursive construction of African Americans defined whiteness" (Tyner 2006a: 105). He also adopts Toni Morrison's concept of Africanism to illustrate this practice as a Eurocentric relational construction of blackness and whiteness (Tyner 2006a: 105). Malcolm X frequently attacked such constructions in speeches by exposing the underlying racism in everyday and media propagated terms such as "negro" and "race riots" (Tyner 2006a: 105). He also urged constructing a new black identity upon a positive pan-Africanist reimagining of Africa as the black homeland (Tyner 2006a: 105, 114). Tyner indicates that deconstructing negative images in such ways was crucial to Malcolm X because he saw "that a material liberation could only emerge in tandem with a psychological emancipation. Pan-Africanism, with Africa as a geographical touchstone, would provide that framework" (Tyner 2006a: 114). Malcolm X situated Africa, as a real and imagined place, at the center of his geopolitical perspective and scalar politics.

Malcolm X based his critical geopolitics on a sharp understanding of power, knowledge, and representation, which he honed through self-education, travel, and everyday life experiences

(Tyner 2006a: 104-105). Tyner informs his exploration of Malcolm X's scalar politics using

Cox's concepts of spaces of dependence and spaces of engagement (Tyner 2006a: 128-129). He

demonstrates that "a binding thread of Malcolm X's political thought was to simultaneously

enlarge and reduce the spaces of engagement of the movement for black liberation" (Tyner

2006a: 131). This paradoxical strategy resulted from Malcolm X's views on the limited gains of

the Civil Rights Movement, which he saw as restricted by the presence of white liberal control

and his realization that imperialism oppressed black people around the world (Tyner 2006a: 104,

131-140). Malcolm X built a transnational scalar politics upon the political ideology of

revolutionary pan-African internationalism (Tyner 2006a: 114). He demonstrated this in his

travels across the United States, Europe, Africa, and Asia, his appeal to the 1964 Organization of

African Unity conference in Cairo, Egypt, and his founding of the Organization of Afro-

American Unity in Harlem (Tyner 2003: 175, 2006a: 131-136).

Following his 1965 assassination, Malcolm X's ideas inspired the formation and imbued

the representational spaces of Black Power organizations such as the BPP. Tyner also examines

Malcolm X's influence on the BPP's representational spaces and urban politics of black

radicalism (Tyner 2006a: 140; 2006b: 105). Although the BPP shaped its political ideology

upon the ideas of Frantz Fanon, Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, Vladimir Lenin, and others,

Malcolm X's influence prevailed (Tyner 2006: 143). Tyner writes that Malcolm X's importance

to the Black Panthers was his shared "black urban roots and his concomitant urban-based

territorial politics" (Tyner 2006a: 143). Focusing on the BPP's "discursive and material

practices," Tyner examines the implications of public space in the evolution of the BPP's

political ideology, which moved through four phases consisting of black nationalism,

revolutionary nationalism, revolutionary internationalism, and intercommunalism (Tyner 2006a:

143, 2006b: 106, 112-114). The BPP shaped this ideological evolution by constructing a scalar politics that expanded the group's spaces of engagement from the scale of the local black community of Oakland, California, to the worldwide scale of globally dispersed oppressed communities (Tyner 2006a: 143, 151-152, 2006b: 112).

Tyner also looks at the BPP's survival programs, which sought to improve local social reproduction of black neighborhoods and to build up the group's scalar politics. The BPP's survival programs included "the petitioning for community control of the police, teaching black history classes, promoting tenant and welfare rights, establishing health clinics, promoting tenant and welfare rights, establishing health clinics and investigating incidents of police brutality" (Tyner 2006a: 144). Other major programs included free protection for elders, free food and shoe programs, free clothing programs for children, and the police-alert program, which consisted of armed self-defense patrols to check white police brutality in black communities (Tyner 2006a: 144-145). Together, the BPP's programs and attempts to broadly extend its scalar politics can be seen as a strategy to reappropriate lived space and build cohesiveness within the black urban community (Tyner 2006a: 146). However, Tyner critically points out that Newton's notion of intercommunalism was lost on the local community and other BPP members who could not relate to the highly abstract theory (Tyner 2006a: 155, 2006b: 116). He concludes that "although Newton attempted to resolve this epistemological obstacle, the linkage between the material spaces of dependency was often obfuscated when framed within his more expansive spaces of engagement" (Tyner 2006a: 155). From his studies of space, place, scale, race, and social movements in the geographies of Malcolm X and the BPP, Tyner's work provides an important foundation for my research on NAIM's representational space of black radicalism.

Summary

The literature provides a solid platform of theory and empirical research to support this study. Lefebvre's theory on the social production of space and conceptual triad of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces forms this study's theoretical perspective that sees space, place, and scale as highly contested social constructs. Lefebvre's theory of social space, especially the dialectic between conceived space and lived space, helps to build an understanding of how the production of space, place, and scale can involve the participation of social movements such as NAIM. The relationship between space, race, and social movements cannot be fully comprehended without considering how it interconnects with politics of place and scalar politics. The above-mentioned concepts and empirical studies using and shaping them, guide me towards understanding NAIM's representational space of black radicalism. As a result, NAIM's representational space can be approached through a study of its mobilization space, politics of place, and scalar politics, which New Afrikan nationalists constructed to liberate the lived space of black America and to gain control over the social reproduction unfolding within it. This understanding also informs my research strategy that takes a mixed methods approach to learn about NAIM's material and imagined geographies. In such a way, the results of my research will make notable contributions to the existing body of geographic research into the radical spaces of Black Power.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Research Design and Methodology

I use a qualitative hybrid methods research design to gather data needed to learn about

the material and imagined geographies that comprised NAIM's representational space of black

radicalism. I put the research design to use during multi-sited fieldwork conducted intermittently

between the summers of 2008 and 2012. The design is structured as a cross-sectional case study

that triangulates interviews, participant observation, and archival research (Baxter 2010: 81;

Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2002: 199). I chose this research design because it presents an

effective way to explore the historical geographical, social, political, and economic contexts in

which New Afrikan nationalists created NAIM's material and imagined geographies through

spatial and discursive practices. It also provides a way to learn about the ideas and practices that

New Afrikan nationalists deem to be important to their struggle. The research design and

methodology help to ensure that my study's findings are accurate and transferable for other

similar research (Baxter 2010: 94; Bradshaw and Stratford 2010: 77-78; Winchester and Rofe

2010: 8, 17).

I employ a largely qualitative, intensive, and idiographic case study approach to learn

how NAIM's representational spaces of black radicalism were constructed, represented, and

implicated in the social production of space (Baxter 2010: 85; Brown 2002: 102). My study is

intensive and idiographic because it focuses on the depth and meaning of the material and

discursive practices that New Afrikans used for building NAIM's material and imagined

geographies. I give careful attention to these practices because they change with multiple

contexts and the subjectivities of different actors. I also use a systematic approach that draws on

analytical perspectives from cultural, urban, political, and economic geography. As a case study,

my research features both cross-sectional and longitudinal aspects (Baxter 2010: 90; Brown 2002: 104-105). It is cross-sectional as a result of my conducting fieldwork within a single timespan from 2009 to 2012. The study's longitudinal aspect arises from my reliance on historical data from different time periods in NAIM's history. I do not claim that my study presents a complete picture of NAIM or its representational space and scalar politics of black radicalism. Instead, I present transferable findings from a single study that can add to the partial knowledge that previous researchers have gained about black radical spaces. However, I believe that my research on NAIM makes a groundbreaking contribution in a discipline that has long been reluctant to approach the study of black geographies. The accumulation of findings from past and future research can help reveal patterns that will improve our overall understanding of the representational spaces of black radicalism and the broader study of space, place, and scalar politics.

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured and unstructured interviews to learn about NAIM's representational space and scalar politics directly from New Afrikan nationalists and close associates of the movement. The benefits of semi-structured and unstructured interviewing include gaining knowledge of aspects of the movement's culture, history, and geography, which cannot be attained from the limited written record or participant observation (Dunn 2010: 102). Respondents shared such knowledge, though always partial and situated, when they discussed their personal experiences and stories as movement activists. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews also ensure the study's rigor and transferability by providing an effective way to cross-check assumptions, questions, opinions, and previously collected data with NAIM activists who have first-hand knowledge of the movement (Dunn 2010: 103). The interviewing methods I

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used bring out the voices of New Afrikan nationalists, which have been largely stifled as members of a long repressed movement. I reached a better understanding of NAIM's representational space and scalar politics by listening to New Afrikans tell their own stories with their own voices.

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews are more flexible and open-ended than structured interviews and survey questionnaires, which commonly ask the same questions or ask respondents to choose from a narrow range of answers. I generally used interview schedules containing a list of preplanned questions to guide the flow of interview dialogue. Interviews remained flexible, but included primary questions prompting respondents to share life histories, and descriptions of and opinions on different ideas, practices, people, events, and places that they considered to be important (Blee and Taylor 2002: 105). I asked follow-up questions when ideas or statements needed clarification. Figure 3.1shows a typical interview schedule used in this research. In several instances, I modified the interview schedules to align more closely with each respondent's particular background within the movement. Major segments of several interviews were unstructured as I encouraged respondents to freely elaborate on their views. This led me to raise spontaneous questions that shifted dialogue away from the interview schedule and resulted in unanticipated discussions. The unstructured moments of the interviews nevertheless remained relevant and insightful.

I conducted 23 interviews between 2009 and 2011. Respondents represented a cross-section of NAIM consisting of movement veterans, newcomers, leaders, and rank-and-file members. Eleven respondents were currently active and four were former members of groups such as the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, New Afrikan Security Force, the New Afrikan People's Organization, New Afrikan Scouts, and the Malcolm X

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Grassroots Movement. The remaining respondents included individual New Afrikan nationalists

and associates whose professional work and or social activism affiliated with NAIM. The

respondent population was intergenerational spanning between the ages of 22 and 75 years of

age. Only five women agreed to be interviewed which projected a male bias in the data. I used

snowball sampling to connect with the majority of my respondents who gatekeepers that I met

during fieldwork referred to me. I made contact attempts face-to-face, by telephone, and less

frequently by email. In such a manner, I initiated dialogue and built rapport with my

respondents. Most of my independent attempts to contact activists, and several referred to me by

gatekeepers, were refused either verbally or by silent disregard. A small number of respondents

were cautious and reluctant when I asked them for interviews, citing that academic researchers in

the past contributed to NAIM's political repression by carelessly misrepresenting the movement.

I conducted my interviews after Louisiana State University's Institutional Review Board

(IRB) exempted my project from institutional oversight. I presented consent forms to

respondents to read and sign before beginning an interview session. The forms contained my

project's title, purpose, and scope; contact information for the investigator, dissertation

committee chair, and IRB coordinator; and an explanation of respondents' confidentiality rights

and freedom to refuse to answer questions or withdraw from the interview at any time. I

provided copies of the forms to respondents who requested them. A few respondents asked to

read the interview schedule before they began answering my questions. I conducted most of my

interviews in the city of Jackson, Mississippi, a central location for NAIM's mobilization since

the late 1960s.

Interview Schedule

To begin, could you tell me a little bit about yourself e.g. where did you grow up and your background?

How did you become interested in the RNA, did any everyday experiences lead to your interest? Did the place where you lived play a role?

What is a New Afrikan and how did you become a conscious New Afrikan citizen?

What do you do in your everyday life, now, that relates to your political beliefs and your vision? What part of your values do you really try to live by in your day to day life, e.g. food, language, clothing, family, work, social relationships? What are you resisting and what are your creating?

Has the RNA's vision of a New Afrikan territory changed since the early 1970s, e.g. is the focus of the struggle more on reparations today and less on territorial independence? Why is New Afrikan independence important?

Has the map of the RNA's national territory changed?

In the literature and also when attending NAND, I learned that New Afrikans make frequent references to Kush, can you help me understand what Kush is and how it changes everyday ways of thinking about the Mississippi Delta or the US? What does Kush represent to you?

Have you or someone you know ever lived in the national territory or Kush, if not do you plan on doing so? Is it important for you as a New Afrikan to live or travel or talk about Kush? Why or why not?

What is the significance today of other places in the RNA's history like New Bethel Church, El Malik, New Communities, the Lewis Street headquarters, or prisons? Is it important to remember these places, and if so, how are they remembered, e.g. as memorials, monuments?

Are there any other places that you would identify as New Afrikan places? What makes them New Afrikan places?

Have you ever attended RNA events in other places in or outside the national territory? What was that like?

Can you tell me about the diasporic connections between the RNA and other movements?

Figure 3.1
Semi-structured interview schedule

A lesser number of interviews took place in the small southwest Mississippi cities of Natchez

and Port Gibson, and the rural communities of Bolton and Hermanville. I conducted my

Louisiana interviews in New Orleans and the countryside town of Colfax in Grant Parish.

Respondents always selected the interview venues, which included meeting spaces in colleges

and libraries, private homes, offices, and restaurants. Interviews also took place at recognized

New Afrikan places such as the New Afrikan Government House and the Tugaloo Community

Farm in Jackson, Mississippi, the New Afrikan Village Campus in Hermanville, Mississippi, and

the Kugichagulia Retreat Center in Colfax, Louisiana. The geography of the interview venues

provided me with insights into NAIM's representational space as they were also places where

New Afrikan activists organized other events. I conducted two telephone interviews with

respondents in Oakland, California, and Atlanta, Georgia. I interviewed several respondents

during movement events such as the 2009, 2010, and 2011 annual New Afrikan Nation Day

celebrations in Jackson, and the 2011 meeting of the National Coalition of Blacks for

Reparations in America in New Orleans. Most interview settings were quiet places with no or

very minimal interruptions.

I recorded all interviews with an Olympus VN-6200PC digital voice recorder. For

telephone interviews, I used landline and mobile telephones, and an Olympus TP7 inner ear

telephone pickup connected to the aforementioned voice recorder. I downloaded the digital

interview recordings via Universal Serial Bus cable to a personal computer hard drive, and

manually transcribed them using NCH Software's Express Scribe transcription program. To

preserve the nuances of spoken vernacular language such as accents and hesitations, I adopted a

verbatim transcription style (Dunn 2010: 123). After I gave respondents electronic and hardcopy

transcripts for their review and feedback, some asked me to clarify the purpose of my verbatim

style, concerned that its inclusion of hesitations such as "uh" and "um" in the transcripts made

them appear to be stammering. I saved the typed interview transcripts electronically as

Microsoft Windows Word documents and in Adobe Portable Document Format. The total time of all twenty-three interviews was forty-one hours, with the median interview time being one hour and forty-seven minutes. Interview transcriptions comprise a 421 pages of 12-point font Times New Roman typeface single-spaced text. I backed up and stored all recordings and transcripts on computer hard drives.

Archival Research

I conducted archival research to locate historical texts pertaining to NAIM since its formation in the late 1960s. Historical texts include movement literature, archived interviews, state agency records, newspaper and magazine clippings, biographical works, interpersonal correspondences, photographs, posters, maps, and audio recordings (Clemens and Hughes 2002: 202, 210; Roche 2010: 174). Such documents provide a window on the changing historical contexts in which New Afrikan nationalists constructed NAIM's representational space and scalar politics. Archival research is necessary because knowledge of historical contexts and events can be difficult to gain from interview respondents having difficulty recalling the past with the passage of time. Historical documents can also provide insights into the movement's identity formation, political networks, events, and resources. They are also useful for cross-checking statements made during interviews or in other sources, all the more to ensure my study's accuracy. These documents also contain geospatial data such as addresses and place-names that I explored to learn about the spatial distribution and geographical scale of historical mobilization sites that New Afrikan activists used for meetings, fundraising, workshops, recruitment, and demonstrations. The relatively small volume of NAIM's publicly available archived record made it possible for me to photocopy or digitally photograph a majority of the documents that I found in libraries.

I conducted my archival research at multiple libraries and other historical resource centers that maintained special collections and other key holdings pertaining to NAIM. My research involved using publication indexes, finding aids, internet search engines, electronic library databases, and seeking assistance from professional archivists and staff librarians. In Atlanta, Georgia, I located resources at the Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL) and Robert W. Woodruff Library at Emory University, and the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History. I conducted my research in Atlanta from January 4 to January 14, 2010, financially supporting it, in part, with a MARBL Fellowship and a Robert C. West Field Research Award from the Department of Geography and Anthropology at Louisiana State University. In Jackson, Mississippi, I searched for historical documents at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Margaret Walker Center and H. T. Sampson Library at Jackson State University, Millsaps-Wilson Library at Millsaps College, L. Zenobia Coleman Library at Tougaloo College, and the Jackson Advocate newspaper. The Vicksburg Public Library in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and the online collaborative Mississippi Digital Library also provided me with useful data. I carried out the Mississippi leg of my archival work intermittently from 2009 to 2012. In Washington D.C., I examined archival holdings at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center in April 2010, and, in New York City, Harlem's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in February 2012. In New Orleans, I conducted archival research at Xavier University's Archives and Special Collections department in August 2012. Louisiana State University's Troy H. Middleton Library in Baton Rouge provided me with secondary source materials such as books and microfilm, and interlibrary loan services throughout my research.

The Detroit Police Department's "Red Squad" 1966-1971 files are an important source of historical and geospatial data for my study. Originally released to the public through Freedom of Information Act requests and a series of lawsuits, the "Red Squad" files consist of surveillance information on NAIM activities in Detroit collected by police informants planted within the city's PG-RNA consulate (Davenport 2005: 129). Spatial data found in the "Red Squad" files includes meeting, fundraising, and training locations, types of meeting places, and meeting participant addresses. I evaluated the reliability of the historical Detroit "Red Squad" files data by focusing on two areas of concern: source reliability and content validity. Source reliability bases itself on an informant's authenticity, motives, history of cooperation, and accuracy of past reporting. I could not determine the infiltrators' identities because their names are redacted in the data. Such redactions also make it difficult to know how many people worked with the police. However, I think that the Red Squad files consist of information that police received from only a small group of informants because the data shows a pattern of consistency in the level of knowledge of the movement. A more erratic pattern would be present if police used a larger group of infiltrators reporting from different vantage points. The data indicates that the Red Squad files present authentic information provided to police by people who unknowing Detroit PG-RNA consulate members, including rank-and-file and leaders, trusted enough to regularly include them in a wide range of political work and discussions regarding organizational security. I can only speculate on the motives underlying the informants' surveillance activities because the Red Squad data does not indicate why they became infiltrators, nor does it reveal anything regarding the circumstances surrounding their involvement. However, the pattern of consistency in knowledge reported over a three-year time span indicates a stable history of police and informant cooperation. As for the data's accuracy, I avoided relying on vague statements or

informants' personal opinions, although such kinds of utterances are not a regular feature of the data.

I verified the content validity of the Red Squad data by comparing it with other historical sources such as newspapers, books, pamphlets, and state records. These sources generally coincided with the police data and provided additional historical context. Early issues of the *New African*, the PG-RNA's national organ, were crucial historical sources I used for verifying the Red Squad data. I relied mostly on issues that the PG-RNA's Ministry of Information published in Detroit from 1968 to 1971. I believed that there was a gap in this data because several issues appeared to be missing in the small collection of newspapers I obtained from veteran NAIM activists. However, I learned through a close reading of the Red Squad files that the Ministry of Information only sporadically published issues of the New African because of limited printing funds. Therefore, the issues that I thought were missing from my collection were in fact not missing, but never published to begin with.

Participant Observation

Through the ethnographic method of participant observation, I learned how the material and discursive construction of NAIM's representational space and scalar politics take place in contexts not presenting themselves in more formal interview settings and archival research (Kearns 2010: 245). Such contexts include the interactive social relationships of everyday life unfolding in particular places (Cook 1997: 127; Kearns 2010: 245; Lichterman 2002: 120). I do not employ participant observation in a conventional sense where research involves long-term immersion within a within the community of research subjects. Instead, I conducted participant observation that was deliberately selective in terms of which socio-temporal contexts I chose to observe. The main reason for this was that my research budget was insufficient to cover the

costs of long-term relocation and fully immersed ethnographic fieldwork. As a result, I most frequently conducted participant observation during major NAIM and related events in Jackson, Mississippi, which was a two-and-a-half hour car trip from my apartment in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. I also conducted participant observation at other New Afrikan-organized events in Hermanville, Mississippi, and New Orleans and Colfax, Louisiana. New Afrikans commonly invited the public to their events, but regularly held them in private venues such as churches, school buildings, restaurants, and museums. Some events took place in public spaces such as the annual Colfax Massacre memorial at the Grant Parish Court House in Colfax, Louisiana, and the April 2011 rally to pardon the Scott Sisters in Jackson where several hundred people marched from Farish Street Park to the Mississippi state capital's front steps. NAIM activists advertised their events in various ways including on the internet and through interpersonal communication. I used interpersonal engagement, listening, talking, photographing, audio and video recording, and keeping a fieldwork journal as the main ways to gather data during participant observation. My participant observation also included visiting and photographing NAIM's historical mobilization sites in and nearby Jackson, Mississippi.

Field researchers categorize participant observation according to different levels of involvement that range from passive detachment to active engagement (Kearns 2010: 247). Drawing on the work of sociologist Raymond Gold, geographer Robin Kearns lists four types of observation which coincide with this continuum: (1) complete observation that includes total detachment as in remote camera surveillance, (2) observer-as-participant as in viewing a parade from the sidelines in a crowd, (3) participant-as-observer as in a resident studying their own neighborhood, and (4) complete participation as in long-term fully-engaged immersion within a community of research subjects (Kearns 2010: 246). I was mainly an observer-as-participant

during my fieldwork. Complete observation or complete participation never took place, and I can only claim to be a participant-as-observer in the sense that NAIM activists and I were from the same broader American society. I was an observer-as-participant as an audience member when attending New Afrikan Nation Day celebrations, annual Colfax Massacre memorials, and the Scott Sisters rally, all of which included speeches, religious ceremonies, poetry readings, and musical performances. My involvement increased when I participated in New Afrikan-organized historical tours, fund-raising raffles, public demonstrations and rallies, and group rituals.

Situated Knowledge

In participant observation, researchers become participants because their bodies become instruments of research and data collection (Kearns 2010: 243, 247). Recognizing participant observation in this way raises important concerns regarding the politics and ethics of fieldwork and questions of knowledge production, power relations, and positionality. The politics and ethics of geographical fieldwork have attracted greater attention since feminist geographers began questioning it in the early 1990s. This interest is expanding conversations on fieldwork that move from being narrowly confined to particular research methods, to examining areas such as the social construction of knowledge and objectivity, politics of representation, material and discursive constructions of "the field," and how social categories and commodified academic production shape a researcher's positionality (Abbott 2006: 326; Crang, 2002: 647, 2003: 494, 2005: 225; DeLyser and Karolczyk 2010: 470; Driver 2000: 267; England 1994: 80; Herbert 2000: 550; Hyndman 2001: 263; Katz 1994: 67; Kobayashi 1994: 73; McDowell 1992: 399; Rose 1997: 305; Sidaway 2000: 260; Sundberg 2003: 180; Till 2001: 47).

Geographers have also given attention to fieldwork's implications in wider social relations that tie the researcher and the researched to multiple centers of power including the

state, public and private funding institutions, university academic departments, book and journal publishers, the home, and the researched community itself. They have raised questions about how current fieldwork is embedded in the legacies of its historical function in Western colonialism and imperialism (Abbott 2006: 327, 333). Recent discussions urge geographers to write their fieldwork experiences into research publications in order to widen and improve understanding of positionality and the practice of reflexive thinking (DeLyser and Karolczyk 2010: 471-472; Driver 2000: 268; McDowell 1992: 409; Rose 1997: 305; Sundberg 2003: 181, 187). In the following section, I review some of the major ideas such conversations have raised, and apply them to situate the knowledge that my fieldwork produces in this study.

The critical discussion that feminist geographers led around the politics and ethics of fieldwork brings attention to the concepts of situated knowledge, positionality, and reflexivity, which feminist theorists such as Donna Haraway helped to advance (Herbert 2000: 563; Rose 1997: 306; Sundberg 2003: 182). Haraway forms her ideas in a critique of Western science that draws upon radical social constructivist and feminist critical empiricist approaches. Described as feminist objectivity, feminists posit situated knowledge as a way to challenge empiricist objectivity, which they view as a feature of masculinist epistemology (Haraway 1988: 575, 578, 580-581; Sundberg 2003: 181). Haraway argues that empiricist objectivity is based upon an illusory "god trick" whereby the scientific disembodied vision of the white male subject gazes infinitely "from everywhere and nowhere, equally" upon a transparent world of separate objects waiting to be discovered (Haraway 1988: 581-584). Although such vision is "unlocatable" and "unaccountable" it nevertheless forms the basis of positivist science's totalizing claims of universal knowledge (Haraway 1988: 581, 584). Haraway introduced situated knowledge to reclaim vision in a way that highlighted the partiality of knowledge (Haraway 1988: 582, 589).

She asserts, "only partial perspective promises objective vision" (Haraway 1988: 583). Situated knowledge seeks to avoid the "god tricks" of empiricism by apprehending "webs of connection" and the vision "from below" seen by subjugated groups who are "least likely to allow denial of the critical and interpretive core of all knowledge" (Haraway 1988: 583-584). Haraway connects situated knowledge to embodied vision, which a researcher's subjectivity and socially circumscribed positionality shapes (Haraway 1988: 589).

Feminist geographers adopted and furthered the ideas of Haraway and other feminist thinkers by contextualizing situated knowledge, positionality, and reflexivity in terms of geographical fieldwork and knowledge production. Kim England raises the critical point that the "detachment, distance, and impartiality" of positivist fieldwork ignores "the actual *making* of geography. The concerns with *doing* research are usually ignored and accounts are produced from which the personal is banished" (England 1994: 81-82). She argues that empiricist objectivism frames the researcher as an invisible "omnipotent expert in control of both passive research subjects and the research process" (England 1994: 81). For England, positivist fieldwork dehumanizes researched groups by treating them as "mere mines of information to be exploited by the researcher as the neutral collection of 'facts'" (England 1994: 82). Juanita Sundberg makes a similar argument that attends to a silence within geography that conceals "the observer as an agent involved in producing knowledge that is necessarily interested and partial. Also hidden, then, are the very conditions that enable the production of knowledge" (Sundberg 2003: 183). In light of these concerns, feminist geographers have advanced situated knowledge as a way of humanizing the observer and embodying their vision, and demonstrating the partiality of knowledge production.

Situated knowledge is always partial because the researcher and the researched produce it within an interactive relationship where incomplete knowledge is exchanged from different subjective viewpoints. Limitations of communication distort knowledge as information can be lost in the way it is sent, received, and represented. Drawing on feminist, post-colonial, and post-Marxist sources, Gillian Rose states that knowledge is situated because it is "produced in specific circumstances and that those circumstances shape it in some way" (Rose 1997: 305). In contrast to the totalizing vision of empiricist objectivity, she argues that "situating academic knowledge is to produce non-overgeneralizing knowledges that can learn from other kinds of knowledges, and that remains the crucial goal" (Rose 1997: 315). Along similar lines, Jennifer Hyndman warns, "where fieldwork findings are presented as immutable facts, readers beware. Not only is the experience of fieldwork an insufficient condition for certain knowledge, one's findings in the field never capture the whole picture. In fact, no whole picture exists" (Hyndman 2001: 267). Situated knowledge emphasizes that fieldwork is conducted through embodied vision whereby the researcher reclaims their vision to perceive and understand the world from a particular viewpoint shaped by knowledge, ideology, and power relations determined by various social categories such as gender, race, ethnicity, and class (England 1994: 85; Haraway 1998: 589; Rose 1997: 308; Sidaway 2000: 260).

Positionality

The concept of positionality involves thinking about how the locations of the researcher and researched within social categories or power relations shape the production of situated knowledge. Social identity, socio-economic class, educational background, and professional status possess different levels of power that impact knowledge-producing dialogical interactions between researcher and researched. England holds that "fieldwork is intensely personal, in that

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the positionality and biography of the researcher plays a central role in the research process, in the field as well as in the final text" (England 1994: 87). Positionality shapes how "relationships with the researched may be reciprocal, asymmetrical, or potentially exploitative" (England 1994: 82). It impacts how the researched and the wider academic audience perceive the researcher and share, represent, and negotiate partial knowledge. As Mike Crang indicates, the researcher's many identities "roll into shaping how the researcher is treated" (Crang 2005: 228). In affecting knowledge production, positionality influences levels of trust and communication, the types of questions to be asked and how they are answered, the kinds of data to be collected, the competency of data analysis, and the politics of representation (England 1994: 84, 86; Herbert 2000: 561; Hyndman 2001: 265; Sundberg 2003: 180-181, 184).

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a concept offering geographers a way to think introspectively about their positionality and how it situates fieldwork. It is commonly described as a critical process of self-reflection by which a researcher might discover their positionality and its influence on knowledge production and their relationship with the researched (England 1994: 82). Reflexivity is a component of embodied vision in which, as England indicates, "the reflexive 'I' of the researcher dismisses the observational distance of neopositivism and subverts the idea of the observer as an impersonal machine" (England 1994: 82). Similarly, Rose describes reflexivity "as a means of avoiding the false neutrality and universality of so much academic knowledge" (Rose 1997: 306). However, important critiques caution researchers about the futility of certain essentialist notions of reflexivity. Rose points out how popular concepts of reflexivity repeat the failings of empiricist objectivity by imagining the researcher as a subject possessing the "massive" knowledge, insight, and ability needed to discover their positionality

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and how it unfolds in the field (Rose 1997: 311-312). Seeing the pursuit of gaining absolute knowledge of one's positionality as largely elusive, Rose argues that "assuming that self and context are, even if in principle only, transparently understandable seems to me to be demanding an analytical certainty which is as insidious as the universalizing certainty that so many feminists have critiqued" (Rose 1997: 318). In a similar way, Crang holds that transparent reflexivity depends on the notion of a centered self-knowing subject who is able to uncover preexisting and unchanging essential identities hidden within themselves and the researched (Crang 2003: 497). Viewing identity as fluctuating in various situations, Crang states, "If different roles do appear in different contexts, they are often portrayed as circumstantial clothing, dressing ourselves inevitably less rather than more honestly to conceal some ulterior purpose" (Crang 2003: 497). The views of Rose and Crang consider introspective searches for a particular identity that will reveal a researcher's positionality as pointless since such a notion is based on empiricist subject-object dualism and essentialist notions of identity.

The critical treatment of reflexivity has advanced multiple perspectives on situated knowledge and positionality. Rose indicates that situated knowledge might be better understood by moving away from self-reflection and rigid hierarchical notions of insider-outsider positionality, which conceptualize difference as distance between researcher and the researched and "distance is the effect of the material and/or analytic power of the researcher" (Rose 1997: 312, 315). For Rose, more effective approaches might potentially include those that focus on mutually constructed identities and uncertainties such as gaps in constitutive negotiations, translations of local knowledges, interpretive authority, and meaning (Rose 1997: 316-318). Rose states that such approaches recognize that "there is no clear landscape of social positions to be charted by an all-seeing analyst; neither is there a conscious agent, whether researcher or

researched, simply waiting to be reflected in a research project" (Rose 1997: 316). Considering

positionality as unknowable, Rose proposes an anti-essentialist and performative stance where

"researcher, researched and research make each other; research and selves are 'interactive texts'"

(Rose 1997: 316). Such approaches appear to be more consistent with Haraway's notion of

situated knowledge as they hold suspect the assumed certainty of detached empiricist vision

gazing upon the subject's internal and external worlds.

Betweenness

Betweenness is another perspective on positionality, but one that accentuates negotiation

of differences and avoids strict notions of insider and outsider relations (Herbert 2000: 563; Rose

1997: 313). For England, betweenness comes from the idea that fieldwork is conducted "on the

world *between* ourselves and the researched. At the same time this 'betweenness' is shaped by

the researcher's biography, which filters the 'data' and our perceptions and interpretations of the

fieldwork experience" (England 1994: 86). Heidi Nast explains that because difference is

inherent to all social interactions it "requires that we are always everywhere in between or

negotiating the worlds of me and not-me . . . Betweenness thus implies that we are never

'outsiders' or 'insiders' in any absolute sense" (Nast 1994: 57). Approaching the researcher and

researched relationship as one of betweenness acknowledges its dialectical character and

expunges the impartial all-knowing researcher. Aware that the researcher often defines

boundaries between insider and outsider, Cindi Katz asserts that "by operating within these

multiple contexts all the time, we may begin to learn not to displace or separate so as to see and

speak, but to see, be seen, speak, listen and be heard in the multiply determined fields that we are

everywhere, always in" (Katz 1994: 72). Betweenness tends to equalize and unify the researcher

and researched relationship by not fetishizing any particular identity, vision, or positionality. In

this way, betweenness represents another path towards partial vision, situated knowledge, dialog, shared power and representation.

Race and Fieldwork

In my study, race stands out among the many other social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class that shape positionality and situate fieldwork and knowledge. However, geographers have hardly generated any noticeable discussion on race's impact on fieldwork. Laura Pulido and James Blaut attribute this absence to the discipline's white Eurocentric middle-class dominance that is largely indifferent to racial issues in research and pedagogy (Blaut 1979: 160; Pulido 2002: 45). However, since the late 1960s, African American, Latino, Asian, and a trickle of anti-racist white geographers have criticized this restrictive condition (Donaldson 1969: 17; Dwyer 1997: 441; Kobayashi 1994: 73; Pulido 2002: 45; Wilson and Jenkins 1972: 33). While such criticism helps to generate important studies into the mutually constitutive production of race and space, only a marginal body of geographic literature covers race and fieldwork (Dwyer 1997: 441; Pulido 2002: 45). From this literature, Pulido's work provides instructive comments that might enlighten white geographers on how to conscientiously proceed with responsible fieldwork. Pulido states that white researchers must not only "deal with the political and ethical issues associated with whites studying racially-subordinated populations, but there is also the problem of whites telling, once again, the stories of people of color - and the subject even sometimes speaking back" (Pulido 2002: 45). White geographers should learn how race and white privilege insulate them from relating to the social realities of other groups that often become their "objects" of research. Pulido ultimately calls for greater changes in the discipline's ethnic composition and academic culture as ways to raise geography's racial consciousness (Pulido 2002: 45-46).

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Audrey Kobayashi discusses the need to be critical of voice, representation, and the power of essentialist notions of race and sex (Kobayashi 1994: 74-76). She indicates how the black feminist challenge to the underlying racism of white feminist representation of marginalized groups, resulted in several positive changes including "the ways we conduct field research, both by challenging the myth of neutral detachment and by encouraging greater respect towards and the need for connection with the communities where we study" (Kobayashi 1994: 74). Dina Abbott contributes to this conversation by discussing how a lack of a critical pedagogy reproduces whiteness and racialized practices in college geography students participating in overseas field studies. Abbot suggests that a postcolonial theoretical framework that uses whiteness as an analytical category can be used to "reinterpret relations between geographers and geographical thinking dominated by past 'traditions' (of empire), rather than to normalize these by the teaching of those relationships in a simplified manner" (Abbott 2006: 338). While it is impossible to completely know how race or any other form of social categorization ultimately influences positionality and knowledge production in fieldwork, it is nevertheless an important step to acknowledge that it does have an effect (Mullings 1999: 341). By being aware of this reality, researchers can better consider the political and ethical aspects of fieldwork, and additionally, how their research practices might reproduce power inequalities and oppressive social relationships. The researcher must always be aware that their positionality can unconsciously and irreversibly impact the social dynamics of their research group (Kearns 2010: 247).

My presence while conducting fieldwork and participating in New Afrikan events was quite noticeable because I was regularly the only white person in attendance. Although I readily acknowledge that race impacts social interaction, I cannot make any absolute claim to fully know

how my skin complexion and its social power and privileges, compared or combined with other aspects of my positionality such as age, sex, nationality, ethnicity, and status as a social scientist, to shape my access to or field relations with gatekeepers and respondents. I also definitely do not know how my field relations changed when on several occasions, my wife, who is black, accompanied me to the field. Surely, certain trends of black nationalism condemn interracial relationships, but as I learned in the field and from reading activist literature, New Afrikans or black nationalists more generally do not all uniformly share this perspective. In a few instances, I noticed that my presence made some people uneasy. They made this known to me through various subtle interpersonal physical gestures such as grimacing, rolling their eyes, and looking or walking away when I approached their location.

In light of past state-led attempts to undermine the movement, some New Afrikans conveyed to me in alternating jest and seriousness, the understandable though false opinion that that I might have been a poorly undercover counter-intelligence agent. Once during participant observation, a NAIM activist who had seen me recording at numerous events, jokingly asked me if I was the "spook who sat by the door," making reference to the 1973 Blaxploitation-era espionage film of the same name. In another group situation, an activist indicated to his peers and me while pointing out my white skin complexion, that I "might have been in the nation, but was not of the nation." As NAIM consists of nationalists identifying themselves as citizens of the Republic of New Afrika, some New Afrikans might have viewed me as a representative of the white oppressor nation, which is how they perceive the United States. I can imagine that some activists might have translated this into identifying me as a political enemy of the New Afrikan nation. Nevertheless, except for an RNA president once denying me entrance to a Nation Day memorial service for Imari Obadele, a movement founder who transitioned in

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February 2010, New Afrikan nationalists never turned me away from participating in any of their events, including tours, rituals, and other group activities. New Afrikan security personnel regularly prompted me to get permission from elected PG-RNA ministers before making audio or video recordings of events. While such recording is disruptive and appropriative, they never denied me recording privileges after I used the proper channels to get permission (Kearns 2010: 254). I felt welcomed in many situations and over time developed a positive rapport and sometimes-collaborative relationship with some NAIM activists.

In any case, I did not conduct my fieldwork for testing my access across racial, cultural, and political boundaries. However, it is nevertheless crucial to acknowledge that race along with other social categories and power relations were always at play; they had real impacts on circumscribing observation and knowledge production. For me to begin to gain deeper and more truthful insights into how race, nation, and gender shaped my field relations within this particular study, I would had to have been totally immersed within the group for an extended time to discern the racial rhetoric of New Afrikan nationalist politics from the lived reality of race. While it is impossible for me to fully and accurately know how New Afrikans perceived me in the field, it is another problem for me to comprehend how race, nation, and gender influenced my own subjective observations and understandings of the movement. Race, nation, and gender are social constructs of thought and omniscient, powerful, and behavior-altering discourses. Born, raised, and identified as a white male in a social environment where racism, nationalism, class, and patriarchy are deeply entrenched, I long and unwittingly accepted such ideologies and their consequences without question. Only through continuous engaged learning and practical experience, can people attain consciousness of and liberation from the many ways that such ideologies affect thoughts, behaviors, and social relationships. This liberatory path also requires

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a solid commitment to maintaining a firm ongoing personal meditation on how social constructs

shape the world of power relations and daily interactions in which a person's life unfolds.

Constituting the "Field"

The conversation on situated knowledge and positionality rearticulated what constitutes

"the field" in fieldwork. This new conceptualization challenges the idea of the field being a

physically and temporally bounded place in which the world of the researched "other" is

cordoned off from the researcher's separate reality as outsider (Hyndman 2001: 262; Katz 1994:

67; Nast 1994: 56). As Hyndman succinctly puts it, the term "the field" has long been used to

"normalize differences and to buttress existing sociopolitical hierarchies. The assumption that a

field-worker is an outsider and that this position authorizes a legitimate space from which to

study and record 'the field' is epistemologically and politically suspect" (Hyndman 2001: 263).

Katz signifies the need for a more critical understanding of the field, stating, "The fields of

power that connect the field researcher and participants, the participants to one another, scholars

in the field, and research participants and audiences as historical subjects who confront various

but specifiable conditions of oppression, deserve critical scrutiny" (Katz 1994: 69). From a

critical standpoint of situated knowledge and positionality, some geographers are seeing the field

as a materially and discursively constructed assemblage of many heterogeneous and overlapping

relationships in which the researcher and researched are positioned by ever-changing scales of

power shaped by social categories, politics, and economy (Driver 2000: 267-268; England 1994:

81; Till 2001: 46, 48). Demonstrating this view, Felix Driver asserts, "The field is produced *in*

situ through a variety of embodied spatial practices, discursively through presentation (in

publications, for example), and institutionally through scientific and other networks across a

range of different spaces" (Driver 2000: 267). From this broader constructivist perspective, the

field consists of interrelated sites where fieldwork-based production of knowledge is displaced. These sites or fields of knowledge production include academic departments, the classroom, professional conferences, book and journal publishers, funding institutions, and the sites where direct interaction between the researcher and researched take place (Till 2001: 47). Within each of these sites, the positionality of the researcher and researched changes as they each oriented differently to wider social relationships existing outside of their immediate interaction.

Expanding the notion of what constitutes the field makes it possible for geographers to see how fieldwork and knowledge production involve many powerful actors who are normally invisible within immediate fieldwork relationships and fetishized representations of the field. Sidaway's examination of power and the commodification of academic knowledge maps out some of these relationships (Sidaway 2000: 260). According to Sidaway, "arguably the most significant aspect of the researcher's 'position' is his or her framing by or 'interpellation' within a complex field of 'commodified' power/knowledge with and against which s/he must struggle and inevitably operate" (Sidaway 2000: 261). Recognizing the power relationships between the commodification of academic production, status-driven academic departments, and researchers, is crucial to understanding more fully how "the field" is implicated in wider domains of power that impact the positionality of and interaction between researchers and the researched. Surely, the competitive drive for individual status, power, funding, and profit in knowledge production has had a particular circumscribing effect on the course of research and pedagogy, the constitution of the field, and the social construction and representation of the researcher and the researched (Sidaway 2000: 260-270). To understand how knowledge production and the objectives and practices of academia, including fieldwork, funding sources, and publishing

companies impact "the field" and positionality, they must be contextualized in the wider capitalist mode of production and social formation.

Discourse Analysis

I use qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis to study the different contexts in which the material and discursive constructions of NAIM's representational space and scalar politics unfolded. My leaning about such contexts took place during fieldwork that reflexively employed interviews, participant observation, and archival research. More specifically, I use place-frame discourse analysis to examine how NAIM's representational space develops in a New Afrikan nationalist discourse that references everyday lived space and imagines future places. Discourse analysis can be traced to the work of French social theorist Michel Foucault, which a growing interest in poststructuralist thought popularized in the social sciences since the 1960s (Aitken 1997: 211; Barnes and Duncan 1992: 9; Foucault 1972: 31, 80; Jackson 1989: 166; Painter 1995: 13; Peet 1998: 201; Shurmer-Smith 2002: 44, 128; Waitt 2010: 218). For Foucault, discourse did not translate to simple conversation, but meant three things, "sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements" (Foucault 1972: 80). While notions of discourse vary across the social sciences, my study mainly borrows from the work of critical human geographers to arrive at a definition of discourse as a set of interrelated statements signifying certain politicized understandings about a phenomenon that frames ways of thinking and acting in the world (Barnes and Duncan 1992: 9; Painter 1995: 2, 13, 23; Peet 1998: 201; Shurmer-Smith 2002: 128; Wait 2010: 218). Groups of people construct discourses with an agenda of trying to accomplish certain social, political, and economic objectives (Painter 1995: 23-24; Shurmer-Smith 2002: 128).

In the case of social movements such as NAIM, political activists orient discourses towards building collective identity, changing social relationships, recruiting new members, maintaining group cohesion, and attaining external support and resources (Painter 1995: 146, 161-164). Material and discursive practices create, maintain, and diffuse statements that form a discourse. Such practices include the production and dissemination of texts, which include books, articles, interviews, pamphlets, speeches, stories, songs, radio broadcasts, maps, paintings, postcards, posters, photographs, state documents, and videos (Aitken 1997: 211; Painter 1995: 14; Waitt 2010: 220-221). Discourses are imbued with knowledge, power, and ideology through discursive practices such as using scientific or technical language to give their constituent statement's an authoritative or truthful tone, which, in effect, is expected to operationalize the discourse at the popular level of common sense (Aitken 1997: 211; Barnes and Duncan 1992: 8-9; Painter 1995: 23, 147; Waitt 2010: 236, 238-239). While certain discourses become dominant, such as state-led nationalist definitions of citizenship, they are nevertheless vulnerable to challenges that can alter them to generate new discourses (Barnes and Duncan 1992: 8-9; Gee 2005: 30; Painter 1995: 121; Shurmer-Smith 2002: 128; Waitt 2010: 239).

Discourse analysis is a qualitative analytical methodology that examines textual data to learn how power relations validate and contextualize discourses to construct and objectify certain social "realities" for shaping thought and action (Hannam 2002: 194; Jackson 1989: 167; Painter 1995: 136, 145; Waitt 2010: 218, 234). It is not concerned with the truth or falsity of statements comprising a discourse, but instead focuses on strategies of conviction that underlie their construction and political impacts (Painter 1995: 146; Waitt 2010: 228, 238). The construction of a convincing discourse relies on discursive practices of intertextuality where texts are produced and given an air of authority by weaving together statements from the discourses of

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powerful institutions such as the state, Western science, and organized religion (Aitken 1997: 205, 211; Gee 2005: 46; Painter 1995: 146; Shurmer-Smith 2002: 123, 128). Important discursive practices also include rhetorical devices such as metaphors, figures of speech, and the deliberate use of a "rational, objective and detached" style of language to give statements a sense of scientific authority or trustworthiness (Barnes and Duncan 1992: 9; Painter 1995: 146; Waitt 2010: 234). To understand discourse as a way of framing thought and action, it is important to also recognize how discourses exclude, silence, or deem certain voices irrelevant as is evident in the American corporate media's silencing of peace activists in its lockstep propagation of a discourse of national security and war on terror (Hannam 2002: 194; Painter 1995: 24, 116; Waitt 2010: 235).

I use a form of discourse analysis known as place-frame analysis, which geographers developed by bridging critical human geography with social movement and poststructuralist theory. Place-frames are discourses that form the representational spaces of social movements, which makes place-frame analysis appropriate for my study of NAIM (Martin 2003: 733). Social movements strategically deploy place-frames in the dialectic between conceived and lived space as a way to intervene in the production of space (Merrifield, 1993a: 106, 1993b: 525). Soren Larsen articulates the relationship between place-frames and lived space when he states, "place-frames derive from 'concrete space,' that is, fluid interplays of lived experience . . . These frames often motivate local activism by positioning the locale *against* the spatial designs of the region's power structure" (Larsen 2004: 32). Place-frames convey subjective experiences of lived space and represent the geographical imagination and agency of social actors thinking about and struggling over how places "ought to be" (Martin 2003: 733). Place-frame analysis is an extension of the concept of collective action frames developed in the works of sociologists

Erving Goffman, William Gamson, David Snow, Robert Benford, and Hank Johnston (Larsen 2004: 30, 2008: 174; Martin 2003: 733; Robinson 2001: 81).

My study employs a collective action place-frame analysis advanced by Martin's adaptation of Snow's and Benford's heuristic device of motivation, diagnostic, and prognostic frames (Martin 2003: 736; Snow and Benford 1988, 1992). Motivation frames define collective action communities, diagnostic frames identify problems and attribute causes and blame, and prognostic frames prescribe certain types of problem-solving social actions (Martin 2003: 736). Martin develops her concept of place-frames in a study of local organizations in the Frogtown neighborhood of St. Paul, Minnesota (Martin 2003: 733-4). Although geographers have mostly used place-frame analysis in studies of small local-scale social movements, they can also apply it to study the place-making practices of movements mobilizing at any scale (Larsen 2004: 28, 2008: 172; Martin 2003: 731; Robinson 2001: 84). Martin describes motivation *place*-frames as social movement statements referencing commonly shared everyday lived-space experiences as a way to build collective action and identity according to a specific agenda and set of values. Motivation place-frames are important because they connect people, places, and activism (Martin 2003: 736, 739). Diagnostic place-frames describe problems in lived-space, attribute causes and blame, and imagine how places "*should be* like" if those problems did not exist (Martin 2003: 739). Prognostic place-frames advocate certain types of place-based problem-solving social action (Martin 2003: 742).

Discourse analysis varies according to the needs of specific research projects, but it commonly involves selecting and becoming familiarized with a single sample or several samples of texts, coding them for particular words or themes, and presenting and interpreting the coded results (Gee 2005: 5; Painter 1995: 145-147; Waitt 2010: 219-220, 238). This study applies

place-frame analysis to a range of PG-RNA organizational texts, which I obtained during participant observation and archival research. These texts include books, newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, transcripts, and maps. Except for my recent interview transcripts, many of these texts were created between 1968 and 1973, a period during which the creation of NAIM's representational space flourished. I carefully selected, read, and coded these texts for certain words that would indicate patterns of common themes (Larsen 2008: 175; Martin 2003: 735-736). I then presented the coded results in data tables created for each of the three place-frame types. I subsequently interpret and discuss the results of my analysis to show how NAIM uses place-framing to discursively construct its representational space and scalar politics.

I use a semiological approach to study NAIM's alternative map-making practices as a form of discursive place-making. NAIM's alternative map-making represents a discursive effort that coincides with place-framing in forwarding the movement's call for a collective realization of its vision for a New Afrikan nation-state. The PG-RNA produced the most popular of NAIM's alternative maps from the early to mid-1970s. Presented in an array of books, articles, and photocopied materials for public distribution, NAIM's maps show places such as the Kush District and subjugated national territory of the Republic of New Afrika, which are two of the most important places represented in New Afrikan discourse. I model my semiological analysis of NAIM's alternative maps after critical cartographer Denis Wood's interpretations of Ferdinand Saussure's, Roland Barthes' and Umberto Eco's theories of linguistic and visual semiotics (Wood 1992: 35, 101-110). In *The Power of Maps (1992)*, Wood views maps not as objective representations of reality, but as subjectively constructed discourses resulting from a synthesis of interrelated graphic and linguistic signs occurring in the map image (Wood 1992: 137-142). The signs are formed by signification codes that unite signifiers such as map icons

and symbology with signified concepts, notions, assertions, other mental representations of reality, and the values and beliefs of map-reading cultures (Wood 1992: 18-25, 108-132). As texts belonging to broader discourses, maps produce meaning through a map-reading audience's interpretation of them as signs (Wood 1992: 116, 140-142).

Geographic Information Systems

My quantitative analysis also involved using ArcGIS 10.1 software to produce a range of maps for displaying and comparing the spatial distribution of NAIM's historical mobilization spaces in Detroit, Michigan, and Jackson, Mississippi, which became key places for New Afrikan organizing in the late 1960s and early 1970s. GIS analysis complements what can be learned about NAIM's representational space and scalar politics from interviews, participant observation, and archival research. While mapping is a power-laden empiricist way of seeing the world, if used reflexively it can be a helpful tool for piecing together a better understanding of the spatiality of marginalized social groups and movements. The maps I present illustrate spatial relationships between NAIM's mobilization space and socio-economic features characterizing important places where New Afrikans mobilized.

GIS data acquisition involved finding quantitative spatial data for map creation and spatial analysis. The Detroit Police Department's "Red Squad" files are an important source of historical geospatial data for my study. At the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, I obtained Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission documents that also provided surveillance-based spatial data on the PG-RNA's activities in and around Jackson, Mississippi. I acquired historical tract-level demographic data pertaining to race and other socio-economic features from the U.S. Census Bureau website. Spatial data for PG-RNA meetings in Detroit was entered into an Excel worksheet that included 11 tables accounting for the timeframe spanning 1967 to 1971

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or topical areas of interest. I examined 1,306 pages of Detroit "Red Squad" files, many of which were scanned photocopies of heavily redacted official police memoranda. In addition to creating the Excel data tables, I read each PG-RNA-related "Red Squad" entry to glean information that could help me help track certain trends in meeting locations, participation, leadership, discussion topics, and membership. I also created Excel tables for PG-RNA meetings in Jackson. A total of 18 tables were created for Detroit and Jackson. However, the amount of data I collected for Jackson was much less than what I found for Detroit, but sufficient for me to use as a proxy for learning where meetings took place from the early 1970s to early 1980s. All tables were designed with attribute fields to account for event date, street, city, zip code, location name and occupant, location type, organization, purpose, and data source.

I acquired several GIS shapefiles from internet sources. The U.S. Geological Survey's (USGS) website provided country shapefiles for the United States and Canada. The U.S. Census Bureau's website contained Michigan and Mississippi state and county shapefiles. The City of Detroit and the Mississippi Automated Resource Information System (MARIS) provided downloadable city street shapefiles necessary for geocoding addresses for Jackson and Detroit. I used ArcGIS 10.1 to create a wide range of maps to show and compare different aspects of the PG-RNA's mobilization spaces in Detroit and Jackson from the late 1960s to mid-1970s. A total of 36 shapefiles and the attribute data contained therein were used for the maps. I created 30 original shapefiles that include the 1967 Detroit Rebellion Area polygon, 1940 to 1970 census tract polygons, major street lines, and meeting site points.

I produced the 1967 Detroit Rebellion Area and 1940 to 1970 census tract shapefiles by georeferencing map images of those areas digitized from photographed hardcopy formats. ArcGIS editing and shapefile creation tools were used to accomplish the digital tracing tasks

needed to complete the image-to-shapefile transformations. Census data tables were then created

for the 1940 to 1970 census tract shapefiles. The tables made query-building and displaying the

distribution of different demographic features possible. Major street lines shapefiles were

created from attributes selected from all streets shapefiles. I geocoded the spatial data stored in

the Excel tables to make PG-RNA meeting site point shapefiles. The point shapefiles were

subsequently used to create collected event point shapefiles that show the locations and

frequencies of meetings per site.

My project affirms that a GIS-based spatial analysis can indeed provide an additional

critical dimension to the mixed-methods research I used for this dissertation. The maps I created

with ArcGIS help to visualize the political and socio-economic geographies that interconnected

with NAIM's mobilization space in Detroit and Jackson. As long as spatial data can be acquired,

this approach can be applied to other studies of black radical geographies and social movements.

Using the GIS maps and spatial analysis can result in a better understanding of the lived spaces

in which black radicals mobilized as well as the places they created and imagined in creating

their representational space. I created the maps to link different data sets to see connections

between locational factors that impact political mobilization and spatial practices. In terms of

the PG-RNA's mobilization spaces in Detroit and Jackson, I found that certain relationships

between racial and socio-economic features, such as inner-city concentrations of black low-

income high-density populations, were common in both cities.

Conclusion

I selected the research and analytical methodologies used in this study because of their

ability to answer the research question and to ensure the accuracy and transferability of my

research. A cross-sectional case-study approach and the triangulation of semi-structured

interviews, archival research, and participant observation form an effective research design for learning about the different contexts in which the representational space and scalar politics of NAIM unfolded. I conducted my research with a reflexive attitude and growing awareness of the theoretical, political, and ethical aspects of fieldwork and data analysis. I recognize my research as a process immersed in a milieu of social power relations that impact selecting a research question, shaping observation, building field relations, collecting data, performing data analysis, and presenting final results. Considering research in such a way can foster a more socially responsible and ethical environment of knowledge production, which is crucial to achieve if geographical research is to serve as a force for positive social advancement.

CHAPTER 4
NATIONALISM, BLACK NATIONALISM, AND BLACK POWER

Nations, Nationalisms, and Nation-States

Scholars have produced a wide range of theories and approaches regarding nations and nationalism. I devise working definitions of nation, nationalism, and nation-state based upon my interpretations of such theories (Blaut 1987: 18; Moses 1996: 4; Painter 1995: 168; Smith 1989: 342-343, 1996: 447). Nations are named social groups formed upon shared interests, values, and sources of identity such as language, culture, history, race, ethnicity, religion, myths, memories, rituals, and geographic origin, which differentiate them from other social groups. Nationalism is the political practice of creating, maintaining, or expanding an independent nation-state. Nationalists are political actors who actively participate in nationalism and defending the ideals, values, and interests of a nation. A state is a territorially bounded political unit comprised of people, land, and resources that are under a central government's jurisdiction. A nation-state refers to the union of a dominant nation and a state, whose attainment is nationalism's highest political objective.

Ever-changing historical and geographical contexts, and the diverging political orientations and ontological positions of different interpreters, make the task of defining nations and nationalism difficult (Anderson 1991: 3; Blaut 1987: 13; Smith 1989: 341-342, 1998: 223). However, scholars generally organize interpretations of nations and nationalism into four main paradigms: primordialism, perennialism, ethnosymbolism, and modernism (Conversi 2006: 15-21; Herb 1999: 14-16; Moses 1996: 4-5; Smith 1989: 341, 1998: 223-224; Spencer and Wollman 2002: 27-49). As the oldest paradigm, primordialism posits the naturalist and essentialist notion that nations are immutable and objectively predestined social groups that form organically according to the will of spiritual forces, genetic purity, consanguinity, and ancient ties to specific

territories or homelands. Primordialism continues to be popular among nationalists who see

nations as domains of "chosen people" (Conversi 2006: 15; Herb 1999: 14; Smith 1998: 223;

Spencer and Wollman 2002: 27). The perennialist paradigm views nations as universal and

eternal phenomena that emanate from primordial ethnic origins and continue or recur throughout

history (Conversi 2006: 20; Smith 1998: 223; Spencer and Wollman 2002: 27). Ethnosymbolism

concentrates on how the continuity of nations and nationalism has been achieved by the

persistent and strategic use of symbolic repertoires that involve modern reinterpretations of

primordial ancestor or Golden Age myths, and historical traditions and memories of certain core

ethnic groups (Conversi 2006: 21; Smith 1998: 224; Spencer and Wollman 2002: 28). The

dominant modernism paradigm opposes primordialist and perennialist perspectives by arguing

that nations are historically recent inventions originating in the context of modern industrialized

capitalist societies (Conversi 2006: 16; Herb 1999: 14; Smith 1998: 224; Spencer and Wollman

2002: 34).

The modernist paradigm features an instrumentalist or functionalist perspective that

views nations as discursively constructed mechanisms of social control. Society's elites create

these mechanisms by using the power of mass communication technologies and public education

to mold the diverse identities and loyalties of different groups into homogenous national

communities (Conversi 2006: 18; Herb 1999: 14; Smith 1998: 224; Spencer and Wollman 2002:

34). Political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson's popular idea of nations being

"imagined communities" demonstrates a modernist perspective. Anderson assets that nations are

"imagined communities" because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know

most of their fellow members, meet them, of even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the

image of their communion" (Anderson 1991: 6). Echoing Anderson, cultural theorist Stuart Hall

holds that, "The nation-state was never simply a political entity. It was also a symbolic formation - a 'system of representation' - which produced an 'idea' of the nation as an 'imagined community'" (Hall 1993: 355). While reflecting on the idea of the nation as imagined community, cultural geographer Don Mitchell presents a constructionist assertion that, "the question is not what common imagination *exists*, but what common imagination is *forged*" (Mitchell 2000: 269). Mitchell emphasizes the agency of those working to create this imagination, further wresting "nation" from primordialist assumptions. By viewing nations as socially produced and reproduced, constructionists argue that it is conceivable to apprehend the growth and decline of nations because it is possible to empirically examine how, when, where, and by whom they are defined and contested. Ethnographer Anthony D. Smith's ethnosymbolist approach also treats nations as material and discursive constructions by looking at their abstract qualities as ideal "imagined" communities, and their concrete formation, which unfolds in specific historical and place-based contexts (Mitchell 2000: 270; Smith 1989: 342-343). The frequent discrepancy between the abstract and material contexts of nations leads Mitchell to insist that the "key question is one of just what the relationship is between the ideal and the place" (Mitchell 2000: 270).

Relating the construction of nations to the material social relations of production and reproduction of capitalist societies is a central concern of certain Marxist theories of nation, which fall within the modernist paradigm. French Marxist philosopher Étienne Balibar argues that the modern nation functions as a form of social control that subdues the internal contradictions of class struggle by relativizing potentially volatile social differences under a single national identity (Balibar 1996: 138-139, 141; Mitchell 2000: 270). Similar to Anderson's perspective, Balibar views nations as imagined communities formed in an attempt to maintain

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bourgeois class hegemony over capitalist society (Balibar 1996: 135, 138-139). Anderson, a

Marxist himself, argued that "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail

in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1991: 7).

Geographer James M. Blaut posits a Marxist theorization of nations that does not fit neatly into

any of the four major paradigms. Blaut opposes the common modernist and Marxist claims that

the nation originated as an autonomously generated idea of Enlightenment Europe that the self-

propelled global spread and acceptance of modernity diffused around the world. Blaut posits

that nationalism is a form of class struggle that "exploiting groups and exploited groups" deploy

while vying for state power (Blaut 1987: 212). He challenges his contemporaries by stressing

the need to understand the formation of nations and nationalisms in the contexts of "external

exploitation" whereby colonial and imperial expansion pits foreign ruling classes against locally

exploited producing classes (Blaut 1987: 9, 18-19, 21, 65, 191, 212). For Blaut, nationalism can

be traced to pre-modern class structured societies with different modes of production (Blaut

1987: 23, 212). In any case, understanding nations as discursive social constructions emanating

from representational spaces requires an approach that is sensitive to their formation within

specific temporal and geographical contexts. Otherwise, scholars will continue to characterize

and reinforce nations and nationalism as idealistic ahistorical and aspatial phenomena.

Nation, Race, and Black Nationalism

Black nationalism raises questions as to how nations are constructed in relationship to

race. It is in this regard that the liberatory or oppressive characteristics of nations and

nationalism become evident, as definitions of nation and citizenship determine how national

communities recognize and treat certain social groups. Race is a materially and discursively

produced social construct that categorizes and situates people within a social hierarchy according

to the sensuously perceivable superficial biological trait of skin color. Modern society concomitantly organizes its hierarchical structure according to other social constructs of class, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Societies reinforce racialized social hierarchies by attributing to racial groups specific purportedly innate essential mental and physical characteristics such as moral, intellectual, aesthetic, and athletic superiority or inferiority. Race as an ideology has material consequences because it justifies the total subjugation of one social group by another. Such ideological justification has upheld white dominance over modern society. This has far-reaching consequences in terms of the social power and mobility accorded to groups identified as other than white. A broad array of cultural practices ranging from the production of racist discourses to outright physical violence maintains racism's social acceptance and resulting hegemony.

Nations have long used race as a cultural criteria for determining which people to exclude from national belonging. While discussing how the academic disciplines of anthropology and biology informed Enlightenment period European discourses of race and nation, critical race theorist David Theo Goldberg states, "The catalog of national characters emerged in lockstep with the classification of races. Racial and national identities . . . are identities of anonymity, identities of distance and alienation, at once prelude to and expression of the drive to marginalize and exclude, to dominate and to exploit" (Goldberg 1993: 30). The role of the state is centrally important when considering the means by which people maintain racialized social structures. According to Goldberg, the racialized state is "where whiteness rules, where the assumptions, norms, and orders for which it stands reign supreme" (Goldberg 2002: 195). The state holds the power to prohibit, regulate, and police national belonging and exclusion according to certain definitions of citizenship that are based upon culturally dominant ideas and images of what the

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nation is and should look like. Goldberg asserts that in the relationship between the state and race, "Racial identity is conceived, authored, promoted, and legitimated in good part by state action and speech, and institutional racist exclusions throughout modernity more often than not have been prompted and legitimated as state commitments" (Goldberg 2002: 161). State sanctioned practices enforcing the ideal image of the United States as a white nation have included slavery, colonialism, black codes, Jim Crowism, disfranchisement, lynching, racial profiling, anti-miscegenation laws, eugenic sterilization laws, and labor, housing, and education discrimination.

I define black nationalism as a political ideology and social movement that seeks to resolve the problem of racist oppression by building a sovereign territorially separate black nation-state. Far from a monolithic phenomenon, black nationalism features multiple cultural, religious, economic, and political orientations (Bracey et al. 1970: xxvi-xxix; Robinson 2001: 52, 56, 67-69; Van Deburg 1997: 4). Cultural nationalism holds that nationhood should be based on the cultural uniqueness and superiority of black people throughout the African Diaspora. Cultural nationalists adopt ancient African traditions and worldviews, and support the cultural production of Afrocentric literature, art, clothing, and music. Historical examples of black cultural nationalism include Maulana Karenga's Us Organization and Amiri Baraka's Black Arts Movement (Brown 2003: 124; Ogbar 2004: 94, 115, 195; Van Deburg 1997: 215, 1993: 171). Religious nationalism is a type of cultural nationalism that bases nationhood upon a particular religion such as Christianity, Islam, or Judaism. Varieties of black religious nationalism include the Moorish Science Temple of America, the Nation of Islam, the Pan-African Orthodox Christian Church, the Yoruba Temple, and the African Hebrew Israelites (Lincoln 1994: 43, 63; Ogbar 2004: 11; Robinson 2001: 34). Economic nationalism seeks nationhood upon a black

controlled economy. It includes the black capitalism of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Nation of Islam, and Congress of Racial Equality. Black Marxist and African models of socialism are found in the economic programs of the African Blood Brotherhood and Republic of New Afrika (Lincoln 1994: 85; Robinson 2001: 41, 62, 94). Political nationalism emphasizes black political self-determination and ranges from gaining political control through elections of black officials to the struggles of revolutionary nationalism for territorially separate socialist or communist states. Groups demonstrating a black revolutionary nationalist orientation include the African Blood Brotherhood, Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Panther Party, League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Republic of New Afrika, and Black Liberation Army (Bracey et al. 1970: xxvi-xxix; Ogbar 2004: 8; Robinson 2001: 61; Umoja 2013: 224; Van Deburg 1997: 240). These differing orientations of black nationalism are not mutually exclusive, and nationalist movements tend to blend orientations such as the Nation of Islam, which foregrounds religion but has a definite capitalist economic agenda as well (Bracey et al. 1970: xxix; Lincoln 1994: 85, 90; Robinson 2001: 41; Van Deburg 1997: 245).

While providing a general sense of black nationalism's diversity, interpreters of these orientations indicate that black nationalism features distinct forms that must be understood in specific historical social and political contexts (Robinson 2001: 3, 53). Pointing out that scholars writing during a movement's peak of activity cannot effectively track changes in real time, political scientist Dean E. Robinson explains that "categories like 'religious' and 'cultural' capture the emphasis of an individual or group only after we know something about the time in which they operated" (Robinson 2001: 3). It is also crucial to point out, as my study will demonstrate, that black nationalism's distinctions, as well as its historical social and political contexts, are also place-bound and geographically differentiated.

Scholars characterize black nationalism in different ways according to their own social and professional positionalities and political orientations. Historian Akinyele Umoja points out a number of important considerations concerning the historiography and academic characterization of black nationalism (Umoja 2005: 529). He indicates that it is crucial for scholars to evaluate black nationalist orientations with an understanding of the specific historical contexts in which they form. According to Umoja, "it is necessary to interpret [black nationalist] statements in terms of the political consciousness and perceived possibilities of their time instead of current popular and dominant ideological viewpoints. Without this, historical black nationalism cannot be truly understood" (Umoja 2005: 534). Umoja asserts that the historiography of black nationalism also involves a conversation between liberal and radical interpretations (Umoja 2005: 531). Advocates of assimilation and ethnic pluralism present liberal interpretations of black nationalism, while sympathizers forward radical interpretations (Umoja 2005: 531). Historians August Meier and John H. Bracey, and sociologist Elliott Rudwick, clearly demonstrate dichotomous liberal and radical tendencies in their seminal edited volume *Black Nationalism in America* (1970). From a liberal ethnic pluralist standpoint, Meier and Rudwick describe black nationalism as a recurring minority group struggle comparable to the nationalist tendencies of immigrant ethnic groups within the United States (Bracey et al. 1970: liii, lv). Meier and Rudwick view black nationalism as the outcome of the ethnic dualism or uncertainty experienced by African Americans, which is a phenomenon shared with ethnic minorities wanting to preserve their group identity while becoming totally integrated into American society (Bracey et al. 1970: liii).

In radical contrast to Meier and Rudwick, their co-editor, Bracey, likens black nationalism to the nationalisms of non-Western peoples that were intensifying in colonized

regions around the world (Bracey et al. 1970: lvi). For Bracey, black nationalism in the United States is a continual and growing response to the abject socio-economic conditions blacks faced together as a white-controlled internal colony. Bracey rejects comparing black nationalism to immigrant struggles by arguing that America's long brutal history of slavery and racial oppression produced a black desire for separation, which consistent efforts to build separate black institutions makes evident (Bracey et al. 1970: lvi). However, in the masculinist language of the time, the editors agree together that "nationalist sentiment, although present throughout the black man's experience in America, tends to be most pronounced when they have experienced intense disillusionment following a period of heightened but unfulfilled expectations" (Bracey et al. 1970: xxvi). They assert that black nationalism intensified specifically during the periods from 1790 to 1820, the late 1840s and 1850s, 1880s to 1920s, and in the mid-1960s (Bracey et al. 1970: xxvi).

More recent scholarship characterizes black nationalism upon closer examinations of the time periods Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick identified. In *Classical Black Nationalism, From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (1996), historian Wilson J. Moses identifies the 1700s to 1925 timeframe as the period of classical black nationalism (Moses 1996: 1). While racial pride, solidarity, and self-help are major components of classical black nationalism, Moses argues that its defining characteristic was the ambition and concrete attempts to create a self-determined and territorially separate black nation-state. Moses holds that definitions equating black nationalism with Pan-Africanism are "too broad" as the latter does not universally emphasize the creation of black nation-states as its main objective (Moses 1996: 2). He also asserts that black nationalism was not an imitation of European or American nationalism, but an outgrowth of the proto-nationalism of enslaved Africans demonstrating a desire for self-determination through the

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building of maroon communities throughout the American South, the Caribbean, and Latin America. For example, the Palmares Republic in Brazil during the 1600s was the largest maroon community in the Americas with a population exceeding several thousand inhabitants (Moses 1996: 6; Walker 2001: 301).

However, Moses shows that while classical black nationalism was a Pan-Africanist movement calling for the political and economic development of the African homeland, it was also culturally assimilationist because while envisioning a free nation-state, nationalists preferred to adopt European models of religious, political, and economic institutions (Moses 1996: 22). Classical black nationalism had strong Christian underpinnings, and its prominent emigrationist current led by Ethiopian redemptionists such as Edward Wilmot Blyden, Alexander Crummell, and Martin Delany, simultaneously revered Africa as the black ancestral homeland and as a place unable to progress without Western Christian civilization (Moses 1996: 21-23). Moses explains that the Eurocentric views of classical black nationalists reflect the historical moment in which they took shape, and modern anthropology's concepts of cultural relativism and multiculturalism came many years later (Moses 1996: 22). Nineteenth century black nationalists would have no interest in the language of late twentieth century cultural nationalism, as any talk of slave culture or folkways could have been "misused as justification for slavery, with its heritage of illiteracy and superstition" (Moses 1996: 20). It should be pointed out, however, that all forms of nationalism are cultural in the sense that each nationalist movement develops is own repertoire of practices including political language, beliefs, rituals, and ways of conceptualizing and remembering a nation's history (Robinson 2001: 52).

Historian William L. Van Deburg provides an interpretation of black nationalism in a sweeping examination of modern black nationalism's leaders, organizations, and programs. He

begins his study with Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and highlights nationalist organizations such as the African Blood Brotherhood, the Nation of Islam, and Black Power era groups such as the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Black Panther Party, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and the Republic of New Afrika. Van Deburg takes a relatively broad approach to interpreting modern black nationalism to avoid adding to the confusion on the subject that has resulted from the "foibles and idiosyncrasies" of other interpreters (Van Deburg 1997: 1). He argues that textbooks and the sectarian writings of nationalist ideologues present ideologically biased narratives that complicate interpretations of black nationalism (Van Deburg 1997: 1-2). Such interpretations avoid or obscure much of black nationalism's "characteristic diversity and breadth of expression" (Van Deburg 1997: 2). Van Deburg describes black nationalism as a complex phenomenon whereby "adapting traditional nationalist tenets to their own situation, most African American nationalists equate 'racial' with 'national' identities and goals" (Van Deburg 1997: 4). Like Moses, Van Deburg defines black nationalism as a Pan-Africanist movement ultimately concerned with creating an independent nation-state or "transnational union of states grounded in shared experiences" (Van Deburg, 1997: 4-5). According to Van Deburg, black nationalism continued to attract interest in the twentieth century due to its qualities of "originality and continuity, malleability and conviction" (Van Deburg 1997: 2).

In *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought* (2001), Robinson presents a characterization of black nationalism formed closely upon Moses' concern for historical context (Robinson 2001: 3, 5). Contending that nationalists did not completely reject integration at all times, Robinson defines modern black nationalism as a movement for a separate nation-state and "the more modest goal of black administration of vital public and private institutions" (Robinson

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2001: 2, 5). Robinson argues that as a result of ignoring historical nuances, scholars such as

Sterling Stuckey, Van Deburg, and Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick have characterized black

nationalism as a "timeless, recurring impulse that rejects integration and cultural assimilation"

(Robinson 2001: 2). By characterizing black nationalism too broadly as "racial solidarity, self-

help, and the desire for self-determination," writers conflate it with other forms of African

American activism that can be described more accurately as ethnic pluralism (Robinson 2001: 2,

4). According to Robinson, "these basic ideas underlie the thinking of *most* black political

activists, past and present; but, of course, most black political activists have not supported the

goal of separate statehood, nor have they identified themselves specifically as nationalists"

(Robinson 2001: 4).

Drawing on the observations of novelist Ralph Ellison, and formulating an argument

similar to Moses', Robinson holds that black nationalism's distinguishing feature, which is

shared by African American politics more generally, is a continued convergence with

mainstream politics (Robinson 2001: 1, 3, 6). He argues that because black nationalism is

"mutually constitutive" with the broader political milieu, and assimilated to the wider cultural

sphere, it "inadvertently" reproduces the social conditions that originally motivated its formation

(Robinson 2001: 1, 3). While not engaging in a sustained analysis of place, Robinson

nevertheless alludes to the importance of place and scale for understanding black nationalism

when he states that "despite frequent and significant efforts to characterize black nationalism in

the United States as one of many Third World independence movements, black nationalism in

the United States is typically conformed to the local political and intellectual terrain" (Robinson

2001: 6).

Historian Jeffery O.G. Ogbar forwards a characterization of black nationalism that is similar to the ones Moses and Robinson put forth. In *Black Power, Radical Politics and African American Identity* (2004), Ogbar defines black nationalism as including "group consciousness among black people and the belief that they, independent of whites, can achieve liberation by the creation and maintenance of black institutions to serve the best interests of black people" (Ogbar 2004: 3). He also emphasizes the qualification, which is common to most critical definitions of black nationalism, and nationalism more broadly, that "territorial separatism and/or racial exclusivity are essential to this definition" (Ogbar 2004: 3). Like Moses and Robinson, Ogbar recognizes a mutuality between black nationalism and the larger American political and cultural environments when he asserts that "the racialized terms of [black nationalism's] agenda reflected the racialist policies of the United States" (Ogbar 2004: 3). To illustrate this point, Ogbar focuses on the Nation of Islam, stating that the movement "reflected the prevailing thrust of white supremacy in America. It simply inverted the doctrine of white supremacy. It was, in fact, a declaration of white inferiority" (Ogbar 2004: 3).

Sterling Stuckey presents a counterpoint to interpretations of that accentuate strong assimilationist tendencies within black nationalism. In *Slave Culture, Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (1987) and *Going Through the Storm, The Influence of African American Art in History* (1994), Stuckey, a historian, posits the argument that despite classical black nationalism's immersion in white culture, it nevertheless had strong African cultural foundations that were preserved in and retained from slave culture. Pointing to the mounting substantiation of African influences in black culture in America, Stuckey argues that classical black nationalist leaders "who in numerous ways thought themselves strongly assimilated to white values, were themselves, perhaps unconsciously, under African cultural influences in some

respects at least as strong" (Stuckey 1987: 178). Stuckey argues early black nationalists' calls for social, political, and economic self-reliance "probably owed more to African traditions of group hegemony (which persisted in some forms during slavery) than to any models from European thought or experience" (Stuckey 1994: fn83). Moreover, classical black nationalists sought to deliver a syncretic Christianity to Africa that slaves created by blending of African and European religions (Stuckey 1987: 30-63). Stuckey's argument provides an important contrast to interpretations that frame black nationalism as a simple imitation of European nationalism.

Historians have produced the vast majority of scholarship on black nationalism. Despite a long interest in nationalism and nationalist movements, geographers have given almost no attention to black nationalism outside of Tyner's recent study of Malcolm X (Tyner 2003, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Tyner and Kruse 2004). Although Heynen's research on the Black Panthers presents an important geographical examination of Black Power era radicalism, it focuses on the group's intercommunalist period, which came after its revolutionary nationalist stage (Heynen 2009a, 2009b). However, geographers can make a significant contribution by focusing on the role of space, place, and scalar politics in black nationalism. While historians such as Umoja, Moses, and Robinson clearly stress the importance of paying closer attention to historical contexts to improve our understanding of black nationalism, it is also imperative to focus attention on the influence of geography.

Black Power History, Form, and Substance

On June 17, 1966, Stokely Carmichael, then chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formally announced Black Power as a political slogan during a speech in Greenwood, Mississippi (Ahmad 2007: 69). Carmichael delivered the speech a few days after a Klansman attempted to assassinate Mississippi activist James Meredith, and at the

moment when the widening of ideological and strategic rifts peaked within the Civil Rights Movement (Ahmad 2007: 69; Ogbar 2004: 62). However, radical author Richard Wright's *Black Power* (1954) demonstrates an earlier use of the term Black Power predating the movement's formation in the 1960s (Joseph 2001: 4). Of course, Black Power signified more than a political slogan when it became a mass movement affecting African American society, mainstream America, and the world. In *Black Power, The Politics of Liberation in America* (1967), Carmichael and co-author Charles V. Hamilton, a political scientist and civil rights activist in his own right, describe Black Power as a concept resting on "a fundamental premise, *Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks*" (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967: 44). Black Power called for building black self-identity and self-determination, reclaiming black history and culture, and building modern black-controlled democratic community-based political organizations with programs that blacks defined outside the influence of middle-class white liberal patronage (Carmichael and Hamilton 2001: 34-44). As Carmichael and Hamilton expounded, Black Power rejected black assimilation of white middle-class values, repudiated the Civil Rights Movement's non-violent integrationist philosophy, and justified self-defense against white violence (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967: 53). However, as Black Power grew to become a large-scale social movement, people gave it meanings that went beyond Carmichael's and Hamilton's ethnic-pluralist vision.

Scholars characterize Black Power in ways that generally challenge its clichéd mainstream representations. Joseph characterizes Black Power as a "humanistic anti-racist social movement" that consisted of "a series of creative political and intellectual experiments that varied depending on political geography, social class, gender, and political ideology" (Joseph 2001: 14). For Joseph, Black Power "provided new words, images, and politics . . . [it]

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accelerated America's reckoning with its own uncomfortable, often ugly, racial past, and in the process spurred a debate over racial progress, citizenship, and democracy that would scandalize as much as it would change the nation" (Joseph 2006: xiv). Ogbar states that "Black Power celebrated black pride and directed new attention to the historical accomplishments of black people . . . as an amorphous and popular idea, [it] affirmed black people in ways that the Civil Rights Movement did not" (Ogbar 2004: 124). Focusing on Black Power's cultural aspects, Van Deburg states that it is "best understood as a broad, adaptive, cultural term serving to connect and illuminate the differing ideological orientations of the movement's supporters . . . whose impact could be seen long after its exclusively political agenda had disintegrated" (Van Deburg 1992: 10). For Cha-Jua and Lang, Black Power "derived its central meanings from a diverse tradition of black nationalist thought and practice. Programmatically, Black Power was heterogeneous, reflecting a range of activities centering on autonomous empowerment efforts" (Cha-Jua and Lang 2007: 274). In terms of demographic composition, historian Manning Marable states, "It cannot be overemphasized that the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements were fundamentally working class and poor people's movements" (Marable 2000: 30). Such characterizations lead towards understanding Black Power as a largely nebulous social movement with diverse internal tendencies. These tendencies generally coalesce around the goal of African American social, cultural, and political transformation through the collective affirmation of black self-identity, self-defense, and self-determination.

The different political, economic, and cultural orientations of the many organizations comprising Black Power demonstrate the movement's diverse range of outlooks and goals. Some groups shared various black nationalist orientations such as the Nation of Islam (NOI), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE),

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW), and the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) (Ahmad 2007: 39, 95, 237; Ogbar 2004: 60-63). However, Black Power's nationalist groups diverged in terms of ideology, strategy, and tactics. Major differences were evident in economic orientations where the NOI and CORE forwarded concepts of black capitalism, while revolutionary nationalists groups such as RAM, LRBW, and the RNA leaned toward Marxist-Leninist and African socialist economic models (Ahmad 2007: 102; Lincoln 1994: 18-20, 85-89; Marable 2000: 139). The Black Panther Party (BPP) evolved through several phases consisting of black nationalism, revolutionary nationalism, revolutionary internationalism, and intercommunalism (Hayes and Kiene 1998: 159). Organizational cultures and cultural politics also differentiated Black Power groups. Contrasts between the NOI, BPP, and the Us Organization clearly illustrate such differences (Ogbar 2004: 94, 98-99). The NOI's religious nationalism espoused a spiritual foundation and strict moral code that prohibited eating certain foods, consuming drug and alcohol, dancing, sports, popular music, cursing, gambling, smoking, adultery, and interracial sexual relations (Lincoln 1994: 76-77; Ogbar 2004: 32, 99). The NOI interpreted these cultural practices as forming a white-perpetuated self-destructive slave culture. As a result, the NOI created "its own cultural world, complete with its own mores, customs, and folkways" (Ogbar 2004: 23, 33).

Black Power-era cultural nationalist groups such as the Us Organization and Black Arts Movement argued for reconstructing black America through a cultural revolution that adopted the ancestral culture of the African homeland (Ogbar 2004: 94; Van Deburg 1992: 171, 181). In practicing Afrocentric lifestyles, cultural nationalists adopted African names, clothing, hairstyles, religions, value systems, and languages such as Swahili (Ogbar 2007: 94, 120; Van Deburg 1992: 171). Although cultural nationalism dominated Black Power, the BPP officially

denounced it as "pork chop nationalism" (Ogbar 2004: 97). As a whole, the BPP's cultural politics were mixed, but West Coast chapters close to the national leadership endorsed the class-oriented practice of lumpenism (Ogbar 2004: 93-122). Based on an interpretation of Marxist class analysis, and a desire to identify with the black masses, the BPP adopted lumpenism to embrace the folk culture of the black lumpenproletariat, which was the poorest socio-economic class within the black urban population (Ogbar 2004: 95, 99). According to Ogbar, "the Maoist dictum to 'swim with the masses' justified Panther Party culture" (Ogbar 2004: 98). However, BPP chapters in New York, where cultural nationalism ran deep, did not subscribe to the notion of lumpenism, and were indifferent to practices such as adopting African names (Ogbar 2007: 118, 120). As Black Power Studies research has shown, the cultural politics of Black Power organizations were not static or universal, but demonstrated variations, especially when examined in specific historical geographical contexts (Ogbar 2004: 99). Black Power's cultural impacts diffused beyond its organizations and historical geography to leave a lasting impression on American society. According to Van Deburg, "Even if certain of its achievements are, today, either ignored or taken for granted, Black Power's unconquerable spirit and its message of self-definition are visible to all who take the time to familiarize themselves with contemporary Afro-American culture" (Van Deburg 1992: 307).

The diffusion of Black Power politics and culture across cultural boundaries is shown by the formation of radical ethnic nationalist groups such as the Brown Berets, Young Lords, Red Guard, I Wor Kuen, Yellow Brotherhood, National Indian Youth Council, and American Indian Movement (Ogbar 2004: 159-189). Black Power also inspired radical white groups such as the Young Patriots Organization, Rising Up Angry, and Michigan's White Panther Party (Ogbar 2004: 179, 181). While discussing the rise of such groups during the late 1960s and early 1970s,

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Ogbar states that the Black Power movement "had some of the most visible influences on the radical activist struggles of Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans, giving rise to a visible movement of radical ethnic nationalism and new constructions of ethnic identity" (Ogbar 2004: 159). The BPP's influence was particularly noticeable as ethnic nationalist groups widely adapted elements of the Black Panther's organizational structure, community survival programs, and paramilitary-style of dress (Ogbar 2004: 160-161, 163, 170, 178-179). Pointing out the psychological effects of radical ethnic nationalism's challenge to white cultural hegemony, Ogbar states, "Black Power and radical ethnic nationalism revealed the vulnerability of whiteness. Whiteness was not sacrosanct or without flaw. It was corrupt and inextricably bound to the frailties of humanity" (Ogbar 2004: 188). Black Power's relationship with ethnic nationalism extended to include the formation of pan-ethnic alliances such as the anti-imperialist Third World Liberation Front, and the Chicago-based Rainbow Coalition, which united the Black Panthers, Young Lords, and Young Patriots Organization (Ogbar 2004: 166, 179). Black Power's legacy also includes the growth of non-white ethnic student organizations such as Black Student Unions (Ogbar 2004: 166-168, 177)

Although activists initiated Black Power as a force for revolutionary change, a range of contradictions plagued it. The movement's reinforcement of patriarchy represents a prominent contradiction that sparked internal struggles within Black Power. Marable asserts that Black Power, especially its nationalist tendencies, assimilated patriarchy from institutions previously formed in male-dominated African American churches, mutual aid societies, schools, and businesses (Marable 2000: 76, 90, 99; Ogbar 2004: 30-32). Black society especially fortified patriarchy after slavery by relegating black women from the fields to the domestic sphere, which simultaneously gendered politics as a man's domain (Marable 2000: 78). Male and many female

Black Power activists supported the idea that black liberation equated regaining black manhood (Marable 2000: 76; Ogbar 2004: 100-106). In *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (1979), author Michelle Wallace presents a black feminist critique of patriarchy and sexism in the Black Power movement. Particularly focused on the movement's leadership, Wallace writes, "It was not equality that was primarily being pursued but a kind of superiority - black manhood, black macho - which would combine the ghetto cunning, cool, and unrestrained sexuality of black survival with the unchecked authority, control, and wealth of white power" (Wallace 1979: 33-35). Postmodern feminist theorist bell hooks also provides a critical appraisal of Black Power's patriarchy. While discussing Black Power's distancing from the Civil Rights Movement's love ethic, hooks writes, "a misogynist approach to women became central as the equation of freedom with patriarchal manhood became a norm among black political leaders, almost all of whom were male" (hooks 1994: 244-245). She identifies an irony in Black Power, whereby male militants thought they "were publicly attacking the white male patriarchs for their racism but they were also establishing a bond of solidarity with them based on their shared acceptance of and commitment to patriarchy" (hooks 1981: 99). However, a feminist tendency within Black Power did not only address patriarchy in the movement, but it presented an important perspective on racism and sexism that the white-dominated American feminist movement lacked.

Black feminist critiques and activism led Black Power activists to reevaluate their movement's ideology, values, attitudes, and social interactions. Marable asserts that women's attitudes towards patriarchy in Black Power shifted from accepting it during the "pedestal phenomenon" of the movement's early years, to rejecting it more visibly by the mid-1970s (Marable 2000: 99). As a result, the BPP took steps to deal with patriarchy and sexism by

increasing the number of women holding leadership positions and running daily operations (Ogbar 2004: 29, 100-106, 184). According to Ogbar, the BPP "were struggling and working their way around sexism without any significant organizational model. Taken in this context, the strides of the Panthers, most of whom were under twenty-five, are particularly remarkable" (Ogbar 2004: 106). On the other hand, sexist practices continued in integrationist groups such as the NAACP, SCLC, and the Urban League. As for leading black nationalist groups, the NOI's religious nationalism upheld patriarchy as "divinely sanctioned" (Ogbar 2004: 29, 105).

Patriarchy in Black Power also led black feminists to organize new groups in the early 1970s such as the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), Combahee River Collective (CRC), and Third World Women's Alliance, which grew out of SNCC's Black Women's Liberation Committee (Combahee River Collective [CRC] 1983: 272-282; Harris 2009: 6, 82-87; Joseph 2006: 271-272). According to historian Duchess Harris, "NBFO was to be a business as well as an educational forum, with regular programs devoted to topics as diverse as female sexuality, Black women as consumers, sex role stereotyping and the Black child, and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)" (Harris 2009: 83). After coming to see the NBFO as an ineffectual bourgeois organization, former members of NBFO's Boston Chapter created the CRC as a feminist socialist group (CRC 1983: 279; Harris 2009: 6-7). In addition to attacking the inequities of race and class, the CRC's feminist organizers, many of which were lesbians, urged countering homophobia in Black Power and the wider society (Marable 2000: 102). The above-mentioned groups' efforts to change gender relations added new dimensions to the Black Power movement's internal cultural and political diversity.

Black Power declined by the mid-1970s because of multiple interconnected factors. Various police departments and the FBI's notorious Counter Intelligence Program or

COINTELPRO carried out the state's joint suppression of Black Power. Local police department "Red Squads" such as Detroit's Special Investigation Bureau and New York City's Bureau of Special Services, played instrumental roles in destabilizing Black Power organizations (Davenport 2005: 128-129; Donner 1990; Potash 2007: 17). The FBI's illegal COINTELPRO operating under J. Edgar Hoover's direction, sought to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" black nationalist "hate-type" groups in the 1960s and 1970s (FBI, COINTELPRO memorandum, August 25, 1967). Having long feared the possibility of black uprisings since the days of slavery, southern states such as Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi set up covert State Sovereignty Commissions to thwart the growth of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements (Katagiri 2007: 152). State-led counteractions included political assassinations of black radical activists such as Black Panthers Bobby Hutton, John Huggins, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, Fred Hampton, and George Jackson. They also consisted of imprisoning groups of activists such as the RNA-11, Black Panther-21, Wilmington-10, Angola-3, and countless others. A lack of support from bourgeois organizations such as the NAACP and Urban League, negative media publicity, financial co-optation, internal leadership and ideological struggles, and the reinforcement of patriarchy accelerated the movement's demise.

CHAPTER 5
NAIM'S ANTECEDENTS

Twentieth Century Predecessors

NAIM's program for black self-determination and national independence within the United States was Black Power's clearest articulation of black revolutionary territorial nationalism. Black revolutionary territorial nationalism seeks the establishment of a black-dominated sovereign socialist or communist nation-state. Not all forms of black territorial separatism are nationalist, revolutionary, or aimed towards realizing a sovereign state. Some forms of black territorial separatism more accurately reflect ethnic pluralism, which entails carving out of a distinct ethnic space within American society. Black territorial separatism is not simply an opposite reflection of white segregationism, which increased and reinforced racial social-spatial separation between whites and blacks through racist violence, Jim Crow, red-lining, and white flight. In contrast, black territorial separatism is one among many black-initiated proposals for liberation from white supremacy. Black territorial separatism began during the outset of chattel slavery and the formation of maroon communities in colonial America. While often having nationalist trappings, black territorial separatism does always include a revolutionary state-building orientation. The messianic Benjamin "Pap" Singleton's "Exoduster" movement in Kansas and the formation of all-black towns such as Mound Bayou, Mississippi, and Langston City, Oklahoma, were black territorial separatist endeavors that did not promote national sovereignty as their goal (Moses 1996: 29; Painter 1992). Several territorial nationalist movements embraced capitalist economic programs, including the classical nationalist African Civilization Society and UNIA, and, later, the National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State and the NOI.

Twentieth century territorial nationalism has several historical antecedents that represent black attempts to form sovereign or federated states within the United States. These antecedents include the African-Native American Seminole nation's resistance against white American imperialists during the early nineteenth century's Second and Third Seminole wars in Florida, and Tunis G. Campbell's post-Civil War efforts to create black self-governing communities in the Georgia Sea Islands of St. Catherines, Sapelo, and Ossabaw (Berson 1994: 47-49; Duncan 1986: 22-33; Obadele 1986: 86-94). However, the idea of creating a black nation on U.S. soil never caught on at the same level as classical black nationalism's visions of African repatriation or the Civil Rights Movement's push for racial integration within the United States (Moses 1996: 26, 32). Nevertheless, the writings of African American intellectuals demonstrate that black territorial nationalism did receive a certain amount of consideration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his novel *Imperium in Imperio* (1899), black Christian humanist author Sutton E. Griggs examines racial conflict in America and imagines the creation of a sovereign black nation-state in Texas by a clandestine black government called the Imperium (Griggs 2003: 167-8). In 1913, Arthur A. Anderson wrote *Prophetic Liberator of the Coloured Race of the United States of America, Command to His People*, a treatise advancing the notion of a setting up a federated black state in the United States. Anderson proposes that a black state could be established following congressional approval of an "indemnity and land bill" that would grant money and land as reparations for slavery (Anderson 1913: 4-5). This black state would be a federated U.S. protectorate consisting of,

> a suitable territory of ample spacious dimensions - in which to propagate, to develop their resourcefulness, necessary to its maintenance as a modern nation, a race apart, the people to be free from further oppression, but the U.S.A. government to help the colored people to form and make laws themselves for themselves conducive to the welfare of the colored race. (Anderson 1913: 4)

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The forthcoming black revolutionary territorial nationalist movements of the twentieth century variously reflected, though perhaps unwittingly, these early musings on separate black nationhood in America.

African Blood Brotherhood

The African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) was the first modern black revolutionary territorial nationalist organization and forerunner to later Black Power-era movements such as the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and NAIM (Draper 1960: 322-326; Haywood 1978: 127; Kuykendall 2002: 20; Ogbar 2004: 8; Stanford 1986: 30). Cyril V. Briggs, a revolutionary nationalist journalist and Nevisian immigrant, formed the ABB in Harlem in 1919 as a semi-clandestine organization. Briggs recruited ABB members through publication of his *Crusader* monthly magazine and news service (Briggs 1958: 2-3; Haywood 1978: 123). Antithetical to the then dominant NAACP and UNIA, the ABB was the first independent black communist group in the United States (Briggs 1958: 3; Draper 1960: 326; Kuykendall 2002: 16). However, the ABB's all black composition was neither completely deliberate nor coincidental. As Briggs recalled, "The ABB then, was not conceived as an exclusively Negro organization, although that is what it turned out to be. At least, I know of no instance of a white person joining it. Nor did we make any attempt to recruit whites" (Briggs 1958: 2). The group's anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist political ideology and practice combined pan-Africanism, black nationalism, race analysis, and Marxism (Kuykendall 2002: 17; Stanford 1986: 31). Its largely male membership peaked near 3,000, and while the ABB included U.S.-born African Americans, black West Indian immigrants who were left-leaning former UNIA members or active in the Socialist and Communist Parties dominated it (Briggs 1958: 2; Haywood 1978: 122, 127).

The Harlem-based ABB was a mostly regional organization with "posts" or chapters concentrated in the eastern United States and West Indies (Briggs 1958: 2). Disillusioned with the politics of the Socialist Party, the ABB shifted to communism and promoted a far-reaching program that urged racial pride, organization of industrial workers and farmers, formation of consumer cooperatives, and creation of a United Negro Front or Worldwide Negro Federation and pan-African Army (African Blood Brotherhood 1920; Briggs 1922: 2; Kuykendall 2002: 17). Opposing what it saw as parochial nationalism in Marcus Garvey's UNIA, the ABB adopted a revolutionary internationalist outlook, which included working with white radicals (Briggs 1921; Haywood 1978: 125). As a result of World War I-era splits in the socialist and New Negro movements, the ABB steadily merged with the Communist Party and dissolved by 1924 (Haywood 1978: 125-126).

Briggs initiated the ABB's revolutionary nationalist call for a black sovereign socialist nation-state just before the group's formation (Draper 1960: 323). In a September 1917 article for New York's *Amsterdam News*, Briggs, as an associate editor for the newspaper, wrote, "As one-tenth of the population, backed by many generations of unrequited toil and a half a century of contribution, as free men, to American prosperity, we can with reason and justice demand our portion for purposes of self-government and the pursuit of happiness, one-tenth of the continental United States" (Briggs 1917, quoted in Draper 1960: 323). He argued for a "colored autonomous state" by comparing black oppression in the United States with the plight of European nations under German occupation (Haywood 1978: 124). Briggs proposed that the national territory of this "colored autonomous state" be located in the Pacific Northwest states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, or more favorably California and Nevada (Draper 1960: 323). However, a year after the ABB's founding, Briggs shifted the location entirely from the United

States to somewhere in Africa, South America, or the Caribbean (Draper 1960: 324; Haywood 1978: 124). Briggs made this locational change as a competitive move against the UNIA, which was attracting massive support with Garvey's philosophy of black racial pride and plans for African repatriation (Haywood 1978: 125).

Communist Party of the United States of America

During its 6th World Congress meeting in Moscow in 1928, the Communist International (Comintern) approved a resolution to support a movement for black national self-determination in the United States (Haywood 1948: 205, 1978: 256-269). The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) formed the Comintern, or Third International as it is also known, in 1919 to function as an international organization comprised of communist parties from around the world, including the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). The Comintern saw black national self-determination and the creation of a black-majority nation-state or "Negro Republic" in the United States as a means to bring the class struggle's greater goal of destroying global capitalist imperialism closer to realization (Figure 5.1) (Allen 1936: 181; Haywood 1978: 234). The CPUSA publicized the communist position on black self-determination in its weekly newspapers such as the *Southern Worker*, which featured a slogan in its masthead reading "White and Colored Workers Unite!" (Johnson 1930a: 4, 1930b: 4). In *The Negro Question in the United States* (1936), Sol Auerbach, a CPUSA journalist using the pseudonym James S. Allen, writes,

> We use the term "Negro Republic" not in the sense of "Negro domination" or a "dictatorship of Negroes." The class composition of such a governmental power, as we have already explained, is working class and peasant, both white and Negro. In such a government, from the local administrative units to the top bodies, the Negroes would be greatly predominant, because they form the overwhelming majority of these classes in the area where such a transformation would take place, and because the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution is intimately bound up with, is in fact the achievement of, the liberation of the Negro people from the yoke of imperialism. The term "Negro

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Republic" signifies that as a result of the fullest democracy, won for the first time in the South, the Negro necessarily plays the leading and most important role in the new Republic. (Allen 1936: 181)

The Comintern passed its resolution for black self-determination as a result of arguments made by Nikolai Nasanov, a CPSU member, and Harry Haywood, a past ABB member who became one of the few black leaders within the CPSU and CPUSA (Haywood 1978: 122, 218). Nasanov and Haywood based their argument on Vladimir Lenin's *Draft Thesis on the National-Colonial Question* (1920), which urged the Comintern's 2nd Congress in 1920 to support revolutionary anti-colonial liberation movements of "dependent and underprivileged nations (for example, Ireland, the American Negroes, etc.)" around the world (Haywood 1978: 223; Lenin 1974b: 148). Just before the Russian Revolution, Lenin wrote in *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture* (1915), that the postbellum American bourgeoisie, "having 'freed' the Negroes, it took good care, under 'free,' republican-democratic capitalism, to restore everything possible, and do everything possible and impossible for the most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes" (Lenin 1974a: 25). Nasanov and Haywood faced opposition from white and black Party members who upheld an orthodox view on class struggle that considered all forms of nationalism as reactionary (Haywood 1978: 229). However, Haywood, in particular, counterposed that black nationalism could be revolutionary if communists steered black support away from bourgeois groups such as the National Urban League, NAACP, and UNIA (Haywood 1948: 203, 1978: 230). Eventually, Nasanov and Haywood mustered enough support to persuade the Comintern to accept their position, which became known as the "Black Belt Thesis" (Haywood 1978: 222-235).

The Black Belt Thesis conceptualizes the United States as consisting of a dominant white nation and an oppressed black nation forged together by slavery and the Civil War's unfinished

Figure 5.1
Black Belt map on CPUSA 1932 national election campaign poster
Source: Communist Party of the United States of America, 1932

"bourgeois-democratic revolution" that guaranteed the postbellum return of white supremacist rule in the South (Haywood 1948: 50, 140, 1978: 231). The thesis asserts that Blacks form "not only a nation within a nation, but a captive nation, suffering a colonial-type oppression while trapped within the geographic bounds of one of the world's most powerful imperialist countries" (Haywood 1978: 232). The Black Belt Thesis is named after a region of contiguous black-majority counties that stretches across the South. It holds that the Black Belt region forms a subjugated black national territory in the United States, an idea that New Afrikan nationalists would revive in the 1960s (Haywood 1978: 232). Blacks are to decide upon their national political status, that is, whether to be sovereign, federated, or autonomous after they attain self-determination in the Black Belt (Allen 1936; Haywood 1948: 158). Black self-determination is central not only to choosing political status, but fundamental to destroying Jim Crow and achieving racial equality (Haywood 1948: 160-165). Attainment of black national self-determination has to begin with the expansion of black self-government, and the redrawing of gerrymandered political boundaries that racists set up to protect white supremacy in black majority areas (Haywood 1948: 160-165). Haywood formulates this strategy, in part, by looking at the Soviet Union, which he describes as a place where "the national question has been solved" and where people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds "enjoy the same rights and are forged together in an extraordinary unity in effort and enthusiasm for a common ideal – a multicolored, multi-national, fraternity of People's, a commonwealth of nations based on free association of races and nations living together in peace and friendly collaboration" (Haywood 1978: 160-162). Haywood points to the black leadership of southern Reconstruction-era governments as a historical model for self-government in the Black Belt nation (Haywood 1978: 162).

The CPUSA attempted to bring black self-determined nationhood into reality by creating the Alabama Sharecropper's Union in Birmingham, Alabama in 1931 (Haywood 1978: 397). Despite forming the Sharecroppers' Union and providing a renowned legal defense of the Scottsboro Boys, the white-dominated CPUSA never established more than a tenuous relationship with black America, (Haywood 1978: 375; Marable 2000: 205). The more influential and conservative NAACP, SCLC, CORE, and Urban League placed a wedge between communist and civil rights groups in response to the CPUSA's materialist critique of the reactionary bourgeois orientation of black churches and civil rights leadership (Haywood 1978: 637; Marable 2000: 205). The CPUSA had dropped its support for the Black Belt thesis by the late 1950s when a reformist or "revisionist" trend prevailed within the Party after Joseph Stalin's death (Haywood 1978: 609, 618). However, New Communist Movement groups such as the Communist League and October League, which Haywood and other anti-revisionists created after their expulsion from the CPUSA, revived the Black Belt Thesis in the late 1960s and 1970s (Communist League 1972; October League 1972).

Audley Moore, a former CPUSA member, is one of the most important figures in black territorial nationalism's evolution as a result of her instrumental role in bringing aspects of the Black Belt thesis into NAIM and the Black Power movement. Moore, a New Orleans Garveyite, joined the CPUSA in 1936 and became secretary of its New York state branch in 1942 (Ahmad 1998: 543). As a CPUSA member Moore ardently supported the Black Belt thesis (Ahmad 1998: 543). Moore left the CPUSA in 1950, and later influenced the Nation of Islam's notion of black statehood as a result of her work with Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X (Ahmad 1998: 543). In the 1960s, she took part in the founding of the African Nationalist Partition Party of North America, and the Provisional Government of the African American Captive Nation.

Along with Robert F. Williams, Moore also mentored leaders of the Revolutionary Action Movement prior to her early leadership in the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (Ahmad 2007: 113-114).

National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State

In 1933, the National Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State formed as another attempt to create a black separate state. Chicago-based black lawyer and businessman Oscar C. Brown founded and led the movement during a low point in black nationalism's popular appeal, and a year before Elijah Muhammad took control of the fledgling Nation of Islam. Formed before Alaska's admission as the forty-ninth state of the United States, the 49th State Movement promoted a bourgeois-oriented vision of black nationhood. It featured a middle-class leadership consisting of Brown's business and law partners such as G. Stevens Marchman, secretary of the Chicago Negro Chamber of Commerce, and Bindley C. Cyrus, a Barbadian-born West Indian federationist, attorney, and president of the Victory Mutual Life Insurance Company (Higgins 1968: 15, 18; "Louis divorce lawyer dies at Barbados home," 1976: 4). Like other black nationalist and separatist groups, the 49th State Movement pursued a separate black state in response to the obstacles of racist exploitation and injustice. The movement published a newspaper, the *49th State Compass*, to advertise its message (Higgins 1968: 15, 18). In a 1936 article in the *49th State Compass*, Brown writes, "There is a smoldering volcano under this so-called Negro problem, and to ignore it is short-sighted statesmanship . . . There is no scarcity of land in the United States in which Negroes might relocate" (Brown 1936, as quoted in Higgins 1968: 21). Cyrus, also writing in the *49th State Compass*, proposed,

> that a new state be carved out of one or more states of the union or, by the acquisition of territory from an adjoining and friendly nation. That this state, after passing through territorial status, shall be a sovereign commonwealth similar in all essentials to any other of the 48 states . . . being adequate in size, fertile in soil and hospitable in climate, that

pending its admission to statehood, it be under control of the United States Congress and administered under a territorial act similar to that under which Porto Rico (sic) is now governed. (Cyrus 1936, as quoted in Higgins 1968: 21)

As its name implies, the 49th State Movement never sought black sovereign nationhood, but an autonomous state that would later federate itself with the United States. Brown attributed the movement's decline in 1937 to a lack of financial resources, but its inability to compete with the Nation of Islam's rapid growth must also be considered (Higgins 1968: 20).

Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam (NOI) became the largest and most influential organization in the history of black nationalism to urge the creation of a separate black nation-state on U.S. soil. The NOI was founded during the Great Depression in 1930 in Detroit by W.D. Fard Muhammad, a clothing salesman whose true identity remains a mystery (Lincoln 1994: 11-12; Ogbar 2004: 13). The founder was known by other names including Wali Farad, Wallace F. Muhammad and Farrad Muhammad, but more importantly to his followers he was Master W.D. Fard Muhammad, the incarnation of Allah (Lincoln 1994: 11-12). During Master Fard Muhammad's leadership, the NOI created several institutions including the University of Islam, Muslim Girls' Training School, and an elite security force known as the Fruit of Islam (Lincoln 1994: 14, 201). Elijah Muhammad, a Georgia transplant whose original name was Elijah Poole, took control of the NOI when Master Fard Muhammad disappeared in 1934 (Lincoln 1999: 15-16). Revered as one of Master Fard Muhammad's closest protégés, Elijah Muhammad's followers variously call him the Prophet, Messenger of Allah, and the Most Honorable Elijah Muhammad. During the Messenger's tenure, which spanned until his death in 1975, the NOI relocated its headquarters to Chicago and established "Temples" in many cities across the United States (Lincoln 1999: 156, 263-264; Malcolm X 1965: 226-229).

The NOI grew to become a large-scale mass movement in which poor young working class men, many with criminal pasts, dominated its early membership (Clarke 1961: 288; Lincoln 1994: 22-23; Malcolm X 1965: 267-268; Ogbar 2004: 22). However, the group's rapid growth, which climbed to several hundred thousand members during the late fifties and early sixties, resulted from the media savvy efforts of the NOI's eloquent national spokesman Malcolm X. Once the NOI's most visible personality, Malcolm X started the group's widely circulating monthly newspaper *Mr. Muhammad Speaks*, and made frequent radio and television appearances (Lincoln 1999: 127-128; Malcolm X 1965: 241-252, 268, 296). The NOI became known for its militancy, clean-cut appearance, financial self-reliance, and strict moral and behavioral codes. Its members signified their Muslim identity through naming practices that consisted of replacing European surnames with the letter X to indicate rebirth and repudiation of slave mentality (Lincoln 1994: 105; Malcolm X 1965: 225-226: 294-295). The NOI demonstrated its focus on black capitalist-oriented economic self-reliance by owning department stores, groceries, bakeries, restaurants, barbershops, farms, apartment and commercial buildings, and other small businesses (Lincoln 1994: 88). Some of the NOI's most effective early social programs included the rehabilitation of heroin addicts (Malcolm X 1965: 264-266).

The NOI specifies its call for an independent black nation-state in "The Muslim Program" which consists of ten points on "What Muslims Want" and twelve points on "What Muslims Believe." The Muslim Program appears in books, pamphlets, and most recently on the NOI's website. It conveys the NOI's aspirations for black freedom, justice, equality, opportunity, and racial separation in the United States. The NOI affirms its position on separate black nationhood in point #4 under "What Muslims Want," which states,

We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own–either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years–until we are able to produce and supply our own needs . . . Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own. (Muslim Program of the Nation of Islam, 2014)

Despite foregrounding separate nationhood in its program, the NOI's pronouncements on the subject have consistently remained vague (Lincoln 1994: 91).

It is unclear when the NOI first called for a separate state, but my review of *Mr. Muhammad Speaks* newspapers points to 1960. With a front-page headline announcing "We Must Have Some Land," the first issue of *Mr. Muhammad Speaks,* published in May 1960, highlights a speech that Elijah Muhammad gave at the Chicago Coliseum, which features the statement, "We must have some land . . . Let there be no mistake about it. We must come out from among the wicked and be separate. We should be given land of our own, a subsidy in payment for the years our fathers were used as bondsmen, and then be left to go on our own" (Figure 5.2) (Muhammad 1960: 3). Beyond his assertions for acquiring land as reparations for blacks, Muhammad never outlines the actual creation of a separate black nation-state. Instead, he makes indefinite statements such as, "we are going to have a place on the planet that we can call our own. I don't care where it is, whether we are to have an isle in the Pacific or Atlantic Oceans, or if we are to have to pick up a piece of this country, we are going to have some land" (Muhammad 1960: 8). The same newspaper issue includes a precursor to the Muslim Program called "Muhammad's Twelve Point Program for the Deliverance and Salvation of the American Negro" (Muhammad 1960: 8). While the twelve-point program urges black social and economic

separatism, it never mentions a separate national territory. This is unlike the Muslim Program's

specific call for a "state or territory," which Muhammad announced by at least 1965 in his book

Message to the Black Man (1965).

As the NOI's representative, Malcolm X frequently popularized Muhammad's call for

territorial separation in his speeches and media appearances. However, unlike Muhammad's

vague assertions for land, Malcolm X used more specific terms when he talked about a proposed

black national territory located within the United States (Lincoln 1994: 92). In a June 1963

speech given at Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, Malcolm X, as Muhammad's

representative, stated,

> If a seventh of the population of this country is black, then give us a seventh of the territory . . . [Muhammad] says it must not be in the desert, but where there is plenty of rain and much mineral wealth. We want fertile, productive land on which we can farm and provide our own people with food, clothing, and shelter. He says that this government should supply us on that territory with the machinery and other tools needed to dig into the earth. Give us everything we need for twenty to twenty-five years until we can produce and supply our own needs. (Malcolm X 1963)

Malcolm X's suggestion that the area of the national territory be proportional to the size of

America's black population somewhat reflects the argument that ABB's Cyril V. Briggs made 46

years earlier for one-tenth of the United States' landmass. Malcolm X promoted the NOI's

position on separation until his break with the group in March 1964. He remained a black

nationalist until his assassination in February 1965, but made no further public statements

regarding national territorial separation after May 1964 (Breitman 1965: 19). The NOI's

ambiguous articulation of a separate nation-state might have been due to Muhammad's apolitical

stance and restrictions on political participation placed on NOI members (Marable 2011: 109,

133). Nevertheless, the movement's prominence and influence delivered the notion of

independent nationhood to a wider segment of black America at a nascent stage of Black Power.

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Figure 5.2
Mr. Muhammad Speaks first issue, May 1960
Source: Nation of Islam, 1960

Nationalist Partition Parties and Provisional Government

The development of revolutionary territorial nationalism in the United States also includes the formations of the African Nationalist Partition Party of North America (ANPP), the African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party (ADNIP), and the Provisional Government of the African American Captive Nation (PG-AACN). "Chief" Oseijeman Adefunmi founded the Harlem-based ANPP in 1962 (Walter E. King) (Testimony of Robert F. Williams [TRFW] 1970a: 48). In 1959, Adefunmi, a cultural and religious nationalist, became the first African American to be initiated into the Yoruba priesthood, which he achieved by traveling to Cuba (Brandon 1997: 115; Hucks 2008: 343-345). He went on to form the Shango and Yoruba Temples in New York in 1959 and 1960, and the Oyotunji African Village in South Carolina in 1970 (Brandon 1997: 115; Hucks 2008: 344-345). Adefunmi described the ANPP as a local political party "dedicated to the abolition of White domination over the black masses in the United States. The Party has no desire to overthrow the Government of the United States, but merely seeks an implementation of the right of separation and self-government provided for in the Preamble of the United States Declaration of Independence" (TRFW 1970a: 48). The ANPP based its cultural nationalist orientation upon Yoruba cultural foundations, which party members demonstrated by officially adopting the wearing of Nigerian dress during public events. The party organized street demonstrations and considered running political candidates (TRFW 1970a: 48).

Soon after the ANPP's founding, party members formed the PG-AACN during the Emancipation Proclamation Centennial and Reparations Conference, which they held from October 12 to 14, 1962, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (TRFW 1970b: 77). The same conference resulted in the creation of ADNIP, the ANPP's San Francisco-based counterpart led by Al

Sultan Nasser A. Shabazz, a cultural nationalist formerly known as NOI Minister Charles CX De

Blew (Ogbar 2004: 132-133). The PG-AACN's cabinet included Adefunmi as president; Robert

F. Williams, prime minister; Abdul Rahman, first deputy prime minister; Audley Moore, second

deputy prime minister; and Moore's sister, Loretta Langley, as acting minister of finance (TRFW

1970b: 78, 1970c: 236). The PG-AACN intended to relocate to South Carolina by 1965 where it

would begin to work on liberating a thirteen state region in the southeastern United States

(TRFW 1970a: 48, 1970c: 236). The PG-AACN's Declaration of Self-Determination of the

African American Captive Nation listed grievances against the U.S. government, and, after citing

the U.S. Declaration of Independence, concluded,

> *Therefore*, be it resolved, that this powerful nation (The United States of America), that
> was built with the unrequited slave labor of our African ancestors, be as magnimonious
> as it is great, and relieve our oppression with restitution; and
> *Be it further resolved* that all the land south of the Mason-Dixon line where our people
> constitute the majority, be partitioned to establish a territory for Self-Government for the
> African nation in the U.S.A.; and
> *Be it further resolved* that the United States Government take full responsibility for
> training our people for self-government in all of its ramifications, and
> *Be it finally resolved* that the Provisional Government of the African American Captive
> Nation be recognized by the Government of the United States as of now. (TRFW, 1970a:
> 47)

The PG-AACN's call for self-determination, self-government, and territorial separation

resounded aspects of the communist Black Belt Thesis and formulated some of the basic tenets

that NAIM would soon adopt. NAIM's adoption of these elements was not coincidental, but

directly attributed to the influence of PG-AACN members Robert F. Williams, Oseijeman

Adefunmi, and Audley Moore. Williams became the Republic of New Afrika's first president

while self-exiled in Tanzania. Adefunmi's efforts to bring the questions of blacks' right to self-

determination and reparations to the United Nations and World Court were adopted by the

Malcolm X Society, which was a direct forerunner to the Provisional Government of the

Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA) (Obadele 1968: 52-53). In 1968, Adefunmi also became the PG-RNA's first minister of culture. Moore, who was also a key mentor to the Revolutionary Action Movement, became the PG-RNA's first minister of health and welfare (Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders 1969: 4190, 4251).

Revolutionary Action Movement

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) formed in the summer of 1964 as a nation-wide black revolutionary nationalist movement. RAM's early program promoted racial pride and unity, positive images of black manhood, a sense of purpose, and the destruction of imperialism and colonialism (Stanford 1970: 508-509). The movement began as the Reform Action Movement, a radical student group at Central State College in Wilberforce, Ohio (Ahmad 2007: 96-97). RAM's core leadership included Donald Freeman, Max Stanford (named Muhammad Ahmad after 1970), Wanda Marshall, and Roland Snellings (named Askia Muhammad Touré after 1970), whose mentors were Malcolm X, Robert F. Williams, James and Grace Lee Boggs, Ethel Johnson, and Audley Moore (Ahmad 2007: 95, 99, 100, 113, 118, 124). The movement's push to expand its scale nationally began in 1962 in North Philadelphia where RAM cadre worked with civil rights activist Cecil B. Moore's NAACP chapter on a range of direct action demonstrations (Ahmad 2007: 101). By the mid-1960s, RAM had organized cadres in numerous major northern cities and smaller groups in southern cities such as Memphis, Tennessee and Greenwood, Mississippi (Ahmad 2007: 115-116, 119-121). Membership peaked between 1967 and 1968, bolstered by 3,000 to 4,000 supporters (Ahmad 2007: 149-150, 155). Young working class males dominated its ranks, with many belonging to the Black Guards, RAM's militant youth wing (Ahmad 2007: 165).

Due to increased state subversion programs, RAM formed a secret leadership called the Soul Circle, practiced selective recruitment, and organized itself into clandestine neighborhood cells and local chapters after eliminating its offices after 1964 (Ahmad 2007: 122, 131-138). As a black revolutionary nationalist organization, RAM viewed nationalist groups like the NOI, and the Civil Rights Movement, as counter-revolutionary because they followed bourgeois ideologies (Ahmad 2007: 102). RAM sought to radicalize the Civil Rights Movement by having its members infiltrate groups like SNCC, CORE, NAACP, and SCLC (Ahmad 2007: 110, 133). It created its Black Guards neighborhood self-defense units to steer the direction of urban rebellions towards a black revolutionary nationalist trajectory (Ahmad 2007: 147). RAM spread its message through several organizational publications including *RAM Speaks*, *Black America*, *Black Vanguard* and *Soulbook* (Ahmad 2007: 102, 137, 144). RAM's notable actions included forming self-defense rifle clubs, picketing discriminatory businesses, organizing black nationalist-oriented student groups, struggling for the first black studies programs, politicizing urban street gangs, and building opposition to the Vietnam War (Ahmad 2007: 133, 160).

In 1965, RAM shifted greater attention to the struggle for self-determination, reparations, and an independent national territory in the South (Ahmad 2007: 138). On April 17, 1968, just days after NAIM's founding convention took place in Detroit, RAM leader Muhammad Ahmad announced,

> We must fight for independence and nationhood like all other freedom loving Peoples have done. By demanding an independent Black nation from the land that is rightfully ours, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina. The land we tilled, shed blood for 300 years for nothing (slave labor) and 100 years for dry bones (sharecropping); we can get support from others. We demand Reparations repayment for racial crimes and injustice done to us for over 400 years. If we make no demand how can anyone help us? We must see through the oppressor's tricknology and take our question of human rights and self-determination before the world court. Wake up before you find out too late America is the Blackman's battleground. (Stanford 1970: 514-515)

Ahmad's statement echoes the Communist Party's 1920s Black Belt theory and shares NAIM's vision for a New Afrikan Republic. Again these are not just coincidences as RAM had a direct relationship with NAIM through a wider network of black nationalist leaders. RAM dissolved in October 1968 as a result of ideological splits, violent confrontations, lack of internal discipline, loss of direction, scarce finances, police repression, and lengthy prison sentences (Ahmad 2007: 159-160). According to Ahmad, during the Third National Black Power Conference in Philadelphia in August 1968, "The RAM decided to go into the Republic of New Africa (RNA) and be the left wing inside the RNA. The RNA was to be the broad front of the movement" (Ahmad 1979: 39). Several of RAM's key members and mentors became involved in NAIM's formation and leadership, including Robert F. Williams, Audley Moore, Milton Henry, Herman Ferguson, Muhammad Ahmad, and Glanton Dowdell (Ahmad 2007: 123, 151, 260). At the same conference, RAM formed the African People's Party (APP) whose leadership consisted of members from a swathe of civil rights and black nationalist organizations. The APP's program of establishing black community control and electing black officeholders was also oriented towards NAIM's struggle for a sovereign socialist Republic of New Afrika (Ahmad 1972, 1979: 39).

CHAPTER 6
NAIM'S ORIGINS AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika

The opening stages of NAIM's discursive and material constructions of space, place, and scalar politics, which comprised the movement's representational space of black radicalism, begin with the efforts of a Detroit-based group known as the Malcolm X Society. The Malcolm X Society was a clandestine black revolutionary nationalist group whose purpose was to create urban self-defense militias to protect black communities in the United States (Mosby 1970: 699-19). Brothers Milton and Richard Henry co-founded the Malcolm X Society in Detroit as an outgrowth of an earlier organization they founded in the city called the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL). GOAL developed and promoted an approach to black self-uplift called "Catalysis Philosophy" (Group on Advanced Leadership [GOAL] 1963). GOAL's members included veteran radical activists such as black Christian nationalist Reverend Albert B. Cleage Jr., and James and Grace Lee Boggs (Marable 2011: 263; Mosby 1970: 699-06).

The Malcolm X Society was a product of GOAL's Northern Negro Grassroots Leadership Conference in Detroit, which took place from November 9 to 10, 1963 (GOAL 1963; Marable 2011: 306; Mosby 1970: 699-16). The conference concluded with a speech that Malcolm X delivered at the King Solomon Baptist Church (Breitman 1965: 3; GOAL 1963; Mosby 1970: 699-16; Smith 2009: 58). Popularly known as Malcolm X's "Message to the Grassroots," the speech called for black self-defense, revolutionary nationalism, and struggle for land as a strategy to reverse the oppressed condition of black America. In the speech, Malcolm X proclaimed, "Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality" (Breitman 1965: 9). These themes became basic tenets of the Malcolm X Society, and, in due course, NAIM (Mosby 1970: 699-14). The Malcolm X

Society's members called themselves "Malcolmites," and some, like Milton Henry, were close friends of Malcolm X (Obadele 1968: 4, 64; Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders [RCCD] 1969: 4246, 4251, 4269).

Calling for "Land and Power," the Malcolm X Society set up much of the immediate philosophical and strategic groundwork for NAIM (Obadele 1968: 4). In October 1966, the Malcolm X Society published the first edition of *War in America, The Malcolm X Doctrine,* a book on black revolutionary nationalist strategy that Richard Henry authored under his newly adopted African name Brother Imari (Obadele 1968, 1987: 11). Described in biblical language as "the first Malcolmite epistle," the book attacks white supremacy, institutionalized racism, defeatist black bourgeois leadership, and the Civil Rights Movement's philosophy of non-violence (Obadele 1968: 13, 35, 43). It portrays the mid-1960's urban rebellions as the resumption of a defensive war on white supremacy that blacks suspended since the end of the Civil War (Obadele 1968: 7). The book presents a political philosophy called the Malcolm X Doctrine that outlines a set of political, diplomatic, economic, and military steps for black liberation in the United States (Obadele 1968: 25, 51, 62-64). The Malcolm X Doctrine, which would become foundational to the strategies advanced by NAIM, holds that black liberation required the building of a "New Society" of "brotherhood and justice, free of organized crime, free of exploitation of man by man, and functioning in a way to make possible for everyone the realization of his finest potentialities" (Obadele 1968: 29). It envisions the "New Society" as being established in a separate black nation-state whose territory would encompass the Deep South states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina (Obadele 1968: 29-30, 54). The territory does not include Florida because the doctrine views the state as "militarily indefensible" (Sherrill 1969: 72).

The Malcolm X Doctrine postulates that the territory of the black nation-state could be acquired through a strategy that combined short-term guerilla warfare in northern cities and building state power in the South through legal electoral and judicial means (Obadele 1968: 27-34, 62-63). The southern struggle would begin in Mississippi where the largest black population in all of the United States was located. The movement's success in Mississippi would inspire a politically supportive black return migration from the north that would lead the struggle to be replicated in the remaining four states (Obadele 1968: 30, 63). The struggle's immediate short-term goal would be to build consent for the black government from the local population and through political, military, and economic alliances with friendly nations in the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia (Obadele 1968: 51-64). If effective, the strategy would tip the balance of power in favor of black self-determination, and effectively pressure the U.S. government to honor a demand for reparations in the form of money and the land of the black national territory (Obadele 1968: 52-55).

Before the Malcolm X Society's eventual dissolution into the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA), it published two revised editions of *War in America, The Malcolm X Doctrine* in January and August of 1968 (Obadele 1968: 1; RCCD 1969: 4246). The final revision holds that the founding of the PG-RNA and signing of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence in March 1968 attested to the reality of a subjugated New Afrikan nation within the United States (Obadele 1968: 1-2, 65-68). As a result, the PG-RNA signified a strategic change in scalar politics that extended the black struggle's political maneuvering space into the sphere of international law instead of staying within the legal confines of the United States legal system, which could work against it (Obadele 1968: 1-2). Circumventing the risks of setbacks that might have resulted from attempts to build state power in the South, the

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Malcolm X Doctrine's revised strategy concentrated only on demonstrating to the U.S. government and international community that a New Afrikan nation and provisional government were already in existence and had the consent of the black people living within the subjugated territory of the Republic of New Afrika (Obadele 1968: 2). Revolutionary black nationalists premised this scalar change in strategy on the defensive need to use the international community and institutions such as the United Nations and World Court to protect them against U.S. state repression (Obadele 1968: 2). In the final version of *War in America, The Malcolm X Doctrine* (1968), Obadele explains,

> We could not entertain hope of help in our struggle from international sources so long as we conducted our struggle *within* the United States federal union as if we were citizens of the United States (black people are not and have never been citizens). The *Republic* was brought about, when it was, to frustrate hostile action of the United States against seekers of land and power for blacks on this continent, and to create proper safeguards for ultimate success. (Obadele 1968: 2)

NAIM's official formation came out of the National Black Government Conference in Detroit, Michigan, which was held from March 30 to 31, 1968. Sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, the purpose of the conference was to establish a provisional government tasked with carrying out the work of liberating the Republic of New Afrika (RNA), which was the name that black nationalists gave to the country encompassing the five-state national territory. Conference organizers charged a one-dollar registration fee and allowed in three types of participants: black nationalists committed to territorial separation, interested observers who were undecided about separation, and technical advisors offering their services to the New Afrikan government (RCCD 1969: 4353, 4359-4360). Up to 500 participants attended the conference, while the number of registrants approached 3,000 (RCCD 1969: 4359). The conference featured workshops held among several locations including Reverend Albert B. Cleage's Shrine of the Black Madonna Church (formerly Central United Church of Christ), Wayne State University's Helen DeRoy

Memorial Auditorium, and the black-owned 20-Grand Motel (RCCD 1969: 4247). Agenda

items included national sovereignty, citizenship, the Declaration of Independence, naming the

country, creating a government, the political status of black guerillas, and defending black youth

against the military draft into the Vietnam War (RCCD 1969: 4358).

Black nationalists formed the PG-RNA to tackle everyday problems of illegal and

unprotected citizenship and racist oppression, which New Afrikans specified as including high

levels of black unemployment and underemployment, the lack of a prosperous black-controlled

economy, drafting blacks into the racist Vietnam War, the imposition of curfews and police and

military occupation of black neighborhoods, and the powerlessness of black elected local

officials to remedy such problems (Obadele 1968, RCCD 1969: 4179-4184). The original PG-

RNA was planned to operate from April 2, 1968 to January 1, 1970, at which point a

forthcoming constitution was to terminate it and form a new government (RCCD 1969: 4357).

The government's structure consisted of a conventional separation of powers divided among

executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The National Council of Representative embodied

the legislative branch. Among the Council's first responsibilities was the appointment of a civil

service commission that would manage the hiring of government employees (RCCD 1969: 4357-

4358). The founding convention was responsible for appointing a constitutional commission that

was to write a constitution and conduct a vote for its approval before December 1, 1969 (RCCD

1969: 4358).

Cabinet elections took place on March 30th with nominees including well-established

leaders from a diverse range of cultural, religious, and political nationalist orientations. The PG-

RNA's first elected cabinet consisted of Robert F. Williams, president-in-exile; Gaidi Obadele,

first vice-president; Betty Shabazz, second vice-president; Imari Obadele, minister of

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information; Charles P. Howard, minister of state and foreign affairs; Wilbur Grattan Sr., deputy

minister of state and foreign affairs; H. Rap Brown, minister of defense; Joan Franklin, minister

of justice; Queen Mother Audley Moore, minister of health and welfare; Baba Oseijeman

Adefunmi, minister of culture and education; Obaboa Alowo, treasurer; and Raymond Willis,

minister of finance (Figure 6.1) (RCCD 1969: 4190, 4251). Ray Willis and Henry "Papa" Wells

became speaker and vice-speaker of the National Council of Representatives, but supreme court

judges would not be elected until fall 1969 (Executive Council-PG-RNA, memorandum to New

Afrikan People's Court 1980: 1; "Interrupted Legislature Continues to Work" 1969: 3; "News

Briefs" 1968: 2). Conference participants also chose consulate chairpersons that included Mae

Mallory, New York; Omar Bey, Chicago; Lewis G. Robinson, Cleveland; Reverend Willie

Thomas, Cincinnati; and Hakim Jamal, Los Angeles (RCCD 1969: 4252, 4270). Prominent

conference speakers were Lawrence Guyot, founding chairman of the of the Mississippi

Freedom Democratic Party, and Maulana Karenga, leader of the cultural nationalist Us

Organization, who for a short time served as an early PG-RNA minister of culture (RCCD 1969:

4360).

Participants discussed recommendations for government funding and proposed a 2

percent income tax on New Afrikan citizens, the immediate sale of one thousand 100-dollar

bonds, and foreign aid negotiations with friendly nations (RCCD 1969: 4359). Increased

attention was given to building industry and commerce, which would involve creating an

economy around entertainment and the small-scale manufacture of African-centered cultural

products such as music, literature, and clothing (RCCD 1969: 4359). Recommended was "the
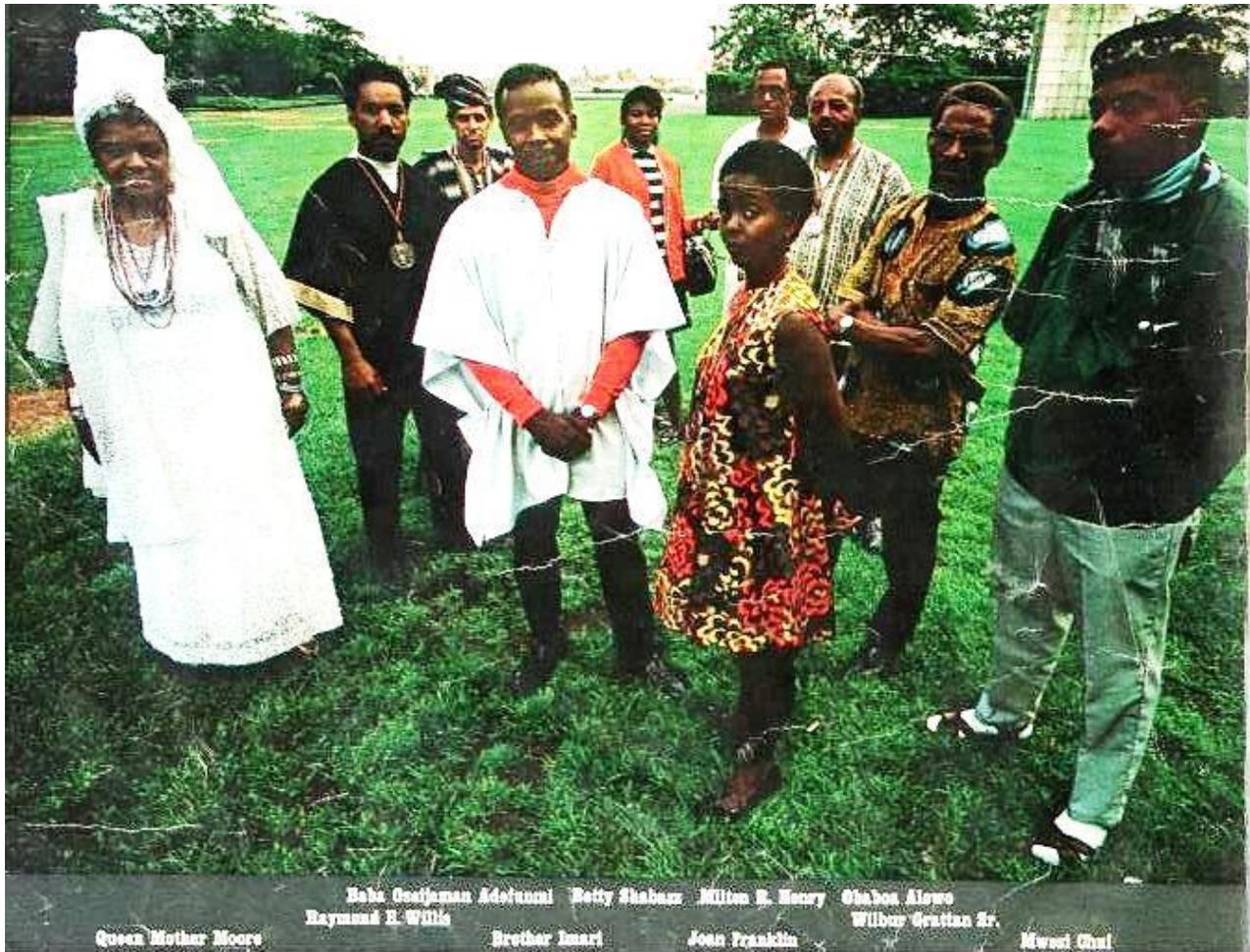
Figure 6.1
First elected PG-RNA cabinet, 1968
Source: *Esquire* magazine, January 1969

immediate creation of a small commercial/industrial complex in the South, on a 100 (or more) -

acre site" (RCCD 1969: 4359). The site would feature a printing plant, recording studio, motion

picture lot, clothing factory, crafts plant, and food laboratory. It would also include schools,

hospitals, and housing for the complex's workers and their families. The ministries of

information and culture would oversee the establishment of bookstores in major cities and the

refurnishing of idle black movie theaters. NAIM leaders also suggested resort areas and a Black

Power Exposition as national revenue sources (RCCD 1969: 4359). PG-RNA Minister of

Culture Oseijeman Adefunmi called for the New Afrikan nation to initiate a program of adopting

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African-centered cultural practices (Detroit Police Department [DPD], memorandum, April 1, 1968: 4).

On the morning of March 31st, nearly 200 delegates gathered in the black-owned 20 Grand Motel's auditorium to sign the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence (Figure 6.2) (RCCD 1969: 4178). By signing the declaration, New Afrikans affirmed themselves to be "forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make us paper-citizens placed on us" (Obadele 1998: 444; RCCD 1969: 4247, 4361). The Declaration of Independence focused on citizens' rights, state powers, aims of the New Afrikan revolution, and promoting the world revolution (Obadele 1970: 34). The Declaration defined the New Afrikan revolution as "a revolution against oppression - our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for better life, a better station for mankind, and a surer harmony with the forces of life in the Universe" (Obadele 1998: 444; RCCD 1969: 4356).

The Declaration summed up the aims of the revolution in a list of thirteen points that emphasized the building of a New Society, and generally reflected long sought black demands for justice, freedom, and equality in the United States (Obadele 1998: 444; RCCD 1969: 4356). The New Afrikan Declaration of Independence has historical antecedents in other documents justifying black independence such as abolitionist John Brown's 1859 "Declaration of Liberty by the Representatives of the Slave Population of the United States of America," the UNIA's 1920 "Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World," and the PG-AACN's 1962 "Declaration of Self-Determination of the African American Captive Nation" (Garvey 1923: 135; Hinton 1894: 637; Testimony of Robert F. Williams 1970: 46).

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The Black Legion

A key development within the PG-RNA's organizational structure was the formation of

the Black Legion, the RNA's standing army. The Black Legion embodied New Afrika's

inherent military viability as conceived in the Malcolm X Doctrine and "Eight Strategic

Elements for Success of a Black Nation in America." The Black Legion's formation began with

the founding conference's election of Minister of Defense H. Rap Brown, the former SNCC

leader, and the passage of the Universal Military Training Act during the first legislative session

of the PG-RNA's National Council of Representatives in Chicago from May 30 to June 1, 1968

("New Africans Push Black Legion" 1968: 2). In July 1968, the PG-RNA cabinet promoted

Mwesi Chui (John F. Taylor) from deputy to chief minister of defense. Chui, the commander of

the black security force Mwesi Ndugu and soon-to-be PG-RNA consul from Dayton, Ohio,

replaced H. Rap Brown who was mired in legal troubles following a February 1968 federal

firearms violation (RCCD 1969: 4190, 4375). According to the PG-RNA, necessitating Chui's

promotion were "pending land acquisitions soon to be finalized, which [have] created the

immediate need for protection of national territory, including defense of it as a sovereign

possession" ("Chui Appointed Deputy Defense Head" 1968: 3). Quoted in a 1969 *Esquire*

magazine article, Minister of Defense Chui stated,

> Our function is to protect ministers, citizens and property. Our Ministry has approval for
> expansion of the Black Legion, and establishment of an officer's candidate school. We
> will raise an army, a police force and, if needed an air force and navy. If necessary, we'll
> train abroad, then return with aircraft and missiles. We're preparing, defensively, for the
> war to take place. (Sherrill 1969: 74)

Another central function of the Black Legion would be to protect ballot boxes in Mississippi

against tampering by racist white officials (RCCD 1969: 4367, 4371; Sherrill 1969: 73). The

Black Legion was to have active, reserve, and women's auxiliary components. Commonly

known as Legionnaires, the military members were to be trained in rifle, small arms, map reading, martial arts, and first aid ("Chui Appointed Deputy Defense Head" 1968: 3; DPD, memorandum, August 12, 1968: 1). Female members of the Black Legion had begun training by February 1969 (DPD, memorandum, February 17, 1969: 1).

External and Internal Revolutions

The PG-RNA set out from the founding conference on a course of nation-building and realizing the principles and aims of the Malcolm X Doctrine and New Afrikan Declaration of Independence. Seeking to garner support from the wider black nationalist community, PG-RNA members attended the Third Annual Black Power Convention held at Philadelphia's Church of the Advocate from August 29 to September 1, 1968 (Woodard 1999: 107). The convention peaked at over 4,000 delegates representing more than 600 organizations (Woodard 1999: 107). Organizers conducted numerous workshops around a range of political, cultural, historical, and economic topics (Woodard 1999: 107). Notable speakers included a mix of civil rights and Black Power veteran activists such as Amiri Baraka, Maulana Karenga, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Max Stanford, Rep. John Conyers, Jesse Jackson, and Whitney Young (Woodard 1999: 107). Representing the PG-RNA were Imari and Gaidi Obadele, Ababoa Owolo, Mwesi Chui, Oseijeman Adefunmi, Queen Mother Audley Moore, and many citizens and supporters from various cities (DPD, memorandum, September 4, 1968: 1). The PG-RNA presented its "Eight Strategic Elements for Success of a Black Nation in America" (Obadele 1970: 3). Based on the Malcolm X Doctrine, the eight elements included, (1) brains, (2) labor, (3) natural resources, (4) internal domestic support, (5) international support, (6) a limited objective, (7) inherent military viability, and (8) a second strike capability (Obadele 1970: 4). The need for brains meant increasing and acquiring literacy, scientific knowledge, technical skills and

New Afrikan Declaration of Independence
1968

WE, New Afrikan People in America, in consequence of arriving at a knowledge of ourselves as a people with dignity, long deprived of that knowledge; as a consequence of revolting with every decimal of our collective and individual beings against the oppression that for three hundred years has destroyed and broken and warped the bodies and minds and spirits of our people in America, in consequence of our raging desire to be free of this oppression, to destroy this oppression wherever it assaults humankind in the world, and in consequence of inextinguishable determination to go a different way, to build a new and better world, *do hereby declare ourselves forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United State of America and the obligations which that country¹s unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens placed on us*.

We claim no rights from the United States of America other than those rights belonging to human beings anywhere in the world, and these include the right to damages, *reparations*, due us from the grievous injuries sustained by our ancestors and ourselves by reason of United States lawlessness.

Ours is a revolution against oppression -- our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution *for* a better life, a better station for mankind, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We therefore see these aims as the *Aims of our Revolution*:

• To free black people in America from oppression;

• To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;

• To build a new Society that is better than what We now know and as perfect as man can make it;

• To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;

• To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service;

• To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of God and the 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 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 salubrious 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 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, and

• To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.

In mutual trust and great expectation, We the undersigned, for ourselves and for those who look to us but are unable personally to affix their signatures hereto, do join in this solemn Declaration of Independence; and to support this Declaration and to assure the success of the Revolution, We pledge without reservation ourselves, our talents, and all our worldly goods.

Figure 6.2
New Afrikan Declaration of Independence, original verbatim version, 1968
Source: PG-RNA, 1968

expertise, and imagination. Labor focused on work and the acquisition of machines and computers. Natural resources meant the land of the five states comprising the New Afrikan national territory. These first three elements represented the basic means of production which, in combination, were necessary for producing the Republic's national wealth (Obadele 1970: 4).

Internal domestic support translated to financial and moral support of all black people for the RNA (Obadele 1970: 5, 26). International support called for building political, military, and economic alliances with friendly nations (Obadele 1970: 6, 27). A limited objective meant that NAIM called not for fifty states, but for one-tenth of the land area of the United States in proportion with the size of the country's black population (Obadele 1970: 8, 27). The New Afrikan national territory consisted of the poorest five states of the United States, which the PG-RNA figured would be the easiest territory for whites to relinquish (Obadele 1970: 27). Inherent military viability meant the building of the Black Legion (Obadele 1970: 8, 27). A second strike capability referred to the underground army of urban guerilla fighters that would operate independently though be supportive of the government (Obadele 1970: 10, 28). The military strategy, particularly the second strike capability, reflected a policy of deterrence seen in the nuclear arms race between the United States and Soviet Union. However, in the New Afrikan war with America, the threat of urban guerilla warfare stood in for the threat of nuclear missile attacks (Obadele 1970: 12, 28-31).

The New Afrikan revolution also involved building a New Afrikan personality and identity through personal transformation in thought, values, attitudes, and behavior. This "internal revolution" meant the abandonment of materialistic culture and the building of a collectivist ethos which placed community before individual. An early New Afrikan training document states, "Revolution is internal and external dealing with mental and physical shackles,

dealing with our Negroisms and honkey oppressors . . . Cadillacs, dope, liquor, bowing, and snuffing don't start or win revolutions" (PG-RNA, training document, early 1970s). The PG-RNA introduced a New Afrikan Value System in 1969 in its creation of the New Afrikan Creed (Figure 6.3). The system was based on the Nguzo Saba, a set of seven African-centered principles of social living composed in 1966 by Maulana Karenga, a former PG-RNA minister of culture who the government relieved in April 1969 as a result of his connection to the deaths of two Black Panthers in California ("Cabinet Meeting" 1969: 2; Mayes 2009). Popularized by the holiday of Kwanzaa, the Nguzo Saba's principles are expressed in the Swahili terms consisting of Umoja (unity), Kujichagulia (self-determination), Ujima (collective work and responsibility), Ujamaa (cooperative economics), Nia (purpose), Kuumba (creativity), and Imani (faith).

The New Afrikan Creed presented a list of fifteen moral beliefs and pledged such values as racial pride, selflessness, honesty, devotion to community, love of nation, respect for leadership, commitment to national liberation, and belief in the Malcolm X Doctrine (Obadele 1998: 446). New Afrikans also professed dedication to these values through the New Afrikan Pledge of Allegiance, or The Oath, which reads, "For the fruition of Black Power, for the triumph of Black Nationhood, i pledge to the Republic of New Africa and to the building of a better people and a better world, my total devotion, my total resources, and the total power of my mortal life" (Obadele 1975: 153). The PG-RNA's ministry of information created the Oath, which was first recited in a group ceremony during the first legislative session in Chicago ("Oath of Allegiance Issued at Chicago" 1968: 1). Reciting the Oath involved raising the right arm with a clenched fist, a gesture known as the Black Power salute.

Taking the Oath before a government official is the first step in becoming a New Afrikan citizen ("Oath of Allegiance Issued at Chicago" 1968: 1). According to Imari Obadele,

The New Afrikan Creed
1969

1) I believe in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black People, and in our new pursuit of these values.

2) I believe in the family and the community, and in the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live.

3) I believe in the community as more important than the individual.

4) I believe in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world. I believe in collective struggle: in fashioning victory in concert with my Brothers and Sisters.

5) I believe that the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control our lives.

6) I believe that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign Black nation.

7) I believe that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.

8) I believe in the Malcolm X Doctrine, that We must organize upon this land, and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote, that We are free and the land independent, and that, after the vote, We must stand ready to defend ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.

9) Therefore, i pledge to struggle without cease, until We have won sovereignty. I pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a better condition than man has yet known.

10) I will give my life, if that is necessary. I will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this IS necessary.

11) I will follow my chosen leaders and help them.

12) I will love my brothers and sisters as myself.

13) I will steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister and spread no gossip.

14) I will keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that i am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.

15) I will be patient and uplifting with the deaf, dumb and blind, and i will seek by word and deed to *heal* the Black family, to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside.

Now, freely and of my own will, i pledge this Creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For i am no longer deaf, dumb or blind. I am – by grace of Malcolm - a New African!

Figure 6.3
New Afrikan Creed, original verbatim version, 1969
Source: PG-RNA, 1969

> The precepts of our new and better life are written into our Creed and our Oath; they are celebrated by our supreme governing body, and taught by our leaders. The people must truly absorb these precepts. Such an absorption – particularly of the Creed – gives the individual New African a rule, a criterion, against which to judge for himself the rightness (or wrongness) of his own thoughts, words, and deeds. The individual New African thus becomes his own first-line policeman. (Obadele 1975: 40)

A New Afrikan style of writing signifies and reinforces emphasis on community values by

capitalizing the letter "W" in the first-person plural personal pronoun "we," and using a

lowercase "i" for the singular first-person singular personal pronoun "I." According to revered NAIM veteran Chokwe Lumumba, "It is a rule of New African grammar and a principle of New African thought that our 'WE's' are capitalized and our 'i's' are small, since 'the community is more important than the individual'" (Lumumba 1973: 36). The PG-RNA later built the Creed's precepts into its socio-economic development programs, which emphasized traditional African-centered Ujamaa collectivism over individual capitalist accumulation (Obadele 1975: 100, 131; Sonebeyatta 1971).

Nation-building classes educated movement newcomers about the aims of the New Afrikan revolution. In addition to teachings about national independence, political science, and revolutionary theory, the classes involved lectures on nation and race (Obadele 1970: 12). In a nation-building class given in April 1969, New Afrikan nationalists defined nation as a group of people having common land, culture, government, and "very often" race (Obadele 1970: 12). New Afrikans formed a nation because they possessed all of these attributes. Referring to cultural nationalist Maulana Karenga, New Afrikans claimed to share a common language that was a "different language from classic English" (Obadele 1970: 13). They argued that a New Afrikan national culture was also formed out of shared suffering, attempts to build a better life, and distinct forms of black literature, music, and lifestyle (Obadele 1970: 13). New Afrikans had a common territory in black dominated neighborhoods in northern cities and the Black Belt states of the South (Obadele 1970: 13). The PG-RNA represented a common government (Obadele 1970: 13). Until the moment of national sovereignty arrived, New Afrikans would constitute "a subjugated nation" with a "government-in-captivity" (Obadele 1970: 13). New Afrikan elaborations on national genesis emphasized shared historical, geographical, and cultural origins.

Organizational texts often depict the New Afrikan nation as a consanguineous group forged out

of the suffering of slavery and colonialism. An early PG-RNA brochure states,

> The black nation is a people of African descent born in America . . . We are an African
> people, an African nation. But We are a NEW African nation because We have Indian
> blood and white blood, as well as African blood in us, and because our roots in this land
> go back 350 years. Also, the land upon which We now live is over 4,000 miles from our
> homeland, Africa. (PG-RNA brochure, January 1976)

This statement also reveals a sense of diasporic belonging in which New Afrikans identified

themselves as belonging to two places: America and the African homeland. However, the notion

of a New Afrikan homeland emphasized the importance of the American South over Africa.

Race was the final component cementing the New Afrikan national community. Nationalists

such as Imari Obadele differentiated race between its biological and sociological definitions.

Biology attempted to "lean toward the exact sciences" and used blood quantums and

phenotypical features such as skin color and hair texture to construct a taxonomic classification

system of human races (Obadele 1970: 14-15). However, as evidence increasingly pointed to the

notion of humans having common genetic origins, Obadele questioned biology's seeming

objectivity in defining races as scientific truths as being perhaps "just a hypothesis, just a

convenient - and inexact - tool to help us understand race" (Obadele 1970: 17). Sociological

notions of race were more important to consider. Pointing out the cultural and political

importance of sociological over biological notions of race in America, Imari Obadele writes,

> when I say to you a black man or a black woman you understand what I am talking about.
> And it doesn't really matter to us whether the black person that we are talking about has
> dark skin and crinkly hair and full lips or not. We understand that in America a black
> person is one who, number one, acknowledges his African heritage somewhere along the
> line, and, number two, lives as part of the black or New African culture. That is the
> criteria by which we go. And this type of definition -is a sociological definition, a
> sociological definition because we have determined, according to our belief, what a black
> person is and what a white person is and for that matter what a yellow person is.
> Now, the cardinal point in all this is that what people BELIEVE is more important than
> what the fact is. It always is, because what you believe becomes for you the fact. In

America we are in fact a common race for all the reasons that we have defined into race. (Obadele 1970: 17)

Relational Identity

The PG-RNA made noticeable efforts defining its identity relationally by distinguishing

itself from other nationalist groups and programs. In April 1969, First Vice President Gaidi

Obadele, and Regional Vice Presidents Imari Obadele of Detroit and Virginia Collins of New

Orleans, denounced former SNCC and BPP leader James Forman's Black Manifesto, which

delegates adopted at the Black Economic Development Convention from April 25 to 27 at

Wayne State University in Detroit (Obadele 1970: 51). Forman's Black Manifesto demanded

white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to pay $500,000,000 in reparations for slavery.

The Manifesto states,

> we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and its membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored People's around the world is aided and abetted by the white Christian churches and synagogues. (Forman 1969)

Amounting to 15 dollars for each black person in the United States, the reparations money would

fund several projects including a Southern land bank for black agriculture and farming

cooperatives, a publishing and printing industry, television networks, research and technical

skills training centers, a black university in the South, the political organization of welfare

recipients, and creation of the International Black Appeal whose functions would include

fundraising, building political and economic support for African liberation movements, and

establishing a black Anti-Defamation League (Forman 1969). The Manifesto called for a direct

action approach that included staging disruptions and sit-ins in churches and synagogues during

religious services (Forman 1969).

The PG-RNA officers' position attacked Forman's Black Manifesto as "rash, ill-conceived" and "reformist, counterrevolutionary idiocy" (Obadele 1970: 51, 55). They described Forman's strategy of occupying churches and synagogues as "sheerest lunacy" (Obadele 1970: 53). The officers felt that the Black Manifesto's adoption by Black Economic Development Convention resulted from the disorderly and aggressive maneuvering of Forman's delegation to control the convention (Obadele 1970: 53). By targeting churches and synagogues, Forman's reparations plan relieved the U.S. government of its responsibility to pay reparations. The PG-RNA argued that the U.S. government "is the agency which international law requires should pay us the reparations and should pay these reparations to us as a people, as a nation, to a government set up by the consent of the people" (Obadele 1970: 52). New Afrikans saw Forman's land bank proposal as betraying the principle of land ownership, and his idea of black television networks ignored the issue of federal regulation and dependence on the white capitalist economy (Obadele 1970: 52). Overall, they viewed the Manifesto as oriented toward black capitalism within the United States rather than independent nationhood. The PG-RNA officers stated,

> We condemn Jim Forman and his group both for their tactics at such a time, in such a place, and for their program. We charge that the tactics and their program did great damage to the international reputation of black nationalists in America. We charge that their lack of preparation and their lack of an understanding of the military ramifications posed by their so-called program constitutes a criminal departure from those standards of responsibility and intelligence which we must expect of leaders. We charge that their disrespect for the obligation to further the tenuous, functional relationships being built between black revolutionaries and other black people deserves the sternest reproach. Finally, we say to black America and to the international community that the Republic of New Africa intends to keep faith with the highest standards of service to the cause of black liberation, despite the Forman idiocy, and that we will continue to promote black unity and to pursue resolutely and with honor and good sense the goal of land and power in our time in this place. (Obadele 1970: 56)

The PG-RNA respectfully distinguished itself from groups such as the NOI, BPP, and Yoruba Temple to create its public collective identity (Obadele 1970: 66). It criticized the NOI for its ambiguous notions of territorial separation and for lacking a specific plan for achieving sovereignty (Obadele 1970: 65). While discussing an attempt to build rapport with the NOI, Gaidi Obadele stated that Elijah Muhammad, who he described as "the father of the whole thing," rejected an invitation to an RNA conference in Philadelphia that was to be held from June 5 to 7, 1970 (DPD, confidential report, June 10, 1970; Mosby 1970: 699-32). Then leading one faction of a recently polarized government, Gaidi explained that Muhammad rejected the invitation because of the PG-RNA's devotion to Malcolm X who was ousted from the NOI in 1964. According to Gaidi, Muhammad replied to him by stating, "that he was not going to come to the convention nor was he going to permit any of his people to come to the convention, and that we who loved Malcolm should continue on loving that hypocrite" (Mosby 1970: 699-32).

Despite goodwill exchanges of moral support, the PG-RNA viewed the BPP and other self-proclaimed revolutionary groups as essentially being racial accommodationists who were unable to provide a national structure and training for black self-government (Obadele 1970: 71, 73). New Afrikan saw black revolutionaries' cooperation with the white radical New Left movement in the United States as equating a betrayal of the struggle for black nationhood (Obadele 1970: 73). Efforts to form revolutionary class alliances with white workers were futile, as the true obstacle to such alliances was not class, but racial caste (Obadele 1970: 71). Historical efforts in the United States and other segregated countries such as South Africa proved that the outcomes of interracial class alliances reinforced white supremacy in the labor force (Obadele 1970: 72).

However, the RNA's strategy of territorial separation received amicable critiques from other groups such as the BPP. Writing to the PG-RNA on September 13, 1969, BPP co-founder Huey P. Newton stated that while the Black Panthers supported a U.N. monitored plebiscite to obtain the black population's vote on separation, the Party itself was "not really handling the question at this time because we feel that it is somewhat premature, though I realize the psychological values of fighting for a territory" (Newton 1972: 98). While ideological and strategic differences formed distinctions between nationalist and revolutionary formations, in actuality NAIM included former Black Panthers and Muslims within its leadership and ranks. Some of NAIM's attraction can be attributed to the PG-RNA's representation of the New Afrikan movement having a thorough and correct position on black revolutionary nationalism demonstrated in statements such as,

> by contrast, the Republic of New Africa is scrupulous in observing the international law requirements for nationhood, a people with a common culture, living on a common land, under a common government. We have defined the common land that belongs to our people as all of the land in America where we have lived traditionally, developed, and fought for . . . What is more, we in the Republic have developed a specific political technique - and are pursuing it - for achieving sovereignty over this land, with consent of the people, whether those who presently claim sovereignty over it are ready to give it up or not. No other "nation" can make this statement. (Obadele 1970: 66)

NAIM also projected its public identity through symbolic practices such as the creation and display of the national flag of the Republic of New Afrika (Figure 6.4). The national flag uses the same colors as the pan-African liberation flag used by Marcus Garvey's UNIA ("The African Flag" 1970: 10). An article in the *New Afrikan* newspaper claims that both flags originate in the ancient Zingh Empire, which flew a red, black and green flag under its ruler Tirus Afrik in West Africa 15,000 years ago ("The African Flag" 1970: 10). Red, black, and green flags are also common among many African and Islamic countries. However, the New Afrikan flag differs from the UNIA flag because it represents a country, and the order, colors,

sizes, and symbolism of the bars have different meanings. In the Republic of New Afrika's flag, the black bar is located at the bottom to symbolize black people's current position in world. The black bar symbolizes the notion that black people form the basis of the Republic of New Afrika's liberation. The red bar in the middle symbolizes blood shed for national liberation. It is half as wide as the black and green bars to symbolize NAIM's "desire to shed as little black blood as possible" (PG-RNA "Flag of Our Nation" advertisement, early 1970s; U. Mwendo, personal communication, July 3, 2010). The green bar symbolizes NAIM's "recognition of land as the most important single element for our Freedom and Independence" (PG-RNA "Flag of Our Nation" advertisement, early 1970s). It corresponds with the popular slogan of New Afrikan struggle "Free the Land."

When the size of the red bar is taken as a reference, then proportionally there are five vertically stacked bars in the flag that represent the five-state subjugated national territory (U. Mwendo, personal communication, July 3, 2010). The flag's current order of colors is upside down, meaning that it is a pre-revolutionary flag and, according to maritime and international law, a sign of distress. The flag's colors are to be inverted after liberation is achieved and New Afrikan people control their own lives (U. Mwendo, personal communication, July 3, 2010). New Afrikans display their national flag at all PG-RNA events and have sold flags to raise funds. The current New Afrikan flag became the only officially recognized flag of the Republic of New Afrika on March 31, 1972 (PG-RNA "Flag of Our Nation" advertisement, early 1970s).

Expanding Sovereignty

The PG-RNA's national reparations campaign and Ocean Hill-Brownsville independence vote represent notable early initiatives for reparations and New Afrikan sovereignty. Like the Universal Military Training Act, the reparations campaign also came out of the first legislative
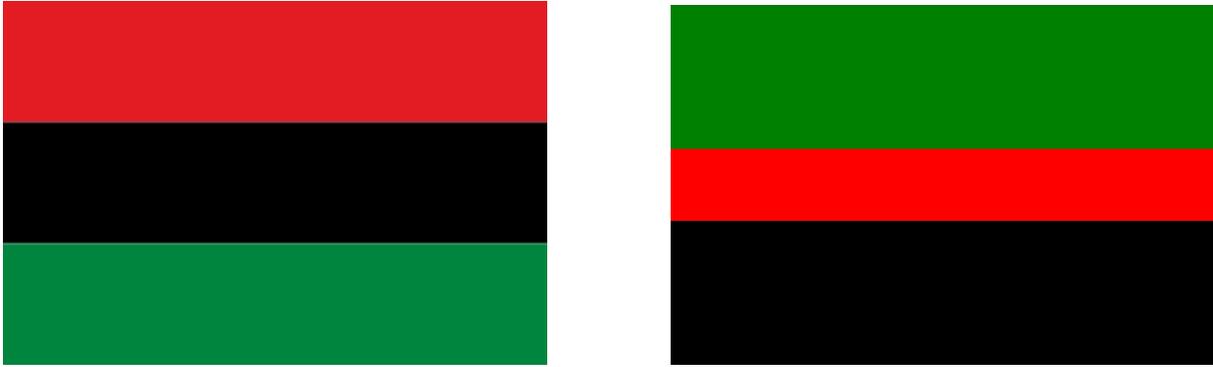
Figure 6.4
Flags of the UNIA (left) and Republic of New Afrika (right)
Source: Derived from UNIA and PG-RNA documents

session of the Republic's National Council of Representatives. Publicized in the first issue of the

movement's official organ *The New African*, the campaign sought signatures for petitions which

the PG-RNA was to present to the United Nations. Petitioners signed petitions with the

knowledge that their signatures indicated agreements authorizing the PG-RNA to negotiate their

demands for reparations ("Reparations Drive Launched" 1968: 1, 4). In this way the signed

petitions were a means of registering and symbolizing black consent to the New Afrikan

government. RNA consulates located in cities around the country conducted the campaign from

June to October of 1968 ("Reparations Drive Launched" 1968: 1). Each consulate was to obtain

50,000 signatures by August 18, 1968. As an indicator of the drive's slow progress, the Detroit

consulate collected only 4,500 signatures by August 17th which resulted in extending the

deadline to September 29th (RCCD 1969: 4364). The petition drive ultimately failed, in part, due

to the PG-RNA's unsuccessful attempts to facilitate an interested response from the United

Nations or U.S. Department of State (DPD, memorandum, September 15, 1968: 1, September 27,

1968a: 2, September 27, 1968b: 2). Nevertheless, the PG-RNA continued to press for

reparations in subsequent campaigns such as the Anti-Depression Program, thereby laying the

groundwork for what later became the reparations movement in the United States.

The PG-RNA began its sovereignty campaign in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in October 1968, as its first attempt to liberate one of the Republic's "subjugated territories" in the north (Obadele 1970: 34). From May 1968 to the early 1970s, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville neighborhood in New York City's Brooklyn borough was the site of a boiling conflict involving a predominantly black local school board, mostly white city-wide teachers' union, and the elite-backed city government (Podair 2002: 4-5, 37). The neighborhood's early 1960s transition from being middle-class white and Jewish to becoming increasingly poor and black resulted in racially segregated public schools where predominantly black schools experienced academic decline linked to inexperienced teachers and overcrowded classrooms (Podair 2002: 4, 15-18). In May 1967, to resolve academic problems in segregated schools, the New York City Board of Education created an experimental decentralized local school board in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district which controlled curriculum, expenditures and personnel (Podair 2002: 1, 4, 71, 83). In May 1968, the local school board fired 83 white and Jewish teachers, which sparked a series of city-wide teachers' strikes that lasted until November 1968 (Obadele 1970: 40; Podair 2002: 174). On September 29, 1968, New York City Mayor John Lindsay responded to the board's decision by sending in several hundred policemen to allow dismissed teachers back into Junior High School 271, the conflict's ground-zero, after a large presence of local residents blocked their entrance (Obadele 1970: 35; Podair 2002: 2, 109). The PG-RNA interpreted the mayor's response as a white attack on black community control (Obadele 1970: 37-38, 41). It argued that liberating the school district as a sovereign territory was a political option that the local black community should support over the decisions being imposed on them by the white-controlled unions and city government (Obadele 1970: 38-39, 42).

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Temporarily redirecting its course of action from its original plan to liberate its southern territory, the PG-RNA entered the racialized Ocean Hill-Brownsville conflict seeing it as an opportunity to hold a successful plebiscite vote that would bring the movement closer to its goal of national independence sooner and with less violence (Obadele 1970: 35-36). The PG-RNA shifted towards Ocean Hill-Brownsville due, in part, to what it saw as ideal political locational factors. According to Imari Obadele,

> The first thing that made Ocean Hill-Brownsville more advanced than Mississippi - or Detroit, or Atlanta, or any other place in the U.S. - was that leaders in Brownsville already understood, not just in their heads but in their gut-bottom emotions, that *community control* (that is *black* control, this includes Puerto Ricans) is the only answer to their misery and oppression, to their victimization. (RCCD 1969: 4255)

Expected to last at least three years, the sovereignty campaign would include a petition drive in which signers would demand a vote on holding a U.N. monitored plebiscite to determine the district's political independence from New York and the United States (Obadele 1970: 43; RCCD 1969: 4366). It was also to include negotiations with state and federal legislators, and recruitment of college students into the PG-RNA's newly created Freedom Corps that would support the government with young talent and skills (Figure 6.5) ("Freedom Corps Growing Stronger in Campuses" 1969: 7; Obadele 1970: 43).

A successful vote would be followed by establishing a local New Afrikan government headed by a governor and a policy-making body comprised of economic, educational, political, defense and public safety, and public welfare and communications councils (Obadele 1970: 49). The government would be guided by the "theory of expanding sovereignty" which entailed the geographical spread of consent for the PG-RNA over a wider region including the national territory (Obadele 1970: 45-47; Sonebeyatta 1971: 14, 18). Expanding sovereignty in Ocean Hill-Brownsville would be, in large part, achieved by avoiding pretexts for military conflict, and

initiating government operations such as providing trash collection, unarmed community patrols, licensing, and medical services (Obadele 1970: 45-47). The school district would operate as an "open city" where New Afrikans would remain unarmed to avoid creating opportunities for military attacks by the state of New York or U.S. military (Obadele 1970: 46). An armed New Afrikan-led response would be taken only if external preemptive aggression forced such action (Obadele 1970: 47-48).

The PG-RNA based its Ocean Hill-Brownsville Independence Project at an address linked to then Vice Speaker of the National Council of Representatives and Minister of Education Herman Ferguson at 125 Hopkinson Avenue in Brooklyn ("Interrupted Legislature continues to Work" 1969: 2; RCCD 1969: 4253, 4263). New Afrikan participation in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville sovereignty campaign involved PG-RNA workers from around the country. On October 8, 1968, police stopped four Detroit consulate workers in Oneida, New York, who were traveling by car to join the campaign in Brooklyn. The police charged 20-year-old Leroy Wilds with illegal firearms possession and jailed him until December 9th (RCCD 1969: 4365). The PG-RNA had dissolved its Ocean Hill-Brownsville sovereignty campaign by August 1969, despite recruiting scores of new members, holding a public vote to elect local representatives to its next legislative session, and strengthening the government's New York consulate (Obadele 1970: 32, 34, 40; "Ocean Hill Reps attend RNA Lawmaking Session" 1969: 2; RCCD 1969: 4251-4253, 4262). While falling short of expectations, the PG-RNA's creation of the Black Legion, national reparations drive, and sovereignty campaign in Ocean Hill-Brownsville were important efforts to recruit consent for the New Afrikan nation and its provisional government. For PG-RNA members and their supporters, these actions were not merely academic exercises, but signified real steps towards forging the space, place, and scalar politics of a black independent nation-state

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Figure 6.5
Freedom Corps recruitment flyer, 1968
Source: PG-RNA, 1968

and a New Society in the United States.

Constitutional Crisis and the Code of Umoja

The constitution of the Republic of New Afrika, also known as the Code of Umoja, is the supreme law of the New Afrikan nation. Originally, a constitutional commission appointed during the 1968 founding convention was tasked to write the Republic's constitution. The constitutional commission was to complete the constitution before December 1, 1969, at which time a "direct vote by all members or by conventions in each Black nationalist district" would ratify the document (K.O. Kalimara and C. Lumumba, memorandum to New Afrikan People's Court [NAPC], 1980, p. 1). The new constitution would dissolve the original PG-RNA and require a new government to be elected by January 1, 1970. Chaired by Umbagi Mfalme Adefunmi, the commission first met during the first legislative session of the National Council of Representatives in Chicago in the spring of 1968 (K.O. Kalimara and C. Lumumba, memorandum to NAPC, 1980: 1; RCCD 1969: 4357; "Constitution Committee Progresses" 1968: 1). Adefunmi stated that the commission was studying "traditional African governmental structure in order to intelligently combine its features within the present day needs of a socialist, communal, technical society" ("Constitution Committee Progresses" 1968: 1). Despite its efforts, the commission failed to produce the document, which led to the PG-RNA's first constitutional crisis (K.O. Kalimara and C. Lumumba, memorandum to NAPC 1980: 1).

Compounding the constitutional crisis was the resignation in December of President Robert F. Williams, who, with PG-RNA legal assistance, returned to the United States in September 1969 from eight years of self-exile in Cuba, China, and Tanzania (Ahmad 2007: 15-18; TRFW 1970a: 58, 62, 65-67). Imari Obadele deemed Williams' resignation as an "embarrassment" and the cause of the constitutional crisis (Obadele 1987: 18). Gaidi Obadele attributed Williams' departure to a fear of being linked to the movement's growing military

tendency, which Gaidi also connected to his brother (Mosby 1970: 699-22-699-23). Williams'

association with NAIM might have impacted his fight against extradition to North Carolina

where he was still wanted on kidnapping charges. The constitutional crisis divided the Obadele

brothers who were already wrangling over the movement's direction. The split created two

competing factions in the PG-RNA with Gaidi's side supporting a political approach in the north,

and Imari's group favoring a military strategy in the South (Mosby 1970: 699-26, 699-34-699-

37; RNA 1972: 2).

The PG-RNA's Supreme Court resolved the 1969 constitutional crisis by holding that the

National Council of Representatives, chaired by Imari Obadele who replaced Ray Willis in

March 1969, could call for an election of new government officers. A PG-RNA Unity

Conference in the Fall of 1969 selected Chokwe Lumumba to be the presiding judge along with

Kenneth Cockrell and Martin Sostre as associate judges of the first Supreme Court (Executive

Council-PGRNA, memorandum to NAPC 1980: 1, 2; K.O. Kalimara and C. Lumumba,

memorandum to NAPC 1980: 2; C. Lumumba, notes to PG-RNA and Afrikan People's Party

Cadre [APPC] 1978: 4-5). An armed attack against a New Afrikan meeting by Detroit police in

March 1969 interrupted an earlier attempt by the National Council of Representatives to elect a

supreme court ("Interrupted Legislature Continues to Work" 1969: 3). Following the Court's

decision that allowed for a new election, a Constitutional and Election Convention took place in

Detroit from January 23 to 25, 1970, over the objections of Gaidi Obadele's faction which

wanted the old government to elect the new officials (K.O. Kalimara and C. Lumumba,

memorandum to NAPC 1980: 2). With approximately 30 New Afrikan delegates from around

the country attending, the convention elected an interim government called the Ujamaa

Committee, and called for the election of new PG-RNA officers and the ratification of a

constitution in March 1970. Chairmen of the Ujamaa Committee and new Constitutional

Commission were Hekima Ana and Chokwe Lumumba respectively. National election

conventions held on March 28, 1970, elected a new PG-RNA cabinet that included Imari

Obadele, president; Hekima Ana, midwestern vice president; Dara Abubakari, southern vice

president; and Alajo Adegbalola, eastern vice president (Executive Council-PGRNA,

memorandum to NAPC 1980: 2; K.O. Kalimara and C. Lumumba, memorandum to NAPC 1980:

2; C. Lumumba, Notes to PG-RNA and APPC 1978: 5).

The convention also ratified the New Afrikan Republic's first constitution, the Code of

Umoja. Its historical antecedents include abolitionist John Brown's 1858 "Provisional

Constitution and Ordinance for the People of the United States," and the UNIA's 1918

"Constitution and Book of Laws" (Garvey 1923: 135; Hinton 1894: 637). The Code of Umoja

established legislative session schedules, citizenship procedures, elections laws, executive

powers and responsibilities, ministerial appointments, emergency presidential succession,

consulate operations, and judicial power (Code of Umoja 1970; K.O. Kalimara and C.

Lumumba, memorandum to NAPC 1980: 2). It reorganized the PG-RNA's governmental

structure, in part, by establishing a People's Center Council (PCC), which became the Republic's

supreme law and policy-making body (Code of Umoja 1970). The first PCC session in Ithaca,

New York approved a final amended version of the Code of Umoja in April 1970 (K.O.

Kalimara and C. Lumumba, memorandum to NAPC 1980: 2).

Pushed for approval by Ana and Lumumba, the Code of Umoja was intended to move

away from the previous government structure which Lumumba argued was "malconstructed for

its primary liberation task" (C. Lumumba, Notes to PGRNA and APPC 1978: 5). For Lumumba,

the previous government was "constructed like a conventional post-liberation government" (C.

Lumumba, Notes to PGRNA and APPC 1978: 4). The old government's bureaucratic structure was largely responsible for the constitutional crisis because it created conditions for internal power struggles and disputes. Attempting to further change the conventional structure, Ana and Lumumba unsuccessfully advocated having the presidency eliminated altogether by vesting executive power with the chairman of the PCC. New and significantly expanded Codes were adopted in 1975 and 1988 that maintained the PCC as the Republic's chief decision-making body (Executive Council-PGRNA, memorandum to NAPC 1980: 2, 4, 5). The 1988 Code of Umoja created a People's Revolutionary Leadership Council (PRLC), which as the executive branch is bound to implement the decisions of the PCC. Constitutional amendments have been approved multiple times over the years (PG-RNA, Code of Umoja, 1970, 1988; K. O. Kalimara and C. Lumumba, memorandum to NAPC 1980: 23).

New Afrikan Citizenship

The Code of Umoja outlines required criteria for New Afrikan citizenship. Article I of the original Code of Umoja states, "All people of color who pledge allegiance to the Republic of New Africa may become citizens of the Republic of New Afrika" (PG-RNA, Code of Umoja 1970). Later versions of the Code maintained citizenship through naturalization, but also granted it to "each Afrikan person born in America" and to "any child born to a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika" (PG-RNA, Code of Umoja review 2007: 9). New Afrikan citizenship can also be denied or renounced. Recent Codes describe New Afrikan citizenship as a human right and define "conscious citizenship" as "All citizens of the Republic of New Afrika who are aware of their citizenship" (PG-RNA, Code of Umoja review 2007: 9). The growth of conscious citizenship reflects the success of the independence movement (PG-RNA, Code of Umoja review 2007: 10).

However, the philosophy behind New Afrikan citizenship and the PG-RNA's claims for land and reparations is based on a certain interpretation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution (Afoh et al. 1991: 53-54; Obadele 1972: 27-30). The New Afrikan interpretation of the amendments holds that the descendants of African slaves in the United States have never been true citizens because while having the obligations of citizenship they never had the protections of citizenship that other groups enjoyed (Obadele 1972: 27). Adopted in 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment did not respect the right to self-determination of emancipated Africans following the Thirteenth Amendment's termination of slavery (Obadele 1972: 27). New Afrikans view the legal rule of *jus solis* inherent to the Fourteenth Amendment as being intended only for descendants of voluntary immigrants or visitors to the United States, but not to the descendants of African slaves (Obadele 1972: 27). American citizenship could not be denied to people whose births in the United States were "acceptable accidents" of being the offspring of immigrant settlers (Obadele 1972: 27). Since the arrival of African captives brought to the United States as slaves did not result from voluntary immigration, the descendants of slaves born on U.S. soil cannot be considered "acceptable accidents" (Obadele 1972: 27-28). As a result, New Afrikans argue that the Fourteenth Amendment, correctly interpreted, is an *offer* rather than *grant* of U.S. citizenship to blacks (Obadele 1972: 28).

Since the Fourteenth Amendment is an offer of citizenship, the U.S. government must recognize blacks' right to self-determination to make an informed choice regarding their post-slavery political status (Obadele 1972: 28). Their choices should have included acceptance of U.S. citizenship, a return to Africa or another place with government support, or a claim to independent land in the United States (Obadele 1972: 28-29). The Fourteenth Amendment obligates the U.S. Congress "to enforce" the amendment, which means that Congress should

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authorize a plebiscite by which blacks could vote for their political status (Obadele 1972: 29).

This also means that if blacks make an informed choice for territorial independence in the United

States, as NAIM demands, then the U.S. government must also provide them with monetary

reparations for damages caused by slavery (Obadele 1972: 28-30). Reparations would be used to

fund the New Afrikan government "to assure the new nation a reasonable chance of solving the

great problems of want and resource-poverty imposed upon us by the Americans in our status as

colonized people" (Obadele 1972: 30).

People's Army, Anti-Depression Program, and State Repression

With the government intact and Imari Obadele as president, the third PG-RNA shifted

towards a strategy that relocated the epicenter of NAIM's struggle from the northern cities to the

Deep South. In keeping with the Malcolm X Doctrine, the change in strategy also included

rebuilding the nation's military since the old Black Legion's leadership, including General Chui,

held its loyalties with Gaidi Obadele or to themselves (Obadele 1987: 8). The Code of Umoja

specified that the President, then Imari Obadele, would also be commander-in-chief over the

New Afrikan Security Force (NASF). Conceiving the military as a self-defense force, Imari

Obadele stated, "The role of the RNA army . . . was and is a defensive role, to fend off unlawful

attacks of whites trying to halt preparations for the plebiscite. Furthermore, the army would not

be called an army but the New Afrikan Security Force" (Obadele 1970: 8). As a self-defense

force, the NASF would take military actions only in response to preemptive attacks (Obadele

1972: 32). The NASF's conduct in public emphasized and demonstrated avoidance of pretexts

for U.S. military action, and reinforced the movement's peaceful intentions. At the time, New

Afrikan leaders identified white civilian vigilante groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and other

racist "semi-official" organizations as the greatest threat of violence against the New Afrikan

nation (Obadele 1972: 31-32). Leading the NASF was Minister of Defense Alajo Adegbalola (Leroy Boston), who was also elected to be the PG-RNA's eastern region vice-president. According Imari Obadele, Adegbalola was responsible for advising the change in terminology from the "Black Legion" to "New Afrikan Security Force" after learning of an attempted act of subversion by a group of original Black Legion officers operating semi-autonomously (Obadele 1987: 6, 8).

Adegbalola forwarded the idea of a People's Army that would provide military training not only to active NASF members, but to the wider New Afrikan population. By doing so, Imari Obadele argued, "There would be no military elitism and no question of civilian control" (Obadele 1987: 9). The notion of a People's Army coincided with the PG-RNA's proposed socialist political economic system in being planned to eliminate the power of the capitalist ruling classes to use the military in defense of their private economic interests. The collectivist values of the New African Creed and Oath, which the military and a "well-armed and vigilant" citizenry would absorb, would guide national self-defense (Obadele 1975: 40-41). A NASF youth wing was also formed called the Simba Wachangas, which in Swahili means "Young Lions" (DPD, internal memorandum, May 25, 1970).

In 1972, the PG-RNA presented the "Anti-Depression Program of the Republic of New Afrika." Hailed as a plan to end "black economic depression," the Anti-Depression Program was a New Afrikan alternative to white-controlled urban renewal and social programs (Obadele 1975: 65, 69). In the recent aftermath of 1960s urban rebellions, the PG-RNA viewed these programs as attempts to "save peace in the cities - *for whites*" while simultaneously fueling rising white hostility towards blacks (Obadele 1975: 67, 114). The PG-RNA viewed the Anti-Depression Program as being "in the nature of a Peace Treaty between the black nation in America and the

United States which for nearly 100 years made war upon us" (Obadele 1975: 65). As 1972 was

an election year, the PG-RNA sent copies of the program in June to presidential candidates and

select members of the U.S. Congress (Obadele 1975: 74, 113, 1987: 181). The program was

structured in two parts, the first dealing with legislative requests, and the second with objectives

and methods (Obadele 1975: 74, 91). Legislative requests included three Acts, which if

Congress enacted them, would authorize "peaceful cession of land and sovereignty" following a

black plebiscite, 300 billion dollars in "no-strings attached" reparations "for slavery and unjust

war against the black nation," and negotiations between the governments of the United States

and Republic of New Afrika to work out the details of reparations payments (Obadele 1975: 74,

98, 1987: 181).

Compared with the Marshall Plan, which funded Western Europe's post-WWII economic

recovery, the Anti-Depression Program's objective was "to end poverty, dependence, and crime.

To raise self-esteem, achievement, and creativity, and to promote inter-racial peace" (Obadele

1975: 91, 103). The PG-RNA would execute program beginning with a two year phase in

which fifty-seven billion dollars in reparations was to be used "to affect directly the lives of ten

million blacks in America, inside and outside of the five-state national territory, and to improve

significantly the quality of life for all thirty million blacks in America" (Obadele 1975: 103).

Standing by the Malcolm X Doctrine's idea of creating a New Society in the national territory,

the PG-RNA would use reparations money to build 4,000 "New Communities" for ten million

people in the Deep South, provide direct partial payments to descendants of slaves, and fund

relocation allowances for those migrating to and within the national territory (Lumumba 1973:

39; Obadele 1975: 103). Each New Community would accommodate 500 families and include

housing, health centers, schools, community centers, day-care complexes, communications and

visual arts centers, office buildings, shopping centers, and industrial plants (Lumumba 1973: 39; Obadele 1975: 104).

To justify its approval by the U.S. Congress, the Anti-Depression Program provided a narrative of historical precedents regarding American and European reparations actions, plebiscites around the world, and American territorial acquisitions (Obadele 1970: 74-89; 1987: 181). The PG-RNA set up a Society for Development of New Communities, Inc. to collect funds to begin the Program while lobbying efforts were being undertaken (Lumumba 1973: 39; Obadele 1975: 129). Minister of Justice Chokwe Lumumba led the lobbying effort by presenting the program at the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, from March 10 to 12, 1972 (Obadele 1970: 62, 1987: 169). The Mississippi Loyalist Democratic Party delegation accepted the program in the lead up to the 1972 Democratic Convention in Miami, Florida (Obadele 1975: 62-65, 66-71, 112). However, federal agents and state police thwarted the provisional government's attempts to have the Democratic Party Platform Committee when they arrested New Afrikan activists Ahmed Obafemi and Tarik Sonebeyatta who were distributing copies of the Program at the convention (Figure 6.6) (Lumumba 1973: 40; Obadele 1975: 112, 1987: 183-185). The state authorities originally charged Obafemi and Sonebeyatta with conspiracy to assassinate presidential candidate George Wallace, but when higher authorities found the agents' claims to be unsubstantiated they reduced the charges to possession of concealed weapons violations (Lumumba 1973: 40). Each man was held on $100,000 bond and shortly thereafter sentenced to maximum five-year prison sentences (Lumumba 1973: 40).

Figure 6.6
Ahmed Obafemi and Tarik Sonebeyatta arrested at the Democratic National
Convention, Miami, 1972
Source: *Afro American* newspaper, July 22, 1972

The arrests of Obafemi and Sonebeyatta belonged, of course, to a wider pattern of

political repression that state-led surveillance and subversion programs conducted to stifle black

radical movements. The combined efforts of the FBI's COINTELPRO and state and local police

department "Red Squads" greatly obstructed the PG-RNA's work along with the struggles of

other civil rights and Black Power groups (Lumumba 1973: 34-42; Obadele 1987: 264-272).

The first three years of the NAIM's existence saw scores of New Afrikan activists arrested,

imprisoned, and in at least case, assassinated through extrajudicial killing. Events such as the

1969 New Bethel Incident in Detroit, and the arrests and trials of the RNA-11 in Jackson,

Mississippi, in 1971, resulted in mounting legal costs, lengthy prison sentences, and negative

local and national media coverage (Lumumba 1973: 34-42; Obadele 1970: 107-15, 1987: 36, 48,

126, 172). As a result, the state pushed the movement into a defensive position where it had to

divert resources into legal defenses of political prisoners. State repression also forced activists to

go underground, flee overseas, or resign from political struggle altogether (Lumumba 1973: 34-

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42). This receives further examination in the next chapters because such political policing and

its repressive outcomes became major obstacles to the construction of NAIM's representational

space. It will suffice to say for now, that despite continued repression since the 1960s, NAIM

has survived until the present day as a result of committed members, adaptability, institutional

integrity, and the invention of new formations such as the New Afrikan Prisoners' Organization

in 1977, National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters in 1981, New Afrikan

People's Organization in 1984, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America in

1987, and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and New Afrikan Liberation Front in 1995, and

the National Jericho '98 Amnesty Movement in 1998 (Berger and Dunbar-Ortiz 2010: 67;

"Black nationalist organizations hold historic summit in Atlanta" 1995; Lumumba 1990: 18;

National Jericho Movement 2013; Obadele 1987: 331).

CHAPTER 7
PREPARE FOR EXODUS: NAIM IN THE NORTH

NAIM's Nationwide Mobilization Space

The material geographical aspect of NAIM's representational space of black radicalism is based first on the fact that the PG-RNA had a tangible presence in the physical world. New Afrikan political theorist Imari Obadele alluded to the material dimension of NAIM's representational space when he stated that the PG-RNA, "being a result of a legitimate act of self-determination, and being composed of real persons and their physical appurtenances, could not be made invisible or suspended in the air; it had to occupy *space*" (Obadele 1987: 174). However, the PG-RNA's efforts to build and extend NAIM's physical space of mobilization constituted the most significant spatial practices constructing the material aspects of NAIM's representational space. New Afrikan nationalists based these efforts on their conceptualization of the Republic of New Afrika having a political geography comprised of subjugated territories that corresponded to historically and largely black populated areas in the United States. These territories consisted of the New Afrikan-designated five-state region in the South and smaller black urban enclaves in the North. The Republic of New Afrika's political geography began to acquire definite boundaries in Imari Obadele's *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* (1968). The PG-RNA reiterated this geography in organizational texts in the late 1960s and early 1970s, stating,

> *First*, scattered across America our land is sections of the Northern cities where our people now live and have lived, in some, for over two hundred years. *Second*, lying in the great Black belt across the South, our land is the counties of the South where we have lived and worked the land and clung to it for 300 years despite the most brutal oppression the world has ever known. (Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders [RCCD], 1969: 4249)

The PG-RNA's strategy to liberate the Republic of New Afrika's subjugated territory resulted in the creation of a nationwide physical mobilization space made up of local meeting

places and public spaces for recruitment, training, political campaigns, and protest actions. Political geographer Kevin Cox underscores the cultural and political importance of mobilization spaces when he states, "if effective organization of the stigmatized, 'inferior,' culturally oppressed and excluded is to occur then home bases are required: sites of interaction, places where they can redefine the contrast between themselves and those who oppress them, and build alternative meaning systems" (Cox 2002: 158). NAIM's nationwide mobilization space also demonstrated the movement's expanding scalar politics and territoriality around the country. The PG-RNA initially formed NAIM's nationwide physical mobilization space when it established consulates in several large northern cities. The PG-RNA's first cabinet meeting in spring 1968 endorsed the creation of consulates (PG-RNA, Code of Umoja review 2007). Consulates were to function as small-scale versions of the provisional government, and were intended to evolve into neighborhood governing bodies (PG-RNA government administration booklet 1970). New Afrikans interpreted local support for consulates as indicating popular consent for the PG-RNA as the legitimate government of blacks in America. Consulates were to be led by initially appointed, but subsequently elected, consuls, and were to include "sections" of each ministry found in the national provisional government. New Afrikan citizens participating in consulate work would be assigned to ministry sections headed by assistant ministers who were subordinate to national-level ministers in the PG-RNA's organizational structure (PG-RNA government administration booklet 1970).

The PG-RNA's ministry of the interior, originally headed by Imari Obadele, was tasked with activating, promoting, and guiding consulates. Consulate chairpersons and their locations in 1968 included: Mae Mallory, New York, New York; Omar Bey, Chicago, Illinois; Lewis G. Robinson, Cleveland, Ohio; Mwesi Chui (John F. Taylor), Cincinnati, Ohio; Maulana Tuungani

(Reverend Willie Thomas), Dayton, Ohio; Lavis B. Simmons, Detroit, Michigan; and Hakim

Jamal (Allen Donaldson), Los Angeles, California ("Dayton Opens Consulate" 1968: 1, 5;

"Republic of New Africa Denounces McCarthy" 1968: 1; RCCD 1969: 4252, 4270). The PG-

RNA in 1968 considered setting up other consulates in Kentucky and Florida ("News Briefs"

1968: 2). By spring 1969, PG-RNA officials had reported additional consulate openings in:

Washington D.C.; Brooklyn, New York; Boston, Massachusetts; San Francisco, California;

Baltimore, Maryland; New Orleans, Louisiana; Tucson, Arizona; Harrisburg and Philadelphia,

Pennsylvania; Indianapolis and Gary, Indiana; and Athens, Yellow Springs, Springfield, and

Wilberforce, Ohio ("News Briefs" 1969: 2; "RNA Growth Swift in Year" 1969: 6; Sherrill 1969:

73).

The PG-RNA added an intermediary layer of political divisions to NAIM's national

mobilization space when it formed administrative regions in April 1969. Administrative regions

were to coordinate efforts between the PG-RNA and its local consulates. The regions' creation

resulted from an emergency executive order that First Vice President Gaidi Obadele issued in

response to the New Bethel Incident, when Detroit police attacked the PG-RNA's first

anniversary celebration in Detroit ("Gaidi Declares Emergency, Appoints Four VPs" 1969: 1).

They were to remain intact until subsequent executive or legislative action modified them

("Gaidi Declares Emergency, Appoints Four VPS" 1969: 5). Each region was under the full

authority of an initially appointed vice president who was empowered to make immediate

decisions within their respective region. The national level PG-RNA ordered local consulates to

cooperate with their regional vice president ("Gaidi Declares Emergency, Appoints Four VPS"

1969: 5). The regional vice presidents in 1969 were: Herman Ferguson, Region A: East Coast;

Imari Obadele, Region B: Midwest; Virginia Collins, Region C: the South (national territory);

and Obaboa Alowo, Region D: West Coast ("Gaidi Declares Emergency, Appoints Four VPS" 1969: 5). PG-RNA documents indicate that the administrative regions continued to operate into the 1970s, by which point vice presidents were being elected rather than appointed ("Historic Black Elections" 1976: 11).

The PG-RNA's creation of the Freedom Corps in March 1969 further extended NAIM's national scale mobilization space. The Freedom Corps functioned as a primary vehicle for recruiting young talent into NAIM on college campuses. Directing the Freedom Corps was PG-RNA Eastern Region Vice President and Minister of Education Herman Ferguson, a Brooklyn educator and former member of Malcolm X's OAAU and RAM (Ahmad 2007: 151, 191; "Freedom Corps Growing Stronger on Campuses" 1969: 7; Podair 2004: 88; RCCD 1969: 4192, 4219). The Corps' founding resulted from discussions held at student conferences such as Howard University's National Conference of Students in November 1968, which centered on strengthening the PG-RNA's Ocean Hill-Brownsville sovereignty campaign in Brooklyn, New York (DPD, memorandum, November 18, 1968: 1, November 22, 1968: 1; "Freedom Corps Growing Stronger on Campuses" 1969: 7; Obadele 1970: 43). An article in the PG-RNA's national organ, the *New African*, reported that within the Freedom Corps' first month of operation, local chapters had been activated at public and private colleges and universities in the United States and Canada ("Freedom Corps Growing Stronger on Campuses" 1969: 7). Out of eighteen total Freedom Corps chapters, seven were organized on campuses in the Midwest, seven along the Atlantic Coast, two in Gulf Coast states, and one in Eastern Canada (Table 7.1). Chapters were present at five private Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), one public HBCU, five public universities, five private colleges, and two private Ivy League universities.

Table 7.1
PG-RNA Freedom Corps chapters active on college campuses, April 1969

Institution	Type	Location
Fayetteville State College	HBCU (Public)	Fayetteville, North Carolina
Virginia State College	HBCU (Public)	Ettrick, Virginia
Howard University	HBCU (Private)	Washington D.C.
St. Augustine's College	HBCU (Private)	Raleigh, North Carolina
Tougaloo College	HBCU (Private)	Tougaloo, Mississippi
Hampton Institute	HBCU (Private)	Hampton, Virginia
University of Pennsylvania	Ivy League (Private)	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Cornell University	Ivy League (Private)	Ithaca, New York
Beloit College	Private	Beloit, Wisconsin
Elmhurst College	Private	Elmhurst, Illinois
Barat College	Private	Lake Forest, Illinois
Iona College	Private	New Rochelle, New York
Valparaiso University	Private	Valparaiso, Indiana
Texas State University	Public	San Marcos, Texas
University of Michigan	Public	Ann Arbor, Michigan
Ball State University	Public	Muncie, Indiana
Ohio State College	Public	Columbus, Ohio
Sir George Williams University	Public	Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Source: Freedom Corps Growing Stronger on Campuses, (1969, April 20). *New African*, 2(1), 7.

By 1970, New Afrikan nationalists articulated NAIM's mobilization with greater
geographic detail in the context of the PG-RNA's distinctions between political work in the
North and the South. Examining these details provides insights into the progression of NAIM's
geographical imagination and spatial practices that constructed its representational space of black
radicalism. Publicized in various organizational documents, these geographical utterances
demonstrate the coinciding evolution of the PG-RNA's political culture and the Malcolm X
Doctrine's foundational ideas for New Afrikan nationalism. A 1970 subscription advertisement
for the PG-RNA's *New African* newspaper features a boldly-lettered headline announcing the
"Five Locations of the Revolution" (Figure 7.1). Several paragraphs in the advertisement outline
five types of places having key strategic importance to the New Afrikan revolution: (1) cities
outside the southern national territory where holding actions and preparations for resettlement
were being made, (2) rural areas closer to the national territory where New Afrikan communities

THE FIVE LOCATIONS OF THE REVOLUTION

The "New Community" built from scratch on a plot of vacant farmland will form the strength and backbone of the liberated nation.

The term "New Community" must be understood to encompass a new physical design for living in which industrial, residential, and agricultural sites all form part of a new comprehensive, harmonious whole. The New Community is to represent the best results of our careful, informed planning.

But the importance of the New Community is that we are building anew, without being encumbered with either the old physical plant of an established community (that is, the old buildings and roads and facilities and industrial plants) or the old habits of living of the people. WE will build physical plants in the New Community in accordance with our decision on a designed Revolution which will best serve us as a people. And these people whom we bring into the New

1. The cities outside the Five States where we are pursuing a holding action while preparing people for exodus and transferring people and resources to the National TErritory

2. Black rural communities outside the Five STates, where we are doing the same as in the cities outside the states, except that in rural communities near the National Territory our objective is to build strong New AFrican communities

3. The cities in the National Territory, where we are working to win the allegiance of the people to lay the foundation for New

4. The rural South in the National Territory, where we are working for the same objectives as in the cities of the National Territory, except that we shall also work to incorporate the rural South within our New Communities in accordance with natural patterns.

The New Community itself, however, should prove to be the great reservoir of purity and strength both for the Revolution and the period of Defense and Consolidation which must follow.

FREE THE LAND

SEND ENCLOSED BLANK AND $6 FOR ONE YEAR SUBSCRIPTION (24) ISSUES TO:

NEW AFRICAN
2316 17th ST., N.W.
WASH., D.C.
202-387-8120

Name_____
Address_____
City_____$
City_____State_____
Zip_____Phone_____

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor-in-Chief	Aisha-Ishtar Salim
News Editor	Olu Hassan-Ali
Feature Editor	Harry Blount, Jr.
Science Editor	Julie Lewis
Layout Artist	Bernard Grenway

SEND ARTICLES AND CORRESPONDENCE TO:
NEW AFRICAN, 2316 17th St., N.W.,
Wash., D.C.

Figure 7.1

"Five Locations of the Revolution" in *New African* newspaper subscription, 1970

Source: Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Online, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 2012

were to be strengthened and also prepared for resettlement, (3) cities in the national territory

where allegiances with the local black population were being fostered, (4) black rural areas in the

national territory that were to be incorporated into New Communities, and, (5) New

Communities that were to be built on vacant farmlands and that would "form the strength and backbone of the liberated nation" (PG-RNA advertisement 1971).

A 1970 PG-RNA text on government administration provides locational distinctions between the New Afrikan government's political units in the North and the South. Prominent among these distinctions are differences between government centers and consulates. Government centers were political units conducting local work within the boundaries of the RNA's five-state subjugated national territory in the South. Consulates were political units located outside of the national territory (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). The work of government centers and consulates emphasized nation-building as a universal solution to the common problem of black powerlessness, which undergirded local community problems (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). Government centers in the South and consulates in the North also represented NAIM's effort to gain an influential presence in the everyday lived space of local neighborhoods. The PG-RNA urged government centers and consulates to acquire permanent telephone-equipped meeting and office places to hold weekly staff meetings, monthly public meetings, and social gatherings (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). It also encouraged them to open a school, theater, and book and clothing store. Local ministers of finance were to manage the stores as commercial fundraising activities (PG-RNA administration document 1970). Ideally, government centers and consulates would have the capacity to include "a mini-topographical center" for the production and display of maps (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). The inclusion of topographical centers in the design of government centers and consulates indicates that New Afrikans considered acquiring and distributing geographic knowledge and information as a significant part of NAIM's intervention in the social production of space in black communities (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970).

In addition to NAIM's main slogan "Free the Land," the PG-RNA adopted two other slogans that signified the importance of geographical differences in its political work. The slogan "Prepare for Exodus" represented work in the North and expressed the core geographical theme of movement (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). Led by consulates, work in the North entailed recruitment, political education, and securing domestic and foreign support for the liberation struggle in the national territory. The slogan "Prepare the Land" symbolized work in the southern national territory and accentuated the basic geographical theme of settlement (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). Directed by government centers, work in the national territory included those tasks required of consulates in the North, but added to them the building of local political allegiances and social institutions, and supporting New Afrikan-constructed New Communities (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). As a step towards realizing the Malcolm X Doctrine's vision of building a New Society, New Communities were to develop a "Scheme of Life" or way of living, and an economic plan in accordance with defense requirements and the Aims of the Revolution as stated in the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970).

Race, Space, and Political Economy in Detroit, Michigan

The PG-RNA's political work in Detroit exemplifies the construction of NAIM's urban mobilization space in the North. New Afrikan activists created a mobilization space in Detroit's racially segregated urban social, political, and economic environment, which was primarily supported by the city's massive capitalist industrial economy (Table 7.2) (Sugrue 1996: 22). Detroit's early and mid-twentieth century popularity as a major American manufacturing center and national economic powerhouse was a key pull factor attracting many thousands of immigrants from abroad and internal migrants from within the United States (Table 7.2) (Sugrue

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Table 7.2
Manufactures in Michigan 1899-1967 (top) and Detroit 1919-1967 (bottom)

Year	Number of Establishments	Production Workers	Value Added
1899	7,310	155,800	$143,726
1909	9,159	231,499	316,497
1919	8,046	470,274	1,544,581
1929	6,686	530,035	2,067,344
1939	5,961	520,165	1,794,016
1949	*na*	768,876	5,769,964
1958	13,596	608,900	8,363,600
1967	14,340	816,700	17,241,600

Year	Number of Establishments	Production Workers	Value Added
1919	2,634	264,961	$958,755
1929	2,844	290,980	1,216,159
1939	2,684	315,221	1,087,575
1947	4,765	466,922	2,910,650
1954	6,159	434,365	4,713,167
1967	7,100	394,300	8,498,100

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1947 Census of Manufactures, General Summary,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), Tables 1, 3; *1954 Census of Manufactures, General Summary,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957), Tables 4A, 4B; *1967 Census of Manufactures, Volume 3: Area Statistics,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Table 4.

1996: 19). The city was one of several main long-distance "field-to-factory" destinations for southern blacks during the Great Migration from the 1900s to 1970s (Davis and Donaldson 1975: 31-32; Sugrue 1996: 23). The Great Migration vastly reorganized America's racial landscape as a northbound rural-to-urban migration of over five million African Americans that decreased the South's historically large share of the national black population by approximately 30 percent (Davis and Donaldson 1975: 31-32; Morrill 2011).

For southern blacks, the attraction of perceived opportunities in northern cities such as Detroit coincided with the push factor of their everyday social, economic, legal, and political Jim Crow oppression in the South (Davis and Donaldson 1975: 54-91; Sugrue 1996: 23). In 1910, Detroit's black population was 5,741 or 1.2 percent of the total population. By 1970, it had climbed to 660,428 or 44.5 percent as a combined result of migration and natural increase (Table 7.3) (Sugrue 1996: 23). By the 1940s, the spatial distribution of Detroit's black population had been mostly concentrated in the Black Bottom and Paradise Valley neighborhoods of the city's

Table 7.3
Detroit's total and black population, 1910-1970

Year	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black
1910	465,766	5,741	1.2
1920	993,675	40,838	4.1
1930	1,568,662	120,066	7.7
1940	1,623,452	149,119	9.2
1950	1,849,568	300,506	16.2
1960	1,670,144	482,223	28.9
1970	1,511,482	660,428	44.5

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, various years).

Lower East Side section (Figure 7.2) (Sugrue 1996: 36-37, 183). Smaller black populations were dispersed among the middle-class enclaves of West Side, Eight Mile-Wyoming, and Conant Gardens, which arced from east to west above the Lower East Side (Sugrue 1996: 37-41, 203). Detroit's black neighborhoods were confined for many decades within a larger white-dominated urban landscape of factories and sprawling residential areas (Sugrue 1996: 17-21, 183).

A combination of employment and housing discrimination limited the spatial distribution of Detroit's African American population. These constraints on Detroit's black geography were reinforced by a socio-economic immobility that resulted from the beginnings of deindustrialization in the 1950s, which included replacement of human labor with automation, and industrial flight to the suburbs and more distant anti-union areas of the rural South where cheap labor was abundant (Peet 1984: 38-51; Sugrue 1996: 125-149, 158). Gaps between black and white employment and median family income consistently demonstrated racial inequalities at national, state, and city levels over many decades (Tables 7.4 and 7.5). Widespread institutionalized employment discrimination supported by labor unions and corporate management, translated to unstable low-wage jobs or permanent unemployment for blacks. The largest segment of African Americans in Detroit was also relegated to low-paying unskilled secondary sector manufacturing jobs and much of the city's tertiary sector's personal services industry (Table 7.6) (Sugrue 1996: 91-121). Rent-gouging and inflated home prices resulting
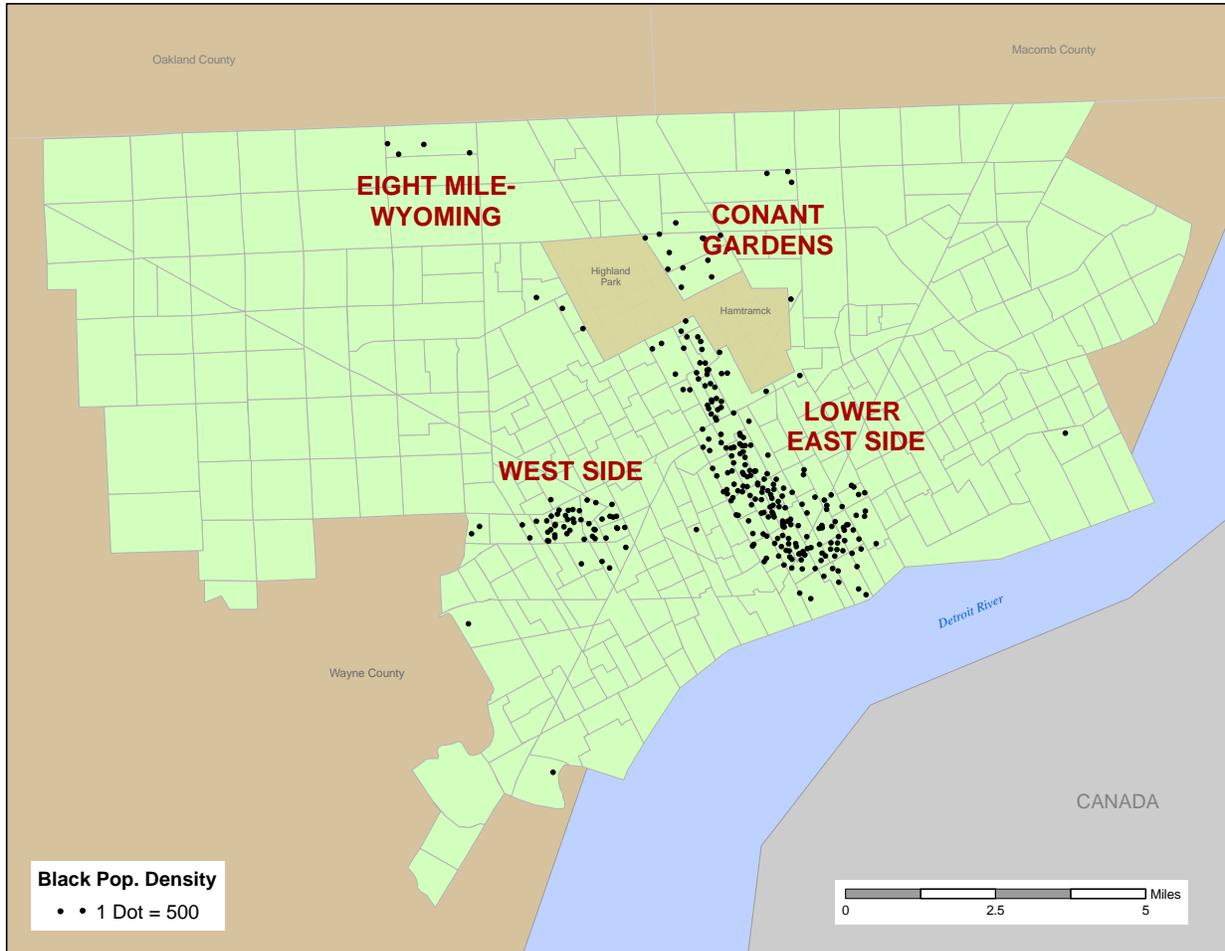
Figure 7.2
Spatial distribution of black population and black neighborhoods in Detroit, 1940[a]
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Census Tracts, Detroit*
(Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 1; Sugrue, Thomas J. (1996). *The Origins*
of Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
[a] Since these tracts were not created until 1940, there are no comparative maps for earlier censuses. See: U.S.
   Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1940 Census of the Population*, page 518.

from a deliberate racially-driven housing crisis, dispossessed blacks of the means to reverse the

downward spiral of congested inner-city living conditions or the means to move elsewhere if

they so desired (Sugrue 1996: 53-55, 220).

White city-wide resistance to black residential mobility, buttressed by a socially

conservative ideology that clung to myths of racial purity, led to the organization of a racist

mass-based grassroots homeowner's movement (Sugrue 1996: 211-218). The movement to

Table 7.4

Employment status of total, nonwhite, and black labor force in Detroit SMSA, 1950-1970

1950	Total	% of Total	Nonwhite % of Total Force	Nonwhite % of Nonwhite Force
Labor Force	1,264,585	-	11.6	-
Employed	1,185,810	93.7	10.9	88.3
Unemployed	78,775	6.2	21.6	11.6

1960	Total	% of Total	Nonwhite % of Total Force	Nonwhite % of Nonwhite Force
Labor Force	1,003,808	-	25.5	-
Employed	927,024	92.3	23.1	83.6
Unemployed	76,784	7.6	54.5	19.4

1970	Total	% of Total	Black % of Total Force	Black % of Black Force
Labor Force	1,665,528	-	17.0	-
Employed	1,070,953	64.3	23.7	89.6
Unemployed	94,575	5.6	30.9	10.3

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014

Sources: Calculated from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 66; *1960 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 115; *1960 Census of the Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Detroit* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table P-3; *1970 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 85, 92.

Table 7.5

Median personal and family income by race for United States, Michigan, Detroit SMSA, 1950-1970

1950	All	Whites	Blacks
U.S.A.[a]	1,917	2,053	952
Michigan[a]	3,519	2,441	2,190
Detroit[a]	3,976	2,902	2,290

1960	All	Whites	Blacks
U.S.A.[b]	5,660	5,893	3,161
Michigan[b]	6,256	na	4,407
Detroit[b]	6,825	na	4,385

1970	All	Whites	Blacks
U.S.A.[b]	9,590	9,961	6,167
Michigan[b]	11,174	11,477	8,527
Detroit[b]	12,264	na	8,680

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 137; *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 87; *1960 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 139; *1970 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics, United States Summary* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 83; *1970 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 198.

[a] Indicates Median Personal Income
[b] Indicates Median Family Income

Table 7.6

Industry of total and black employed workers in Detroit SMSA, 1950 and 1970

1950	*Total*	*% of Total*	*Black % of Total Employed*	*Black % of Black Employed*
Employed	1,192,280	-	10.6	-
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	9,663	<.01	1.9	<.01
Mining	925	<.01	10.4	<.01
Construction	57,395	4.8	10.4	4.7
Manufacturing	559,774	46.9	10.8	47.8
Transportation, Communications., & Public Utilities	78,450	6.5	8.5	5.2
Wholesale & Retail Trade	214,658	18.0	6.3	10.6
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	38,998	3.2	5.1	1.5
Business & Repair Services	28,642	2.4	8.3	1.8
Personal Services	57,358	4.8	36.1	16.3
Entertainment & Recreation Services	11,846	<.01	9.8	<.01
Public Administration	38,917	3.2	12.4	3.8
Professional & Related Services	87,367	7.3	8.4	5.4

1970	*Total*	*% of Total*	*Black % of Total Employed*	*Black % of Black Employed*
Employed	1,570,953	-	16.1	-
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	7,593	<.01	15.1	<.01
Mining	1,819	<.01	11.8	<.01
Construction	67,810	4.3	11.8	3.1
Manufacturing	587,981	37.4	16.9	39.2
Transportation, Communications., & Public Utilities	87,452	5.5	14.5	4.9
Wholesale & Retail Trade	311,725	19.8	10.6	13.1
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	73,552	4.6	10.7	3.1
Business & Repair Services	49,447	3.1	13.2	2.5
Personal Services	54,685	3.4	35.6	7.6
Entertainment & Recreation Services	11,731	<.01	9.8	<.01
Public Administration	63,729	4.0	25.8	6.4
Professional & Related Services	253,483	16.1	18.7	18.6

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014

Sources: Calculated from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 83; *1970 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Michigan* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 94.

defend against the "black invasion" consisted of white homeowners' associations whose arsenal of anti-open housing tactics included racially restrictive covenants, mass demonstrations, and attacks on black-owned property (Sugrue 1996: 45, 233). Organized urban racist terrorists used vandalism, cross-burnings, and arson as common methods of maintaining white territoriality and racial boundaries in Detroit well into the 1960s (Sugrue 1996: 229, 233-237, 246-248, 253-254). A complicitous white-dominated city government and police force reinforced the pattern of racism and violence. Insurance and real estate agents who either refused insuring and selling houses to blacks, or engaged in speculative block-busting practices, further intensified white opposition to black socio-spatial mobility (Sugrue 1996: 248-254).

Attempts to break the pattern of black socio-spatial confinement in Detroit from the 1940s to the 1960s produced mixed results. While a small group of African American middle-income professionals gained territorial footholds in the racial frontiers of scattered Northeast Side and Northwest Side enclaves such as Grixdale Park, Arden Park, Boston-Edison, Russell Woods, and Bagley, with a few beyond those areas, the vast majority of blacks remained permanently trapped in the Lower East Side (Figures 7.3 and 7.4) (Sugrue 1996: 176-177, 188, 199-207, 258, 269). The combined failure of bourgeois civil rights groups, racist labor unions, and government housing and anti-poverty programs, to attack discrimination, economic restructuring, and corporate irresponsibility, maintained this pattern, which hardened the lines of racial division (Sugrue 1996: 36, 167-175, 183, 245). White-flight migration created another racialized socio-spatial barrier between Detroit and the suburbs (Sugrue 1996: 266-267). White resistance to public housing and the expansion of urban renewal and slum clearance programs further reduced the area and living conditions of the material space of black social reproduction in Detroit (Sugrue 1996: 48-51, 62-63, 72, 76-81). A high-level public expression of general
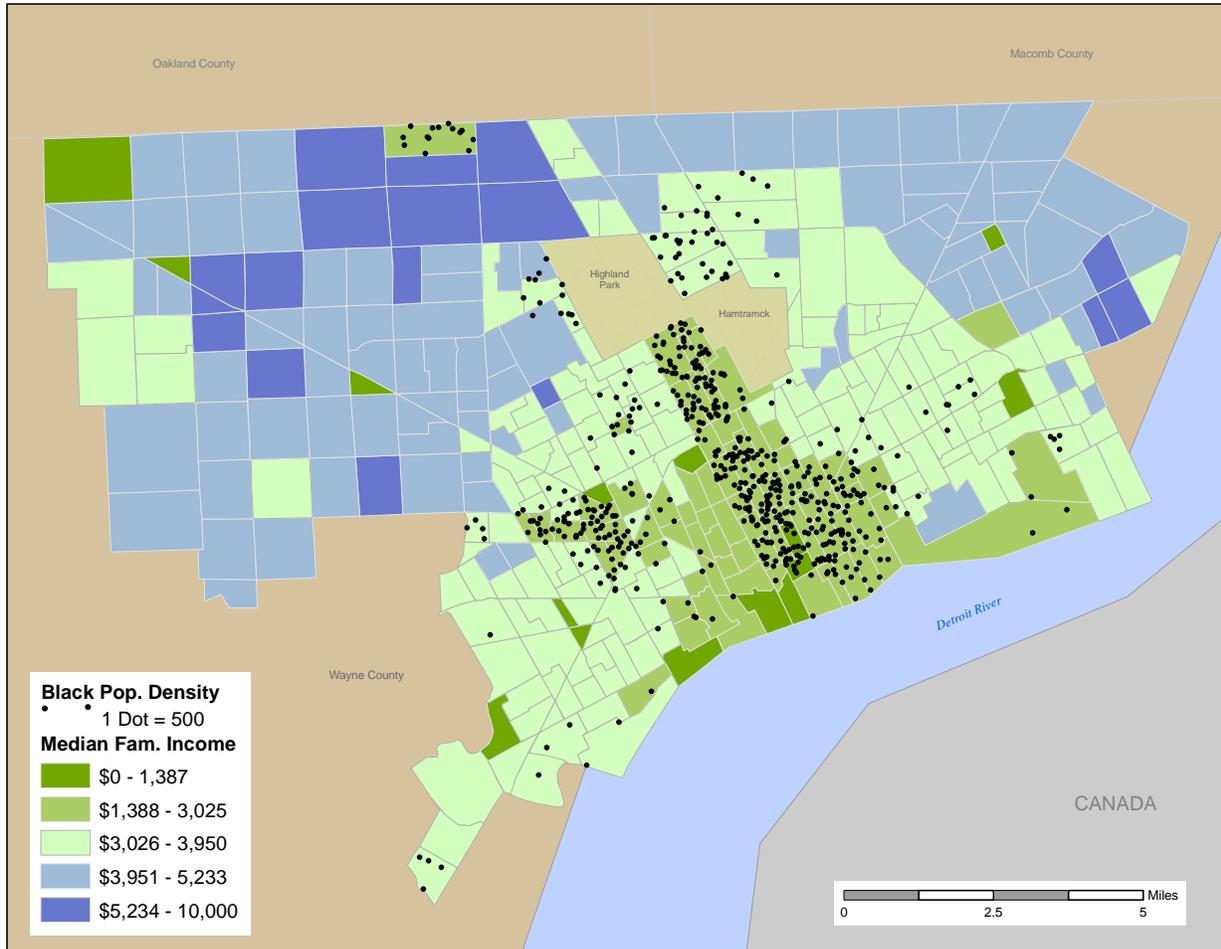
Figure 7.3
Spatial distribution of black population and median family income in Detroit, 1950
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Census Tracts, Detroit*
(Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 1.

unconcern for such patterns is evident in Detroit Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh's deadpan

commentary in a 1965 promotional film which states, "Detroit, an exciting place to be, to live, to

grow, to work shoulder to shoulder, regardless of national origin, color or creed. Detroit has

earned an outstanding record in community relations, a reputation which is nationally

recognized" (Slayden 1965).

The social tensions of racial inequality in Detroit burst on July 23, 1967, when police

raided a "blind pig," an after-hours drinking establishment, and arrested 85 black party-goers

(Sugrue 1996: 259-262). The early morning raid and arrests sparked five days of urban unrest,
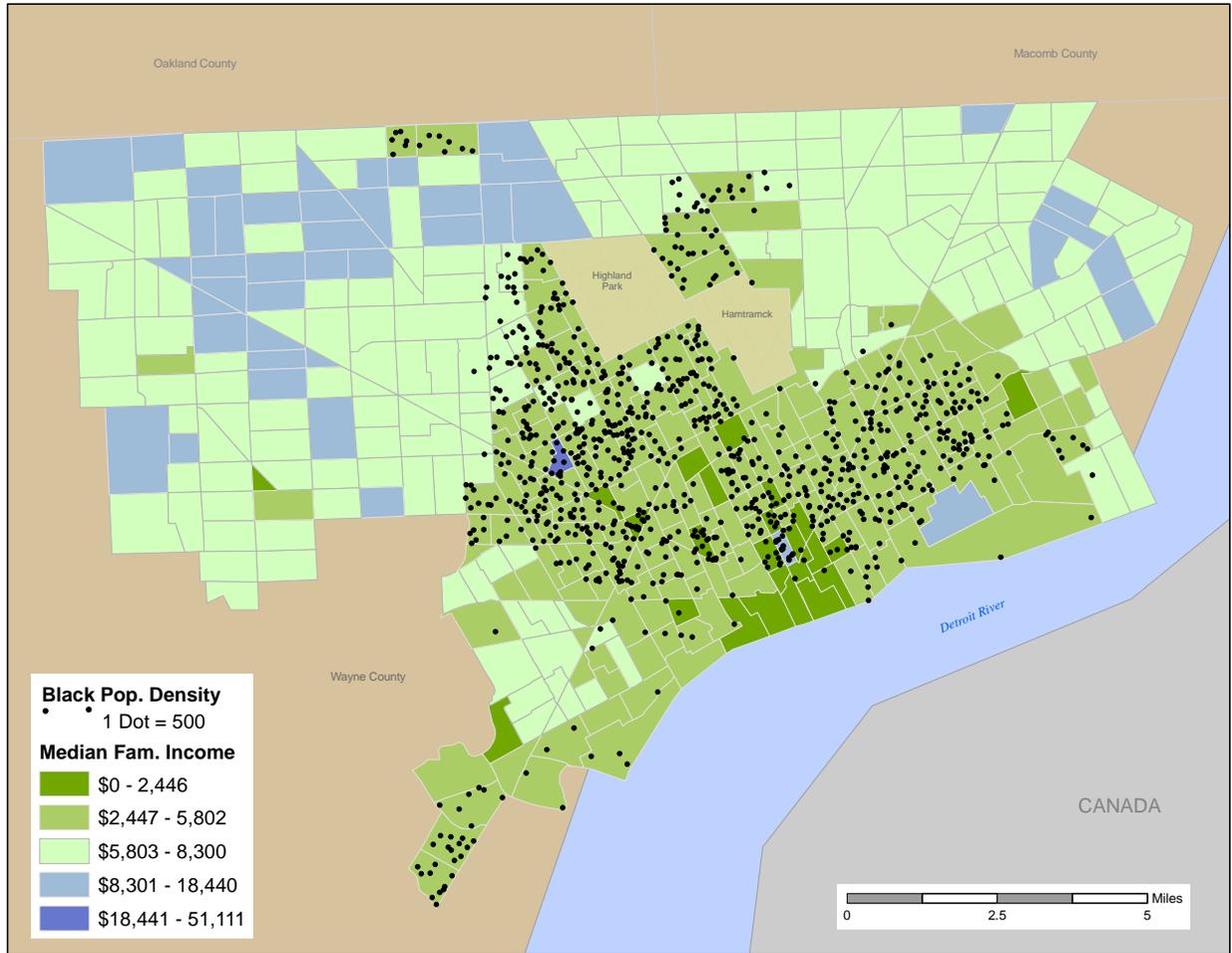
Figure 7.4
Spatial distribution of black population and median family income in Detroit, 1960
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of the Population, Census Tracts, Detroit*
(Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 1.

which as a political response to racist exploitation, became known by various names including

the Detroit Riot, Detroit Rebellion, and Great Rebellion. The riot spread from the 12th Street

blind pig on the West Side to the surrounding area of black Detroit where shop owners and

policemen were the only whites visible on an everyday basis (Figure 7.5) (Sugrue 1996: 259,

264). As one of the largest urban uprisings in the history of the United States, the 1967 Detroit

Rebellion resulted in 7,231 arrests, 43 deaths, 30 of which resulted from the police or military,

and the burning and looting of 2,509 buildings at a cost exceeding 36 million dollars (Sugrue

1996: 259). The federal and state governments deployed a military force of nearly
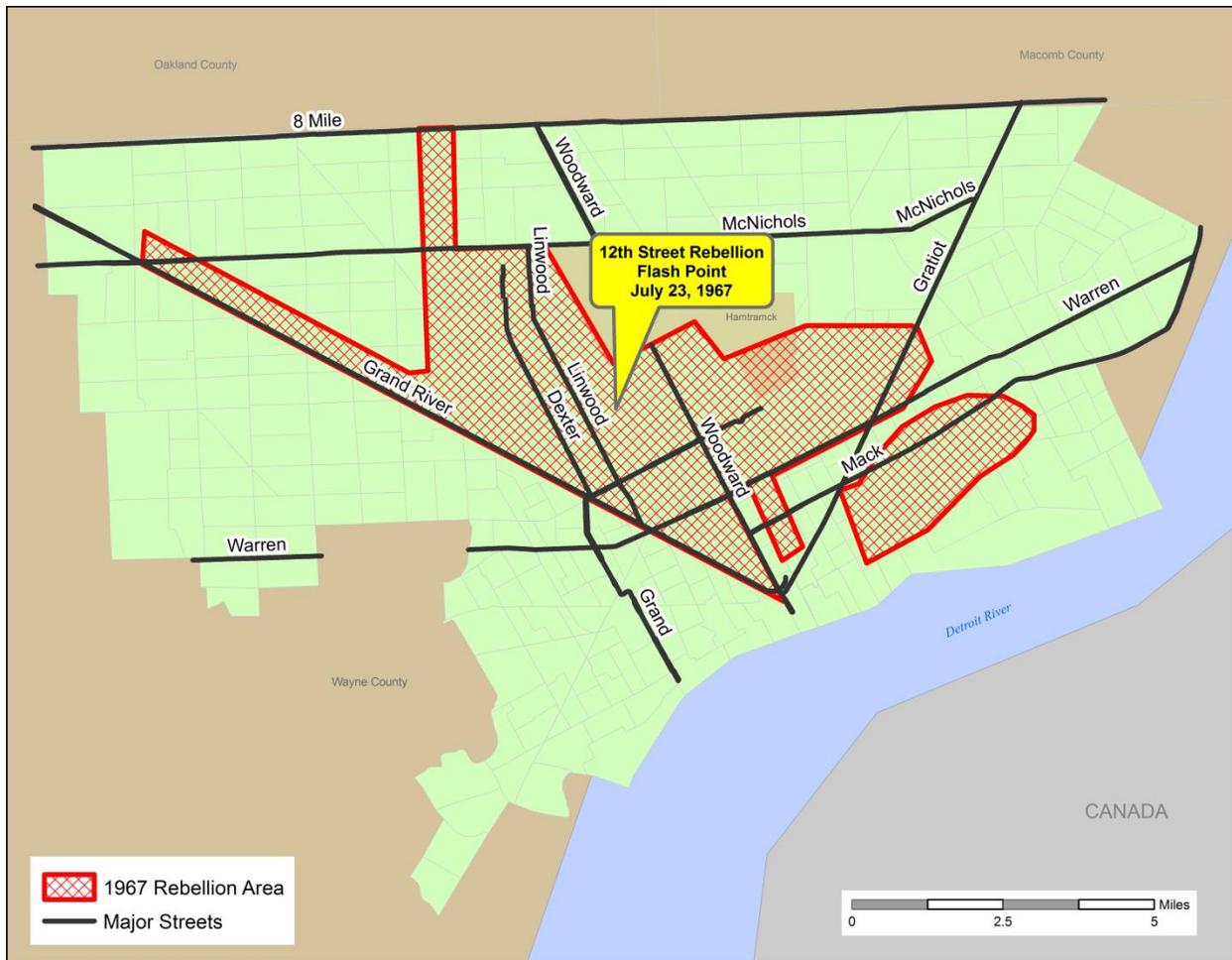
Figure 7.5
Geography of 1967 Detroit Rebellion and 12th Street flash point
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: Based on Gavrilovich, Peter, and Bill McGraw. (2000). *The Detroit Almanac: 300 Years of Life in the Motor City*. Detroit, MI: Detroit Free Press, Inc.

17,000 police, National Guardsmen, and federal troops to suppress the rebellion (Sugrue 1996:

259). The government imposed a nighttime curfew from July 23 until August 1 when the troops

were recalled (Darden and Thomas 2013: 81). Michigan Governor George Romney enacted

another nighttime curfew for Wayne County, which includes Detroit, from April 5 to April 11,

when nationwide black urban rebellions sparked again following Martin Luther King Jr.'s

assassination on April 4, 1968 (Taylor 2013). A combined force of 3,000 National Guard troops

and 4,900 state and local policemen enforced the 1968 curfew by occupying black

neighborhoods ("Emergency in Detroit" 1968).

Mobilization Space of Detroit's PG-RNA Consulate

NAIM situated its activism in Detroit among numerous civil rights and black nationalist organizations. The history of civil rights groups in Detroit includes the founding of local chapters of the NAACP in 1912, Urban League in 1916, and CORE in 1960 (Detroit Branch NAACP n.d.; Powers n.d.; Urban League of Detroit and Southeastern Michigan 2012). In 1957, black factory workers formed the Trade Union Leadership Conference to fight against workplace discrimination (Ahmad 2007: 240; Sugrue 1996: 174-175). As civil rights organizations consistently demonstrated a middle-class orientation, which often resulted in nothing more than racial tokenism, black nationalist groups took up the everyday issues impacting Detroit's black working class and poor (Rhodes and Jefferies 2010: 136; Sugrue 1996: 36, 167-75, 183, 245, 263). W.D. Fard formed the NOI in Detroit in 1930 during the Great Depression (Beynon 1938; Lincoln 1994: 20). Black Marxist-Leninist students founded the group UHURU at Wayne State University in 1963 (Ahmad 2007: 242). In the same year, black activists created the Michigan branch of the all-black Freedom Now Party to run candidates in the state's 1964 general elections (Group on Advanced Leadership [GOAL], press release, October 30, 1963).

RAM became a national organization during a meeting in Detroit in the summer of 1964 (Ahmad 2007: 122). Members of UHURU formed the RAM-inspired Afro-American Student Organization after visiting exiled black revolutionary Robert F. Williams in Cuba in 1965 (Ahmad 2007: 243). Early in 1967, RAM organized its youth wing, the Black Guards, in Detroit (Ahmad 2007: 245). A local SNCC chapter was active in the city in the late 1960s (DPD, memorandum, April 10, 1968: 1). The Frederick Douglass Rifle Club operated in the mid to late 1960s with members also belonging to RAM and the PG-RNA's Black Legion (DPD,

memorandum, August 6, 1968: 2, September 6, 1968: 2). In 1967, Reverend Albert B. Cleage launched the Black Christian Nationalist Movement and City-wide Citizens Action Committee (Lee 2008). In January 1969, black radical factory workers formed the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW) to strengthen the Revolutionary Union Movement that was mobilizing in the city's automobile plants (Ahmad 2007: 258-259; Sugrue 1996: 263). The BPP formed an official Oakland-sanctioned chapter in the early 1970s, ending a sequence of unauthorized chapters that had been organized as early as 1966 (Ahmad 2007: 244; Rhodes and Jefferies 2010: 137-140). Detroit was also where brothers Milton and Richard Henry founded GOAL in October 1961 and the Malcolm X Society after GOAL's Northern Negro Grassroots Leadership Conference in November 1963 (GOAL 1963; Marable 2011: 306; Mosby 1970: 699-16).

After being founded in March 1968, the PG-RNA established its national headquarters and official newspaper in Detroit, which began the process of constructing NAIM's mobilization space in the city. Although printed sporadically as a result of scarce funding, the PG-RNA's national organ, the *New African*, circulated among several larger black nationalist and radical newspapers in Detroit (DPD, memorandum, August 26, 1968: 1). These other newspapers included the NOI's *Muhammad Speaks*, the BPP's *Black Panther*, community activist Frank Ditto's *Eastside Voice of Independent of Detroit*, and the LRBW's *Inner City Voice*. In addition to reporting on NAIM's national and local activities, the *New African* announced the locations of meeting places, consulate addresses, and political events, which served to expand NAIM's presence, mobilization space, and territoriality in Detroit ("Editorial" 1968: 4).

The *New African's* editor was Deputy Minister of Information Leito Durley, who moved to Detroit in the 1950s after serving as a U.S. Army paratrooper and receiving a master's degree in public relations at Boston University (Owen 2004: 64, 132; RCCD 1969: 4192). Assisting

Durley was Deputy Minister of Information Charles W. Enoch, a member of the former Malcolm X Society and senior editor of the black magazine *NOW!*, which his colleague Richard Henry published in Detroit in the mid-1960s (NOW! 1966; RCCD 1969: 4375). Enoch worked as a commercial engineer at the U.S. Army Tank-Automotive Command in Warren, Michigan, where Richard Henry worked as a technical writer for ten years before fully committing himself to NAIM (Obadele 1987: 37; RCCD 1969: 4372, 4375). Henry had gained journalism experience with the *Michigan Chronicle* from 1953 to 1956, and built his public relations skills as a former civilian information specialist and speechwriter for the commanding general of Selfridge Air Force Base in Harrison, Michigan (Obadele 1987: 16, 90). The original *New African* staff included Detroit consulate workers Lorene Banks, Regina Mailey, Bolanile Obadele (Brenda Ralston), Tyrone Travis, Jessie Wallace, and Leroy Wilds ("Editorial" 1968: 4; Owen 2004: 64, 132; DPD, memorandum, April 1, 1969: 2; RCCD 1969: 4375).

Detroit was also important to NAIM as a place where many PG-RNA founders and cabinet members had personal roots. Although they were no longer Detroit residents at the time of the PG-RNA's founding, Second Vice president Betty Shabazz (née Sanders), Minister of Culture and Education Oseijeman Adefunmi (Walter Eugene King), and Minister of Justice Joan Franklin were all Detroit natives, while Treasurer Obaboa Alowo (Edmund Bradley) was born in nearby Pontiac, Michigan (RCCD 1969: 4372, 4374). President Robert F. Williams moved to Detroit from his home in Monroe, North Carolina, in 1942 to work at the Ford Motor Company (Tyson 1998: 548). While a city resident, he fought against white mobs during Detroit's 1943 Race Riot (Tyson 1998: 548). Vice Speaker of the National Council of Representatives Henry "Papa" Wells, also known as Anwar Pasha, was alongside Elijah Muhammad as an early follower of W.D. Fard Muhammad at the time of the NOI's founding (Beynon 1938: 901;

"Interrupted Legislature Continues to Work" 1969: 3). Wells replaced Imari Obadele as the PG-RNA minister of information in October 1968 when the latter became minister of interior (DPD, memorandum, October 21, 1968: 2). Gaidi and Imari Obadele moved to Detroit in the early 1950s from their hometown of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Martin 2010; Wolffe 2006).

Among the most notable New Afrikan nationalists from Detroit was Chokwe Lumumba (Figure 7.6). In a 2010 interview with the author, Lumumba outlined some of his early life history in Detroit and political career highlights in the PG-RNA. Lumumba was born Edwin Finley Taliaferro in 1947 in Detroit's Black Bottom neighborhood and raised in the city's working class West Side (C. Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010). During his childhood, his socially conscious mother taught him about racism and took him to civil rights demonstrations in the city. He was impacted by "normal discriminatory behavior" that ranged from being denied public and personal services to witnessing racist police brutality in his neighborhood. Lumumba held jobs in Detroit's automobile and steel factories before graduating from Kalamazoo College in June 1969. Graduating with cum laude honors from Wayne State University Law School in 1975, Lumumba became a well-respected lawyer known for his defense of poor people and New Afrikan nationalist political prisoners such as Fulani and Bilal Sunni Ali, Assata Shakur, Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Sekou Odinga, Geronimo Pratt, the Pontiac Brothers, Hayward Brown, and rapper Tupac Shakur (C. Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010; "Human Rights Defender Chokwe Lumumba" (n.d.); Martin 2014; "NAPO MXGM statement" 2014).

Figure 7.6
Chokwe Lumumba, circa 1971
Source: Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Online, Mississippi
Department of Archives and History, 2012

Chokwe Lumumba's long-time involvement in NAIM began in the summer of 1969 after

graduating from Kalamazoo College where, being inspired by Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X,

he organized the Black Student Organization and headed the Black United Front. Impressed by

the news of the New Bethel Incident in March 1969, and concurring with the PG-RNA's

revolutionary territorial nationalism, Lumumba became a worker in the PG-RNA's Detroit

consulate and a member of the Black Legion. He worked in the consulate's education ministry

and became Detroit consul in 1970. As a Detroit consulate worker, Lumumba traveled

throughout the Great Lakes region to organize cadres in cities such as Pittsburg, Cleveland,

Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, and Chicago. As a Black Legionnaire he was part of a security detail

at the Detroit Metropolitan Airport where New Afrikans awaited Robert F. Williams' return from

exile in September 1969 (C. Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010).

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In the early 1970's, Lumumba joined the PG-RNA's effort in the Deep South to organize cadres in New Orleans, Atlanta, and Jackson, Mississippi, and provided national leadership during the trials of the RNA-11. In Mississippi, he organized for NAIM throughout the Delta region and other black-dominated places such as Vicksburg and Port Gibson. Lumumba held several national-level positions in the PG-RNA, which included supreme court justice, deputy vice president, Midwest region vice president, and minister of justice. He co-founded and became chairman of the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) on May 19, 1984, and subsequently co-founded the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement in 1990 (C. Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010; Lumumba 1990: 18; "NAPO MXGM statement," 2014). He moved permanently to Jackson, Mississippi, in 1988, and while backed by the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and the Ward 2 People's Assembly, was elected Ward 2's city councilman in 2009 ("NAPO MXGM statement" 2014). On June 4, 2013, the voters of Jackson, Mississippi, elected Lumumba to be the city's mayor. Never distancing himself from New Afrikan politics, Lumumba served as mayor with large popular support until his untimely death seven months later on February 25, 2014 (Cleveland 2013; Martin 2014).

The PG-RNA's Detroit consulate carried out the political groundwork that built NAIM's mobilization space in the city. Weekly consulate meetings began on April 10, 1968, when Detroit's curfew after Martin Luther King's assassination drew to an end (DPD, memorandum, April 11, 1968: 1). National movement leaders Gaidi Obadele, Imari Obadele, and Minister of Finance Ray Willis were central figures in the Detroit consulate's creation, but local activists also played a role in its founding and daily operations. By July 1968, Detroit residents Lavis B. Simmons and Dorothy Sanders had become consul and vice-consul (DPD, memorandum, July 12, 1968: 3; L.B. Simmons, personal communication, July 10, 1968). The author's survey of

PG-RNA and police surveillance documents shows that among the Detroit consulate's most active workers in the late 1960s were Warren Galloway, Anderson Howard, Henry "Papa" Wells, Selena Howard, Brenda Ralston, Hazel Gibbs, Mildred Kohlmeyer, Robert and Rose Winston, Leroy Wilds, Ernest 2L Denmon, Johnny Saulsberry, Quinn Hatfield, James McHenry, Alfred 2x Hibbitt, John Davis, Walter Clark, and several others. Elected on March 15, 1970, Chokwe Lumumba became the PG-RNA's Detroit consul in the wake of the 1969 constitutional crisis and intra-organizational split (DPD, memorandum, March 17, 1970: 1). Lumumba's brother, Lucien Taliaferro, who adopted the name Arky Shakur, also became a central figure in the new consulate, often teaching Swahili language classes during public meetings (DPD, memorandum, April 17, 1970: 2).

Workers from Detroit assisted in organizing PG-RNA cadres in nearby Inkster and Pontiac, Michigan, where large black populations also resided. Many traveled across the country to build NAIM's national scale mobilization space. Several worked in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville campaign, and others represented the PG-RNA at national Black Power conferences such as the September 1968 National Black Power Convention in Philadelphia, and the November 1969 National Conference of Students at Washington D.C.'s Howard University (DPD, memorandum, August 15, 1968: 1, November 18, 1969: 1-2). Others traveled from Detroit to attend RNA conferences throughout the Great Lakes and East Coast regions as well as to organize cadres in the South. These efforts placed the PG-RNA's consulate workers at the center of building NAIM's mobilization space across the United States. This author's survey of organizational texts and police surveillance documents indicates that consulate work included scheduling and running meetings, recruiting new members, public speaking engagements,

writing newspaper articles, distributing literature, performing security duties, conducting nation-building and Swahili language classes, and organizing rallies, fundraising events, and carpools.

NAIM's space of mobilization in Detroit can be shown by using GIS to map the spatial distribution of sites used for consulate meetings and headquarters, petition drives, nation-building classes, fundraisers, rallies, and Black Legion training. PG-RNA and police surveillance documents show that between January 1968 and April 1971, approximately 285 consulate meetings took place. Most of these meetings were general consulate meetings, although private committee meetings were not uncommon. Conferences and fundraisers accounted for a smaller number of events. The majority of meetings took place at numerous rented sites on the city's West Side. From April to December 1968, the Detroit consulate held its weekly general meetings at the Fisher branch YMCA at 2051 West Grand Boulevard in the West Side's NW Goldberg neighborhood (Figure 7.7). Meetings were moved to the Frederick Douglas Rifle Club at 2217 Puritan Street until March 1969, at which time the Detroit consulate opened its headquarters at 2595 Puritan Street ("New Home for Detroit Group" 1968: 7).

In July 1969, the Detroit consulate relocated its headquarters to nearby 9823 Dexter Avenue. However, meetings returned to the Fisher branch YMCA during the constitutional crisis in January 1970. When the movement split, Milton Henry's faction continued to meet at the Fisher branch YMCA. In April 1970, the new post-Ujamaa Committee consulate, led by Detroit PG-RNA Consul Chokwe Lumumba, began meeting at the North End Community Center at 150 Belmont Street near Woodward Avenue on the East Side. Consulate workers conducted nation-building classes at the Black Conscience Library at 12019 Linwood Street. Larger fundraisers such as dances and fashion
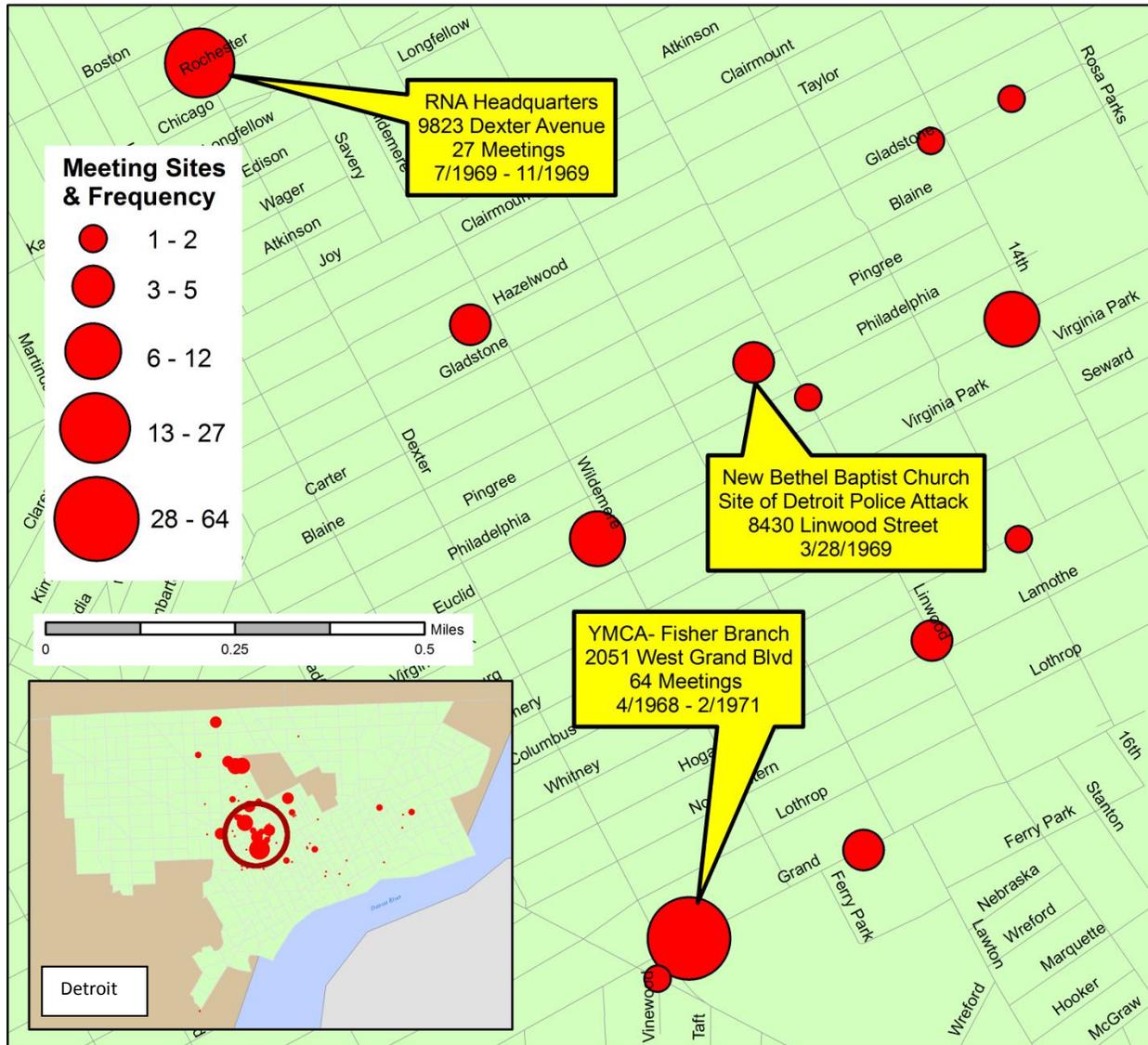
Figure 7.7
Locations of Detroit PG-RNA Consulate's most frequent meeting sites from January 1968 to February 1971
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Source: Detroit Police Department, Detective Division, Special Investigation Bureau, Inter-Office Memoranda, March 1966 - August 1971.

shows took place at the Stadium Club at 3222 Puritan Street on the West Side, International

Mason's Hall at 2101 Gratiot Avenue, and Disabled Veterans Hall at 1360 East Jefferson

Avenue on the Lower East Side. Though much less frequent, the consulate held rallies on the

West Side at Reverend C.L. Franklin's New Bethel Baptist Church at 8450 Linwood Street, and

Reverend Albert B. Cleage's Shrine of the Black Madonna Church at 7625 Linwood Street.

Commercial buildings were used for 56 percent of meetings, followed by private houses, which accounted for 27 percent (Figure 7.8). Churches, apartments, schools, and parks were used with much less frequency.

Using address data collected from PG-RNA texts and police surveillance documents, the graduated point symbols in Figure7.9 show the spatial distribution of weekly Detroit consulate meeting sites and the frequency of meetings per site from January 1968 to February 1971. The map also shows these spatial distributions in relation to the geographical pattern of black population density and median family income by census tract for 1970. Immediately obvious is that the largest density of meetings and meeting sites is located on Detroit's West Side. Mainly distributed in a southwest to northwest orientation, the meeting sites are largely concentrated in an area bordered by McNichols Avenue to the north, Grand River Avenue to the west, and Woodward Avenue to the east. This area consisted largely of below city-level median family income black neighborhoods. It experienced its largest black population growth between 1950 and 1960, and also saw widespread damage during the 1967 Detroit Rebellion. The spatial distribution of meeting participant residences generally coincides with the geography of meeting site locations, and lower income black majority census tracts (Figure 7.10). However, notable densities and concentrations of participant residences are evident mostly outside of historically poor black sections of the Lower East Side where poverty rates exceeded 25 percent. A smaller concentration of residences is located in middle-class areas north of McNichols Avenue. The significance of these spatial patterns is that they show correlations between NAIM membership, race, and class. Nearly all meetings and meeting participant residences were concentrated in lower income black majority neighborhoods on the West Side and Lower East Side. This human geography is important to understanding how and why New Afrikan nationalism caught the

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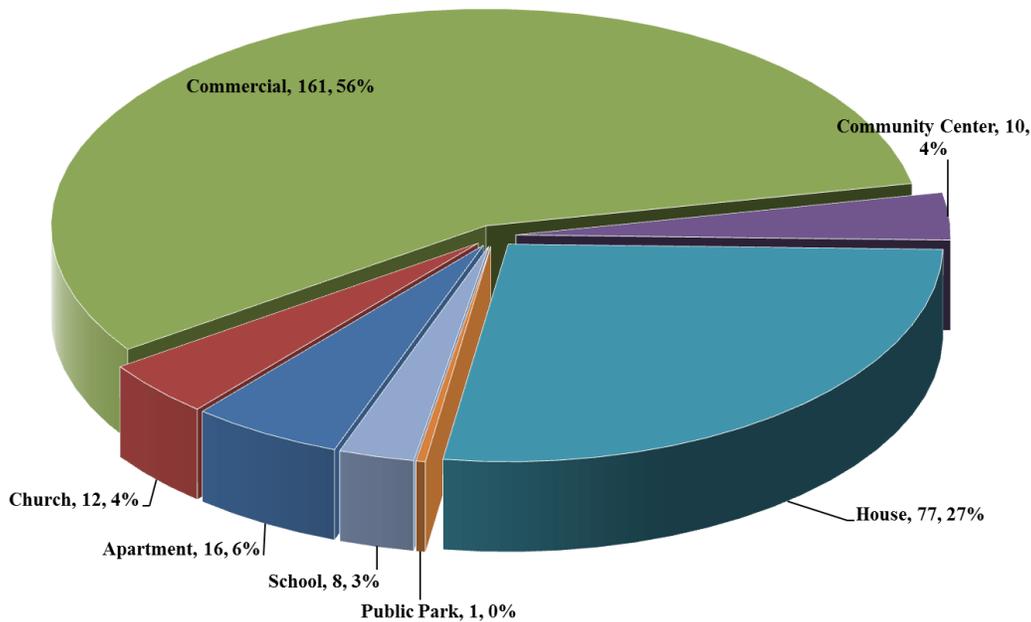
Figure 7.8
Types, frequency, and percentage distribution of Detroit PG-RNA Consulate meeting
places from January 1968 to August 1971
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Source: Detroit Police Department, Detective Division, Special Investigation Bureau, Inter-Office Memoranda,
March 1966 - August 1971.

imaginations and swayed the political preferences of blacks fed up with the oppressive

conditions of everyday life and social reproduction in Detroit's urban landscape of racial socio-

economic inequality.

Coinciding with the creation of PG-RNA consulates, the Black Legion's formation also

became part of building NAIM's mobilization space at the national scale and in Detroit. As a

feature of NAIM's representational space of black radicalism, the Black Legion demonstrated

collective aspirations for independent, organized, and disciplined armed self-defense. Black

Legionnaires made their public presence known by providing security for PG-RNA ministers and

New Afrikan citizens and property at street rallies, local meetings, and national conferences.

Images of uniformed Black Legionnaires appeared in magazines, newspapers, and on television.

Detroit's Black Legionnaires also received instructions to wear their uniforms for training
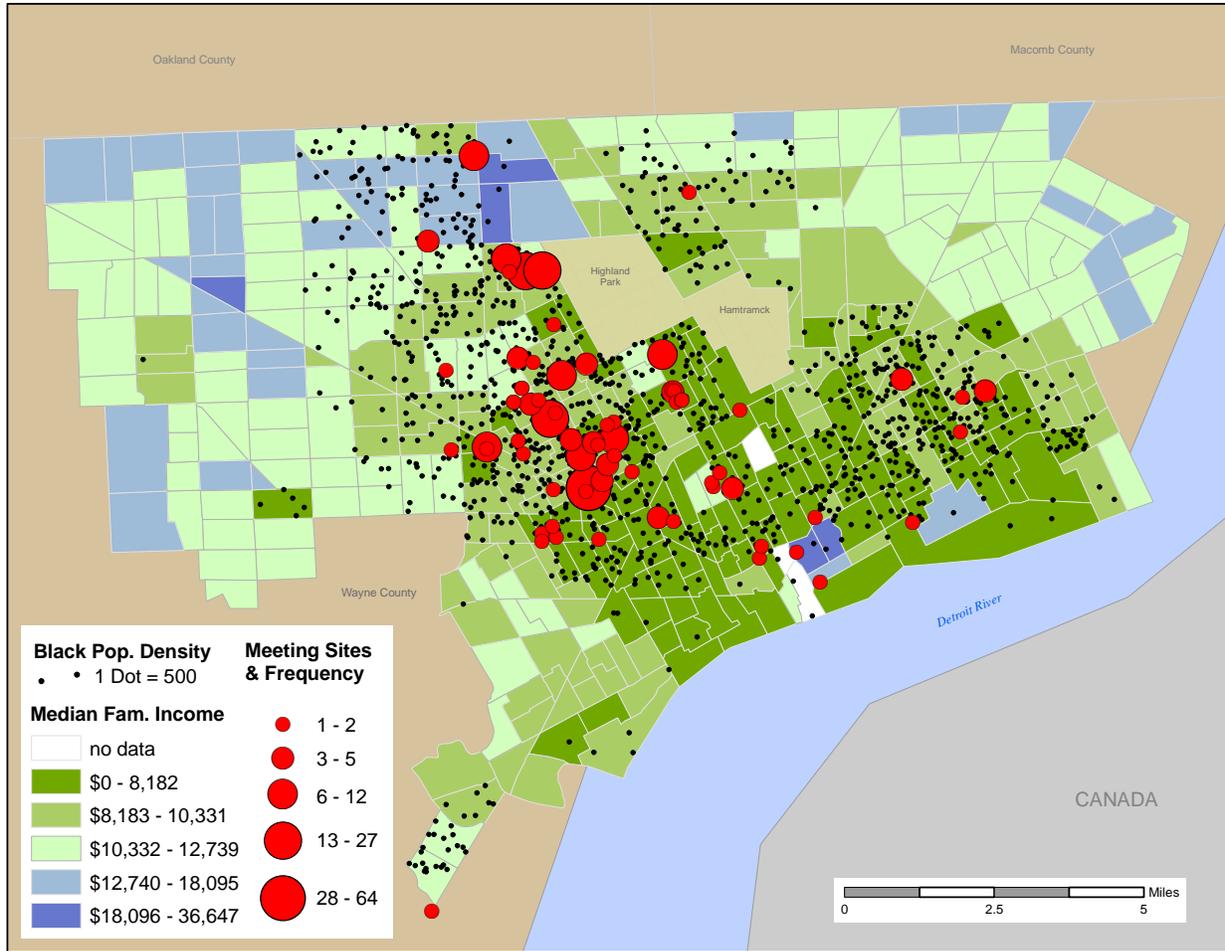
Figure 7.9
Median family income and black population density in 1970, and locations of Detroit
PG-RNA Consulate meeting sites and frequency of meetings per site from January 1968 to
February 1971
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: Detroit Police Department, Detective Division, Special Investigation Bureau, Inter-Office Memoranda,
March 1966 – August 1971; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of the Population, Census
Tracts, Detroit* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Tables P-1, P-4.

and in public as often as possible (DPD, memorandum, July 17, 1969: 1). Support for and

participation in the Black Legion also signified consent for the PG-RNA as the black people's

government. Mwesi Chui, the PG-RNA's first active minister of defense, led the Black Legion

from July 1968 until the constitutional crisis of late 1969, after which a reorganized PG-RNA

established the New Afrikan Security Force ("Chui Appointed Deputy Defense Head" 1968: 3;

RCCD 1969: 4190, 4375). Black Legion units under Chui's command were set up wherever
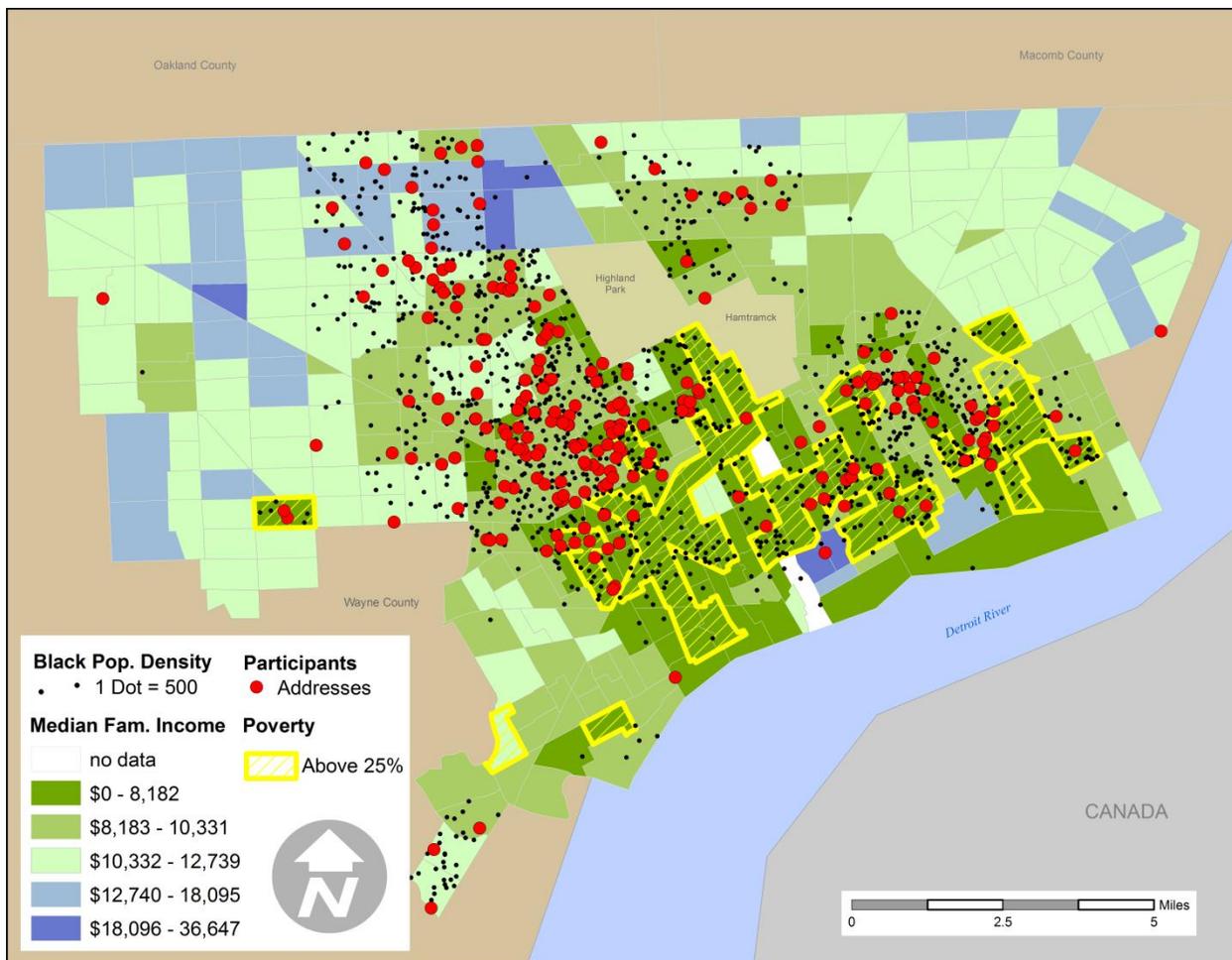
Figure 7.10
Median family income, poverty, and black population density in 1970, and locations of
Detroit PG-RNA Consulate meeting participant home addresses from January 1968 to
February 1971
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: Detroit Police Department, Detective Division, Special Investigation Bureau, Inter-Office Memoranda,
March 1966 – August 1971; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of the Population, Census
Tracts, Detroit (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Tables P-1, P-4.

operational PG-RNA consulates were located throughout the United States. At the local scale,

Legionnaires were subordinate to consulate level ministers of defense.

Detroit's Black Legion was situated among other Black Power self-defense formations

such as Detroit's Black Panther groups and East Side activist Frank Ditto's Community Patrol

Corps, a BPP-styled youth group formed after the 1967 rebellion ("Black Garbed Patrollers"

1969: 6; DPD, memorandum, September 15, 1969: 1; Rhodes and Jefferies 2010). The ranks of

Detroit's Black Legion consisted of workers from the local PG-RNA consulate, where it was not

uncommon to serve in multiple government positions. The Black Legion also shared

membership, training, and meeting space with the Frederick Douglass Rifle Club (DPD,

memorandum, August 6, 1968: 2, September 6, 1968: 2, September 13, 1968: 1). Unit

commander Andrew Hayes initially led Detroit's Black Legion, which was organized with a

military rank structure, before Assistant Minister of Finance Brother Odinga (Wesley Steele)

replaced him in May 1969 (DPD, memorandum, September 15, 1969: 1, May 28, 1969: 1).

Brother Balagun (Quinn Hatfield) replaced Hayes in his subsequent position as assistant minister

of defense on July 12, 1969 (DPD, memorandum, July 17, 1969: 1-2). Johnny Saulsberry served

as minister of defense in 1969 (DPD, memorandum, July 22, 1969: 1). The Black Legion first

met at 2201 Pasadena Street on July 27, 1968, and began weekly drill and training on August 3

(DPD, memorandum, July 26, 1968, July 30, 1968, August 12, 1968: 1). Sister Ifetayo (Jan

Johnson) led the women's section of the Black Legion, which began training in February 1969

(DPD, memorandum, February 17, 1969: 2). In May 1969, national PG-RNA Minister of

Defense Joan Franklin appointed Sister Ifetayo and Elaine Eason as assistant defense ministers

for Detroit (DPD, memorandum, May 5, 1969: 1).

The author's survey of organizational documents and police surveillance memos

indicates that Black Legionnaire training included firearms practice, physical fitness, first aid,

martial arts, and map reading. Instructors also assigned readings and tested members'

knowledge of revolutionary theory. The Black Legion's standard service weapons consisted of

the .30 M-1 semi-automatic carbine and .45 semi-automatic pistol (DPD, memorandum, July 30,

1968: 2). Legionnaires bought their own uniforms, weapons, and other supplies, but were

sometimes purchased with income taxes paid to the PG-RNA (DPD, memorandum, August 1,

1968: 1). President Imari Obadele and Detroit Consul Chokwe Lumumba oversaw the 1970

formation of the Simba Wachangas, the Black Legion's youth wing (DPD, memorandum, April

29, 1970: 2, May 25, 1970: 2).

The Black Legion's meeting and training sites comprised part of NAIM's physical

mobilization space in Detroit. Weekly meetings usually took place at the same locations used for

general consulate meetings. However, Legionnaires held their drill and firearms training in

separate locations in and outside of Detroit's city limits. Weekly physical fitness and military

drill training was initially held at the athletic field at Northwestern High School at 2200 West

Grand Boulevard in the NW Goldberg neighborhood of Detroit's West Side (DPD,

memorandum, July 30, 1968: 3, August 12, 1968: 1). Shooting practice took place at the Pontiac

Lake Shooting Range in Pontiac, Michigan (DPD, memorandum, August 6, 1968: 2). In

September 1968, the Black Legion and Frederick Douglass Rifle Club acquired a site to build an

outdoor shooting range at Oakville-Waltz Road in neighboring Belleville, Michigan (DPD,

memorandum, October 1, 1968: 1). Consulate workers clear trees and brush for several months

to prepare the site, which was first used in September 1969 (DPD, memorandum, September 11,

1969: 1). In 1970, recruiting for the Simba Wachangas took place at the new consulate location

at 3928 French Road on the Lower East Side (DPD, memorandum, May 25, 1970: 2). The

Simba Wachangas held morning trainings at the University of Detroit's athletic field at Florence

and Livernois Avenues on the city's Northwest Side (DPD, memorandum, April 29, 1970: 2).

The PG-RNA's street-level reparations and plebiscite petition drives also expanded

NAIM's mobilization space in Detroit. The drives brought the presence of consulate workers

and New Afrikan nationalist politics into the public spaces of everyday life. A reparations

petition drive that began the first week of July 1968 initiated the first of the two actions (DPD,

memorandum, July 1, 1968: 1). On July 10, 1968, Detroit PG-RNA Consul Lavis Simmons

wrote to New Afrikan citizens that the reparations drive intended to "present some 50,000

petitions to the United Nations next month to show that black people authorize the Republic of

New Africa to negotiate for reparations from the U.S. government" (L.B. Simmons, personal

communication, July 10, 1969). Lead-coordinator Warren Galloway formed and directed West

Side and East Side petition teams (DPD, memorandum, July 1, 1968: 1, July 12, 1968: 2).

Petitioners worked for several hours on Saturdays and some Sundays (DPD, memorandum, July

9, 1968: 1). The West Side team led by David Mundy and, later, by his replacement Vice Consul

Dorothy Sanders, was assigned to the Joy Road area between Dexter Avenue and Lawton Street

(DPD, memorandum, July 1, 1968: 1, July 8, 1968: 2, July 12, 1968: 2). West Side locations

also included the 12th Street area, LaSalle Park, and West Warren and Livernois Avenues (DPD,

memorandum, July 1, 1968: 1, July 12, 1968: 2). Hazel Gibb's team covered some racially

integrated West Side neighborhoods ("Reparations Drive Launched" 1968: 2). Led temporarily

by Imari Obadele and his permanent replacement Hazel Gibbs, the East Side team worked at

sites such as the Bi-Lo Market and Atlantic Mills store on East Jefferson Avenue, and the

Arlan's department store on East Grand Boulevard and Concord Street on the Lower East Side.

The Detroit consulate also held a petition rally on July 27, 1968, at the Black Arts Festival at

New Grace Episcopal Church at 1926 Virginia Park Street (DPD, memorandum, July 1, 1968: 1,

July 9, 1968: 1, July 12, 1968: 2).

The reparations petition drive introduced to the public not only the physical presence of

consulate workers, but also concepts of New Afrikan identity and urban spatial politics. Workers

saturated public spaces with reparations drive posters that mentioned the RNA's founding

conference, and presented excerpts from the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence

("Reparations Drive Launched" 1968: 2). A front page article in the *New African* reporting on the drive's progress, states, "New Africans stationed themselves throughout the subjugated areas of this largest city in Michigan and openly sought signatures to a petition which demands reparations from the United States government for both New African and American blacks alike" ("Reparations Drive Launched" 1968: 1). Consulates in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Dayton followed Detroit's reparations drive, which was possibly the first ever African American reparations campaign in the United States, after the PG-RNA's National Council of Representative's first session approved it a few weeks earlier in Chicago ("Reparations Drive Launched" 1968: 1). Despite reports of a positive response from a cross-section of Detroit's black community, the United Nations ignored the petition drive's results ("Reparations Drive Flies" 1968: 1, 4; "Reparations Drive Launched" 1968: 1-2).

Resembling the PG-RNA's Ocean Hill-Brownsville sovereignty campaign, the Detroit consul began a petition drive that was called the "Plebiscite Vote for a New Detroit" (DPD, memorandum, June 2, 1969: 1, June 23, 1969: 2). The PG-RNA approved the drive in response to state repression of black nationalists as demonstrated by the New Bethel Incident and death sentence of Fred "Ahmed" Evans, an activist blamed for starting Cleveland's Glenville Shootout ("Republic of New Africa Announces New Camp" 1969: 25). As in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the plebiscite vote was to make Detroit's black inner-city community a sovereign territory of the Republic of New Afrika ("Republic of New Africa Announces New Camp" 1969: 25). Cleveland's PG-RNA consulate simultaneously launched a similar campaign that responded more specifically to the Glenville Shootout ("Republic of New Africa Announces New Camp" 1969: 25). African American newspapers such as Detroit's *Michigan Chronicle* and Harlem's *New York Amsterdam News* publicized the PG-RNA's petition. Consulate workers also used

wall posters to announce the vote that was to take place on August 30 (DPD, memorandum, June 23, 1969: 2). Detroit consulate worker Robert Winston spoke about the petition drive at numerous West Side venues including the Shrine of the Black Madonna Church and the New Grace Episcopal Church (DPD, memorandum, July 1, 1969: 2). Winston also spoke at the West Side's Michigan Federated Democratic Club at 300 Mack Avenue (DPD, memorandum, July 1, 1969: 2). Some consulate workers only reluctantly supported the Detroit plebiscite drive, seeing it as inconsistent with the goal of liberating the RNA's national territory in the South (DPD, memorandum, May 27, 1969: 2). Apparently lacking public support and sufficient signatures, the PG-RNA terminated the plebiscite vote petition drive by mid-July (DPD, memorandum, July 17, 1969: 2).

CHAPTER 8
PREPARE THE LAND: NAIM IN THE DEEP SOUTH

Mississippi: Historical Racial Geography and Political Economy

To understand how NAIM formed a mobilization space in Jackson, Mississippi, it is important to examine the historical geography of black settlement in Mississippi, which slavery and the state's nineteenth-century plantation economy first shaped. As a cotton-farming plantation state in 1860, Mississippi's slave population was 436,631 or 52 percent of the state's total population (U.S. Census Bureau [USCB] 1864a). The state's free black population was 773, which was less than a thousandth of 1 percent of the total population. Mississippi's population changed significantly when thousands of blacks joined the Great Migration's momentous long-range rural-to-urban exodus to the industrial centers of the North. Taking place from the early to mid-twentieth century, this migration was brought on by major social, political, and economic push factors including the overthrow of progressive Reconstruction-era government, the decline of the southern cotton economy, the repeal of civil and political rights for blacks, the passage of discriminatory Jim Crow laws, and the escalation of white terror and vigilantism. Black society was set back as these events had restored white supremacy by 1890 and maintained racial inequality as a structural feature of everyday life in Mississippi (Wharton 1965: 113-115, 232-233).

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, blacks were also pushed from Mississippi by a sluggish economy that was held back by negligible capital investment, anti-industry legislation, persistence of agrarianism, lack of infrastructure, educational deficiencies, and segregation (Busbee 2005: 185, 216, 328). This was further aggravated from the 1900s to 1920s when cotton production greatly diminished as a result of foreign competition, falling market prices, soil erosion, and boll-weevil infestation (Busbee 2005: 185; Martin 1948: 106).

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Black emigration hardly declined with the introduction of New Deal social and economic

programs, which generated a steady but slow economic upturn until the mid-1940s (Busbee

2005: 232-233, 262, 316-328). The U.S. Census last reported a black majority population in

Mississippi in 1930 when 1,009,718 blacks made up 50.2 percent of the total population (USCB

1932). In the 1940s and 1950s, 60 percent of the state's black migrants moved to the large cities

of the North Central states (Davis and Donaldson 1975: 42; Lowery 1971: 579). At the same

time, black landownership, which was already disproportionate to the size of the state's black

and white populations, declined markedly while growing substantially for whites (Figure 8.1).

Although the 1960s Civil Rights Movement ardently challenged racial inequality in Mississippi,

whites continued to resist change. In 1970, median family income for whites was $7,578 or 80

percent of the national average, while for blacks it was $3,209 or 33 percent of the national

average (USCB 1973b, 1973j, 1973l, 1973n).

The Fifteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution prohibited federal and state

governments from denying black citizens their right to vote on "account of race, color, or

previous condition of servitude." Reconstruction-era black political power in Mississippi peaked

from 1870 to 1873 when the state had one United States senator, five state senators, and thirty-

eight representatives who were black (United States Commission on Civil Rights [USCCR],

1965: 2; Wharton 1965: 82, 202). Blacks were also elected to lieutenant governor,

superintendent of education, and secretary of state (Wharton 1965: 82). However, white

supremacist rule returned in 1875 to dismantle the progressive laws of the Reconstruction

government and to rob African American political power for another hundred years. Massive

disfranchisement of blacks was carried out through registration tests, poll taxes, educational
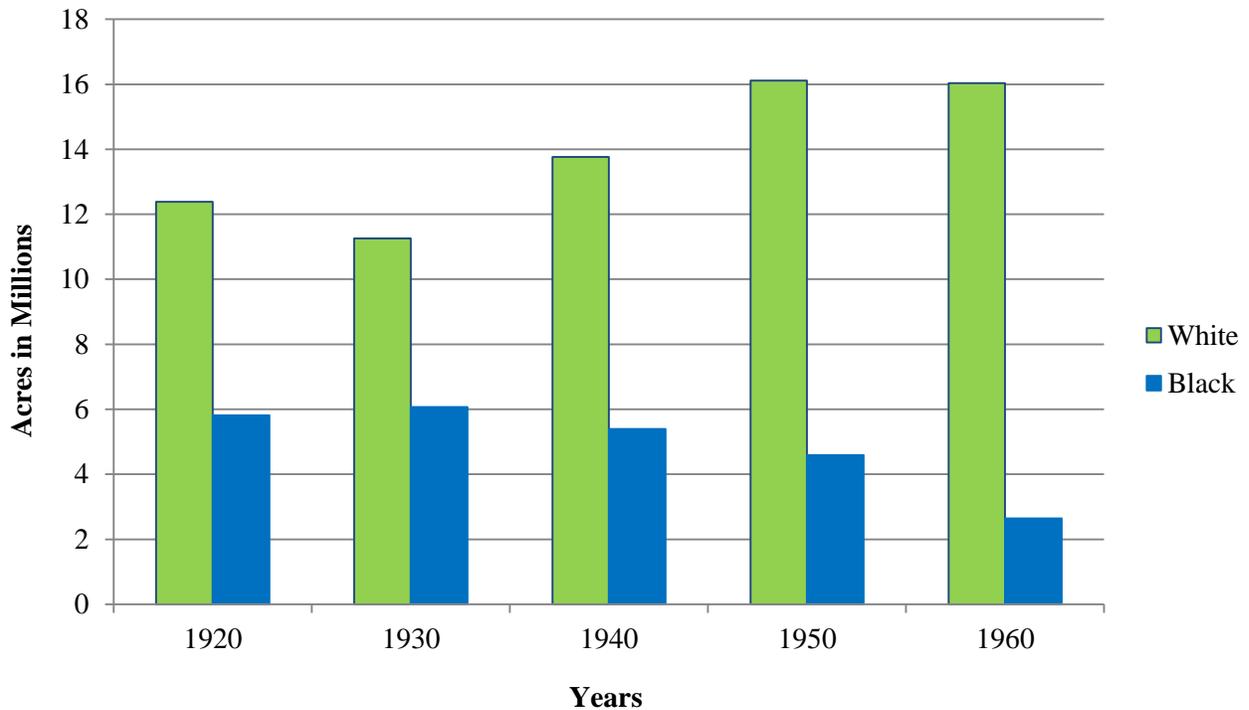
Figure 8.1
Agricultural land ownership by race in Mississippi, 1920-1960
Chart: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1959 United States Census of Agriculture, Mississippi, Counties* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961) State Table 3.

deprivation, gerrymandering, intimidation, reprisal, and systematic racial terror (Busbee 2005: 170; USCCR 1965: 2, 13, 21, 31, 41; Wharton 1965: 82-83, 181-233).

Lynchings, assassinations, and near-fatal beatings represented the most atrocious acts of political violence against blacks in Mississippi (Marable 2000: 114-121; Wharton 1965: 224-227). From 1882 to 1968, an estimated 539 lynchings took place in Mississippi, the highest number reported in any state (Zangrando 1980: 4). Although lynchings peaked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, racists continued to assassinate and brutalize scores of civil rights activists in the 1950s and 1960s. Those killed by white gunmen's bullets included NAACP leaders Reverend George W. Lee in Belzoni in 1955, and Medgar Evers in Jackson in 1963. In 1963, guards and prisoners viciously beat and tortured renowned SNCC and Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) organizer Fannie Lou Hamer and several of her

colleagues in a jail cell in Winona, Mississippi. In 1966, Hattiesburg NAACP chapter president, Vernon Dahmer, died from extreme burns after Ku Klux Klan members shot at and firebombed his house. In the same year, a would-be Klan assassin's shotgun blast severely wounded activist James Meredith as he walked near the town of Hernando during the second day of his March Against Fear (Dittmer 1995: 53, 172, 391-392; Payne 2007: 37-39, 227-228, 288-289, 376, 398). White supremacists made regular use of such killings and terror to protect racist rule in Mississippi.

Whites gained full control over politics and government in Mississippi through their political repression of blacks. From 1890 to 1964, the white power structure suppressed the percentage of black registered voters in Mississippi below 10 percent, while bolstering white registration levels to over 80 percent (Table 8.1) (USCCR 1965: 11). In the early 1960s, federal voting rights laws and the efforts of civil rights groups increased the black voting population (Walton 1972: 88-91). However, in 1966, Mississippi's registered black voting population was still less than half of its 1867 level, while the white voting population grew 1.5 times. Nonetheless, indications of slow but upcoming change appeared in the state's 1967 general elections, when newly registered black voters elected Robert Clark to become the first African American member of the Mississippi House of Representatives since Reconstruction. Seventeen NAACP and MFDP-backed candidates also won local and county level offices (Walton 1972: 126). These small victories cracked the long impenetrable defenses of Mississippi's white power structure and opened the door to wider black participation in state and national government in the following decades, though not without having to continue battling against white resistance.

Table 8.1
Registered voters by race in Mississippi, 1867-1966

Year	Black Voting Age Population	Black Registration	Percent of Black Registration	White Voting Age Population	White Registration	Percent of White Registration
1867	98,926	60,167	66.9	84,784	46,636	55.0
1892	150,409	8,615	5.7	120,611	68,127	56.5
1896	198,647	16,234	8.2	150,530	108,988	72.4
1899	198,647	18,170	9.1	150,530	122,724	81.5
1955	495,138	21,502	4.3	710,639	423,456	59.6
1966	422,256	139,099	32.9	748,266	470,920	82.4

Table: *Paul Karolczyk, 2014*
Sources: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Voting in Mississippi (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p.8; Walton, Hanes Jr. (1972). Black Political Parties: An Historical and Political Analysis. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Race, Space, and Political Economy in Jackson, Mississippi

The Mississippi's Yazoo Delta's rapid large-scale expansion of agriculture after the Civil War made western Mississippi a major destination for large internal migrations from declining agricultural regions inside and outside the state (Lowery 1971: 580; Wharton 1965: 107-108). Black migrants from southwestern counties including Pike, Amite, and Lincoln, replaced those moving westward from places closer to the Delta such as Hinds County. Migrants from Georgia and South Carolina replaced those moving to the Delta from central and eastern Mississippi. The Delta-bound migrations peaked in the mid-1870s and were followed by the large northward migrations and, to a lesser extent, departures to small southern cities such as Jackson (Lowery 1971: 581; Wharton 1965: 107-108, 110).

However, Jackson's original black population emerged as a mostly urban slave population several years before the Yazoo Delta's development and the Great Migration took place. Antebellum census records indicate that Jackson's total population in 1860 consisted of 2,107 whites, 1,071 slaves, and 13 freemen (Table 8.2) (USCB 1864b). At the time, Jackson's total, white, slave, and free populations ranked the city behind Natchez and Vicksburg, which were major slave-trading centers on the Mississippi River. It also ranked behind the Lowndes County city of Columbus in northeastern Mississippi, whose larger slave population gave it a

Table 8.2
Jackson's total and black population, 1910-1970

Year	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black
1910	21,262	10,554	48.8
1920	22,817	9,936	43.5
1930	48,282	19,423	40.2
1940	62,107	24,256	39.1
1950	98,271	40,168	40.9
1960	144,442	51,556	35.7
1970	153,968	61,063	39.7

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, various years).

total population that surpassed Jackson (USCB 1864b). In 1880, 17 years after General William T. Sherman's Union troops scorched much of Jackson to the ground, blacks formed a majority in the city with 2,992 or 57 percent of its total population (USCB 1882). Blacks remained a majority in Jackson until 1900, after which a growing white population surpassed them (USCB 1882, 1895, 1901). While no longer a majority, Jackson's black population steadily continued to increase over the next decades.

The projection of Jackson as a regional center of socio-economic opportunities in Mississippi served as a major pull factor attracting rural black and white migrants to the city. However, Jackson's economic growth resulted more from its political significance as Mississippi's capital city than the power of its business sector alone, as Mississippi had the most abysmal economic record in the country by capitalist standards. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the city lacked a primary sector economy and its manufacturing industry was insignificant to the region and nation (Table 8.3). In the 1920s and 1930s, the city benefitted tangentially from short-lived economic booms indicated by the upsurge of downstream secondary and tertiary sector jobs linked to lumber and natural gas extraction in surrounding areas. The addition of 40 federal offices and 37 state agencies in Jackson softened the Great Depression's impact on the city (Busbee 2005: 185-186, 213-214, 232-233; Martin 1945:

Table 8.3
Manufactures in Mississippi 1899-1967 (top) and Jackson 1939-1967 (bottom)

Year	Number of Establishments	Production Workers	Value Added
1899	1,294	25,799	$17,175
1909	2,508	50,384	43,630
1919	2,379	57,383	100,559
1929	1,911	52,066	107,325
1939	1,235	45,893	72,661
1949	*na*	59,144	221,963
1958	2,433	92,500	642,200
1967	2,761	133,800	1,635,300

Year	Number of Establishments	Production Workers	Value Added
1939	91	2,225	6,440
1947	122	4,788	23,163
1954	*na*	7,427	*na*
1967	190	7,500	134,300

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1947 Census of Manufactures, General Summary,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), Tables 1, 3; *1954 Census of Manufactures, General Summary,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957), Tables 4A, 4B; *1967 Census of Manufactures, Volume3: Area Statistics ,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Table 6.

134-135).

However, Jackson developed an enduring service economy upon its hospitals, colleges, shopping centers, and entertainment venues. It also became a regional transportation hub with its freight and passenger railroads, bus stations, highways, and international airport (Martin 1945: 34). The city was Mississippi's only metropolitan area from 1940 until 1970 when the census designation was also given to the Biloxi-Gulfport region on the southern coast (USCB, 1941, 1973i). Jackson's growth indicated relatively better socio-economic conditions than the rest of the state. In 1970, the city's median family income was $8,299, which was 36.6 percent higher than the state level and 86 percent of the national level. Nevertheless, low black median family income clearly indicated racial socio-economic inequality in Jackson at $4,546, or 54, 59, and 47 percent of the city, state, and national levels respectively (USCB 1973j, 1973l, 1973n). This was part of a general pattern of racial income inequality throughout the United States, but that was most extreme in the South where black median family income was $4,936, or 56.5 percent of white income (USCB 1973a).

White society's racist attitudes and Jim Crow practices spatially confined Jackson's steadily growing black population. In the late nineteenth century, black settlement in the small city was concentrated in the Farish Street neighborhood to the east, and the Gowdy neighborhood to the southwest (Woodard 1909: 3). Founded in the 1880s, freedmen built the segregated 125-acre Farish Street neighborhood on the surveyed and subdivided grounds of a former white estate. Located near downtown Jackson, the neighborhood's borders include Amite, Lamar, Mill, and Fortification Streets. The Farish Street neighborhood grew from the 1890s to 1940s to become the focus of African American social, political, and economic life in Jackson (Curtis 1998: 161; Biographical and Historical Note, 2013a: 1-2; U.S. Department of the Interior Heritage and Recreation Service [USDIHRS] 1980: 1-2).

By 1909, blacks had owned two-thirds of black housing in Jackson, with half owning their own houses, and many others renting out to black tenants (Woodard 1909: 3). In the early twentieth century, the economically self-reliant Farish Street neighborhood featured a mix of residential and commercial spaces, which included private homes, churches, stores, bakeries, restaurants, theaters, libraries, banks, clinics, professional offices, funeral homes, and barbershops (Curtis 1998: 161; Jackson Convention and Visitors Bureau [JCVB] n.d.: 11; Woodard 1909: 3-8). The Farish Street area included the Smith Robertson School, Jackson's first black public school, which was built in 1894 on Bloom Street. The neighborhood's Alamo Theater and Crystal Palace were regional entertainment hotspots surrounded by famous restaurants (Curtis 1998: 163; JCVB n.d.: 5, 11; USDIHRS 1978: 1-2).

Settled prior to 1903, the Gowdy community originated as a small township located near the Jackson's southwestern limits. It was organized around the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad and Delta Cotton Oil Mill, after whose president, W.B. Gowdy, the community was

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named (Biographical and Historical Note 2013b: 1-2; Lee 2010: 3-4). Gowdy's residents were skilled in various trades and many worked at the Jackson Brick Yard and Faust Brother's Mill. The community was served by its own post office from 1915 to 1941 (Biographical and Historical Note 2013b: 1-2). In 1903, Gowdy's history became tied to the development of Jackson State College when segregationists forced the college to move from its original location in north Jackson. At that time, the Gowdy neighborhood became known as the Washington Addition (Lee 2010: 5-6). The College Hill Missionary Baptist Church, one of the city's oldest African American churches, was established in Gowdy in 1907 (College Hill Missionary Baptist Church 2007; Lee 2010: 4). Other black colleges and universities were also built in the Jackson area such as Tougaloo College in 1869 and Campbell College in 1898 (Federal Writers' Project 1938: 213).

Jackson's increasing white population pushed the city's areal expansion from 5.5 square miles in 1920 to approximately 93.8 square miles by 1970 (USDIHRS 2007: 13). The incorporation of new territory generally moved to the north and west, and, to a relatively lesser extent, south of the central city. Well-built and spacious white middle-class subdivisions dominated much of the new area, which surrounded black lower-wage, high-density, inner-city neighborhoods. Dividing Jackson into 21 wards, the 1940 census indicates that while blacks comprised 39 percent of the city's total population, 73 percent of the black population was concentrated in only 5 wards, and 42 percent of all wards contained less than 1 percent of the total black population (Figure 8.2) (USCB 1941). However, whites, who made up 61 percent of Jackson's total population, were more evenly distributed across all wards. In addition, 49 percent of the white population was located in relatively low-density and racially homogenous wards, which had white majorities adding up to 90 percent or more of the total population. Such

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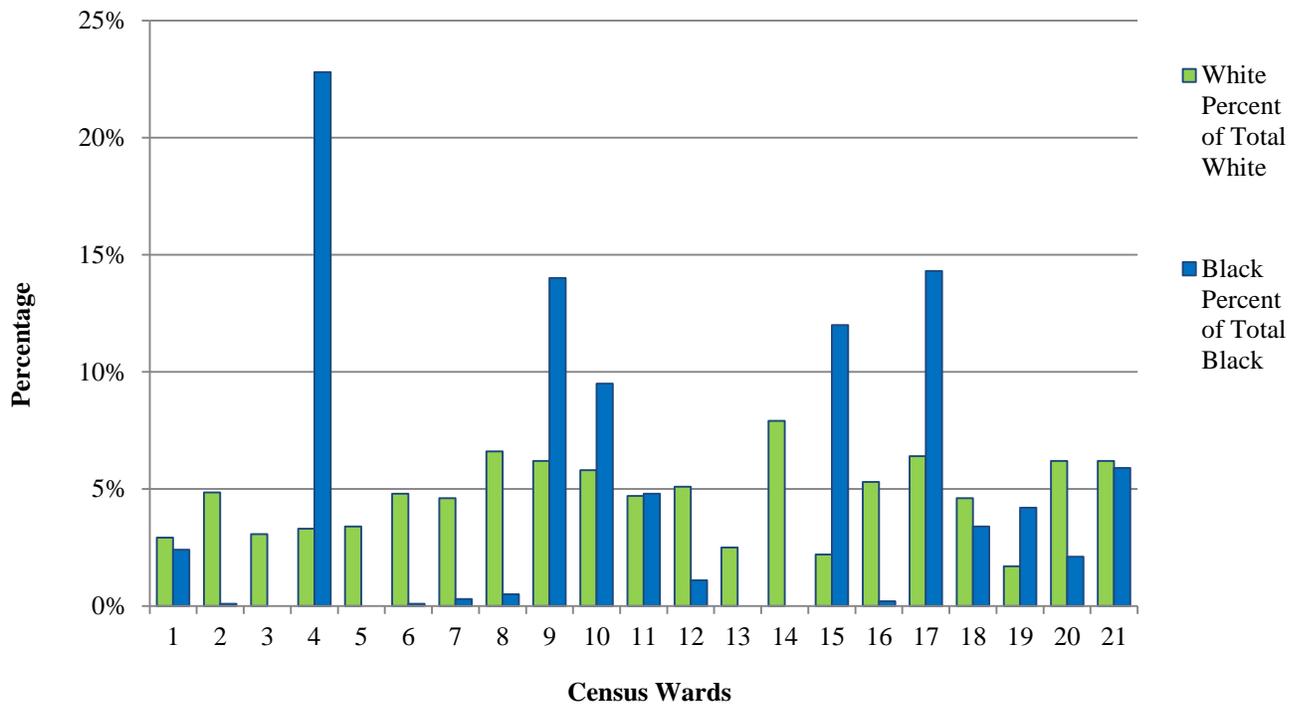
Figure 8.2[a]
Black and white population distributions in 1940 census wards as percentages of total black and white populations in Jackson, Mississippi
Chart: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1940 Census of the Population, Characteristics of the Population, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), Table 34.
[a] The U.S. Census Bureau did not publish maps to show the geography of the census wards.

figures indicate how practices of racial segregation concentrated a disproportionately high

amount of urban living space for whites.

By 1970, black neighborhoods extended from the Farish Street area southwest along

Pearl and Lynch Streets to the Washington Addition neighborhood, and northwest along Delta

Drive between Bullard Street on the west, Meadowbrook Road to the north, and Lamar and Mill

Streets to the east. Bordering these areas were white neighborhoods such as Fondren and

Belhaven to the north, Arbor Vista and Pecan Park to the west, and South Jackson to the south.

Following desegregation, middle-class whites began leaving Jackson to the neighboring suburbs

in Madison and Rankin Counties. As a result, Jackson became a black majority city once again

in the 1980s (Schaefer 2010). Disparities in median family incomes, employment status, and job

distribution in key industries indicated socio-economic inequalities between blacks and whites in

Jackson (Tables 8.4, 8.5, 8.6). Although black median family incomes in Jackson were slightly

higher than the black population at the state level, they were nevertheless drastically lower than

whites on city, state, and national levels. Higher median family incomes for blacks in Jackson

can be attributed to the concentration of black professionals in the city. However, in comparison

to whites, black median family income in Jackson was only 34 percent of white income in 1950,

53 percent in 1960, and 56 percent in 1970. During the same period, recorded black

unemployment remained 1.5 to 2 times above city-wide levels, even as the workforce population

grew and total unemployment levels dropped. Industries that consistently employed the largest

numbers of blacks included manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and personal services.

Black employment in agriculture, forestry, and fishing fell rapidly between 1950 and 1970 while

increasing from 7.3 to 23.9 percent in professional and related services. Low median family

income levels indicate that many black workers in Jackson had menial jobs and received

substantially lower wages when performing the same work as whites.

Mobilizing in the Subjugated National Territory

Belonging to the material dimension of NAIM's representational space of black

radicalism, the PG-RNA's physical space of mobilization in Jackson grew out of actions guided

by Imari Obadele's *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* (1968), which designated

Mississippi as the starting point for the liberation of the New Afrikan Republic's subjugated

national territory (Obadele 1968: 27, 30-31). While outlining the fundamental political and

military strategies for New Afrikan liberation, the Malcolm X Doctrine demarcates the

Republic's political geography around the subjugated black urban areas of the North, and the

Table 8.4

Employment status of total and nonwhite labor force in Jackson SMSA, 1950-1970

1950	*Total*	*% of Total*	*Nonwhite % of Total Force*	*Nonwhite % of Nonwhite Force*
Labor Force	58,075	-	43.1	-
Employed	55,600	95.7	42.3	94.0
Unemployed	2,150	3.7	67.9	5.8

1960	*Total*	*% of Total*	*Nonwhite % of Total Force*	*Nonwhite % of Nonwhite Force*
Labor Force	73,557	-	36	-
Employed	70,705	96.1	35.3	94.1
Unemployed	2,726	3.7	56.7	5.8

1970	*Total*	*% of Total*	*Black % of Total Force*	*Black % of Black Force*
Labor Force	100,480	-	29.9	-
Employed	96,874	96.4	29.0	93.7
Unemployed	3,398	3.3	54.6	6.1

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: Calculated from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 66; *1960 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 119; *1970 Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 83; *1970 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 85, 92.

Table 8.5

Median personal and family income by race for United States, Mississippi, Jackson SMSA, 1950-1970

1950	*All*	*Whites*	*Blacks*
U.S.A.[a]	1,917	2,053	952
Mississippi[a]	758	1,236	439
Jackson[a]	1,408	2,231	760

1960	*All*	*Whites*	*Blacks*
U.S.A.[b]	5,660	5,893	3,161
Mississippi[b]	2,884	4,209	1,444
Jackson[b]	4,783	*na*	2,254

1970	*All*	*Whites*	*Blacks*
U.S.A.[b]	9,590	9,961	6,067
Mississippi[b]	6,071	7,578	3,202
Jackson[b]	8,834	*na*	4,294

Table: Paul Karolczyk
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 137; *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 87; *1960 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Tables 65, 76, 77; *1960 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 139; *1970 Census of the Population, United States Summary, General Population Characteristics,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 83; *1970 Census of the Population, Characteristics of the Population, Mississippi,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 57, 89, 94.
[a] Indicates Median Personal Income
[b] Indicates Median Family Income

Table 8.6
Industry of total and black employed workers in Jackson SMSA, 1950 and 1970

1950	*Total*	*% of Total*	*Black %* *of Total Employed*	*Black %* *of Black Employed*
Employed	56,785	-	42.2	-
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	7,003	12.3	82.1	23.9
Mining	458	<.01	<.01	<.01
Construction	5,065	8.9	41.4	8.7
Manufacturing	7131	12.5	39.2	11.6
Transportation, Communications., & Public Utilities	4423	7.7	26.2	4.8
Wholesale & Retail Trade	11,871	20.9	27.9	13.8
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	2,333	4.0	11.3	1.1
Business & Repair Services	1,392	2.4	24.2	1.4
Personal Services	7,129	12.5	81.4	24.2
Entertainment & Recreation Services	454	<.01	29.2	<.01
Public Administration	3,120	5.4	10.3	1.3
Professional & Related Services	5,822	10.2	30.1	7.3

1970	*Total*	*% of Total*	*Black %* *of Total Employed*	*Black %* *of Black Employed*
Employed	96,874	-	29	-
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	2,415	2.4	33.9	2.9
Mining	726	<.01	5.2	<.01
Construction	7,069	7.2	33.6	8.4
Manufacturing	14,111	14.5	35.1	17.6
Transportation, Communications, & Public Utilities	7,359	7.5	21.2	5.5
Wholesale & Retail Trade	20,226	20.8	14.5	10.4
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	7,096	7.3	57.9	14.5
Business & Repair Services	3,109	3.2	14.6	1.6
Personal Services	7,843	8.0	63.6	17.7
Entertainment & Recreation Services	410	<.01	40.0	<.01
Public Administration	5,783	5.9	12.1	2.4
Professional & Related Services	20,727	21.3	32.5	23.9

Table: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: Calculated from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 83; *1970 Census of the Population, Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 186.

southern states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. In keeping

with the Doctrine's limited objective strategy, which claimed a national territory in the United

States proportionate to the country's black population size, the PG-RNA intended for its initial

sovereignty campaigns in Brooklyn, Detroit, and Cleveland to liberate the Republic's territories

in the North. However, the PG-RNA moved NAIM's geographical center of mobilization from

the urban north to the national territory in the South in May 1970, shortly after Imari Obadele

became the Republic's president in March (Obadele 1987: 23; PG-RNA 1972: 3). Imari Obadele

explains in a 1972 *Black Scholar* article that,

> we give up our claim to the [northern] cities as *national* territory . . . in exchange for the
> five states of the Deep South. In the North we are outnumbered almost two to one,
> though once we were an absolute numerical majority, because of the persistent genocide
> practiced against us for 100 post-slavery years. But we remain over half the population
> in Mississippi and a third in Louisiana, Alabama and South Carolina, and many Black
> Belt counties are overwhelmingly African. (Obadele 1972: 25-26)

Though statistically erroneous in light of reported U.S. census figures, Obadele's statement

nevertheless points out the importance of the Deep South's racial demographics, and history as a

major African settlement area, as crucial locational factors that influenced the PG-RNA's

decision to move NAIM's center of activism to the region. Other significant locational factors

included the South's importance as a place where slavery and racism sparked the African

American desire for justice, and its potential as a region having abundant and exploitable natural

resources to support the New Afrikan Republic's national economy (Obadele 1972: 26, 1987:

27).

As the poorest region of the United States, New Afrikan nationalist leaders saw the Deep

South as the likeliest place for white America to cede to the Republic of New Afrika (Obadele

1972: 26). The provisional government's Anti-Depression Program viewed such a transfer,

which would follow a successful plebiscite vote for black independence, as consistent with the

ways the American government historically acquired territory through treaty, purchase, conquest,

mutual consent, and seizure (Obadele 1975: 75-77, 1987: 81). Warranting the PG-RNA's

claims, the Anti-Depression Program argued that the U.S. government's nineteenth century

annexations of Spanish West Florida, the Republic of Texas, and Hawaii signified historical

precedents that "established the principle that the United States recognizes the expressed will of

the people on the land, with respect to choice of sovereignty and nationality" (Obadele 1975: 76). The PG-RNA also saw the U.S. government-authorized plebiscite to determine Puerto Rico's political status in 1967 as demonstrating the principle of respecting people's will to territorial national sovereignty. This argument was combined with the New Afrikan interpretation of the U.S. Constitution's Reconstruction amendments to justify NAIM's territorial claims (Obadele 1975: 77-79).

The PG-RNA's main tasks in Mississippi focused on acquiring land and organizing the black independence plebiscite (Obadele 1987: 86). Its earliest efforts in Mississippi before the constitutional crisis of late 1969 involved searches for purchasable land in the state (Obadele 1987: 22-23). The PG-RNA raised money in northern cities to buy land in the South by collecting donations at public consulate meetings, passing a 3 percent income tax for New Afrikan citizens, and selling $100 Malcolm X Land Certificates (Detroit Police Department [DPD], memorandum, May 17, 1968: 1, June 5, 1968: 3; "New Africans Push Black Legion, Tax, Popular Vote," 1968: 2; PG-RNA administration document 1970; Sherrill 1969: 75). The PG-RNA penalized repeated failure to pay taxes by excluding New Afrikan citizens from government work (PG-RNA administration document 1970). Land searches began in June 1968, led by Omar Abdullah (Warren Galloway) of Detroit and Dara Abubakari (Virginia E. Collins) of New Orleans (DPD, memorandum, June 26, 1968: 1, July 28, 1969: 1; Obadele 1987: 23, 29).

NAIM's leaders attempted to recruit settlers for the Republic's first New Communities in Mississippi from among evicted residents of Resurrection City, an encampment that Poor People's March participants set up on the National Mall in Washington D.C. in May 1968 (DPD, memorandum, June 28, 1968: 2; Obadele 1987: 23, "Republic's Land Drive Opens" 1968: 3). Though unsuccessful, PG-RNA Minister of Finance Ray Willis undertook the recruitment effort

by travelling from Detroit to Washington D.C. in July to engage with potential settlers (DPD, memorandum, July 18, 1968: 1; Obadele 1987: 23; "Republic's Land Drive Opens" 1968: 3). The PG-RNA first considered purchasing land parcels on Mississippi's Gulf Coast, the Copiah County town of Hazlehurst, and at a site in Rankin County (DPD, memorandum, February 5, 1969: 2; Obadele 1987: 29). These early land acquisition attempts fell through, despite ongoing planning discussions at Detroit consulate meetings that focused on sending workers and supplies to Mississippi (DPD, memorandum, March 3, 1969: 2, June 6, 1969: 2; Obadele 1987: 23).

In May 1970, President Imari Obadele moved the PG-RNA's national headquarters from Detroit to New Orleans (Obadele 1987: 88; PG-RNA 1972: 3). However, Dara Abubakari, a 53-year-old native of Plaquemines Parish, initiated the PG-RNA's organizing groundwork in New Orleans in 1968 (Figure 8.3) (Obadele 1987: 24; Pope 2011). Reared by a Garveyite and Baptist minister father, Abubakari graduated from McDonogh 35 High School in New Orleans, Louisiana's first all-black high school, where she later became a longtime Parent-Teacher Association president (Pope 2011; Woyshner and Bohan 2012: 11). In 1955, Abubakari co-founded the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women with fellow Louisianan Audley Moore and Moore's sisters Eloise Moore and Loretta Langley (Ahmad 2007: 10; Nazareth Baptist Church funeral service program 2011; Obadele 1987: 23; "Queen Mother Moore" 1970: 50). As a civil rights activist, Abubakari walked in the 1963 March on Washington and 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama (Pope 2011). While raising her family she also provided decades of community leadership in the Hollygrove neighborhood of New Orleans where she lived (Nazareth Baptist Church funeral service program 2011). Abubakari set the stage for New Afrikan nationalism in the South by recruiting workers in New Orleans, and

Figure 8.3
Dara Abubakari, circa 1970
Source: Photo by Dave Portugal, *Southern Patriot* newspaper, 1970

appointing and directing the first PG-RNA consulate workers in Jackson, Mississippi

(Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission [MSSC], memorandum, April 5, 1970: 2; Obadele

1987: 38).

The PG-RNA based its headquarters in New Orleans in a one-story shotgun house at

3439 Fern Street in the Gert Town neighborhood near Xavier University (Obadele 1987: 23-24;

PG-RNA pamphlet 1970). Formerly occupied by writers, actors, and artists, the building now

housed the PG-RNA's national offices and provided space for meetings, nation-building classes,

and social gatherings (Obadele 1987: 23-24). The building provided space for weekly public

meetings that were held at 7:30pm on Thursday nights (PG-RNA pamphlet 1970). In addition to Dara Abubakari, National Minister of Finance Rahim Ajaniku assisted Imari Obadele in New Orleans as his aide and military advisor (Obadele 1987: 24). The group patched together a small security force with local members of the defunct pre-constitutional crisis Black Legion (Obadele 1987: 24-25). According to Obadele, the national officers built upon Abubakari's efforts to "establish a respectable modicum of New African strength" in New Orleans by turning "to hard organizing in Gert Town" (Obadele 1987: 25). The leaders organized a cadre of New Orleans workers that formed the tip of NAIM's southern movement. The cadre membership was a mix of eager local teens, university students, and seasoned nationalist activists (Obadele 1987: 22, 27, 39). Among them were Rip and Nayo Askari, Sister Azima, Karim Njabafudi (Larry Jackson), Yahya Thutmosis, Malik Ghafoor, and other "brothers" by the names of Horse, Fela, Azim, Hakim, Little Man, Akinsheye, and Mustaf (Obadele 1987: 22, 25, 47, 76, 111). Supplementing the New Orleans cadre were workers visiting from outside the national territory such as Aisha Salim (Brenda Blount) from Philadelphia, Sister Eneharo from San Francisco, national Minister of Economic Planning and Development Yusufu Sonebeyatta (Joseph Brooks) from Berkeley, and Rachi Malik Hekima from Michigan who took over as national minister of finance (Obadele 1987: 27, 40, 47).

As a place within NAIM's national-scale space of mobilization, New Orleans mostly functioned as an interim location before the PG-RNA finally moved its headquarters to Jackson, Mississippi. However, several notable PG-RNA actions took place in the Gert Town neighborhood such as the opening of the New African Community School, which contributed to the movement for African-centered education in the city (Carter 1971: 1; Obadele 1987: 26). Minister of Education Nayo Askari, a former Xavier University education major, founded the

school with the assistance of other young black women teachers. They first taught classes on Saturdays at the Fern Street headquarters, but as the school was a community project, classes were eventually held among numerous houses including Askari's home at 3431 Lowerline Street (Carter 1971: 1; Obadele 1987: 23-24, 26). Students included younger and older children from home schools and public schools. Although understaffed and scarcely funded by community members and a portion of Askari's substitute teaching income, the New African School reported an enrollment of fifty students in December 1971. As an alternative to the racist Eurocentric educational system, New African Community School students learned African alphabets, songs, poems, stories, and music, as well as reading, writing, and math (Carter 1971: 1; Obadele 1987: 26).

On February 20 and 21, 1971, the PG-RNA sponsored a Black Lawyers Strategy Conference at Xavier University, which school's Student Government Association hosted ("Black Lawyers Convene at XU" 1971: 1; Obadele 1987: 41). The conference was intended to organize a group of lawyers who could understand NAIM's positions on citizenship and nationhood and be willing to defend New Afrikan legal cases (Obadele 1987: 41). Atlanta civil rights attorney Howard Moore was the event's keynote speaker ("Black Lawyers Convene at XU" 1971: 1; Obadele 1987: 41). Moore was known for teaming with Leo Branton, Jr. as a defense attorney for black communist Angela Davis, who was then fighting trumped-up murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy charges linked to the killing of a California state judge ("Black Lawyers Convene at XU" 1971: 1; Yardley 2013). Other notable attendees included Marion Overton White, a civil rights attorney from Opelousas, Louisiana, and Ernest Jones and Charles Cotton, who were defense attorneys for the New Orleans Black Panther Party (Arend and Jeffries 2010: 264). Civil rights attorneys coming from Mississippi included Daisy Collins of North

Mississippi Rural Legal Services in Oxford, and William E. Miller, Jr. of Jackson, a University of Mississippi Law School graduate practicing in Cleveland, Mississippi (Obadele 1987: 41, 88). The conference resulted in the PG-RNA's recruitment of Miller's support, which eventually grew into a deeper involvement when he was made minister of justice during the May 1971 People's Center Council (PCC) meeting in Washington D.C. (Obadele 1987: 88).

The PG-RNA's New Orleans cadre focused the bulk of its work on preparing for NAIM's mobilization in Mississippi. However, a small group of PG-RNA workers had already been organized in Jackson even before the government moved to New Orleans. In April 1969, Dara Abubakari, the PG-RNA's first and newly appointed southern regional vice president, appointed Carolyn Williams to be the Jackson consul (MSSC, memorandum, April 5, 1970: 2; Obadele 1987: 38, 90). Organizing with Williams was Jomo Kenyatta (Henry Hatches, Jr.), who became the PG-RNA's southern regional defense minister (Obadele 1987: 26, 88). Williams and Kenyatta lived in the "subdivision number two" neighborhood in west Jackson, and both were experienced civil rights activists in the Hinds County area. Williams previously organized economic cooperatives with the Poor People's Corporation, a group that Jackson SNCC activist Jesse Morris founded, and the Southern Cooperative Development Agency based in Lafayette, Louisiana (Dittmer 1995: 365; "Grocery Coops: Low Prices" 1967; MSSC, memorandum, March 1, 1968). Kenyatta, a native of Utica, Mississippi, participated in the Hinds County Freedom Democratic Party. With the party's backing, Kenyatta ran unsuccessfully for Hinds County's Beat 4 constable's seat in the 1967 state elections (Hinds County FDP News, June 22, 1967; Freedom Information Services Mississippi Newsletter, August 4, 1967). Williams and Kenyatta carried news of the Republic of New Afrika in Jackson and small nearby towns to the west such as Bolton, Clinton, and Edwards (Obadele 1987: 30).

The search for land in Mississippi resumed following discussion at the PCC meeting in Jackson,

which was held from July 31 to August 2, 1970 (MSSC memorandum, August 5, 1970, 1;

Obadele 1987: 31). Organized by Carolyn Williams, the PCC meeting took place at Central

Methodist Church at 500 North Farish Street and the Black Strategy Center at 1320 Lynch Street.

PG-RNA unit heads and national officers from around the country attended the meeting (Carolyn

Williams, personal communication, July 19, 1970; MSSC, memorandum August 5, 1970, 2;

Obadele 1987: 30). The meeting was successful in recruiting legal support from aspiring

Mississippi-based civil rights attorneys John Brittain, Jr. and Hermel Johnson, and Lewis Myers,

a Rutgers University law student (Obadele 1987: 30-31). Brittain worked for North Mississippi

Rural Legal Services at Oxford, while Johnson worked at Community Legal Services in Jackson

(Obadele 1987: 31). These lawyers would demonstrate their importance to NAIM's struggle

during the RNA-11 trials that were to begin the following year.

Jomo Kenyatta led the revived search for land in Mississippi, focusing his efforts in

Hinds County (Obadele 1987: 31). Imari Obadele looked favorably upon acquiring land in

Hinds County because of its growing black population and central location within a continuous

north-south region of black-majority counties, which New Afrikans called the Kush District

(Obadele 1987: 32). Hinds County was also advantageous because it contained Jackson, whose

strategic locational factors included political status, availability of social resources, positive net

black population growth, and white flight (Obadele 1987: 32). By September 1970, Kenyatta

had found a twenty-acre parcel of rural farmland that Lofton Mason, a local black farmer, was

selling 45 miles west of Jackson on Highway 22 in Brownsville, Mississippi (Obadele 1987: 31,

33-34). Like Kenyatta, Mason was politically active in the Hinds County Freedom Democratic

Party, having run as a candidate for Beat 2 supervisor in 1967 and First District supervisor in

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1971 ("Big FDP Beat 2 Election, May 13," 1967: 1; MSSC, election poll report, 1971; Obadele 1987: 33).

Obadele and Mason agreed on a sale price of $20,000 with a $2,000 down payment and subsequent annual balance payments of $5,000 (Obadele 1987: 35). New Afrikans gave the land meaning as a place where they could begin building the New Society that the Malcolm X Doctrine envisioned. They expected to construct a New Community on the land, starting with a school and dining hall (Obadele 1987: 34). They would establish El Malik, the Republic of New Afrika's capital on the land. PG-RNA workers planned a Land Celebration at the site for March 31, 1971, on the third anniversary of the Republic's founding (Obadele 1987: 40). They anticipated completing construction of two buildings before the celebration, which were to consist of "a sixty-by-forty foot dining hall, with kitchen, with a cement foundation and cinder-block and glass construction, and one of two wooden barracks, forty-by-twenty" (Obadele 1987: 40). They hoped that the land acquisition, building construction, and Land Celebration announcements would attract widespread interest and financial support to facilitate building and paying off the land sale's balance (Obadele 1987: 40).

In February 1971, anticipating an oncoming flood of support, a group of approximately 12 New Afrikan workers rented a house that Jomo Kenyatta found on Jackson Street in nearby Bolton, Mississippi (Obadele 1987: 40-41). Bolton was a white-controlled black-majority town located 20 miles west of Jackson and bordered by Brownsville to the north. Most of the PG-RNA's workers in Bolton were teenage males from the New Orleans cadre who were joined by two workers from Detroit and Boston. The group proselytized in the community and assisted in construction projects on the land parcel (Obadele 1987: 40-42). Rather than attracting waves of black support, local newspaper stories about NAIM's presence in the area fueled the flames of

white hysteria. To quell the white panic, the Hinds County Sherriff's Department raided the

RNA's house and made several arrests. Occurring one week before the Land Celebration, the

national and local press sensationalized the arrests in articles that dramatized the seizure of a

small cache of arms, ammunition, and radio equipment kept in the house ("Armed Blacks Jailed

in Mississippi" 1971; Harrist 1971; Obadele 1987: 3, 45).

   With only a few days before the Land Celebration, inclement weather, time constraints,

scarce funding, and negative publicity hindered construction on the land site (Obadele 1987: 42-

43, 59). Minister of Economics Yusufu Sonebeyatta pitched a cheaper and quicker last-ditch

alternative: the construction of a plywood geodesic dome based on the ideas of utopian futurist

architect Buckminster Fuller (Figure 8.4) (J. Brooks, personal communication, 2010; Obadele

1987: 44, 73, 77-78). The Land Celebration took place despite white resistance, which came in

the form of Ku Klux Klan threats and police harassment. Participants, many of them armed for

self-defense and coming from as far away as California, New York, and Michigan, cautiously

drove into Mississippi whose white population was anticipating the invasion of a lethal black

army. Those New Afrikans already in Mississippi warned the travelers to bypass Jackson and to

avoid using Interstate 55 from Memphis where they projected police harassment would be

inevitable (Obadele 1987: 4, 49, 55, 57).

   Without a finished barracks to house the travelers, Dara Abubakari arranged for use of

the Mt. Beulah training school campus in nearby Edwards, Mississippi (Obadele 1987: 47, 51).

Built on the grounds of a former slave plantation, Mt. Beulah served as a haven for 1960s civil

rights activists such as the Freedom Riders and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (A. Green, personal

SYMBOLIC NEW AFRICAN COUPLE ASKS ALL BLACK PEOPLE OF AMERICA TO JOIN THEM ON RECLAIMED LAND, IN THE PURSUIT OF A FREEDOM AND A DIGNITY SUCH AS THE WORLD HAS NEVER KNOWN. THE BACKGROUND REPRESENTS A CITY THAT BLACKS WILL BEGIN BUILDING SOON AFTER ACQUISITION OF LAND NOW BEING PURCHASED, THE BEGINNING OF A GREAT NATION.
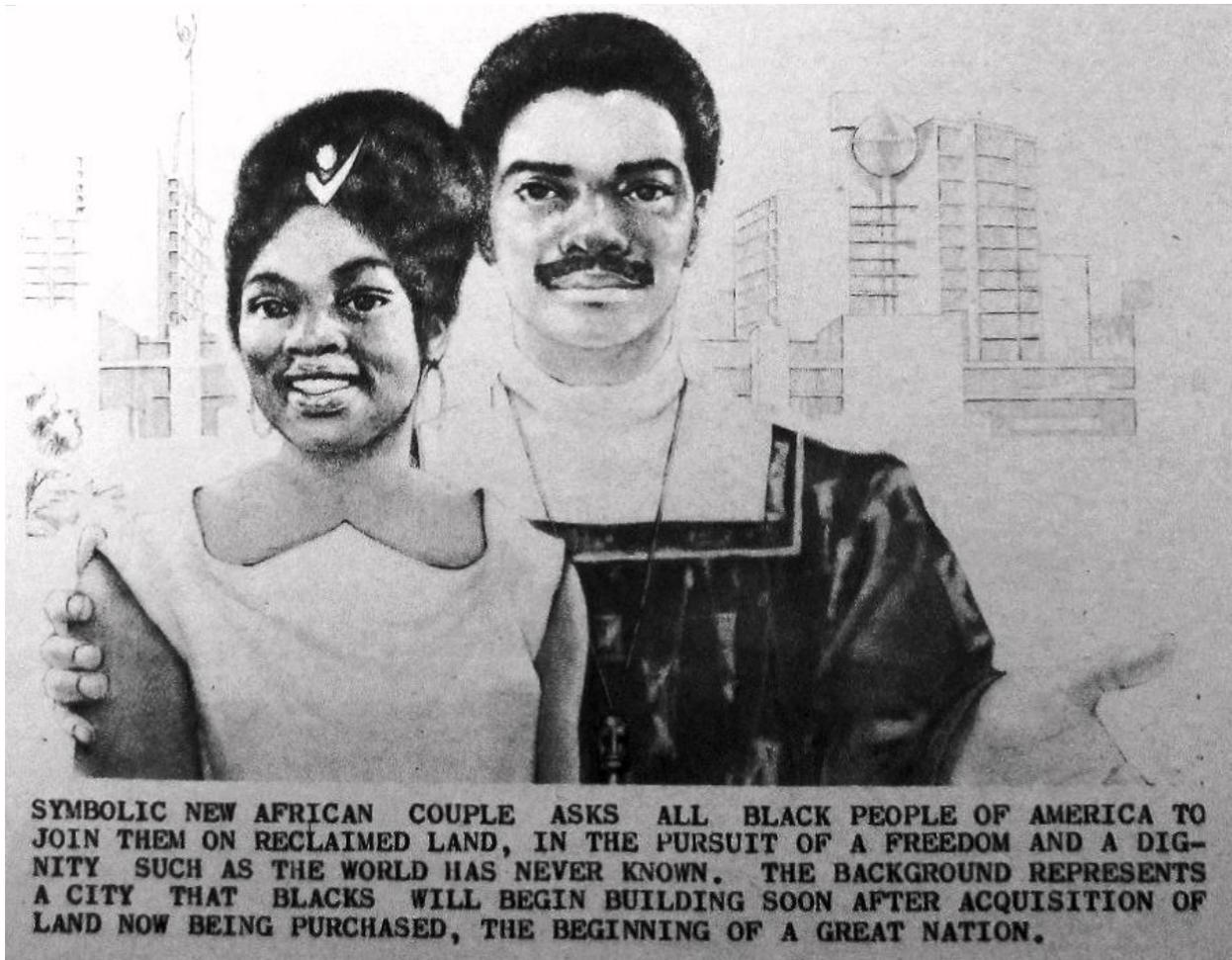
Figure 8.4
New Afrikan utopian futurism in *New African* newspaper, 1969
Source: PG-RNA, 1969

communication, August 3, 2010). In 1965, the Delta Ministry, a civil rights organization

founded by the National Council of Churches, acquired Mt. Beulah and used it as the site of the

Child Development Group of Mississippi, one of the first Head Start programs in the United

States (O. Brooks, personal communication, December 15, 2010; A. Green, personal

communication, August 3, 2010; Dittmer 1995: 336, 368-369; Obadele 1987: 48).

The travelers stayed overnight at Mt. Beulah, guarded by NASF members under the

command of national Minister of Defense Alajo Adegbalola (Obadele 1987: 51-52). The next

morning, PG-RNA workers planned a caravan route to the Brownsville site 15 miles away. The

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caravan reached the site without incident by accessing newly built Interstate 20 to circumvent police cars stationed eastbound along old U.S. Route 80 and Mississippi Highway 22. The Land Celebration went on without police interference, which New Afrikans saw as a victory for their movement. Nation-building classes, New Afrikan marriages, naming ceremonies, and a PCC meeting comprised the day's events (Figure 8.5) (Obadele 1987: 58-59). While not a declaration of territorial independence as the press described the event, New Afrikans used the Land Celebration to consecrate the site as the Republic's subjugated capital, which they named "El Malik" in honor of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm X) who they considered "the father of revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist thought" (C. Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010; Obadele 1987: 59, 60, 62). Even so, the PG-RNA's efforts soon turned out to be in vain, for by the end of April, Lofton Mason withdrew his land offer citing the PG-RNA's lagging payments. In reality, however, Mason capitulated to the pressure of local whites and the FBI, despite having withstood white intimidation as a political candidate in 1967 (Obadele 1987: 38-39, 43, 77).

PG-RNA's Mobilization Space in Jackson

While the Land Celebration never attracted the support of the black masses as New Afrikan nationalists had hoped, it nevertheless marked NAIM's arrival in the central geographical location of its struggle the Malcolm X Doctrine strategized. The celebration also led to a program of political work that created NAIM's physical space of mobilization in Jackson. Immediately after the Land Celebration, PG-RNA workers rented another house in Bolton in an attempt to strengthen any momentum the celebration might have generated (Obadele 1987: 81). However, fear among local residents spread, as town, county, and state

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Figure 8.5
Imari Obadele (center) and New Afrikan citizens at 1971 El Malik
land celebration
Source: *Close Up* magazine, March-April 1971

officials, enabled by the press, banned use of the Bolton Community Center for public meetings

and installed a police occupation of local streets. In addition, the Hinds County Prosecutor

issued an injunction banishing New Afrikans from Mason's land (Obadele 1987: 80-82).

Although they were not ready to relinquish their claim to Mason's land, PG-RNA

officials decided to leave Bolton and set up the national headquarters in Jackson (Obadele 1987:

83). In May 1971, during a meeting in Washington D.C., the PCC approved a program of

political work in Jackson that consisted of holding a People's Court to try Lofton Mason,

searching for new land in Mississippi, and organizing a Reparations Election to bring the black

independence plebiscite closer to fruition. The PCC also approved the permanent relocation of

the PG-RNA's national headquarters from New Orleans to Jackson in June 1971 (Obadele 1987:

87-88; RNA 1972: 4). Jackson's land area was 34 percent smaller than Detroit, and its total and

black populations were 10 and 9 percent of Detroit's populations. The PG-RNA rented a

Presidential Residence, or Government House, at 1148 Lewis Street, which was in a mostly

black neighborhood north of Jackson State College on the city's west side (Figure 8.6) (Obadele

1987: 88). In early August, PG-RNA workers set up a government center in a rented office

building at 1320 Lynch Street where the Black Strategy Center was formerly located (Obadele

1987: 30, 129). The building was located just east of Alexander Hall, a Jackson State College

women's dormitory where in the previous year, riot-equipped Jackson police killed two students

and wounded eleven others after wildly firing hundreds of bullets into the building and a nearby

crowd of over 100 African American student anti-war demonstrators (Figure 8.7) (JCVB n.d.:

33; Spofford 1988: 71-73).

The PCC meeting called for national ministers to move to Jackson (Obadele 1987: 89).

In the summer of 1971, an estimated 15 to 35 New Afrikan workers were active in Jackson,

nearly all of which were visiting from northern cities (MSSC, July 9, 1971a). Along with Imari

Obadele, they included Tawwab Nkrumah (George Matthews) from Boston, Chumaimari Fela

Askadi (Charles Stallings) from Milwaukee, Offogga Quddus (Wayne Maurice James) and his

wife Njeri (Toni Rene Austin) from Camden, New Jersey, and Minister of Information Aisha

Ishtar Salim and Sister Assata (Cheryl Foster) from Washington D.C. (Obadele 1987: 88-90).

Local workers from Jackson included Jomo Kenyatta and his wife, Okadele Kenyatta (Mary

Figure 8.6
PG-RNA Government House at 1148 Lewis Street, Jackson, Mississippi
Source: Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Online, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 2012

Alice Hatches), who was Jackson's new consul, and Che Akuuq Taz (Carolyn Greene) (Obadele

1987: 88-90). The public recognized the PG-RNA workers by their unique para-military

uniforms, which consisted of denim jackets and pants, black turbans, black plaited "slave

bracelets," and combat boots (MSSC, July 9, 1971a; Obadele 1987: 11, 51).

The PG-RNA created its physical space of mobilization in Jackson by adapting to an

existing space of mobilization that the civil rights and student-led anti-war movements forged in

the 1950s and 1960s. This space consisted of private and public places including churches,

businesses, residences, schools, universities, and city streets. The Farish Street neighborhood

became a civil rights organizing center during the early 1960s (JCVB n.d.: 11-17). Activists

regularly held strategy meetings and voter registration workshops in neighborhood churches such

as the Central United Methodist Church and its Family Life Center at 512 and 517 North Farish Street, the Farish Street Baptist Church at 619 North Farish Street, the Morning Star Baptist Church at 960 Kane Street, and the New Jerusalem Baptist Church at 226 Whitfield Street. In 1954, NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers opened his first office at 507 1/2 North Farish Street. Members of the MFDP, COFO, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, and the National Lawyers' Guild Friends of Children of Mississippi Head Start also used the site (JCVB n.d.: 11-17). National civil rights leaders and supporters attended crucial meetings, conferences, and rallies at Tougaloo College, which stood on the grounds of a former slave plantation at 500 West County Line Road along Jackson's northern boundary (JCVB n.d.: 49).

Closer to the PG-RNA's headquarters in west Jackson were Pearl Street A.M.E. Church at 925 West Pearl Street and Pratt Memorial United Methodist Church at 1057 West Pascagoula Street, where activists planned boycotts and initiated marches (JCVB n.d.: 28). The 1964 Freedom Summer Project based its headquarters in the COFO office at 1017 Lynch Street. The Masonic Temple at 1072 Lynch Street housed the offices of NAACP leaders Medgar Evers and Aaron Henry and provided space for training sessions, strategy meetings, concerts, and funerals such as those of slain activists Benjamin Brown and Medgar Evers himself. Jackson State College, also on Lynch Street, was a center of civil rights and anti-war struggle, and the site of the previously mentioned police violence that targeted student protesters (JCVB n.d.: 30-33). Within Jackson's constellation of black nationalist or Black Power groups, the Black United Front had an office at 1330 Lynch Street across from Jackson State, and, in the early 1970s, the Nation of Islam opened a Muhammad's Temple on 1228 Jones Street (MSSC, memorandum, November 9, 1972; Obadele 1987: 12).

Figure 8.7
Fatalities and damage by police shootings at Alexander Hall, Jackson State
College on front page of *Blue and White Flash* student newspaper, May 1971
Source: H.T. Sampson Library Special Collections/Archives, Jackson State University, 2010

Howard Spencer, a former SNCC activist and Jackson Human Rights Project director, and

Degecha X (Henry Isaiah Thompson), a Jackson State student activist, operated the independent

Black and Proud Liberation School at 801 Powell Drive in northwest Jackson's Georgetown

neighborhood ("Jackson: Repression and Response" 1969: 5; MSSC, memorandum, March 25, 1968, July 16, 1970: 1, August 10, 1970, June 23, 1971: 1; Obadele 1987: 30).

In addition to the PG-RNA's Lewis and Lynch Street sites, government workers held meetings, nation-building classes, and press conferences at numerous venues in the Farish Street area and black neighborhoods in west Jackson (Figures 8.8 and 8.9). They used Central United Methodist Church at 500 North Farish Street and Mt. Calvary Baptist Church at 901 Lynch Street for PCC meetings in 1970 and 1971 (MSSC, memorandum, August 5, 1970; Obadele 1987: 110-111). A New Afrikan prisoner of war support meeting took place on December 14, 1972, at the Greater Clark Street Baptist Church at 415 North Gallatin Street (New Africa Press International, press release, 1972). The National Black Political Assembly conducted a public hearing on the RNA-11 case March 17, 1973, at the Farish Street Baptist Church at 619 North Farish Street (National Black Assembly, report, 1973). The PG-RNA's International African Prisoner of War Solidarity Day demonstration in late March 1973 held events at the Greater Blair Street A.M.E. Zion Church at 1106 North Blair Street. Solidarity Day activities also took place at the Masonic Temple on Lynch Street and the Bird Cage, a commercial venue on Amite Street (MSSC, POW Solidarity Day agenda, 1973). In April 1972, the Delta Ministry shared its office space at 128 1/2 North Gallatin Street with Ahmed Obafemi, director of the Free the RNA-11 campaign, and his assistant, Malik Tarik Sonebeyatta (O. Brooks, personal communication, December 15, 2010; Obadele 1987: 171, MSSC, RNA-11 POW Committee document, 1972).

Preparing for the Reparations Election was one of the first major tasks for PG-RNA workers in Jackson that was vital to constructing NAIM's mobilization space in the city. The Reparations Election had three main objectives beginning with holding a vote on the demand for
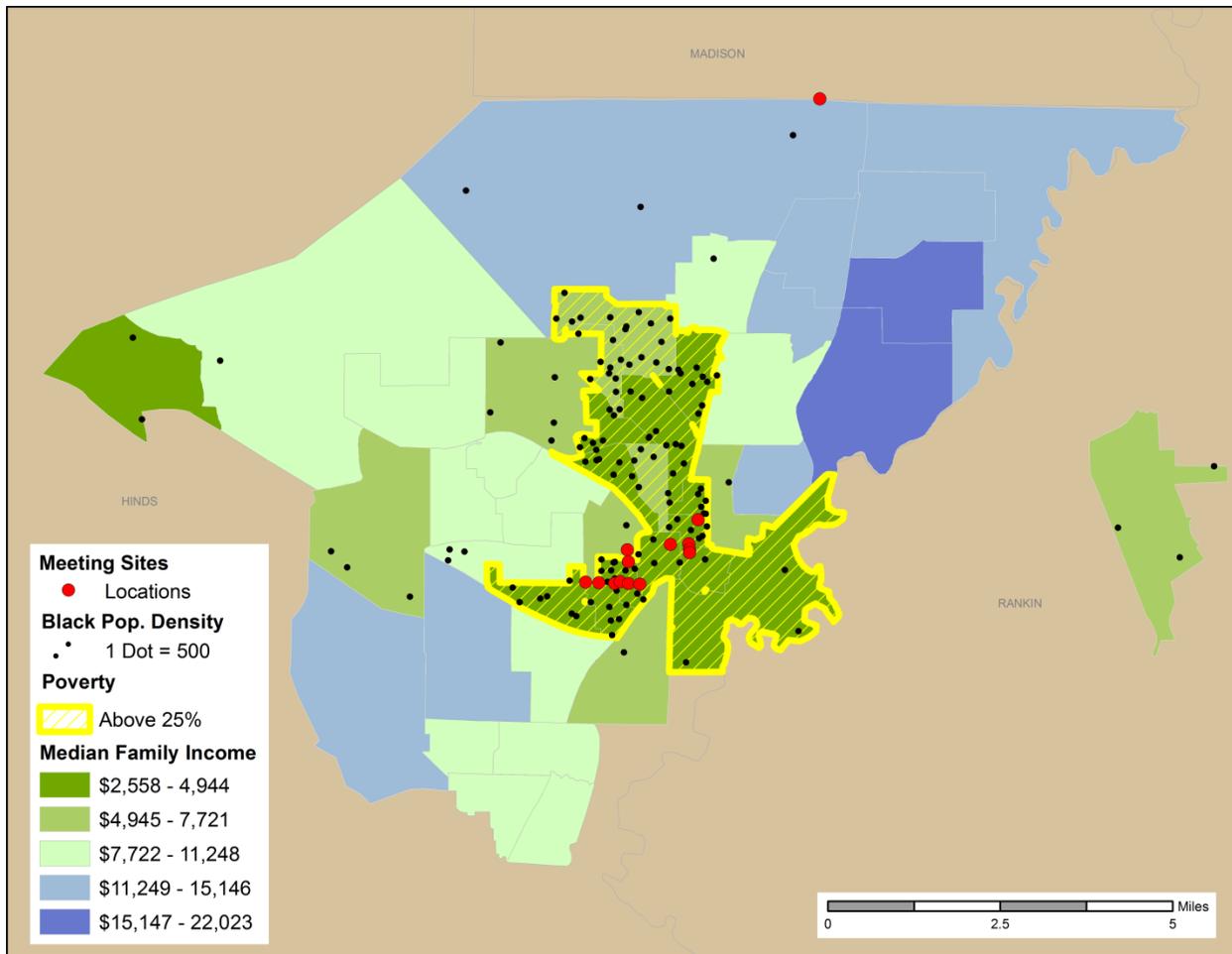
Figure 8.8[a]

Median family income, poverty, and black population density in 1970, and locations of PG-RNA common meeting sites in Jackson, Mississippi, from January 1968 to February 1971

Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of the Population, Census Tracts, Jackson (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Tables P-1, P-4.

[a]Since these tracts were not created until 1970, there are no comparative maps for earlier censuses. See: Census Tract Work in Progress and To Be Done. (1962, August 8). *Census Tract Memo*, 2, 2.

300 billion dollars in reparations for slavery from the U.S. government (Obadele 1987: 87).

Second, local residents were to elect representatives to form a black Congress of Reparations

Commissioners that would function as a "pre-liberation" legislature. The representatives would

provide New Afrikan nationalist leadership in the struggle for reparations struggle and planning

of New Communities in black-majority counties (Obadele 1987: 87). Lastly, the Reparations

Election would lay the groundwork for the black independence plebiscite, which would be
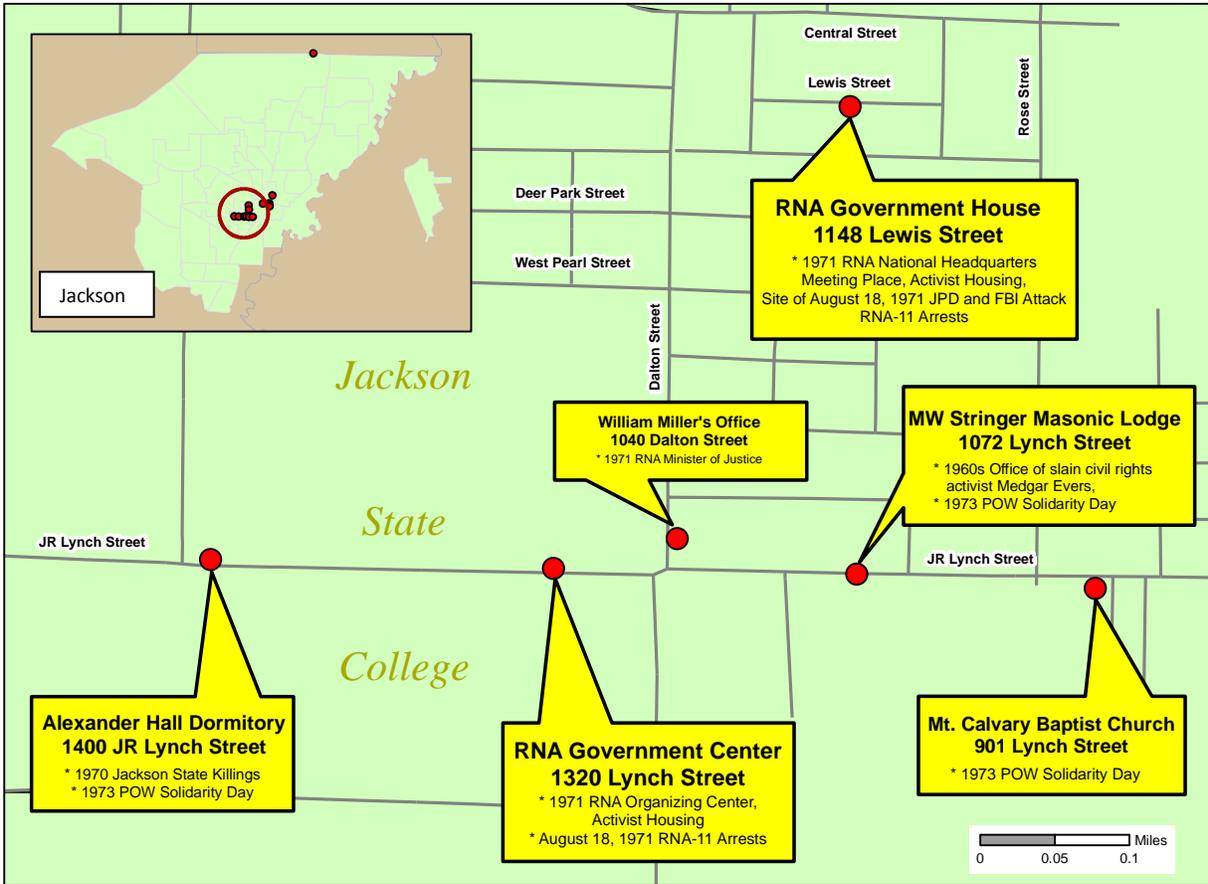
Figure 8.9
Locations of PG-RNA's key meeting sites in Jackson, Mississippi, from 1971 to 1973
Map: Paul Karolczyk, 2014
Sources: Various PG-RNA organizational texts, 1973 to 1973; Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Online, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 2012

conducted at a favorable moment following a period of mobilization, organization, and education (Obadele 1987: 87-88). Conceptually, the Reparations Election reflected the mock freedom votes organized by COFO in 1963 and the MFDP in 1964, which saw black voter turnouts of 83,000 and 68,000 respectively. These turnouts caught the attention of national political parties as they effectively demonstrated the potential of black voting power in local, state, and national elections (Dittmer 1995: 205; Walton 1972: 91, 104).

In the summer of 1971, PG-RNA workers developed a door-to-door canvassing strategy that divided Jackson into groups of 500 families to prepare for an election of reparations captains who would work to register their neighborhoods for the final Reparations Election. The

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worker's planned to have neighborhood captains elected before the July 1971 PCC meeting in

Jackson (Obadele 1987: 73, 91). Minister of Information Aisha Salim and Minister of Justice

Bill Miller organized the first elections of reparations captains, which took place in June at the

Mt. Calvary Baptist Church at 901 Lynch Street. The church's pastor was Reverend E. John

Cameron, a former MFDP congressional candidate in Mississippi's Democratic Party primary

elections in 1964 (Obadele 1987: 106, 108; Republic of New Afrika [RNA] 1972: 4; Walton

1972: 235). Local residents elected captains for Jackson State and two other neighborhoods.

Although the canvassing effort produced a low voting turnout, it nevertheless spread word of

NAIM across an area of west Jackson consisting of nearly 1,000 households (Obadele 1987:

108).

Another significant PG-RNA action in Jackson was its holding of a People's Court that

was expected to deflate the white press' distortions about Lofton Mason's decision to revoke his

land sale. New Afrikan nationalists also interpreted the court as an act of political self-

determination expressing blacks' desire for independence from white government. As New

Afrikans saw themselves outside the bounds of U.S. courts, they recognized the People's Court

as an "alternative institution" of justice under the PG-RNA's jurisdiction (Obadele 1987: 87,

111). The PG-RNA did not hold the court to test its power to enforce the court's decisions, but

to demonstrate the ability of blacks to make decisions by and for themselves independently of

whites (Obadele 1987: 111). In addition, the public's participation in the People's Court added

to the ways that black consent for New Afrikan political independence could be validated. These

forms of consent already included paying income taxes, becoming a PG-RNA worker, joining

the security force, and signing reparations and sovereignty petitions.

The People's Court took place on Monday, July 19, 1971, as the closing event of a PCC meeting that had begun on Friday (Obadele 1987: 109). A full audience packed the Mt. Calvary Baptist Church's auditorium to witness the court's proceedings. Local residents comprised the three judge panel, visiting Detroit Consul Chokwe Lumumba served as prosecutor, and the audience participated by asking questions and examining evidence (Obadele 1987: 111-112). Mason and his lawyer refused the PG-RNA's invitations to attend. In the end, the court found Mason guilty of defrauding the people by taking the provisional government's money without following through on the land sale. Supported by the audience's unanimous vote, the court ruled that Mason was to fulfill the original land sale, and failing to do so would result in automatic transfer of his land to the PG-RNA (Obadele 1987: 112-113). The next day Imari Obadele and two judges held a press conference announcing the court's decision and the PG-RNA's next steps for resolving the issue. However, Obadele played into the hands of NAIM's adversaries by vowing that if Mason refused to honor the ruling, then "at the moment of our choosing, we shall return to El Malik in force and anybody, the Mississippi National Guard or anyone else, who gets in our way will be utterly destroyed" (Smith 1971: 22). Responding through the local press, which described the People's Court as a "kangaroo court," Mason threatened to sue the PG-RNA for libel and slander (Smith 1971: 1). While Obadele maintained his assertion a year later, the return to El Malik would never come to pass (Obadele 1975: 117). All the same, New Afrikan nationalists interpreted their struggle with Mason, the press, and local authorities on the one hand, and the local support given to PG-RNA institutions such as the People's Court on the other, as proof that the "Jackson-Delta area [was] a zone of 'Disputed Sovereignty,'" where the black population was steadily approaching the an opportune moment to vote in an independence plebiscite (RNA 1971: 4).

The PG-RNA's initial political program in Jackson also called for additional land purchases. In June 1971, as the conflict with Lofton Mason went unresolved, the PG-RNA reported purchasing four acres from Edward Scott, a black farmer and civil rights activist who was president of the Leflore County Cooperative (Obadele 1975: 120; 1987: 108-109). Extending NAIM's mobilization space beyond Jackson, Scott's land was located in black-majority Leflore County in the Mississippi Delta between the rural village of Minter City and the town of Drew in neighboring Sunflower County (MSSC, memorandum, February 29, 1972; Obadele 1987: 108-109). Leflore and Sunflower Counties were both within the expanse of black-majority counties comprising the Republic of New Afrika's Kush District. In late May 1971, RNA cadre traveled to the Sunflower County towns of Ruleville and Drew, and the neighboring Bolivar County towns of Cleveland and Mound Bayou (Obadele 1987: 96-98). There they met with civil rights leaders such as Fannie Lou Hamer, Cleve McDowell, and Milburn J. Crowe, an activist from of Mound Bayou (Obadele 1987: 96-98). In Drew, the cadres attended the funeral of Joetha Collier, an 18 year-old African American woman who was killed by three white men during a drive-by shooting on May 25 while she celebrated her high school graduation with friends (Klopfer 2008; Obadele 1987: 96, 99).

Fundraising activities also remained a priority for PG-RNA workers in Jackson. They continued to raise money to purchase land by selling land certificates. The PG-RNA sold three types of land certificates in 1971: $100 Malcolm X, $50 Marcus Garvey, and $25 Martin Delaney Land Certificates (MSSC, narrative enforcement report, July 9, 1971b). By naming the land certificates after venerable black nationalist leaders of the past, New Afrikan nationalists signified how they identified their movement as the legitimate torchbearer of black nationalist struggle in the United States. PG-RNA workers also sold copies of the *New African* newspaper

for 25 cents each or through six dollar annual subscriptions (MSSC, narrative enforcement report, July 9, 1971c). The PG-RNA also sold five dollar memberships to the Society for the Development of New Communities, which was created to function as the black national bank of the Republic of New Afrika. The PG-RNA also intended the bank to hold money won by its reparations struggle. It would use the money to fund land purchases and the construction of New Communities in an effort putting the Anti-Depression Program into motion (RNA 1971: 8). Workers also raised funds by giving nation-building classes in private homes and seeking contributions to the national bank (MSSC, narrative enforcement report, July 9, 1971a).

The Destruction of NAIM's Mobilization Space

As a major part of NAIM's representational space of black radicalism, the PG-RNA constructed its physical spaces of mobilization in Detroit and Jackson through the dialectic of conceived space and lived space. The dominant social, political, and economic forces underlying capitalist-driven conceived space generated and reproduced everyday oppression that impacted social reproduction in the black neighborhoods where NAIM's mobilization took place. On behalf of these forces, local, state, and federal policing agencies acted together to mount a stunning blow against the New Afrikan revolution and the socio-political space it was creating. NAIM's near-destruction fell within the general pattern of political repression that the state and racist vigilante groups waged against the civil rights and Black Power movements. To stifle black radical political movements and their representational spaces, the state used an arsenal of covert and overt counter-tactics such as wiretapping, malicious communications, beatings, mass arrests, bombings, and assassinations (Potash 2007).

The FBI's notorious and illegal Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) policed black radical politics at the national scale (Obadele 1987: 228-233; Potash 2007). State sovereignty commissions created by southern state governments gathered intelligence at the

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individual state scale (Katagiri 2007). Formed in 1956, the Mississippi State Sovereignty

Commission (MSSC) spied on civil rights and Black Power organizations in Mississippi. City

police departments set up anti-communist "Red Squads" to infiltrate a wide range of political

organizations at the local scale (Davenport 2005: 128-129; Donner 1990). The Ku Klux Klan

and White Citizens' Council used acts of domestic terrorism to repress black political groups

(Dittmer 1995: 45, 217; Potash 2007: 90). The national and local press bolstered repression of

black radical politics by inciting white paranoia and fear through sensationalized news stories

and images of militant armed Black Panthers (Lumumba 1981: 73; Obadele 1975: 108-109, 116-

117). Politicians capitalized on the repression of black movements through press conferences

and photograph opportunities as a way to appeal to the constituents' social conservatism

(Obadele 1987: 146-148). Their public displays of support for repressive actions that slowed the

pace of social change were expected to help them win elections.

NAIM became a prime target of political repression because it formed part of the Black

Power movement. Movement founders, especially those closely associated with Malcolm X and

Robert F. Williams, and those who belonged to earlier groups such as RAM, became targets of

state surveillance long before the 1968 National Black Government Conference in Detroit. As a

result, state repression of NAIM was already in full swing when the PG-RNA was formed.

Detroit police department "Red Squad" files released through the Freedom of Information Act

and as a result of numerous lawsuits, reveal that police informants were present at the founding

conference in 1968 and thereafter regularly attended public PG-RNA consulate meetings

(Davenport 2005: 129). Infiltrators embedded themselves in the Detroit consulate and the Black

Legion. Police routinely conducted around-the-clock surveillance of PG-RNA consulate

meeting sites and worker residences in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Released FBI documents

show that the agency boasted about sending negative information to the media to intensify the

1969 dispute between Gaidi and Imari Obadele (Lumumba 1981: 80).

An overlooked tactic within the state's arsenal of black political repression was the act of

destroying spaces of mobilization. My review of Detroit "Red Squad" files, MSSC documents,

and PG-RNA texts, reveals that state-led counteractions exploited the PG-RNA's security

vulnerabilities and weak financial standing to directly block and scale down NAIM's spatial

expansion. Such expansion was tenuous to begin with as the PG-RNA's stretched operating

budget made it difficult to buy or rent buildings or land on a permanent basis. As a result, the

places comprising the movement's mobilization space were mostly temporary, which caused

frequent relocation of meetings and hindered organizing. State agencies reduced the control that

black radical groups had over space by focusing on the tenant-landlord relationship. The 1975

investigations of the U.S. Senate's Church Committee revealed this strategy when it

demonstrated the illegality of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations. The Church Committee

reported that FBI agents in Indianapolis and San Francisco pressured landlords to evict Black

Panther members and offices from their buildings, a practice that was reflected in the how the

FBI plied Lofton Mason to withdraw his land sale to the PG-RNA ("FBI's Covert Action Plan"

1976: 200). Landlords also became reluctant to rent or allow use of their buildings to political

groups out of fear that raids or other violent action might destroy their properties.

The press also played a key role in instigating the state's repression of NAIM's

mobilization space. In October 1968, Victor Riesel, a syndicated anti-communist newspaper

columnist, described PG-RNA Minister of Health and Welfare Queen Mother Moore as a

"violent extremist" who was misusing federal education funds to indoctrinate busloads of

Harlem school children at her Mount Addis Ababa campsite in rural Parkville, New York (Riesel

1968: 4). Riesel identified Moore's campsite as the RNA's eastern headquarters, and, writing in the style of cold war paranoia, described the RNA itself as a communist-backed group plotting a military takeover of the United States (Riesel 1968: 4). Commentators such as Riesel served to block NAIM's growth by undermining the authenticity of New Afrikan nationalist politics in a North American context. As discussed earlier, the local white press in Jackson, Mississippi, had a major part in obstructing PG-RNA actions in Hinds County.

New Bethel Incident

The New Bethel Incident stands out among the most overt police counteractions against PG-RNA's mobilization space in Detroit. The PG-RNA scheduled to hold its first year anniversary celebration at several venues in Detroit from March 28 to March 30, 1969 (DPD, memorandum, March, 27, 1969: 1). The events on March 29 concluded at the New Bethel Baptist Church at 8430 Linwood Street, which was located three blocks west of the 1967 Detroit Rebellion's hardest hit area (Figure 8.10). The church's pastor was Reverend C.L. Franklin, a well-respected community leader who was the father of singer Aretha Franklin (Lumumba 1981: 73; Obadele 1987: 36). As the event ended around midnight, two Polish American rookie policemen and a group of Black Legionnaires exchanged gunfire outside the church (Obadele 1987: 36). While one policeman lay dead, the other, wounded, called for backup. Almost instantaneously, a swarm of more than 40 patrol cars converged on the church to suggest that the police calculated and provoked the shootout to set off the incident ("RNA President Henry" 1969: 29). As policemen armed with rifles and shotguns rushed to the church's entrance, Black Legionnaires warned the people inside to lie down under the pews (Ibidun 1969: 1; Woodford 1969: 11). Policemen wearing bulletproof vests and steel helmets stormed into the church and launched an 800-round barrage of gunfire that lasted up to 45 minutes (Obadele

Figure 8.10
New Bethel Baptist Church at 8430 Linwood Street, Detroit, Michigan, circa 1969
Source: *Detroit News* newspaper, 1969

1987: 36). Police shot Hazel Gibbs in the elbow, Abdul Babu in the back, James Dawkins twice

at point blank range, and clubbed and shot Larrie Edwards twice at close range (Woodford 1969:

11). Although these men and women sustained serious wounds, none died.

 After they stopped shooting, the police began beating people while shouting racial taunts

(Ibidun 1969: 5). Minister of Culture Oseijeman Adefunmi's wife sustained a broken ankle

when a policeman smashed it with his rifle butt (Ibidun 1969: 5; Woodford 1969: 11). Police

also severely beat a number of Black Legionnaires (Obadele 1987: 36). These beatings were

followed by the mass arrest of 142 people, including 40 women and several children (Bavarkis

1969b: 8; Lumumba 1981: 72-73). African American Judge George W. Crockett, Jr. released all

but two people the next morning, an act that the enraged Detroit Police Officer's Association

immediately protested (Bavarkis 1969a: 5, 1959b: 8). A few days later, police arrested Black

Legionnaires Alfred 2x Hibitt, Rafael Viera, and Clarence "Chaka" Fuller on murder charges,

but they too were soon acquitted (Lumumba 1981: 73). However, 27-year-old Fuller was

stabbed to death under mysterious circumstances later that year, following months of daily police

harassment (Lumumba 1981: 73, 80). While the PG-RNA interpreted the New Bethel Incident

as an assassination attempt on First Vice President Gaidi Obadele, Detroit Mayor Jerome

Cavanaugh justified it as an appropriate response to the "unprovoked and senseless crime" of

shooting at policemen (Bavarkis 1969a: 5). Detroit Police Chief Johannes Spreen defended the

police action stating that the officers performed their duties in the "only manner open" to them

(Bavarkis 1969a: 5; Lumumba 1981: 72; Obadele 1987: 36).

Counteraction and the RNA-11 in Jackson

Sate-led political repression also hit NAIM's space of mobilization in Jackson. Police

efforts to rout the movement in Mississippi began even before tensions arose in Bolton and

Brownsville. Released MSSC documents indicate that state and local police agencies had been

monitoring the movement since the late 1960s. In December 1970, unknown vigilantes

firebombed the west Jackson home of Defense Minister Jomo Kenyatta (Obadele 1987: 39; RNA

1972: 3). Kenyatta escaped, along with his wife and two children, but the flames destroyed their

frame house ("Black Group Says Cops Out to Break Up Unit" 1970: 6). The voices of certain

black leaders in Mississippi opposed to NAIM bolstered the state's suppression of the

movement. Two of these leaders were Charles Evers, brother of slain activist Medgar Evers, and

Percy Greene, editor of the *Jackson Advocate* newspaper. Becoming mayor of Fayette in 1969,

Evers' was the first African American since Reconstruction to be elected as mayor of a

previously white-run Mississippi town (Walton 1972: 173). At the time of the PG-RNA's

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conflict with Lofton Mason, Evers was running as an NAACP-backed gubernatorial candidate.

He publicly opposed the PG-RNA by backing Mason (Dittmer 1995: 177-178; "Evers Hits RNA

Plan, Backs Mason" 1971: 1A; Smith 1971: 22). Evers' press statements painted Mason as a

victim of the PG-RNA, which he denounced as a tyrannical group "mistreating black folks"

(Smith 1971: 22). The *Jackson Daily News* quoted Evers as saying, "I'd rather be dead and in

hell three times before I'd let them take what a poor old man has worked so hard for so many

years to get" (Smith 1971: 22). Evers also took the opportunity to criticize Attorney General

A.F. Summer, who was to be up for reelection in 1971, for taking an "insincere" interest in

defending Mason only to appease whites who wanted to see NAIM crushed (Smith 1971: 22).

He supported his claim by pointing out Summer's indifference to a recent incident in which

Mississippi state police beat several blacks at a Bolton roadblock (Smith 1971: 22).

Percy Greene was the controversial owner and editor of the *Jackson Advocate*,

Mississippi's largest African American newspaper. As an early voting rights activist, Greene led

President Harry Truman's 1948 reelection campaign in Mississippi's black community, served as

president of the Mississippi State Democratic Association, and was active in the NAACP

(Dittmer 1995: 27-28). Becoming a political opportunist, Greene later opposed the Civil Rights

Movement and built alliances with white racists to stop desegregation of schools and public

facilities (Dittmer 1995: 74). By the late 1950s, Greene had become a paid MSSC informant

(Dittmer 1995: 38, 74). As the trials of the RNA-11 were underway in 1972, Greene

editorialized in the *Jackson Advocate* that,

> The Republic of New Africa is the outgrowth of the Communist Party effort to use the
> Negro as the opening wedge for revolution in this country, and embodies self-
> determination, separation of minorities, which the Communist Party used to overthrow,
> conquer and enslave the nation of Eastern Europe. It is totally and absolutely foolish,
> illogical, and unreasonable, to think that a group of Negroes, or any other kind of group,

is going to be allowed to set up an independent nation within the boundaries of the United States. ("New Africa-Old Africa" 1972: 4)

Greene's accusation of NAIM being an "outgrowth" of Communist Party efforts echoed similar charges that the white press had been making ("Communists Plan a Black Soviet Empire in Dixie"1968: 10). By emphasizing associations with already media-demonized revolutionary movements and socialist nations, statements such as Greene's incited reaction against NAIM by making the movement appear anti-American. In this way, Greene and Evers joined conservative white nationalists in framing NAIM as a social menace whose annihilation was an appropriate task for the state.

The joint FBI and Jackson Police Department attack on the RNA's Presidential Residence and Government House on 1148 Lewis Street was the most direct and devastating state-led offensive against the PG-RNA's mobilization space in Jackson and to NAIM as a whole. In June 1971, FBI agents supervised by agent George Holder began plotting their attack (Obadele 1987: 93, 130-131). FBI agents recruited an informant named Thomas Spells in Milwaukee who they expected would infiltrate the Jackson cadre after traveling to Mississippi for a PCC meeting scheduled for July 15 (Lumumba 1981: 76; Obadele 1974: 43, 1987: 93). Code-named "Snoopy," Spells told FBI agents that a New Afrikan named Sylee (Jerry Steiner) was planning to travel from Milwaukee to Jackson to evade arrest for armed robbery and murder in Michigan. Sylee conveyed to Spells that he would stay at the Lewis Street house with Jackson cadre who were unaware of his crimes (Lumumba 1981: 81; Obadele 1974: 34, 74, 1987: 93). Spells also told agents that PG-RNA ministers had given orders to shoot any policeman who came to the house. Rather than capturing Sylee in Milwaukee, the FBI deliberately allowed him to flee to Jackson so they could use his fugitive status to obtain a federal arrest warrant and to create an opportunity to attack the PG-RNA headquarters where Sylee planned to hide

(Lumumba 1981: 76, 81; Obadele 1974: 34, 1987: 93, 215-216). Under Chief Lavell Tullos'

command, the Jackson Police Department justified its involvement in the attack using the rickety

claim that it was searching for three New Afrikans wanted on 100-dollar misdemeanor warrants.

Although Spells and Sylee left together from Milwaukee in July, the former had returned several

weeks before the FBI obtained Sylee's arrest warrant in August (Obadele 1987: 130, 216). This

fact would later be important for the RNA-11's defense.

On August 18 at 6:30am, a force of 28 heavily armed and riot-equipped FBI agents and

Jackson policemen descended upon the PG-RNA's Lewis Street headquarters (Obadele 1974:

35; 1987: 139). Seven workers were inside the house, six of which were asleep. A worker on

guard duty saw the attackers approach and awakened the others who then scrambled to hide in a

narrow tunnel dug beneath the house. Although inaudible from inside the house, an agent with a

bullhorn hastily announced from the street that the occupants had 75 seconds to leave the

building. As the warning expired, agents and police sprayed the house with teargas rockets,

buckshot, and bullets. Over 300 bullets pierced the house from all sides. An armored combat

vehicle arrived firing more teargas. The flood of gunfire downed an FBI agent and two

policemen. William Skinner, a Jackson police detective, died of his wounds the following day

(Lumumba 1981: 74-75; Obadele 1974: 35, 1987: 139-141).

As the smoke cleared, the seven unharmed PG-RNA workers emerged from the tunnel

(Obadele 1974: 35, 1987: 142). The workers were: First Vice President Hekima Ana and his

wife Tamu Sana (Ann Lockhart), Offogga Quddus and his four months pregnant wife Njeri,

Karim Njabafudi, Addis Ababa (Dennis Shillingsford), and Chumaimari Askadi (Lumumba

1981: 75-6; Obadele 1974: 32, 1987: 162). However, the so-called fugitive Sylee was not among

them, having left the house with several other people the previous night. Imari Obadele, another

of the FBI's targets, was also absent, as were two of the three workers Jackson police wanted on misdemeanor warrants (Obadele 1974: 35, 1987: 134, 143). While the Lewis Street house was under attack, a second 12-member force of agents and police swarmed the PG-RNA Government Center at 1320 Lynch Street. With aroused neighbors watching from their yards, Imari Obadele emerged from the building before any hostile action could begin (Lumumba 1975: 74; Obadele 1974: 35, 1987: 135-137). Following him were Minister of Information Aisha Salim, Jackson Minister of Defense Tawwab Nkrumah, and government worker Spade de Mau Mau (S.L. Alexander). Police arrested all of the PG-RNA workers, and additionally beat some of them. Those arrested at Lewis Street were later shackled together and paraded half-dressed through downtown Jackson (Figure 8.11) (Lumumba 1981: 75; Obadele 1974: 134-137; 1987: 142-143).

The PG-RNA lost its Lewis Street headquarters and the arrested workers faced serious felony charges. Becoming known as the RNA-11, the workers faced state charges of "murder, assault, possession of stolen weapons, and waging war against the state of Mississippi" (Lumumba 1981: 75; Obadele 1987: 145). Federal charges included "conspiracy to assault federal officers, assault, and conspiracy to possess a machine gun" (Lumumba 1981: 75). During the RNA-11's initiatory imprisonment at Mississippi's Parchman Farm Prison, police were busy arresting PG-RNA workers in other places. On September 3, 1971, Detroit police raided the PG-RNA's office at 19121 Pinehurst Street on Detroit's West Side. Later the same day, Michigan State Police arrested Acting Vice-President Chokwe Lumumba and three others including Imari Obadele's 15-year-old son, Imari Obadele II (Richard B. Henry, Jr.). While Lumumba was soon released without charge, Imari Obadele II eventually received a four-year prison sentence for involvement in an armed robbery of a suspected drug dealer that ended in a

policeman's death (Lumumba 1981: 77; Obadele II 2005: 113; PG-RNA document 1971; "Repression of the RNA" 1971: 57; "Youth, 15, Dad Held in Police Deaths" 1971: 1).

In January 1972, FBI agents arrested PG-RNA Special Minister to the United Nations Kwablah Mthawabu in New Orleans. He was ultimately sentenced to a 50 year term on fabricated charges of conspiring to rob a white man in rural Waterproof, Louisiana (Lumumba 1981: 77; Obadele 1987: 170). On July 12, 1972, Secret Service agents arrested Ahmed Obafemi and Malik Tarik Sonebeyatta, RNA-11 freedom campaign activists from Jackson, while they lobbied delegates at the Democratic National Convention in Miami. The activists received five year federal prison sentences on spurious gun possession charges (Lumumba 1981: 78; Obadele 1987: 183-184). Jackson police continued to apprehend workers who continued to work at 1320 Lynch Street, such as a group from Grand Rapids and Detroit who were arrested for gun, drug, and traffic violations (Lumumba 1981: 77; Obadele 1987: 163-164). On November 24, 1972, FBI agents and Jackson police arrested Deputy Minister of Defense Kamau Kambui (Oliver Taylor), his wife Anika (Georgia Fields), and three-year-old son Yamra, on Lynch Street stopping them as they drove to the PG-RNA office. Police also ransacked and damaged the family's house. Kambui was handed a five-year federal sentence for not signing his birth name on a gun sale receipt. (Lumumba 1981: 77; New Africa Press International, press release, 1972; Obadele 1987: 170, 195)

By October 1971, the state's counteractions had effectively shut down the PG-RNA's political program and mobilization space in Jackson (Obadele 1987: 163). State, county, and local politicians such as Attorney General A.F. Summer and Hinds County Prosecutor Jack Travis, held press conferences exploiting the attack to make headway in the Democratic primary election on August 24. U.S. Senator James Eastland, a cotton plantation owner and infamous

Figure 8.11
RNA-11 members chained and paraded in downtown Jackson, August 1971
Source: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 2010

opponent of civil rights, also used the attack to advance his reelection campaign the following year (Obadele 1987: 110, 113, 122, 146-147). Tried before white judges and mostly white juries, the RNA-11's state trials resulted in life sentences for Hekima Ana, Offogga Quddus, and Karim Njabafudi. Addis Ababa received two concurrent ten-year sentences. The others saw their releases sooner: Aisha Salim, Tawwab Nkrumah, and Spade de Mau Mau in early October 1971, Njeri Quddus in late October 1971, Sana in May 1972, Askadi in August 1972, and Obadele in April 1973 (Lumumba 1981: 75; Obadele 1987: 162-163, 174, 180, 185, 198, 200, 210).

However, subsequent federal trials, which were moved to mostly white Biloxi on the Gulf Coast, and ended on September 11, 1973, sentenced Obadele, Hekima Ana, and Addis Ababa to 17 years, Offogga Quddus, 22 years, Askadi, 5 years, and Njeri Quddus and Tamu Sana, 3 years. The courts directed Ana, Ababa, and Offogga Quddus to serve their federal sentences consecutively with their state terms (Lumumba 1981: 76; Obadele 1987: 211, 221). A persistent legal defense secured the release of all RNA-11 by 1981, except for Tawwab Nkrumah who received a three-year sentence after a nine-year run as a fugitive (Lumumba 1981: 76). The Lewis Street attack and the subsequent RNA-11 trials closed a chapter in NAIM's early history and struck a major blow against the movement's construction of a representational space of black radicalism. The New Afrikan struggle would now shift focus towards the liberation of Black Power's political prisoners and rebuilding the movement.

CHAPTER 9
NEW AFRIKAN DISCOURSE AND PLACE-MAKING

NAIM's Collective Action Place-Frames

Examining NAIM's discursive constructions of space, place, and scalar politics brings the movement's representational space of black radicalism into focus. As was discussed in Chapter 3, I use a method of discourse analysis that follows the collective action place-frame analysis approach developed by urban geographer Deborah Martin. Martin's approach is a place-centered adaptation of the social movement collective action frame concept that sociologists David Snow and Robert Benford forwarded in the 1980s (Larsen 2004: 30, 2008: 174; Martin 2003: 736; Snow and Benford 1988, 1992). Snow and Benford's concepts of motivation, diagnostic, and prognostic collective action frames respectively define the activist community and urge action, indicate problems and assign blame, and propose solutions and courses of action (Martin 2003: 736). Martin's approach focuses on how place and scale are implicated in such frames to arrive at a conceptual heuristic of collective action place-frames (Martin 2003: 736). According to Martin, "place-based collective action involves definitions of problems, goals, and strategies with explicit reference and attention to the site and subject of the activism through place-frames" (Martin 2003: 747). She concludes that place-framing discourse analysis specifies "how place informs social action, and provides a conceptual tool for imagining and understanding alternative scales and forms of place-based organizing" (Martin 2003: 747).

Martin's approach of place-frame discourse analysis works well here as an analytical method for learning how place-making and scalar politics constituted fundamental aspects of NAIM's representational space of black radicalism. Although Martin applied place-frame analysis to local-scale neighborhood organizations in St. Paul, Minnesota, she indicated that the method can be used to learn how activists use place-framing to "constitute places and polities at

a number of spatial scales" (Martin 2003: 730-731). This section uses place-frame analysis to examine NAIM's place-frame discourse at the national scale of its mobilization efforts. While Martin demonstrated that neighborhood-level place-frames subsumed local differences to build local-scale collective action, NAIM's place-frames subsumed city-level and regional differences to mobilize collective action at the national-scale of black communities across the United States (Martin 2003: 731, 746). To recruit and unite political actors from around the country, the PG-RNA identified everyday problems affecting individual black neighborhoods in different cities and showed that they were commonly experienced across all of black America. This was done to position the movement's nationalist program as a universal solution to the problems black society faced as a whole.

NAIM's place-framing discourses are situated within the broader discourses of Black Power and modern black nationalism. As discussed in chapters 5 and 6, NAIM represented a recent link in a chain of twentieth century black nationalist movements calling for territorial independence in the United States. The Republic of New Afrika's founding in 1968 placed New Afrikan nationalist discourse within the historical context of the Black Power era, when black nationalist orientations spanned from cultural to revolutionary nationalism. During the Black Power era, two main sources generated black nationalist discourse: academics and "para-intellectuals" (Robinson 2001: 70). Academics defined and discussed black nationalism from the standpoints of their fields of training in history, sociology, economics, and political science. They included figures such as political scientist Charles V. Hamilton, economist Robert S. Browne, historians Harold Cruse and John H. Bracey, Jr., and sociologists Alphonso Pinkney and Raymond L. Hall. The "para-intellectuals," as Robinson calls them, consisted of theorists and writers with non-academic backgrounds who often formed their ideas as nationalist activists

and organizers (Robinson 2001: 70). They included figures such as Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, Robert F. Williams, Stokely Carmichael, Huey P. Newton, Max Stanford, Maulana Karenga, and Amiri Baraka.

Influenced by the political ideas, debates, and struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, Black Power academics and para-intellectuals produced a black nationalist discourse through books, newspapers, magazine and journal articles, press conferences, pamphlets, speeches, novels, poetry, plays, films, visual art, song lyrics, and radio and television broadcasts (Robinson 2001: 70). While joined together in the overall production of black nationalist discourse, academics and para-intellectuals made their contributions in different ways. As a result of the power and status attributed to social science within the paradigm of Western scholarship, academic studies legitimized black nationalism as being on par with other forms of nationalism, especially with national liberation movements fighting white-dominated colonial regimes in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Robinson 2001: 71). Academic studies often demonstrated that black nationalism had historical traditions, founding fathers, and founding documents, features popularly accepted as comprising the foundations of nationalism (Robinson 2001: 76-77).

Para-intellectuals gave black nationalist discourse an intertextuality that entwined political rhetoric with the validating authority of scientific language and research. To accomplish this, they cited the work of social scientists or directly collaborated with them as Stokely Carmichael did with Charles V. Hamilton in their foundational book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (1967). However, as a result of differences in class background and orientation, the para-intellectuals inspired black nationalist discourse among the black lower-class masses more effectively than their counterparts in academia (Robinson 2001: 71). After the black urban rebellions of the mid-1960s, para-intellectuals "came to represent an

authentic voice of the black masses, and an alternative vision to that of the middle-class civil rights leadership" (Robinson 2001: 71). Several themes in black nationalist discourse stood out by their frequent repetition. These included advocating black national independence over racial integration, placing black nationalism within a primordial paradigm that described the black nation as having origins in the distant past, framing the black population as an internal colony within the United States, and demonstrating the distinctiveness of black culture and the need for cultural revolution (Robinson 2001: 71-86). Commonly demonstrating a masculinist perspective, the creators of black nationalist discourse largely shaped it to appeal to young males in the black inner cities of the North (Robinson 2002: 71).

New Afrikan nationalist discourse possessed many of the aforementioned features. PG-RNA officers such as Robert F. Williams, Gaidi and Imari Obadele, Queen Mother Audley Moore, and Oseijeman Adefunmi were among those leaders who were foundational to generating New Afrikan nationalist discourse. They were not academics, but widely known veteran political activists. In addition to writings and speeches, New Afrikan discourse involved other kinds of productions including political rituals, protest events, and an internationalist African-centered cultural politics that rejected Western lifestyles. However, as language often coincided with such discursive practices and served as the prevalent form of communicating ideas, NAIM's written and spoken texts represented the most widely disseminated and visible features of New Afrikan discourse. The core of such texts included Imari Obadele's foundational writings; articles and advertisements in NAIM newspapers such as the *New African*, *Take the Land*, *Break the Chains*, and *Free the Land*; articles in journals such as *Black Scholar* and *Black World*; speeches given at conventions, rallies and demonstrations; press conferences; radio interviews; television appearances, and photocopied booklets, pamphlets, and leaflets.

Such texts also included the deliberate nationalist utterances quoted in popular African American newspapers and magazines.

To conduct an analysis of NAIM's place-framing discourses, I selected written materials from PG-RNA organizational texts that were created from 1968 to 1972. I acquired the texts mainly through archival research or directly from NAIM activists during fieldwork. National PG-RNA officers and local consulate staff created these texts, which include Imari Obadele's *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* (1968), the New African Declaration of Independence, the New Afrikan Creed, articles in the *New African* newspaper, and a variety of booklets, pamphlets, flyers and advertisements. I chose these materials because they were instrumental in constructing NAIM's collective identity and introducing the movement to the wider public. Activists originally distributed these documents at national conventions and in cities having active PG-RNA consulates. The documents educated the public about New Afrikan nationalism, facilitated recruitment into the movement, and invited participation in an array of PG-RNA-sponsored events. Totaling around 250 pages, I read the texts several times and coded them for words, statements, and themes pertaining to the PG-RNA's organizing goals, its views on black America's socio-economic and political problems, and its vision for solving those problems through nation-building programs such as the Anti-Depression Program and the construction of New Communities. The coded statements were then classified into separate tables for motivation, diagnostic, and prognostic place-frame discourses.

Motivation Place-Frames

This analysis of NAIM's collective action place-frames begins with defining motivation place-frames and examining how the PG-RNA deployed them. Motivation place-frames are utterances that define the movement and its current and potential members, and urge people to

action (Martin 2003: 736). Effective motivation place-frames establish a feeling of shared values between the movement and the people it seeks to mobilize (Martin 2003: 736). This effect is called "frame resonance" and it is created when activist reference social, political, or economic features of place that might be widely recognizable by their audience of potential supporters (Martin 2003: 736). I created two tables, each containing 16 textual passages, to compare the PG-RNA's motivation frames and motivation place-frames (Tables 9.1 and 9.2).

Several common themes were extracted from both tables and listed a separate table (Table 9.3). I found that the most prominent theme across the PG-RNA's motivation frames and motivation place-frames is that political action is a unified collective responsibility. This is indicated by a high frequency of the words such as "we," "our," "all," and "us." The theme of unified collective responsibility is consistent with the values of the New African Creed, which states, "I believe in the community as more important than the individual" (Figure 6.2). Statements making this clear include: "we, the masses," "the people as a whole," "we will end oppression and make a better life for all of us," "get it together," and "we must come together" ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4; New African newspaper, 1968; New African Press International, press release, 1972). In these statements, the PG-RNA defines the geographical and cultural identities of the current and potential collective actors in NAIM as "black people in America" who are "an African people" (Obadele 1968: 59; PG-RNA, flyer, 1969).

The PG-RNA's texts also make clear the theme that collective action is urgently needed. Statements conveying this are "we cannot wait, indeed we will not wait," "the time for palliatives is past, the time has come for fundamental and far reaching change," "now there is a better way," "it comes time that we must come together," "with all speed," "in a matter of

Table 9.1
PG-RNA's motivation frames, 1968-1972

1. Black people in America have sufficient skills within our own ranks to run virtually every industrial and research facility necessary (Obadele 1968: 59).

2. This means that we cannot wait, indeed we will not wait, for the creation of a black middle-class of business men through which, by a trickle down process we, the masses, will free ourselves of the curse of want, of deprivation, of disease and poverty ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4).

3. Get it together (New African, August, 1968).

4. Now there is a better way . . . Join the Black Legion . . . Attend War College, and train to defend the lives and property of citizens of the Republic of New Africa (PG-RNA, Black Legion recruiting advertisement, 1969).

5. We can solve our problems only through being a separate, independent nation with our own government (PG-RNA, pamphlet, early 1970s).

6. We are an African people (PG-RNA, flyer, 1969).

7. Say Brothers and Sisters, can you spare 6 months to "Do Our Thing" (PG-RNA, Freedom Corps recruitment flyer, 1969).

8. We suffer oppression because we lack power. To gain power we must establish an independent nation. Through an independent nation we will end oppression and make a better life for all of us (PG-RNA, pamphlet, late 1960s).

9. A nation must have three things: 1) People with the same culture (that means, the same way of living), the same history, and (usually) the same language; 2) People living together on the same land, and 3) People accepting the same government, their own government. We have all three (Republic of New Afrika [RNA] 1971, 1).

10. It comes time that we must come together and stop intolerable crimes against families in our community, by men who pose as law officers as they foster lawlessness (New African Press International, press release, 1972).

11. You can fight back. You can help stop the injustice against the RNA, which is really an injustice against all black people (PG-RNA, RNA-11 flyer, 1972).

12. The United States Government has ATTACKED the Republic of New Africa again (PG-RNA, Miami flier, 1972).

13. We can't stop them from lying on us . . . But . . . We can and will resist their force (PG-RNA, Miami flyer, 1972).

14. A vote for either Party's candidate is a vote for CAPITALISM. CAPITALISM is THE PROBLEM!!! Don't vote for the problem (PG-RNA, Miami flyer, 1972).

15. The answer to the problem is inherent in the problem . . . It is simply that if black life –now a burden on the American nation- is to change qualitatively for the better, then the black man, the African in America must have power. His problem is powerlessness. Its solution is power. The time for palliatives is past. The time has come for fundamental and far-reaching change (Obadele 1975: 98 Anti-Depression Program).

16. Success requires careful planning, hard work, organized applied genius and sanctuary from war and adverse acts of God (Obadele 1975: 105 Anti-Depression Program).

Table 9.2
PG-RNA's motivation place-frames, 1968-1972

1. It is a question of halting, in good time, IN OUR TIME, the coercive rapes which our sisters suffer routinely at the hands of white swine; it is a question of preventing the extinguishing of light in the eyes of bright young black children, still too young to know; of ending the blind squandering of genius, and beloved mediocrity; of banishing all manner of injustice which our people hourly suffer, the continued crushing of self-respect, the stifling of ambition and hope; of ending exploitation; of bringing, with all speed, a new and better life, a new and brighter world, A NEW SOCIETY (Obadele 1968: 37).

2. God is with us, to be sure. But the natural miracle is a rare and thoroughly intractable phenomenon; for the most part, the miracles of God are worked through the brains and arms of men. God will deliver us, but CANNOT unless we act. And if we act, with resolve, we can hack out in this American jungle of racism, exploitation and the acceptance of organized crime, one place in this hemisphere where men of good will may build the GOOD NEW SOCIETY and work for the reconstruction of the whole human world (Obadele 1968: 44).

3. All black people, whether or not you have decided to become a citizen of the Republic, must support the efforts of the Republic of New Africa to win reparations and to build a rich, powerful, humane nation, where all people have good paying creative jobs, and control of the economic life is in the hands of the people as a whole ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4).

4. Serve with the Freedom Corps in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Alabama, and Mississippi, Help build the Black Nation (PG-RNA, Freedom Corps recruitment flyer, 1969).

5. We must organize upon this land, and hold a plebiscite to tell the world by a vote that we are free and the land independent, and that, after the vote, we must wage war to defend ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction (New Afrikan Creed, 1969).

6. For the first time in almost 200 years-since Toussaint L' Overture –Black People are building our own nation in the new world. You can share in this great adventure of our age. Join the together young people who are serving as teachers, medical aides, patrolmen, truck drivers, laborers, and employees in New African government owned industries (PG-RNA, Freedom Corps recruitment flyer, 1969).

7. Unite, pool our talent, and sacrifice . . . Join the Freedom Corps . . . Serve in the revolution, and labor for the building of the black nation, the Republic of New Africa . . . work immediately in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Independence Project, and later in the black area of the South . . . Brains, labor, and courage are needed (PG-RNA, Freedom Corps recruiting advertisement, 1969).

8. The black community is a city. We are over 500,000 strong . . . We need not beg for Power or Justice . . . We must set up our own court, police department, city council, board of education, sales tax (PG-RNA, Detroit sovereignty campaign flyer, 1969).

9. Go South Blackman and build a nation . . . the spirit of our fathers beckon you . . . Return to the soil that is rich with thy blood . . . Create a Republic that is a testimony to thy greatness, for thy fathers and mothers, for thy children and all the generations to come, Go South blackman and make your dreams come true (PG-RNA, advertisement, 1970).

10. America is the Black Man's battleground (PG-RNA, advertisement, 1970).

11. Turn toward freedom, leave the struggle of the ghetto behind and make a better life, your nation asks nothing of you but you dedication and support (PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s).

12. In a matter of months, your family can be part of one of the modern New Communities being built by the Republic of New Africa in the Deep South, the Promised Land (PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s).

13. The land of our nation is all the land in America where black people have lived a long time, and that we have built on or farmed or improved in any way, and that we have fought to stay on. This is international law. It means that most of the South and parts of many cities really belong to us (RNA 1971: 1).

14. Free the RNA-11, stop Mississippi injustice, sign the petition, send a donation (PG-RNA, flyer, 1972).

15. The Black Nation is under attack . . . The U.S. government and Mississippi are trying to stop the R.N.A. drive for reparations, New Communities, jobs, and the power to feed ourselves, fight back ! (PG-RNA, RNA-11 flyer, 1972).

16. Created here out of necessity, the New African nation will be free and sovereign; our challenge -together- is to determine how that freedom and that sovereignty may be served amicably and rationally (Obadele 1975: 99 Anti-Depression Program).

Table 9.3

Common themes in PG-RNA's motivation frames and motivation place-frames, 1968-1972

Most Common Themes		Common Themes in Motivation-Place Frames		
Collective Action and Responsibility	*Action is Urgently Needed*	*Black Nation as Place of the People*	*Taking Ownership of Space*	*Making Future Place*
"Black people in America"; " all black people"; "we the masses"; "the people as a whole"; "we can solve our problems"; "brothers and sisters"; "we must establish a black nation"; "we will end oppression and make a better life for all of us"; "we can resist their force"; "get it together"; "we must come together"; "we are an African people"; "we must organize upon this land"; "we are free"; "we must wage war"; "our time," "our sisters"; "we can hack out"; "unless we act"; "unite, pool our talent"; "we are"; "we need"; "we need not beg"; "we must set up"; "we are over 500,000 strong"; "our nation"; "if we act"; "feed ourselves"; "our challenge – together"; "you can share in this"	"we cannot wait, indeed we will not wait"; "the time for palliatives is past, the time has come for fundamental and far reaching change"; "now there is a better way"; "it is a question of halting in good time, IN OUR TIME"; "share in this great adventure of our age"; "it comes time that we must come together"; "with all speed"; "in a matter of months"; "can you spare 6 months"; "work immediately"; "the Black Nation is under attack"	"a separate independent nation with our own government"; "an independent nation will end oppression"; "an independent nation must have three things…we have all three"; "support the efforts of the Republic of New Africa"; "establishing the nation beyond contradiction"; "building our own nation"; "create a republic that is a testimony to thy greatness"; "your nation"; "the New African nation"; "build a rich, powerful, humane nation"; "help build the black nation"; "labor for the building of the black nation"	"New African government-owned industries"; "return to the soil that is rich with thy blood"; "the land of our nation"; "most of the South and parts of many cities really belong to us"; "we are free and the land independent"; "stop Mississippi injustice"	"it's a question of . . . bringing . . . a new and brighter world, A NEW SOCIETY"; "we can hack out . . . one place in this hemisphere where men of good will may build the GOOD NEW SOCIETY and work for the reconstruction of the whole human world"; "make your dreams come true"; "modern New Communities being built by the Republic of New Africa"; "the New African nation will be free"; "build a rich, powerful humane nation where all people have good paying creative jobs, and control of the economic life is in the hands of the people as a whole"

months," and "work immediately" (Black Legion recruiting advertisement, 1969; Freedom Corps recruiting advertisement, 1969; New African Press International, press release, 1972; Obadele 1968: 37, 1975: 98; PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s). The phrase "the Black Nation is under attack" creates a sense of urgency that severe consequences will result if political action is not immediate (PG-RNA, RNA-11 flyer, 1972). Less frequent themes include that collective action is a responsibility owed to ancestors and current and future generations. Passages making this evident include: "the spirit of our fathers beckon you," "for thy fathers and mothers, for thy children and for generations to come" and "preventing the extinguishing of light in the eyes of

bright young black children" (Obadele 1968: 37; PG-RNA, advertisement, 1970). Certain

statements attribute masculinity to collective action when they assert "America is the Black

man's battleground" and "go South blackman and build a nation . . . go South blackman and

make your dreams come true" (PG-RNA, advertisement, 1970). Appeals to the "blackman"

reflect black nationalism's well-documented patriarchal tone. Minister of Economic Planning

and Development Yusufu Sonebeyatta justified the male-biased appeal as a matter of

circumventing black women's political conservatism when he wrote, "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

more conservative" (Sonebeyatta 1971: 20). Reflecting Black Power's typical defense of

patriarchy, Sonebeyatta's masculinist statement, although a generalization, is problematic as it

defies the participation and contributions of foundational women leaders in the PG-RNA. Such

women included Queen Mother Audley Moore, Betty Shabazz, Dara Abubakari, Carolyn

Williams, Ife Ajaniku, Fulani Sunni-Ali, Aisha Salim, Iyaluua Ferguson, Yuri Kochiyama, and

many others who worked in the PG-RNA in national and local capacities.

Motivation place-frames consist of statements that make both subtle and explicit

references to place. Such statements are particularly important to NAIM's representational space

of black radicalism because they often coincide with imagining future places that are unlike

those the movement was contesting. They present a common theme in defining the independent

black nation as a place for black people created by their self-determined collective nation-

building efforts. Indicating such themes is the repetition of statements combining the possessive

pronouns "our" and "your" with words such as "build," "building," and "nation." Passages

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demonstrating this are: "a separate independent nation with our own government," "building our own nation," "your nation," "build a rich, powerful, humane nation," "help build the black nation," and "labor for the building of the black nation" (Freedom Corps recruitment flyer, 1969, recruitment advertisement, 1969; "New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4; PG-RNA, pamphlet, early 1970s). The line "create a republic as a testimony to thy greatness" conveys a sense of the New Afrikan nation becoming a place that will symbolize the investment of unbounded black collective creativity (PG-RNA, advertisement, 1970). The PG-RNA's motivation place-frames also make taking control of space a prominent theme, which the following lines communicate: "New African government owned industries," "return to the soil that is rich with thy blood," "the land of our nation," "most of the South and parts of many cities really belong to us," and "we are free and the land independent" (Freedom Corps recruitment flyer, 1969; New Afrikan Creed, 1969; PG-RNA, advertisement, 1970, 1971: 1). In a reference to the RNA-11's imprisonment, the phrase "stop Mississippi injustice" calls for social change that would bring Black Power to fruition in a place that became a worldwide symbol of racist oppression (PG-RNA, flyer, 1972).

More pronounced than taking control of place is the theme of making a future place where the current problems of black America have been eliminated. Demonstrating this are the lines: "it's a question of . . . bringing . . . a new and brighter world, a NEW SOCIETY," "we can hack out . . . one place in this hemisphere where men of good will may build the GOOD NEW SOCIETY and work for the reconstruction of the whole human world," and "build a rich, powerful, humane nation where all people have good paying creative jobs, and control of the economic life is in the hands of the people as a whole" ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4; Obadele 1968: 37, 44). These utterances clearly align themselves with the

tenets of the Malcolm X Doctrine and Aims of the New Afrikan Revolution, which included

striving towards the realization of a peaceful and industrious New Society. As a concept, New

Afrikan nationalists envisioned the New Society arising with the liberation of the Republic of

New Afrika, where social reproduction would be freed from the yolk of racist oppression. Found

to a lesser extent in the PG-RNA's motivation place-frames are the core geographical themes of

movement and settlement. These themes are evident in declarations urging a black exodus to the

subjugated national territory in the South. Representing this, in a manner reminiscent of the

popular mid-nineteenth century slogan of American manifest destiny and westward expansion,

"Go West, young man, go West," are the statements: "Go South blackman and build a nation . . .

Go South Blackman and make your dreams come true" and "leave the struggle of the ghetto

behind and make a better life" (PG-RNA, advertisement, 1970, flyer, early 1970s). In 1971,

Yusufu Sonebeyatta elaborated a New Afrikan perspective on why the PG-RNA directed

statements encouraging relocation and nation-building toward young urban blacks in the North,

> the longer a person or community has been settled at a given residence or geographical
> area, the less receptive that person or community would be to the 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.
> (Sonebeyatta 1971: 20)

Another PG-RNA flyer includes a statement that refers to the South as the "Promised

Land" (PG-RNA, flyer, 1970). This demonstrates intertextuality with Biblical verse and Dr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s revered "Mountaintop" speech. Projecting Biblical imagery, King

prophesied in the speech the night before his assassination that "I've seen the promised land. I

may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people will get to the

Promised Land" (King 1968). However, in contrast to King's liberal vision of a Beloved

Community, New Afrikan nationalists interpreted the Promised Land as the Republic of New Afrika's subjugated national territory in the South.

Diagnostic Place-Frames

Diagnostic place-frames are analyzed next (Table 9.4). To identify the PG-RNA's diagnostic frames, I coded organizational documents for statements that indicated problems that the provisional government was seeking to resolve through collective action (Martin 2003: 739). Diagnostic frames expose problems that represent negative features of place whose absence would indicate what an ideal place "*should be* like" (Martin 2003: 739). Diagnostic frames also assign blame that is typically divided, though sometimes shared, between structural causes such as the state or economy, and specific individuals such as political leaders or slumlords (Martin 2003: 739-740). Diagnostic place-frames are the most frequent type of collective action place-frames in the PG-RNA's texts, occurring 43 times. The PG-RNA's diagnostic frames generally do not mention specific local places, but generalize the conditions affecting the space of black social reproduction across all of the United States. This corresponds with how New Afrikan nationalist discourse emphasized a common nationwide black experience rather than localizing that experience to particular places to support NAIM's effort to build a national-scale mobilization.

The PG-RNA's texts highlight a range of problems plaguing black America including: racism, racial tokenism, exploitation, lack of education, poor health, police brutality, and forced and disproportionate military service in the Vietnam War. The most frequently stressed problems include employment discrimination, high unemployment, political disempowerment, housing discrimination, derelict housing, lack of economic control, and internal colonialism (Table 9.5). The following statements indicate problems of job discrimination and

Table 9.4
PG-RNA's diagnostic place-frames, 1968-1972

1. On a city-by-city basis again the fact was that a few demonstration projects were initiated that amounted for a painfully few black persons, and employers were verbally urged to stop discriminating. But largely black people were told (as they had been told for years) TRY HARDER: get education, dress and speak like the middle-class whites. We were told, in short, that black unemployment was due to black people (i.e., our lack of education, lack of initiative), rather than to a design of the white man (Obadele 1968: 12).

2. The civil rights groups which spoke for the black guerrillas in the wake of the first three years of guerilla warfare (1964-66) diluted the gains which were to be won by the black man (Obadele: 1968: 18).

3. Black people are not only kept out of regular jobs by the basis of white hiring people, they are excluded from skilled trade apprentice programs purely by the basis of white skilled trade unionists. Neither situation could be remedied by the training of blacks (Obadele 1968: 19).

4. The black militants who spoke for the guerillas were generally more on target, for they emphasized "control" . . . they failed because they, the militant, even supported by the guerillas, had not arrayed the impression of enough power to make the white man relinquish that control (Obadele 1968: 19).

5. Black warfare against white control in the United States will continue. It will continue not simply because the most exploited level of the black mass is alienated from the white majority or because numerous black militants of all strata have gained a true knowledge of white objectives and white psychology; it will continue because the white man is thoroughly committed to white domination and therefore will not allow the black man to depart peacefully from him, taking only that which in justice belongs to black people, nor will he permit the black man to live in association with him on a basis of real equality, as a power SHARER –unless he is forced to. Black warfare will continue for no other reason than that the white man will have it no other way (Obadele 1968: 20).

6. With the black man no longer an economic necessity in the United States –he is, in effect, for the white man, a decided inconvenience –the temptation to "solve the problem" by wholesale slaughter in black communities under siege may be too great for the average white leader to resist (Obadele 1968: 22).

7. The inner cities in the North have other deficiencies. Black functionaries who serve white interests have for more than 30 years been appointed and elected from black areas to posts of political importance in Northern cities. There are scores of black judges, councilmen, and state representatives, but for the most part these people serve white interests first and black interests only incidentally, if at all. White control of these people and the entire political machinery of the cities is achieved through organization and huge amounts of money. When black officials oppose the white machines in the interests of black people, they are destroyed by the machines (Obadele: 1968: 22).

8. If black people don't control the state-wide election machinery, there is no guarantee that votes will be counted (Obadele 1968: 24).

9. Ultimately whites in the North have prepared another procedure to keep real political power out of the hands of blacks, preparing against the day when black numbers and black settlement in cities make it impossible for whites to control candidates and dangerous to rig the voting machines. That procedure is called COUNTY HOME-RULE: it is the act of moving the REAL POWER of government –taxing, police, planning- from the city-level, where blacks would dominate, to the county-level, where whites dominate (Obadele 1968: 24).

10. Federal power has been used in recent past specifically to destroy black power (Obadele 1968: 46).

11. No state governor has ever been arrested and charged by federal authorities with violating his oath to uphold the U.S. constitution (Obadele 1968: 48).

12. Federal power has never been used to impose penalties upon industry to end discrimination –and discrimination accounts for more than half of black unemployment. In housing black people have since 1961 pleaded in vain for relief from the heartless ravages and hardships worked upon us by federally sponsored urban renewal; blacks in Harlem, forced into one of the greatest concentrations of housing unfit for habitation in the world, during the same period (1961 – 1966) conducted rent strikes designed to force the owners of this housing to improve it but received only indifference and hostility from the federal government (Obadele 1968: 49).

13. The difference between Accord Inc, and the old way is that now the white exploiter is willing to allow a handful of black people to share in the exploitation with him ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4).

Table 9.4 Con't
PG-RNA's diagnostic place-frames, 1968-1972

14. What Accord Inc. proposes is more of the same thing: more of the refusal of the government to use tax money to open industries owned by the people, to give the people jobs and good income; more of the favoring of the business man over the worker; more of the trickle-down theory, and more of the failure to make jobs at good pay, for everyone –a failure which has persisted through 20 years of U.S. government programs to end employment and poverty ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4).

15. Black "Control" such as that proposed by Accord Inc. and the so-called "Black Bank Group" is no control at all, because both the housing financing and the stores of Accord would be subordinate to white financial companies, and the bank would be simply one small institution subject to larger white banks and financial institutions including white controlled U.S. central bank, the Federal Reserve Bank ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4).

16. "Can you call back later sir, I'm just the janitor," that is the story of our lives; we who are black and who live in America. But it needn't be (PG-RNA, Freedom Corps advertisement, 1969).

17. But this land [claimed national territory] is all but under a government that is run by white people, *for* white people, and the United States government (RNA 1971: 2).

18. Right now the trouble is our land is not free; we are not in charge of it. White people are in charge of our land, and they act as *if* they are in charge of *us*. Our land and our nation are, therefore, *captive*. And our government is a government-in-captivity (RNA 1971: 2).

19. When our nation becomes free, we will have *power*. In the world like other nations –like Ethiopia, France, China, and the United States itself. We will be the equal of all other people in the world. Then we can do great things to *help ourselves*. No man will be discriminated against or held back, and we will make a better life in a better world (RNA 1971: 2).

20. We have never been citizens of the United States . . . We have never been part of the American nation . . . In the 13th Amendment, the slave master said we were free. Two years later, the 14th Amendment, he said we were citizens. This was an illegal act by the slave master, the United States government; by forcing citizenship upon us –in other words, by *telling us* what to do after we were supposedly free- the United States wiped out the grant of freedom in the 13th Amendment (PG-RNA, booklet, *Now We Have a Nation*, 1968: 3).

21. The grant of freedom was not really a grant of freedom any way. A free citizen has all of his rights and privileges guaranteed and protected by the government . . . In the black man's case, the 13th and 14th Amendments, which were supposed to give freedom to the black man , protected the black man's rights against the government itself, but they did not –and do not- protect the black man's rights against other citizens (PG-RNA, booklet, *Now We Have a Nation*, 1968: 4).

22. Though our people have struggled for 100 years to change the American Nation and become a part of it we have failed to become a part of it –we still live separately, socialize separately, and act and react separately (and differently). And there is no real hope now, that we can change America, because white people, who are in the majority, do not really want America changed. For our part, black people could not become a part of America unless she did change, but there is too much racism, inequality, and oppression of everyone who is not white (PG-RNA, booklet, *Now We Have a Nation*, 1968: 4).

23. Unemployment and underemployment (low-paying part-time jobs) and discrimination are fantastically high for black people in the black ghettoes and the black counties of the south. In the ghettoes one out of every three people is either unemployed or underemployed. All over America the average white high school graduate earns more than the average black college graduate (PG-RNA, booklet, *Now We Have a Nation*, 1968: 4).

24. It was necessary to form a separate government because there was no government in existence representing our interests. Never before have we been provided with a political form that would allow us to move toward real control of our lives and destinies. The RNA has a plan for nationhood on this continent, in our lifetime (PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s).

25. The People in this country have no power! The government is controlled by greedy, greedy capitalists. Prices are going up, which means that the businessmen are making money, but wages are FROZEN, which means the capitalists are taking the money from the top for themselves (PG-RNA, Miami flyer, 1972).

26. The Black Nation is under attack. It is not just inflation and recession, joblessness, cut backs, and police brutality. The American government is still trying to destroy the Black Movement, and they are using violence, jail, and illegal court action to do so (PG-RNA, RNA-11 flyer, 1972).

Table 9.4 Con't

PG-RNA's diagnostic place-frames, 1968-1972

27. This system has failed, it has polluted the water and air and killed more people in war than any other nation since the beginning of time (PG-RNA, Miami flyer, 1972).

28. The only time we're in the front is when it's time to die . . . We've been dying to be in the front here in the United States. Yet in Vietnam we're dying in the front every day (PG-RNA, *New African* antiwar advertisement, 1972).

29. The existence of the black nation in America as a separate and depressed entity, a domestic colony of white America, is well documented (Obadele 1975: 92 Anti-Depression Program).

30. Ever since the end of slavery, median black family income has consistently remained a fraction of white family income (Obadele1975: 92 Anti-Depression Program).

31. Housing constitutes a major problem for blacks not only because We own considerably less than half of that which We in inhabit, but because of its condition (Obadele 1975: 92 Anti-Depression Program).

32. Our health in general is a scandal, the problem exacerbated by low income and bad housing (Obadele 1975: 94 Anti-Depression Program).

33. With the clear correlation shown between education and income in America, impoverished education can only perpetuate and, in light of rising education requirements for employment, aggravate the culture of poverty in which the black in America is now trapped (Obadele 1975: 95 Anti-Depression Program).

34. True to our colonial status, in a year (1970) when the United States boasted its first trillion-dollar economy, the landless non-sovereign black nation in America could speak only of having 300 billion dollars of annual buying power –and almost none of this remained within the control of black entrepreneurs or black institutions (Obadele 1975: 95 Anti-Depression Program).

35. That black consumer power should flee the black colony, like water through a sieve, is inevitable. We own no mines, no railroads, no factories worthy of the name (perhaps less than two dozen shops and small plants for all 30 million blacks), possess no taxing power *and must even compete with white entrepreneurs inside the bounds of the black colony*, in retail and service enterprises (Obadele 1975: 104 Anti-Depression Program).

36. 28 million blacks live where there is *no* chance of black control of state government (Obadele 1975: 97 Anti-Depression Program).

37. Local political power for the colony cannot end colonization or the culture of poverty (Obadele 1975: 97 Anti-Depression Program).

38. Some persons in the United States government and some in Mississippi are trying to destroy all this. They do not want to see justice done to us for slavery. They do not want to see justice done now. They are trying to stop this important work by killing and jailing freedom fighters (PG-RNA, RNA-11 flyer, 1974).

unemployment: "Black people are not only kept out of regular jobs . . . they are excluded from skilled trade apprentice programs" and

> Unemployment and underemployment (low-paying part-time jobs) and discrimination are fantastically high for black people in the black ghettoes and the black counties of the south, In the ghettoes one out of every three people is either unemployed or underemployed. All over America the average white high school graduate earns more than the average black college graduate. (Obadele 1968: 19; PG-RNA, booklet, *Now We Have a Nation*, 1968: 4)

The following assertions convey the theme of political disempowerment: "When black officials oppose the white machines in the interests of black people, they are destroyed by the machines," "there was no government in existence representing our interests," "The People in this country have no power," and "28 million blacks live where there is no chance of black control of state government" (Obadele 1968: 22, 1975a: 104; PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s, Miami flyer, 1972). Remarks addressing housing problems and lack of economic power include: "Housing constitutes a major problem for blacks not only because We own considerably less than half of that which We inhabit, but because of its condition," and

> that black consumer power should flee the black colony, like water through a sieve, is inevitable. We own no mines, no railroads, no factories worthy of the name (perhaps less than two dozen shops and small plants for all 30 million blacks) . . . *and must even compete with white entrepreneurs inside the bounds of the black colony, in retail and service enterprises*. (Obadele 1975a: 92, 104)

Lastly, declarations describing black America as an exploited internal neocolony are: "The existence of the black nation in America as a separate and depressed entity, a domestic colony of white America, is well documented," and "True to our colonial status . . . the landless non-sovereign black nation in America could speak only of having 300 billion dollars of annual buying power – and almost none of this remained within the control of black entrepreneurs or black institutions" (Obadele 1975a: 92, 95). Such statements place the suffering of African American communities in the United States into the wider global context of colonialism.

Table 9.5
Common themes in PG-RNA's diagnostic place-frames, 1968-1972

Employment Discrimination/ Unemployment	Political Disempowerment	Housing Discrimination/ Derelict Housing	Economics	Internal Colonialism
"On a city-by-city basis again the fact was that a few demonstration projects were initiated that amounted for a painfully few black persons"; "Black people are not only kept out of regular jobs . . . they are excluded from skilled trade apprentice programs"; "refusal of the government . . . to give the people jobs and good income"; "discrimination accounts for more than half of black unemployment"; "'Can you call back later sir, I'm just the janitor,' that is the story of our lives; we who are black and who live in America"; "Unemployment and underemployment (low-paying part-time jobs) and discrimination are fantastically high for black people in the black ghettoes and the black counties of the south, In the ghettoes one out of every three people is either unemployed or underemployed. All over America the average white high school graduate earns more than the average black college graduate"	"When black officials oppose the white machines in the interests of black people, they are destroyed by the machines"; "If black people don't control the state-wide election machinery, there is no guarantee that votes will be counted"; "Ultimately whites in the North have prepared another procedure to keep real political power out of the hands of blacks . . . That procedure is called COUNTY HOME-RULE: it is the act of moving the REAL POWER of government . . . from the city-level, where blacks would dominate, to the county-level, where whites dominate"; "We have never been citizens of the United States . . . We have never been part of the American nation"; "the 13th and 14th Amendments . . . do not- protect the black man's rights against other citizens"; "there was no government in existence representing our interests" "The People in this country have no power!"; "28 million blacks live where there is no chance of black control of state government"; "Local political power for the colony cannot end colonization or the culture of poverty"	"In housing black people have since 1961 pleaded in vain for relief from the heartless ravages and hardships worked upon us by federally sponsored urban renewal; blacks in Harlem, forced into one of the greatest concentrations of housing unfit for habitation in the world"; "Housing constitutes a major problem for blacks not only because We own considerably less than half of that which We in inhabit, but because of its condition"; "Our health in general is a scandal, the problem exacerbated by low income and bad housing"	"with the black man no longer an economic necessity in the United States –he is, in effect, for the white man, a decided inconvenience"; "the refusal of the government to use tax money to open industries owned by the people"; "Black "Control" such as that proposed by Accord Inc. and the so-called 'Black Bank Group' is no control at all, because both the housing financing and the stores of Accord would be subordinate to white financial companies"; "Prices are going up, which means that the businessmen are making money, but wages are FROZEN"; "median black family income has consistently remained a fraction of white family income"; "That black consumer power should flee the black colony, like water through a sieve, is inevitable. We own no mines, no railroads, no factories worthy of the name (perhaps less than two dozen shops and small plants for all 30 million blacks) . . . *and must even compete with white entrepreneurs inside the bounds of the black colony, in retail and service enterprises*"	"But this land is all but under a government that is run by white people, for white people, and the United States government" "Right now the trouble is our land is not free; we are not in charge of it. White people are in charge of our land, and they act as if they are in charge of us. Our land and our nation are, therefore, captive. And our government is a government-in-captivity"; "we still live separately, socialize separately, and act and react separately (and differently) . . . there is too much racism, inequality, and oppression of everyone who is not white"; "The existence of the black nation in America as a separate and depressed entity, a domestic colony of white America, is well documented"; "True to our colonial status . . . the landless non-sovereign black nation in America could speak only of having 300 billion dollars of annual buying power – and almost none of this remained within the control of black entrepreneurs or black institutions"; "Local political power for the colony cannot end colonization or the culture of poverty"; "We . . . must even compete with white entrepreneurs inside the bounds of the black colony"

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In addition to stating problems afflicting black America, the PG-RNA's diagnostic frames attribute blame to structural sources, individuals, and categories of people seen as causing the problems (Table 9.6). The PG-RNA used a deliberate rhetorical strategy to emphasize blame, as First Vice President Gaidi Obadele explains,

> In the mythology of any movement . . . you cannot build without a devil . . . We have to paint the picture, to create the mythology, to give it life. We have to enlarge it. There's no terms you can think up that would be any better than to say the white man is a devil. That term embraces the conception of the destruction of life. (Sherrill 1969: 147)

When blaming structural causes, the PG-RNA's diagnostic frames point mostly to "the white man," the federal government, and, to a lesser extent, black political groups. The "white man" represents an institutionalized racist oppression that causes most of the problems faced by blacks. Statements making this known are: "black unemployment . . . a design of the white man," "whites in the North have prepared another procedure to keep real political power out of the hands of blacks," "White people are in charge of our land, and they act as if they are in charge of us," and "white people, who are in the majority, do not really want America changed" (Obadele 1968: 12, 28; PG-RNA, booklet, Now We Have a Nation, 1968: 4). Statements accusing the federal government, which the white man controls, include, "Federal power has been used in recent past specifically to destroy black power," "Federal power has never been used to impose penalties upon industry to end discrimination," and "this land is all but under a government that is run by white people, *for* white people" (Obadele 1968: 49; PG-RNA 1971: 2). In addition to blaming structural causes are passages implicating individuals and categories of people. These include: "civil rights groups . . . diluted the gains which were to be won by the black man," "black militants . . . had not arrayed the impression of enough power to make the white man relinquish that control," and "Black functionaries who serve white interests . . . for the most part .

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Table 9.6
Assigning blame in PG-RNA's diagnostic place-frames, 1968-1972

Structure Blamed		Individuals Blamed	
White Man/ White Control	*Government*	*Black Groups*	*Various*
"black unemployment . . . a design of the white man"; "white man is thoroughly committed to white domination and therefore will not allow the black man to depart peacefully from him"; "for the white man . . . the temptation to 'solve the problem' by wholesale slaughter in black communities" ; "whites in the North have prepared another procedure to keep real political power out of the hands of blacks"; "the white exploiter is willing to allow a handful of black people to share in the exploitation with him"; "White people are in charge of our land, and they act as *if* they are in charge of *us*"; "white people, who are in the majority, do not really want America changed"	"Federal power has been used in recent past specifically to destroy black power"; "No state governor has ever been arrested and charged by federal authorities with violating his oath to uphold the U.S. constitution"; "Federal power has never been used to impose penalties upon industry to end discrimination"; "received only indifference and hostility from the federal government"; "a failure which has persisted through 20 years of U.S. government programs to end employment and poverty"; "this land is all but under a government that is run by white people, *for* white people"; "United States wiped out the grant of freedom in the 13th Amendment"; "American government is still trying to destroy the Black Movement, and they are using violence, jail, and illegal court action to do so"	"civil rights groups . . . diluted the gains which were to be won by the black man"; "black militants . . . had not arrayed the impression of enough power to make the white man relinquish that control"	"Black functionaries who serve white interests . . . for the most part . . . serve white interests first and black interests only incidentally, if at all"; "Some persons in the United States government and some in Mississippi are trying to destroy all this"

. . serve white interests first and black interests only incidentally, if at all" (Obadele 1968: 18-19,

22). Imari Obadele's *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* (1968) and the PG-RNA's Anti-

Depression Program represents the most detailed New Afrikan nationalist elucidations of

problems and causes from among the coded texts.

Prognostic Place-Frames

Prognostic place-frames are the third type of discourse analyzed. They consist of

statements proposing specific solutions and actions to resolve the problems the PG-RNA

addressed in its diagnostic frames (Table 9.7) (Martin 2003: 742). In doing so, prognostic

Table 9.7
PG-RNA's prognostic place-frames, 1968-1972

1. Under control of emancipated blacks the state police could be purged of racists by simple legal procedures involving indefinite suspension of all policemen accused of racist activity, pending trial board action . . . state power could thus end police brutality against blacks; indeed, it would convert the police into a force supporting black people (Obadele 1968: 27).

2. State power under emancipated blacks would be used to purify the school system and bring to black children the best possible education (Obadele 1968: 27-28).

3. State power could be used to end unemployment . . . to make jobs . . . as it is used in every other colony that achieves its freedom: to launch industries OWNED BY THE PEOPLE, to benefit the people (Obadele 1968: 28).

4. State power could and would be used by emancipated blacks to create A NEW SOCIETY, based on brotherhood and justice, free of organized crime, free of exploitation of man by man, and functioning in a way to make possible for everyone the realization of his finest possibilities (Obadele 1968: 29).

5. The answer to federal opposition to black state power is a complex of studied moves POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY (Obadele 1968: 51).

6. The crucial first step is the early acceptance of an essential and inevitable decision by those who seek black state power. This is the decision to withdraw the state (ultimately, withdraw the entire, new, five-state union of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina) from the United states and establish a separate nation (Obadele 1968: 51).

7. As Malcolm X taught, the black man's struggle must be INTERNATIONALIZED, for it is only within the United States that we are a minority (Obadele 1968: 51).

8. The effort to win public support for the black struggle from the Afro-Asian nations, started in earnest by Malcolm X and Robert Williams, MUST BE CONTINUED AND INTENSIFIED; we must, moreover, continue and intensify the effort to raise serious, substantial questions concerning the status of black people in the United States and bring these questions before the United Nations and the World Court (Obadele 1968: 52).

9. Separation is necessary because history assures us that the whites of America would not allow a state controlled by progressive black people, opposed to the exploitation and racism and organized crime of the whole, to exist as a part of the whole. Separation is necessary because black people must separate ourselves from the guilt we have borne as partners, HOWEVER RELUCTANT to the white man in his humanity. Separation is possible because, first, it is militarily possible (Obadele 1968: 55).

10. The lesson is clear: black power advocates must assiduously cultivate the support of the Afro-Asian world (Obadele 1968: 56).

11. If international military alliances can preserve us, the creation of new political and economic arrangements can strengthen us (Obadele 1968: 59).

12. Black power government must look for economic relations not toward the hostile United States but toward the black-run West Indies and Guyana, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, toward new common market arrangements involving these countries as well as countries in Africa, Asia, South America, and the Pacific (Obadele 1968: 60).

13. In the cities of the North, the captive islands where black men live in seas of racist, dominating whites, black people can support the black power movement by using their power in Congress, so long as it lasts, to retrain the hand of the United States in repression of the black power movement and state (Obadele 1968: 61).

14. We are working for an independent nation which will use all the resources of the government, of the people, necessary to make jobs for all and wealth ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4).

15. That quarter billion dollars alone [of New York's social program funding], on one year, could be used to open ten fully equipped hospitals, 1,200 fine brick schools, 5 electric power plants, each serving a community of 60,000, two steel mills, two pair of automated cement plants, and 500 miles of concrete highway ("New African Economics Stated in Article" 1968: 4).

16. For the sake of peace, our black government is willing to make a just settlement. We will settle for five states . . . Our government would use reparations money to build the nation for all people (RNA 1971: 1).

17. Our black government is trying to negotiate peacefully for our freedom from the United States. We are asking other countries in the world to help us to negotiate peacefully (RNA 1971: 1).

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Table 9.7 Con't
PG-RNA's prognostic place-frames, 1968-1972

18. In the Republic of New Afrika the government will guarantee decent jobs for everyone by using tax dollars to open as many factories and businesses owned by the people themselves, as are needed. Also, any company that discriminates against black workers, in hiring, promotion, or training will be taken over by the government, the Republic of New Africa (RNA 1971: 4).

19. An independent black government *could* guarantee trade credit, bank justice, and control; and growth of black businesses. For an independent black government could control and operate its own central bank and would give out bank charters (RNA 1971: 5).

20. The Republic of New Africa (RNA) is not only struggling to make Mississippi and four other states into a free black nation; the RNA is working at Congress to win millions of dollars in Reparations –money owed to black people for slavery- so that black people can own giant farms and feed ourselves and build beautiful New Communities with industry and fine schools, to make jobs and a good life. Only the RNA is working at Congress and in the Deep South to do this (PG-RNA, Miami flyer, 1972).

21. In addition to reparations on land, the New Africans seek reparations payment of $10,000 for every black person. These reparations in money and land would represent the completion of Reconstruction's promise to the freed slaves –fifty dollars, forty acres, and a mule- which were never kept (PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s).

22. Never before have we been provided with a political form that would allow us to move toward real control of our lives and destinies. The RNA has a plan for nationhood on this continent, in our lifetime (PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s)

23. The objectives: To end poverty, dependence and crime. To raise self-esteem, achievement, and creativity, and to promote inter-racial peace (Obadele 1975a: 92 Anti-Depression Program).

24. Whites, so used to us as "our Negroes," must remove their hands from our culture, our economic, our schools, government, persons. We say that the idea, the idea itself, that the black nation is a colony and that American cooperation must be extended only in some such way as to bring an economic return to Americans must end (Obadele 1975a: 99 Anti-Depression Program).

25. But by creating a marked environmental change for all ten million, and a physical relocation for at least five million of these ten, We shall bring about a new dimension in breathing and growing space for those who remain where they are; We shall immensely relieve pressure on the crowded northern and western ghettoes and spatially and materially restructure and abolish the growing black slums of the South (Obadele 1975a: 99 Anti-Depression Program).

26. The New African life-style will certainly be different from the American, but the emphasis of the design is to benefit the New African, not to harm anyone else (Obadele 1975a: 99 Anti-Depression Program).

27. We have never had a frontier. The independent sovereign nation will be that frontier, a place where man can go and be respected and rise as a high as hard work, ambition, ad ability can carry him; a place, moreover, where a family can have a really fine life. We can expect that just as the frontier notion, the idea of building a new world on virgin land, released a long-lived gusher of creativity, for the white American, so, too, the sovereign black nation will release lush and ling-lived creativity for black people –both for those in the nation, building, and for those who remain where they are- like the Americans who never left the East –but identify (Obadele 1975a: 102 Anti-Depression Program).

27. The objective is to relocate five million New Africans, who freely wish to be relocated, to New Communities in the five states of the Deep South and to restructure physically old communities and build New Communities for five million New Africans who freely desire it already in the Deep South (Obadele 1975a: 103 Anti-Depression Program).

28. Many New Communities will be clustered, encompassing more than 500 families and eliminating duplication of certain facilities –like housing factories and sanitary engineering features (Obadele 1975a: 104 Anti-Depression Program).

frames lay out concrete strategies for change coinciding with the creation of new places. Strategies can range from political action to implementing new economic models, but the desired goal is the creation of a place free of the original set of problems. The PG-RNA's prognostic frames propose a wide range of problem solving strategies that include improving black education, attracting public support, building a socialist economy, and forwarding a New Afrikan lifestyle. However, the coded texts reveal that New Afrikans indicated their most prominent solutions to include: achieving state power, black government, independent nationhood, internationalized relationships, reparations, and creating a new place (Table 9.8). Assertions representing the theme of achieving state power are: "State power under emancipated blacks would be used to purify the school system and bring to black children the best possible education," "State power could be used to end unemployment . . . to make jobs . . . to launch industries OWNED BY THE PEOPLE," and "State power . . . would be used . . . to create A NEW SOCIETY" (Obadele 1968: 27-29). Statements signifying the need for black government include: "the government will guarantee decent jobs for everyone," and "independent black government *could* guarantee trade credit, bank justice, and control" (Republic of New Africa [RNA] 1971: 4-5).

The PG-RNA considered its plan for independent New Afrikan nationhood as the ultimate solution to black America's problems. Conveying this are propositions such as: "The crucial first step is . . . the decision to withdraw the state . . . from the United States and establish a separate nation," and "Separation is necessary because history assures us that the whites of America would not allow a state controlled by progressive black people" (Obadele 1968: 51, 55). Passages urging the need to build international political, military, and economic relationships, a crucial element of NAIM's scalar politics, are: "the black man's struggle must be

INTERNATIONALIZED," and "black power advocates must assiduously cultivate the support

of the Afro-Asian world" (Obadele 1968: 51, 56). Lines emphasizing the importance of

reparations as a solution include: "Our government would use reparations money to build the

nation for all people," and "reparations in money and land would represent the completion of

Reconstruction's promise to the freed slaves - fifty dollars, forty acres, and a mule - which were

never kept" (PG-RNA, flyer, early 1970s, 1971: 1). Statements articulating the creation of a new

place, namely the New Society and its New Communities in the Republic of New Afrika,

include: "black people can own giant farms and feed ourselves and build beautiful New

Communities with industry and fine schools, to make jobs and a good life," and "by creating a

marked environmental change . . . and a physical relocation . . . We shall bring about a new

dimension in breathing and growing space for those who remain where they are" (Obadele

1975a: 99; PG-RNA, Miami flyer, 1972).

Several diagnostic frames contribute to NAIM's vision of a future place by imagining the

Republic of New Afrika as a new frontier with unfettered black advancement on its horizon.

This following statement that Imari Obadele made demonstrates this clearly,

> We have never had a frontier. The independent sovereign nation will be that frontier, a
> place where man can go and be respected and rise as high as hard work, ambition, and
> ability can carry him; a place, moreover, where a family can have a really fine life. We
> can expect that just as the frontier notion, the idea of building a new world on virgin land,
> released a long-lived gusher of creativity, for the white American, so, too, the sovereign
> black nation will release lush and long-lived creativity for black people –both for those in
> the nation, building, and for those who remain where they are- like the Americans who
> never left the East - but identify [with the Republic of New Afrika]. (Obadele 1975a:
> 102)

In addition to the geographical notion of frontier, the PG-RNA presented relocation to the

national territory as a solution to overcrowding in black neighborhoods in the North and ghetto

formation in the South. An excerpt demonstrating the PG-RNA's concept of relocation states,

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Table 9.8
Common themes in PG-RNA's prognostic place-frames, 1968-1972

Achieving State Power	Black Government	Independent Nation	International Relationships	Reparations	Creating New Space
"Under control of emancipated blacks the state police could be purged of racists . . . state power could thus end police brutality against blacks"; "State power under emancipated blacks would be used to purify the school system and bring to black children the best possible education"; "State power could be used to end unemployment . . . to make jobs . . . to launch industries OWNED BY THE PEOPLE"; "State power . . . would be used . . . to create A NEW SOCIETY"	"Our black government is trying to negotiate peacefully for our freedom from the United States"; "the government will guarantee decent jobs for everyone"; "independent black government *could* guarantee trade credit, bank justice, and control"	"The crucial first step is . . . the decision to withdraw the state from the United states and establish a separate nation"; "Separation is necessary because history assures us that the whites of America would not allow a state controlled by progressive black people"; "black people must separate ourselves from the guilt we have borne as partners . . . to the white man in his humanity"; "We are working for an independent nation"; "The RNA has a plan for nationhood on this continent, in our lifetime"	"the black man's struggle must be INTERNATIONAL-IZED"; "The effort to win public support for the black struggle from the Afro-Asian nations . . . MUST BE CONTINUED AND INTENSIFIED"; "black power advocates must assiduously cultivate the support of the Afro-Asian world"; "Black power government must look for economic relations . . . toward the black-run West Indies and Guyana, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic . . . as well as countries in Africa, Asia, South America, and the Pacific"; "We are asking other countries in the world to help us to negotiate peacefully"	"Our government would use reparations money to build the nation for all people"; "the RNA is working at Congress to win millions of dollars in Reparations – money owed to black people for slavery"; "reparations in money and land would represent the completion of Reconstruction's promise to the freed slaves –fifty dollars, forty acres, and a mule- which were never kept"	"black people can own giant farms and feed ourselves and build beautiful New Communities with industry and fine schools, to make jobs and a good life"; "by creating a marked environmental change . . . and a physical relocation . . . We shall bring about a new dimension in breathing and growing space for those who remain where they are . . . "; "The independent sovereign nation will be that frontier, a place where man can go and be respected and rise as a high as hard work, ambition, and ability can carry him"; " to restructure physically old communities and build New Communities"; "Many New Communities will be clustered, encompassing more than 500 families and eliminating duplication of certain facilities – like housing factories and sanitary engineering features"

by creating a marked environmental change for all ten million, and a physical relocation for at least five million of these ten, We shall bring about a new dimension in breathing and growing space for those who remain where they are; We shall immensely relieve pressure on the crowded northern and western ghettoes and spatially and materially restructure and abolish the growing black slums of the South. (Obadele 1975a: 99)

Statements such as these clearly indicate a desire for creating a new place where New Afrikan-controlled social reproduction would bring to existence the New Society envisioned in the Malcolm X Doctrine. As is the case with the PG-RNA's diagnostic frames, it methodically constructed prognostic frames according to the Malcolm X Doctrine and Anti-Depression Program.

Alternative Map-Making as Discourse

Alternative mapping is another important component of New Afrikan discourse that pertains to place-making and constructing NAIM's representational space of black nationalism. Demonstrated in various forms such as counter-mapping, community mapping, and participatory GIS, alternative mapping can be generally defined as the practice of map-making by groups or individuals whose marginalized social status has blocked them from being equal participants alongside dominant groups in the production of space (Parker 2006: 477; Peluso 1995: 385-386; Wood 1992: 44, 182-195). In relation to Lefebvre's theory of social space, marginalized groups, in this case NAIM, practice alternative map-making to resist the power of abstract space and its appropriation of everyday lived space. Geographer Nancy Peluso, who coined the term "counter-mapping," states, "maps can be used to pose alternatives to the languages and images of power and become a medium of empowerment or protest. Alternative maps, or 'counter-maps' . . . greatly increase the power of people living in a mapped area to control representations of themselves and their claims to resources" (Peluso 1995: 387). Alternative maps are deployed to

tilt the balance of power toward marginalized groups engaged in the politics of place and the practices of place-making.

Maps and map-making should be understood in their cultural contexts (Wood 1992: 18, 41). According to cartographer Denis Wood, "*knowledge of the map is knowledge of the world from which it emerges* . . . This, of course, would be to site the source of the map in a realm more diffuse than cartography; it would be to insist on sociology of the map (Wood 1992: 18). Despite what is conveyed by fetishistic understandings of maps, they are not purely objective scientific representations of reality, but are created and interpreted subjectively according to the values, beliefs, ideologies, and interests of their authors and audiences (Wood 1992: 19, 24). As subjective creations, maps are more akin to "opinions," myths, or representations of mental images of reality, which are directly implicated in the social construction of cultural geographical features such as past, present, and future ethnic, racial, and national boundaries (Wood 1992: 18-19, 95, 101-104). In this way, maps are also instrumental in the social construction of cultural identities and power relations by depicting places and their inhabitants in biased and distorted ways. Maps have gained their social authority as a result of cartography's role in imperialism and its intertextuality with the discourses of Western science and religion. This has led to the acceptance of maps as "windows on the world" that validate the "reality" of the selected things represented on them (Wood 1992: 19, 76). As texts belonging to broader discourses of power, maps have been deployed in the service of abstract/conceived space. This point is supported by geographer and cartographer John Brian Harley, who asserts that,

> maps are never value-free images . . . Both in the selectivity of their content and in their signs and styles of representation, maps are a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the human world which is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations. By accepting such premises it becomes easier to see how appropriate they are to manipulation by the powerful in society. (Harley 1988: 278, as cited in Wood 1992: 78)

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Like all maps, alternative maps are cultural artifacts that do work or perform certain functions for their creators and the broader map-making culture. The power of maps emerges in the process of interpreting them as signs formed in and projected by the map image through a semiological system operating at the levels of language and myth (Barthes 1964: 35; Wood 1992: 103, 116). Semiological signs are more specifically formed by "codes of intrasignification" that involve a geographical syntax. This syntax synthesizes all of the graphic features within a map image to render the entire map a "supersign" that operates at the level of myth (Wood 1992: 134, 137-138). Codes are abstract rules or "assignment schemes" binding signifiers comprised of visible graphic expressions such as map icons and symbols, to signified content consisting of the intentions, assertions, concepts, or mental images to which the map image refers (Barthes 1964: 42; Wood 1992: 103-104, 116, 134).

At least five codes of intrasignification operate to build meaningful relationships between the visible features within the map frame (Wood 1992: 112, 117-134). First, iconic codes govern the relationship between graphic map elements and the geographical features they represent through "conventions of pictorial rendering" learned in the culture (Wood 1992: 118). Linguistic codes govern how typographic marks correspond to map content by linking them to graphic map elements, as in legends and toponyms, to make a map translate "graphic expression to linguistic expression" (Wood 1992: 112, 122). Linguistic codes are regularly governed by iconic codes whereby typographic marks are displayed on maps in terms of font style, size, and spacing and relative location to other graphic elements (Wood 1992: 112, 123). Tectonic codes govern how a map's planar graphic space is configured to the Earth's geodesic space in terms of cartographic scale and topology (Wood 1992: 112, 124). These codes shape how the map signs distance, direction, and different vantage points. Temporal codes focus on how a map relates to tense,

duration, or "time thickness," to situate it in the past, present, future, between periods, or atemporally (Wood 1992: 112, 126). Lastly, presentation codes draw all the preceding codes together to form a single, organized, coherent map image elevated to the status of discourse (Wood 1992: 113, 132). As discourse, maps are largely interpreted unwittingly, as their seemingly passive functionality and ubiquity fleece their actual significance as arguments, claims, explanations, or suppressions to specific map-reading audiences (Wood 1992: 113, 132).

In reaching the status of discourse, maps attain the semiological system's level of myth where five codes of extrasignification begin to operate in the relationship between the map image and subjectivity of the map-reading audience (Wood 1992: 111-115, 134, 140). Thematic codes deal with the map's underlying argument or themes; topic codes correspond with tectonic codes to change space into place; historical codes work with temporal codes to locate the map within certain understandings of history; rhetorical codes emphasize style and how the map resonates with the values, beliefs, and biases, of the author and audience; and utilitarian codes govern how the map is ultimately used to clarify, conceal, critique, possess, distort, exploit, legitimate, narrate, and decorate (Wood 1992: 111-115). The myth contained in a map is not conveyed directly through language, but rather through a "cycle of interpretation" of its inherent signs simultaneously at different levels (Wood 1992: 132). The elemental level of interpretation focuses on a map's basic individual graphic signifiers, the systemic level sees them converge into systems, the synthetic level brings the disparate systems together, and the presentation level immerses the finished map image into domains of other relevant signs where it attains meaning through sign comparison (Wood 1992: 132-133).

NAIM's Alternative Maps

Alternative map-making challenges abstract space by appropriating the cartographic methods and technologies of society's dominant groups to serve those who are marginalized and oppressed (Peluso 1995: 385-386). As tangible visual representations of real or imagined places, alternative-maps are key components in the creation of representational space. New Afrikan nationalists created graphic representations of NAIM's representational space of black radicalism through the PG-RNA's alternative maps. Maps published by twentieth-century movements such as the CPUSA and the National Movement for a 49th State shaped the idea of and struggle for a black national territory in the United States (Figures 5.1, 9.1 and 9.2). Building on these earlier efforts, the PG-RNA provided cartographic training to consulate workers, created maps for public distribution, and set-up topographical centers in its consulates and government centers. As a result, the PG-RNA's alternative maps helped construct the New Afrikan spatial imagination and visualization of a black national territory in the United States.

The PG-RNA's Detroit consulate made alternative map-making a key practice of its mobilization strategy. Surveying the Detroit Police Department's Red Squad surveillance memorandums, I learned that by mid-1969 Detroit consulate leaders such as Imari Obadele regularly stressed the need for PG-RNA workers to have map-reading and map-making skills. To gain these skills, groups of consulate workers and Black Legionnaires took several trips from Detroit to the Black People's Topographical Research Center on 633 East 75th Street on Chicago's South Side (Detroit Police Department [DPD], memorandum, June 9, 1969: 1, June 12, 1969: 2, July 9, 1969: 9; Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders [RCCD] 1969: 4460). The Black People's Topographical Research Center was a nationwide network of Black Power radical geographical education centers located in black neighborhoods of major cities (Nuruddin
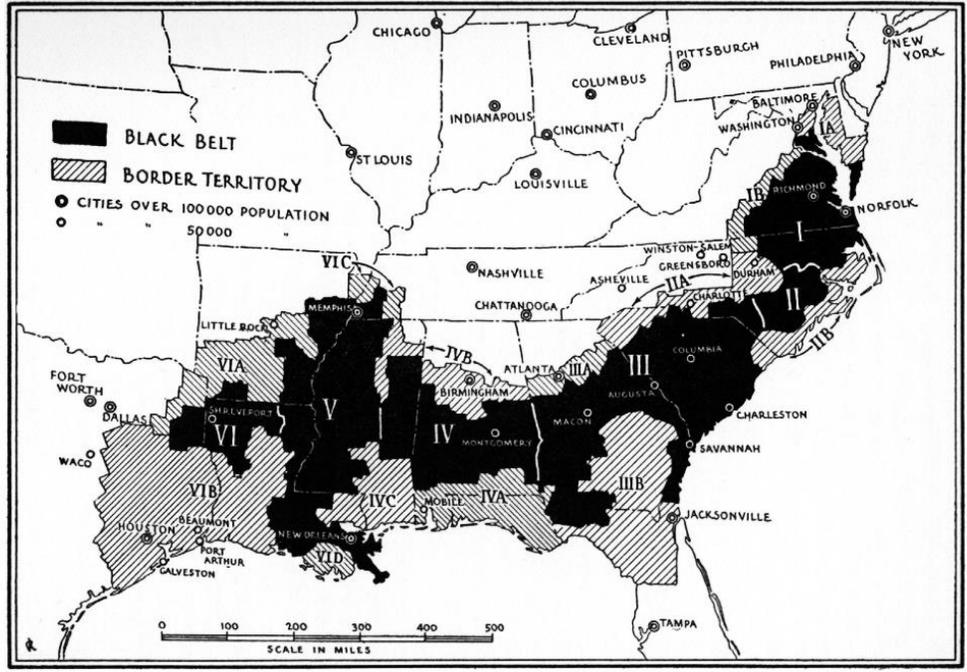
BLACK BELT AND BORDER TERRITORY
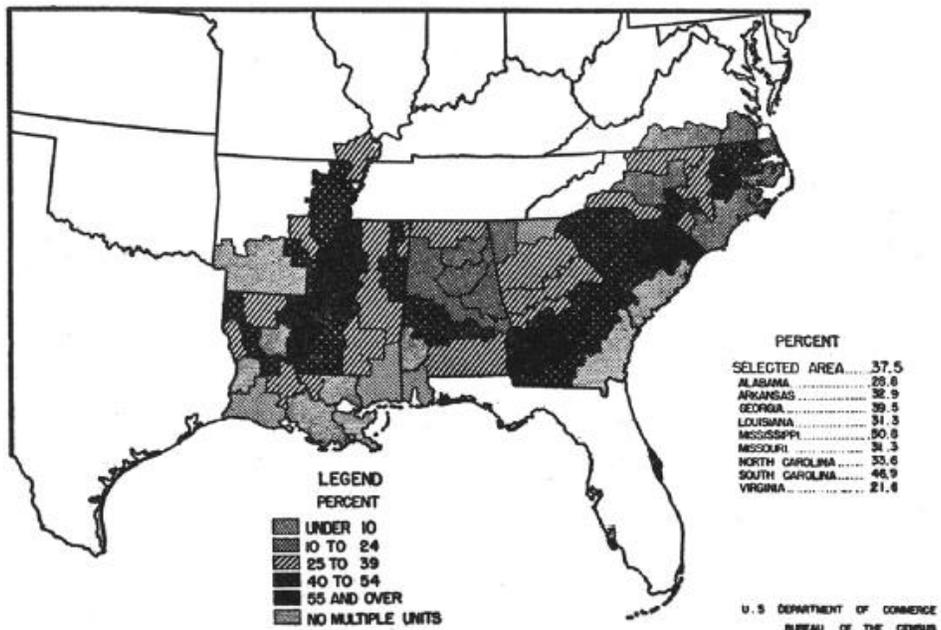
The plantation area in 1945 showing the percentage of total farm land in
multiple units. The area shaded for over 40 per cent forms the core of the
Black Belt and includes the principle plantation regions.

Figure 9.1
Alternative use of U.S. Census Bureau maps by CPUSA in James Allen's *The Negro
Question in the United States* (1936) (above) and Harry Haywood's *Negro Liberation*
(1948) (below)

Sources: James Allen, *The Negro Question in the United States* (1936), Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation* (1948)
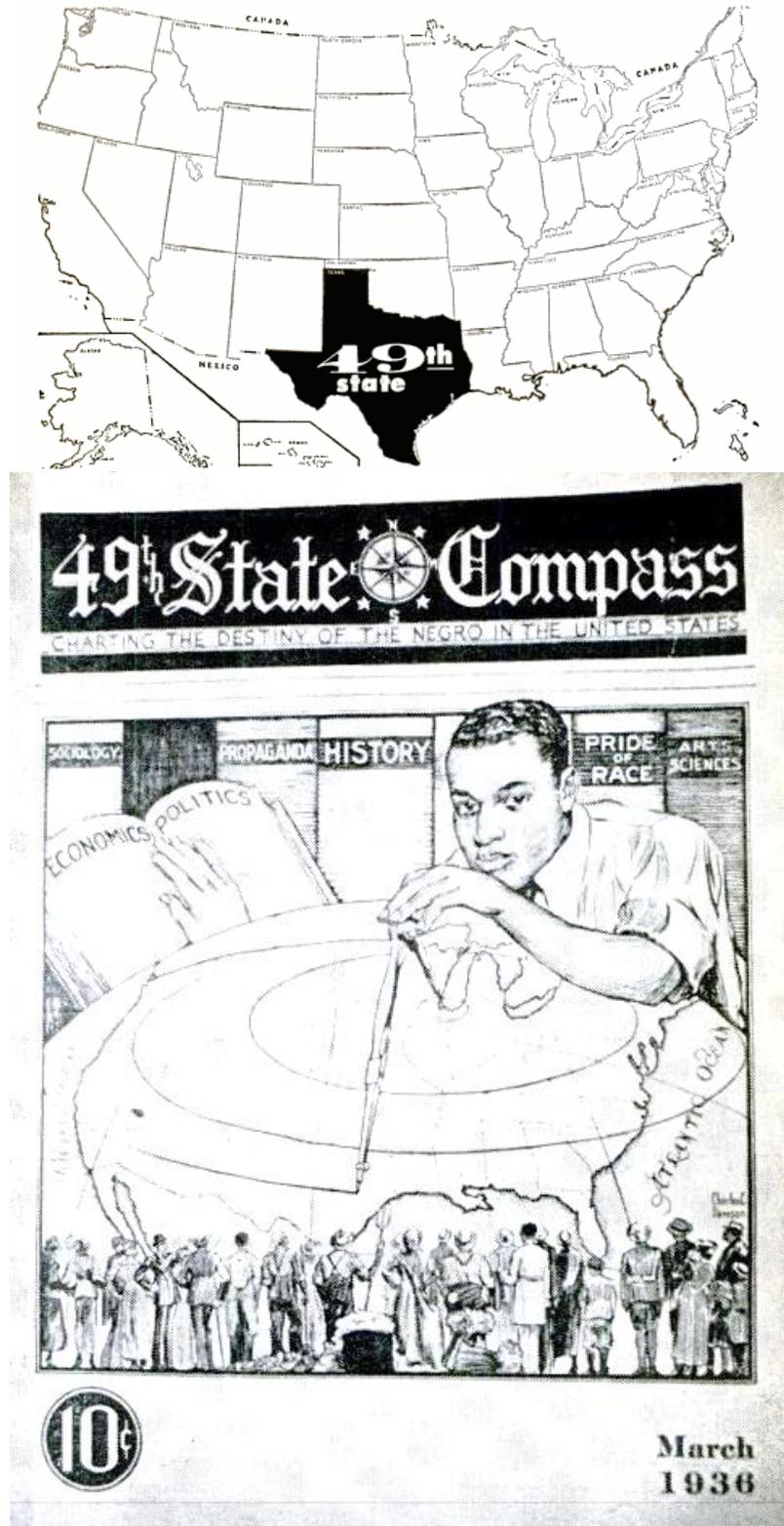
Figure 9.2
Alternative map-making of the National Movement for the Establishment of a
49th State, 1930s
Source: *Jet* magazine, May 30, 1968

2005: 20). The centers gave presentations or "tours" on the segregated socio-spatial patterns of

black urban settlement. They also modeled scenarios of "mass incarceration and genocidal

extermination of black people in detention camps" in hindsight of the mid-1960s urban

rebellions, and by interpreting documents such as the fictional King Alfred Plan and Title II of

the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, also known as the Emergency Detention Act

(Nuruddin 2005: 7). According to scholar activist Yusuf Nuruddin,

> "The Top" (Topographical Research Center) had a major impact on the consciousness of
> all blacks who took the three hour "tour." Replete with impressive color-coded maps of
> the "ghetto-reservations" that confine the captive black American population, and
> photographs of 30 foot poison gas canisters located in detention centers, the tour of "The
> Top" was a chilling, political paranoia-inducing experience. (Nuruddin 2005: 20)

In addition to participating in the Topographical Center's tours in Chicago, Detroit consulate

workers studied the Center's maps to conduct a spatial analysis of black neighborhoods that

helped in planning the PG-RNA's plebiscite strategy (DPD, memorandum, June 12, 1969: 2).

PG-RNA workers in Detroit adopted the Black People's Topographical Research Center

as a model institution for building its own capacity to gather and disseminate geographical

information. Upon returning from Chicago, consulate workers shared their newly acquired

geographical skills and experiences by giving map presentations during public meetings.

Workers displayed maps of Chicago and Detroit to compare population density and spatial

confinement patterns of black urban neighborhoods (DPD, memorandum, July 20, 1969: 2).

Workers presented maps showing Detroit's "Black Belt" area, which the Black Legion used

them to coordinate its communications plan. The Legion's plan proposed dividing the city into

eight sections that would each be given an African revolutionary name (DPD, memorandum,

July 20, 1969: 2). To attract support for its "Plebiscite Vote for a New Detroit" campaign, the

Detroit consulate presented maps of an all-black controlled political geography that incorporated

the city's African American neighborhoods (Figure 9.3) (DPD, memorandum, June 2, 1969: 1, June 23: 2). As discussed in chapter 7, in the early 1970s, the PG-RNA's national leadership urged local consulates to set up their own "topographical centers" (PG-RNA administration booklet 1970). In January 1970, during the PG-RNA's constitutional crisis, the Detroit consulate opened a topographical center in a rented storefront on 11431 Mack Avenue on the city's East Side, several miles from the consulate's West Side headquarters on 9823 Dexter Avenue (DPD, memorandum, June 2, 1969: 1). Al Rutledge ran the center with funds collected during general public meetings (DPD, memorandum, January 6, 1970: 1). Rutledge gave map presentations during strategy discussions at general meetings (DPD, memorandum, April 29, 1970: 1). The Black Legion also used the center for training, distributing information, and recruiting new members (DPD, memorandum, June 2, 1969: 1).

Created during the early to mid-1970s, the PG-RNA's most popular maps show the political geography of the Republic of New Afrika's National Territory and Kush District, two places in the Deep South having central importance to the idea of a New Afrikan nation-state. According to Wood, "to map a state is to assert its territorial expression, to leave it off is to deny its existence . . . a state unrecognized (unmapped) is scarcely a state" (Wood 1992: 106). New Afrikan leaders designated the Kush District as an area along the lower Mississippi River that would be the first place within the Republic of New Afrika's subjugated national territory to become independent after organizing a successful United Nations-monitored black plebiscite (Lumumba 1973: 39; Obadele 1974: 33, 1975a: 60, 1987: 27-28). Kush was also where the PG-RNA would build its first New Communities (Lumumba 1973: 39; Obadele 1975b: 38). The Kush District originally covered an approximately 15,000 square-mile area of 25 contiguous black majority counties in Mississippi that spanned from Marshall County in the northwest to

Wilkinson County in the southwest (Figures 9.4 and 9.5) (Lumumba 1973: 39; Obadele 1974: 33, 1975a: 60, 1975b: 36, 1987: 28). By the mid-1970s, PG-RNA maps showed the Kush District expanding to include Noxubee and Kemper Counties in east central Mississippi, Haywood County in southwestern Tennessee, and a stretch of land on the Mississippi River's west bank from Lee County in eastern Arkansas to Iberville Parish in southeastern Louisiana (Figures 9.6 and 9.7) (Obadele 1975b: 35).

Maps of the Kush District are mostly black-and-white choropleth maps that use black and gray shading to indicate black majority or near black majority counties. Maps of Kush in Mississippi from 1972 use thin black dot and dash lines to delineate county and state boundaries (Figures 9.4 and 9.5). The only physical feature the maps show is the Mississippi River on the Kush District's original western border. The map on the left has no legend, but the one on the right includes a legend near the bottom left corner that explains the x and square icons as indicating "counties with black majority populations" and "counties with black population between 40 and 49%." However, by 1976, the Kush District had expanded to incorporate Pike, Kemper, and Noxubee, three of the ten counties in Mississippi marked by x's and squares in an earlier map from 1972 (Figures 9.5, 9.6 and 9.7). The 1972 maps of Kush show titles and county names spelled in unconventional lettering. An underlined narrow large-point sans serif font of all capitalized letters spells "Mississippi" in the maps' upper right corners. Below this, capital letters drawn with what appears to be magic marker, spell out "Kush District." Outside the Kush District's borders, the map uses a narrow small-point san serif font evenly positioned below each county's upper border for the letters of county names. Inside the Kush District, large handwritten white letters oriented in various horizontal and vertical angles show county names. The bold handwritten letters defy the orderly typographical conventions of professional

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Figure 9.3
Map of Detroit in Detroit PG-RNA Consulate's
"Plebiscite Vote for a New Detroit" flyer, summer 1969
Source: PG-RNA, 1969

cartography. In doing so, the letters set the map's radical appeal and the PG-RNA's intentions to

change the place upon which its Kush District map is superimposed. The map projects this

appeal at the level of discourse to sway political preferences in favor of NAIM.

The smaller-scaled mid-1970s "Proposed Minimum" maps of "Kush, in The Subjugated

National Territory-The Republic of New Africa" show the Kush District having a much larger

area with boundaries extending into Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and east-central

Mississippi (Figures 9.6 and 9.7). The former map shows the Kush District as including St.
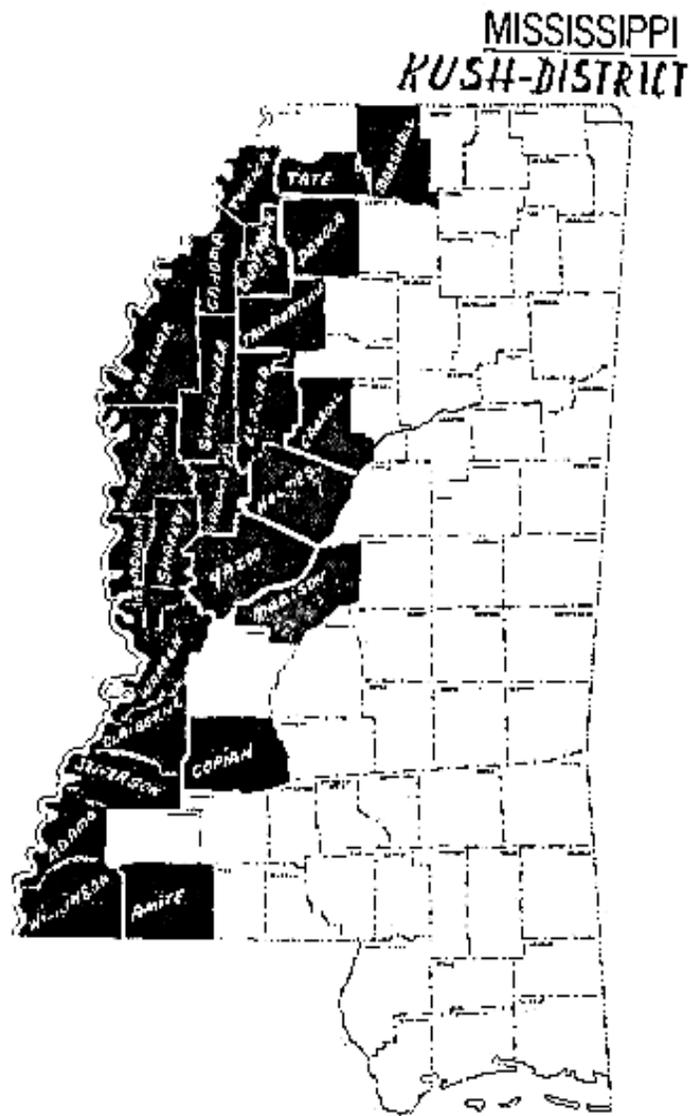
Figure 9.4
Kush District in Mississippi 1972, counties with black majorities
Source: PG-RNA, 1972
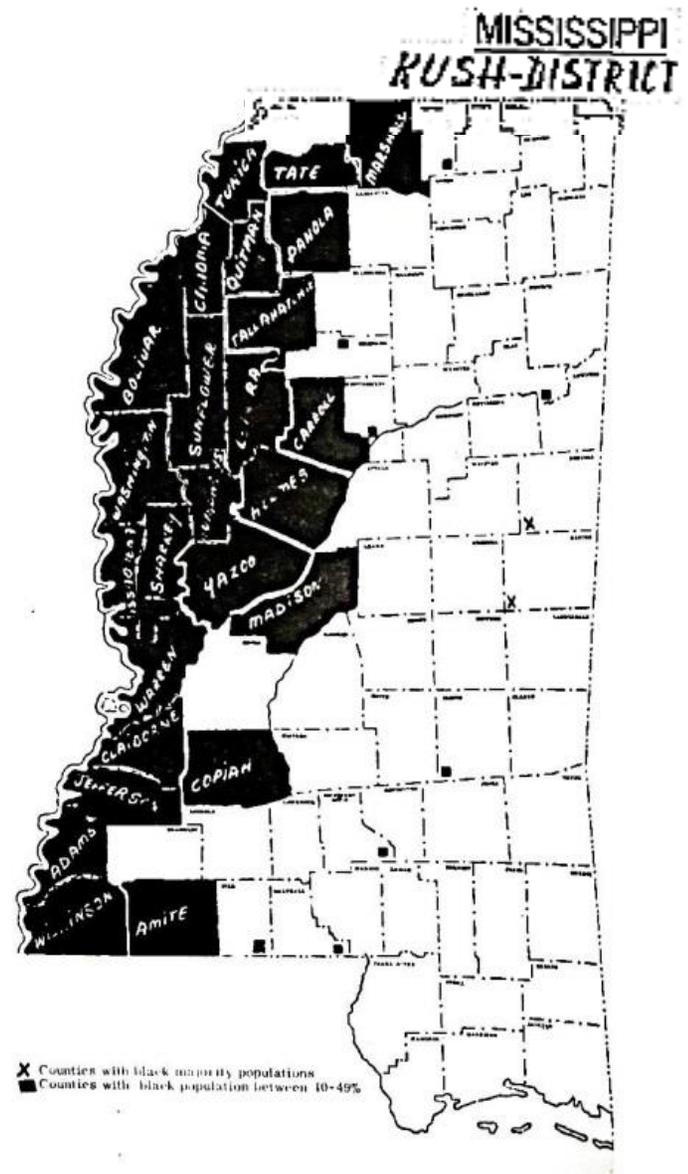
Figure 9.5
Kush District in Mississippi 1972, counties with black majorities
and 40 to 49 percent black
Source: PG-RNA, 1972

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Notes

1. Dark areas are Black-majority areas. Gray areas have large Black populations but under 50%.

2. The 5-state RNA National Territory includes the states now known as Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

PROPOSED MINIMUM MAP

KUSH, in The Subjugated National Territory – THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

Figure 9.6
Kush (including St. Landry and St. Martin Parishes, Louisiana) in the RNA's Subjugated National Territory showing map notes indicating black majority and near majority counties, 1976
Source: H.T. Sampson Library Special Collections/Archives, Jackson State University, 2010
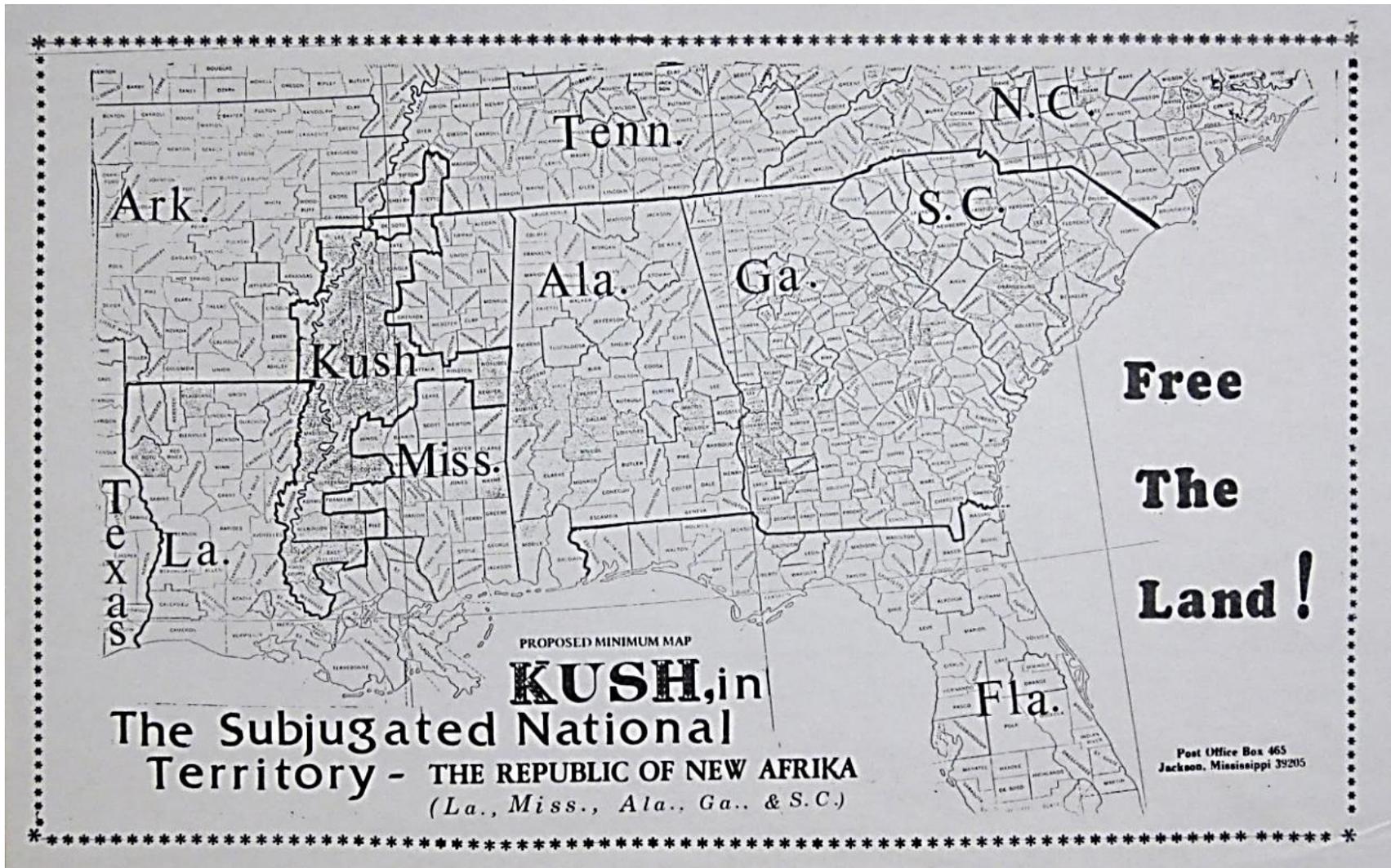
Figure 9.7
Kush (excluding St. Landry and St. Martin Parishes, Louisiana) in the RNA's Subjugated National Territory showing slogan and black majority and near majority counties
Source: Ken Lawrence collection, 1940-2010, HCLA 6312, Special Collections Library, Pennsylvania State University, 2013

Landry and St. Martin Parishes in Louisiana. The bottom map excludes these parishes, perhaps after its maker, who is unknown to this author, learned that they in fact did not contain black majorities, as U.S Census Bureau data confirms. Solid lines trace parish and state boundaries, with the top map having a noticeably thicker outline of Kush. Black and gray shading indicates black majority and near majority areas throughout the maps. The maps show no additional icons and, unlike the 1972 Kush in Mississippi maps, no handwritten lettering. A small point sans serif font and capitalized letters positioned in different angles within each county, spell out all county names.

The map title and state names consist of bold large point serif font letters with the latter being abbreviated and oriented horizontally. "Texas" stands out as the only state name spelled in full and aligned vertically. In the title, the letters K and H in "KUSH" contain strings of decorative arrows. The maps have nearly identical titles except that the latter map shows abbreviated names of the five states of the national territory in parentheses below the words "Republic of New Afrika." It is also important to point out that the latter map uses the spelling "New Afrika" in place of "New Africa," a practice that was adopted around 1976. A unique bold font style in the latter sets apart the words of the popular New Afrikan slogan "Free the Land!" Both maps exclude indicating physical land features, and their titles cover over the Gulf of Mexico. Map notes in the former map, and slogan and mailing address in the latter map, are situated across the Atlantic Ocean. Neither map has a legend, although the former provides map notes explaining the map's shading scheme and listing the names of the five southern states comprising the Republic of New Afrika's national territory. The former map does not use a frame, while the latter one shows a frame consisting of decorative asterisks. Together, these unconventional features in the map frame signify the human agency of remaking place, a

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revolutionary action. However, none of the PG-RNA's maps show the Republic of New Afrika's national capital, El Malik, which nationalists consecrated in 1971 in Brownsville, Mississippi.

An important aspect of the maps' linguistic codes is how they underlie toponymic or place-naming practices. Like other signs projected on the map, place-names work on multiple levels including their ability to signify territorial claims and to shape the social and political identities of places and their inhabitants. The PG-RNA's choice of place-names such as the "Republic of New Afrika" and "Kush District," underpins NAIM's construction of New Afrikan national identity and the creation of the New Society as envisioned in the Malcolm X Doctrine and New Afrikan Declaration of Independence. Approved over other proposed names such as "The Songhay Republic," New Afrikan nationalists adopted the name "Republic of New Afrika" at the founding conference in Detroit on March 31, 1968 (DPD, memorandum, April 1, 1968: 3; RNA 1972: 1). In a 1978 interview, Queen Mother Audley Moore asserted that she gave the New Afrikan nation its name after reflecting on the names of African countries (Black Women Oral History Project. Interviews, 1976-1981. Audley Moore, seq. 29). The name does not appear in the Declaration of Independence or New Afrikan Creed, but it is included in the New Afrikan Oath.

As for the Kush District, Imari Obadele indicated in 1973, that it was named "after the high civilization of the southern Nile in ancient Africa called *Ethiopia* in the Bible" (Obadele 1987: 28). By adopting the name "Kush," New Afrikans challenge the dominant meanings and identities of the Lower Mississippi River Valley region, where the district is located. The process is similar to the toponymic changes that independence struggles around the world implemented by replacing the colonizer's place-names with those of the newly liberated nations.

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For example, the modern African nations of Ghana and Mali were known during the colonial

period as the British Gold Coast and French Sudan. In discussing the significance of the name

"Kush" during an interview with the author, Chokwe Lumumba, a long-time New Afrikan

nationalist and former PG-RNA vice president, explained,

> he who controls the images controls the minds, right, and so the imagery and the titles, the labels that We put on things kind of helps control the thinking, and it creates expectations in terms of, especially the younger population, the naming of things is actually an educational base for younger people as they matriculate into the society, so when We talk about the Kush District it helps redefine an area which is really the result of much oppression . . . and which has had a history of oppression, we redefine it with a symbol of liberation, ok, and the symbol of liberation at the same time links us back to history which talks about the cradle of much of the African civilization . . . in our time . . . and it really invites a discussion which allows us to really educate our children about what really ancient Kush was and what Kush had been becoming for . . . who we are now. (personal communication, March 28, 2010)

For Lumumba and other New Afrikan nationalists, the place-name "Kush" simultaneously ties

blacks to an idyllic and glorious place and society of the past, and to a future place and society in

the making. Imari Obadele envisions Kush as a place where New Afrikans could transform

black social reproduction to eliminate alienation and value human dignity,

> In Kush, We could sever the fulfillment of basic needs from the necessity to do just *any* kind of work merely to survive. Here, in Kush, with the schools and television at the service of the people, We could begin to sever prestige from money, so that basic dignity is the possession of all, and people will earn *prestige* for the many evidences of skill or talent or devotion, some of which now count for little. (Obadele 1987: 327 emphasis in original)

This shows how the PG-RNA's maps, as creations of their time, work discursively alongside

New Afrikan political rhetoric to bring into realization the future New Society of the Republic of

New Afrika.

In terms of presentation, Kush District and the National Territory maps are relatively

plain-looking in appearance and made with a low level of resources. The PG-RNA published the

maps and distributed them in organizational texts including books, newspapers, and mass-

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photocopied booklets, pamphlets, and flyers. The maps are not conventional or professional cartographic productions, but are sophisticated nonetheless as signs conveying the ideas and messages of Black Power and New Afrikan revolutionary nationalism. In this way, the maps were not simply a practical means for nationalists to show demographic patterns and state borders, but were intended to present the PG-RNA and the New Afrikan worldview to a wider audience. The maps assert the New Afrikan position on the issues of racial integration and separation, advance the claim to black national self-determination, and indicate where a new future and place must begin.

The PG-RNA's maps intended to answer the yearnings of blacks dejected by the state of black life in America. They demonstrate a black radical geographical imagination and vision of place. Eventually, "reiteration and cultural distension" elevated the metaphorical power of maps of the Republic of New Afrika's national territory from the level of icon, where representation is characteristic, literal, and "geographically constrained," to the status of symbol, where representation takes on connotations and meanings that operate independently of the immediate context of the original map image (Wood 1992: 118-121). By 1970, maps of the Republic of New Afrika's national territory had begun to appear as symbols of Black Power and New Afrikan nationalism on magazine covers, as masthead elements in the *New African* newspaper, and in the work of political artists from allied social movements. In these uses, the maps did not merely show area and location, but conveyed a New Afrikan political ideology and vision of place.

As political symbols, the maps took on a much simpler appearance as dark silhouettes of the territory or as thickly outlined state borders within which dots and place-names indicated capital cities. The national territory map as political symbol appears on the front cover of a 1971

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issue of *Close Up*, a black-owned magazine published by W. Clayton Neely in Jackson, Mississippi (Figure 9.8) (Thompson 1993: 97). The bright green map symbol, which showing only the borders and capitals of the five-state national territory, stands out against a black-and-white photograph of uniformed young New Afrikan citizens in military formation at the 1971 Land Celebration at El Malik in Brownsville, Mississippi. The map symbol, photograph, and text reading "Republic of New Africa: Yes, Separation - No, Integration!" combine to loudly declare New Afrikan nationalism's arrival and intentions in Mississippi. The clearly agitational image was a shocking sight in Mississippi at the time of its publication in 1971.

The Detroit consulate used the same five-state map symbol in flyers advertising its public meetings (Figure 9.9). A hastily hand-drawn version of the map omits the names of state capitals in the flyer on the right. The map symbols in both flyers combine with meeting information and NAIM slogans reading "It's nation time," "We are an African people," and "Now we have a nation." Various issues of the *New African* newspaper deployed the map symbol as a graphic element in their mastheads (Figures 9.10 and 9.11). In the top image, a masthead from 1970 presents the map symbol with state borders and the names of the states, their capitals, and major cities. It stands out centrally among the newspaper's title, publication information, and the country's name. A bold Black Power fist symbol appears on the right side. The bottom image shows a masthead from 1972 where the map symbol appears at a much larger scale as a black silhouette within a black-outlined oval frame. Here too another symbol of Black Power joins the national territory map symbol; a black silhouette of the African continent positioned diagonally across the title rendered in a bamboo-style font. The bottom masthead also includes the slogan "The Black Man is Wanting His Own Piece of Land." The combinations of map symbols and slogans expand the range of connotations jumping off the page, demonstrating extrasignification.

It is also important to note that the map symbol's simple outline of the RNA national territory's political borders allowed NAIM activists to easily modify the symbol in appearance and application in many ways since the 1970s (Figure 9.12).

The map as a political symbol appears again in an RNA-11 support poster created by the Madame Binh Graphics Collective, which was a group of women artists that formed the New York-based "'graphic-arm' of the May 19ᵗʰ Communist organization" in the mid-1970s to early 1980s (Figure 9.13) (Patten 2011: 11). The symbol appears as the five-state territory with boldly outlined borders having the capitalized words "New Afrika" written across it. By distorting area and distance, the map locates the U.S. South in a Caribbean context, magnifying the Greater Antilles and the Bahamas, and positions it in a Black Atlantic world. Excerpts of the New Afrikan Creed stand out across a thickly outlined symbol of the African continent framed by high contrast transparent black-and-white images of Imari Obadele and the RNA-11. Large white letters near the bottom of the poster spell out the slogan "The Struggle is for Land" against a shaded orange background representing the land itself. The map symbol's appearance in the Madame Binh Collective's poster projects NAIM's messages of black self-determination and freedom for black political prisoners as resonating with a wider global audience outside of the United States and New Afrikan movement itself. This wider significance demonstrates how the map symbol endured into the late 1970s and early 1980s by crossing ideological boundaries when NAIM built new political alliances with other revolutionary movements such as the May 19ᵗʰ Communist Organization and the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (Tani and Sera 1985: 232).

Lastly, it should be pointed out how NAIM's adversaries created their own maps to express opposition to New Afrikan nationalism. The map art images of *Jackson Daily News*

political cartoonist Bob Howie anthropomorphize the state of Mississippi as a helpless victim stabbed with flagpoles having RNA banners attached to them (Figure 9.14). The 1970 image on the left shows an RNA flagpole, clenched by a black fist, impaling the state of Mississippi. The cartoon on the right shows blood gushing from a location pierced by an RNA flagpole near Jackson. Forecasting imminent disaster are the alarming words "violence" written in capital letters across the spurting blood and the caption "Inevitable Eruption" framing the base of the image. The map art in these cartoons complemented sensationalist newspaper stories with fearsome headlines reading "Communists Plan a Black Soviet Empire in Dixie," "Violent Negro Fugitive Picked to Head Nation," "Toward Violent Revolt, Black Ultra-Left Ready," "Negro Organization Asks for 10 Trucks of Ammo," and "Mississippi Takeover Part of New Africa Plot." Antithetical to the PG-RNA's maps, Howie's cartoon maps announce that Black Power and NAIM have no place in Mississippi.
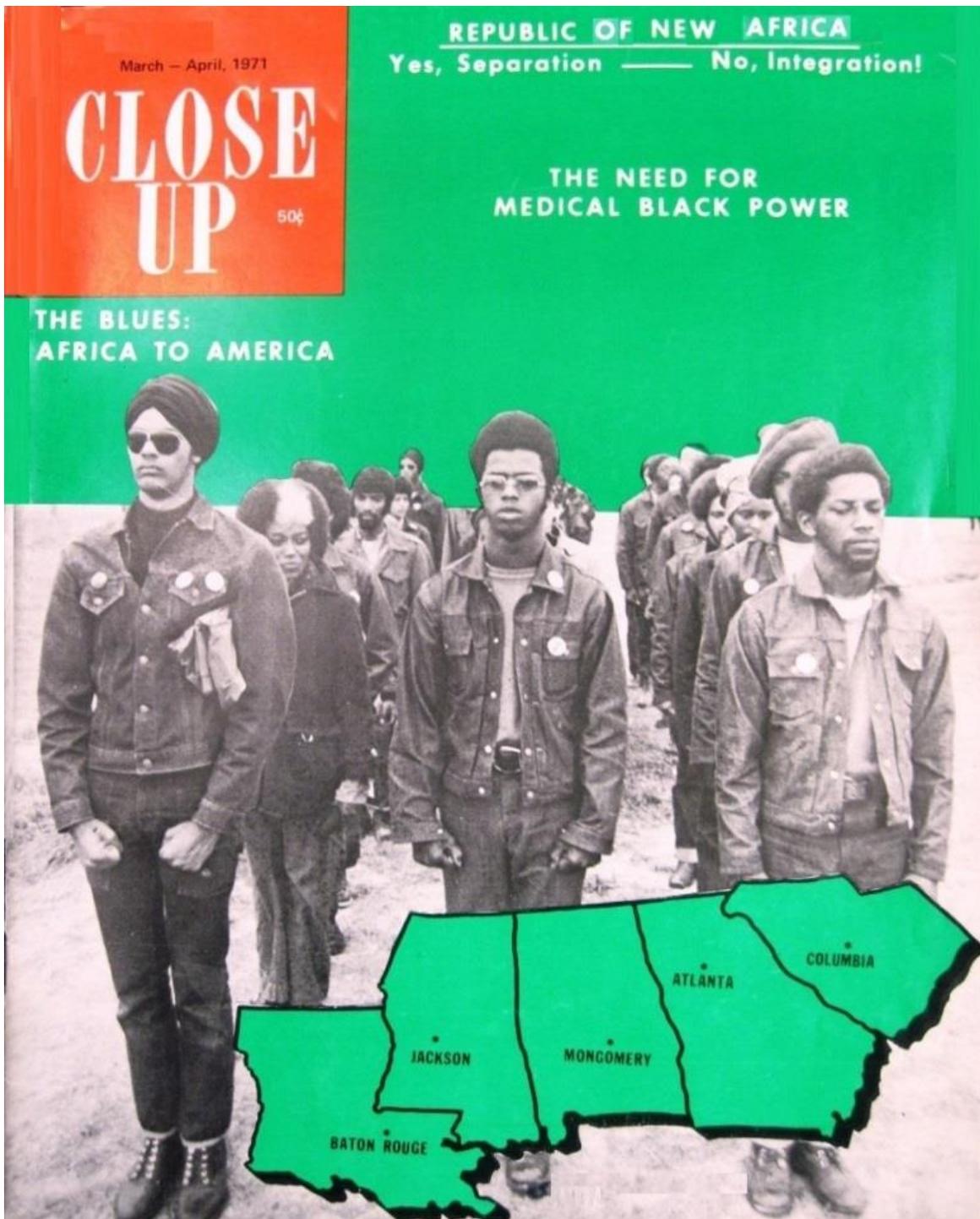
Figure 9.8
Front cover of *Close Up* magazine with RNA map symbol, 1971
Source: H.T. Sampson Library Special Collections/Archives, Jackson State University, 2010

Figure 9.9
RNA map symbols in Detroit PG-RNA consulate flyers, March and December 1971
Source: PG-RNA, 1971

Figure 9.10
RNA National Territory map symbol as masthead feature, August 1971
Source: PG-RNA, 1971

Figure 9.11
RNA National Territory map symbol as masthead feature, August 1972
Source: PG-RNA, 1972
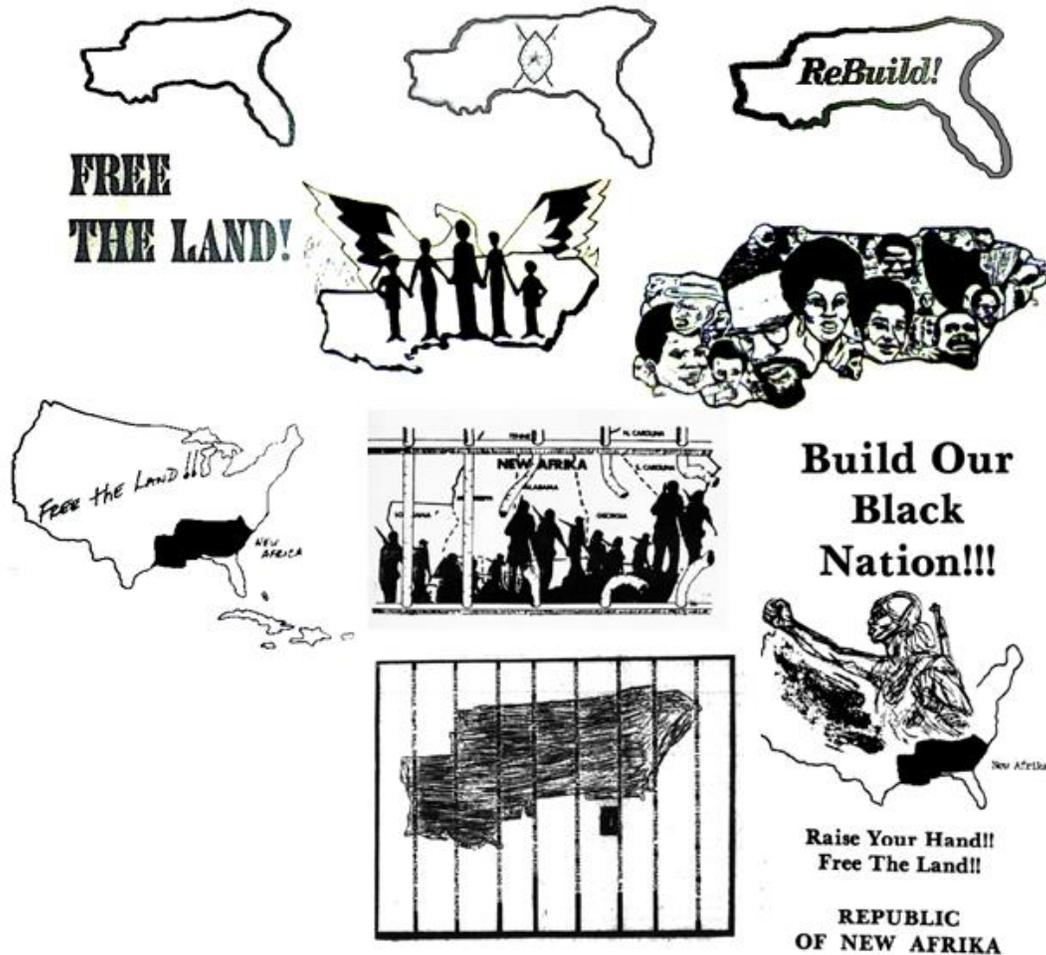
Figure 9.12
Variations of RNA Subjugated National Territory map symbol
Sources: PG-RNA and NAPO, various years
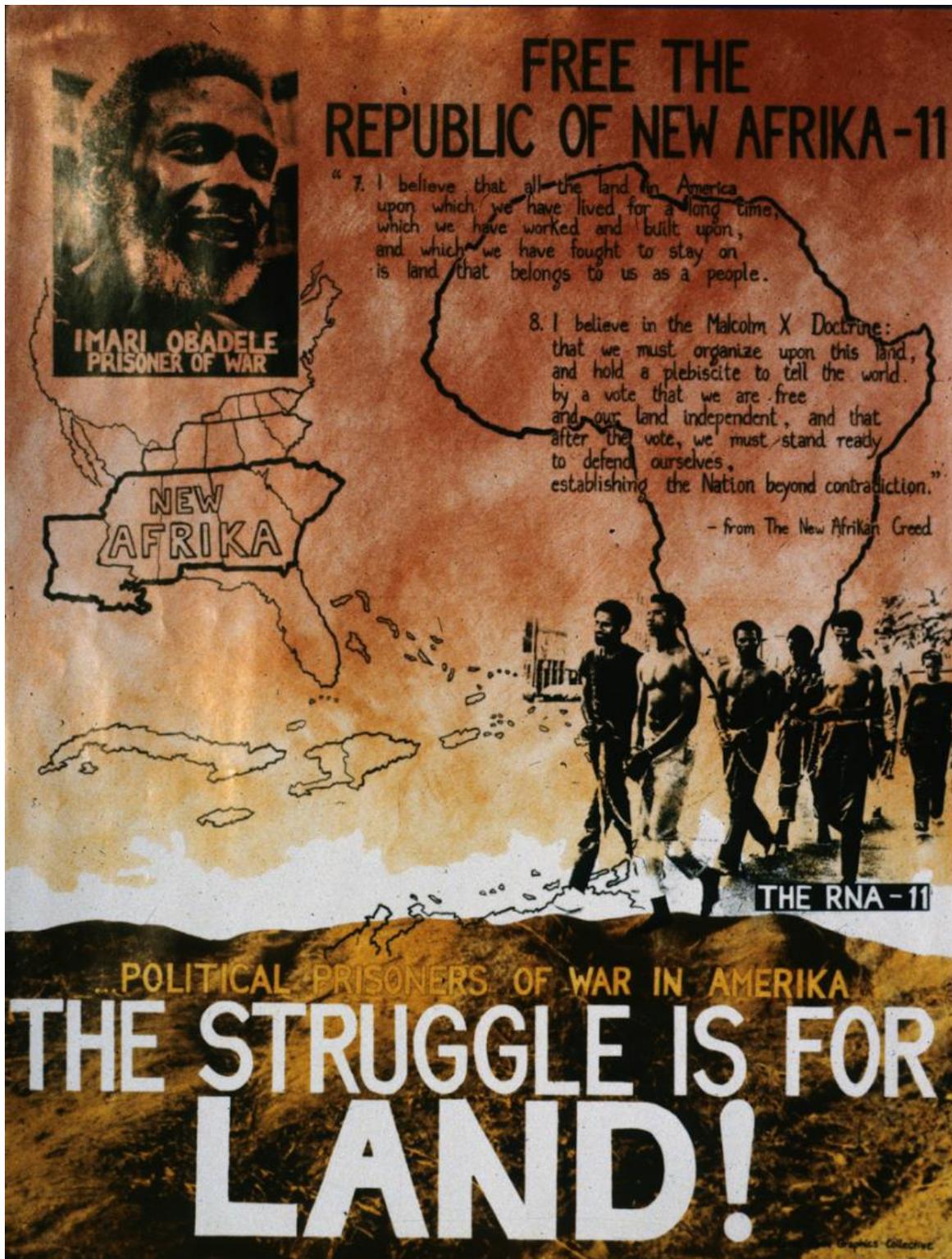
Figure 9.13

RNA map symbol in Madame Binh Graphics Collective poster, circa 1979-1980

Source: Mary Patten, *Revolution as an Eternal Dream: The Exemplary Failure of the Madame Binh Graphics Collective* (2011), courtesy of Mary Patten, artist, 2014
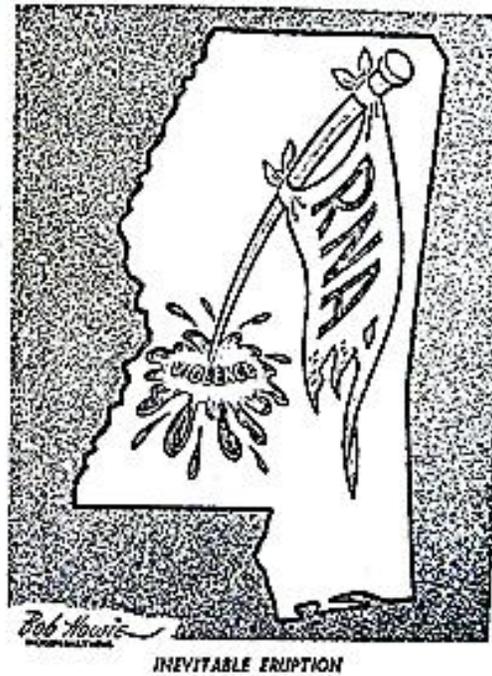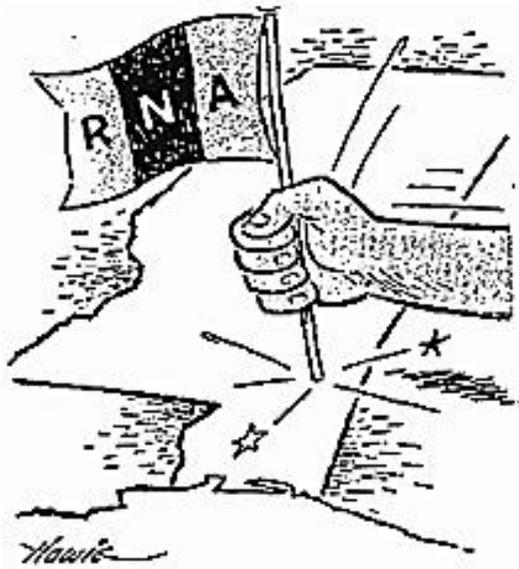
Figure 9.14
Anti-RNA political cartoon maps by Bob Howie, 1970 (left) and 1971 (right)
Sources: "New Africa: Meeting Set to Form Black Nation," *Jackson Daily News*, July 30, 1970; "RNA Eradication Over" Editorial, *Jackson Daily News*, August 19, 1971, p. 16

CHAPTER 10
NAIM'S SCALAR POLITICS AND SPACES OF ENGAGEMENT

Internationalism of Malcolm X

Malcolm X stands out as a leading defender of black revolutionary nationalism and pan-African internationalism. He asserted that extending the geographical scale of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States to the international level of human rights was necessary to expose the political illusion that the U.S. government created to make it appear that it was as an active opponent against racism (Breitman 1965: 79, 83; Malcolm X 1964: 4). This false image of the government, propagandized around the globe to counter the propaganda of the Soviet Union, effectively disempowered and isolated blacks geopolitically and kept white supremacy intact. By reframing the black struggle from civil rights to human rights, Malcolm X brought the plight of blacks in the United States into the purview of international political bodies such as the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (Bailey 1964: 5; Breitman 1965: 72-87; Malcolm X 1964: 4; Tyner 2006: 134-135). As this chapter will show, this internationalist strategy had far-reaching consequences in shaping NAIM's transnational scalar politics and culture, as it created worldwide connections and spaces of engagement that led to transformative adaptations of external ideas and practices, which became foundational to the movement.

Malcolm X committed to revolutionary pan-African internationalism after being inspired by the 1955 Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, and the OAU's 1963 founding in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He saw these historic events as models of independent political action formed outside the influence of white patronage (Breitman 1965: 6, 130). Malcolm X began his efforts to build pan-African unity with a visit to Africa and West Asia from July 3 to July 22, 1959, as the emissary of NOI leader Elijah Muhammad, who also toured the region in November

1959 (Malcolm X 1965: 242; Muhammad 1960: 6-7). However, Malcolm's two return visits in

1964 after breaking with the NOI and establishing the Muslim Mosque, Inc., were more

significant to his political goals (Malcolm X 1965: 322-333). His second trip, from April 13 to

May 21, featured meetings with African and Arab nationalist leaders, students, and activists in

Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Senegal, Morocco, and Algeria (Breitman

1965: 58-63; Malcolm X 1965: 349-367). Malcolm X visited Africa for the third and final time

from July 9 to November 14, 1964, when he met again with African presidents including Egypt's

Gamal Nasser, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Guinea's Sekou Touré,

and Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta (Breitman 1965: 72, 88; Malcolm X 1965: 377-378). On June 28,

1964, in Harlem, during an intermission between trips, Malcolm founded the Organization of

Afro-American Unity (OAAU) using the OAU as a template (Breitman 1965: 72-73). The

OAAU sought to build transnational pan-African unity by pushing for "closer contact between

Afro-Americans and black people in other parts of the world" (Bailey 1964: 5). Malcolm's work

also resulted in establishing OAAU branches in Ghana and Egypt. Egypt's branch, named the

Organization of Afro-American Students, provided scholarships for African American students

to attend Al-Hazar University in Cairo (Elden 1964: 4).

From July 17 to 21, 1964, Malcolm X attended the OAU's 2nd Summit Conference in

Cairo as an invited observer representing the OAAU (Breitman 1965: 72; Malcolm X 1964: 1,

4). At the conference Malcolm submitted to OAU delegates a memorandum urging African

nations to recognize blacks in the United States as African descendants, and calling on the U. N.

Commission on Human Rights to investigate state-sponsored human rights violations against

blacks despite the July 2 passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Breitman, 1965: 72-87).

Thirty-three African nations responded with a resolution that condemned "racial bigotry" and

"racial oppression" in the United States and insisted the U.S. government eliminate all forms of discrimination (Organization of African Unity Secretariat, 1964, AHG/Res. 15(I)). In an August 29 letter from Cairo to followers in Harlem, Malcolm X conveyed the importance of his travels when he wrote, "The foundation has been laid and no one can hardly undo it. Our problem has been internationalized" (Shabazz 1970: 110). This statement underlines the significance of Malcolm X's scalar politics to the struggle of black revolutionary nationalism.

Upon his return to the United States, Malcolm X continued to reflect on building a transnational pan-African movement. At OAAU meetings in Harlem, Malcolm introduced visiting African colleagues such as Zanzibari nationalist and Tanzanian government minister Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu, and Sheikh Ahmed Hassoun from Sudan, who was sent by the Muslim World League to serve as Malcolm X's Sunni Muslim spiritual advisor (Breitman 1965: 103). The OAAU's *Backlash* newsletter informed supporters about Malcolm's travels and the organization's activities in Africa (Malcolm X 1964: 1, 4). Malcolm X reinforced revolutionary black nationalism's transnational identification with Africa by embracing African and Sunni Muslim culture as shown in popular photographs of him wearing traditional African attire, socializing with African leaders, praying in Cairo's Mosque of Muhammad Ali Pasha, and standing before Giza's Great Pyramids (Figure 10.1). Malcolm also signified his identification with Africa by accepting the reputable Yoruba name "Omowale," which means "the son who has come home" (Malcolm X 1965: 357). The Nigerian Muslim Students' Society bestowed the name on him when he became "an honorary member" of the organization (Malcolm X 1965: 357). Such practices influenced the shaping of NAIM's geopolitical strategies and cultural politics.

Figure 10.1
Malcolm X in Accra, Ghana with Koran received from Alhaji Isa Wali,
Nigerian High Commissioner (right), (unknown man on left), May 1964
Source: Photo by Alice Windom, Film & Media Archive at Washington University in St. Louis, 2013

Self-Exile of Robert F. Williams

NAIM's transnational scalar politics also developed as an outgrowth of the work of

Robert F. Williams, an iconic black revolutionary and author of *Negroes with Guns* (1962), who,

like Malcolm X, expanded the scale of black nationalism in the United States to the spaces of

engagement formed in the global struggle against racism and imperialism. In October 1961,

Williams, a former president of Monroe, North Carolina's NAACP chapter, gained political

asylum in Havana, Cuba (Ahmad 2007: 14; Testimony of Robert F. Williams [TRFW] 1971a: 7,

110). Williams fled to Cuba by way of Canada after his home state of North Carolina brought

trumped-up abduction charges against him as retribution for his anti-Ku Klux Klan actions there

(Ahmad 2007: 14-17; TRFW 1971a: 2). Accompanied by his wife, Mabel, and two sons, John

and Robert, Williams spent his first five years of self-exile in Havana, a place he had visited twice in 1960 as a delegate of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (TRFW 1971a: 59, 62). In Cuba, Williams built connections abroad by publishing the *Crusader* newsletter and broadcasting *Radio Free Dixie* to black listeners in the southern United States (TRFW 1971a: 59, 64; Tyson 1999). In a February 1964 *Crusader* article, Williams stated, "Our friends are growing throughout the world, while those of our oppressor's are diminishing. It is important that we immediately create strong ties with our brothers of Latin America, Asia, and Africa" (Williams 1964: 5). Williams' overseas declarations for black political unity made him a notable advocate of black radical transnational scalar politics.

From 1964 to 1965, Williams visited North Vietnam once and the People's Republic of China twice (TRFW 1971a: 109). In China, he compelled the communist leader Mao Tse-tung to declare his support for the black struggle in the United States (TRFW 1971a: 12). Published in the English-language *Peking Review* news magazine, Chairman Mao's declaration read, "I wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Chinese people, to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights" (Tse-tung 1963: 6). In 1966, Williams left Cuba for China where the state supported him in publishing the *Crusader* and producing several documentary films for overseas distribution (Malcolm X 1965: 364; TRFW 1971a: 2). Issued an official Chinese travel document, Williams spent five months in Tanzania in 1968, where he met PG-RNA officials and accepted their invitation to become the Republic of New Afrika's first president (TRFW 1971a: 4-5). In May 1969, Williams left China for Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where he spent his last months of exile before returning to the United States in September (Figure 10.2) (TRFW 1971a: 1-3, 109). As a result of Williams' eight-plus years of political work outside of the United

Figure 10.2
Robert F. Williams and wife Mabel in Tanzania during
self-exile, 1969
Source: *New York Times,* 1969

States, New Afrikan nationalists hailed him as "the most effective representative of the black

revolution in foreign forums that we have had since Frederick Douglass" (PG-RNA, pamphlet,

1969). They would later frame the support that Cuba, China, and Tanzania gave the exiled

Williams as evidence of those countries' international de facto recognition of the Republic of

New Afrika's nationhood (Obadele 1987: 205). After Malcolm X's death, Williams became the

leading light of black transnational revolution as its global at-large representative from the

United States.

New Afrikan Nation-Building and Transnational Scalar Politics

NAIM's transnational scalar politics grew from the efforts of Malcolm X and Robert F. Williams, and from ideas and practices that New Afrikan nationalist leaders such as brothers Milton and Richard Henry brought directly into the movement (Figure 10.3). Milton Henry was a Tuskegee Airman during WWII, a Yale Law School graduate, and a world traveler, first visiting the West African countries of Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, and Nigeria in 1960, after resigning his seat on the City Council of Pontiac, Michigan (Mosby 1970: 699-4-699-6; Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders [RCCD] 1969: 4189; Sherrill 1969: 73; Wilkinson 2006). Recollecting the trip's influence on his political views, Henry stated,

> I saw the Convention People's Party, Nkrumah's organization, and I saw that people were organized around trying to get control over their lives . . . And that's the thing I got in Africa, that people there, even though they were poor and their standard of living was different, they were looking for a future that gave some promise to their people; real hope for a decent life and for freedom and liberation. (Mosby 1971: 699-5)

Milton Henry's experiences in Africa, and close friendships with Malcolm X and Robert Williams, shaped his political ideas and practices. By the end of 1969, he had eventually made five trips to Africa that laid the groundwork for NAIM's transnational scalar politics and political culture (Sherrill 1969: 73).

Inspired by and borrowing from the politics of independence he saw in Africa's freedom struggles, Milton Henry, together with younger brother Richard, organized several black independent pan-African oriented political groups in Detroit that preceded the creation of the PG-RNA. In October 1961, the Henry brothers formed the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), which was incorporated as a non-profit, educational organization in April 1962 (Group on Advanced Leadership [GOAL], pamphlet, 1963). By 1963, GOAL had claimed to have 750

Figure 10.3
Malcolm X with Milton and Richard Henry, Detroit Metropolitan Airport, February 14, 1965
Source: *Michigan Citizen,* 1965

members consisting of "rank-and-file workers, teachers, professionals, and a legal staff" (GOAL,

press release, October 30, 1963). GOAL's activism targeted police brutality, institutionalized

racism in public schools, and businesses in black neighborhoods that refused to hire black

workers (GOAL, pamphlet, 1963). GOAL moved towards a transnational scalar politics in its

initiative to incorporate the International All-Trades Union of the World (IATU) in 1963

(GOAL, press release, October 26, 1963). IATU proposed to be a labor organization that

promoted foremost the interests of black workers, but which, unlike the all-black GOAL,

welcomed an interracial membership (GOAL, press release, October 26, 1963). In addition to

organizing members in the United States, IATU, led by acting president Milton Henry, planned

to organize in Asia and to "contemplate strong alliances throughout Africa" (GOAL, press

release, October 26, 1963). In creating its fifty member international executive and advisory

boards, IATU extended invitations to pan-African leaders and African Presidents Kwame

Nkrumah of Ghana, Tanganyika's Julius Nyerere, Nigeria's Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Algeria's

Ahmed Ben Bella (GOAL, press release, October 26, 1963).

In 1963, the Henry brothers joined with other black activists to form the black

independent Freedom Now Party after becoming disillusioned with newly elected Michigan

Republican Governor George W. Romney, and the racism of the Democratic Party and United

Auto Workers labor union (Mosby 1970: 699-8-699-10). During the Freedom Now Party's

formation, Milton Henry invited Malcolm X to speak at GOAL's Northern Negro Grassroots

Leadership Conference on November 10, 1963, at Detroit's King Solomon Baptist Church

(Breitman 1965: 3; GOAL, press release, October 30, 1963; Mosby 1970: 699-16). At the

conference, Malcolm X delivered his landmark "Message to the Grassroots" speech, which

prescribed transnational black revolutionary nationalism and its aspirations for building global

solidarity as the only effective strategy for black liberation in the United States (Breitman 1965:

9). Milton Henry, then president of the Afro-American Broadcasting and Recording Company,

recorded and released Malcolm X's Grassroots speech as an LP record (Breitman 1965: 4;

Mosby 1970: 699-16-699-17; Salvatore 2005: 274; Wilkinson 2006).

Milton Henry returned to Africa in July 1964, to attend the OAU's 2nd Summit

Conference in Cairo, where he joined his close friend Malcolm X and interviewed him on July

17, for GOAL's radio program in Detroit (Breitman 1965: 77-84; Mosby 1970: 699-17). During

the interview, Henry expressed the indelible impression the conference made on him: "the

opportunity for the leaders of each of these parts of the world to get together becomes an

invaluable asset to the total freedom struggle" (Breitman 1965: 82). Milton Henry's experience

in Cairo demonstrates how international travel and meetings were central to building worldwide

scalar politics and spaces of engagement that fostered cooperation and dialogue between black

leadership in the United States and Africa. The pan-African symbolism of the meetings and

exchanges that ensued there critically shaped NAIM's transnational scalar politics.

Projected elements of a black cultural nationalist orientation, NAIM's founding members

built a transnational scalar politics that simultaneously encouraged a cultural politics that

renounced Western ways of life. As GOAL members, the Henry brothers introduced an African-

centered cultural politics that borrowed from distinct West and East African languages in the

practices of naming people and places. NAIM's collective identity construction and the

reinvention of activists' personal identities relied on the basic discursive practice of naming. In

1965, while announcing the formation of the Republic of New Afrika, the Henry brothers

replaced their slave names, as New Afrikans call their European birth names, with African names

(Boggs 1998: 120). Milton adopted the name Gaidi Abiodun, which consists of the Kiswahili

term for "guerilla" and the Yoruba word for "born during war" (Sherrill 1969: 72). Richard took

the name Imari Abubakari by combining the Kiswahili word for "strong" with the Manding

name of Imperial Mali's late thirteenth century *mansa* (emperor). Gaidi and Imari shared the

surname Obadele, which in Yoruba means "a royal one who returned home" (Karenga 2010).

Demonstrating the impact that naming had on New Afrikan personal identities, Gaidi stated,

"nobody in Africa is named Henry . . . That's an Irish name for god's sake . . . It means that

somebody, way back, owned my parents or screwed my parents. It's a mark of shame" (Sherrill

1969: 147). As discussed in chapter 9, New Afrikan nationalists used naming practices to

change regional and place identities in the United States in a way that reflected toponymic

decolonization, which takes place when colonized peoples replace the place names that

colonizers force upon occupied territories. In addition to identifying with Africa by naming their

country the Republic of New Afrika, New Afrikans looked to the ancient Nubian Kingdom of

Kush to name a subregion of the Lower Mississippi Valley the "Kush District," which they

designated as the geographical starting point of the black nation's liberation (Obadele 1987: 27-

28). The cultural politics of adopting place names that identified with Africa, demonstrate how

New Afrikan transnational scalar politics contributed to NAIM's discursive constructions of

place and territoriality in the Deep South. By developing a political language that connected the

region and its black population with Africa, New Afrikans subverted the region's dominant

identity, and its concomitant power, from a place known for racist brutality to a symbol of black

liberation.

After GOAL's Northern Grassroots Leadership Conference in 1963, the Henry brothers

formed the Malcolm X Society, whose members called themselves "the Malcolmites" and

practiced their namesake's message of political internationalism and self-defense (Mosby 1970:

699-19). In January and August 1968, the group published two versions of Imari Obadele's *War

in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine*, which, when first printed in October 1966, he authored

using his Kiswahili name "Brother Imari" (Obadele 1968, 1987: 11). The book identified the

Republic of New Afrika's five southern state national territory, and called for its defense through

a scalar politics of building global alliances and gaining international recognition. According to

the Malcolm X Doctrine, which reflected the pan-African internationalist thought of Malcolm X

and Robert F. Williams, to build transnational relationships, black nationalists would have to

involve "cultivation of support from Afro-Asian nations . . . the creation of economic unions and

common markets with nations in the black Caribbean, South America, Africa, and Asia, and . . .

building larger political aggregates among black controlled nations" (Obadele 1968: 62-64). In

War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine, Obadele clearly proposes transnational scalar politics

as a way to circumvent U.S. government obstruction and repression when he writes,

> Joined with other peoples of color beyond the American borders, black men bestow upon white men the status of a minority . . . we must draw to our cause the moral and material support of people of good will throughout the world; this support, correctly used, could impose upon the United States federal government an amount of caution sufficient, when coupled with the military visibility of the black state itself, to protect that state from destruction beneath certain and overwhelming federal power. (Obadele 1968: 51-52)

Imari Obadele's *War in America* represents how NAIM's use of political language became a driving force behind the evolution of the movement's transnational politics and culture, and its building of global spaces of engagement. By frequently promoting political internationalism in their speeches and writings, New Afrikan nationalists made it a central theme in their movement discourse and thereby motivated the building of global links and exchanges that formed NAIM's transnational scalar politics.

NAIM as a Transnational Social Movement

NAIM materialized as a distinct transnational social movement during the PG-RNA's founding in 1968 at the Malcolm X Society's National Black Government Conference in Detroit (RCCD, 1969: 4353, 4359-4360). Conference delegates tasked the PG-RNA with unifying worldwide support for the Republic of New Afrika's liberation. Demonstrating a transnational sensibility, Minister of Interior Imari Obadele compared the PG-RNA to Nkrumah's Convention People's Party in Ghana, explaining that it "also had served an 'apprenticeship' in self-government in Ghana during which they had control over only internal affairs, before assuming total control. The Republic of New Afrika is providing a similar apprenticeship for black people in America" ("New Africa Republic to Woo Elijah's Muslims," 1969: 11). Several of the PG-RNA's first elected officers were experienced world travelers including veteran activists Betty Shabazz and Baba Oseijeman Adefunmi, as well as Robert F. Williams, Gaidi Obadele, and Imari Obadele (RCCD 1969: 4190, 4251). Affirming NAIM's transnational identification with

Africa, PG-RNA Minister of Culture Oseijeman Adefunmi called for a cultural revolution that was to adopt African clothing and names, create holidays, heroes, and festivals, and honor historic black nationalist heroes such as Malcolm X (DPD, memorandum, April 1, 1968: 4).

The National Black Government Conference also demonstrated the New Afrikan commitment to building and supporting transnational solidarity by nominating PG-RNA ambassadors to East Africa and the Far East (RCCD 1969: 4360). By May 1969, former RAM field chairman Max Stanford, who in July 1964, met Robert F. Williams in Cuba, was serving as the PG-RNA's special ambassador (Ahmad 2007: 126, 139; RCCD 1969: 4192). On May 28, 1968, the PG-RNA attempted to initiate diplomatic relations with the U.S. government when Imari Obadele delivered a letter written by First Vice President Gaidi Obadele to Secretary of State Donald Rusk urging negotiations over the provisional government's claims for a national territory and reparations payments for slavery (Republic of New Africa [RNA] 1972: 1; RCCD 1969: 4368; Sherrill 1969: 72). In April 1969, the PG-RNA sent a second letter to newly elected U.S. President Richard Nixon (RNA 1972: 2). The U.S. government responded to the PG-RNA's diplomatic efforts with repressive measures including the FBI's COINTELPRO, which under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, was to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" black nationalist "hate-type" groups in the 1960s and 1970s (FBI, COINTELPRO memorandum, August 25, 1967).

Several high-publicity events after the PG-RNA's founding show how New Afrikan nationalists worked to build radical spaces of engagement outside the United States in the late 1960s. Between June 3 and June 10, 1968, PG-RNA national officers Gaidi and Imari Obadele, and New York City consul Mae Mallory, traveled to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to meet with Robert F. Williams, the Republic of New Afrika's president-in-exile ("New Africans Push Black

Legion, Tax, Popular Vote" 1968: 1; RCCD 1969: 4363). Following the 1966 overthrow of

Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, President Julius Nyerere's Tanzania became the world's new center

of pan-African leadership. In 1971, the presiding Tanganyika National African Union pledged

"'to establish fraternal revolutionary relations with those (Black) American citizens fighting for

justice and human equality'" (Karioki 1974: 20). In Tanzania, the PG-RNA officers met with

Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu, a high-ranking Tanzanian government minister and colleague of

Malcolm X, and state officials from Sudan, China, and the Soviet Union (RNA 1972: 1). The

African American press published articles on the PG-RNA's trip that included photos of the

travelers wearing African garments and meeting with Pan Africanist Congress of Azania leaders

David Sibeko and Jacob Nyaose, who were described as "African freedom fighters" (Figure

10.4) ("Ex-NAACP Leader Meets With Separatists in Tanzania" 1968: 23; *New Afrikan*, July 20,

1968: 1).

In its *New African* newspaper, the PG-RNA Ministry of Information reported on a speech

that Mae Mallory gave in a crowded Harlem YMCA upon her return from Africa. The speech

discussed PG-RNA President Robert Williams' foreign aid to Tanzania proposals for textbooks,

medicine, and the "establishment of trade in textiles and artifacts for the benefit of Tanzanians"

("N.Y. Rally Crowded, 350 Attend" 1968: 2). Mallory subsequently returned to Tanzania in

August 1968, as a representative of the African American Sisters United organization, and lived

Figure 10.4
Jet magazine photo of PG-RNA meeting in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in May 1968
From left to right: Robert F. Williams (sunglasses), unknown, Gaidi Obadele (Milton
Henry) and Imari Obadele (Richard Henry)
Source: *Jet* magazine, July 11, 1968

in Mwanza, the country's second largest city, for several years in the 1970s ("American Woman

Arrives in Tanzania" 1968: sec. 1; Claude 2008: 48-49). In 1974, she helped organize the Sixth

Pan-African Congress in Dar es Salaam with revered Republic of New Afrika co-founder Queen

Mother Audley Moore, who had officially received the honorary title *Queen Mother* from the

Ashanti people of Ghana in 1972 (Claude 2008: 48-49; Muhammad 1974: 76-77; "Queen

Mother' Moore; Black Nationalist Leader" 1996). The PG-RNA officers' trip to Tanzania

demonstrated the new black government's spatial mobility and commitment to pan-Africanism,

as well as having presented Dar es Salaam, and Africa in general, as a liberated space of

engagement comprised of transnational political dialogue and cultural exchange.

On November 18, 1968, the Republic of New Afrika's First Vice President Gaidi

Obadele appeared as a feature guest on conservative commentator William Buckley's *Firing

Line* television show on New York's WOR-TV (Steibel 1968, November 18). Speaking before a

studio audience of mostly white college students, Buckley introduced the vice president, who

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was flanked by two Black Legionnaires, by his European slave name Milton Henry, and sneeringly described the Republic of New Afrika as a "group of dissident American negroes who desire to carve out a new country within what we now know as the United States" (Steibel 1968, November 18). However, while debating Buckley, Gaidi Obadele demonstrated the authoritative geopolitical understanding he had gained from traveling and witnessing struggle and oppression around the world. While arguing that only black revolution could end institutionalized racism in education, Gaidi reflected on his visit to Cuba, stating, "I saw in Cuba what people who were determined to get rid of illiteracy can do, Castro down there got rid of illiteracy, we went up into the mountains and saw small schools" (Steibel 1968, November 18; TRFW 1970a: 242-243). Blasting western corporate philanthropy's reinforcement of racist governments and economic exploitation in Africa, Gaidi referenced his meetings abroad with South Africans, asserting,

> I've seen some of my brothers and sisters in South Africa . . . I'm speaking about the activities of General Motors investing in the racist government in South Africa, in aiding and abetting, in the buttressing up of that type of government, in aiding Ian Smith in Rhodesia, in keeping alive the kind of white supremacist governments that are oppressing black people. (Steibel 1968, November 18)

Gaidi's assertions conveyed a critical personal understanding of white domination and anti-colonial struggle. It was such an understanding that coincided with his commitment as a PG-RNA officer to form transnational alliances.

In subsequent public forums, Gaidi continued to underline the long-term importance of building transnational solidarity for the black struggle in the United States. In a speech on March 4, 1970, in Guelph, Ontario, Canada: Gaidi stated, "We want our sons and daughters to have open commerce with all the peace-loving peoples of the world. Not on the basis of economic cannibalism, but on a fair and equitable basis, with mutual respect and regard" (Henry 1977: 33). Reaffirming the PG-RNA's dedication to transnational solidarity and cooperation,

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Gaidi challenged popular stereotypes of the Republic of New Afrika, and more broadly Black Power, that distorted NAIM's politics of self-defense as an effort to mount a violent takeover of white America. While the PG-RNA justified armed self-defense in light of historically persistent white violence against black political movements, its call for territorial independence, however it might have outraged and appalled the mostly white general public, expressed a desire for peaceful relations in accordance with international law and respect for human rights.

NAIM projected its transnational identity into the public consciousness when the national media spotlight turned to focus on Robert F. Williams' return from exile to the United States on September 12, 1969 (Figure 10.5) (TRFW 1971a: 58, 62, 65-7). Upon his arrival to Detroit, FBI agents arrested Williams, who was accompanied by Gaidi Obadele, but quickly released him after he posted federal bail and county bond (TRFW 1971a: 62, 72). The *New York Times*, *CBS Evening News*, and Black Power movement publications reported on the scene of Williams' return (TRFW 1971a: 50-67). Newspaper reporters described Williams as a "martyr in the eyes of black militants," received at the airport by "about 50 gaily dressed members of the RNA, the black nationalist paper nation of which Williams is president" (TRFW 1971a: 61). Other articles reported on the travelers' non-Western clothing styles, pointing out Williams' blue Zhongshan or Mao Tse-tung suit and red cap, Milton Henry's blue dashiki, and the New Afrikan reception group's African attire (TRFW 1971a: 61-62, 72). Being mentioned in the news media suggests that New Afrikans saw Williams' return as an opportunity to assert their presence in the national political landscape, and to project NAIM's transnational cultural politics and identity to a wider audience. Despite Williams' symbolic importance and ability to attract publicity, he soon resigned from the PG-RNA in December 1969, when he shifted towards a more conventional course of racial politics (Mosby 1970: 699-22-299-3; Obadele 1987: 18; TRFW

Figure 10.5
Press conference with RNA President Robert F. Williams and PG-RNA cabinet,
20 Grand Motel, Detroit, September 12, 1969. Pictured are Robert F. Williams,
Mabel Williams, Queen Mother Moore, Gaidi Obadele, and Imari Obadele
Source: photo by *Detroit News* staff, Walter P. Reuther Library, 2013

1971a: 79; "Williams quits as RNA prexy" 1969: B1).

New Afrikan nationalists in the early 1970s continued to travel to Africa to learn about

and adopt elements of its traditional and contemporary cultural practices and anti-colonial

politics. Yusufu Sonebeyatta traveled to East Africa as a University of California, Berkeley,

graduate student soon after joining the PG-RNA and becoming its minister of economic planning

and development in 1970 (J. Brooks, personal communication, October 14, 2011).

Sonebeyatta's three month tour of Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Tanzania, directly

shaped the PG-RNA's New Afrikan Ujamaa socio-economic development plan, which, in

accordance with the New Afrikan Creed, and named with the Kiswahili word for "familyhood,"

proposed the building of 4,000 "New Communities" or cooperative settlements throughout the

South as part of the Anti-Depression Program (J. Brooks, personal communication, October 14, 2011; Obadele 1975a: 100, 103-104; Sonebeyatta 1971: 15). Impressed by Tanzania's Arusha Declaration and *ujamaa* villagization project, Sonebeyatta indicated that for the PG-RNA, "what Julius Nyerere was attempting to do in Tanzania at the time had a big influence on our thinking . . . that was our model, Tanzania was our model, Julius Nyerere was our model" (J. Brooks, personal communication, October 14, 2011). While calling for the establishment of traditionally-based *ujamaa* villages in Tanzania, President Nyerere stated, "We must take our traditional system, correct its shortcomings, and adapt to its service the things we can learn from the technologically developed societies of other continents" (Nyerere 1968: 340). Imari Obadele echoed Nyerere's critical approach to adopting features of Africa's historical culture. While justifying the PG-RNA's 1971 approval of polygamy or "New Marriage" in the Republic of New Afrika, despite cultural clashes over polygamy in Africa, Obadele cautioned, "We cannot accept and enshrine everything because it was done in ancient Africa. A thing must stand or fall on its own merits - measured against our commitment to create a better people in a new and better world" (Obadele 1975a: 43). New Afrikan nationalists' deliberate and strategic adaptation of specific cultural, political, and economic practices from Africa during the continent's mid- and late twentieth century independence era, highlighted Africa's importance to the development of NAIM's African-centered political practices and identity. By revering Africa as space of black liberation, New Afrikans also challenged racist stereotypes of the continent as a politically and culturally bankrupt place.

Scalar Politics in NAIM's Struggle for Political Prisoners and Exiles

NAIM's scalar politics and spaces of engagement expanded with the struggle for New Afrikan political prisoners, which became prominent in the wake of the U.S. government's

crackdown on black radical organizations and activists in the 1960s. NAIM activists again

advanced the strategy of political internationalism in their struggle to have New Afrikan

prisoners recognized as prisoners of war, and to reveal the U.S. government's repression of

political dissent in the United States. On March 30 and 31, 1973, the PG-RNA held an

International African Prisoner of War Solidarity Day in Jackson, Mississippi, to attract

worldwide support for the RNA-11 and other imprisoned black radical activists including H. Rap

Brown, Martin Sostre, Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Seven, survivors of the Attica Prison

massacre, and many others (C. Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010; Obadele

1987: 196). As Jackson's largest demonstration since the civil rights era, solidarity day featured

speakers, workshops, entertainment, and the participation of representatives from the BPP,

Congress of African People, and United Front (C. Lumumba, personal communication, March

28, 2010). Imari Obadele partly attributed his release from state prison on April 2, 1973, to the

influence of Solidarity Day (Obadele 1987: 200). Chokwe Lumumba, then PG-RNA acting

president, minister of justice, and Solidarity Day's lead-organizer, alluded to the event's

importance to NAIM's transnational politics when he stated that it "became representative of not

only Afrikan prisoners of war and political prisoners on this continent but actually some on other

continents too, like Africa in particular . . . it was kind of a pan-African connection" (C.

Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010).

Despite organizers' intentions to build Solidarity Day as an international event, local

conservative attitudes limited its potential global reach to the national scale at best. As

Lumumba explained, "we tried to use the theory even then of expanding our movement . . . it

was called the International Afrikan Prisoner of War Solidarity Day, but here again our people in

Jackson renamed it, they called it Black Solidarity Day . . . that's what folks were saying" (C.

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Lumumba, personal communication, March 28, 2010). Lumumba's statement indicates that NAIM's building of a transnational scalar politics was obstructed by an apathetic response to political internationalism by potential supporters despite their seeming inclination toward black unity on a national scale. However, NAIM's prison struggle endured over the years as a transnational rallying effort that crossed national and ethnic boundaries during an acute period of political repression in the United States. Various allied groups and activists responded to NAIM's outreach across national and ethnic boundaries. In a 1983 *New Afrikan* newspaper article, former American Indian Movement activist and Leonard Peltier Support Group Chairperson, Bob Robideau, writes, "We ask our comrades, the RNA, to clasp hands with us so that we may all raise our clenched fists in salute to the defeat of our common enemy" (Robideau 1983: 12).

New Afrikan political asylum seekers and exiles extended NAIM's transnational scalar politics. Much like New Afrikan political prisoners, NAIM views New Afrikan asylum seekers and exiles as targets of political repression in the United States. Beginning with Robert F. Williams in the 1960s, several New Afrikan exiles took refuge in the Caribbean and South America. Former PG-RNA Minister of Education and East Coast Vice President Herman Ferguson, and Senior Deputy Minister of Economic Planning Umar Sharrief (Arthur Harris), fled to Guyana in 1970 after an FBI COINTELPRO frame-up resulted in convicting the for attempting to assassinate civil rights leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young (Figure 10.6) (Brauner 1989: 34-36; "RNA to Free Pol Prisoners" 1970: 1). In Guyana, using the alias Paul Adams, Ferguson, a New York University graduate and WWII merchant marine, became a leader in the Guyana's ministry of education and National Service, and eventually attained the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Guyana Defense Force (Blauner 1989: 34, 36). Ferguson

Figure 10.6
Umar Sharrief (Arthur Harris) and Herman Ferguson, circa 1970
Source: PG-RNA, 1970

returned to the United States in 1989 at which time he was arrested and sentenced to a seven-year prison term in New York's Sing Sing and Attica state prisons (Arinde 2014).

On November 26, 1971, Oakland PG-RNA workers Antar Ra (Ralph Goodwin), Maceo Sundiata (Michael Finney), and Fela Sekou Olatunji (Charles Hill), received political asylum in Cuba, where they fled using a hijacked airplane after escaping an altercation that resulted in the shooting death of a New Mexico state trooper (Eaton 2009; Lumumba 1981: 77; Obadele 1987: 168; O'Connor 1991). While living in Havana, Fela, a Vietnam War veteran and the exiled trio's last surviving member, served in the PG-RNA's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Eaton 2009; Obadele 1998: ii). Renowned Black Liberation Army (BLA) soldier and New Afrikan citizen Assata Shakur (JoAnne Chesimard) arrived in Cuba in 1984, after a November 2, 1979, jailbreak freed her from a life-plus-thirty-year prison sentence that she received after an all-white jury convicted her for the shooting death of a New Jersey state trooper in 1973 (Shakur 1987: 183-185; Umoja 2001: 14). In 2013, while Shakur was still living in Cuba, the FBI named her the

first woman on its most wanted terrorist list. New Afrikan citizen Nehanda Abiodun (Cheri Dalton) has been self-exiled in Havana since 1990, where she has evaded U.S. authorities pursuing her for alleged involvement in the October 20, 1981 Brinks Armored Car Robbery in Nanuet, New York, which BLA and May 19th Communist Organization members carried out in a unified action (Sokol 2000; Umoja 2001: 17). Federal authorities also want Abiodun for her participation in Assata Shakur's prison breakout (Sokol 2000).

New Afrikan People's Organization and NAIM's Rebuilding

As a result of changing conditions in the broader cultural and political environment that shapes NAIM's evolution, the movement's continuous building of new formations is another practice sustaining New Afrikan transnational scalar politics. In the aftermath of Black Power's waning in the 1970s, NAIM entered a rebuilding phase in the 1980s and 1990s during which nationalist leaders in PG-RNA, the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO), and the New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF), created several new mass-based formations. Each of the new formations contributed to NAIM's transnational culture and identity by maintaining and expanding the movement's global links. NAPO's founding on May 19, 1984, Malcolm X's 59th birthday, charted a new course for NAIM in the 1980s ("New Afrikan People's Organization" 1990: 2). Comprised of former PG-RNA and African People's Party members, NAPO differs from the PG-RNA, which is opened to nationalists from various groups and ideologies, by being unified around its own constitution, Program of Action, and vision for a socialist Republic of New Afrika ("Principles and Programme" 1990: 27).

NAPO's dedication to NAIM's transnational politics is evident in its Program of Action, which states, "as Pan-Afrikanists, We see the struggle of African people as one struggle. We must build unity with the struggle of our Brothers and Sisters on the African homeland, in the

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Caribbean, and throughout the Diaspora" ("Principles and Programme" 1990: 27). In 1986, in an action that demonstrated NAIM's commitment to transnational solidarity, NAPO and PG-RNA members traveled to North Africa for Tripoli's first International Peace Gathering, which commemorated civilian deaths caused by the 1986 U.S. air strikes on Libya (*Free the Land*, 1990: 12). In a December 1989 letter to supporters, Chokwe Lumumba, NAPO's Chairman and a former PG-RNA officer, stated that NAPO's political and economic objectives made it a strategic ally of the Mexican Liberation Movement, the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement, the Native American Sovereignty Movement, and "with liberation movements by other colonized peoples in Alaska, and Hawaii . . . Caribbean, Central and South American struggles . . . the Quebec Independence Movement . . . any legitimate revolutionary struggle in America" ("Message from the Chairman" 1990: 22-23). Lumumba's statement indicates how NAPO redirected and broadened NAIM's geographical focus by emphasizing the need for transnational alliances in the Americas. To show that such alliances existed, NAPO publicized messages of solidarity from activists such as Filiberto Ojeda Rios, commander of Puerto Rico's Boricua Peoples' Army or *Los Macheteros*, who in NAPO's organ *By Any Means Necessary* wrote, "there are an important number of similarities in our struggles and aspirations. Also an important contribution by African peoples in the forming of our nationality, culture, and heritage, all of which strengthens our respect and sense of brotherhood" (Rios 1987: 6).

Founded with Imari Obadele's leadership in 1987, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) formed an International Commission to build worldwide alliances in support of the reparations movement in the United States (Khalifah 2005: 23-25; National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America 2012). In the early 2000s, commissioners Onaje Mu'id and Adjoa Aiyetoro attended the Continental Summit on

Development of Afro-American Communities in La Ceiba, Honduras, the United Nations' pre-World Conference Against Racism preparatory meetings for the Americas in Santiago, Chile, and, as leaders in the International Front of Africans for Reparations, participated in the African and African Descendants Conference in Bridgetown, Barbados (Mu'id 2001: 13). In 2001, N'COBRA's International Commission sponsored a conference in New York City that featured activists from Central America and the Caribbean (Mu'id 2001: 13). In 1995, NAPO formed the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM), a mass-based movement that has organized annual solidarity-building trips to Cuba, Haiti, Venezuela, Brazil, Senegal, and other places around the world (K. Franklin, personal communication, 2011; Taliba 2011: 4). In August 2010, MXGM created the Javad Jahi Brigade to visit and support Haiti during the rebuilding process after the January 2010 earthquake, and to join Haitians demanding the return of ousted democratically elected President Jean Bertrand Aristide (K. Franklin, personal communication, 2011; Malcolm X Grassroots Movement 2010). MXGM named the Brigade in honor of the late activist Javad Jahi, who first visited Haiti in 2007 to build solidarity between New Afrikan and Haitian activists (Malcolm X Grassroots Movement 2010). The National Jericho '98 Amnesty Movement formed out of a combined effort by the PG-RNA, NALF, and New Afrikan political prisoner Jalil Muntaqim, to organize a Washington D.C. demonstration for political prisoners, which was held in October 1998 (Jericho '98 Amnesty Movement 2012). The demonstration prompted formation of a transnational support movement for imprisoned members of the BPP, BLA, AIM, May 19th Coalition, La Raza Unida Party, and Puerto Rico's Los Macheteros and Armed Forces of National Liberation (Jericho '98 Amnesty Movement 2012).

CHAPTER 11
CONCLUSION

Summary

I have shown how space, place, and scalar politics converged in NAIM's construction of a representational space of black radicalism. In doing so, I have pointed out the relationships between nation, race, and social change, and the importance of examining those relationships in specific historical geographical contexts. The forgoing sections make it possible to better understand NAIM as a nationalist movement within a particular moment and space of mid-twentieth century Cold War-era America, when the most downtrodden segments of black America rose against their oppressors and declared the time for passive resistance to be over. My research has demonstrated how black nationalist orientations, organizations, and movements of the Black Power-era had historical antecedents in nineteenth-century classical black nationalism and early twentieth-century modern black nationalism. These historical forerunners, along with contemporary developments, shaped NAIM's form and substance as a nationalist movement during the last days of the Civil Rights Movement and the birth of Black Power. As a result, scholars of Black Power can more clearly approach NAIM as a distinct black revolutionary territorial nationalist trend that was only one among several competing nationalist orientations comprising the political space of Black Power. Like many forms of nationalism and representational spaces, activists constructed the black nationalist movements of the mid-1960s to mid-1970s Black Power-era out of a socio-political struggle against the status quo within the wider society. That construction was often paradoxical as the movements maintained beliefs, values, and institutions that were deeply embedded in the larger society they sought to change.

The preceding discussion introduced a body of research on NAIM and underlined works that have urged or taken place-based approaches. My project makes a contribution to such

research by looking at NAIM's material and discursive constructions of space, place, and scalar politics, which together create the movement's representational space of black radicalism. I explored the continuity and evolution of ideas that formed a common thread among black territorial nationalist movements in the twentieth century. As NAIM's antecedents, such movements laid the groundwork for the New Afrikan struggle for black nationhood in the United States. Through common leaders who carried on and advanced ideas of black pride and self-determination, these groups provided the ingredients for NAIM's theory of black revolutionary nationalism and strategy for building a New Society liberated from the oppressions of racism, colonialism, materialism, and capitalist exploitation. These groups also bridged a nearly 50-year span between the prototypical black territorial nationalist tendencies of the 1910s and those more intricately articulated by New Afrikan nationalists during the Black Power era.

NAIM challenges the way Black Power radicalism has been understood. Consideration of NAIM's foundational theories, strategies, and programs is important to developing an understanding of the movement's geographical imagination and material spatial practices. The PG-RNA's founding was a convergence of a wide array of nationalist orientations and veteran activists that contributed to the movement's unique character and range of ideas and practices. As a result, NAIM demonstrated an amalgamation of different strands of cultural, religious, political, and territorial nationalism. New Afrikan nationalists patterned their struggle after the anti-imperialist national liberation movements taking place in colonized regions of Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. NAIM's calls for self-determination, self-governance, sovereign territory, and personal transformation stood apart in many respects from the trajectories of groups such as the NOI, the BPP, and Us Organization. While sharing common adversaries in America's racist socio-economic structure, each group took different

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paths towards defining themselves and the struggle for black liberation in the United States. NAIM had a specific territorial goal and a detailed strategy to achieve it. Unlike many of its Black Power counterparts, NAIM endured years of internal conflicts and external repression to carry on the mission of Black Power radicalism through its struggle into the present day.

New Afrikan cadres constructed NAIM's physical space of mobilization to span across local, national, and global scales. In the late 1960s, PG-RNA workers in Detroit adapted the NAIM's mobilization space to a social, economic, and political environment in which the majority of the city's African American population was disempowered by white capitalist domination over the means of production and processes of social reproduction in the city. Such disempowerment resulted in racially segregated patterns of everyday life that confined black socio-spatial mobility. Much of NAIM's struggle for national independence was about breaking free of black disempowerment and spatial confinement.

In light of the Lefebvrian theory of social space, New Afrikan political activists forged NAIM's representational space of black radicalism out of the everyday experience of lived space in black America, which in Detroit was subordinate to and appropriated by a conceived abstract space whose construction had been largely directed by the powerful leaders of the city's massive automobile manufacturing industry. As the home base of key national PG-RNA leaders, the provisional government's Detroit consulate became a model for New Afrikan consulates and government centers around the United States. The Detroit consulate's campaigns for reparations and sovereignty were unlike those proposed by other Black Power nationalist groups in the city, and were among the first of such campaigns that blacks conducted in the United States. However, by 1970, with a new constitution and government in place, Detroit and the Republic of New Afrika's subjugated territories in the North lost their primary importance when PG-RNA

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leaders shifted NAIM's mobilization effort to focus on political work in the national territory in the South.

Movement activists expanded NAIM's mobilization space in Mississippi when the PG-RNA moved its national headquarters to New Orleans in 1970 and finally to Jackson, Mississippi, in 1971. An intergenerational group of New Afrikan nationalists who traveled to the South from different places around the country, led NAIM's southern movement. They saw Mississippi as a proving ground for the establishment and operation of independent New Afrikan institutions such as the People's Court, the Congress of Reparations Commissioners, the New Afrikan Security Force, and the provisional government itself. New Afrikan activists adapted the PG-RNA's physical space of mobilization in Jackson to the existing mobilization space that the Civil Rights Movement created in the city during the 1960s. However, state and media attempts to destroy NAIM, counteracted the movement's growth and the expansion of its mobilization space. Federal, state, and local police agencies seeking the movement's destruction exploited its internal security vulnerabilities and tenuous control over space. Demonstrating Lefebvre's theory of the dialectic between conceived and lived space, events such as the New Bethel Incident in Detroit and the joint FBI and Jackson police attack on the PG-RNA's national headquarters in Jackson, greatly undermined the expansion of NAIM's mobilization space at all scales. Consequently, such political repression debilitated the movement's growth during the 1970s. The PG-RNA's relocation of it national headquarters to Mississippi during 1971, a state election year, posed considerable obstacles for NAIM as white and black politicians seeking conservative votes publicly supported state-led overt and covert acts of political repression against the PG-RNA. Such repression was widely accepted in a city, state, and country where

large segments of the dominant white majority and conservative black bourgeoisie vehemently opposed black empowerment.

New Afrikan nationalists also built NAIM's representational space of black radicalism by relying on the discursive place-making practices of collective action place-framing and alternative map-making. As discursive practices, collective action place-frames and alternative map-making conveyed New Afrikan nationalism's vision for a New Society, as the Malcolm X Doctrine and Aims of the Revolution outlined it, to audiences inside and outside of the Black Power movement. These practices show how the production of different kinds of texts that comprised New Afrikan discourse converged in the PG-RNA's place-making efforts. Place was implicated in the ways that PG-RNA workers motivated people to action, described problems impacting black urban life, and advanced mental images of the Republic of New Afrika as a place where black freedom could be realized. The PG-RNA's texts included a range of books, newspapers, journal and magazine articles, pamphlets, and flyers. However, the provisional government's alternative maps where a kind of text that, unlike written materials, vividly demonstrated NAIM's geographical imagination, and gave map-readers a graphic representation that helped visualize the New Afrikan republic as a symbolic and real place of black liberation. Maps of the Kush District and the New Afrikan national territory meant more than simply functioning to show the spatial distribution, area, and location of black majority populations and political boundaries. Instead, the PG-RNA's alternative maps communicated ideas of Black Power, unity, self-determination, collective responsibility, and purpose in simultaneously envisioning a New Society of the future.

New Afrikan nationalists constructed NAIM's transnational scalar politics and spaces of engagement upon the theory and practice of revolutionary pan-Africanist internationalism, which

they adopted to gain the Republic of New Afrika's recognition in a world of nations. Believing

that racism blocked attainment of true freedom and equality for blacks in the United States, New

Afrikans shunned American society and sought new ideas, practices, and political allies abroad

to strengthen their movement for liberation itself in the United States. The practices of

constructing a transnational scalar politics that strived to build spaces of engagement outside the

space of inner-city ghettoes and the United States as a whole, was inextricably linked to NAIM's

project of building a place in North America where black self-determination and human dignity

were guaranteed. The travels of New Afrikan nationalists such as Robert F. Williams, Gaidi and

Imari Obadele, Mae Mallory, Yusufu Sonebeyatta, and others, including political exiles, to

Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean resulted in transnational alliances and the

adaptation of political and cultural practices from many regions.

In the construction of NAIM's collective identity, Africa's significance stood out as the

ancestral homeland of African Americans, and as a symbol of modern black revolution. New

Afrikan nationalism partly consisted of adaptations of Africa's political organizations, languages,

names, clothing, food, music, religion, and social values. Along with celebrating blackness,

disputing U.S. citizenship, and remapping North America's political geography, NAIM's

transnational scalar politics allowed New Afrikan nationalists to break the links between black

identity and place in the United States by reaching outside the nation's social and political

boundaries to reinvent themselves as individuals and as members of a movement that identified

with oppressed people the world over. Cultural historian Robin D. G. Kelley asserts that lesser

known movements such as NAIM "confound our narrative of the black freedom movement, for

they were independent of both the white Left and the mainstream Civil Rights Movement . . .

they wanted revolutionary transformation and recognized that such a revolution was inextricably

linked to the struggles of colonized people around the world" (Kelley 2002: 62). As a result, NAIM's transnational scalar politics coincided with building a physical mobilization space and developing discursive place-making practices in constructing the movement's representational space of black radicalism. NAIM's transnational scalar politics demonstrate how Black Power's radical activism built global spaces of engagement that impacted the cultural politics and geography of African American freedom struggles.

For Geography

I have examined the radical geography of the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the space of Black Power. In doing so, I contribute a much-needed cultural and historical study of African American people and places that is conspicuously absent from the body of geographic research literature. I have shown how space, place, and scalar politics intersected with NAIM's struggle for Black Power and an independent New Afrikan republic in the United States. I directly model my work after the research of geographers Bobby Wilson, Nik Heynen, and James Tyner, which presents insightful studies into the black radical geographies of the Civil Rights Movement, Malcolm X, and the Black Panther Party. My research demonstrates the important relationship between geography and Black Power activism because the specific places where New Afrikan nationalists formed their ideas and led their mobilizations changed in terms of their cultural, political, and economic characteristics. From a geographical standpoint, I am able to show how spatial differences in the conditions of African American everyday social reproduction, social and political culture, demographics, political networks, and mobilization resources shaped NAIM and the space of Black Power. These distinguishing locational features of places shaped how New Afrikan nationalists materially and discursively constructed the places of their struggle. I show how Black Power ideologies and political practices are place-

based responses seeking to build alternative anti-racist spaces of social reproduction, a process that NAIM clearly extended from the local scale of black inner-city neighborhoods to the national scale of black America and global scale of transnational social movement networks around the world.

New Afrikan nationalism's geographical thought and spatial practices help us understand how place-based experiences of everyday life differing between urban and rural spaces in the North and South influenced how black radicals thought about race, social justice, equality, and belonging in the United States. Such thought and practice undergirded New Afrikan nationalists' creation of physical spaces of mobilization, and imagined geographies of future places untouched by racial oppression. In *The Geography of Malcolm X: Black Radicalism and the Remaking of American Space* (2006), James Tyner writes that black radicalism "is about alternative geographies, of social and spatial transformations; black radicalism is about the remaking of spaces" (Tyner 2006: 8). Surely, NAIM's struggle for black liberation demonstrates an attempt to "remake American spaces" according to a vision that breaks with mainstream proposals for social change in America (Tyner 2006: 5). Indeed, at the time of NAIM's founding in 1968, the New Afrikan vision of a New Society departed widely from President Lyndon B. Johnson's project for a Great Society. NAIM's attempt to create an independent New Afrikan nation in the United States and in the Deep South in particular, involved the creation of an alternative geography that would radically alter the everyday conditions of black social reproduction. New Afrikan nationalism's alternative black radical geography intended to destroy the oppressions of race, class, and nation that devastated black America's human landscape. The New Afrikan space of Black Power elevated blacks to an equal social, political, and economic standing with white America.

As a revolutionary territorial nationalist movement, NAIM's proclamations for black territorial independence have important implications for understanding black notions of belonging in the American nation. New Afrikan nationalists prophesized an apocalyptic outcome for blacks who continued along the path to racial integration in the United States. They embraced independence, not segregation or integration, as their solution to racial oppression in the United States, believing that social justice and equality were unattainable by any other means. More broadly, however, the New Afrikan independence struggle represents one of many stories of the African American search for home in the United States. Such stories are an essential piece of American history and culture because they provide a window on how black people thought of themselves and their place in American society. NAIM's struggle is also crucial to understanding black nationalism and Black Power in the Deep South, a phenomenon that the master narratives of Civil Rights Movement historiography have ignored.

Henri Lefebvre's concept of representational space proved effective for me in apprehending and making sense of NAIM's spaces of mobilization and imagined geographies. As a concept, representational space works well as a way to situate the struggles of social movements such as NAIM into the production of space, which is a contentious political process. It allows me to interface with other relevant concepts to build a geographical perspective that views space as a social construct contested over time by multiple social actors vying for power and recognition. These other concepts include constructionist notions of space, place, and scalar politics, as well as spaces of dependence and spaces of engagement (Cox 1998: 1). The concept of representational space has the flexibility to be adapted to study different kinds of social struggles taking place at varying geographical scales. I adapt Lefebvre's concept to conceive of NAIM's geography as a representational space of black radicalism. NAIM's representational

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space consisted of material spaces of mobilization and imagined geographies of black liberation that grew out of a struggle between capitalism's white-dominated wealth-accumulating abstract spaces and the everyday lived spaces of racial oppression and economic exploitation across black America. By using Lefebvre's concept of representational space, geographers can develop a perspective that recognizes human agency in the struggles of marginalized social groups and its power as a force of change in the production of space and shaping of society.

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