

The Party Bulletin Issue 4 July '07

New Afrikan Maoist Party (NAMPA)

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FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Salamu Ndugu!

Just a few brief points. One, incarcerated ndugus who can't afford to make regular bimonthly contributions need to at least write in once every few months and send in some contribution when they can. All checks and money orders should now be made out to "NAMPA c/o MIM Distr." and sent to PO Box 40799, San Francisco, CA 94140. Bi-monthly contributions are still \$5.00-- and from prisoners, \$2.05 or 5 stamps. Contributions should be made in February, April, June, August, October, and December. And, advanced contributions are highly recommended to cover you for the months ahead.

Two, We're still accepting essays, reviews, poems, or artwork that agree with Our party line and contributes to the propagation of a revolutionary culture that promotes values like the community being as a family, or controlling the means to produce what money buys versus having money. Soon, We'll publish more specific guidelines. For now, We'll review what you send.

Three, We still need people with computers and internet access to volunteer in helping Us produce and distribute Our bulletin and other literature.

Four, the Western District Court of New York has decided to appoint counsel to handle Ndugu Mfalme's federal civil rights lawsuit. Counsel is being appointed to investigate whether the lawsuit should be certified as a class action. If it is, it will allow New York prisoners as a whole to seek protection of their right to associate with Us and to receive and possess Our literature. Once counsel is appointed, We'll publish a notice.

Lastly, Party Bulletin #5 will be on time.
Uhuru ni Lazima, Tutashinda!

CORRECTIONS

In Party Bulletin #3, we stated that the original "New Afrikan Collective represented the merger of the basic ideology of the New Afrikan Liberation Movement with the universal theories of revolutionary practice is reflected in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) ..." It was the basic ideology of the New Afrikan Independence Movement that We had

The Party Bulletin • Issue 4 • July 2007

merged with MLM. To Our knowledge, there was no New Afrikan Liberation Movement, just a New Afrikan Liberation Front headquartered in Jamaica, Queens.

Further, the name of our Movement was the New Afrikan Maoist Liberation Movement up until 'Maoist' was dropped from Our name due to Executive Mandate #7. So, We are now the New Afrikan Liberation Movement.

Lastly, the Swahili translation of All Power to the People is Mamlaka (not Momlaka) Jote Kwa Watu.

PARTY RESOLUTION

More on ideological and Political Line and On Criticism

Not since the Black Panther Party of 1966-1969 has there been any genuine revolutionary vanguard leading the New Afrikan nation. And radical Black politics all but died in the 1970s, the kind of direct action politics in which radicals didn't just talk shit or hold rallies to gain popularity for themselves and their followers. We're talking of a time when radicals were engaged in broad grassroots activism not just preaching rhetoric. A time when the focus was on organizing the masses to challenge the white supremacist Establishment, but not only through protests, marches, rallies and sit-ins. They also encouraged Our people to look to themselves collectively for social and economic strength.

Beginning in 1970 and culminating in 1971, the Black Panther Party lost its revolutionary way, transforming into a combination of a criminal gang exhorting drug dealers and a social democratic organization that played the system by engaging in electoral politics and behind the scenes wheeling and dealing for grant money instead of relying upon the collective resources of the people. By the 1980s, this revisionist, gang-like clique just faded away. The New Afrikan Independence Movement, lead by the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and made up of different independent organizations, never even became a serious contender. Its ideological looseness and coalition politics, that is, allowing its various members to pay only lip-service to New Afrikan nationalism and unity, didn't give it the strength to withstand state repression and come out of it capable of growing amongst Our people. So it has remained marginal to this day.

The Afrikan People's Socialist Party had a bit more ideological unity when it began in 1971, but where it has gone wrong is in its analysis of the class structure of America and of the New Afrikan nation. It has failed to recognize how the superprofits generated by American based international corporations from the exploitation of the labor and resources of Third World nations have turned white American into a labor aristocracy, a privileged class of workers who earn more than the value of their labor. And they also failed to recognize how these superprofits have turned New Afrikans into a petty bourgeois domestic colony, an oppressed nation still dominated by white America politically and economically but earns more for its labor than Third World

New Afrikan Maoist Party

workers. As a result, white American and New Afrikan workers aren't a vehicle for revolution, but some New Afrikans have a chance to be revolutionized through class struggle due to the national oppression of Our people by white America. Not recognizing this the APSP has continuously attempted to appeal to a non-revolutionary working class in America while neglecting class struggle within the New Afrikan nation, which it doesn't believe exists. Instead, the APSP believes in the existence of a Pan Afrikan nation, that is, a global nation of Afrikan people (a notion also erroneously held by the New Afrikan Black Panther Party). After 36 years the APSP is hardly even known.

The implications of what has been stated above needs to be understood by Our party cadres, brigade members, laborers and associates of the Collective, and Our sideline supporters and allies. It is directly linked to why New Afrikan people today have no real collective, independent institutional strength politically, socially nor economically. It is why Our Party publicly criticizes revisionist, bourgeois and gang-like groups that would repeat the failures of the past and falsely lead Our people with symbolic politics. It is why We loath unity for unity sake. (We have ourselves been labeled as revisionists doing pig work because of Our criticisms of the NOI. We've been labeled this by those who would claim the NOI is a puppet of the oppressor, a fraud and a neocolonial agent, yet these critics in the same breath claim that the NOI loves Our people, and say We should therefore work with them. We weren't even that harsh in our own criticism of the NOI, yet Our critics turn around and criticize Us for criticizing and not working with the NOI, who Our critic calls everything but a government front group.)

Mao Zedong, the late leader of the communist revolution in China, stated:

The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. if it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power.

As We've stated time and time again, an ideological and political line is the collective of goals, beliefs, principles, views, assumptions and theories that makeup a sociopolitical program or vision for change. It is 'decisive' because it will determine how a group goes about doing things. When Mao spoke of the 'correctness' of line, undoubtedly he was speaking as a scientific communist revolutionary, one who has as his or her highest aspiration the ending of all oppression through a systematic accumulation and application of knowledge regarding effective revolutionary practice, one who will go further than any other social reformer to secure justice and equality for all. Line is important for Us because We understand the need to have a thoroughgoing scientific explanation of the historic nature of oppression in order to find and apply its solutions.

We recognize that the question of oppression is a material one. It's not a question of God or supernatural forces punishing people. We're responsible for Our own material reality, good or bad. The dialectical laws of development,

the basis of scientific discovery and advancement, hold that material things are propelled forward due to the internal conflicts of opposing and contradictory aspects within them. Oppression is material because it is a phenomenon of society, which is made up of humans, and We are material beings with many conflicts in how We think and in how We relate to one another. It is these human conflicts that produce oppression, with the fundamental conflicts being economic, the conflicts of what gets produced and distributed to whom.

One's line must be consistent with this understanding of the dialectical development of matter, and how it relates to oppression. Otherwise one cannot discover any real solutions to oppression and instead will accept any good sounding, feel good ideas that are 'pragmatic,' like unity for unity sake, an obvious reason some of Our critics would fix their mouths to suggest that We work with alleged neocolonial agents, the puppets of the oppressor. Absurd! Our critics cry, "Why do you guys have to criticize everyone." The same damn reason you seem to accept and defend anyone who's not a rapist, homosexual or snitch as if these types of people pose the greatest danger to social revolution when they don't even make up a significant portion of Our lumpen base. Despite this rainbow coalition strategy, We're still stuck in the mud. We criticize for a very important reason which is historically proven to be effective at fomenting change. Controversy sparks debate. Debate causes people to think. And criticism publicly separates Us from frauds who hide behind rhetoric and behind feel good justifications for bogus ideas.

Some have said We can solve Our differences with others simply by doing what We do. Yes, We could. But most people hold onto beliefs and maintain loyalties out of sentiment, that is, feelings. They may get all sentimental about what We're doing right, yet still support others who are doing nothing qualitatively beneficial for Us as a whole, just giving us a song and dance that entertains Us. When we remain silent on Our differences with such groups, it will send the impression We're cool with what they say and do, as if the rhetoric and all-for-show actions certain groups put out aren't harmful or misleading just because they sound or look good. For example, if the NOI is truly a neocolonial agent, or may become one, then would it really do any good not to publicly expose this just because they've sponsored the feel-good Million More Movement and other such marches? How can this be playing into the divide in conquer tactics of the oppressor? If a Black group or leader does things or says things that would serve the agenda of the oppressor, then they've already divided Our people no matter what good they may do. By calling them out on it publicly, We force the issue: "Who the fuck do you really represent?" There ain't no you got love for Our people but you're just throwing ideas out there that sound good. This goes for Our 'conscious' gang members, too. What you and your crew does as a whole, not as individuals, define you. What you say is just window dressing.

Going deeper into the laws of dialectical development, We see that in a complex thing there are several contradictions, or conflicts between two opposing aspects. In simple things there is only one contradiction, therefore it is principal. In the complex thing, one of the contradictions will be the principal one. It will influence and determine the existence of all the other

New Afrikan Maoist Party

contradictions. Within each contradiction one of the two opposing aspects will be the principal one. It is this principal aspect of the principal contradiction that will determine the chief nature of the thing it exists in. So, a group like the NOI or one of the color reppin' street organizations will have two contradictory aspects. So, the NOI is both a bourgeois, closet capitalist organization focused on its own enrichment as a group and a symbolic advocate of the interests of Our people as a whole. The color reppin' street organizations are both gang banging organizations that commit criminal acts against Our people as well as organizations that stand for the common defense of their members and neighborhoods. As it is often said, "there is good and bad in every organization."

Okay, this is true. But take it a step further applying the universal laws of dialectical development. Groups are complex material things with a principal contradiction and secondary contradictions. We've just stated what the principal contradictions for the NOI and for color reppin' street organizations are. To simplify, the NOI is both about selfish group enrichment and being for the people, and street organizations are both gangs and fraternal youth groups. Whichever is the principal aspect of these contradictions will determine the nature of these groups. For the NOI, the principal aspect is making money, accumulating property, and dictating how Our people should live; and for street organizations the principal aspect is gang banging.

Now this is where sentiment fucks things up. It's anti-intellectual and ahistorical. It makes people not want to call a spade a spade because the spade has some markings of a diamond. People want to hope a spade can become a diamond without them giving up too much. But this is real life. Change doesn't come without sacrifice and hardship. If you want to turn a spade into a diamond, you got to call the spade for what it is. Recognizing this, one cannot argue with Our characterization of the NOI and of street organizations.

The laws of dialectical development reveal that principal and non-principal aspects can transform into one another so that the non-principal aspect takes over and changes the chief nature of the thing. But a principal aspect may become so dominate that there is little chance its non-principal aspect can overcome it without severe oppositional conditions. In such a case the opposing aspects become not only antagonistic (that is, in serious conflict), but they become very volatile (meaning the right conditions will cause them to break apart and destroy the thing in which they exist). Eventually, the thing will have to be dissolved anyway, one way or the other, to resolve its internal contradictions and make way for the new. In the case of bourgeois, revisionist or gang-like groups, this is where ideological struggle comes in. There is a need to call them like We see them. Their mere existence are an impediment to the elevation and liberation of Our people nationally. If We're wrong, let them defend themselves, and let the people judge. But no matter what, the people must come to see the truth, and groups like the NOI and street organizations need to transform into their opposite, that is, into organizations that put the people first.

There is no compromising ideologically for unity sake when a group is

more bourgeois, revisionist or gang-like than it is for the people. The mere fact it has that other side of being for the people means very little when Our nation is under constant ideological assault with white supremacist, neocolonial and capitalist propaganda. No amount of holding hands and singing ‘We shall overcome someday’ is going to help Us find the collective empowerment and self-determination We need to survive as a people. This doesn’t mean We can’t or won’t work with bourgeois, revisionist or gang-like groups on specific projects We agree with them on. So long as it is well understood we won’t endorse or accept the politics of these groups We disagree with, and that We won’t stop Our criticisms just because they’re for the people in some bourgeois way. And so long as it is well understood that We operate under Our own leadership.

We know nothing short of war will push bourgeois, revisionist and gang-like groups 100% into the ‘for the people’ camp. But, a revolutionary situation in this country is a long ways off, which would force the issue. And Our Party won’t launch a war against other oppressed people, nor sit by and allow the oppressor to do so, even if We disagree with their politics. The NOI nor any Black group We disagree with publicly is Our enemy, except those who consciously side with the oppressor regime against the national interests of Our people. If bourgeois, revisionist or gang-like organizations have a line that is dangerous or counterproductive to the ultimate goal of making Our people completely independent, then We will always point this out.

Would-be revolutionaries out there need to stop getting this twisted. If you honestly think publicly ignoring things other groups say or do that goes against the interests of Our people as a whole is all right, then you’re screwed. Our Party ain’t exempt from being criticized publicly by those not within Our Party if We say or do something that hurts Our people. The point is, if you’re gonna claim revolution, then you better understand it’s an objective process. Feelings mean less than shit in this area. If you can’t handle criticism, then fall the fuck back. Since the time of Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party of 1966-69, Our people have had an absence of critical, radical thinkers who told it like it is. Now We have all these all-for-show, make you feel good groups and leaders who advocate the line of unity for unity sake in order to convince Us not to question them too deeply. Fuck that! Every good sounding idea ain’t necessarily the best. Sectarianism isn’t when two groups don’t get along. It’s when one group puts its interests, ideas, goals and beliefs above those of the people’s. Reppin’ colors, or claiming that one man is our savior, or that Our people need knowledge of self when that’s not an obvious problem anymore; this is sectarianism. Exposing this isn’t divide and conquer.

Yes, We know Our view isn’t popular. We know Our people en masse won’t support Us right away. Understanding the laws of dialectical development, We know this ain’t Our fault. Our people been gullible before we hit the scene. Nowadays, if you talk a good one and do a few spectacular things, like a Hip Hop summit or a march on Washington, you then become the “realist ‘nigga’ out there.” No one is going to do any real qualitative analysis of your contributions, asking questions like: “How does your contribution compare to the contribution made by those in the past who’ve done the most for Our

New Afrikan Maoist Party

people? What did you have to give of yourself, and how much did you give? What risks did you take and what sacrifices have you've made on behalf of the people? Are you having an impact besides symbolic progress? Are you consistent in your practice? Can you do better and give more if you wanted to, or are you holding back because it will cut into your own agenda?" Nah, ain't too many people gonna ask these questions. If anything a few ignorant people who ain't doing much themselves will ask dumb questions or make stupid accusations, like, "What did Farrakhan do with all that money? Didn't the NOI kill Malcolm?" Or they may say dumb stuff like, "Dudes in gangs ain't about nothing." Our Party ain't petty like that. When We critique others, We do so in a general way and not with false impressions or exaggerated statements that have no factual basis. We take the time to at least understand other groups after examining their history and the results of their practice in working to liberate and empower our people.

The bottom line is, We're not trying to win a popularity contest. We're trying to win over Our people with truth. Specifically, We're trying to win over the lumpen class of Our nation, those of or from the street/criminal element. And We're trying to do so not by catering to their feelings, but by telling them like it is: "Ay yo, if you come out of prison with that get money mentality by any means necessary, these people gonna slap your ass back down and you're going back to prison." Or, "We know you want to get paper, but you have a better chance letting Us invest in your ideas and in return you support Our Movement. Otherwise, you really have no chance, unless you're extremely lucky, got family with paper, or you've really prepared yourself while you were in prison -- and we mean you need to have really prepared yourself beyond telling yourself over and over again that you'll succeed. And the NOI nor your street organization is going to help much either. We might also say, "Fighting or mouthing off to them pigs in prison doesn't make you a revolutionary, just stupid when you have no wins and could avoid the conflict. The Art of War tells you that you can't fight every battle, and pride ain't enough to wage war. We're in a time when quiet organizing and intense education is key, and legal forms of protests need to be exhausted. The revolutionary war is years off. We should be glad because We'd lose right now.

Now, if Our line on these questions is correct, in the long run the people will thank Us for being so honest, and for attacking their illusions that blind them to what is coming. They'll thank Us for challenging them to think beyond Farrakhan, beyond Khalid Muhammad's New Black Panther bunnies, beyond Barrak Obama and Al Sharpton, beyond Hillary and Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party of compassionate white supremacists, beyond Russell Simmons and his bullshit about cosmic forces and karma, beyond reppin' colors and fives and sixes, beyond the Black man supposedly being God yet still living happily disunited within the so called Devil's civilization, beyond self-interests and 'do me' politics, beyond paper money, and beyond the countless other relations or ideas We pick up without critical, radical thinking. Always remember that during the era of Malcolm X and the progressive Black Panthers of 1966-69, Our people advanced the furthest and the quickest. It was the era when Malcolm X and the Black Panthers stayed lighting the ideological fire to the ass of any and everyone selling Us out. Even street organizations

started checking themselves, and Uncle Tom negroes who at first seemed real were being exposed. Why did this happen? Because Malcolm X and the Black Panthers told it like it was. Forget your feelings!

When we take the question of line seriously, We began developing a critical framework by which to assess the actions and views of others. It also allows Us to see general tendencies that are either harmful or beneficial to Our people. And when others follow Our lead politically, it gives Our people greater strength to withstand state repression and the ability to hold Our leaders accountable when they fall short. When the question of line isn't taken seriously, then there is no basis to evaluate whether We're going in the right or wrong direction, and no basis to recalculate Our approach when We're met with setbacks. It allows self-serving leaders with lame or fanciful ideas to infiltrate the consciousness of Our people, thereby splitting Our people without principle. It sends the signal that sentimental attachments to ideas, beliefs, goals, or groups is okay.

It is not enough just to lead by example. There is also a powerful need to distinguish (set apart) Our example through ideological struggle. It serves to keep Us straight up too. We can't criticize others publicly and not expect the people to say, "Okay, ya'll saying all that, but what are ya'll doing?" Our criticisms of others is a signal to Our own forces that it won't be tolerated for Us to make the same mistakes. Our criticisms put Us in the hot seat as well. As long as Our asses can get burned by what We say of others, We'll have to work extra hard to remain true to Our word and show the people We're for real. Ideological struggle isn't hating, unless it's done without regard to the best interests of the people. So, if you will, ideological struggle is about hating on behalf of the people as a whole, hating those who would put themselves and their interests before the people. In that case, hating is good.

POLITICAL LESSON -- THE LUMPEN, PROLETARIAT AND PETTY BOURGEOISIE

1 . Who are the lumpen?

A. The lumpen are a disunified group of individuals uprooted from the economic and social class with which they are generally identified or of which they would usually be a part. They are those of or from the street/criminal element.

2. Are there any lumpen-proletariat in this country?

A. No. A proletarian is a worker who earns less than the value of their labor, and who is generally more politically conscious than overpaid workers. In the United States, workers earn far more than the value of their labor because of the wealth flowing into this country from American based international businesses superexploiting Third World peoples. As a result, there is no proletarian class "with which [uprooted individuals would] generally [be] identified or of which they would usually be a part," so no lumpen-proletariat can exist without a proletariat. The closest to a proletariat in this country are prisoners and undocumented workers.

New Afrikan Maoist Party

3. Then what type of lumpen exists in the United States?

A. A lumpen-bourgeoisie. This is because the working population in this country, being able to benefit much from stolen Third World wealth, make up a petty bourgeois class. This class of people are able to earn higher wages according to international standards and to become small business owners. If not for racial and class discrimination, the lumpen in this country would generally be a part of this petty bourgeois class.

4. Are you saying there is no proletariat, even among New Afrikans?

A. Yes, this is what We're saying. As New Afrikans in this country, We too benefit from stolen Third World wealth, even though We still suffer varying degrees of racism and other forms of discrimination. We earn approximately 500 plus billion dollars every year, an amount larger than the economy of many sovereign nations, and a lot more than what We've earned in the past. Most of this money We spend on cars, jewelry, clothes, liquor, and other consumer goods rather than on investment opportunities. But Our level of wealth and ownership still makes New Afrikans principally a petty bourgeois nation living happily under the economic, political, social and cultural domination of white America.

5. Isn't the petty bourgeoisie a non-revolutionary class; if so, how is it expected for New Afrikans to win national independence through revolution?

A. Principally, the petty bourgeoisie is a non-revolutionary class. For the most part, they believe in bourgeois values, which are, making money, buying things, accumulating property, seeking social status, and not thinking critically. But, due to the national oppression of Our people, some of the petty bourgeoisie of Our New Afrikan nation can be revolutionized through class struggle.

6. What is class struggle?

A. Class struggle is the social, political and economic conflict between the different classes within a given nation, or the struggle of one class to advance its interests and secure its needs. A class is a group of people having the same economic and social status. Ever since human beings moved from living in primitive communal societies to private property societies, there has always been conflicts between those who Have, those who Have Some, and those who Have Not. The class struggle of the Have Nots tends to be radical, that is, going all out to defeat oppressive classes. Segments of all classes in between will end up choosing sides. The class struggle of the Have Nots, however, is superior. It's the struggle to bring about a just and equal society.

7. But how is this supposed to bring about revolution?

A. Because the Have Nots have nothing to lose but their chains in overthrowing oppressive systems, like capitalism and imperialism. The most politically advanced amongst them will always rise up. At first only a very few will do so because political consciousness is not automatic among the Have Nots. These few will form a vanguard, and they will get others involved 1) by agitating, educating and organizing the oppressed masses; and 2) by exposing the contradictions and combating the ideas of upper classes that support and

maintain the system of oppression. By doing this, they will help advance the political consciousness of others.

8. So, who are the Have Nots in this country and can they bring about revolution?

A. The lumpen are the Have Nots. Historically, the proletariat has been and continues to be the most advanced class able to bring about revolution. The lumpen isn't equipped to do so. But, being the most oppressed class in this country, the lumpen has the greatest potential to be revolutionized and to revolutionize the petty bourgeoisie. Together, along with the migrant undocumented worker who forms a small proletariat, they can help prepare the way for revolution in this country.

9. How will the lumpen revolutionize the petty bourgeoisie?

A. The same way the Black Panthers of 1966-69 did, by educating and organizing themselves to help the people in the most genuine and most dedicated way. When the Black Panthers did so, they excited a lot of people to support revolution who were previously against it or not into it. One's example is enough to inspire others to act in certain ways. When more well-off people see the despised, the hopeless and the wretched stand up against oppressive forces, many of them are motivated to do the same. The well-off petty bourgeoisie on its own will hardly go as hard against oppression as would the revolutionized lumpen and their migrant allies. But, watching the lumpen do more with less to advance the struggle against oppression, some of the petty bourgeoisie will rise up too.

10. Is this why a principal focus of the Party and the Brigade is on educating and organizing the lumpen?

A. Yes. Like the original Black Panthers, the Party and its auxiliary division, the Brigade, recognizes that revolution will be built from the ground up, not from the top. Those on the top have something to lose from the complete eradication of oppression, because they benefit from capitalism and imperialism. For the lumpen, most will not achieve their bourgeois aspirations, so a few of them will come to realize this and choose revolution as the bourgeois system repeatedly rejects them. It's either revolution for the lumpen or a life of incarceration, poverty, HIV/AIDS, drug addiction, underemployment, parole or probation, or hard times.

11. But if there is no proletariat in this country, then how can revolution be brought about?

A. There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism will eventually lose much of its influence over the world as other aspiring imperialist nations, like China or the European Union, begin to move deeper into the global hustle for cheap labor and resources; and as Third World peoples defeat imperialist efforts to exploit them. This will decrease the flow of wealth in this country, leading U.S. imperialists, the ruling class here, to suppress the people in order to protect their domination. The ruling class will limit access to higher wages, financial opportunities and cheap goods. As a result, people in this country, especially New Afrians, will become proletarianized, more politically conscious as conditions force them to deal with the oppressive reality of the ruling class.

New Afrikan Maoist Party

12. Why do you say New Afrikans will especially be proletarianized if conditions in this country worsen?

A. Because this country is founded on and sustained by white supremacy. As U.S. imperialism loses influence, white America will become fascist like Nazi Germany did. Racism hasn't gone away in this country, it has just become invisible to Our people who are distracted by the American consumer culture. As soon as the economic crisis in this country reaches a critical point, white America will feel pressure to protect its domination. Our people, along with Latinos, represent the greatest threat to white American rule and thus will be the first to be targeted. Hence, We'll become proletarianized first and lead the revolution in this country when the time is right. Latinos are already getting a taste of this due to the strong opposition to undocumented migrant workers, who are largely from Mexico and Central America. Meanwhile, due to the so-called war on terrorism, hate crimes against Middle Eastern people and Muslims have surpassed those against New Afrikans, who were the primary target of hate crimes based on nationality prior to 9/11.

13. If what you say is true, then why is it so hard for you to get New Afrikans involved in your Movement?

A. Like We said in the answer to question four, "New Afrikans [are] principally a petty bourgeois nation" that benefits from the stolen Third World wealth flowing into this country. Building on this, We said in the answer to question nine that "[t]he well-off petty bourgeoisie on its own will hardly go hard against oppression " At this time, the economic crisis in this country is not critical at all, so white America can still afford to appease Our people. The objective conditions in this country today, therefore, will not lead to the mass revolutionization of Our people. Instead, most of Our people will continue to pursue bourgeois aspirations, and We need to work around that without compromising Ourselves.

14. Well, if Our people will not be revolutionized en masse today, then what are you aiming for now?

A. Because of history, We have strategic confidence that the conditions in this country will eventually call for revolution. What goes up that is corrupted will come down. We're in a stage now when We are preparing for the time when a revolutionary situation does arise. We don't want to be caught off guard. So We're spreading correct revolutionary ideas that will guide the masses; are combating oppressive, misleading and bourgeois ideas that would blind the masses; are building a self-sufficient economic foundation to fund our efforts on behalf of the masses; and are working to recreate a genuine brotherhood and sisterhood among as many of Our people as possible.

The Party Bulletin • Issue 4 • July 2007

EXECUTIVE MANDATE #7

July 13, 2007

So let it be heard...

Salamu Ndugu:

One, the new name of Our Movement shall now be the New Afrikan Liberation Movement, dropping 'Maoist' from Our Movement's name. The names of Our Party, the Brigade and the Collective shall remain the same.

Two, the Adjunct NAB is hereby abolished and the regular New Afrikan Brigade is now active, and there shall be no divisions within it. Attached hereto is the NAB Program which completely supercedes the Adjunct NAB Program. So, all current and future brigade members will follow and uphold the new NAB Program. Current Adjunct NAB chapters shall now be regular NAB chapters, but their administration shall be decentralized according to the new NAB program, that is, brigade units shall be responsible for their own local administration. Further, the Oregon chapter of the NAB is hereby established.

Three, the New Afrikan Maoist Support Association is hereby abolished and the designation for sideline supporters of Our Movement shall be 'S'. The New Afrikan Collective will assume the role, along with its current role as a base to launch or sponsor coalitions, projects or campaigns to serve the needs and advance the interests of Our people in general.

... So let it be done.

Uhuru ni Lazima, Tutashinda!
NAMPC Central Committee

NAB PROGRAM

Introduction

The New Afrikan Brigade is the auxiliary division of the New Afrikan Maoist Party, and in that capacity it is responsible for helping the Party spread the knowledge about Black people living in North America being New Afrikan and being a nation entitled to land, reparations and independence based upon international laws; and responsible for helping to strengthen, improve and unify Black communities according to the socioeconomic program of the New Afrikan Collective.

Mission

To unite around the NAB Program as many New Afrikans from the age of 16 and up, especially among lumpens and students who decide to embrace a socially conscious/revolutionary mentality.

New Afrikan Maoist Party

Principles

1. Descendant Afrikans born in the United States make up a new Afrikan nation entitled to land, reparations and self-government.
2. Immigrant Afrikans to the United States and their descendants, along with people of other ethnic backgrounds, who identify with the culture and liberation struggle of Black people in the United States, are considered members of the New Afrikan nation.
3. The political name of the New Afrikan nation is the People's Socialist Republic of New Afrika, and its citizens are called New Afrikans.
4. The national territory of New Afrika is within the five Black Belt states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina, and it includes areas within the United States where New Afrikans live in large, concentrated numbers.
5. America is an imperialist nation of white people and it holds New Afrika in neocolonial bondage and cultural subjugation, and it oppresses and exploits other nations both within and outside its borders.
6. Neocolonialism is when an imperialist nation indirectly extends its influence over oppressed nations through economic and political policies as opposed to doing so through direct control.
7. Capitalism is an economic system that divides, oppresses and exploits people for profit.
8. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism where imperialist nations oppress and exploit weaker nations, unfairly using the labor and resources of weaker nations in order to increase wages and financial opportunities and provide cheaper goods for their own citizens while allowing their businesses to make superprofits by doing so.
9. Socialism is the process of uniting, liberating and equalizing people on all levels by setting up a people's government responsible for revolutionizing the relationships between people, paving the way for future generations to usher in communism.
10. Communism is a state in which oppression, exploitation and injustice have been abolished and freedom, justice and equality exist for all people, an era of voluntary cooperation and mutual aid between people on a global level instead of competition and war.
11. Women are equal partners in the liberation struggle of New Afrikan people and not the property or sex objects of men, and thus they're expected to step up and lead within the NAB.

The Party Bulletin • Issue 4 • July 2007

12. Lumpens are those of or from the so called street/criminal element and represent the most potentially revolutionary class in the United States once they've become politicized and disciplined.

Rules

1. Collectively push and challenge each other to do better, be better and know better in upholding the NAB Program and in being responsible for and dedicated to the betterment of your family and Our people.
2. Oppose gang-like and criminal attitudes and behaviors; do not engage in drug activities and usage.
3. Avoid unnecessary and reactionary violence, even with state agents, police, and soldiers; heighten your discipline and think before acting.
4. Limit idle and recreational activities, conversations and associations. Work first, play later.
5. Spend most of your time around each other, getting to know each other, building up each other, and helping each other.
6. Study more to improve your general education and knowledge of revolutionary politics, and help other brigade members do so as well.
7. Seek always to introduce others to the NAB.
8. Be respectful, courteous and patient with one another and others, and be an example of right conduct and positive attitude others can emulate.
9. Speak less and listen more, and avoid petty arguments and debating things that you have not researched or investigated.
10. Work out regularly and learn selfdefense techniques

Regulations

1. The NAB shall be divided administratively by brigade units, which shall be set up locally. The administration of the NAB will be decentralized while its political guidance shall be centralized; therefore, each brigade unit will work to be self-sufficient in its administration while following the NAB Program and the political lessons and directives issued by the Party. And brigade units are required to follow those executive mandates of the Party pertaining to the NAB and to study all party resolutions -- although brigade members are not required to agree with them.

2. Any brigade member enlisting or sponsoring a person for membership into the NAB shall make sure the person reads, understands and agrees to uphold the

New Afrikan Maoist Party

NAB Program. The enlisting or sponsoring member shall also send the NAMP Central Office a report describing their reason for enlisting or sponsoring a new brigade member. This report shall include an assessment of the new brigade member's character, overall attitude, useful skills and resources, apparent level of intellect and education, and areas needing improvement.

3. New brigade members shall contact the NAMP Central Office and inform them of his or her legal name, chosen Afrikan name, aliases, D.O.B., mailing and email addresses, phone number, and alternate contact information; and they shall give an explanation for why they've decided to join the NAB and what they hope to gain from and contribute to the NAB. As for incarcerated persons, they need to disclose their expected release dates. New brigade members shall declare they've read, understood and agree to uphold the NAB Program when they initially write to the NAMP Central Office. They shall also send in their first membership dues, or explain why they can't afford to do so.

4. Within the NAB there shall be five ranks-- senior commander, commander, captain, lieutenant and brigade member. Before one can become a brigade member they must be 16. Rank appointments shall be made by the NAMP Central Committee or designated body based upon the recommendations of party cadres, senior members and performance reports. Party cadres and senior commanders may make field appointments of rank up to commander. Commanders may do so up to captain. Captains may do so up to lieutenant. All field appointments of rank must be based upon local need and be reported to and approved by the NAMP Central Committee or designated body. Those receiving a field appointment of rank must remain in that position for six months before being able to make such appointments themselves.

5. Brigade units shall be lead by the most senior member, who shall consult with other local members before making major decisions, except during emergencies. In cases in which there are more than ten brigade members locally, their brigade unit shall be lead by a five person council of the most senior members. This local council shall be made up of a unit leader and ministers of security, information, finance, and education. The local council members shall decide among themselves which position each will hold on the council. Unit leaders are responsible for presiding over local councils and providing overall guidance and leadership over the brigade unit.

6. Brigade units will assist in distributing the literature of the Party, in promoting the principal aspects of NAMP Thought, in combating counterrevolutionary ideas, in enlisting associates of the New Afrikan Collective, in building a network of sideline supporters of Our Movement, and in setting up and running various socioeconomic institutions through the New Afrikan Collective.

7. A senior member is one with a higher rank or more time in as a brigade member. He or she has an absolute responsibility to make sure that junior members uphold the NAB Program, and they must make it a high priority to ensure the positive and constructive growth and development of junior

members, who must follow the direction of all senior members. All brigade members have a responsibility to check each other when they fall short or make a mistake, and to report all serious and persistent violations of these rules and regulations, even when committed by senior members.

8. Violations of these rules and regulations will be determined in a hearing before a disciplinary committee of three senior members locally. Any penalties given must be fair and equal to the violation. If a violation is found, each member of the disciplinary committee must forward separately to the NAMP Central Office a written report explaining in full the reasons they came to their decision. Penalties of suspension or expulsion can only be recommended. The NAMP Central Committee will make the final determination on such recommendations. All other penalties are unappealable. In cases where there isn't enough senior members locally to constitute a disciplinary committee, a party cadre or the most senior member not involved in the incident shall conduct the hearing

9. Brigade units shall report every 90 days on their progress, highlighting the performance of members that deserve recognition.

10. All brigade members must keep up membership dues on a national level. Brigade units may require local membership dues not to exceed the national fee.

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