



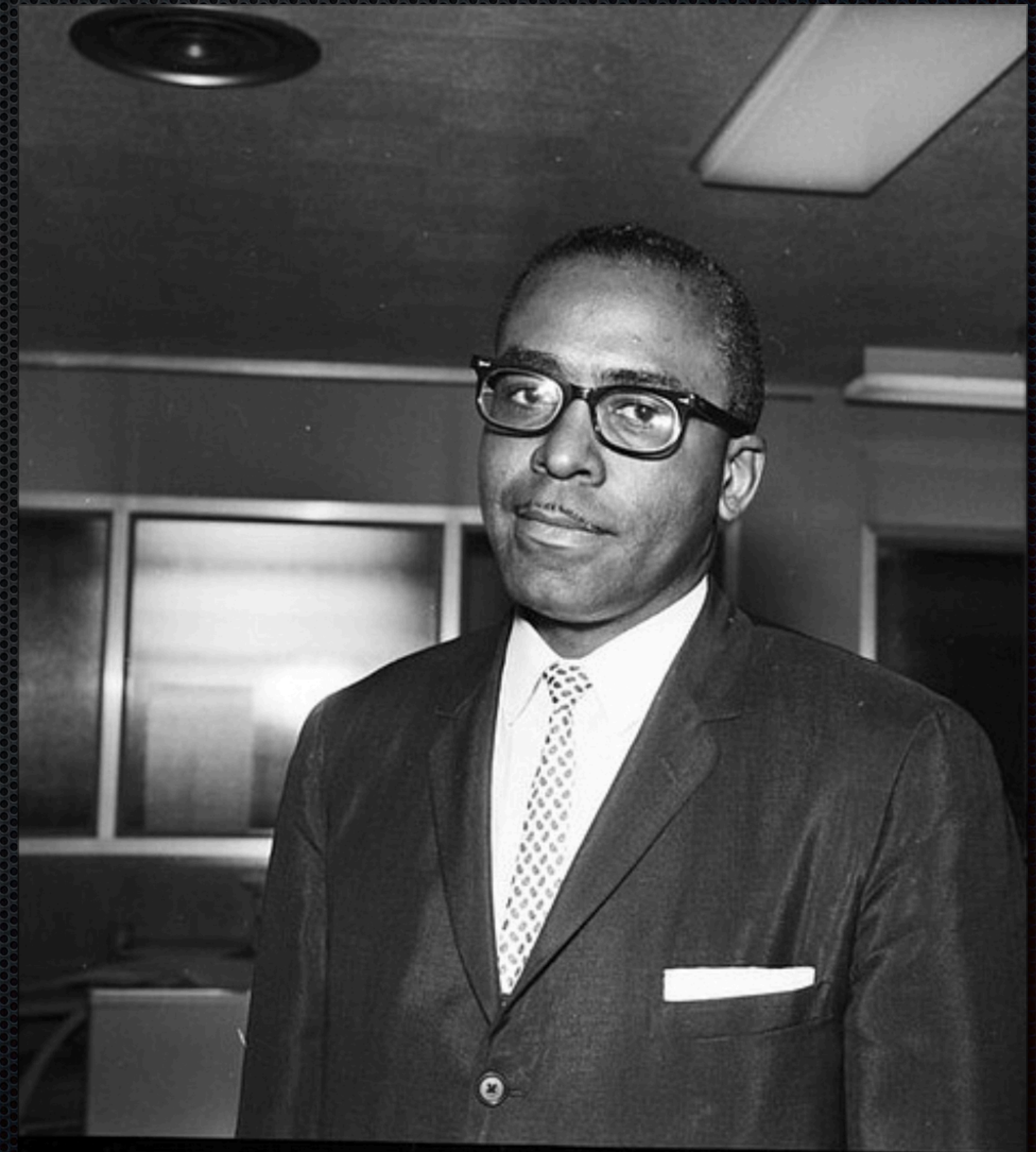
# The MALCOLM X Doctrine

The Republic of New Africa



# Milton R. Henry AKA Gaidi Obadele

- Milton Henry was born on Aug. 27, 1919, in Philadelphia, and during World War II he was a member of the famed Tuskegee Airmen
- Henry graduated from the historically black Lincoln University
- He Also lead demonstrations to prevent people from joining the army
- He Graduated Yale Law School, and became an attorney
- Henry moved to Pontiac, a city not too far from Detroit. In the early 1950s he sought and won an election as a city commissioner,
- He Was Also known As an Audiophile who owned his own record label that gave us the full speeches of Brother Malcom x





# Robert B. Henry AKA: Imari Obadele

- Dr. Obadele was born Richard Bullock Henry in Philadelphia on May 2, 1930
- Richard worked as a newspaper reporter and as a technical writer for the military
- Imari Obadele earned a Ph.D. in political science from Temple University. He taught at several colleges, including Prairie View A&M University in Texas.
- Imari was virtually involved hand in hand with his brother in starting multiple organizations that changed the Black liberation movement till this day !

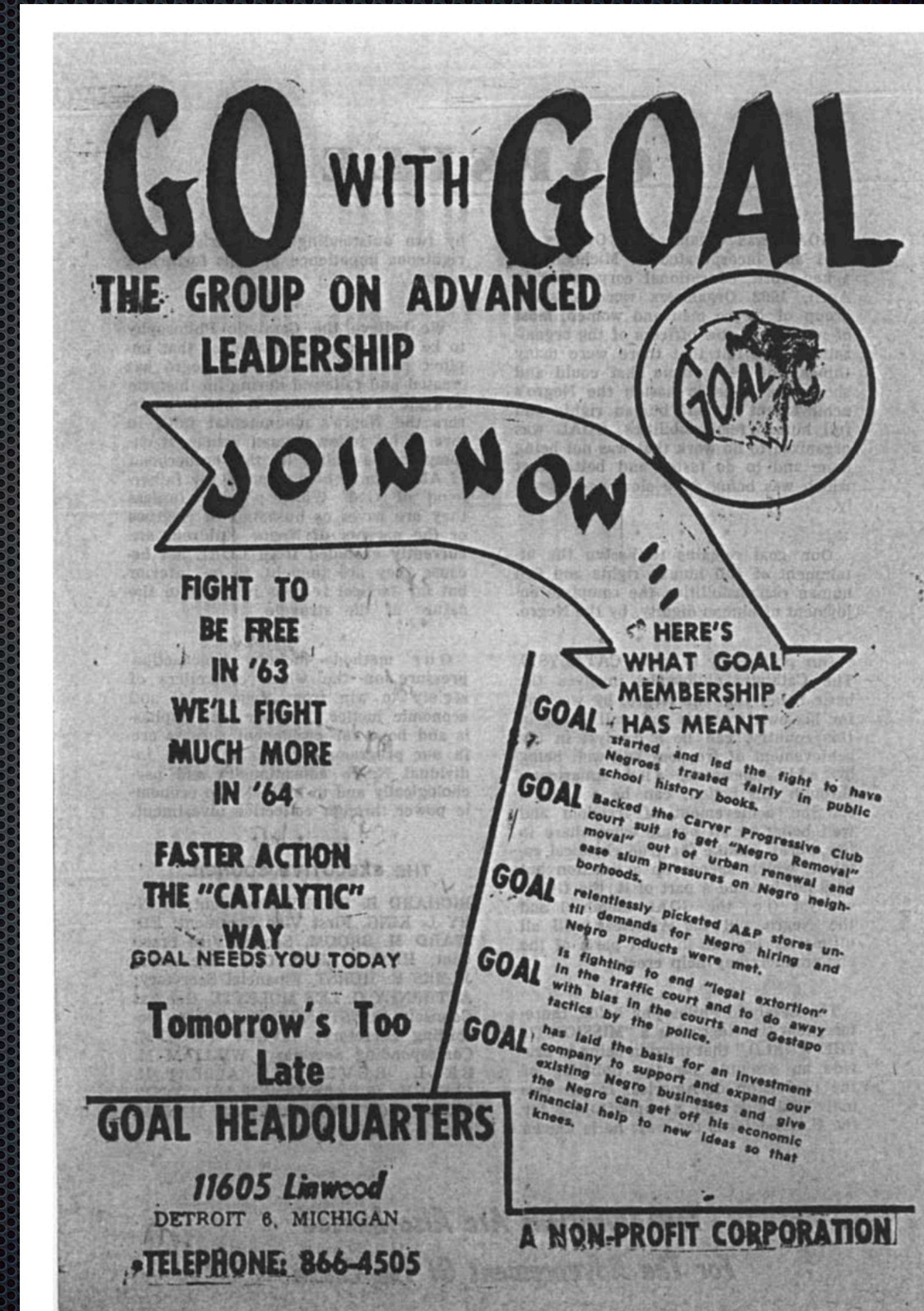




# G.O.A.L

In October 1961, the Henry brothers formed the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), which by 1963 had 750 members consisting of “rank- and-file workers, teachers, professionals, and a legal staff.” GOAL mobi- lized against:

- police brutality
- institutionalized racism in public schools
- businesses in black neighborhoods that refused to hire black workers
- GOAL also launched a full frontal assault on the constitutionality of the Urban Renewal Redevelopment Program, filing a suit in federal court on the premise that the Urban Renewal Authority had no right to condemn and clear private properties for the benefit of private organizations.



**GO WITH GOAL**  
THE GROUP ON ADVANCED LEADERSHIP

**JOIN NOW**

**FIGHT TO BE FREE IN '63 WE'LL FIGHT MUCH MORE IN '64**

**FASTER ACTION THE "CATALYTIC" WAY**  
GOAL NEEDS YOU TODAY

**Tomorrow's Too Late**

**GOAL HEADQUARTERS**  
11605 Linwood  
DETROIT 8, MICHIGAN  
TELEPHONE: 866-4505

**HERE'S WHAT GOAL MEMBERSHIP GOAL HAS MEANT**

- GOAL started and led the fight to have Negroes treated fairly in public school history books.
- GOAL backed the Carver Progressive Club court suit to get "Negro Removal" case slum pressures on Negro neighborhoods.
- GOAL relentlessly picketed A&P stores until demands for Negro hiring and Negro products were met.
- GOAL is fighting to end "legal extortion" in the traffic court and to do away with bias in the courts and Gestapo tactics by the police.
- GOAL has laid the basis for an investment company to support and expand our existing Negro businesses and give the Negro can get off his economic knees.

**A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION**



# G.O.A.L

- Milton Henry demanded an increase in the number of Black teachers and administrators, as well as the removal of textbooks presenting negative images of African Americans.
- The text- book issue was particularly close to the heart of GOAL president Richard Henry, who in 1963 lodged a formal complaint with the School Board against his son's eighth-grade text for its failure to acknowledge the contributions of African nations to world civilization. GOAL threatened a citywide boycott on this issue as well, and the School Board relented, adding two supplementary chapters to the texts. Source: FAITH IN THE CITY Preaching Radical Social Change in Detroit
- Goal moved toward transnational politics in its initiative to incorporate the International All-Trades Union of the World (IATU) in 1963 IATU was 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.
- In addition to organizing members in the United States, IATU, whose acting president was Milton Henry, planned to organize in "the Pacific" and to "contemplate strong alliances throughout Africa."17 In creating its fifty member international executive and advisory boards, IATU extended invitations to pan-African leaders such as presidents Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Tanganyika's Julius Nyerere, Nigeria's Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Algeria's Ahmed Ben Bella.18
- Source: crossing boundaries Britain D. Behnken and Simon Wendt

Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) pamphlet, circa 1964 (George Breitman Papers. Courtesy of Robert F. Wagner Archives, Tamiment Library, New York University.)



# NEW AFRIKAN NATION-BUILDING

Milton First visited West Africa and the countries of Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, and Nigeria in 1960. 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.





# Freedom Now Party

- In 1963, the Henry brothers joined the effort to form the Michigan branch of the black independent Harlem-based Freedom Now Party after being disillusioned by newly elected Michigan governor George Romney's betrayal of his black campaign supporters, and the racism of the Democratic Party and United Auto Workers labor union.
- 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, in Detroit's King Solomon Baptist church.
- At the conference Malcolm X delivered his landmark "Message to the Grassroots" speech in which he urged the adoption of black revolutionary nationalism by depicting it as a transnational political phenomenon when he stated, "All the revolutions that's going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? Black nationalism. A revolutionary is a black nationalist."

Source:  
Crossing Boundaries  
Ethnicity, Race,  
and National Belonging in a Transnational World



Freedom Now Party Voter Information Cards, 1964 (Ernest C. Smith Collection. Courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University.)





# Milton Travels back to Africa with Malcolm X

Milton Henry returned to Africa in July 1964 to attend the OAU's 2nd Summit Conference in Cairo, Egypt, where he also joined Malcolm X and interviewed him for GOAL's radio program in Detroit.

Milton Henry: In other words, this type of resolution coming out of a conference of thirty-four African states should certainly make the United States take a new look at the American Negro?

Malcolm X: Well, I have to say this, that the United States has been looking at the American Negro. When I arrived here I did a great deal of lobbying. I had to do a great deal of lobbying between the lobby of the Hotel Hilton, the lobby of the Shepherd and even the lobby of the "Isis," the ship where the African liberation movement was housed. Lobbying was necessary because the various agencies that the United States has abroad had success fully convinced most Africans that the American Negro in no way identified with Africa, and that the African would be foolish to involve himself in the problems of the American Negroes. And some African leaders were saying this.

Milton Henry: By the way, Brother Malcolm, before we close, did you receive any promises of assistance or help from any of the African nations?

Malcolm X: Oh, yes, several of them promised officially that, come the next session of the UN, any effort on our part to bring our problem before the UN... I think it is the Commission on Human Rights...will get support and help from them. They will assist us in showing us how to bring it up legally



<https://newafrikan77.files.wordpress.com/2013/11/03c20e7b-5f39-4765-b854-8799122e6849.jpeg>



# Malcolm X Society

Following Malcolm X's assassination on February 21, 1965, 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. 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 the name "Brother Imari." The book identified the Republic of New Afrika's five-southern-state national territory and called for its defense by building global alliances and gaining international recognition, which Obadele punctuated when he wrote:

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.

Source: crossing boundaries. *Malcolm X Doctrine*

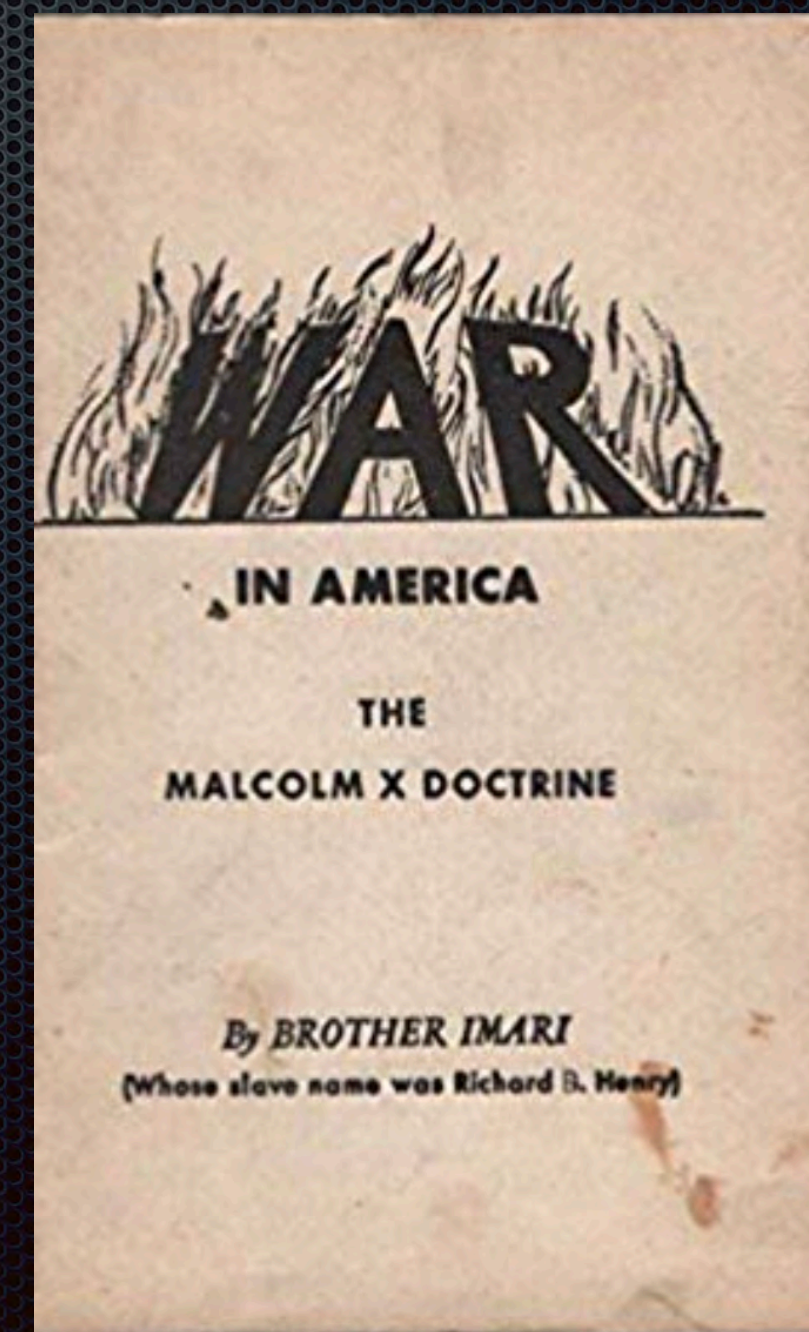


**BROTHER IMARI**  
Imari Abubakari Obadele, I  
President of the Nation

In 1967 Brother Imari wrote the short book, *WAR IN AMERICA*. He took three principles of Malcolm's work - land, self-defense and internationalization - and fashioned the **MALCOLM X DOCTRINE**. This is the plan for freeing the land.

In March 1970 Imari became President of the Republic.

He promptly moved to the land of the Black Nation in the South. In January 1971, Imari issued the call for Black people to support the Republic's national bank and to come to the South and establish a new and better life through "New Communities, Reparations and a plebiscite."





# Malcolm X Society.

On the second day of the uprising/ rioting, at 8: 54 in the morning, Gaidi Obadele sent a Western Union telegram to the mayor of the city (Jerome Cavanaugh), which was Regarding insurrection in Detroit, speaking for Malcolm X Society We will ask for cessation of all hostilities by insurrectionists By seven PM today provided following eight points are accepted

1. Withdraw all troops
2. Release all prisoners
3. Give amnesty to all insurrectionists
4. Set up district police commissioners
5. Agree to urban renewal veto by residents
6. Divide city council and school board by districts
7. Provide funds and community owned businesses
8. Institute compensatory and compulsory equal employment enforcement.





# Labels Riot Leaders As Revolutionaries

Following is the third article in a four-part series on the Detroit riots.

By Louis E. Lomax  
© North American Newspaper Alliance

**DETROIT, MICH.** — Wherever there is an uprising, a sniper will be in the midst of it. And the snipers did appear in Detroit; some of them were organized, some were not.

This is another axiom of revolutionaries; once organized snipers move against the police they can depend upon the co-operation of non-organizational people who simply want to take pot shots at police.

The first sniper taken in Detroit was a white man. He was not shooting at Negroes; this white man was out to kill policemen.

A Negro woman on the east side looked in dismay as her next-door neighbor, a Negro man, snaked along her lawn, fired on the police through her hedges.

"Why are you doing that, John?" she yelled.

"It's fun," he shouted back. "This is the first time I've had a chance to try out my new rifle!" He resumed firing.

## Highly Organized

These human excesses were operative in Detroit but the hard core of sniper activity was highly organized. The link between the dedicated revolutionaries and the organized sniper is more philosophical than organizational. The snipers, on the whole, were Detroit's own sons — Black Power advocates who are trained in guerrilla warfare.

By midnight, Monday, they had set up a telephone squad whose job was to make false reports to the police and thus lure the officers into traps. By Tuesday, the looters and the fun seekers had their day. The professionals had taken over and Detroit, for all practical purposes, had fallen.

The kind of documentary evidence that makes for conclusions will be difficult to produce for some time. Yet Detroit's responsible Negroes are casting a jaundiced eye at six persons in their community: attorney Milton Henry and his brother, Richard; Edward Vaughn, a book store owner and a Black Power advocate; the Rev. Albert Cleague, a Congregational minister; John Boggs and his Chinese wife, Grace Lee Boggs. These individuals comprise the strangest Black Power amalgam in America.

Milton Henry, a former Black Muslim and close confidant of the late Malcolm X, is an ex-army officer and one-time city councilman in Pontiac, 30 miles outside Detroit. He still lives there but exercises leadership among Black Power and black nationalist elements in Detroit. Several years ago, Henry and others organized something called "G.O.A.L." Group of Advanced Leadership.

G.O.A.L. fissioned into a political organization called the Freedom Now Party (F.N.P.) and actually mounted a statewide slate of candidates in 1963.

Cleague was the party's candidate for governor against George Romney. After losing the election, Henry announced that the group had received permission to form rifle clubs. It is known in Detroit that black nationalists have been purchasing rifles and taking training under the club charter. Last year a group of Black Power advocates startled Detroit by somehow making their way onto the roof of the heavily guarded city-county building. The men, unarmed, told reporters that they executed the feat just to convince the white power structure that they could do it. They were represented by Henry.

## Make Demands

On the third day of the riots, Vaughn issued a statement in the name of the Malcolm X Society which he now heads. The statement was issued over the signature of attorney Henry and his brother, Richard. It was given to the press by Cleague. The release was a copy of a telegram the group had sent to Romney, Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh and other officials. The telegram said the group would take to the streets and ask the rioters to cease and desist if the city and state met several conditions. These were the conditions:

"Regarding insurrection in Detroit, we, speaking for the Malcolm X Society, will ask for cessation of all hostilities by insurrectionists providing the following eight points are accepted as a basis of discussion by 1 P.M. today: 1) Withdraw all troops. 2) Release all prisoners. 3) Give amnesty to all insurrectionists. 4) Set up district police commissioners. 5) Agree to urban renewal veto by residents. 6) Divide city council and school board by districts. 7) Provide funds for community-owned businesses. 8) Insti-

tute compensatory and compulsory equal employment enforcement."

Dick Henry added, "We don't control anybody in this insurrection but we do believe people would halt the insurrection if we have these eight points as a basis for discussion. We want these young snipers to be recognized as men at war, not tried before criminal jurisdiction of Michigan."

Milton Henry denies that he had any role in the uprising but he did insist that the rioters, snipers and looters would listen. The telegram was ignored by the public officials. Thus, there is no way of knowing what the Henry-Cleague combine could have accomplished.

Edward Vaughn was attending the Black Power conference in Newark when Detroit erupted. He returned home early Monday to discover that the burners and looters had spared his store. The Detroit police took care of that early Friday morning. They stormed Vaughn's store, smashed pictures of Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X and ripped the portrait of a black Christ. Then they turned on the water and flooded the place. Vaughn is suing the city of Detroit for \$10 million on the basis of 25 sworn eye-witness reports. His lawyer is Milton Henry.

## Leadership Effective

John and Grace Lee Boggs simply disappeared during the uprising. Both are alleged to have association with the Peeking-oriented Progressive Labor Party, which calls for open revolution in America. Their leadership in Detroit's Black Power movement is deep and effective. To Detroit's responsible Negroes the fact that the Boggs were unavailable — as in contrast to the Henry brothers and Cleague — raises doubts and suspicions that will prevent the achievement of any kind of Negro unity for a long time to come. Like it or not, the Henrys, the Boggs and the Cleagues communicate and have relationships with the people who ran amuck in Detroit. The established Negro leadership does not.

It is further clear that the dedicated revolutionaries who came into Detroit and worked a brilliant military miracle were packed and gone by Wednesday. The dedicated revolutionaries left Detroit — bound for other cities.



# The National Black Government Conference 1968

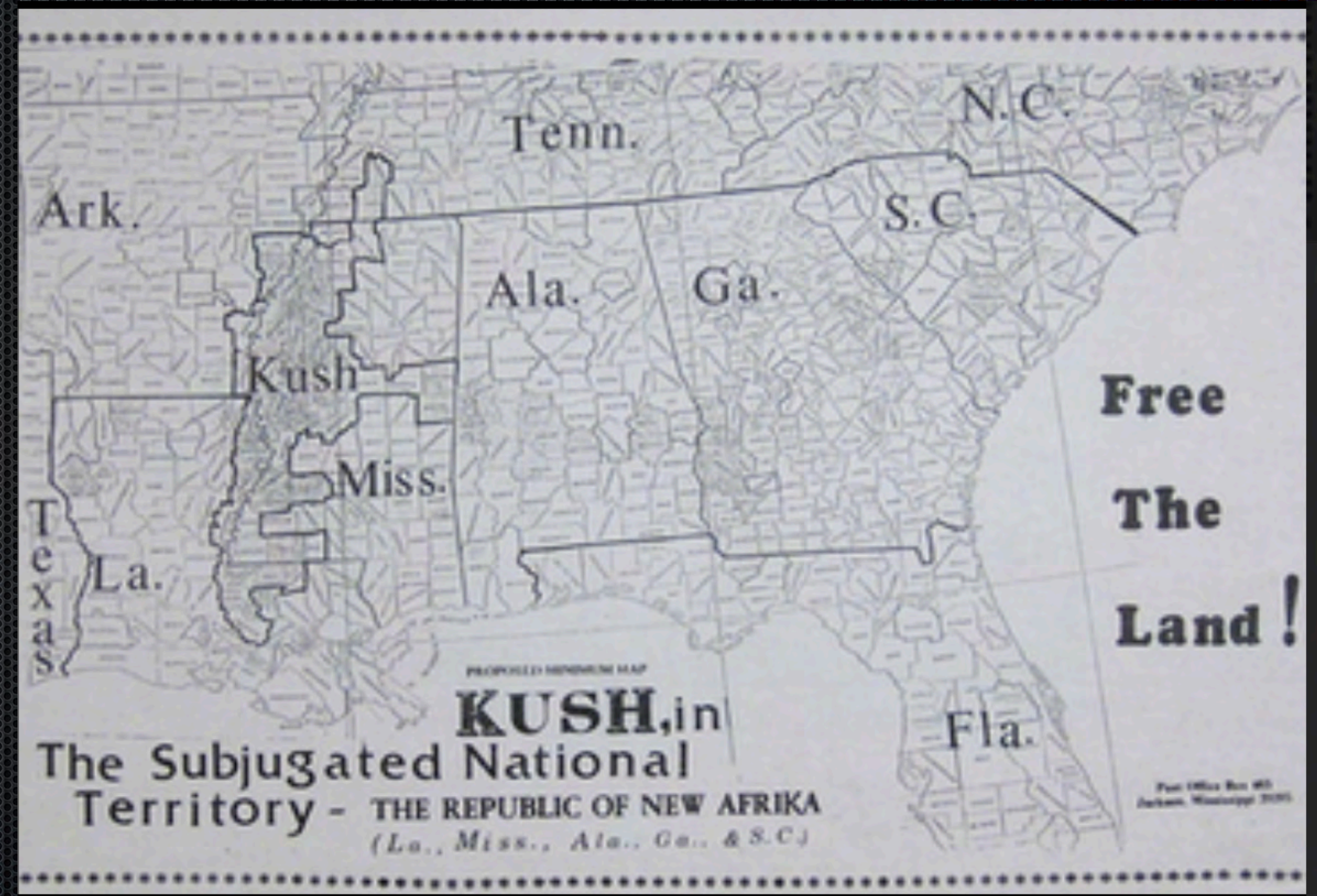
An estimated two-to-five-hundred black nationalist delegates met between March 30 and 31, 1968, at the Malcolm X Society's National Black Government Conference in Detroit. “

Maulana Karenga of the Us organization; Hakim Jamal (related to Malcolm by marriage) of the Malcolm X Foundation from Los Angeles; Amiri Baraka from the Committee for a Unified Newark (New Jersey); spiritual leader and traditional African religious priest Nana Oserjiman Adefumi of the Yoruba Temple; and reparations activist Queen Mother Moore from Harlem, New York. Representatives from the Black Panther Party, the Revolutionary Action Movement, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers attended the Black nationalist convention. Lawrence Guyot of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party also was present. Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz”

Excerpt From  
We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement  
Akinyele Omowale Umoja

In an expression of political self-determination, delegates signed the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence, which pro- claimed their permanent freedom from “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.”

They also formed the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA), which was tasked to unify support for the Republic of New Afrika's liberation.





# Republic of New Africa

- When Imari and Gaida founded the RNA, they designated Robert F. Williams as provisional president. Gaida would serve as vice president, and Imari would serve as minister of information
- The PG-RNA Elected ambassadors to East Africa and the Far East. In May 1969, former Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) leader Max Stanford, who in July 1964 met with Robert F. Williams in Cuba, served as special ambassador.
- On May 28, 1968, the PG-RNA attempted to initiate diplomatic relations with the U.S. government, when First Vice President Gaidi Obadele wrote to President Richard Nixon, and delivered to Secretary of State Donald Rusk, letters urging negotiations over the provisional government's claims for a national territory and reparations payments for slavery



**Robert F. Williams**

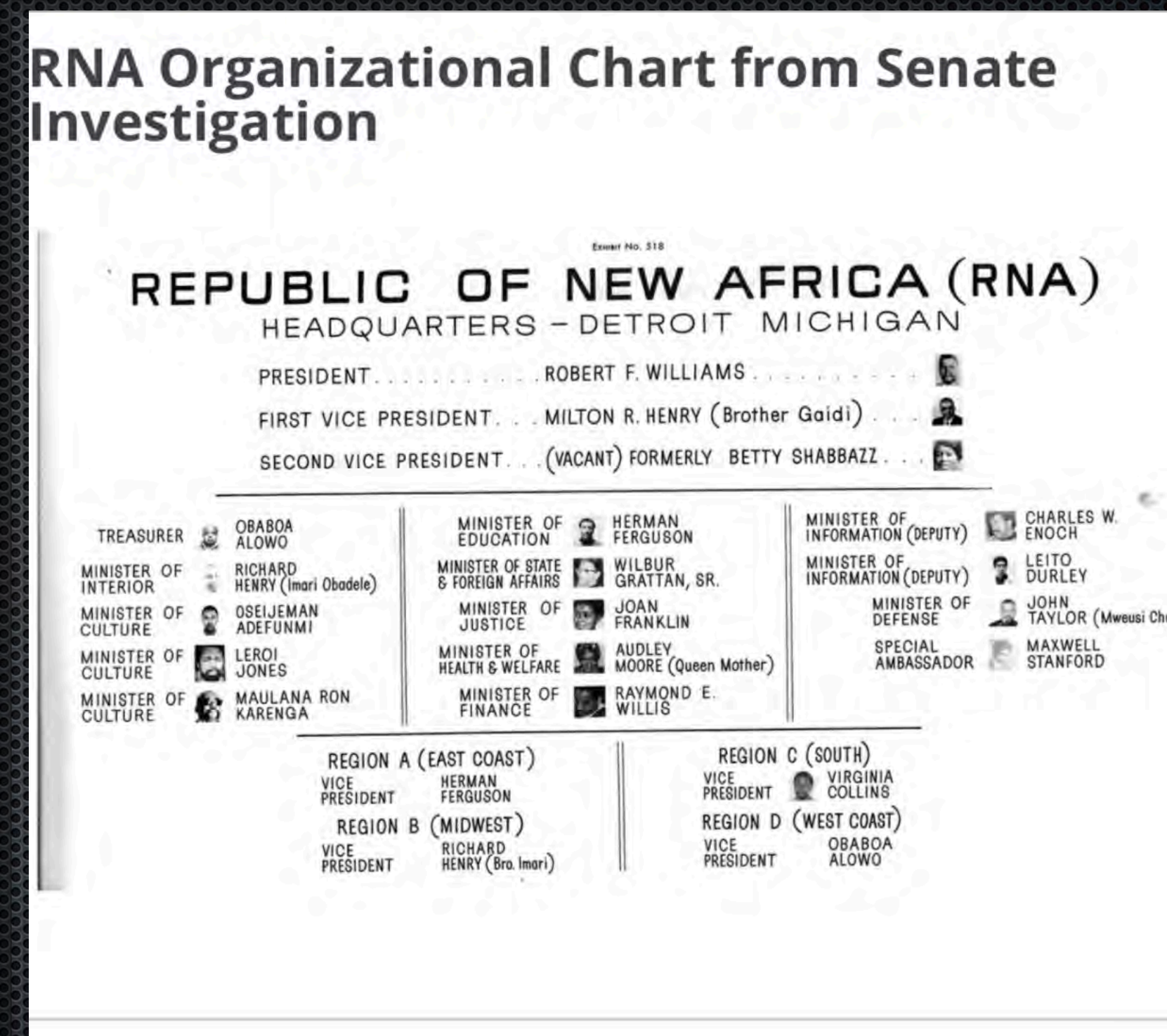
**Self-Defense, Self-Respect, & Self-Determination**



# Republic OF New Africa

- The aims of RNA included the following
- **The RNA [identified the five states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina as Black People's land and] believes that gaining control of Our land is the fundamental struggle facing Black People. Without land, Black Power, rights and freedom have no substance.**
- Free black people from oppression
- Support and wage the world social revolution until all people everywhere are free
- Build a new society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as can be made; End the exploitation of man by man;
- Assure justice for all
- Place the Major means of production and trade in the hands of the state

RNA Organizational Chart from Senate Investigation





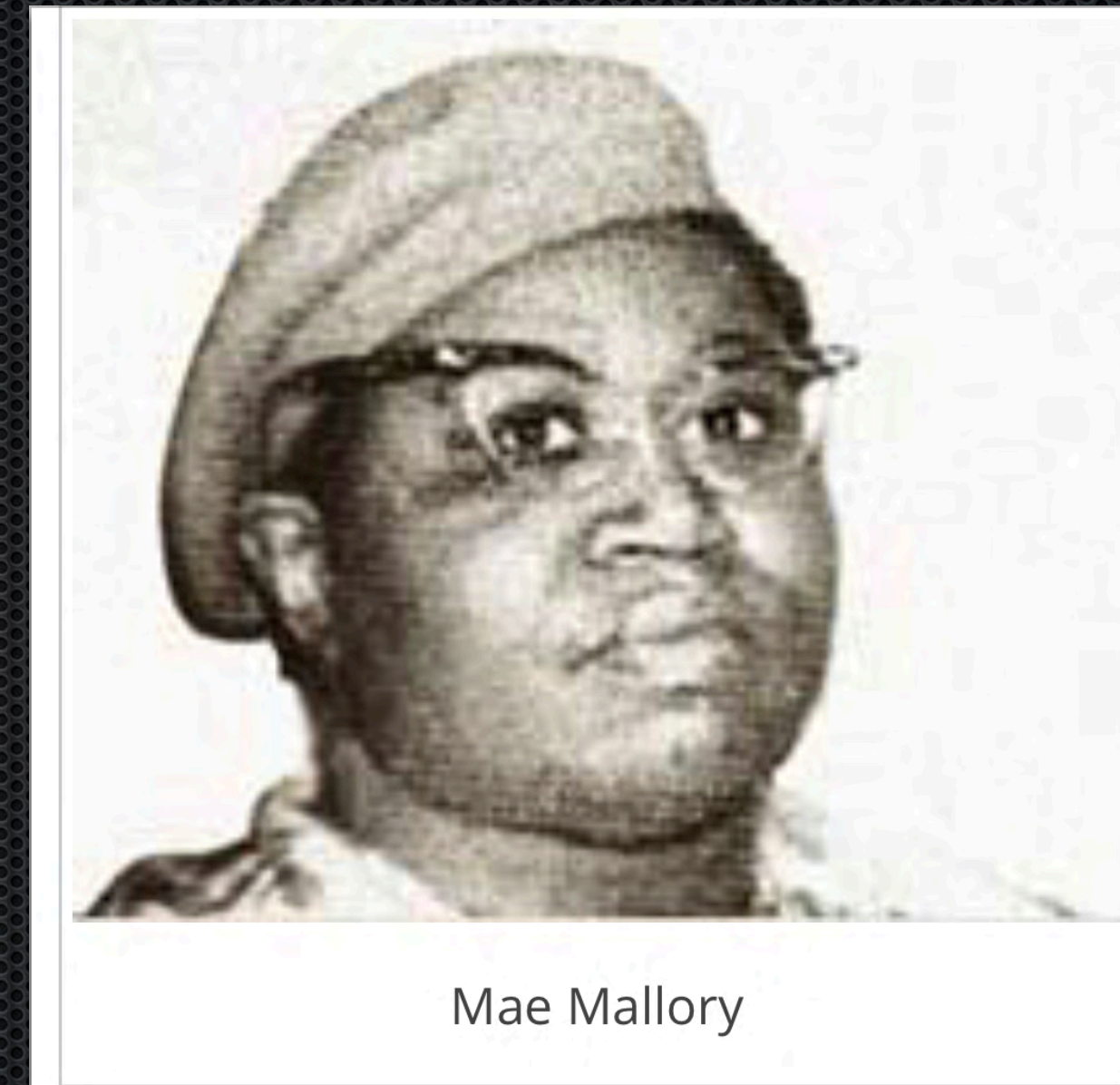
# The Malcolm X Doctrine in Action

Between June 3 and June 10, 1968, PG-RNA 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.

In Tanzania 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.

The New Afrikan officers met with Tanzanian government minister, and Malcolm X ally, Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu and other state officials from Sudan, China, and the Soviet Union

Mallory returned to Tanzania in August 1968 as a representative of the African-American Sisters United, and lived in Mwanza, the country's second largest city, for several years in the 1970s. 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 officially received the honorary title Queen Mother from the Ashanti people of Ghana in 1972.





# Republic of New Africa

- Yusufu Sonnebeyatta traveled to East Africa as a Berkeley graduate student soon after joining the PG-RNA and becoming its minister of economic planning and development in 1970. Sonnebeyatta's three month tour of Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Tanzania directly shaped the PG-RNA's New Afrikan Ujamaa socioeconomic development plan, which, named after the Kiswahili word for "familyhood"





# First National RNA conference

- March 29, 1969 one white policeman was killed and another critically wounded during an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Gaidi Obadele (s/n attorney Milton Henry), the former first Vice President of the Republic of New Africa. Seconds later Detroit police fired over 800 rounds into Detroit New Bethel Baptist Church at 142 black men, women and children who had gathered for an RNA conference 142 were arrested
- Three New Afrikans were subsequently tried for the alleged murder of the slain white cop, but all three, Alfred (2x) Hibitt, Rafeal Vieira, and Chaka Fullero, f New Afrikans proceeded down were acquitted



▪



# Land Acquisition

The PGRNA sought to buy land from  
A black farmer Lofton Mason.  
And an oral agreement was made to  
Acquire

The land between the two parties.  
The PGRNA would build a school, a dining  
hall/community center, and ultimately a new  
community on the land in Bolton. This site  
would be renamed “El-Malik,” after the  
martyr of the New African Independence  
Movement Malik Shabazz (aka Malcolm X)



Armed New African woman on security at March 1971 Land Celebration Day. New African women participated in armed security and were in the defense forces' chain of command. (Courtesy of the archives of Chokwe Lumumba.)



# Land celebration Day

- “The PGRNA made plans to publicize the imminent acquisition of its land. In January 1971, Obadele announced that the PGRNA was on the verge of obtaining the land. It planned a major gala on Mason’s land called Land Celebration
- “A contractor was hired to begin construction of the school building and the dining hall on the land designated to be purchased from Mason. PGRNA workers were sent from Boston, Milwaukee, and New Orleans in March of 1971



Figure 8.5  
Imari Obadele (center) and New Afrikan citizens at 1971 El Malik  
land celebration

Source: *Close Up* magazine, March-April 1971



# Land Acquisition

- “State attorney general A. F. Summers proclaimed that there would be no Land Celebration Day. Officials perceived the RNA celebration as intended to declare independence within their jurisdiction. Hinds County sheriffs, the FBI, and state police raided a house in Bolton where RNA citizens were residing on the evening of March 23rd.
- Ten people, including Kenyatta and his wife, Okadele (aka Mary Alice Hatches), were arrested”
- “Two PGRNA workers from Boston were arrested in their station wagon after arriving in Jackson on the day after the Bolton raid. Three handguns, four rifles, ammunition, and communication equipment were also seized.



# Assault on R.N.A/August 18th

- Once surrounded, the occupants of one building (out of two on the property) were told via a loudspeaker to exit the premises.
- After the RNA did not emerge, gas was fired into the building, which in turn led to an exchange of gunfire. At this time, one officer was killed (Detective Louis Skinner) and two more were injured (Patrolmen Billy Crowell, who lost an arm, and FBI agent William Stringer, who was wounded in the leg).
- None of the RNA were injured, but after several hundred rounds were exchanged, largely from the police seven members of the RNA surrendered and emerged. Four other RNA members were arrested in a second, nearby building (1320 Lynch Street) without incident.
- In November, nine of the RNA 11 were charged with state capital crimes and federal conspiracy. Legal proceedings continued for quite some time. In May 1972, Hakima Ana went to trial and was convicted of murder, resulting in life imprisonment
- After spending ten months in jail, Tamu Sana Ana was released in May 1972, when the state dropped charges.





# Imari Obadele

## THE STRUGGLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

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ONE WEEK AND one day after Labor Day last September a Mississippi federal judge with the coincidentally malevolent name of Nixon—District Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr.—closed the final chapter in part one of the legal struggles of the RNA-11. Last year three of the RNA-11—Brother Vice President Hekima Ana, 29, of Milwaukee; Brother Offogga Quddus, 25, of Camden, N.J.; and Brother Karim Njabafudi, 17, of New Orleans—had been sentenced to life in prison by the state of Mississippi, for murder. Brother Addis Ababa, 24, of Detroit, had received two ten-year terms for assault. All are members of the Republic of New Africa (RNA).

Brother Hekima's wife, Tamu Sana, 24, also of Milwaukee, had been released by the state after ten months in prison. Brother Chumaimari Askadi, 20, was released after 13 months, and I was released in April 1973 after nearly 20 months. As slim-to-non-existent as the legal evidence had been against the Brothers sentenced to Parchman Prison farm, it had been even slimmer against the rest of us. I and three others, for instance, had been at another location when the infamous August 18, 1971, police-FBI attack, which led to the prison sentences, took place at the RNA's government residence in Jackson.

(The three arrested with me—Sister Information Minister Aisha Salim, 25; Brother Tawwab Nkrumah, 27, Minister of Defense for Jackson; and Brother Spade de Mau Mau, 25—were released on *habeas corpus* action

after six weeks at Parchman, and were charged with only a ridiculous, police-face-saving gun charge. But, once it was determined that Tawwab had been defense minister in Jackson, he was indicted like the rest of us on state charges of murder, assault, and waging war against the state of Mississippi and federal charges of conspiracy to assault federal officers and to possess incendiaries and a machine-gun. Tawwab, however, at liberty by that time, remained—and remains—at liberty.)

All the charges grew out of a persistent campaign of the white power structure—led in Mississippi by the state attorney general, A. F. Summer, and FBI Chief Elmer Linberg, with the support of then U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell—to smash the RNA. The RNA had returned the struggle of Africans in America for independent land to a point of on-site confrontation, after 105 years, in March 1971. At that time, on 20 acres being purchased by the RNA from a black Hinds County farmer named Lofton Mason, We consecrated the land as El Malik, the capitol site of the still-unliberated nation.

We had said publicly that We were not declaring the land independent, though We would fence it and guard it 'just as ordinary business corporations do all over America. But the whites, understanding the psychological impact of our land move better than most of our people, panicked. They induced Mr. Mason to abrogate our land deal, issued a state injunction against our returning to the land (We shall, of course,



# N.A.I.M ORGANIZATIONS

The New Afrikan Independence Movement is a multi-tendency movement struggling to liberate the southeastern portion of the so-called mainland territories now colonized by the United States government.

The New Afrikan People's Organization founded Ahmed Obafemi

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement Founded by Chokwe Lumumba

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America  
Founded By Imari Obadele



The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement is a revolutionary organization committed to the principles and aims of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, namely land and nationhood, self-defense, socialism/anti-imperialism, and collective leadership and these principles guide our national work.





# Kush Plan/Chokwe Lumumba

## The program and Pillars

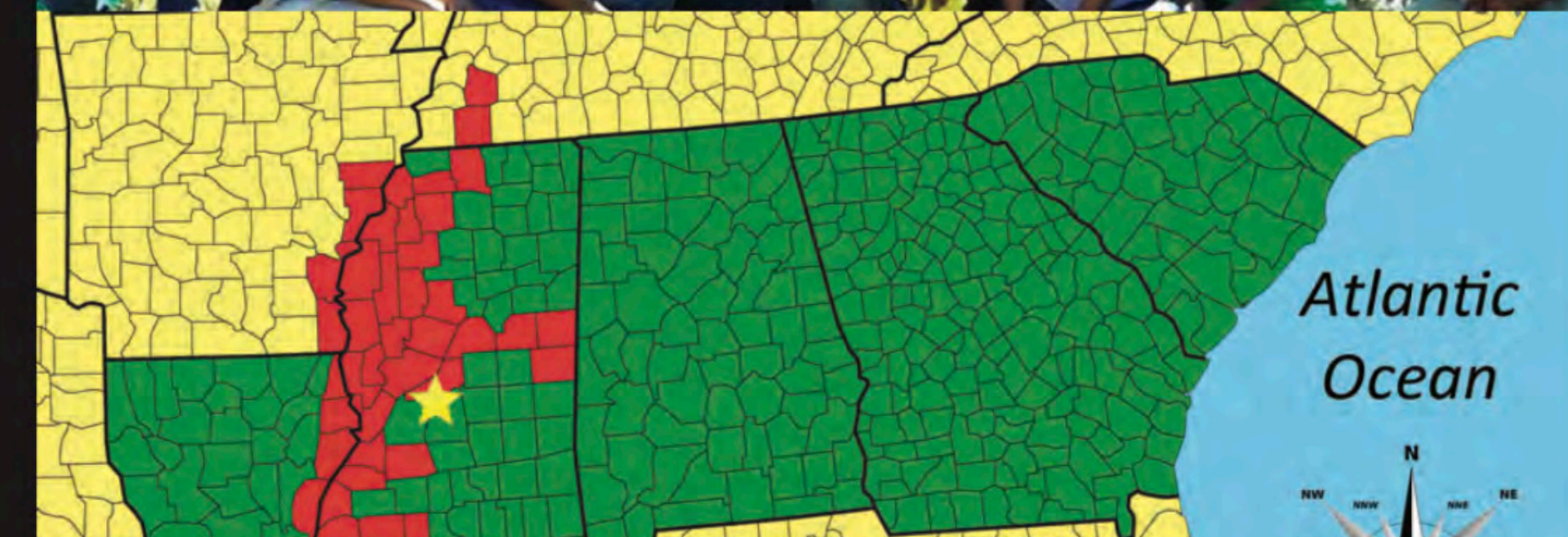
J–K Plan has three fundamental programmatic components that are designed to build a mass base with the political clarity, organizational capacity, and material self-sufficiency to advance the objective of building an autonomous power.

The three fundamental programmatic components are:

- Building People’s Assemblies
- Building an Independent Black Political Party
- Building a Broad-based Solidarity Economy

## **The Jackson-Kush Plan:**

**The Struggle for Black Self-Determination and Economic Democracy**





# Chokwe Antar Lumumba /Cooperation Jackson

The fundamental program and strategy of Cooperation Jackson is anchored in the vision and macro-strategy of the Jackson-Kush Plan.

The Jackson-Kush Plan was formulated by the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) between 2004 and 2010, to advance the development of the New Afrikan Independence Movement and hasten the socialist transformation of the territories currently claimed by the United States settler-colonial state.

Cooperation Jackson is a vehicle specifically created to advance a key component of the Jackson-Kush Plan, namely the development of the solidarity economy in Jackson, Mississippi to advance the struggle for economic democracy as a prelude towards the democratic transition to eco-socialism.

☰ **COOPERATION JACKSON**



**Building a solidarity economy in Jackson, Mississippi, anchored by a network of cooperatives and worker-owned, democratically self-managed enterprises.**



# HOW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DIE

Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa

CHRISTIAN DAVENPORT



CAMBRIDGE



## Crossing Boundaries

Ethnicity, Race, and National Belonging in a Transnational World

Edited by Brian D. Behnken  
and Simon Wendt

