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BAMN

Where Do We Go From Here?

MXGM Detroit Chapter - 2019 Kwanzaa Celebration

By Any Means Necessary

"We celebrate the work of MXGM in this unprecedented year of 2020 by showcasing flyers from our events throughout this issue"

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Section 1: Editorial

Trump is Defeated: Where do we go from here?

Makungu M. Akinyela

Four years ago, as the US entered its election season for their presidential election, MXGM / NAPO took a stand on the presidential election and declared that the greatest immediate threat to our peoples struggle for self-determination at that time was the impending victory of Donald Trump to the presidency and the entrenchment of Trumpist fascism as the governing power over the US settler state. At that time, we took the unpopular position that defeating Trump was the important tactical question of the day even if it meant voting for the Democratic candidate at that time Hillary Clinton. Other revolutionary nationalists as well as social left movements also took that position although many movement groups wrongly took what we believe was a left wing and ultra nationalist error position that it did not matter which candidate won the presidential election, since both candidates ultimately represented the settler colonial state and neo-liberal capitalist interests.

After four years of Donald Trump and an increasingly fascist build up which sharpened the threat of white terrorist violence by both police, military and paramilitary forces against our people, supported by an openly white supremacist fascist government, rising unemployment of Black workers going into the double digits, increased poverty and hunger, decreased support for housing, health and education as well as a growing health crisis and pandemic which has killed over 300,000 people to date of which 25 percent are African people, it is clear that our warning of the dangers of a rising fascism in the US was correct and that Trumpist fascism must be defeated.

A broad multi-ethnic front including revolutionary nationalists, anti-racist leftists, liberals and neo-liberal conservatives united to defeat Donald Trump and end his attempt to impose a fascist dictatorship on the already oppressed nations and communities of the USA settler colony. And while as of this writing Trump has yet to admit defeat, it is clear that an overwhelming majority of the multi-ethnic people in the US have rejected him. At the same time, it is important to note that fifty-five percent of the white people in this country voted for him and continue to support him. This means that while Trump has been defeated, Trumpist fascism remains a present threat to the liberation of all the people of the US empire and to the self-determination of the Black Nation (New Afrikans) in particular. This leaves us with the question, With the defeat of Trump but the ongoing threat of fascism, “Where do we go from here?”

LOOKING AHEAD TO 2021

The fascist threat forced our people and other oppressed people into a tactical alliance with those who are not our friends. While we voted to defeat Trump, we have no illusions that the Democratic candidate Joe Biden, or any of the neo-liberal representatives of that party is a friend to the Black Nation. This includes the Black neo-liberals such as Congressman Jim Clyburn, Vice President Elect Kamala Harris, or former President Barack Obama. This may be difficult for some of our people to imagine we know, because representation is such an important ingredient of the illusion of the American dream, the folk axiom that "all skin folk ain't kinfolk" holds true in this situation.

The interest of the Neo-liberals was not to defeat Trump because of the danger he represented to our survival, but because he had sidetracked their ambitions for global capitalist wealth building. Already, Biden, Harris, Obama and the other neo-liberal democrats are trying to convince the people that they have to welcome the Trump fascists back into the "American fold." This is the same kind of mess the US government pulled after the American Civil War when they welcomed white supremacist Confederates back as their brothers while they sold our people out to Jim Crow!

The Trump fascist threat remains as armed white militias continue to grow and prepare for what they call "The Boogaloo" or second civil war which they tried so hard to instigate during the mass demonstrations against white police terror in cities where white supremacists infiltrated demonstrations and started fires, looted and shot police to place the blame on Black people. This threat remains with us and is real even once Trump leaves office.

Meanwhile the Democratic party is preparing to take its old place of control of the colonized Black nation. Already, they are using Black neo-liberals like Jim Clyburn (who was used to sell Joe Biden) to rewrite history and blame the rollbacks of the Black Power era and reversals of victories of that time on the mass chant of "burn baby burn" which was never a policy but a mass outcry in the 1960s as Black youth fought back against racist police in urban uprisings around the USA. Clyburn and Obama are being used as *Negro-Splainers* to connect this popular resistance outcry to the current demand to defund the police which unlike "burn baby burn" is attached to a program to redistribute funds used for police militarization so those funds can be used for humane non-violent programs to service the community.

Yet, Clyburn, Biden, Obama, Harris and the rest of the Democratic neo-liberal right wing is working overtime to charge that the popular demand to defund the police resulted in democratic congressional losses during the election. They fail to tell people that the only

congressional candidates who lost during this election cycle were those who distanced themselves from the demand to defund the police.

This quick turn to the right by the *Negro-Splainers* makes it clear that we can have little faith in the Democratic party to fulfill any of the demands that are really important to Black people on their own, despite Joe Bidens hypocritical pledge to pay his debt to black voters. He says this because he is confident that he will have the *Negro-Splainers* on hand to make sure that the demands of Black people are never allowed to become too radical. Health care for all? No

chance. Debt relief for college loans? Not likely. An end to militarized police forces focused on occupying the Black and Brown communities? Don't hold your breath. And if these simple things cannot be relied on to be tackled by the neo-liberals there is no hope that the *Negro-Splainers* will freely allow real conversations of a Red-Black and Green New Deal to reorganize the economy. And certainly, there will be no conversation about Reparations and Self-Determination to be had even though these were highly popular issues during the presidential debates.

US Democracy is a Paper Tiger

The past four years of Trumpist fascism and then the onslaught of the CORONA Virus has uncovered the dirty secret that American Democracy is a paper tiger. We cannot depend on the system to save us if the system can be disrupted and changed anytime someone is elected over it who is willing to not play along as Donald Trump proved. American Democracy is an illusion, and it is clear that it cannot and will not protect the interest of Black, Brown and other oppressed people. We must protect and liberate ourselves with people's democracy. A democracy that comes from the grassroots and speaks truth to power! This is the lesson of the past four years and it is the lesson that will take us into 2021 and forward to a liberated future. Forward the Revolution!

The coming year 2021 MXGM / NAPO calls on our people to move from the *tactical alliance,* which was necessary to defeat Trumpist fascism, to the *strategic alliances* with other revolutionary Black nationalist groups, Progressive, and Left Black organizations who share our value for self-determination as the right for Black people to map out our own political destiny and choice. This calls for a 21st century Black Power and Unification Movement bringing together the broadest segment of our people as possible to challenge the attempts by the neo-liberals to minimize our just demands for freedom, democracy and power.

Our strategic alliances must also reach out to our LatinX sisters and brothers and First Nations (Native) peoples, Asian and other oppressed peoples to work for our common interests for self-determination and democracy for our peoples. We have to work harder on creating the *Rainbow Coalition* envisioned by Chairman Fred Hampton of the Black Panther Party to defeat white supremacy, patriarchy and capitalist oppression of our peoples. And while we know that a majority of white people in this country voted for and support Donald Trump even if they don't directly support fascism, we will also work to build a strategic alliance with those anti-racist whites who have a vision for a better more democratic world.

We believe this strategic alliance of liberation movements and their supporters will need to organize to challenge the US government and demand a dismantling of the structures of white supremacy which enable our oppression. These include the economic, police/military, social/cultural, and governmental structures which undergird systemic racism and settler

colonialism. We will need to organize continuously as we have done before for electoral political power with a focus on winning local electoral victories. We will also need to organize to defend our communities against attack whether from state sanctioned police or paramilitary forces. We will need to organize people's self-defense. We will also need to unite with movements to challenge economic oppression through building people's co-ops and economic alternatives to capitalist exploitation, as well as by organizing with workers for higher wages and more humane working conditions. We will have to engage in fights for housing and healthcare. We will have to fight to eradicate food deserts and build neighborhood gardens that can feed communities. These and other struggles will unite us and remold us into community.

Yes, Fam, 2020 has been a difficult year. The most difficult of the past four years, but we are still standing as a people! The coming period remains difficult even with the defeat of Trump, as thousands are still being impacted by the COVID-19 virus directly or by the economic, emotional or social impact of the disease on our communities. Even as we write this a vaccine which will be available for mass distribution may still be months away, perhaps as far as into the end of 2021. This means that we will need to be creative in our organizing as we build the resistance to the new neo-liberal government and the Negro-splainers representing it. We will need to discover ways to both resist and be noticed and keep our people healthy and well. We will need to stay fit and prepared to be in the street when necessary and to defend our communities when necessary. The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and the New Afrikan People's Organization are anxious to unite with our people and with all of the freedom focused people around the empire to build a movement to push the struggle for Self-Determination forward! In the words of our comrade and imprisoned freedom fighter Dr. Mutulu Shakur we say "STIFF RESISTANCE"!

Section 2: International

Pan-African Federalist Movement and The Challenge of the Unified Afrikan State Reality: The Elephant in the Room

kwame-osagyefo kalimara

"It is only when all Black groups, join hands and speak with one voice that we shall be a bargaining force which will decide its own destiny."
Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

The Pan-African Federalist Movement's (PAFM) heroes are the Honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. These men both made valuable contributions in challenging the racial and colonial contradictions Afrikan peoples continue to experience. Garvey (the Universal Negro Improvement Association) built a mass movement in the 1920s with a global membership exceeding 4 million by conservative estimates. No other organization to date has come close to its enormity. Nkrumah led Ghana to its independence in 1957 and created theoretical analysis for our understanding of imperialism, neocolonialism to enable Afrikan people to deconstruct the systems of oppression and exploitation affecting Afrikan people.

Iconization has its advantages but also has challenges. What PAFM must do, as all formations must, is to be critical in their analysis of its icons and their programs of action. Overlooking either the theoretical and/or practical applications does not position the PAFM in the best posture strategically and tactically. How do we organize? Are our goals and objectives realistic as outlined? Will we create power which replicates the systems of oppression and exploitation to which we have been opposed to for centuries, or will we create something demonstratively better, an Afrikan egalitarian society? (Many traditional Afrikan societies were founded on principles of egalitarianism.) Will women continue to be relegated to the margins and not central to every aspect of human agency or have equal access? What are the successes and failures of Pan-Afrikan movements guiding us? As PAFM organizes is consensus decision making a consideration and realistic? These few questions are not exclusive to the building of the PAFM.

Garvey's influence was phenomenal. We know that his ideas impacted the National of Islam, Moorish Americans, Rastafari and the Black Power Movement. Both the Honorable

Elijah Muhammad and Noble Drew Ali were members of the UNIA. His call for Race First/pride resonated with the masses of New Afrikans (Blacks). Garvey was both a black nationalist (a Pan-African) and a capitalist. We know of Garvey's controversial meeting/collaboration with the white supremacist Klu Klux Klan. Few knew of his contradiction with Cyril Briggs and the African Blood Brotherhood, black socialists.

We know of Garvey's relationship with the Liberian government trusting to obtain land for settlement. The American Colonial Society in 1822 established a colony which became the independent nation of Liberia. What is less known is that the African emigration group reduced the indigenous Afrikan population to the lowest status of the nation. There is more to study, but the point is studying the contradictions so we will not replicate them in modern form. Garvey was elected President of the Provisional Government of Africa. The continent of Africa, the nations of Africa were not part of the decision process.

Nkrumah has provided additional important theoretical contributions. Did his declaring himself President of Ghana for life and a one-party state in 1964 contribute to the assassination attempts on his life and his exile? The Nkrumah government sought to reduce foreign dependence manufacturing among other things. Medical and educational services improved. Ultimately nearly all sectors of Ghanaian life successfully grew.

For the Ghanaian population Marxist ideology and its application is foreign. When its economy became challenged the demands Nkrumah made were problematic. It usurped elected and traditional authority. The traditional Chiefs (Kings) were either reduced or eliminated. Akan royalty, for example, existed for a thousand of years, embedded in its people.

An examination of Garvey and Nkrumah is complex. The purpose of this writing is to create critical conversations as PAFM builds for a united African state. We know of the use of the Bureau of Investigation (later the FBI) and CIA with respect to Garvey, and CIA with respect to Nkrumah, in their defeat, however the internal contradictions created ripe conditions. Additionally, patriarchy and male domination were present in the formations of Garvey and Nkrumah. The mere existence of women's formations is insufficient to support the position that women must have equal status in all sectors of community and governance. Garvey had the Black Cross Nurses. Amy Ashwood was the General Secretary of the UNIA. Insufficient. Nkrumah passed laws creating special positions in parliament for women. A few were in the Convention People's Party (CPP) Central Committee and attended universities. A start, but it was still secondary to the elevation of women. Ghana's leading woman nationalist in the struggle for independence from British colonial rule was Hannah Kudjoe. Where is the record of her service? She generally disappears from Ghanaian history after Nkrumah's overthrow.

PAFM argues that the organizing is “bottom up.” SNCC’s Ella Baker’s approach to leadership must be evidenced. She was very critical of professional and charismatic leadership. Baker promoted grassroots leadership (local), organizing and radical democracy in the civil rights movement. Baker said “my theory is, strong people don't need strong leaders.” She also criticized the sexism within the Civil Rights movement.

The work in which PAFM has sought for itself is daunting, African Political Unification and Sovereignty within one generation or less. The continent of Afrika has 54 Afrikan nations. There are over 3,000 different ethnic groups/communities who speak more than 2,100 different languages. With respect to religious and spiritual systems Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Hinduism is present. Afrikan traditional religions are specific to their ethnic identity. The diversity of Afrika must be included in the PAFM analysis and strategy.

The unification of Afrika is vital to the survival, growth, and development of Afrikan people globally. PAFM acknowledges this! However, PAFM must build continental Afrikan work supporting itself as We collectively raise and struggle through decolonializing of our relationships with colonial and imperialist nations, recognizing that although the effects of colonialism and enslavement is the same, their colonizing strategies differed and We must take that into account.

PAFM, last but not least, must also examine the forms of governance in which it envisions is best suited for Afrikan people, even its own structure. Many are comfortable with European models. PAFM must be revolutionary, not be romantic. Silence or ignoring these issues does not give direction.

One of the truest tests of integrity is its blunt refusal to be compromised.
Chinua Achebe
The seeds of success in every nation on Earth are best planted in women and children.
Joyce Banda

Ancestral blessings. Free the Land!!!

Pan-African Federalist Movement and The Challenge of the Unified Afrika

kwame-osagyefo kalimara

The above position paper was written as a result of unanswered questions after a review of website materials, PAFM chat and conversations with North American PAFM membership. i moderated a few of the PAFM workshops and on the last day of its convention i conducted libation. The featured speakers of the North American convention (October 15 – 19, 20204) were Malaak Shabazz (daughter of Dr. Betty Shabazz & Malcolm X), Joseph Beasley (Operation Push with Rev. Jessie Jackson), Prof. Runoko Rashidi (historian), A. Peter Bailey (journalist & member of OAAU and youth friend of Malcolm X), Attorney Nkechi Taifa (activist in the New Afrikan Independence Movement), and Dr. Leonard Jeffries, Jr. (historian). Workshop focuses and themes were the 100th Anniversary of the 1st of African People of the World, the 50th Anniversary of the Congress of African People, 25th Anniversary of the Million Man March, Reflection on The Million Women's March, Restoring Our Relationship with Our Motherland, Reciprocating the Return - Bridging the Gulf, and Reconciliation and Full Reintegration. On December 8 – 13, 2020 the PAFM held its Annual International Convention. Representatives from Afrika, the Americas and Europe were present. Convention outcomes will be reported in a subsequent BAMN issue.

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