
SPEECH BY DR. MUTULU SHAKUR

CHITEPO DAY

MARCH 18, 1979

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I'd like to say Free the Land! to New Afrikans and straight ahead to those in struggle. We are honored, and I say "we," because I do not consider myself as anything other than part of a collective of brothers and sisters who have been struggling in this country for the past 319 years. Specifically, I represent the revolutionary nationalist anti-imperialist movement in america today. And we are in total support of the Zimbabwean movement. We have been struggling in the united states -- north america -- to make our position clear. The brother that we honor today is a brother that we know little about except what we hear from our comrades, but the brother Chitepo is a brother similar to a lot of our comrades who have fallen struggling in armed struggle here in america, assassinated, known and unknown.

If you will, I'm going to try to give a little history of our relationship. And I think it's important that our history be explained. We of the Republic of New Afrika, the Afrikan Peoples' Party, the Black Panther Party, the National Task Force for COINTELPRO Litigation and Research -- and just street Black people off the streets, in study groups trying to make an analysis of where we are in this world for the last -- and I'm talking about the contemporary period at this point -- the last 15 years -- have always, have always supported the struggle in southern Africa. And it has been just like breathing. We know that we are African people, we know that our motherland is where the fruits of this society that we live in is built upon, our slave labor, the raw materials, the minerals that are taken out of southern Africa.

We support southern Africa and the revolutionary struggle and the anti-imperialist struggle in southern Africa because the same dogs that are over in southern Africa, in Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, are the same dogs that are in the South Bronx, Harlem, Mississippi, Georgia, Chicago. And these dogs have killed our brothers and sisters, have maimed our children, have miseducated our children, have taught cracker education to our children, have taken our African culture away from us, have housed us in what we consider to be concentration camps, have given us welfare cards and put us on methadone maintenance and all other kinds of chemical warfare. . . .

What makes us support the struggles in southern Africa so strongly is because we support the revolutionary attitude, the anti-imperialism, the armed struggle, the analysis that we as a people must control some land and must govern ourselves, must determine our destiny.

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In america, which they call america, the north american continent that they ripped off from the Native Americans, that they ripped off from the Caribbeans, that other immigrants came here, after the slaves built up america, after other immigrants came here and reaped the benefits of that slave labor, we do not think that the territory they call the u.s. must be theirs. We think that we have five states coming.

We think that it is important that ZANU and the Zimbabwean people refuse to compromise on the issue. We think that it is very important that they refuse to recognize a puppet regime, a puppet government not turning over complete power of the land, economics, judiciary, the army, to the Zimbabwean people. ANYTHING LESS THAN THAT IS A SHAM!

But with the same breath we have to recognize that we here, Black people here, who in fact do not feel a part of america, who feel they have an antagonistic contradiction with the united states government, must formulate around some principles. Some people say it's class. Well, you have a right to organize around that. You must organize around that, if you believe that that is the issue or that that will organize people quicker. We believe that Black people, whose forefathers were slaves and helped build this country, will organize around some land and self-government and some collective work and responsibility in the sharing of the national wealth that we have ourselves. And we believe that we have a right to struggle around that. We have a right to struggle around five states. If we get four, it's our right. We must -- 319 years -- you can't throw that away. We do not feel safe without cooperating with other national liberation movements inside of north america, unless we can contribute on an equal basis and deal from an equal basis -- a basis of power and self-government with other national liberation movements such as the Chicanos, the Native Americans, the Mexicans, who claim land inside the united states "government." And the only way we can do that is to struggle for something specific. And that specific is a NATION.

And in that, we support Zimbabwe. We support Zimbabwe. We support ZANU because we are ZANU. A lot of us come from there. We are from Zimbabwe. We recognize the faces. We recognize our heritage. But more than that, we recognize the type of society that people are talking about building after the fighting is done. We recognize that. We are not apolitical. We think in a protracted way. We know we have to shed off a lot of values. We know we have to begin to share the wealth. We know we have to begin to share the housing. We have to live cooperatively. Some say it's Ujamaa, some say it's Marxist-Leninist analysis. We say that we have lost lives around our ideology and we have been consistent. And in that spirit, we, as Black revolutionary nationalist anti-imperialist strugglers, will always support the righteous struggle in southern Africa. That's our position on southern Africa and how we see it.

There's another thing I'd like to talk about and this is a little internal. And I don't want to get into it too deep, but it should be recognized. The Sixth Pan-Africanist Conference was a VERY important event. It was an important event because Africans from all over the world came together to discuss the level of commitment of their struggle towards the anti-imperialist movement, towards the anti-fascist and -racist movement, and in that conference a lot of decisions and opinions were formulated. In 1974, or let's say from the period of 1965 or earlier for those who lived longer, it was a key period for Black people here in america, a very key period -- especially for those revolutionary nationalist anti-imperialist struggles. The Sixth Pan-Africanist Conference was called and the CIA, the counterintelligence program and ego-tripping people BLOCKED the presentation of the revolutionary nationalist anti-imperialist movement's presentation to African people abroad in a clear sense.

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When we think of Comrade Chitepo and the brothers in Sinoia -- I hope I'm pronouncing it correctly -- how these seven brothers under orders left to go into what they were calling Rhodesia to wage armed struggle and they all gave up their lives. When we think about that and we think about how all of our comrades in the Black Liberation Army and the Republic of New Afrika, in the Afrikan People's Party, brother Ahmed Evans who is dead now -- that many of you do not know and our African comrades do not know . . . A lot of these brothers and sisters died struggling for ideas and concepts not too far apart from those comrades that were discussing those ideas in Tanzania, in the Sixth Pan-Africanist Conference. But because the CIA, the counterintelligence program and ego, ego and the domination of a line, kept that aspect of brothers and sisters from presenting their point to the Sixth Pan-Africanist Conference, we have very strange opinions of the revolutionary nationalist anti-imperialist movement in this country. We say that needs to be re-assessed. There need to be more opinions taken. There needs to be a new evaluation of that period.

Our political prisoners and our Prisoners-of-War have consistently been in armed struggle against this country. Some of them are narrow nationalists, as people consider them, some of them are Marxist-Leninists, some are revolutionary nationalist anti-imperialist strugglers. But they all, they all, have been in complete support of the armed revolutionary struggle going on in southern Africa. And for them to be denied their place in history is a mistake that we all must evaluate, and I try to bring this to you today, because we respect this historic day. We respect it so much that we have to bring forth things that are concerning us as it relates to furthering our support, sharpening our knives, so that we can continue to support the armed revolutionary struggle going on in southern Africa today, as well as forge a strong revolutionary movement here in north america -- to begin to split the lines, control some land, create some contradictions and give the brothers and sisters in southern Africa some room and some help. Because the corporations over there are here. We don't have to hide around that. We all know that. The position on the Sixth Pan-Africanist Conference and the evaluation of the armed revolutionary struggle that is going on here must be re-evaluated again in the interest of maintaining a consistent commitment on the part of the armed revolutionary struggle here for the armed revolutionary struggle in southern Africa.

I would also like to say that I think it is important to lay the responsibility of the revolutionary nationalist organizations and other Black organizations inside america, so-called america, north america. We should re-assess what work we've done for the African liberation struggle. We should not allow ourselves to be divided from our other comrades who are Pan-Africanists, who consider the primary struggle is in Africa. We should not let ourselves be divided from those comrades. We should try to come together, but we should not get lazy and allow the Pan-Africanist movement in this country to be the only bearers of the weight of support for the revolutionary struggle going on in southern Africa. We must join hands in that struggle. We must represent the history that we have been involved in and what we can contribute to entice and make that movement exciting and creative, so that the two forces together can make a much more powerful movement for the support of southern Africa in this period. Because in southern Africa the struggling brothers and sisters of Zimbabwe and ZANU have shown us some very clear examples -- some very clear military examples, some heroic examples. I think we've got to be careful of making the division between the clever and the heroic. Those who can think should join with those who will do. I think that that is an important component, because we in the revolutionary nationalist anti-imperialist movement -- we are not afraid of ideology. We will hang out with anybody around our ideology. But what we do see now is that we must come together and make a more predictable force in north america to the African liberation struggle in southern Africa. Thereby making ourselves a more

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predictable force in bringing down the united states government and its oppressive techniques all over the world.

We'd like to say to whitepeople who provide material aid -- it should be unconditional. It should be unconditional. We do not think that white people who support the struggles in southern Africa and don't support the struggles here in north america are necessarily the bad guys. But we do think that those who support the struggle in southern Africa and support the national liberation of the Third World components inside of north america have given up their territorial integrity. They have agreed that nothing that the imperialist owns belongs to the imperialist. So therefore these boundaries are not yours and you are prepared to change the whole world as it relates to the imperialist control of the world. And we think that those are our comrades. The others are our friends, see, and we appreciate whatever anyone gives to our revolutionary struggle. But it must be unconditional.

And we'd like to say to the brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe -- straight ahead, and we appreciate it.

Thank you very much.

Dr. Mutulu Shakur is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika. He is National Coordinator of the National Task Force for COINTELPRO Litigation and Research. Dr. Shakur is a founding member of the Black Acupuncture Association of North America and has struggled over the past decade to develop the revolutionary science of acupuncture as a tool to fight chemical warfare in the Black community.

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