

Appendix I to “If you Arrest a Revolutionary, Do you Arrest a Revolution? Understanding the Impacts of Repression on Challenges and Challengers”

Background and Discussion of RNA

The story of the Republic of New Africa is a relatively detailed one (indeed, one of the authors of this article recently completed a book on the topic). In an effort to provide a bit more additional information, however, we offer this appendix.

Part of the difficulty with understanding the RNA is a historical one. Most individuals are familiar with the American Civil Rights Movement and the individuals as well as organizations involved with this struggle. Comparatively less attention and information exists on the Black Nationalist effort. This said, there has been greater attention to this topic emerging over the last ten years with research focusing on specific individuals (e.g., Robert F. Williams [Tyson 1999], Amiri Baraka [Woodward 1999] and Malcolm X [Cone 1992]) and organizations (e.g., the Black Panther Party [Jones 1998], the Deacons for Self-Defense [Hill 2006] and the movement writ large [e.g., Joseph 2006; 2007; Dawson 2013]).

The majority of this work is historical in nature with regard to simply getting a grasp on who did what to whom. This research has been extremely important in getting a sense of what happened and why. Essentially, none of this work has been directed toward testing social science theories and thus this is another way that the current research differs.

It is perhaps useful to think of the RNA as part of the larger wave of Black Nationalist social movement organizations that emerged following conventional conceptions of when the Civil Rights Movement ended. These organizations emerged to continue the Civil Rights struggle, having identified its limitations as well as developing ideas about what should come next. These organizations shared a sense that the Civil Rights orientation was not sufficient to address the problems of African Americans. These organizations broadly felt that the non-violent tactic, while powerful and useful in many respects, proved incapable of dealing with continued anti-black violence. These organizations also broadly believed that there needed to be a serious rethinking about the place of blacks in America. Now, around this core there was significant variation. For example, consider the following table which represents a preliminary effort to view Black Nationalist organizations comparatively. This represents a preliminary version of an effort derived from an evaluation of primary and secondary material as well as numerous interviews with diverse participants from within the movement but also individuals aware of the relevant period/movements. Within the table, “1” means that the organization advocated such a position on the relevant topic, “0” means that the organization took no position on the relevant topic; and “-1” means that the organization was against the topic in question.

(See Table in Appendix 2)

As one can see there is only one topic that the Republic of New Africa was distinct from a variety of organizations commonly associated with the Black Nationalist/Power movement: they were against voting for black politicians. On every other characteristic: e.g., advocating that African Americans control their economy, advocating that African

Americans control the political and school systems serving their communities, advocating self-defense and exclusive black membership or opposing forming a political party within the existing US system, forming a separate nation in Africa or incorporating whites into the organization, there is at least one other Black Nationalist organization that shares the position. There are clearly some organizations that the RNA is closer to (e.g., the Black Panther Party under Newton, pre 1971) and some that they are further from (e.g., SNCC under Jamil al-Amin or the Nation of Islam under Wareeth Deen). Overall, the point is clear that the RNA is similar to many other organizations from the general social movement family associated with Black Nationalism/Power.

As for specifics concerning the organization, the history is fairly straightforward. Noted in the article itself, the RNA was founded in 1968 by a group of Black Nationalists, largely based in Detroit, which is where the records analyzed in the data emerge from. The leaders of the organization represented an important cross-section of radicals at the time:

Although exiled in Peking, China, Robert F. Williams was selected as President; Milton Henry (aka Gaidi Obadele) in Pontiac, Michigan, was selected as First Vice President; (Bahiyah) Betty Shabazz, the wife of Malcolm X, from New York City was selected as Second Vice President; Edmond Bradley (aka Obaboa Olowo) of Los Angeles, California, was selected as Treasurer; Richard Henry, now Imari Obadele from Detroit, Michigan, was the Minister of the Interior; Imiri Baraka, formerly Leroi Jones, from Newark, New Jersey, and Maulana Karenga, (formerly Ronie McKinley) of the US organization from Los Angeles, California and Baba Oserjeman Adefunmi, formerly Serge King, of New York City were selected as Ministers of Culture; attorney Joan Franklin was selected as the Minister of Justice; Queen Mother (Audrey) Moore, from New York City (former Garveyite and Communist Party member) was selected as the Minister of Health and Welfare; H. Rap Brown, formerly Hubert Brown, of Washington, DC, from the Black Panthers was selected as one of the Ministers of Defense, Charles Howard was selected Minister of State and Foreign Affairs; Mwesi Chui, formerly John Taylor, was selected as Minister of Defense; Henry (“Papa”) Wells was selected as the Vice Speaker of National Council of Representatives and Max Stanford of the Revolutionary Action Movement was selected as Special Ambassador (XXX: XX).

It is unclear how many individuals were “in” the RNA but several hundred were in attendance at the founding of the organization. The criteria for membership shifts over time but initially all African Americans were allowed to join and over time this shifts to a position that only those who proceed through a more detailed series of Black Nationalist courses could join. In addition to members were a variety of supportive positions with individuals providing financial support, reductions on rent and other related activities. Participation in the organization varies somewhat over time in accordance to what was going on at the time. Organizational events range from 15 to 2000 individuals. The average meeting involves approximately 20-30 individuals. The frequency of the different activities undertaken varies over time as well. For example, over the period of time of interest to the current study, the bulk of RNA activity is comprised of meetings

and discussions, rallies/protest and military/self defense training as well as leafleting (see Table A1). There are several conferences and workshops as well as self-defense programs that are held. There are a few land purchases. Shootings, robberies, arms purchases, civil disorder are extremely rare. While one hijacking is associated with the RNA, it is not quite clear if these members were part of the organization at the time.

Table A1: Events by Type

Type of Activity	Events Recorded
Organizational Meeting	442
Rally/Protest	81
Fundraising	52
Military Training	34
Other Forms of Education/Training	23
News conference, or Other Information Distribution	16
Leafleting	16
Recruitment	7
Collection of Taxes/Fees	7
Purchasing Arms	6
Civil Disorder/Riot	6
Shootout	4
Beatings/Murder	4
Bomb making	1
Hijacking	1
Civil Suit	1

Table A2: Distributions of Key Variables

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
RNA Events	1	68	12.41	9.09
Individual Attendance	0	1	0.04	0.19
Count of Events Attended	0	24	1.30	2.66
Events Since Last Attendance	0	218	27.36	31.07
Participants at Event	1	21	8.96	4.79

Table A3: A Comparison to Other Cases Involving Violent Secessionism, Urban Mobilization, and Democracy

Data from: Themnér, Lotta & Peter Wallensteen (2014) *Armed Conflict, 1946-2013. Journal of Peace Research* 51(4).

<p>Democracatic, Secessionist, Low Level, Urban Conflicts</p>	<p>Government of United Kingdom-PIRA (1971-1991, 1998) Government of Spain-ETA (1991) Government of Croatia-Serbian Republic of Krajina (1995) Government of Russia (Soviet Union)-UPA (195) Government of Russia (Soviet Union)-Republic of Armenia (1990-1991) Government of Russia (Soviet Union)-Chechen Republic of Ichkeria (1994) Government of Georgia-Republic of Abkhazia (1992) Government of Mauritania-POLISARIO (1975-1977) Government of Ethiopia-OLF, ARDUF AIAI, ONLF (1995-1996, 1998-1999) Government of Turkey-PKK (1989, 1991, 2000) Government of Iraq-KDP, PUK (1990) Government of Israel-Palestinian insurgents (1964) Government of Israel-Non PLO groups, PLO (1967-1972, 1989-1991, 1993-2000) Government of India-ABSU (1989) Government of India-Kashmir insurgents (1989, 1992, 1996) Government of India-NDFB (1994, 1998) Government of India-ULFA (1995) Government of India-UNLF (1999) Government of Bangladesh-JSS/SB (1991) Government of Sri Lanka-LTTE, TELLO, EPRLF, JVP (1984-1986, 1994) Government of Philippines-CPP, MNLF, MILF (1983, 1987, 1989-1990, 1995-1996)</p>
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	<p>Government of Indonesia-GAM, Fretilin (1990, 1992, 1997, 1999-2000)</p> <p>Government of Papua New Guinea-BRA (1992)</p> <p>Government of Russia (Soviet Union)-APF (1990)</p> <p>Government of Russia (Soviet Union)-Wahhabi movement of the Buinaksk district (1999)</p> <p>Government of Georgia-Republic of South Ossetia (1992)</p> <p>Government of Ethiopia-AIAI, ONLF, OLF (1996, 1998-1999)</p> <p>Government of Iraq-PUK (1995)</p> <p>Government of Israel-Hezbollah (1990-1996)</p> <p>Government of Sri Lanka-EPRLF, LTTE (1989)</p> <p>Government of Philippines-MNLF, CPP (1982, 1984, 1988)</p>
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Figure A1: Temporal Distribution of RNA Challenges

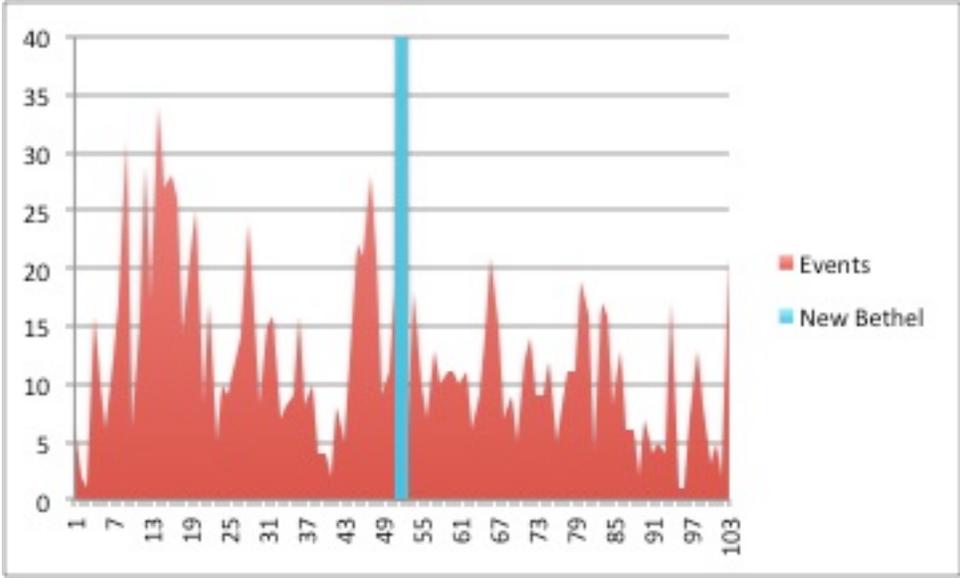


Figure A2: Temporal Distribution of Challenger Participation

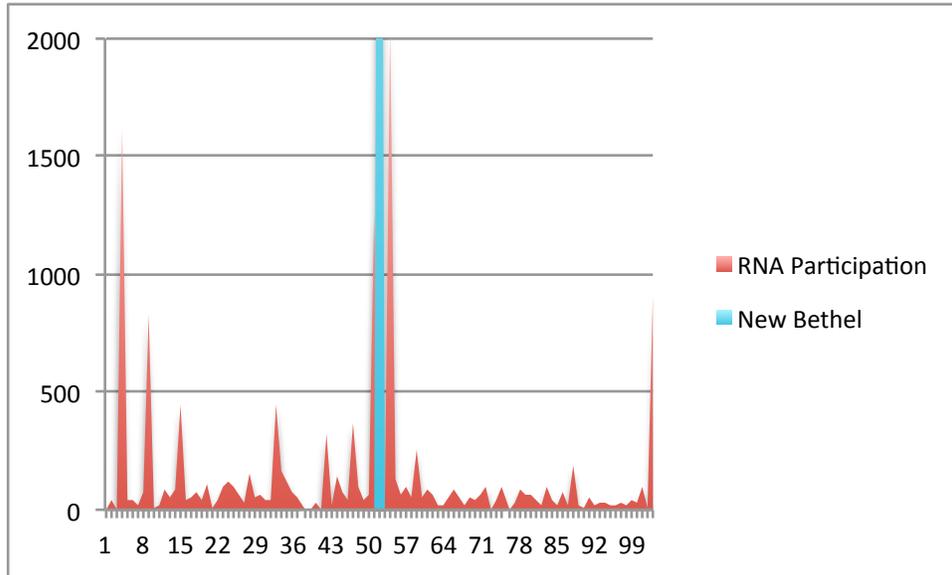
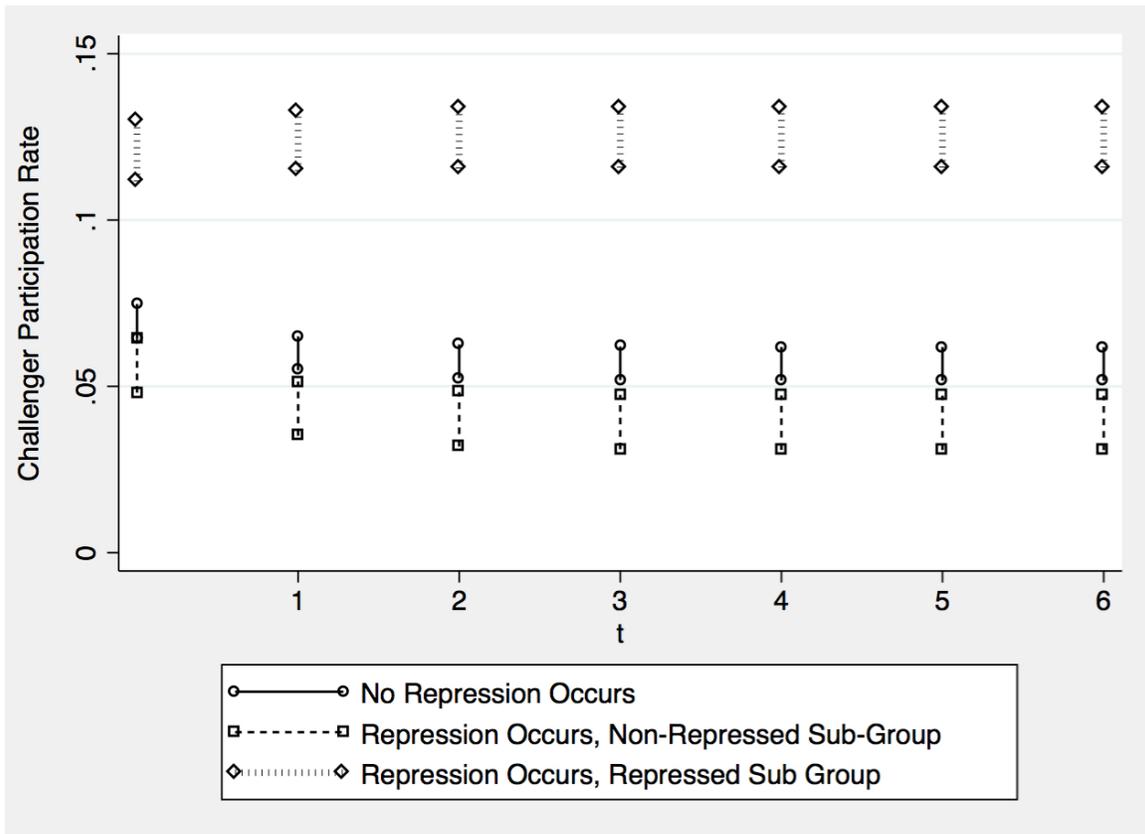


Figure AIII: Dynamic Simulations of Repression's Effects



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