

# Re-Build!



A NEW AFFIRMATIVE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT Periodical



**"REVOLUTION IS  
BASED ON LAND.**

**LAND IS THE  
BASIS OF ALL  
INDEPENDENCE.**

**LAND IS THE  
BASIS OF FREEDOM,  
JUSTICE, AND  
EQUALITY."**

**~MALCOLM X**

**BORN MAY 19 1925**

# NEW AFRIKAN CREED

- i believe* in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black People, and in our new pursuit of these values.
- i believe* in the family and the community and the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live.
- i believe* in the community as more important than the individual.
- i believe* in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world.
- i believe* in collective struggle, in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters.
- i believe* that the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control our lives.
- i believe* that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign Black nation.
- i believe* that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.
- i believe* in the Malcolm X Doctrine: that We must organize upon this land and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote that We are free and our land independent, and that, after the vote, We must stand ready to defend ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.
- Therefore, i pledge to struggle without cease, until We have won sovereignty. i pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a Better condition than the world has yet known.
- i will* give my life if that is necessary. i will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this *IS* necessary.
- i will* follow my chosen leaders and help them.
- i will* love my brothers and sisters as myself.
- i will* steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister, and spread no gossip.
- i will* keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that i am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.
- i will* be patient and uplifting with my brothers and sisters, and i will seek by word and by deed to heal the Black family, to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, left by the wayside.
- Now, freely and of my own will, i pledge this Creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For, i am by the inspiration of our Ancestors and the grace of our Creator a New Afrikan!*

# WHO WE ARE

The *Rebuild Collective* is a New Afrikan Independence Movement formation founded in 2018 by New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalists inspired by the thought of Atiba Shanna and committed to winning the struggle for Independence AND Socialism.

## POINTS OF UNITY

1. We, the descendants of enslaved Afrikans under american rule are NOT americans but members of the New Afrikan Nation.
2. We recognize the ABSOLUTE EQUALITY of EVERY New Afrikan National, and OPPOSE ABSOLUTELY all forms of discrimination or oppression based upon sex, gender identity, sexual preference, or religion.
3. We assert that the ONLY state that can claim, by right, the allegiance of ANY New Afrikan, is an Independent Republic of New Afrika
4. We are committed to building an Independent, Democratic, Socialist Republic of New Afrika upon our National Territory.
5. We recognize that the right of EVERY New Afrikan to live under the protection of a sovereign, independent New Afrikan government is ABSOLUTE, and cannot be extinguished by ANY duration of foreign rule, nor voted away by any majority of the moment.
6. We recognize, support and defend the RIGHT of New Afrikans to fight for the liberation of the National Territory by ANY MEANS NECESSARY.
7. We recognize that the american settler colonial project is illegitimate in its essence; and as such, the u.s. government has NO legitimate sovereign authority over any portion of OUR national territory nor ANYWHERE ELSE!
8. We recognize, support and defend that right of EVERY OPPRESSED NATION living under u.s. colonial rule to fight for self-determination and independence BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.
9. We stand in Solidarity with ALL Nations fighting to throw off the yoke of colonial and neocolonial oppression.
10. We demand the release of ALL Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War currently held captive in u.s. prisons and jails.
11. We demand that the u.s. government cease and desist in its efforts to capture all New Afrikan exiles, and WE recognize the right of ANY New Afrikan to resist enemy capture BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.
12. We consider "Free the Land!" to be not merely a slogan of the Independence Movement, but a COMMAND to which We ALL are subject.

# MALCOLM X AT 100

## Who is advancing the political line as laid down by Malcolm X?

If Malcolm X were still alive, he would turn 100 years old on May 19, 2025. We lost so much when his life was taken on February 21, 1965. Like many, We pride ourselves on being the political children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Malcolm X. And, since We continue to carry on in the tradition of fighting for land, self-respect, and self-defense, We like to think that We have a strong claim to be his legitimate heirs.

We often listen to his most well-known speeches ('Message to the Grassroots', 'The Ballot or the Bullet', and 'The Last Message'), all of which were recorded, preserved, and distributed by folk who would go on to become some of the founders of the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM). His clarity, sincerity, and brilliance make him that "light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building", and an inspiration for us all. His life

& example should be studied by every New Afrikan man, woman, and child. He inspired the people who produced our founding documents, 'The New Afrikan Declaration of Independence' and 'The New Afrikan Creed', both of which this author certifies as primary in my development. More than anything, We need to be clear on our identity, purpose and direction — these documents serve as a baseline, or a starting point, for us to 'get our minds right'.

As a matter of fact, i think that it is criminal to teach about Malcolm X and not talk about 'The Black Nation' and 'The Malcolmites', who considered themselves to be his disciples; those who were determined to follow in his footsteps and continue the work of this great person. The New Afrikan Independence Movement was

**POLITICAL LINE  
cont'd next page**

## Malcolm X as monument and symbol

It's been almost 100 years since the birth and 60 years since the death of Malcolm X (later known as el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz). In the time since the latter, Malcolm is a household name in everyone's conscience, from New Afrikans to White Amerikans, and even Europeans. His legacy is, to put it bluntly, no joke. Many Afrikan and New Afrikan revolutionary personages and organizations were inspired by his speeches, actions, and his call to arms. Ranging from the Revolutionary Action Movement, The Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army, the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, New Afrikan People's Organization, and today the Rebuild Collective, all saw in Malcolm the commitment and will to independence for all those oppressed by "the international Western power-structure". In other words, regardless of the intricacies in his story (told in his popular autobiography), he has the status of legendary hero for all committed to liberation and justice for Afrikans worldwide.

With that said, what position

should We take in light of what's been stated above? What is to be done? How do We get there? It's been 60 years; aren't our problems radically different from back then? The answer, while not simple in terms of means, is so in terms of objective: the struggle for and establishment of a New Afrikan Socialist Republic. Malcolm understood the primary importance of land for independence. Everyone knows the classic line: "Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality". The most essential point for New Afrikans today is this: "A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation". The fundamental objective is still, since We were kidnapped and brought here, is to destroy the settler-colonial state and establish on its ashes Our republic.

How ought—better yet, how can We orient ourselves around

**MALCOLM AS MONUMENT  
cont'd next page**

**POLITICAL LINE**  
**cont'd from page 3**

brought into being by followers and comrades of Malcolm X. The Obadele Brothers worked closely with Malcolm, Herman Ferguson was a member of the OAAU and was in the Audabon Ballroom when Malcolm was assassinated. Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabbazz, was a member of the first cabinet of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. Who other than the New Afrikan Independence Movement is building on his declarations that **“Land is the Basis of All Independence”**, or that he considered himself a “Black Nationalist Freedom Fighter”, or that “We want freedom, which We intend to bring into existence

By Any Means Necessary!”?

He also said that, **“i'm not for separation & you're not for integration; what you & i are for is FREEDOM!; only you think that integration will get you freedom & i think that separation will get me freedom...Time will tell”**. It only took Dr. MLK a couple more years to say, “i fear that We may be integrating into a burning house”. Time *has* told — We just need to listen.

We still have a profound need for freedom; the primary contradiction that explains our situation is that We are ‘thoroughly colonized’. We have no power over police terror, environmental ‘racism’, the mis-education of our children, infant/maternal mortality, etc. Some may say that our reality

is more like neo-colonialism, but the root reality is the same. The historical solution for colonialism/neo-colonialism is LAND, INDEPENDENCE & SOCIALISM (to crush neo-colonialism).

Our movement, and only Our movement, has the revolutionary potential to put an end to our long night of oppression under american rule. Those who advocate for “self-determination” in general, and divorce that struggle from a clearly articulated, concrete objective, subvert the struggle for national liberation.

We agree with Brother Malcolm when he said, **“A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation.”** We also agree with brother Malcolm when he

said of the reformist petty-bourgeois misleaders of our people, **“These Negroes aren't asking for no nation. They're trying to crawl back on the plantation.”** Their political heirs are still crawling today. And what is worse, they are attempting to drag us along with them.

As We commemorate this hundredth anniversary of the birth of Malcolm X, We vow to rebuild our movement, re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle, and redouble our efforts to FREE THE LAND!

The struggle is *still* for land, independence and socialism, and must remain so until victory is achieved and consolidated.

***Long Live the Spirit of  
Malcolm X!  
Re-Build to Win!***

**MALCOLM AS MONUMENT**  
**cont'd from page 3**

Malcolm in 2025? How and where is he available for Our struggle today? Looking at Our title above, We can develop Our orientation in two ways. On the one hand, Malcolm serves as a monument of the struggle of yesteryear. His Amerikkka, while continuous in the main contradiction of settler-colonialism, was radically different from ours today. Our “second-class citizenship” is qualitatively different in that We have most, if not all, the formal features of

Amerikkan subjects: civil rights and all that jazz. We have no idea what he would have thought today (with the LGBTQ Movement, Obama, and other events like the war on crime and terror), but it's obvious that if We brought him here from 1965, he'd be spinning dizzy. He stands as a reminder of where We have come, and what was & wasn't available during his time.

On the other hand, We can look at Malcolm as a symbol, not only as a model of decolonial transformation (though this is extremely important), but also as

a New Afrikan on a journey to the Promised Land. He knew that the path he took would be filled with obstacles, set backs, and even death. Yet, he carried on despite that. We can say, in full confidence, that Malcolm embodied point ten of the creed: “i will give my life, if that is necessary. i will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this is necessary.” Look not then at just who Malcolm was; look also at who and what he was striving towards. The destination was, is, and will always be, until it is won: THE LAND.

Let us end with his words:

*It's good to keep wide-open ears and listen to what everybody else has to say, but when you come to make a decision, you have to weigh all of what you've heard on its own, and place it where it belongs, and come to a decision for yourself; you'll never regret it. But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you'll find that other people will have you hating your friends and loving your enemies.*

## 13th Amendment Survey Results:

# SHOULD WE STAY, OR GO?

By FATOU NSOROMA

The only silver lining in the gathering storm clouds of 45/47's u.s. administration is that some people who think of themselves as Black, Black American, African American want their own country. One need only watch the news to understand why this attitude or political philosophy is emerging in this current generation. But these feelings and philosophies are not new.

Our ancestors have fought in every u.s. war and their service never translated into an embrace from the majority of white amerikkan citizens. However, military training and foreign service provided our ancestors with more skills, knowledge and experiences to combat all forms of terrorism, racism and discrimination. The Double V Campaign emerged during WWII.

Begun as an editorial in a New Afrikan newspaper in Philadelphia the premise was simple: "Victory Abroad and Victory at Home". After both WW I & II, white mobs murdered and lynched New Afrikan servicemen in their uniforms, while this heinous and violent activity was ignored and sometimes openly endorsed by u.s. so-called justice organizations. Meanwhile many New Afrikan women who were not nurses, entrepreneurs, or teachers in segregated, separate and neglected institutions, worked in a domestic capacity in motels, hotels, and private homes being sexually harassed, assaulted and/or enslaved by white men.

A simple question, raised by a young man, James G. Thompson, working in a segregated defense job in Wichita, Kansas, sparked this campaign: "Should I sacrifice to live 'Half American'?" While America and European allies strove for victory over tyranny, slavery and aggression of the Nazi's axis powers visualized in war propaganda posters, Thompson demanded a "Double V for Victory" sign, the first Victory over foreign enemies and the second Victory over home grown enemies

of the New Afrikan in the u.s.. His letter was published in the *Pittsburg Courier*, a decades old New Afrikan owned and managed newspaper at the time. The response was enormous. In October 1942, the paper ran a survey, and found that 88% of their readers supported Double V. Let us be clear. New Afrikans at the time demanded Justice and equal pay and opportunity, not integration. They wanted to be left alone to thrive on american soil, with access to land and other resources to build their lives. Sure, Victory at Home meant different things to different people.

Fast forward through the various civil rights movements, the fight for integration, the successes and failures of integration, the growth of the New Afrikan middle class, and the Movements for Black Lives, we find ourselves again facing white backlash against Black progress. The more things improve for Black America, the more White backlash emerges. New Afrikans witnessed the vilification of the first Black u.s. president and a Black (using the one drop rule for both) woman running for president against a racist and ignorant buffoon sheltered by money and white male privilege. They witnessed the vilification of New Afrikan police victims and anti-police brutality organizers, and the stealth murders of Black Lives Matters activists.

Black folks are angry and tired and have a bad attitude about the rising influence of White Christian Nationalists (RACISTS) in this country. We are sick of the Democrats sending money all over the world while our communities and needs are neglected while We are blamed for racist disinvestment. Our young adults are scrambling to obtain what We had available at their age: an education and an affordable cost of living.

During a New Afrikan study group, i wondered how Black America would respond if asked what situation they would prefer: stay in america, leave america, or live in their own country by

ceding part of america into a separate country for Us? An intriguing question our ancestors were never asked. Formerly enslaved leadership advocated for full citizenship after the Civil War with an assumption that the Freedmen would be embraced and supported by, at least, "good" white folks. The Reconstruction promise was broken within 5 years.

i designed a brief survey to ask the question: The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ended slavery, and the 14th Amendment guaranteed citizenship for all persons born in the u.s. New Afrikan scholars noted that formerly enslaved Afrikans were never given a choice in how their freedom would materialize. Given the choice today, and the resources to make your choice a reality, what would you prefer?

1. *i would remain a citizen of the United States.*
2. *i would like to have our own sovereign nation within the United States.*
3. *i would like to go back to Africa.*
4. *i would like to go to another country, not in Africa. [Please specify which country.]*

The New Afrikan theme song for 2025 should be the Jackson's "Show You the Way to Go" a 1976 song that shaped my thoughts like many R&B songs in my youth. Some Black folks DO want their own country. Many have rejected the "African-American" label and do not see themselves relocating to an African country. There has been a rise in Black expats all over the world. In our survey the self-descriptor "African American" was accepted by about a third, 38%, of people in the survey.

i believe self-definition and self-determination are important to Black people in America. When i was born in the u.s. in the 1960s, my family members defined themselves as colored or Negro. By the 1970's Black and Afro-American were the choices of more militant or Afro-cultural folks. In the 1980's, Jesse Jackson popularized the term "African American" to connect the Black American community culturally, politically, and economically to west African countries such

**Continued on page 14**

# THE PITFALLS OF BOYCOTTS

BY COMRAD BUKASA

On February 28th, social media was flooded with posters urging an “economic blackout” to refrain from shopping at major retail companies. This initiative is the latest in a series of boycotts responding to the private sector’s abandonment of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) initiatives, following pressure from u.s. president Trump’s executive orders. A prominent voice in this movement has been Al Sharpton, who, on January 20th, announced that within 90 days, his organization, the National Action Network, would identify two companies to target for a mass boycott.

Anecdotal observations lead me to conclude that many New Afrikans have been receptive to calls for boycotts in defense of DEI. This is unsurprising, as boycotts are deeply ingrained in the collective memory of our nation, especially due to historic struggles like the Montgomery Bus Boycott of the 1950s.

It’s always encouraging when the masses of New Afrikan people are willing to sacrifice for the advancement of our collective interests. However, it is essential to critically examine the effectiveness of these actions and question the origins of these purported collective interests.

Though many of these actions are ostensibly organized, they still are dominated by elements of spontaneity, as highlighted by James Yaki Sayles in *Meditations*: “proceeding from natural feelings”; “arising from momentary impulse”; “haphazard; impulsive; instinctive.”<sup>1</sup>

Once again, the impulse to engage in actions such as boycotts, protest, or even riots is almost instinctual given our history; however, instinctual rebellion is not revolution. Moreover, there are numerous pitfalls of spontaneity that Frantz Fanon warned us about, and which Yaki accurately summarizes as follows:

“The ‘weakness’ of spontaneity is evidence when the action is taken without sufficient deliberation

***We fight hard for DEI while neglecting struggles to form labor unions, a more advantageous endeavor.***

or knowledge – without sufficient development of consciousness and conscious direction... ‘coherent’ or comprehensive direction, which coordinates the movement as a whole.”<sup>2</sup>

Spontaneity is dangerous because, during uprisings, the righteous indignation and collective urge to act against oppression are often co-opted by Black petit-bourgeois elements advancing their own class interests. Puppets like Al Sharpton use populist and proto-nationalist rhetoric to mobilize the New Afrikan masses, only for our collective efforts to result in increased donations to their non-profits. This was evident in 2020, when year-long uprisings led to the enrichment of Black Lives Matter with upwards of \$80 million, yet failed to produce any material change for New Afrikans.

Moreover, spontaneity arrests the development of a radical political consciousness among the masses. As Yaki explains, “the so-called leaders and/or ‘intellectuals’ fail to analyze colonialism from a revolutionary (i.e., proletarian) perspective,” leading them to “suggest reformist solutions.”<sup>3</sup> This results in the alienation of revolutionary politics, organization, and action. People become trapped on the hamster wheel of liberal reform. We fight hard for DEI while neglecting struggles to form labor unions, a more advantageous endeavor. In fact, we fail to realize that our boycotts hold more potential to harm New Afrikan employees at these companies than the companies themselves. History shows that when commerce declines, laborers suffer the most, and

New Afrikan labor is the most expendable. Thus, the key danger of spontaneity is that the social and political capital generated by the grassroots efforts of New Afrikans is monopolized by the Black petit-bourgeois, who cash it in with the colonial private sector, effectively neutralizing our movements and pacifying our political attitudes.

The pitfalls of spontaneity can only be overcome once we “move from mobilization to organization,” as Kwame Ture used to proclaim. Our national struggle as New Afrikans, along with any struggle worthy of our support, must be led by a working-class ethic with the clear objective of advancing working-class interests. We must employ sound strategies and tactics that are measurable and directly correlated to the accomplishment of our goals. We must practice the Maoist principles of unity-struggle-unity, continuously sharpening our political analysis and methodologies in hopes of elevating our struggle. No longer can the New Afrikan working-class masses serve as foot soldiers for the Black petit-bourgeoisie, who only pay lip service to the larger community once their class position is threatened by colonial authorities. We must overcome spontaneity because, as Yaki warns, “if ‘spontaneity’ is not overcome, then independence becomes a farce.”<sup>4</sup>

Free The Land! & Win The War!  
Bukasa

Notes:

1. Yaki, *Meditations*, pg. 224
2. Yaki, *Meditations*, pg. 224
3. Yaki, *Meditations*, pg. 225
4. Yaki, *Meditations*, pg. 239

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## The Status of National Consciousness

*The vision and pursuit for independent New Afrikan nationhood didn't begin in 1968 with the founding of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA), which effectively launched the modern New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM). It has been a deeply held aspiration since the first Afrikan captives landed in North America. Indeed, each of these Afrikans were snatched from free and self-determined homelands. And the desire to restore themselves to self-determination has accompanied each generation til this very day.*

*While those early Afrikan captives arrived in the U.S. from a diversity of ethnic and cultural backgrounds -- in the same manner as those Afrikans that landed in the Caribbean or Central and South America -- they were evolving thru their common struggle against oppression and for freedom into a single and new Afrikan nation.*

*Harry Haywood, briefly a member of the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood (ABB), a revolutionary nationalist organization that advocated for socialism and independence in the 1920s, would conduct the first detailed study that distinguished New Afrikan people as a nation, while also identifying the Black Belt South as our national territory.*

*After joining the Communist Party and studying for several years in the newly formed Soviet Union during the mid-1920s, Haywood drafted and submitted a revolutionary position paper on the "Negro national question" to the Third International of the Communist Party which was adopted as an official position with Resolutions issued in 1928 and 1930 in support of it. His study of the New Afrikan nation was expanded with greater detail into the important 1948 book, **Negro Liberation**. He maintained his revolutionary nationalist stance until he died in 1989.*

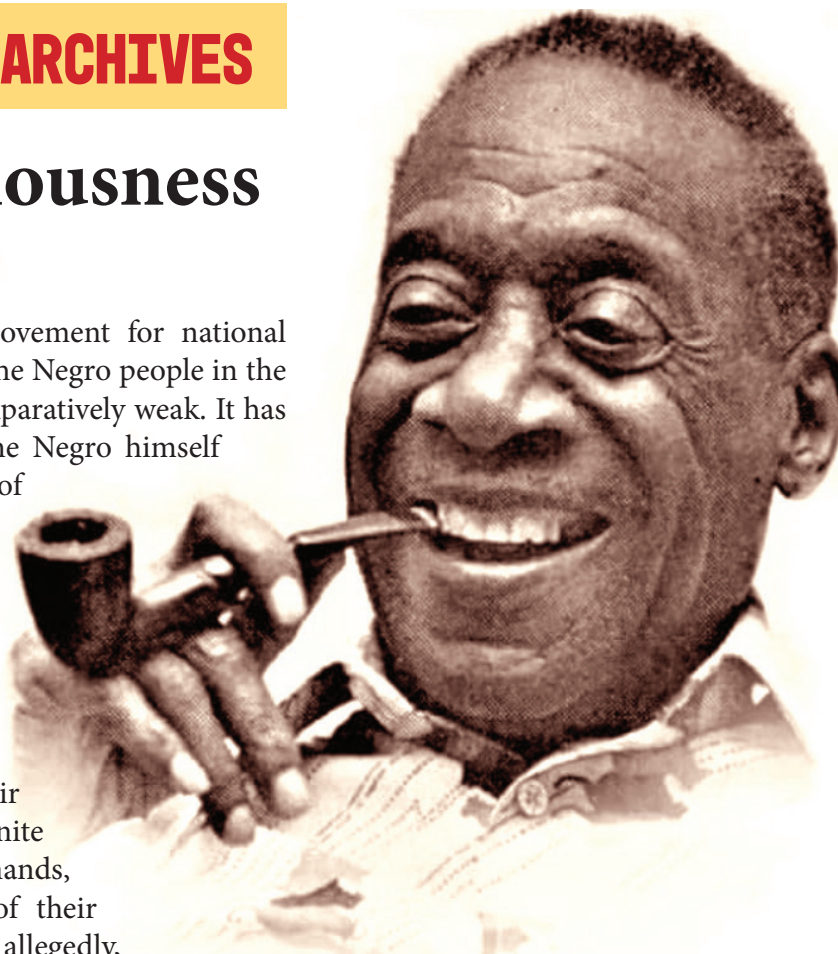
*The following is excerpted from **Negro Liberation**, pp. 152-155. Negro is preserved as in the original.*

BY HARRY HAYWOOD

**T**True, the actual movement for national liberation among the Negro people in the U. S. has been comparatively weak. It has even been argued that the Negro himself rejects the concept of separate nationality as a classification of his status in the contemporary American social scene. For, the argument runs, if the Negroes were a nation, would not the asseveration of their nationality find definite expression in the demands, slogans, and programs of their organizations? Since, allegedly, the capitalistic upper classes are the bearers of the "national idea," is not the fact that this class among Negroes has never, in a clear cut and consistent manner, raised the demands of nationhood, conclusive proof that the Negroes are not a nation?

The fact is that the Negroes are a young nation whose advance to political consciousness and strength is retarded by imperialistic oppression. Yet, this very oppression is creating the basis for the rise of a fully conscious national movement among them. The weak development of national consciousness, or the lack of it, is characteristic of young nations. For example, in our own hemisphere fully a score of new nations have come into existence within the last one hundred and fifty years. The acquisition of national consciousness was in most cases a slow and arduous process. It is a fact that some of these nations, particularly in Central America, have yet to develop a vigorous sense of nationhood, and have by no means won full independence.<sup>10</sup>

The anti-imperialistic revolution in India has



thrust forward on the political arena of that vast sub-continent a score of distinct and hitherto submerged peoples, energetically demanding a place in the sun—their recognition as nations within the frame of a free India. Outstanding is the case of the Moslems, who, until quite recently, recognized themselves as a religious entity, with only communal and religious differences separating them from the main mass of Hindu peoples. Despite the reactionary distortion of the legitimate Moslem national aspirations contained in the Mountbatten Award, which established two states, Pakistan and Hindustan, on the basis of religious difference only, the movement of the Moslem peoples for the right of national self-determination now occupies a central sector on the front of Indian freedom.

The road to national consciousness of the American Negro is more arduous and tortuous than that of most peoples. It is beset by formidable obstacles both of an ideological and a physical environmental nature.

*Continued on page 8*

## NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS, Cont'd from page 7

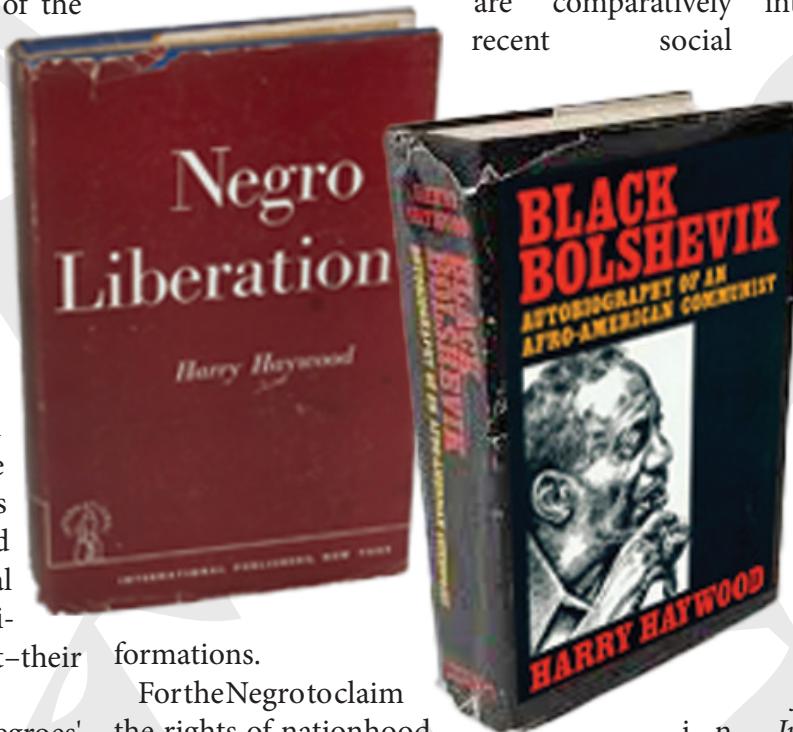
First, there is the overwhelming and stifling factor of race – the chief weapon in the ideological arsenal of the ruling classes of the oppressor nation. The spurious dogma of Negro racial inferiority is sunk deep in the thinking of white America. It has left its indelible stamp on the nascent Negro nation, befogging the basic concept of the Negroes' status as that of an oppressed nation. The charge leveled against the Negro people, that they are less than human, has forced them into an untenable defensive position, in which much of their energy has been consumed in the assertion of their basic humanity, their right to be considered human beings. To meet this invidious attack they have perforce rallied under the slogans of racial equality, racial solidarity, slogans which, though militant, do not hit the center of the target—their oppression as a nation in the Black Belt.

Secondly, an additional deterrent to the Negroes' quest for freedom, via nationhood, is that the concept of Negro nationality is a totally new one, and thus outside the bounds of the traditional thinking of American democrats. Thus the idea of Negro nationhood, on American soil, when first projected by the Communist Party, met with attack not only by reactionaries, but also by well-meaning liberals, including many Negro leaders, who felt it to be a retreat before Jim Crow, an acquiescence to segregation.

Finally, perhaps the most formidable retarding factor in the development of the Negro's consciousness of nationhood is the fact that the new Negro nation of the Black Belt finds itself set down in the midst of the strongest capitalist nation in the world, totally engulfed by what the Negro playwright, Theodore Ward, called "The Big White Fog."

Furthermore, as Stalin has pointed out, the national question nowadays is "virtually a peasant question." However, in this struggle against financial exploitation, political enslavement, and cultural effacement of the Negro people

by the imperialist bourgeoisie, the mass of the Negro peasantry have lacked the leadership from those classes on which the development of the national movement has historically depended. The Negro bourgeoisie and industrial proletariat are comparatively recent social



formations.

For the Negro to claim the rights of nationhood under these conditions would be an act of the highest political consciousness. And yet the fact is that, while eager to combat every manifestation of Jim Crow within American life, the Negro people see the solution of their problems neither in a process of ethnological absorption into the white community, nor in the abandonment of their American homeland for some illusory refuge in Africa or a "49th State," nor in any escapist scheme of mass exodus from the South. On the contrary, they have continued to build their own organizations and agencies affecting every phase of Negro endeavor in the United States, systematically throwing off the feeling and even the terminology of "racial" inferiority,\* and strengthening the wellsprings of national consciousness. The Negro masses want equality, and increasingly feel that they can and must achieve it as a people in their own right. The emergence of new mass forces and influences, spearheaded by a rapidly maturing Negro industrial working class, has proved decisive in this development.

This growing sense of nationhood has been most dramatically expressed in the appeals of the National Negro Congress and of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations. DuBois, in his introduction to the N.A.A.C.P. appeal, writes:

*"The United Nations surely will not forget that the population of this group [the Negroes] makes it in size one of the considerable nations of the world. We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandinavia including Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary, or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium and half as many as Spain. In sheer numbers then we are a group which has a right to be heard; and while we rejoice that other smaller nations can stand and make their wants known in the United Nations, we maintain equally that our voice should not be suppressed or ignored."\*\**

Despite the weak growth of national consciousness among Negroes, the road ahead for the Negro people in the United States points to the further, accelerated development of national aspirations.

### NOTES:

\* For example, the term "Negro race" has more and more fallen into disuse and the term "Negro people" has been gaining general acceptance in the Negro community.

\*\* *"An Appeal to the World! Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent,"* N.A.A.C.P., 1947.



# THE BLACK FAMILY IS DEAD! LONG LIVE THE FAMILY!

BY COMRAD OTTO

Comrade Kwasi starts his article on revolutionary culture with *"We need a cultural revolution. Not one necessarily characterized by the wearing of locs and natural hair, or wearing ankara fabrics and ornamental beads, or by mesmerizing dance and drums ... We need a culture that transcends symbols that can be easily co-opted by conniving opportunists who show up in mudcloth, greet us in kiSwahili while representing a continuation of neo-colonial values and aspirations."*

To have a revolutionary culture, We need revolutionary, transformation-oriented concepts. What We say reveals Our commitments to various forms of life; how We think of specific words and phrases has a significant effect on the objectives, goals, purposes etc., that We set for ourselves. Bringing about this cultural revolution involves getting to know our way about. It means attending to words, phrases, sentences, and the activities that accompany them.

In light of these observations, i want to analyze one of the most important concepts to any New Afrikan, the notion of family. Informed by Frantz Fanon's insights that: "A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language"; and "Mastery of language affords remarkable power", i wish to motivate an approach to the family that's more in-line with the aims of New Afrikan Communism and brings clarity to specific points of the New Afrikan Creed.

With that said, let's now explore the conceptual terrain to find something sympathetic to New Afrikan politics. Look at point two of the Creed: "i believe in the family and the community and the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live". Focus in here on "the family" and "the community as a family". The first, i believe, assumes the traditional usage of family commonly at play in Western societies. Using the Cambridge

Dictionary, We can define the traditional family as, "the basic unit [of] society traditionally consisting of two parents [usually one male and one female] rearing their children". Notice 'basic unit' in the definition; is it not suspect that the Western picture is presented as the most 'correct' compared to another?

Substituting this definition into the Creed we get: "i believe in the basic unit [of] society traditionally consisting of two parents [usually one male and one female] rearing their children." We should quickly see how this usages fails to do justice to the second part of point two. My point in bringing this up is not to merely quibble over words; the aim is to direct our attention to what we say so that we may discover what we are committing to. i must stress: i am not giving a prescription for how all must use it, rather my task is to show there are ways of speaking which fall more in-line with the values we say we have. We can put it in the form of a command: Attend to what you say, for there is more power in speech and the pen than there is in even the mightiest of armies.

Where or Who do We get this idea of "The Black Family" in the first place? The answer is easy: the settler-colonial state and its founding myths. The "Black Family" concept is an appropriation of the myth of the family which is founded, to use the words of Marx, "on capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form it exists only for the bourgeoisie" (Communist Manifesto). To be more specific, as industrialization swept across the Western Europe, the original status of woman as economic (though maybe not ideological) equal to the man was quickly stamped out. Angela Davis summarizes it well when she says,

As industrial capitalism approached consolidation, the cleavage between the new economic sphere and the old home economy

became ever more rigorous. The physical relocation of economic production caused by the spread of the factory system was undoubtedly a drastic transformation. But even more radical was the generalized revaluation of production necessitated by the new economic system. While home-manufactured goods were valuable primarily because they fulfilled basic family needs, the importance of factory-produced commodities resided overwhelmingly in their exchange value – in their ability to fulfill employers' demands for profit. This revaluation of economic production revealed – beyond the physical separation of home and factory – a fundamental structural separation between the domestic home economy and the profit-oriented economy of capitalism. Since housework does not generate profit, domestic labor was naturally defined as an inferior form of work as compared to capitalist wage labor. (Women, Race, and Class).

From these structural transformations, We have the emergence of the complementary concept of the "housewife". The breadwinner or wage-worker was now the head of household, and with the carrying-over of the notion of paternal inheritance, the male now becomes the patriarch: the revered Father.

Religion also plays a role in the development of this Black Family idea. In *Blaming the Other Victim* by Thandisizwe Chimurenga, it is pointed out:

The Europeans, in their wanderings in search of natural resources to meet their material needs, swept down into Afrika and through cultural imperialism and intermarriage with the indigenous peoples, the European worldview was forced onto the Afrikan and from that point on nothing was

*Continued on page 12*

# DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE STRUGGLE TO FREE THE LAND

## PART 2 OF 3

### 2) "ON THE NATURE OF DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLES" --

Some cadres take an adverse view of democratic struggles because of personal experience with, and/ or study of "reformism" and/or "social reforms" initiated by the oppressive state ... (should define, in one way or another, "reformism" and "social reforms," esp. so to contrast them with (what should be) our use of the term "reform" and/ or "democratic struggles", i.e., emphasize how such struggles must be given a rev. orientation in process.)

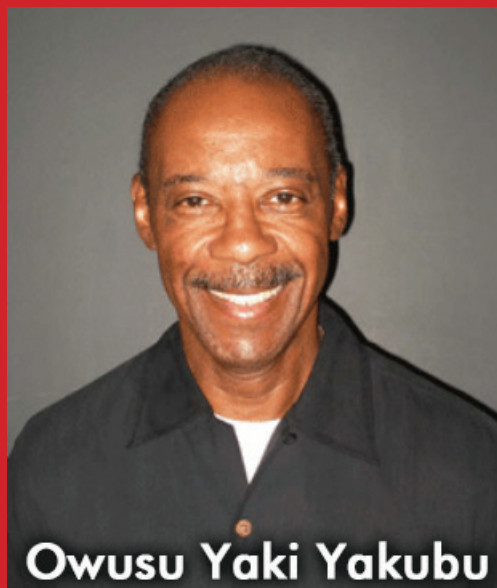
... We know that the essence of social reform in bourgeois society is the undermining of rev. consciousness and activity by creating the impression of resolving contradictions and giving the people a false sense of "participation" in the bourgeois political arena -- the purpose of the oppressive state is to preserve their rule and divert the people from a rev. course ... (Use Bk 8. Also, draw examples from previous experience, esp. from late 1960s onward. One good source is the Kerner Report, and another is Law And Order Reconsidered -- what's the essence?)

For the sake of argument, let's say the late 60s were a "rev. period" or that a "rev. situation" existed or nearly existed -- what happened? "what happened" is the question that the Kerner Commission asked. They also asked "why" did it happen, and they sought ways & means to prevent it from happening again! What were those ways & means!?! At bottom, they made our people "feel like americans." They devised a plan to create a "black middle class" which would be, in essence, neo-colonialist in orientation/ outlook. They worked, through all their institutions, to make our people feel that the system was responding to their needs; they made the people believe that they had a stake in the U.S., etc. at present, they are so confident in the effectiveness of that program, that they now have no fear while they end "reverse discrimination" in the name of

"equality for all americans, regardless of race"!)

... However, struggles for reforms/ democratic rights are given a rev. character when: 1) they are understood from a rev. scientific stand point; 2) waged by the masses, w/ vanguard class/ nationalist leadership -- i.e., as means to an end and not ends in themselves; as tactics ... undertaken on the basis of concrete analyses of particular situations and the strategic relevance of particular issues ...

We don't mean that We must engage in "every" struggle or issue, nor do We mean that We abandon the principle of waging ideo-theoretical



*Yaki corresponded with New Afrikans & others on both sides of the wall. For those of us who worked most closely with him, he took a special interest in making sure to help us learn how to work with people & make the NAIM a living thing. We often got early versions of articles like the one that appears here, and he especially enjoyed getting our feedback. He would always challenge us to think & consider different aspects of a question before offering a rote answer. He encouraged us to work to help the people learn 'how to think', as opposed to telling them 'what to think'. This continues to inform our approach...*

struggle, on an ongoing basis, as part of daily activity. We argue for an ideo-theoretical position w/ regard to the role of democratic struggles in the national revolutionary process. For example, We ARE saying that it is incorrect to say that "electoral politics" are to be ignored, absolutely. (i'm reminded of one of my favorite pieces by V.I. Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism ... " i don't have that entire piece, but i have an excerpt that's printed in *Party Work In The Masses* (Progress Pubs., 1969), and some earlier notes that i made, which are on point for this, so i'll include them here: V.I., while addressing the position that revs should withdraw from reactionary trade unions, talks about "empty phrases," i.e., positions which have no basis in reality and no relation to the actual level of consciousness, practical struggle, and practical tasks of the masses. To paraphrase him, he says that 'in our work, We must rely upon the people and the existing institutions through which they express their needs and interests, and with which they attempt to resolve their problems. Such institutions constitute, on one hand, the prototypes of New Afrikan state governing bodies, i.e., means thru which "collective mastery" & "people's power" are expressed. On the other hand, they are the schools that teach and practice rev. science; they are/ should become weapons of struggle.

Direct quotes: "We must not regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class, to the masses ... " " .. To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders ... " " ... If you want to help 'the masses,' you must not fear difficulties, or pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution ... but must absolutely work wherever the masses are to be found. You must be capable of any sacrifice, of overcoming the greatest obstacles, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly, persistently and patiently in those institutions, societies and associations -- even



the most reactionary -- in which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found ...."

V.I. states: how can one claim that parliamentarianism (i.e., electoral politics) is politically obsolete, when millions of "the masses" continue to support it -- and do so while under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie ... " ... "We must not regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class. to the masses. Here again We find that the 'Lefts' do not know how to reason, do not know how to act as the party of a class [or of an oppressed nation), as the party of the masses. You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class ... You must tell them the bitter truth. You are duty bound to call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices what they are -- prejudices. But at the same time you must soberly follow the actual state of the class-consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard), and of all the working people (not only of their advanced elements)." --- engaging in certain struggles for "reform" actually helps prove to the masses why certain attitudes should be abandoned, why certain institutions should be junked, radically altered, etc.) [end of departure on V.I.)

It is, under present conditions, reasonable and necessary to avoid any position holding the absolute avoidance of "participation" in electoral politics. There may be particular elections or types of elections that We should involve ourselves with. And, We can engage in such struggles for a variety/ combination of reasons: to win, to disrupt, to use as means of educating/ raising alternative platforms, etc. If We look at the national territory particularly, We are surely gonna find numerous, or should create numerous situations that would offer our movement opportunities to further the revolutionary process via "electoral politics." ....

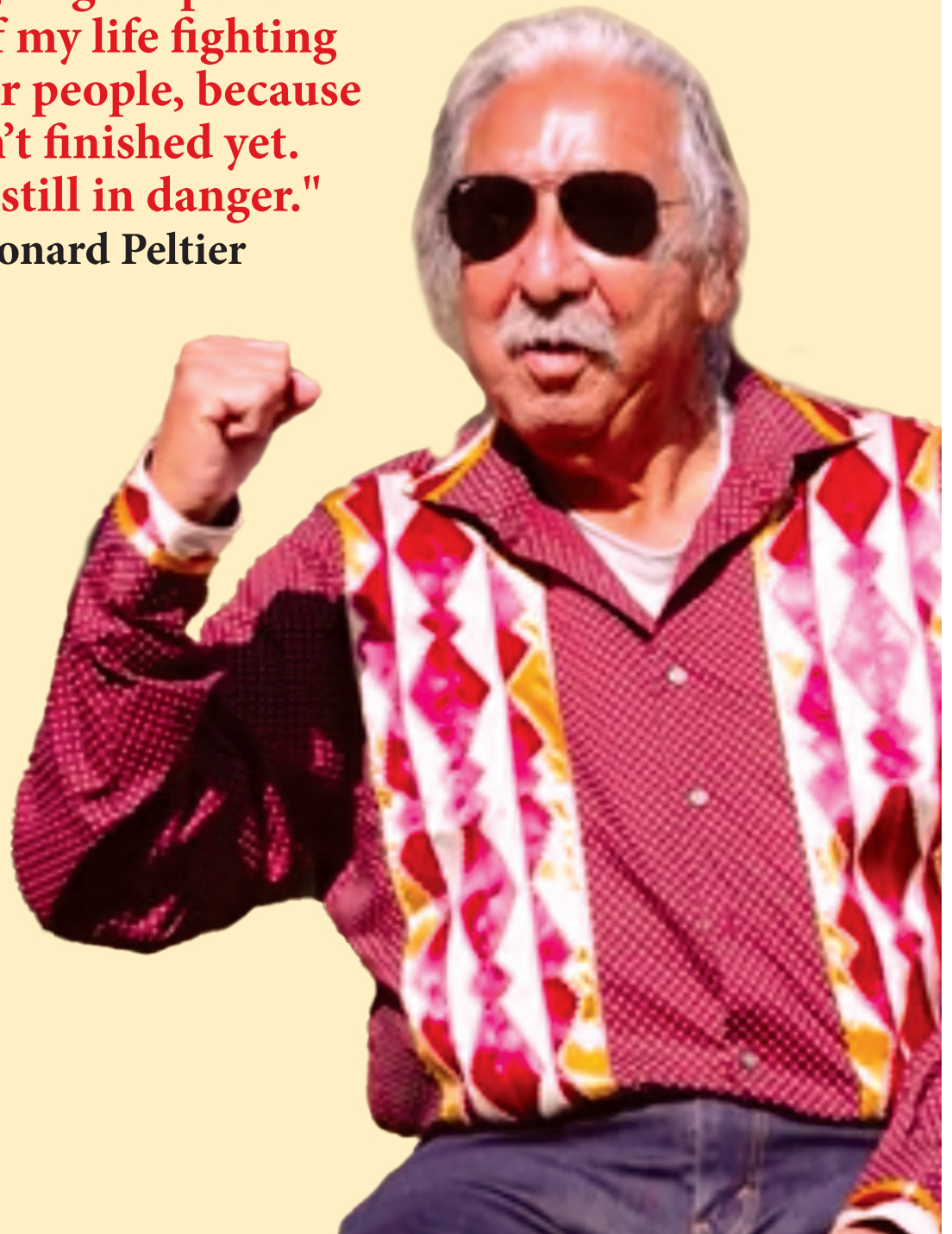
CONCLUSION  
NEXT ISSUE



# WELCOME HOME LEONARD PELTIER!

**"I'm going to spend the rest of my life fighting for our people, because we ain't finished yet. We're still in danger."**

**~Leonard Peltier**



## LONG LIVE THE FAMILY, *continued from page 9*

sacred, especially religion. For if We examine just two of the major world religions that were initially of Afrikan origin but are currently contaminated by the European worldview, Christianity and Al-Islam, (with all of the prescribed rituals, symbols, and scriptures that are necessary to reinforce a particular worldview), We see the position of woman as "secondary" at best, and oppressed at worst.

Most Afrikan slaves were from West Afrika; with the vast majority not familiar with or skeptical of Abrahamic religion. With their interactions with the slave masters and their missionaries, plus the divisions

of labor on the plantations, We have the perfect stew for the assimilation of foreign ideology into New Afrikan culture at that rudimentary stage.

In most discussions, this history is either never brought up or dismissed as irrelevant to the modern struggle. Without knowing the "why" behind our concepts and practices, We are working blind. It might seem like it's all in the past, but it's worth emphasizing since, even though most movement work from the 60s to today was & is headed by New Afrikan Women, radical/revolutionary activity is still seen as a "man thing". We're still running around with the idea that women are to be protected and shielded from the struggle. Revolution without women ain't happening; Hell, revolution without

ALL New Afrikans (that includes our LGBTQ+ family) is a non-starter.

As communists, We see the nuclear family as a tool of imperialist, settler-colonial aspirations. But as New Afrikans, We recognize that family, in our unique way of using it, is important—spiritually and culturally. Take the case of seeing someone as a "brother or sister from another mother." Here, We see familial concepts used to describe intense connection between two or more individuals. Take cases where an organizer says, "This group is like a family to me," or "We're comrades, family even, therefore We stick up for each other". We see that "family" is used to exemplify not only connection, but also care, attention to persons, and trust. Lastly, take point

12 from the *Creed*: "i will love my brothers and sisters as myself".

i gesture towards these cases to suggest that We take up an alternative meaning, still grounded in ordinary usage, but charged with the values of the new society We are building. The critic may ask, "Why ought i take up that view?" To them i appeal to the contradiction in the old definitions revealed above, on the one hand. On the other hand, i offer a lasting observation from Fanon, "To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization."

## ASK A NEW AFRIKAN

**QUESTION:** "...can the United States of America, as a settler colonial, racial capitalist, and neoliberal state produce a meaningful reparative remedy for our continuing systemic injuries? If so how? If not why?" ~A. Sankofa

i am no reparations expert, but We must consider reparations in context of its literal meaning of "repair," i.e., for the harms or injury inflicted in the course of hostilities (war). When discussing reparations We must ask what was/is the primary harm inflicted? If We start at the beginning of the fray We have to acknowledge that Afrikan people were in control of their destiny, self-determining peoples.

We have to acknowledge that from the loss of self-determination all other harms and injuries accrued and continue to accrue. Therefore, until We restore self-determination – i.e., control over our destiny beyond the present forced relationship

where We remain as a subject people divided and controlled along class lines – We will constantly be at the whim of those who subjected us from the beginning and whose view of us has generally remained constant even if they have been forced to recalibrate the tightness of the noose and expand the illusion of inclusion.

Reparations must be *from* self-determination *to* self-determination. i would add that the question of compensation has muddled the discussion of reparations as it has been established in international legal precedent, where physical/material damages made compensation an acceptable remedy.

The reconstruction of buildings, roads and other infrastructure after cessation of hostilities.

The nature of the harms inflicted on New Afrikans have been both intangible and tangible. The wounds inflicted upon our bodies and minds (leaving deep psychological scars) cannot be repaired (or healed) by those who inflicted the harm; these require self-repair.

My point is, any remedy, even self-reparation requires self-determination as a basic condition for said repair to truly and fully realize itself. And if We are true to history, We must accept that New Afrikans are a distinct people in no less a manner than are Haitians, Jamaicans, Grenadans, or other 'black' nations in the Western hemisphere that evolved by way of the *Maafa* (Great Disaster) under various european enslaver-colonizers. We need a self-determination that honors our

unique being.

It is impossible to compute a monetary figure to remedy the pain and suffering New Afrikans have experienced and continue to experience. But that does not negate the material/financial debt (*with punitive damages*) to compensate for the brutal exploitation of our labor, past and present. This debt must ultimately be paid. And We are the deciding force. ~K.Akwamu

*Let's talk family! We can solve every problem that confronts us, especially and particularly when We understand the fundamental nature of the problem!*

*We offer this column as a way for members of the Re-Build Collective to engage with our readers on questions that are important to you, ourselves and the entire New Afrikan nation.*

Email your questions to:  
[info@rebuildcollective.org](mailto:info@rebuildcollective.org)

# NOTES & RANTS FROM A NEW AFRIKAN ACTIVISTS NOTEBOOK

## REFUGEES

*“The cities of amerikkka are full of New Afrikan refugees who entered them during the ‘30s and ‘40s, escaping the klan and the southern prison. One step ahead of the hounds, a few minutes ahead of the lynch mob is how many New Afrikans came north. Refugees from the national territory.”*

~Owusu Yaki Yakubu, *New Afrikan POW Journal, Book 3*

Henry Louis Gates’ limited series, ‘**The Great Migration**’ was featured on PBS this month and i recommend it for family viewing. This documentary is great for showing us and reminding us of our long journey from there to here. From the early 1900s to the depression, thousands of New Afrikans left the national territory for better jobs & opportunities. But also fleeing the lynch rope or other forms of settler terror, basically becoming refugees. One historian summed up our situation like this: “Most Blacks left the south simply to be able to feed themselves and their families.” (‘Black Migration’, Florette Henri; see also ‘New Afrikan Refugees’, by Kwasi Akwamu, in ‘Re-Build!’, Summer 2023)

i found the fourth and final part of the series to be particularly interesting because it focused on ‘Black people’ from other parts of the Afrikan diaspora (Carribean, Afrikan continent, South America, etc.) migrating to the “united states” of amerika. For me, i have a hard time incorporating these Afrikans into a New Afrikan body politic. Many, if not most of them came here voluntarily, while New Afrikans did not. Understanding this contradiction is fundamental for the development of a New Afrikan national consciousness. Our history makes us a new &

distinct people; no other people on the planet have our historical experience. In “Malcolm X and the Reparations Movement”, a speech Imari Obadele gave here in chicago in 1990, he points out that We have our own unique gene pool, perspective and history which makes us a people that We have chosen to call ‘New Afrikans’. We just don’t have state power. America sows confusion and chaos by lumping us all together to disrespect the New Afrikan national identity and calls us ‘blacks’. We have to assert our own nationality. And Gates helps them by not clearly making this point, and not even exploring it. Surely, after a generation or two, Afrikan migrants’ descendants can understand how they’re New Afrikans, but this is not what their grandparents intended...they wanted to be americans.

## RE-VISTING ‘THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE WHITE PROLETARIAT’

In a seminal book called, ‘*Settlers: They mythology of the White Proletariat*’, J. Sakai helps us understand these present day MAGA(T) people. Rather than have the consciousness of a true working class, working ‘americans’ embrace the behaviors, habits & ideologies of their capitalist fascist bosses because they benefit from the super-exploitation of peoples all over the empire and the world.

Truly, when they come close to organizing for their own self-interests, their efforts only go so far as to embrace a kind of ‘ultra economism’ instead of real proletarian class consciousness and behavior. Recent developments bear this out. Firstly, the unions didnt speak out until white folk started losing their jobs because of the DOGE hatchet. They sat on their hands & chuckled to themselves as DEI came under attack.

Secondly, in a new low, prison guards in New York (who have just received a new contract) have called a wildcat strike to protest proposed prison closures & an end to the use of solitary confinement, and also to try to protect the jobs of a group of guards who were recorded beating a prisoner to death, who are now facing charges because their own bodycams tell the story.

So, when We refer to americans as Settlers, or settler-colonialists, We have our reasons....

(Source: “Advocates: NY Prison Guard Strike is Part of History of Repression & Violence Against Prison Activism” - Democracy Now!, 2/26/25)

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## SURVEY RESULTS, continued from page 5

as Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and others. In the survey, we tried to include as many racial definitions as possible. Racial Identity is always changing, and we received some feedback our race and racial identity categories were insufficient. For write in identity designation, “Soulaan” there is a very intriguing discussion on social media. Other write in designations were Human, Afro-American, Creole, Indigenous Moore, “Melanated,” and “Afrodescendent”.

Although the survey is not a national survey, it provides good information for local organizing efforts. It is a survey of the **Rebuild Collective**: friends, faith community members, colleagues and family invited to take the survey and (hopefully) people who read *Rebuild!* across the nation. The survey was launched in November 2024 and the analyses began at the end of February 2025. The survey was created using Qualtrics online software which created a link and a QSR code to access the survey and record the results.

A total of 207 people completed the survey; however 21 people did not answer the primary question. They will be excluded from this report which leaves 186. Most of the people chose Black or African American as their race: 159 (85%). The remaining categories included 17 people who were Biracial, American Indian or Alaska Native, Multiracial, or White. A few, 10 (5%) did not provide their race. Most of the people, 157 (84%) answering the survey were non-Hispanic/Latino, only 5 (3%) were, and the rest skipped this question

24 (13%). More than half, 104(56%) were women, 66 (35%) were men, and the remainder (9%) were non-binary (6), transgender (4) or missing (6). Over 40% of the survey participants were over 65 years old.

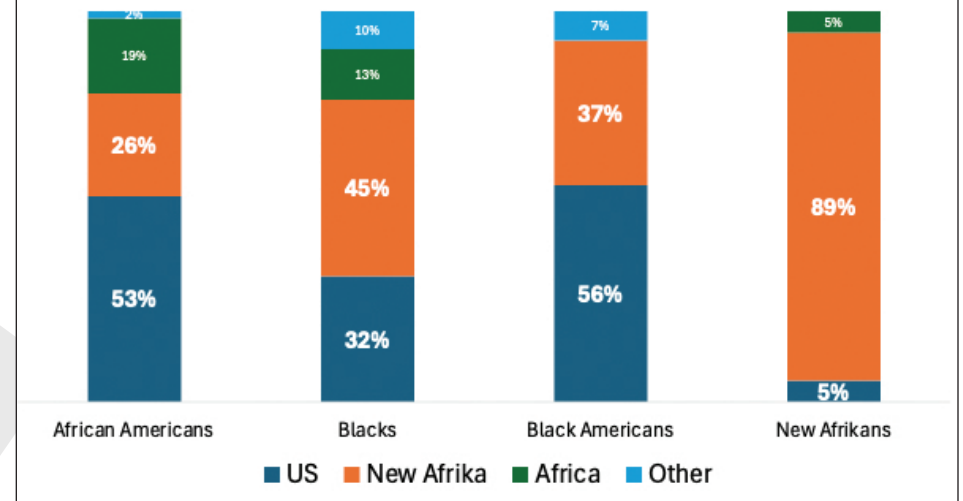
For racial identity, over a third of the respondents were African American, almost a quarter were New Afrikan, a fifth were Black, and less than that Black American. The table excludes 34 people who skipped the question.

Survey participants under 44 favored New Afrika more than the other choices. Over a third of people 45-64 years old favored New Afrika, adults 65 and older preferred staying in America.

Besides New Afrikans who overwhelming chose New Afrika, almost half, 45%, of Blacks, chose New Afrika. Over a third of Black Americans chose New Afrika, and over a quarter of African Americans chose New Afrika. Still over half of African and Black Americans chose to stay in the U.S.

Men chose New Afrika more than women, 60% vs 32%. Almost half of women, 47%, chose to stay in the u.s.

### 13th Amendment Choice by Racial Identity



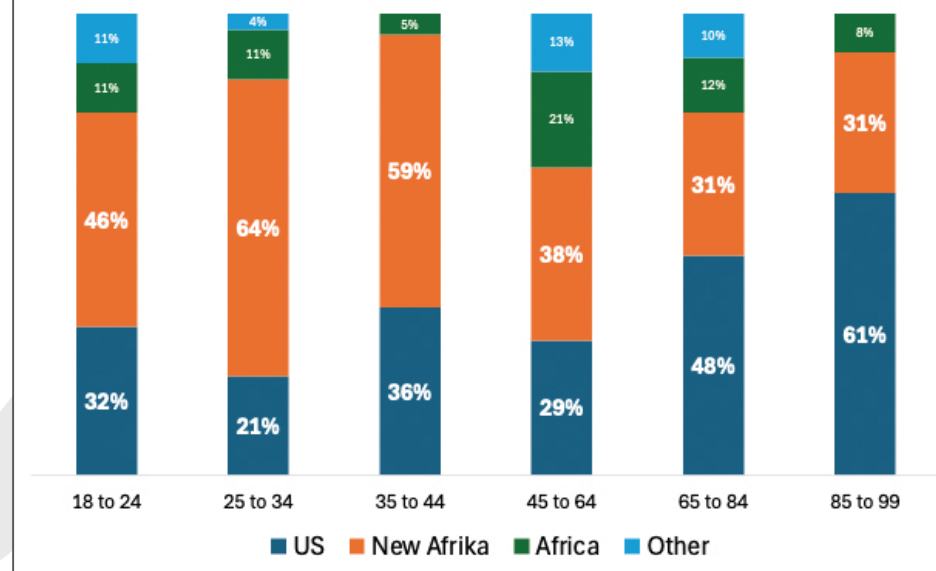
Since this was a brief survey, we do not know why these patterns emerged from the survey. However, 35 people were interested in further conversation in a focus group, where the reasons for their choices could be discussed.

Meanwhile, it appears that there could be many people of African descent living in the u.s. interested in New Afrika. This information should support New Afrikans as we go out and discuss our nationhood, particularly during these times when the u.s. is going astray in so

many ways. Several of my friends joked about changing their answers to the survey due to the dismay they feel watching the news everyday as the u.s. devolves into an idiocracy, kleptocracy, and even more imperialist nation.

This would be a great time to re-introduce political education and strategy, in digestible formats on social media. Due to the inhospitable economy, especially for our young adults, mutual aid and support efforts could provide a way to demonstrate a form of New Afrikan socialism. New Afrikans could host artistic and cultural celebrations that are inclusive and inviting to the various identities that Black people in America endorse. We could expand Freedom Schools, and weekend academies when Black Studies is pushed out of the public education system, a victim of the president’s anti-diversity, equity and inclusion proclamations. We can put the New Afrikan Creed into everyday practice, and support and nurture our youth and young adults. We should be ready to show them the way to go – to Free the Land, and the People!

### 13th Amendment Choice by Age



## FILM REVIEW:

### "SOUNDTRACK TO A COUP D'ETAT"

# NEW DOCUMENTARY RE-FRAMES THE COLD WAR STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE IN THE CONGO

BY KWASI AKWAMU

IN MARCH, AS U.S. OPPRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP continues his crusade of deregulation and the dismantling of any and every thing remotely hinting of public service, *Voice of America* (VOA) has joined a plethora of agencies and institutions to be disbanded.

While over a thousand employees have been effectively terminated, the international radio news service with an audience of 350 million people worldwide and broadcast in more than 50 languages, isn't going to be missed by everyone.

Many nations around the globe will remember the role of the radio platform as an early expression of u.s. soft power, using the airwaves to project an appealing image of the united states. Some, however, will also remember the platform as an instrument of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), notably during its countless efforts to topple foreign governments that sought to function in the best interests of their populations, which usually meant not giving in to u.s. hegemony.

This is where the newly released and highly-acclaimed documentary *Soundtrack to a Coup d'Etat* picks up. In a remarkable re-telling of the story of the struggle for the independence of the Congo in 1960 and the subsequent cold-blooded and torturous assassination of

Congolese patriot Patrice Lumumba, *Voice of America* plays prominent.

Once declared the Year of Afrika, the year 1960 saw the single largest cohort of colonized Afrikan nations – a total of 17 – achieve independence. A whopping 13 of these nations were subjects of France, who was under pressure from its struggling colonial war in Algeria. It successfully managed to maintain its grip over the economy and natural resources of all of its former colonies except Algeria and the Republic of Guinea.

Guinea plays an important role in the narrative of *Soundtrack*, particularly as it was the launching pad for one of the notable characters featured in this re-telling of the Congolese liberation struggle: Andree Blouin.

The role of women in the liberation struggles of past and present is often marginalized. So if you aren't familiar with Ms. Blouin, count it as yet another reason why the struggle for full human liberation must continue.

Born the victim of a rape by a French colonial merchant in the Central Afrikan Republic, Blouin was taken from her mama and placed in an orphanage, where she escaped as a teenager. As an adult, she was courted by several prominent French colonial officials enamoured by her

beauty. Regarded as half-French, she married a colonial administrator over a French mining concern. She lived a comfortable life when she was seized by an image of Sekou Toure while at an Afrikan shop in Guinea. In her autobiography she says his image called her into the struggle, pleading with her that she was on the wrong side of history.

That was in 1958, when France was trying to lure its numerous colonies into the French Community. Toure, whose country had already achieved independence, was steadfast against it. The matter, however, was subject to a referendum vote, and it is where Blouin stepped into history. She established a reputation for her dogged commitment, traveling the country appealing to Guineans to vote "no" to the referendum. It was an overwhelming victory for Guinea, which embittered the former colonial power that withdrew every French resource that remained in the country.

In 1959, as the Congolese masses clamored for independence, Patrice Lumumba emerged as their trusted representative in the colony. A traveling beer salesman, Lumumba, like Amilcar Cabral would do later, seized upon the opportunity to travel and talk up independence around his massive country. Of course, politics were heating up and Lumumba wanted a clean break from Belgium and sought international support without the extra baggage. He tried appealing to the u.s., but they definitely had strings attached to any support they would offer. The only other option at the time was the Soviet Union.

In 1960, both the u.s. and the USSR were nuclear powers and the Cold War was on full display. As such, both also had an immediate interest in one of the Congo's rarest



Patrice Lumumba



Andree Blouin

minerals: uranium.

And, like yesterday, today the Democratic Republic of the Congo is mired in an international entanglement around its vast mineral deposits of colbalt, coltan, rare earths, and, yes, uranium - just to name a few!

*Continued on page 16*

## FILM REVIEW,

*continued from page 15*

THIS TWO AND A HALF HOUR DOCUMENTARY, using archival film footage, audio memoirs and autobiographies of principal characters, as well as colonial memos and the recorded testimonies of mercenaries and government agents, *Soundtrack to a Coup d'Etat*, helps draw a straight line from the past to this very moment as a crisis of great proportions afflicts the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) today, and for the very same reasons: pillage of that vast countries reservoir of minerals for both the further enrichment of western imperialists and an enhanced capacity to inflict mutually assured destruction by way of nuclear detonation.

What do i mean? Today, over 7 million Congolese are displaced both inside and outside their homeland due to vast stretches of mineral rich territory being overrun by so-called "rebel" groups. While M23 has held a prominent place in the headlines, notably for being linked to and supported by the neighboring Rwandan government, they aren't alone. Human rights monitors indicate that *upwards of a hundred such armed groups* are terrorizing the local population as the military of the DNC has proved ineffective in defending its territory, population and natural resources from what amounts to *criminal mineral cartels*.

What is especially pernicious about the crisis in the Congo, is a simple comparison to other such criminal cartels, such as those controlling large swaths of land and territory in countries such as Mexico or Columbia for global cocaine (and other narcotics) distribution. Illegal narcotics are sold to a *mass* market. Millions of persons make up the global wholesale and retail market for narcotics. Not so for coltan, cobalt, or, especially, uranium. These rare but critical mineral elements are essential for the batteries (that power our smartphones and electric vehicles) and bombs (that promise an irreversible harm if ever again employed – remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki).

*SOUNDTRACK TO A COUP D'ÉTAT* BRINGS together a wide range of interacting persons and elements that tell a tale of imperial power determined to leave the most lasting impression upon our consciousness, and an equally



determined assortment of Afrikan freedom fighters seeking a clean break from colonialism.

What We know today as the Democratic Republic of the Congo began as the "Congo Free State" in 1885, not a colony of the Belgium government but the personal possession of the Belgium King who ruled with unlimited terror and brutality for 23 years before handing the colony over to the administration of the Belgia`m government which kept its feet hellbent on the accelerator. Utilizing slave labor, it was common to cut off the hands of any who refused to work.

From the very beginning, the european colonization of Afrika, which ironically began after the end of slavery in the united states, faced determined Afrikan opposition. A series of Pan-Afrikan gatherings began in 1900, aiming to cultivate a spirit of global Afrikan unity and resistance to colonialism and oppression. By 1945, following the end of WWII, strong calls for decolonization began to reverberate around the globe. The 1955 Bandung Conference held in Indonesia was a major catalyst in advancing the call all across the colonized world for national independence.

"At Bandung, all the nations came together, the dark nations of Afrika and Asia," declared Malcolm X in his strong, unity-themed "Message to the Grassroots" speech in Detroit. "Some

of them were Buddhists, some of them were Muslims, some of them were Christians, some were Confucians, some were atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists, some were socialists, some were capitalists – despite their economic and political differences, they came together."

The global context of the time was marked by what is known to history as the "Cold War" between the united states and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or the struggle between capitalism and communism. Colonialism and imperialism was the domain of the capitalists. It was they who most ardently sought to dominate the globe and hoard all its precious resources. Like western slavery, the capitalists understood that colonialism must eventually give in to the forces of decolonization; for them it was a matter of preserving its dominating influence and preventing its communist nemesis from attaining a foothold, especially in the Congo.

*Soundtrack* introduces us to the subtle ways in which the West, notably the united states, sought to influence Afrika against wayward, independent-minded leaders. One such way was through the propagandistic medium of music: the Voice of America (VOA). A tool of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the VOA

*Continued on page 19*



# Our comrad is recognized by Chicago Council of Elders

**Longtime freedom fighter Hondo T'Chikwa is recognized by the Bolozi Wazee (Council of Elders) with the Hannibal T. Afrik Cultural Excellence Award during Kwanzaa Festivities at Chicago's DuSable Museum. His acceptance remarks follow below.**

## **FREE THE LAND!**

i bring yall greetings from the New Afrikan Independence Movement & the Re-Build! Collective, which is a formation founded in 2018 by New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalists who are inspired by the thought of Atiba Shanna, who was a New Afrikan Prisoner of War. We wanna thank the organizers of this program for this honor in recognition of our years of struggle around Political Prisoners and this chance to make a brief comment.

i love Black people! i call them New Afrikans becuz We are from many tribes & nations of Afrika who were forged into a 'new' Afrikan nation in this new place.

i say the New Afrikan Creed at the beginning & ending of every day - this is part of my 'prayers'. my mama taught me to pray when i was a child; but that prayer was only designed to get me into heaven. We say The Creed becuz We try to live it and bring about a better world for ourselves & others. We should teach The Creed to all our people everywhere We can. Today, i wanna draw your attention to the 3rd, 6th, 8th & 15th stanzas just for the sake of time.

#3 - "i believe in the community as more important than the individual." Individualism is a serious problem in our community - its at the root of all our problems. We have lost the sense of ourselves as a people & that's why many of us act the way We do.

#6 - "i believe that the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control our lives." i was telling a sister at the gym the other day that We encourage our people to relocate to the south becuz that is



where We make up the majority of the population and that is where We can actually win power. She looked at me like i had lost my mind. We have forgotten that our oppression continues exactly becuz We don't have power over our lives.

#8 - "i believe that all the land in america, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked & build upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people." This land is where our nation developed - all of us can trace our roots back to the Black Belt South if We are being honest about how We got here.

#15 - "i will be patient and uplifting with my brothers & sisters, and i will seek by word and by deed to heal the Black family, to bring into the Movement & into our community mothers & fathers, brothers & sisters, left by the wayside." This is a comment on our style of work; patience is truly a virtue & We must be encouraging and positive when We engage our families & community.

We think the Creed should be our statement of identity, purpose & direction. i refuse to let our children recite their pledge to a flag of slavery & genocide.

i believe that it is our right to be free and to set a course for our own destiny which will really bring us happiness and rid ourselves of this 'shituation'! There's no need for me to recount all the ways that oppression stifles our development

& impoverishes us all, leaving our children worse off. We do this for our unborn future generations!

This is the basic question: WHAT DO WE WANT OUR FUTURE TO LOOK LIKE?

What is our vision for our people? It's all right there in The New Afrikan Declaration of Independence. We wanna be independent and rid of foreign control over our lives & development - truly free to set up our own systems for a thriving society with universal, free education up to & thru post-graduate level; free healthcare for all; a system of law which is truly just and creates and produces better outcomes; and socialist development and distribution of resources for the benefit of all New Afrikans.

So, this is why We bring you all greetings with the New Afrikan battlecry: FREE THE LAND! and We hope you will join us with the response: BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

We have the latest issue of our paper, Re-Build! here today; Please take a copy to study & contact us if you have any questions, comments or criticisms. Also, We have a link to a survey on page ten. Please scan the link & fill out the survey. We know that after the passage of the 13th & 14th amendment, u.s. citizenship was imposed on our ancestors. It was a violation of international law & this is an ongoing violation of our human rights to land & reparations for 500 years of slavery & genocide!

We have six years of back issues & many educational resources on our website & youtube channel.

Lastly, i want to thank the organizers of this event for this award and We look forward to continuing to work alongside you for the total liberation of New Afrikan people wherever they may be, whether in the national territory of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia & South Carolina or right here in Chicago.

FREE THE LAND!  
FREE THE LAND!  
FREE THE LAND!  
BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

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Podcast

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*Re-Build!* is the voice of the *Re-Build Collective*, a revolutionary formation within the New Afrikan Independence Movement, whose mission to amplify the deepest aspirations of the oppressed New Afrikan masses for land, independence and socialism.

We are guided by revolutionary principles and not profits, and thereby welcome advertisements that align with our stand. We accept both commercial and support advertisements. All proceeds go towards the printing and distribution of this paper across the u.s. settler empire.

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# NEWS BRIEFS FROM THE BLACK BELT & BEYOND

## GEORGIA

Two hikers, twin brothers Qadir & Naadir Lewis, were found dead on Bell Mountain in Hiawassee, Georgia near the border with North Carolina. Authorities say both had gunshot wounds in what appears to be a murder-suicide. Georgia Bureau of Investigation is assisting and autopsies are pending. (3/10/25)

## LOUISIANA

In New Orleans, the residents of the Lower 9th Ward are alarmed at a plan to bring heavy industrial activity into their neighborhood. The plan would involve reactivating nearly two miles of long-unused freight rail lines down the middle of Alabo Street through the heart of Holy Cross. Sunrise Foods, an international conglomerate, wants to use the Alabo Street

Wharf as a grain terminal. Residents don't like the proposal because it would bring toxic grain dust to their environment, which is known to cause chronic respiratory disease. They also don't want increased daily freight trains running through their community, and a marked decrease in their property values of an estimated \$15 million.

Under this plan, the community would lose a half-mile of levee access and it would cut off pedestrian access as well. Organizers say that the whole project would bring no benefit to the neighborhood, while leading to population loss and depletion of the local economy. They are calling on residents to get active in the struggle against this project, because Sunrise and its partners are trying to fast-track the development, aiming to start delivering grain by June 2025. (for more info, see [stopthegraintrain.com](http://stopthegraintrain.com))

## MISSISSIPPI

Six killed and hundreds have been displaced after severe storms battered Mississippi. 23 counties in the state sustained storm damage and governor Tate Reeves declared a state of emergency. Out of several tornadoes on Saturday, one in north MS left a 51-mile trail of destruction, while another left a 70-mile track in southern MS. 217 Mississippi residents are displaced at the time of this report.

overthrowing popular governments, very often through assassination.

DESPITE THE EXASPERATION OF MANY NEW Afrikans discouraged from what is often seen as a partisan tug-o-war between big European powers, eager to discover another, a third way forward, the fact remains that the struggle between capitalism and communism is essentially a struggle between competition and cooperation, between military-enforced power in the hands of a few and true democratic power in the hands of the masses of humanity. There is no third way between the two. There can be no compromise with capitalism, which, in both theory and practice, decimates humanity with every step it takes.

## NORTH CAROLINA

An Aurora, IL truck driver was found dead on September 11, 2024 in a wooded area near Henderson, North Carolina. Javion Magee was found hanging from a tree, but the sheriff described him as having his back up against a tree and a rope around his neck; the sheriff asserted that there was no lynching, and that preliminary information pointed to a possible suicide. Magee's family attorney said that, "This suggestion [is] grossly premature." The Magee family, understandably disturbed and distraught, is demanding a thorough and fair investigation, and they are planning to get an independent autopsy.

## FILM REVIEW, *continued from page 16*

commissioned tours of popular jazz artists to sway the influence of the Afrikan masses towards the United States. Using music as a medium of influence went so far as to literally air-drop record players packaged with the top ten most popular songs at the time on the Continent.

The communist USSR, despite any of its internal contradictions, had long championed the end of colonialism, and offered material resources in support of anti-colonial campaigns. The realm of influence in these struggles is largely what characterized the Cold War. In the words of U.S. Oppressor Eisenhower, it was a struggle for the minds of men. When revolutionary leadership couldn't be influenced, the capitalists resorted to

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i believe in the  
**COMMUNITY**  
as more important  
than the individual.  
-New Afrikan Creed

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WE, THE BLACK PEOPLE IN AMERICA, in consequence of arriving at a knowledge of Ourselves as a people with dignity, long deprived of that knowledge; as a consequence of revolting with every decimal of Our collective and individual beings against the oppression that for 300 years has destroyed and broken and warped the bodies and minds and spirits of Our people in America, in consequence of Our raging desire to be free of this oppression, to destroy this oppression wherever it assaults mankind in the world, and in consequence of Our indistinguishable determination to go a different way, to build a new and better world, do hereby declare Ourselves forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make Our Ancestors and Ourselves paper-citizens placed on Us.

We claim no rights from the United States of America other than those rights belonging to human beings anywhere in the world, and these include the right to damages, reparations due Us for the grievous injuries sustained by Our Ancestors and Ourselves by reason of United States lawlessness.

Ours is a revolution against – Our oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for a better life, a better station for all humanity, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We, therefore, see these as the aims of Our revolution:

- To free Black People in America from oppression;
- To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;
- To build a new Society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it;
- To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity

# NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



First Cabinet of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika on the grounds of the United Nations in New York. Pictured L-R, front: Queen Mother Moore, Imari Obadele, Joan Franklin, Wilbur Grattan Sr., Gen. Mweusi Chui; back row: Raymond Willis, Oseijeman Adefunmi, Betty Shabazz, Gaidi Obadele, Obaboa Alowo  
Photo credit: Esquire, Jan. 1969

and equal access to that maximum;

- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;

- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of god and/or the destiny, place and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance;

- To build a Black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the Aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;

- To end exploitation of man by man or his environment;

- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;

- To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society;

- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his

natural rights;

- To assure justice for all;

- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to society and all its members; and

- To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.

IN MUTUAL TRUST AND GREAT EXPECTATION, We the undersigned, for ourselves and for those who look to us but who are unable personally to fix their signatures hereto, do join in this solemn Declaration of Independence, and to support this Declaration and to assure the success of Our Revolution, We pledge, without reservation, ourselves, our talents, and all our worldly goods.