

Re-Build!



A NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT Periodical



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FREE THE LAND!

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.

The Dobbs Decision: Increased New Afrikan Maternal Deaths

BY EFIA Nwangaza, ESQ,
MX CENTER FOR SELF DETERMINATION

The Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2022, which overturned Roe v. Wade, has profound implications for Black women. The decision effectively removed the federal constitutional right to abortion, allowing states to set their own abortion laws. It denies women the human right of bodily autonomy, a cornerstone of self-determination.

The concept of "States Rights" emerged in debates over the balance of power in the U.S. Constitution (1787); a strong central government versus states' rights to guard against "federal overreach." States' rights were central to arguments made by Southern states to justify enslavement and secession from the

Union, claiming the federal government had no authority to interfere with enslavement within their borders. Federal efforts to enforce civil rights and suppress racial violence are still resisted by states invoking "states' rights."

It must be noted that it has not been that long ago that Black women were the subject of experimentation and forced sterilization. In 1813, enslaved Black women, without anesthesia, were experimented on by Lancaster County, South Carolina James Marion Sims, "The Father of Gynecology." Later, one of my mentors, ACLU Pro Bono Lawyer, Edna Primus, was persecuted by the South Carolina Bar, 1977, when she challenged South Carolina's policy of sterilizing certain women as a condition of receiving welfare.

In 2014, North Carolina passed a law to pay compensation to some of the more than 7,000

people in North Carolina — many poor, many African-American, many disabled — who were sterilized between 1929 and 1976 in one of the country's most aggressive eugenics programs.

In 2020, a 18-month bipartisan investigation by the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations reviewed allegations that women detained by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) at the Irwin County Detention Center in Ocilla, Georgia had endured medical neglect, lax coronavirus mitigation policies and questionable procedures, including hysterectomies.

The Dobbs decision has exacerbated the longstanding abuse of Black women's bodies and the continuing maternal health crisis Black women already face, Black women are three times

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While many focused on next u.s. oppresident, this was happening

Sweeping political indictments aim to undermine New Afrikan confidence in our political leadership in general, and in our capacity for independence in specific.

HAVING ESTABLISHED A CONVINCING but questionable precedent in the 2013 conviction of Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick, who served seven years of a monstrous 28 year sentence – you'd have thought he committed murder! – before being commuted by Donald Trump in 2021, it is clear that the u.s. empire is ramping up its effort to undermine New Afrikan confidence in our political leadership.

While many New Afrikans were betting all their chips on the elections to select who would be the new u.s. imperialist-in-chief, indictments swept across the empire thru-out 2024 charging a range of New Afrikan mayors, city council persons, and other elected officials with being involved in corruption schemes.

The mayors in New York City, Jackson, Mississippi, and East Cleveland, Ohio and council persons in Boston, Jackson, Mississippi, Washington D.C., and Cleveland, Ohio, have been recently been indicted.

As New Afrikan people, We must never accept at face value the accusations of the enemy state against any New Afrikan; neither should We naively believe that any New Afrikan elected official is above reproach and inherently incorruptible. Unfortunately, as a rule, We know that those New Afrikan politicians who We have elected to positions of authority have tended to exercise that authority in a manner that differs very little from their settler counterparts. However, We also know that New Afrikans in positions of authority or presumed power remain New Afrikans and as such will always endure far greater scrutiny, will always be targeted, and will always be scapegoated as the primary cause of the dysfunction in the areas that they govern.

It is in the interest of the settler state to discredit the idea that our people are capable of competent

self-governance at any level. What the Americans fear the most, as they have mentioned in their own COINTELPRO documents, is a unified nationalist movement, capable of setting in motion what they called a "real black revolution." The Americans are terrified that a day will come when the masses of New Afrikan people realize that We have no future under the u.s. rule and will begin to pursue, in earnest, the struggle for self-determination.

These legal attacks on New Afrikan elected officials have nothing at all to do with ensuring good governance in our communities. Indeed, the settler state has been doing its very best to undermine the capacity of those We elect to provide good governance. The state denies our municipalities the resources required to govern, uses the power of state government to divert private capital from the core cities to the majority non-New Afrikan suburbs, strip mayors and city councils of control of entities that had always

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IN OUR HASTE

SANYIKA SHAKUR ON THE REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

BECAUSE WE EXIST IN A WORLD governed by the unity of opposites and the inherent struggles of these contradictions, which cause change, it stands to reason that We should be conscious of their importance. Nothing exists in singular. Every thing is twin, having two sides which constitute opposites. There's both primary and secondary, internal and external developments within the scheme of the contradiction. These positions are not static, nor isolated and thus evolve in context with circumstantial matter. We live in a relative paradox. Without such opposition nothing could exist. For example: there could be no up without down; no in without out; no day without night. A cup, similarly, is composed of opposites, i.e. an inside that contains liquid, and an outside which is held. Just as We live We shall certainly die. For every action there is a corresponding reaction. We often don't fully understand this. Why?

For one, we look for immediate and overt forms of reaction; We tend to judge surface reactions as the whole reaction and fail, subsequently to understand (fully realize) the overall effects of a particular phenomenon. Here is an example: A person is shot in the chest. We see the entry wound as blood pours out. We say, upon seeing this, that she/he was

shot in the chest. Yes, our surface observation would be correct. But is such an analysis sufficient to reach an objective conclusion? Would the gunshot victim die as a result of a chest wound, or did the bullets trajectory (path) hit vital organs and subsequently cause death? To follow a bullet's trajectory, noting as one goes along the damage done by its motion, is called ballistics. This is a practiced branch of science. The science We need to employ to identify, understand and control contradictions is Dialectics. Specifically Dialectical-Materialism. As long as contradictions exist, We'll need science to understand them.

For every action there is a reaction. This is objective reality, universal truth. New Africans are pitted against formidable odds. Our opposition is the U.S. government; its citizens and their ideo-cultural monolith, capitalism-imperialism. Humans cannot escape the laws of opposites. By the same token, We cannot be so superficial as to conclude that Our primary contradiction as a neo-kkkolonized nation is manifest by mere "white against Black." To reach such a conclusion would certainly be a surface analysis, or skin-analysis. While it is true that Our oppressors are referred to in this color sensitized LAND as "white," it is the ways and means by which they oppress that We must concentrate on. You see,

because if a platoon of say, Clarence Thomases or C. Delores Tuckers, were in power, We'd have the same problems.

Here is a point to ponder: Were various nationals from Afrika kkkolonized simply because they were "Black"? Or was the reason for such an atrocity an economic one? If the euroamerikkans could have found another continent (even their own) with as much skill and fortitude, they'd have vamped on it.

Africans were stolen in order to build the so-called New World economy. When the Spaniards, French, Portuguese, Germans etc, went into Afrika they didn't find "savages" or "naked heathens," as their history books claim. No, they specifically went in search of Our most skilled laborers. They deliberately took some of the best We had in order to build the best for them. You see, what precedes manual labor is skilled labor. Euro-kkkapitalists are parasites, dependent on stolen skills and labor. This has always been so. Euro-amerikkka began as a string of gangsta kkkolonies - 13 of them. Then, as a consequence of New African kkkolonization, it grew into a gangsta nation. Today, in its 220th year, it is a gangsta empire. Its sole impetus is profit.

Because kkkapitalism, as a culture, a way of life, fosters acts of greed by various individuals, the many feel the reaction through neo-kkkolonialism, sexism, white supremacy, homophobia and adultism (fear of the youth). Because of kkkapitalism's tier forming divisions there are very rich people and very poor people.

Action: kkkolonialism,

kkkapitalism-imperialism; from one generation to the next.

Reaction: national oppression, kkkolonial mentality, criminal parasitism, self-destruction; from one generation to the next.

There can be no reaction without there first having been an action. This contradiction, of action/reaction brings about change. The

WE MUST DEVELOP SKILLS TO FOLLOW THRU ON CONTRADICTIONS. TRACE THEM BACK THRU THEIR INTER-RELATED PARTS. WITHOUT SUCH AN OVERSTANDING OUR EFFORTS AT FREEING OUR MINDS SO THAT THE LAND WILL FOLLOW WILL BE IN VAIN.

change can be either for the good or bad. Understanding these will determine the outcome. The U.S. empire's strength is Our weakness. Our strength, in this equation, would signal its weakness. They understand this quite clearly. Even their loyal citizens know this, so they enjoin in their governments push to keep Our balance in disarray.

In Our haste to make sense of all this, We often overlook crucial developments in Our behavior which are mere reactions to kkkolonial actions. Dig it, subconsciously We understand that We have a closed future without revolutionary change. That is, if We fail to free Our nation, We are doomed. We know that national oppression creates for Us a low life expectancy. In most cases 60 years is Our life expectancy. Sixteen to

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twenty-five if you participate in street organized combat ("gang WARfare"). This comprehension, whether We admit it or not, is registered in Our minds because We witness the reality of it daily. So We *know*. We also *know* that kkkolonial violence (white supremacy) is not natural and that something wicked is afoot. Yet We get hung up and twisted because We lack the skills to identify, overstand and control contradictions.

We see Our father die at 57 years old of "natural causes". We say he died of "hypertension" (high blood pressure).

Never do We follow thru to say that this tension was hyper, that he had high blood pressure, *because of objective conditions of neokkkolonialism*. That hypertension is a reaction to oppression. You press down on anything, you see, and it will change shapes as a consequence of the pressure. It will suffer tension. A continual press, as is the cause with New Afrika, and hypertension results – *then explosion!* Again, to overstand this fully could result in Our freedom or Our death. To quote a comrad: "The next step is either Our total extinction or revolution."

As a consequence of Our subconscious overstanding of Our low life expectancy, We find Ourselves always in a terrible rush. We are seemingly caught in a race against time, the pit and the pendulum. We develop a cronos complex (cronos is the mythological "father time"). This is responsible for Our haste. We are subsequently surrounded by "fast food," microwaves, instant this, quick fix that, and so forth and so on. These

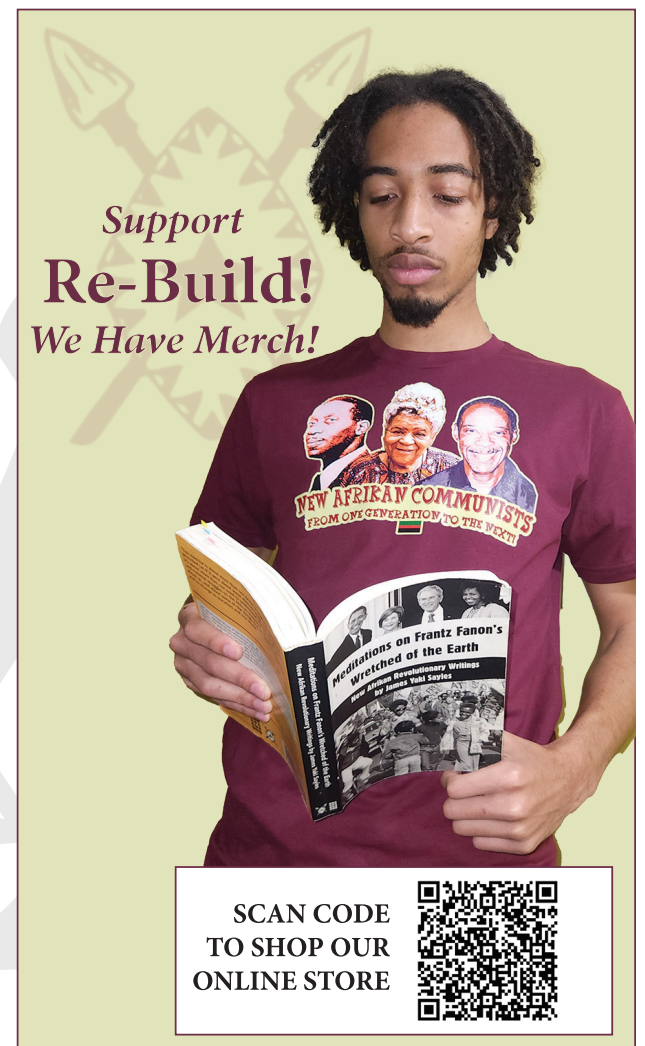
too, contribute to Our haste. We find Ourselves unable to distinguish between needs and wants. And in Our haste We only observe things superficially which cause Our motions to be jerky reactions.

We must develop skills to follow thru on contradictions. Trace them back thru their inter-related parts. Without such an overstanding Our efforts at freeing Our minds so that the LAND will follow will be in vain. Let us slow Our roll and work towards an overstanding of Our situation because the law of opposites (dialectics) reveal that for every in there is an out. Just as We were forcibly put into this terrible situation (Maafa). We can forcibly get out. Struggle Forward!

Re-Build!

Sanyika Shakur - 1/1/378 ABA

Comrad Sanyika's article is re-printed from the Jan. 1997 issue of New Afrikan Community Bulletin published by The Freedom Network, a captive New Afrikan cadre org. functioning in Michigan during 1990s. It is dated 1/1/378 ABA, which corresponds to January 1, 1997. While historical evidence demonstrates that people from Afrika traveled to, some possibly settling in the western hemisphere prior to european discovery and conquest, New Afrikans generally mark the beginning of our sojourn in 1619. It is from that point that the fusion of various Afrikan peoples melded into the people We are today, New Afrikans. A.B.A. means "after the beginning again," introduced by Afrocentric



scholar Dr. Molefi Asante and adopted by some within the NAIM as a cultural marker in the process of historicizing our national development. We will discuss this in more detail in later issues of Re-Build!

Significance of Sapelo Island to New Afrikan self-determination

A TRAGIC EVENT OCCURRED on October 20 2024 at Sapelo Island, Georgia. At the end of the island's Culture Day celebration of Gullah Geechee heritage, a dock providing passage way to a ferry collapsed resulting in seven elders losing their lives.

The history of the Gullah Geechee residents and descendants of Sapelo Island goes back to the early 19th century. Captives from west and west central Afrika formed the historic Gullah Geechee community. Sapelo was part

of the territory designated for New Afrikans by Union General William T. Sherman in his Field Order Number 15 during the Civil War. Sapelo was also included in the Sea Islands lands that Reconstruction leader Tunis Campbell attempted to establish a New Afrikan government before his self-determination plan was reversed by the white Union Army. While President Andrew Johnson also rescinded Sherman's Field Order, Gullah Geechee people have struggled to maintain the land and identity. They have fought to maintain

their land since emancipation and have struggled against settler colonial forces until today. Much of Sapelo Island is occupied by the Georgia state government, who is responsible for managing and maintaining the island's dock and ferry.

The Georgia state government is responsible for the tragedy and loss of lives. The Sapelo tragedy is another example of the need for New Afrikan independence.

~K. Brantman, student-activist

A VISION

REVOLUTIONARY FICTION

BY MICHAEL MCCOY

Part Two
CONCLUSION

WHILE THEY ATE BREAKFAST SONOVIA THOUGHT OVER WHAT THE DOCTOR HAD SAID OF TOEDOE'S CONDITION. "He can still function for several years as long as he eats properly and takes his medication regularly." The three of them finished breakfast and were ready to leave. They checked their weapons to ensure they were operative and each put on a bullet-proof vest. The apartment chosen for the night was located in a New Afrikan town in Texas near the Mexican border. For security reasons. Sonovia rarely left the national territory; but for the last week she had met with heads of progressive governments in Latin America to build support for the RNA. Kiswana and Toedoe stepped through the door first and Sonovia followed. The three walked briskly down the corridor and descended two flights of stairs to the front entrance of the apartment. They walked the thirty feet to the bullet-proof Mercedes, and Kiswana climbed into the driver's seat while Toedoe and Sonovia got into the back. Initially Sonovia had felt uncomfortable about the use of such an expensive car, but after it was explained that the car was chosen for its small size, durability, and quick acceleration, she had reluctantly conceded. The Mercedes moved slowly over the speed bumps NARA had placed in the parking lot to prevent would-be speeders from injuring children who played there. As the car slowed to exit the parking lot, Kiswana felt that familiar surge of pride she always did when in liberated zones. Just before the entrance to the projects stood a large sign which read:

YOU ARE NOW ENTERING A LIBERATED ZONE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE N.A.R.A. WHILE HERE, THE FOLLOWING RULES WILL BE OBEYED

The militarization of third world communities had at first been reluctantly accepted by New Africans who hoped that it would solve the drug problem. But as the National Guard and other u.s. security agencies began to attack progressive community activists and organizations, New Africans began to believe more of what NARA was saying: "The government's war on drugs is in fact a war against the community. It's not a war against poverty, racism, unemployment and other horrendous conditions which push so many of our people into drugs."

The success of NARA in creating revolutionary programs to deal with the problems of drugs, housing, medical care, etc., had helped to establish its leadership credentials among the masses of people. The colonial



"You see, our view was that under colonialism elections are used to divide our people and our leaders into opposing camps fighting for the right to control the colonial budget to administer our own domination. This divide and conquer tactic implemented by means of electoral politics gave u.s. imperialism absolute control over the political life of the New Afrikan nation."

administration of New Afrikan mayors and other elected officials had gradually collapsed faced with the success of hundreds of popular people's institutions. Crack and other drugs did not exist in the hundreds of liberated zones built inside the empire. And people of all ages who lived there felt safe. Money for rent no longer went to the housing authority; instead it went to NARA to maintain services ranging from people's clinics to what became the pride of all liberated zones – the people's store which never ran out of food. This was the reality which motivated New Afrikans like Kiswana, who was previously a crack addict, to change. When Kiswana was asked to become a member of the army she knew the RNA was a distant dream, but NARA made it concrete enough to believe in and fight for. It was a vision, in her mind. just within reach.

The Mercedes weaved smoothly through the Monday morning traffic

to the destination where the reporter was to be brought for the interview. Despite the effects of more than 20 years of urban warfare and President Webster's position on the RNA, the streets were remarkably calm as the Mercedes moved through the business district of Fort Worth. Over the last year, tens of thousands of whites who sensed a NARA victory had been burning their property and migrating from the Southern states in angry protest -- "i'd die before i live under a nigger communist regime," the white migrants would say. Two-thirds of NARA had been sent to the national territory to stem such acts of vandalism as well as check the violent reaction of the Klan to an independent RNA. Sonovia smiled when she thought of the KKK. They were tough until they met a people armed and prepared to fight back.

The apartment building where the

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On “Re-Build” —Metaphorically Speaking

In December 2023 the ReBuild Collective launched a Vita Wa Watu reading challenge, whereby each month, starting in January 2024, members of both RBC and the broader New Afrikan nation were invited to collectively read (or re-read) one volume per month of the twelve “Books” in the Vita Wa Watu series published in the decade between 1978 and 1987 by the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization which eventually became the Spear & Shield Collective. In December 2024, We have arrived at Book 12, where We pulled this excerpt.

It is important to note that Book 12 was authored by Owusu Yaki Yakubu, who also wrote under the name Atiba Shanna. This comrad was involved in the Black Liberation Army-Coordinating Committee, and therefore writes from the position of an insider who was involved in the “Consolidation” efforts of the BLA and privy to both the internal discussions and contradictions of that effort.

Book 12 is a text of great theoretical and philosophical value to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and it deserves to be read/studied in its entirety. It represents the most cogent and self-critical thinking necessary towards re-building a liberation movement with a promise for victory. You can scan QR code on the book cover image here to download a PDF of Book 12, or you can purchase a printed copy using the advertisement for Spear & Shield Publications using QR code elsewhere in this paper. **–Editor**

We must build to win!

~Black Liberation Army-CC,

“Message to the Black Movement,” 1977

The slogan “Re-Build” is an adaptation of the slogan “Build To Win,” (BTW) which was formulated and adopted by the BLA-Coordinating Committee (BLA-CC) as a strategic slogan underlying the Consolidation process begun in the mid-1970s.

“Re-Build” (RB) was formed and first used in 1980 by members who believed that:

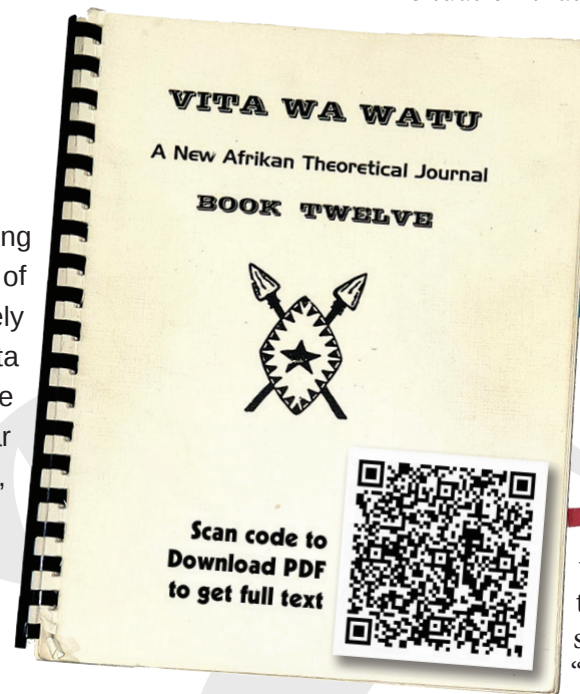
1) A qualitatively new period of struggle had developed—a new period needing a new slogan—and the continued use of the slogan “BTW” reflected the failure of the entire movement generally, and of the BLA-CC in particular, to catch up with a reality that had actually been developing since the late 1960s. Further, continued use of “BTW” re-lected the movement’s failure and the BLA-CC’s failure to

recognize the significance of a series of “recent events” and their relation to the existence of still more fundamentally changed conditions.

2) There was a need to call attention to this new period (through the use of a new slogan), and to begin a conscious and systematic summation of changes in objective and subjective conditions—most of which had clearly manifested themselves by the mid-1970s, but were either unnoticed or not dealt with in a non-compromising manner.

3) There was a need to begin the process of making changes in our thinking (e.g., philosophy, ideology, theory, lines, etc.), in our organizational structure (e.g., party structure, reinforced by ideological unity), and begin re-orientation toward mass-based activity as well as military strategy and tactics, so that all this would begin to correspond to the new conditions and demands of struggle.

WHAT ARE THE SPECIFIC FEATURES of the



situation that gave rise to the slogan “Re-Build”?

Let’s say that in the late 1960s and/or mid-1970s, We decided to build a house (i.e., a movement and/or an organization). This decision is made because: 1) We believe We need a house in order to win...as a prerequisite to success (i.e., the struggle needs an organized movement at its center, and the movement needs an organized party as its center); 2) We must shelter ourselves from the elements, because We can’t win unless We survive.

Now, We decide to build the house, and We begin the construction under the slogan “Build To Win” (or “Consolidation”)—a slogan deduced from the totality of the

specific features of the existing situation. The slogan rather straightforwardly says WHAT We must do, and why, but the “how” is very much implied, which can prove to be a problem if not clearly spelled out...Remember, We’re building something which requires a particular kind of design, since it must perform a specific function; and We’re using, to begin with, all kinds of diverse elements...

Nevertheless, We pursue the process, We begin to “consolidate,” to “build to win.” As We do so, We find that We must resolve certain internal contradictions, which are compounded by external elements turning increasingly hostile, e.g., a (quantitative) succession of storms move through which effectively destroy the partially completed house. These storms have also influenced fundamental changes in the internal and external environment, including the top-soil that was the house’s foundation.

Undaunted by all this, We decide to remain steadfast in our convictions and in our commitment to build a house; We decide to initiate a new phase of construction. However, is “Build To Win” still the appropriate slogan for this new phase of construction?

No objections are made to the assertion that We still need a center for the struggle and for the movement in order to win; no objections

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Secure Communications

INTRO TO PRINCIPLES & PRACTICE

Oh, divine art of subtlety and secrecy! Through you we learn to be invisible, through you inaudible, and hence we hold the enemy's fate in our hands.
~Sun Tzu, *Art of War*

SECURE COMMUNICATIONS (SC), here, is concerned with protecting our activity and exchange of thoughts, messages and information within the New Afrikan Independence Movement in general, but within our organizing formations in particular. That is, since we communicate, We must learn to do so in a secure manner so that Who, What, When, and How is not compromised to our enemies.

SC should be among our first considerations when deciding to launch or get involved in revolutionary activity. Indeed, it is during the preparatory period, the early stages that the enemy strikes with repression and counterintelligence initiatives. We must not wait until We are within the bubble of surveillance before We realize that We must disguise and conceal our Who, What, When, Where, and How. (Once in the bubble We can expect to expose

everyone and everything we touch.)

NOTE: We should never mistake certain activity by us to be "innocent" or "harmless" activity – within the context of revolutionary struggle, all activity is a threat to our enemy. It should be recalled that Martin Luther King Jr., a nonviolent American patriot, was regarded as a threat and made a target of COINTELPRO. *"The response to all threats is repression."*

SC must be established with an understanding that our enemy has a greater concern with KNOWING MORE about us than with actually repressing us. *"To know, in order to repress at the appointed hour, to the extent desired - if not altogether."* The more they know about us, the more control they have over us and the situation.

Loose lips sink ships! Every time We open our mouth to speak we communicate something about ourselves: something which has the potential of becoming a weapon used against us by our enemy if ever placed in their hand: the way We think, what We think about, our habits, likes and dislikes, what We've done, may do, how We may do it, who We know, where We go, when and how often, how long we stay, what's said and done there, etc. So, as our Mama admonished us as children: *Watch your mouth!*

The principle of NEED TO KNOW must be established. If information is not needed to carry out duties, then it must not be sought or shared. This means that NO ONE among us should know more than necessary and that NO ONE outside our realm of revolutionary activity should know anything at all. (This is also for the safety of all concerned.)

Lines of SC must be designed, constructed and operated with the aim of preventing their detection, their disruption, and the interception of information flowing through them. As a start, our communications activity should adhere as closely as possible to these principles:

- 1) To maintain communication with each other while preventing ANY ONE with no need to know from knowing that We do;
- 2) If it's not possible to prevent others from knowing that We communicate, then We should at least prevent them from knowing how and when; and
- 3) If that's not possible, the goal is to prevent ANY ONE from knowing the content of our communications.

At bottom, SC implies a work-style where, anticipating our enemies vigilance, We move and not be seen, speak and not be heard.

Re-Build to Win!

METAPHORICALLY SPEAKING,

Cont'd from page 7

are made to the clear fact that We must "build" the center. The main question We must ask, however, is HOW do We build the center/house? or, how do We begin to "re-build"? Seeking the answer to this fundamental question forces us to raise other questions, e.g., why is a new phase of construction necessary? Why was the "old house" unable to resolve certain internal contradictions and unable to withstand the onslaught of the storms?

Remember: the slogan "Build To Win" was formed and used on the basis of particular internal and external, subjective and objective conditions. Those conditions no longer exist. The old slogan was part of a "tool chest" which also contained corresponding levels of philosophical, ideological, and theoretical development... corresponding lines, strategies, etc. — all of

which are also no longer appropriate to the new conditions and requirements. We can't — and don't want to — attempt to continue building the house that has proven itself incapable of resolving its internal contradictions or of withstanding the onslaught of severe storms.

Under new conditions, in view of new tasks, and guided by new insight as to the causes of our shortcomings, it's not a matter of simply trying to go on as before, as if nothing has happened. Nor is it a matter of merely picking up the damaged pieces of the old house and trying to fit them all together again.

Once you begin to raise questions on why the old house was unable to stand, you confront matters of design (structure), of the quality and composition of the materials used, of the (ideological) compatibility of materials. You gradually realize that you must build a NEW house, on new ground, with a new design, with materials of a different composition and

quality, which must from the very beginning be compatible—all so that the new process of organizational consolidation will have increased chance of success.

BY THE MID-1970S, WE were a "people's vanguard" trying to conduct a people's war without the people. The BLA-CC became a vanguard without a rearguard, because it hadn't assumed total responsibility for the political as well as the military activity of the masses—just as it had left the sphere of providing a base for its own support by the masses, to forces outside its ranks. When the "Call to Consolidate" was issued, some efforts were made to correct this situation. However, these efforts failed for the very reason they were undertaken, i.e., the lack of ideo-political development and unity prevented us from making the political and structural changes necessary to take a leap in our thought and practice.

CONT'D NEXT ISSUE

NOTES & RANTS FROM A NEW AFRIKAN ACTIVISTS NOTEBOOK

WHY WE SAY 'RE-BUILD!'

To reach our destination, our vehicle is gonna have to be in good shape — think of EVERYTHING it takes for a car to move from A to B! Our situation requires us to move from WHERE WE ARE TO WHERE WE WANNA BE. We got a long way to go, and We cannot hope to get there without a high-functioning vehicle. It's gotta be hitting on all cylinders, which cannot happen with blown gaskets or thrown rods. The pistons have to be in tiptop shape, the sparks gotta be firing in the correct sequence, and the tires have to be properly inflated. And don't forget gas!!! :-)

What makes a movement go? Without people, there is NO MOVEMENT! How do We get people? They're everywhere! Whenever We engage with people, proper application of our politics should instruct us on how to engage & move us to a proper understanding or grasp of our situation. When We handle a contradiction correctly, We are giving instruction to those around us who also see the contradiction, but are not contributing to resolving it. This is what Huey meant when he said, "people learn thru observation and participation", but We must expand this to include DIALOGUE, AGITATION, PROPAGANDA, POLITICAL EDUCATION, etc.... (Book 12, pg 35)

When We say, "What makes a movement go?", what movement are We talking about? The NAIM! So, We are talking about New Afrikan People! The first order of bizness (Re-Building the New Afrikan Independence Movement) isn't gonna begin until the people have a clear grasp of their nationality, which is NEW AFRIKAN, not some color ('black'), or some 'half-american'. In *Book 8*, We said that, "The Black Liberation Movement has lost its revolutionary character"; so, why do so many of us who claim to want "liberation" (revolution?) still cling to the notion that our liberation movement is 'Black'? The

petit bourgeoisie and neo-colonialists wanted to "impose their definition of what they want on the majority..." (Book 12, pg 31). Our struggle for a resolution of our situation calls for us to liberate this 'Black' nation, but We learned that NATIONAL LIBERATION necessitated a more precise definition of what NATION We're talking about.

Every other nation that We admired, learned from, supported, or lent us solidarity had a clear NATIONAL NAME which is not relegated to their color: Cubans, Vietnamese, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, Chinese - but not us New Afrikans? And they're all more highly developed in their understanding of THEIR PLACE IN THE PANTHEON OF NATIONS. If We are to take our place on the world stage, We are going to have to embrace our national name - *New Afrikan!*

Ours is a struggle to build a NEW AFRIKAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, ie a NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (NAIM).

Paraphrasing from *Book 12*: "An understanding that the [NAIM] has this purpose — the creation of independent state power — is something that members & cadres must have from the very beginning. SHARING THIS UNDERSTANDING WITH THE MASSES IS A FUNDAMENTAL TASK OF THE [NAIM], because without it, the struggle for "democratic rights" can be easily mistaken as the goal, i.e., NATIONAL liberation becomes mere "liberation" — a euphemism for integration and neo-colonialism....In the struggle for national independence, i.e., independent state power, the [NAIM] is an instrument of the people used to help them become CONSCIOUS of themselves as an OPPRESSED NATION, and to organize & struggle AS A NATION. The [NAIM] is also an instrument of the vanguard class, used to help it become more conscious of its responsibilities for the short and long term realization of the

interests of the entire nation." (*Book 12*, pg 23)

There's a lot of talk these days about the need to rebuild, but our foundation is strong. Many of these folk are just trying to stay relevant ("just keep me up in front of 'em, boss") by distracting the people from any concrete, realizable, historically necessary objectives. Will We be stuck in the nowhere land of 'half-america', capitulating to more slavery & genocide? or do "We recognize that the amerikan 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!" (Re-Build Collective Points of Unity, #7) & We get back to what Harriet, David Walker, Denmark Vesey, Queen Mother Moore and so many others worked for: independence. We know what We are RE-BUILDING TO WIN: Land, Independence & Socialism!

WHO YOU CALLING 'DEAF, DUMB & BLIND' (DDB)?

How you gonna be a leader (with hardly any followers, i might add :-)) calling our people DDB?? With all the daily displays of brilliant New Afrikans of all ages struggling diligently to solve their problems? DDB is insulting & that's why We take it out of the CREED. It comes from a long ago era (before the upheavals of the sixties) when certain leaders felt the responsibility to 'wake' the people up. "Black Is Beautiful" became the thing and the CREED was introduced. But, an honest assessment of the early NAIM has to be clear about its lack of clarity, lack of grassroots educational work with a clear line. For example, many in the COUNCIL OF INDEPENDENT BLACK INSTITUTIONS (CIBI) were 'closet' New Afrikans, who failed to speak & educate in their classrooms on the need for an Independent Republic of New Afrika, but supported 'Black Nation Day'... The dichotomy was inside many

Continued on page 10

BOOK REVIEW

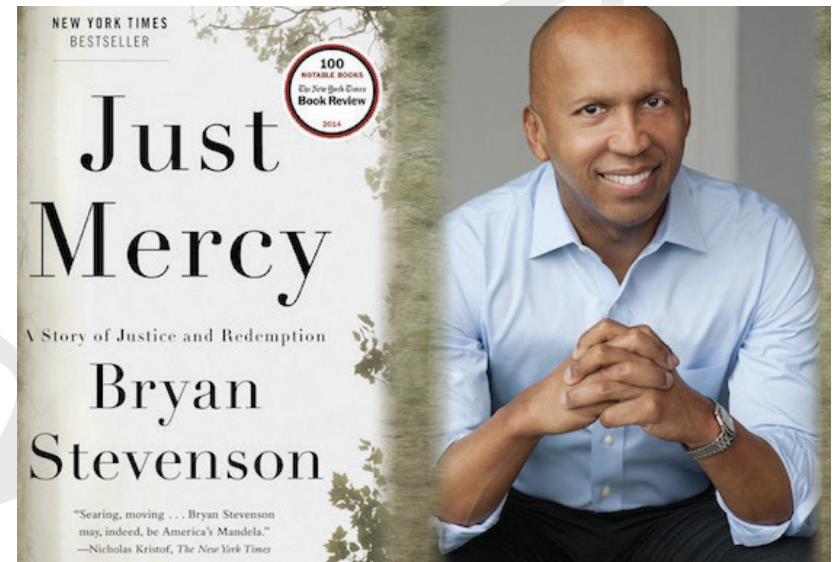
'JUST MERCY' by Bryan Stevenson

"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!" ~ RBC Principles of Unity, #7

Our struggle from independence and back to independence is a historical imperative. It's only thru freeing some land and regaining power to control our lives that We will ever have any hope of making a great contribution to the history of human social development. A free New Afrika will take 40 million descendants of enslaved Afrikans out from under the grinding deprivation of colonial underdevelopment and onto the world stage as a beacon of light shining on a hill. We will

sing & teach our song of hope and redemption; and We won't have to write extraordinary memoirs such as JUST MERCY, Bryan Stevenson's story of one man's battle against an evil criminal injustice system which repeatedly devalues & destroys New Afrikan life. A system which has never given us 'equal justice' or protection under their law. A system which ROUTINELY GIVES CHILDREN THE DEATH PENALTY, regardless of guilt or innocence and executes human beings - New Afrikans - without regard or remorse.

Though Mr. Stevenson's work is mostly in Alabama, he has defended New Afrikans all over the territory and struggled to get a mere modicum of justice in many cases. The American justice system incarcerates New Afrikans when



they're indigent or emotionally traumatized or mentally ill with no mercy and no regard for our humanity. Why do We allow this madness to continue? Why do so many in leadership with wealth, knowledge & power act as if We

don't have a problem? The masses of New Afrikans continue to suffer while a few of us content ourselves with buck dancing & bullshitting & beefing with each other. What right does America have to our allegiance? --- READ THE BOOK!!!

NOTEBOOK,

Cont'd from page 9-

of those early institutions' efforts - which is part of the reason they are gone... **RB!** is produced because We understand how important it is to NEVER RETURN to a time of ignorance; to NEVER BECOME part of the problem by sounding defeatist or not taking full responsibility for educating our people - if the people seem slow, IT'S OUR FAULT!

CLASSES & CHARACTER TRAITS

Individualism is a trait of the bourgeoisie...that is why We are surrounded by so much of it these days. America is a bourgeois nation

- "it no good to stay in a witeman country too long" (mutabaruka) We have to return to the basics - the New Afrikan Creed & the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence. Both documents envision a Socialist Republic of New Afrika, where the goal is, "the community as more important than the individual" (New Afrikan Creed, #3); and, state power will be used "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..." (New Afrikan Declaration of Independence)

Rampant individualism is the order of the day. New Afrikans have largely forgotten who We are. A sister

was run over & killed in Chicago last week - it was a hit and run right before the holiday. My 1st thought was that this was so callous & crass that the driver had to have been an American settler, a "white" person, but in my next thought I reminded myself of how little it seems that so many of us care about the rest of us; the guilty driver could be one of us. The grief-stricken family was on TV, and one of the older men was loudly mourning her loss by proclaiming, "it's Thanksgiving! She did all the cooking!" I know he was wracked with grief, but I said to myself, "WTF?!?!?!?"

RE-BUILD!
franktalk

RBC Survey

The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ended slavery, and the 14th Amendment granted citizenship to all persons born in the U.S. Afrikan scholars notes that U.S. citizenship was imposed, that the formerly enslaved Afrikans were never asked what they wanted. Given the choice today, and the resources to make your choice a reality, what would you prefer?

(Please scan code to answer brief anonymous survey)



Survey No. 1

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE STRUGGLE TO FREE THE LAND

Comrades,

What follows are sets of notes that i'm gonna title here "Democratic Rights and the Struggle to Free the Land." The first was written in the spring of '94; the second set in mid-june of '94; the third set in April of '95. As with everything of this nature, yall should put these notes to use -- for a study, in writing in your own pieces, excerpt & use in CR [Crossroad], etc.

1) Most conscious New Afrikans, use the slogan "Free the Land, but i believe that we do these days in a commonplace manner -- as a greeting and a salutation, and that the slogan has lost its meaning and impact as a slogan having strategic import, capturing the essence of the nationalist content of the struggle for New Afrikan independence and socialism...

We must take note of the present stage of the struggle -- the national democratic stage -- which require slogans suited for present conditions and needs... slogans which inspire and guide struggles based on the "democratic" content of the struggle for national independence and socialist development... We must join the masses of our people and the struggles that they wage for "democratic rights" or "reform" of the settler-imperialist system...

"Free the Land": Context of _____

--a nationalist upsurge or high tide

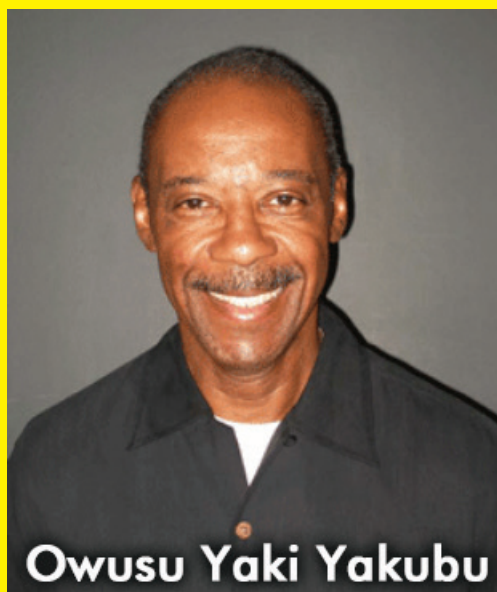
--but, a tide that had arisen on the basis of many struggles for "democratic rights";

--this is now a low tide, requiring more "reformist" struggles upon which to generate consciousness and sharpen contradictions; We need step-by-step agitational campaigns, esp. with a content aiming to undermine the ideological/cultural hegemony of the oppressive system; We have to build organizations from scratch, around issues which won't, in and of themselves, be seen to have an

immediate nationalist/revolutionary aim -- but it's precisely the job of the "cadres" to gradually infuse such struggles with the needed orientation.

What are "democratic rights"? -- It's mainly important that cadre's know what they are, this "language" -- and then be able to "translate," to emphasize the "essence" no matter what specific language and/or terms/phrases are used... Cadres should be able to translate the line & objectives

PART 1 OF 3



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...

of our movement into any other language. "Freedom, Justice, Equality," "Bread, Housing, Jobs," "The Pursuit of Happiness" -- How does the conscious New Afrikan define each of these?! Under what conditions does the cadre believe that these things can become realities for our people?!!

--Too many of us still labor under the belief that We can/should somehow create a movement in isolation from the masses... and then impose that movement upon the masses... To use issues, which may have some objective and strategic relation, but which don't arise from the subjective and immediate reality of the daily lives and struggles of the people -- It is the immediate issues of concern to the masses which should be the basis upon which we build and connect to the more strategic concerns.

The struggle to "Free the Land" is actually too abstract to be used as a slogan to capture immediate attention of people who don't think it's safe to open their doors or let the children play outside of them... Many activists occasionally venture out among the masses only to become confused, defensive, frustrated, & angered upon discovering that the people aren't talking about the things that We talk about among ourselves -- We spent so much time talking to each other and talking to ourselves taking ourselves so seriously that we forget that there's a world outside of our sectarian circles, and that there are relevant issues, needs, interests that are being fought for by the masses -- without our assistance...

The struggle to "Free the Land" can't be waged w/out struggling against capitalism; We can't wage a campaign for reparations without waging a campaign against the culture of consumerism and the bourgeois ideals which underly it... In order to free the land We must first free the minds of the masses -- attack the ideas which keeps them in awe of the "american way" and cause them to acquiesce under the authority of the oppressive state and its guardians...



NEWS & UPDATES

POLITICAL PRISONERS & PRISONERS OF WAR

New Afrikan Political prisoner **Kojo Bomani Sababu (Grailing Brown)** is currently at Butner FMC for his long-delayed hip surgery. After almost a year delay, Kojo was suddenly transferred to Butner, where he is classified as a high-security prisoner. So he is basically in solitary confinement but has a TV in his cell. He is occasionally escorted in full shackles to the area where he can use the computer to send emails via Corrlinks so communication is sporadic. Kojo loves to receive correspondence and keeps up with all the latest news. Please take the time to write to him and let him know he has not been forgotten.

"We must make great strides," says Kojo, "reorganizing ourselves to embrace the difficulties we face. i have no solutions but i will say

this: There are some great political minds contained in America's prisons, which are growing old as their era of life departs, this resource needs to be tapped before it expires. Do not abandon the political prisoners and POWs, they are still insightful with their knowledge and experience."

Write Kojo at:
Grailing Brown #39384-066
FMC Butner
P.O. Box 1600
Butner, NC 27509

[Submitted by Anne Lamb]

Pakastani Political Prisoner Dr. Aafia Siddiqui, a MIT and Brandeis University trained neuroscientist, will mark 22 years of wrongful imprisonment and torture this coming March 2025.



Detroit chapters of MXGM and Jericho Movement welcomed Atty. Noelle Hanrahan, founder of Prison Radio, with comrades at the General Baker Institute for public readings from new book BEANEATH THE MONTAIN: AN ANTI-PRISON READER co-edited by Mumia Abu Jamal and Jennefer Black.

She is affectionately known as the "Daughter of the nation," and Pakistan wants her back.

Aafia came to the U.S. as an 18 year old for higher education. Her dream was to return to Pakistan and help revolutionize its educational system (with special emphasis on the learning disabled). Her dream was stolen in March 2003 after she was mistakenly identified as a female functionary for Al-Qaeda, based on bad "intelligence."

The late [former U.S. Attorney General] Ramsey Clark described

Aafia's plight as "the worse case of individual injustice I have ever witnessed!" As a human rights advocate with years of struggle under my belt, I concur with my elder's description.

A drive is currently underway to petition President Biden to end this injustice before he leaves office in January. Please join the campaign; sign (and share) the petition and help us end Aafia's nightmare.

Sign Aafia's petition here at: tinyurl.com/free-aafia

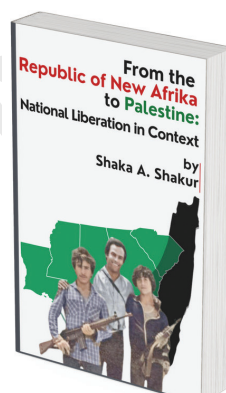
[Submitted by El-Hajj Mauri' Saalakhani]

From the Republic of New Afrika to Palestine

NEW BOOK BY SHAKA SHAKUR

Shaka A. Shakur's latest book From the Republic of New Afrika to Palestine bridges any historical gaps in the struggle of New Afrikans and builds that bridge beyond the prison house of nations called the united states. Along with a preface by Haki Kweli Shakur and an introductory chapter on the foundations of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the book's primary three essays can serve to fortify our struggles and increase our numbers, providing the theoretical clarity for sharpening the unexpected decisions we make in the struggles of our day.

<https://shakashakur.square.site/>



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VISIONING LIBERATION

"i believe in the community as more important than the individual."

"i believe in the family and the Community, and in the Community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live."

"i believe in collective struggle; in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters."

~New Afrikan Creed

CHANGE ISN'T ALWAYS EASY. In some ways, it is a move into the unknown, the unpredictable. We become comfortable with the status quo, even as We complain about how our needs aren't being met, or how hard life is for us. It is the devil We know. We know he kills, but We kinda think that We will somehow, individually, slide by unscathed. If We manage to escape the police bullet, or to even keep some semblance of a decent job, that utility bill, and grocery bill – which keeps going up – is guaranteed to terrorize us on schedule.

Despite all that We know from our experience on this earth, We ignore the heaviness of it for the sake of trying not to be driven stone crazy by it. Oppression is oppressive. And it aint going anywhere, until We slay the beast once and for all. That is what liberation is supposed to be about: *freedom from* and the *freedom to*. Yet, the best We can seem to do is act like it doesn't exist and hope it doesn't cause any major complications in the days ahead.

We avoid change because it seems impossible. Daunting. We can't even

get along. Can't trust one another. We're afraid of being betrayed once again by someone (or someones) We wanted to believe in. Folks can't even be on time, or do what they say they gon' do, how are We supposed to believe in change?

The pain We feel is *real*. It isn't abstract, it exists. It is a living thing, and was borne somewhere. It was here when We arrived, so it seems organic to our existence in this lifetime. But it wasn't always this way, this bad.

Humanity became cruel, and is getting worse. Humanity lost its humanity, forgot the social basis for its existence. **Ubuntu**. *i am because We are and because We are therefore i am*. Some simply say, *i am We*. Rather than cooperate, We compete. The greater good is sacrificed for greed and personal gratification. *Me, myself and I*. Toxicity at its ugliest.

Rather than share, We hoard. And flex on those who don't got. Those who has historically had the least flex the hardest. Consumption becomes a central part of our identities. Relationships are commodified. No romance without finance.

How does one even begin to create change in the face of this madness? How is it even imaginable that We could do anything that would leave a noticeable impression on the future? Where do We even start? And what exactly is it supposed to look like? How will i notice it when it appears?

All real change starts with self. It

THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW HINGES ON OUR TRANSFORMATION AND COOPERATION TODAY

BY KWASI AKWAMU

doesn't end there, but it absolutely starts there. It is complemented with vision.

Liberation for New Afrikan people is ultimately about restoring our humanity. It is about putting the pieces back together that were deliberately broken so that We might be more easily taken advantage

togetherness.

When Fanon says "*it is the liberated individual who undertakes to build the new society*," he means you must be the change that is to come, *now*. A living example of the kind of people that will populate the new society upon liberation. This requires transformation of the self. That is

ONLY YOU CAN CHANGE YOU, BUT THE PROCESS IS BEST AND MOST EFFECTIVELY ACHIEVED COMMUNALLY, WITH OTHERS.

of. Our humanity and perception of reality was *and is* disfigured to facilitate our exploitation.

That is how capitalism took root, that system that is adamant about ownership and private property, and being an individual separate from society. It started with owning us, Afrikan captives. Then they said We were less than beasts of burden. We were said to be good for nothing, but charged with doing everything. Self-doubt – acting like We don't know We did all that made this land prosper, and doubting that *We could do it again for ourselves* – dogs our trail.

Restoring our humanity is remembering *ubuntu*, the social basis of our existence. Knowing that if We are not our brothers and sisters keepers, then We are not yet ready to be free. Indeed, liberation is a collective enterprise that only start with us as individuals but ends in

the first and most important change. It sounds challenging in the face of everything swirling around us. But it isn't an endeavor to be undertaken alone. Only *you* can change *you*, but the process is best and most effectively achieved communally, with others.

Like starting a new diet or exercise routine, it is easier to do so with companions. No one can determine the food you eat but you; no one besides you can run the laps you need to run to lose those unwanted pounds. But someone who shares the vision can help keep us on course. We, in fact, help each other. And the more others, the more change.

Change is hard mostly because it seems you are swimming against the current. And, for the most part, that would be true. But if you are modeling a better tomorrow, unlearning false narratives, discovering your

Continued on page 16

A VISION, continued from page 13

interview was to be held could be seen ahead. Children played in the parking lot and mothers sat along the building talking With one another. Toedoe eased the car alongside an old beat-up Ford. The three of them climbed out of the car and walked down a flight of stairs to the boiler room. Toedoe knocked twice and when the door opened they stepped inside and adjusted their eyes to the dim light in the small musty room. Kimbue, who was the highest ranking member of the six comrades present, walked over to Sonovia and said: "Good morning. Commander, did you sleep well?"

"i did, thank you, Kimbue." Sonovia looked at the person seated behind the desk and asked: "Is that the reporter?"

Kimbue nodded and said. "Yes, Commander."

As Sonovia approached the desk, she sensed the young reporter was nervous as she started to stand and greet her. Sonovia reached out and touched her lightly on the shoulder and said, "Please be seated. Ms. Guadalupe. And relax. You're among friends."

The atmosphere in the room was suddenly less tense. "Ms. Guadalupe," Sonovia said. "We've followed your stories on us over the years and felt they were both honest and objective. That's why We choose to have this interview with you. My name is Sonovia Oden-Muhammad and i'm Commander of the New African Revolutionary Army, which is dedicated to an independent socialist Republic of New Africa. For the last 20 years NARA has waged war against u.s. imperialism. As of March 2, year 2003, that war was formally terminated with an announcement

of public recognition by President Webster to recognize the RNA as an independent sovereign nation no longer under the jurisdiction of the u.s. government." She then looked at her watch and said: "For the next 20 minutes i'll answer as many of your questions as possible." The reporter nodded and produced a tape recorder from her purse. She turned it on and placed it In front of the Commander and began the interview.

"Commander, is it true that NARA has used and continues to use torture to further its aims?"

"Yes, this is quite true. We have done this. We torture lack of imagination without pity and we shoot down boredom without a trace of pity. We do this proudly and forthrightly."

The young reporter opened her mouth to protest this diversion, but then smiled and decided to move on to the next question.

"Commander, would you please tell me a little about Malik Shabazz, the person you were once rumored to have replaced as Minister of Defense?"

"Comrade Malik is a good revolutionary. i think his sensitivity makes him that. He has a singular capacity for amazement. Everything surprises him: the air, a dark sky, a bright face, the tracks of ants, the inevitable rising of the sun, the sounds of the sea. As Minister of Defense, comrade Malik's problem was that his background as a lawyer tended to hamper his initiative to push the struggle forward. In other words, he became too legalistic. One of the oddities of law compared to other areas of social science is that law has to be applied within the system. We have comrades who study economics, history, political science, sociology, but we take what we learn from these disciplines and use it to build a political movement

which exists outside the system. It's very difficult, if not impossible, to do the same with law. Comrade Malik is of course still with us and continues to play an important role in the struggle, but in another capacity."

"Commander, is it true that you were the leader of a faction within NARA that bitterly opposed Malik Shabazz's position on electoral politics?"

"Well, i wouldn't characterize my difference with my comrade as you did; but yes, i did take exception with his view that electoral politics could be used to push the struggle forward. My view, along with other comrades, was that to participate in elections was a violation of principle and not a tactical question as comrade Malik saw it. You see, our view was that under colonialism elections are used to divide our people and our leaders into opposing camps fighting for the right to control the colonial budget to administer our own domination. This divide and conquer tactic implemented by means of electoral politics gave u.s. imperialism absolute control over the political life of the New Afrikan nation. We felt that one of the conditions of independence was that We must place ourselves on the most favorable terrain where We, and not the imperialists, determine the rules of the game. We saw it as necessary to take the struggle for an independent RNA out of the enemy's electoral territory and into the streets, our territory, where we choose the forum in which to struggle, the how, when and where of the battle."

Sonovia paused, looked at her watch and said, "i have time for two more questions."

"You once took a position against seeking international support for the RNA. How do you reconcile this with your statement yesterday praising the international community for its

support of the RNA?"

"Let me put that in context. When i became a member of NARO, a lot of time and resources went into trips abroad to develop support for our struggle as an oppressed nation. Gradually i began to disagree with this since we weren't gaining support and the resources used for these trips drained us to the extent where we couldn't put out a paper consistently. Given the vengeful nature of imperialism, i also felt that as revolutionaries we had no right to ask fraternal progressive nations to support a movement which at that time was not capable of supporting itself. My view was that our priorities should be toward developing a revolutionary mass movement which could project itself based on its strength -- and then even imperialist nations in Western Europe could not deny our existence. This way, when comrades went abroad to develop international support they wouldn't be reduced to an intellectual discourse. Instead, their presence would reflect a concrete movement which had a voice people could hear."

"Last question, Commander. How do you envision a socialist RNA dealing with vices like drugs, crime, prostitution, etcetera?"

"People cannot behave according to truly human standards until they live under truly human conditions. The aim of socialism is to put the rule of reasoning back into all human activity. The supreme aim of socialism is humanistic in the highest and deepest sense. It is nothing less than the remaking of human beings in a thoroughly conscious and scientific manner. The prehistory of humanity will end and its development on a truly human basis will begin when wealth of all kinds flows as freely as water and is as abundant as air, and compulsory labor is supplanted by

free time. Then free time enjoyed by all will be the measure of wealth, the guarantee of equality and harmony, the source of unrestricted progress and the annihilator of alienation. This is the goal of a socialist RNA, the promise of communism."

Sonovia stood and thanked the reporter for meeting with her, and asked that she wait five minutes after they left before leaving herself.

As the comrades began to walk toward the door, the reporter said, "Commander, the Mexican people inside Mexico and in the Southwest are happy over your victory. Imperialism has not erased our historical memory that the Southwest once belonged to us. But for Mexicans like myself who are colonized in the Southwest, we felt that this theft of our land was permanent. Your struggle has helped us see how a people determined to be free can create possibilities."

Sonovia smiled and said, "Thank you. It warms our heart to hear this."

As they emerged from the basement Sonovia bade Kimbue and the other two comrades farewell. She drove off in the Mercedes with Toedoe and Kiswana, and they began to discuss the latest reports from the national territory.

Commander," Kiswana said, "It appears that comrade Cynthia miscalculated the numbers of New Afrikans who would migrate at once to the national territory. She didn't mean ..."

Sonovia interrupted. "You never apologize for a comrade, you criticize them. Now give me some details. How far were our calculations off?"

"Yes, Commander. I have some figures here. The co-ops which have been built throughout the five states can house up to 3.8 million people. However, the number of New Afrikans migrating to the Republic of New Afrika is three times that. Also,

our medical provisions and food supplies have been devastated. Uh ... and Commander ... there are other problems that have been turning up."

"Go on, speak! What are they?" Toedoe barked.

"Well, a lot of New Afrikans in their seventies have been turning up throughout the five states with their grandchildren, producing deeds to land given to them by their parents. The problem is that these New Afrikans are driving whites off the land at gun point, insisting on the land back. In certain areas where the army is stronger, these incidents occur more frequently." Kiswana reached for the car phone and said, "Commander, I can get more information if you like."

"No, that's okay," Sonovia said. "Let's head for the national territory." She looked at her watch. "It's two o'clock now; with luck we can make Mississippi by dark."

Sonovia could tell from the flurry of activity ahead that they were approaching the border of the Republic of New Afrika. Soldiers with K-9 dogs patrolled the border while helicopters hovered on the lookout for KKK infiltration. As the Mercedes came to a halt, a New Afrikan woman dressed in fatigues with an M-16 emerged from a booth to approach the car. One of the strengths of NARA was that it had attracted so many New Afrikan women. Over 47 percent of the guerrillas who made up NARA were women. Sonovia watched the young soldier approach the car and guessed she couldn't have been much more than sixteen.

"May I see ..." was all she said before she recognized the commander and snapped to attention. "I'm sorry, Commander. I didn't know it was you."

"That's okay," Sonovia said.

The Mercedes moved slowly toward the soldier at the other end of the border crossing motioning them forward. Directly above the soldier's head was a sign which read

YOU ARE NOW ENTERING
THE REPUBLIC OF NEW
AFRIKA - WELCOME

Sonovia and her comrades breathed easier as they crossed the border, happy to be back in the national territory. The Mercedes slowed as it exited the highway to one of the major cities affectionately named Kush by New Afrikans. The city was crowded with late evening shoppers and a heavy concentration of military personnel could be seen among these pedestrians. But unlike under colonialism, New Afrikans who now wore uniforms were viewed as patriots and freedom fighters for the RNA.

As the Mercedes turned the corner to climb the hill to the capitol, Kiswana slowed down and watched in amazement the long line of New Afrikans who stood at attention saluting the car as it passed by. In a choked, cracked voice, Kiswana said, "Commander, they're standing at attention for you."

Sonovia looked into the faces of New Afrikans who ranged from age ten to eighty. Women stood at attention with babies in their arms while New Afrikans who were maimed by the war stood in salute on crutches.

The Mercedes pulled into the parking lot and the three of them emerged to walk toward the front entrance of the capitol. Just as Sonovia was about to climb the steps she noticed from the periphery of her vision a little girl who couldn't have been more than six, dressed in a pair of fatigues and tennis shoes. She

wore tinted glasses and her hair was in dreadlocks. Like everyone else, she stood at attention with her right hand to her forehead in a salute. Sonovia approached the little girl, stopped and asked, "What's your name?"

"Sonovia," the little girl replied. But the little boy next to her said, "Stop lying, Genny, your name ain't no Sonovia."

"It is too," she pouted. "Mind your business."

Sonovia smiled and kissed them both on the cheek. Just as she rose to leave, the little girl said, "Commander, do I look like you?"

Sonovia looked at the little girl who stared up at her expectantly, and said: "You sure do!" She watched the child's face melt into a smile, then turned to climb the steps to the capitol.

Many difficulties lay ahead for the Republic of New Afrika. Much of its economy had been destroyed by more than twenty years of war. Forecasts of doom for the future of the RNA could be heard from much of the imperialist world. But for the first time in over three hundred years, New Afrikans had the ability to shape their destiny in their own image, and they danced to the occasion with prayers to God to protect the little nation and its people in the South.

Re-printed from Hauling Up the Morning: Writings and Art by Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in America edited by Tim Blunk and Ray Luc Lavasseur. Red Sea Press, 1990

Do you write fiction? Re-Build! welcomes short stories or poetry that advance the vision and our movement towards land, independence and socialism for New Afrikans. Email submissions to info@rebuildcollective.org



VISIONING LIBERATION, continued from page 13

wildest potential, and working with others then liberation is just over the horizon. This is why *vision* is so important. We must envision – and *be* – the change that We wish to see. Because ultimately without change in ourselves, there can be no true change in the world around us.

When We rediscover our humanity, We find it easier to share, to work with and on behalf of others. We find value in the old value systems that carried us over during difficult times. Like the mutual aid societies after the end of colonial bondage (enslavement). Or the rent parties of previous generations. We used to show up and show out for one another. We cared for each other, and knew that without one another We would not have made it as far as

We have. This is what it means to go back and fetch it (sankofa).

We were our best selves when We functioned as a *Community*. Transformation requires unlearning many of the harmful ways that We currently relate to one other. We must cast away our aspirations and expectations of yesterday if they don't fit squarely with the vision of tomorrow. Re-learning how to work together is liberation work. Yet all of the value systems We say We cherish point to cooperation, reciprocity, sharing. None advise us to endlessly accumulate that which nature has allotted for all of us.

We complain that life is hard, and *it is*; more so when We carry the load alone. Therefore, We should remember the old adage that many hands make work light, because We have yet a lot of work ahead of us.

Free the Land! Victory Is Ours!



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POLITICS IS WAR

BY COMRAD OTTO
RE-BUILD COLLECTIVE

As i write this, the new overlord of the Amerikan necropolis has just been chosen. The Cheeto-in-chief (Trump) won over the Democratic Party nominee Kamala Harris.

For years, many of us have been putting our hopes in the salvation of this or that party, hoping that one day they will recognize Our cries and “give us a seat at the table”. But what if their table is about, say, how to carve up Afrika or the New Afrikan territory along lines that advance settler interests? What if it’s about how to handle the “Palestine Question” in favor of the Israelis? What if it’s about how to maintain control over the Puerto Ricans, the Indigenous, and the Afro-Caribbeans? Are these really the tables you want to be sitting at? Is the end of so-called of “Black Liberation” really nothing more than “American Dream” in blackface?

We need to accept a simple proposition: politics is war by other means. The problem that New Afrikans face is not one of representation, not one of empty concepts such “economic justice”, nor is it even merely an issue of “racism”. No, the problem is one of war: a war on even *the idea* of New Afrikan self-determination.

i mention the idea of politics as war because it is important that We grapple with what it entails. In war, the aim is the clear and decisive victory of one’s forces and the decisive defeat of one’s enemy. The battles are often bloody and destructive. The objective is a total transformation of power relations in the area in which the battles took place.

Politics should not be seen as only the pomp and circumstance that surrounds an election campaign. The election campaign is the political equivalent of a conventional war; open enemies facing each other

PAY ATTENTION TO ALL THE DIFFERENT CORPORATE POLLERS, OTHER INSTITUTIONS THAT STATE THAT THEIR MISSION IS "GETTING COMMUNITY FEEDBACK" THIS IS MERELY ANOTHER WAY OF SAYING "GATHERING INTELLIGENCE".

on the battlefield. However, every conventional war is accompanied by a war of the shadows; a silent war. In politics, this silent war; takes place in the back rooms or offices of a state legislator, in the conference rooms and offices of industry lobbyists, think tanks and policy advisors.

This war-politic is a war over the common worldview of the population. To maintain the security of settler interest, they have to know and create what you believe. Pay attention to all the different corporate pollers, other institutions that state that their mission is “getting community feedback” This is merely another way of saying “gathering intelligence”. Everyday, the Amerikan machine is at work producing different flavors of the spectacle—praying and hoping that We will accept it without questions.

Check out the book *The Counterrevolution* by Bernard E. Harcourt. In the book, he points out that the United States is guided by counterinsurgency theory. The main idea is that society is split between an active minority of insurgents, a minority opposed to them, and a passive majority.

He says, *“The principal objective of counterinsurgency is to gain the allegiance of that passive majority. And [THE] defining feature is that counterinsurgency is not just a military strategy, but more importantly, a political technique.”* They already treating it like a war, so We need to get with the program.

As We speak, the enemy mobilizes

to institute their 1776 education plan which professes to offer “patriotic education” and teach “respect for Western Civilization”. In other words, they are going to wipe Our struggle from their history books. The various attacks on New Afrikan men, women, LGBTQ+, and children through “Black as beast” messaging is a tactic of psychological warfare.

This is a struggle over the means to structure and produce the world. This war is a war for your whole self; to settlers, your mind and body is nothing more than a commodity, tool, or asset to be traded off in the next bid for an election, policy, trade deal, or whatever the fuck.

During the socialization process, there are great pains taken to ensure that one knows the accepted common-sense (ideology) of society. They are equipped with the 'practical' expectations necessary to maintain the social order. Amerika, as a system, must reproduce itself. The school then, is just as much an instrument of domination as is the family or general kinship-group. It is a site of struggle whose complexity requires that We analyze it—drawing out the tendencies of its structures and lastly,

clarifying why it's important to seize it for ourselves.

The function of the school is to ensure the inoculation of tastes “proper” to a citizen. Take, say, learning the national language. We are taught phonics, grammar, syntax, semantics, etc., all for the sake of understanding the “right” way to use, abuse, and innovate upon our mother tongue. Looking at this process relationally, through the lens of New Afrikan politics, it means that: because of the power that the settler class currently holds, they are the ones who posses the ability to determine what acts are sanctioned vs not, not only in regards to language, but also in regard to educational prospects. Take the STEM field as an example: While it's true that it's important to have knowledge of STEM fields to develop communities (technicians are essential), the simultaneous lack of New Afrikans in those fields and emphasis on reducing the amount of social scientific and humanities classes in the standard track betrays a commitment to maintaining the colonial status of the nation.

Carter G. Woodson said it best: *“When you control a man’s thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his ‘proper place’ and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary.”*

How ought We respond? As Malik Yakini said, *“BLACK [NEW AFRIKAN] IDEAS MATTER!”* Study, internalize, and struggle in the war for the minds of our people. In essence, We must struggle for identity, and therefrom, Our destiny. Americanism, Multiculturalism,

Continued on page 18

POLITICS IS WAR, **Cont'd from page 17**

Afrocentrism, and even Pan-Afrikanism do not and cannot possess the necessary and sufficient qualities for a revolutionary victory against u.s. oppression. It calls for seeing, as i said earlier, that it is the social structure that keeps us chained. *The settler-colonial, capitalist, anti-Afrikan foundation must be torn up.*

The only way We're destroying this necrotic garbage is through revolutionary organizations and

strategy. Revolutions are not easy; change takes time; in fact, change is at times one of the hardest things to do. The independence of Ghana from the British took 83 years; Guinea's independence took 67 years; the simultaneous independence movements of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola didn't reach fruition (1974) until after years of a three-pronged war with Portugal. What i'm saying here is that the struggle for the liberation of Afrikan people has taken time, sacrifice, and a lot of patience. Don't stop at formal

independence (just a name) since it breeds neo-colonialism. Only under a socialist political-economic structure are We getting the lives that We aspire for.

i could go on and on, but the overall point is to join an organization that explicitly tackles the question of class and national independence. Only under a socialist political-economic structure are We getting the lives that We aspire for.

Accept the call of the Declaration of Independence! Tell Our Oppressors, "*We, the Black People in America, ...*

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." Plan, strategize, organize, and prepare to defend yourself.

Going into 2025, the call cannot be to "Vote Blue No Matter Who!" The call must be Dare To Struggle! Re-Build to Win! Victory by Any Means Necessary!

INDICTMENT SWEEP, **Cont'd from page 3**

been under municipal control (like airports, school districts, utilities..) and then attributes the decline in quality of life in our communities to "poor leadership" or "corruption."

The real motive behind this legal campaign is to reinforce the racist notion that "Black people" are fundamentally incapable of managing anything of consequence. They mean to convince us that the political empowerment of our people will only mean more corruption, poverty and crime. The aim is to not only prevent us from developing the self confidence required to pursue the struggle for LAND and INDEPENDENCE, but to encourage us to be so defeatist in our thinking that We retreat from any notion of "Black" political power and invite our oppressors back in to "straighten things out."

The precedent set in Detroit, led by the local media, was so effective that in a subsequent election, the overwhelmingly majority New Afrikan city would soon reject every

New Afrikan mayoral candidate and vote in a Euro-American settler as mayor.

The result has been a boon to corporate billionaires who have re-shaped the city in their own image while Detroit's New Afrikan community watched from the sidelines or lined up for the low wage service jobs that accompany gentrification.

We do not wish to convey the idea that We must defend corrupt and ineffective political leaders who betray the trust of the New Afrikan people just because they are under attack from the empire. Some of those indicted may indeed be traitors to our people and should not occupy the positions that they currently do. However, We must never allow the empire to decide for us who OUR political leaders should be. We must never believe that someone is indeed corrupt simply because the FBI says so.

The FBI is not our friend. The FBI is not doing us any favors. The primary interest of the FBI is not tackling crime or corruption, but upholding and defending the enemy state. The FBI whose

"investigations" and set-ups are leading to these prosecutions is the very same FBI that is responsible for the liquidation and disintegration of every mass movement seeking to bring about genuine change in the interests of New Afrikan people.

This state was conceived in and is maintained through corruption. The FBI itself has a history of colluding with criminals and criminal organizations to infiltrate our organizations, to keep communists out of the union movement, to provide information that facilitates character assassination campaigns against movement leaders, and to instigate conflicts that lead to the murder of movement activists.

Point #7 of the Re-Build Collective Points of Unity states that "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!"

The u.s. government is a criminal entity and has no right to speak to us about crime or corruption, or to determine for us who is and who is

not a criminal.

As We prepare to enter a new calendar year, let's try to RESOLVE this contradiction within ourselves. We owe ourselves more than We give to ourselves. Let's trust each other more, and be more trustworthy to one another. Let's realize, despite our openness and commitment to solidarity, that at the end of the day, "We are all We got."

Nobody can save us but us. Nobody can want more for us than We want for ourselves. And in the words of Jalil Muntaqim "WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS."

FREE THE LAND
RE-BUILD TO WIN

**Check out our
YouTube
Channel** 



DOBBS DECISION, **Cont'd from page 3**

more likely than white women to die from pregnancy-related causes, even before Dobbs. The increase in state-level abortion bans is expected to worsen these disparities, as healthcare providers often delay necessary care due to fear of legal repercussions.

This climate particularly endangers those in marginalized communities, especially Black women, who already face barriers such as systemic racism and socioeconomic inequities in accessing medical care. Many states that implemented or expanded abortion restrictions post-Dobbs are in the South, where a large proportion of the Black population resides. For Black women in these regions accessing

abortion services may require traveling long distances, incurring transportation and lodging costs many cannot afford. Legal risks and stigma in restrictive states may discourage seeking necessary care.

Amber Thurman, for example, was one of the first reported cases of a preventable death linked to post-Dobbs abortion bans. Amber Thurman (Georgia), a young mother, died of sepsis after doctors delayed performing a necessary dilation and curettage (D&C) procedure following a miscarriage. The delay was attributed to concerns about the legality of the procedure under Georgia's abortion restrictions.

Porsha Ngumezi (Texas): Porsha bled to death after doctors hesitated to perform a D&C to manage a miscarriage. Medical experts reviewed her case and concluded

that timely intervention could have saved her life. The delay stemmed from fear of legal repercussions under Texas's abortion laws.

Nevaeh Crain (Texas): This 18-year-old died after making multiple visits to emergency rooms where care was delayed while doctors confirmed "fetal demise." She is among several Texas women who have died due to hesitation in providing care amid restrictive abortion policies.

These stories underscore the consequences of restrictive abortion laws that delay or deny critical medical interventions. Black women, disproportionately affected by systemic inequities in healthcare access, are particularly vulnerable under these new legal and medical landscapes.

The full scope of cases involving

Black women who have died from preventable complications linked to post-Dobbs abortion bans is not yet fully documented or consistently reported. Comprehensive tracking of such cases is complicated by disparities in reporting, stigma, and systemic barriers faced by affected communities.

Reports from advocacy groups and public health studies are critical to identifying additional cases. Further, data collection and analysis are needed to understand the broader impact on Black women's health post-Dobbs. This may become ever more difficult and needed if the Trump administration gets its way and ends data collection by race. Black women's lives are then placed at even greater peril, by Dobbs abortion bans and otherwise.

WHAT ARE YOU COMMITTED TO?

To be committed to something you usually think about it alot. Whether it is commitment to one's faith, to one's spouse, or to one's dreams and ambitions. True commitment keeps it planted in your thoughts.

Muslims pray five times a day to stay God-conscious; it is meant to help keep them from straying away from their commitment to God. It keeps God as a foremost thought which helps guide other thoughts and practices throughout their day.

Many New Afrikans say they are committed to the vision of national independence, to self-determination. But i ask how much does this occupy your thoughts? Are you only thinking about it when

with like minds? Do you think about it when you go shopping?

How much do you think about the pursuit and practice of self-determination while conducting your professional or employment endeavors, or when indulging in recreational activities?

Does thinking about it encourage deeper study to know more so that you might contribute more towards the achievement of victory? Are your personal hobbies a reflection of, or aligned with your commitment to liberation?

Or is liberation just a fleeting thought that comes when faced with societal challenges? Or when your

employer is mistreating you? When mass protests against injustice and such get you riled up?

One of my Comrads constantly asks us have we said or read our "prayers." In this instance, refers to the New Afrikan Creed, which he recites and encourages others to recite daily to stay aligned to the goal of liberation.

i ponder liberation with practically every decision i make, weighing whether or not my choices are in support or against my professed commitment to national independence and all that that implies.

i understand that this may seem a bit extreme to some. Overwhelming even. But that is only because you aren't committed to liberation. But, trust me, it isn't difficult or burdensome when one is committed. It is when you aren't committed that a thing becomes a

chore.

Thinking about or working towards liberation doesn't take away from anything else. It doesn't prevent the carpenter from making a clean cut, rather liberation impresses upon him or her to be the best carpenter possible because a liberated Republik of New Afrika will require it. And a carpenter truly committed to liberation will bring their best self to their trade.

And likewise in all our endeavors and pursuits, whether professional, personal, recreational... all trace back to a dominant guiding superstructure of thought.

What do you spend the most of your time thinking about? Or, more importantly, how much does liberation play in your daily decision making and choice of pursuits?

RtW!

~Ndugu Kwasi

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.