

Re-Build!



A NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT Periodical



**58 Years After Malcolm,
The Struggle Continues!**



New Afrikan Revolution & Malcolm X, pg. 3
Yaki on Deconstructing Race, pg. 5
United Nations Delegation Visits U.S., pg. 7
New Afrikan Refugees- Truth About Migrations, pg. 9
Book Review: King David & Boss Daley, pg. 14
Documentary Review - Afeni & Tupac, pg. 15



The New Afrikan Creed

1. i believe in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black People, and in Our new pursuit of these values.
2. i believe in the family and the community, and in the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live.
3. i believe in the community as more important than the individual.
4. 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.
5. i believe that the fundamental reason Our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control Our lives.
6. i believe that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign Black Nation.
7. 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.
8. 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.

9. 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.
 10. 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.
 11. i will follow my chosen leaders and help them.
 12. i will love my brothers and sisters as myself.
 13. 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.
 14. 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.
 15. 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.

Re-Build Collective Points of Unity

1. We, the descendants of enslaved Afrikans under american rule, upon the mainland and in the Caribbean, 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 the 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.

*“deaf, dumb and blind” has been replaced by “my brothers and sisters” in point 15 and removed from the last paragraph. This reflects proposed amendments to the Creed made by members of the Rebuild Collective. These proposed amendments have also been forwarded to, but not voted on by the PCC-PGRNA.

The New Afrikan Revolution and Malcolm X

By Chokwe Lumumba

The following is an excerpt from an article written by the late Honorable Chokwe Lumumba and published in the June/July 1992 issue of By Any Means Necessary, published by the New Afrikan People's Organization.

THE REVOLUTION, THE NEW AFRIKAN REVOLUTION, is building, despite, and to some extent as a response to, the treacherous climate of government political repression, drugs, crime, despair, confusion, misleadership, misdirection, and the resurgence of naked white supremacy. Over the past 20 years the New Afrikan revolution has surfaced and has sprouted from the grassroots.

It has found fertile ground amongst the impoverished New Afrikan people bedeviled by AIDS, unaffordable healthcare, environmental racism, wholesale imprisonment, mentacide, insecurity, police terror and other conditions of life calculated to bring about the New Afrikan Nation's demise; in whole or in part.

The revolution is taking root among embattled Black workers beset by discrimination, under and unemployment, poor working conditions, cutbacks, disappearing employee benefits, so-called right to work laws and other vicious anti-worker programs and initiatives by profit-hungry corporations, state, federal and local governments, and double crossing union officials.

An endangered Black youth population, Afrikan conscious students and Black women constantly confronted it with sexism and racism are also fertile fields for the New Afrikan revolution's growth.

This revolution is one designed to achieve self-respect, self-defense, and self-determination for the New Afrikan Nation by any means necessary.

The New Afrikan revolution arising from the Black grassroots is an absolute enemy of white supremacy and its foremost action program:

united states imperialism. The revolution isn't designed to avoid, to reform or to collaborate with white supremacy and imperialism but to destroy these evils.

Today the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, the New Afrikan People's Organization, the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, the Spear and Shield Collective, the Black Workers for Justice and the Afro-American Liberation League and others are in the national forefront of this rising revolution; as are the defense committees organized to win the freedom of Geronimo Pratt, Mutulu, Shakur, Sundiata Acoli and other political prisoners/prisoners of war.

The father of this revolution is Malcolm X. Before he died, Malcolm joined Queen Mother Moore and others in planting the seeds which have produced today's upcoming New Afrikan revolutionary movement in the u.s. empire.

The first fruits of Malcolm's revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalist teachings arose in the form of the Organization of Afro-American Unity; in the growth of the Revolutionary Action Movement; the nationalist conversion of SNCC (Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and various other civil and human rights groups like the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL)



in Detroit; in the formation of the Black Panther party of the 1960s and the House of Umoja. It also arose in the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and in the development of the Black Liberation Army.

Government repression and political misdirection succeeded in destroying/crippling the first fruits of the labors of Malcolm, Queen Mother Moore and the others who tilled the Black soil in the 1960s. However, the revolutionary principles calculated by these political mothers

Continued on page 4

MALCOLM X, *continued from page 3*

and fathers remain intact and were well ingrained in the New Afrikan Independence Movement, which survived and matured throughout the 60s, 70s, 80s, and into the 90s despite many problems and setbacks.

The most important revolutionary principle and objective that the New Afrikan Independence Movement has preserved and maintained from the 1960s Black Liberation Movement is the principle of self-determination and the goal of establishing an independent New Afrikan Nation here in amerika. The New Afrikan Independence Movement upholds this principle and pursues this goal by waging struggle to liberate New Afrikan/Black-belt territory in the Southeast (Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi), and to establish an independent Black nation-state in that area. Malcolm spoke generally of this objective as follows: “just as it is nationalism to bring the independence of our brothers and sisters in Afrika and Asia, the goal or objective of the political, social and economic philosophy of Black nationalism is designed to bring about the complete independence of Black people in this country... If We control our own community now, then perhaps We will later be able to control our own country, our own nation and govern ourselves; and in some way have control over our own destiny. This philosophy will eventually lead to the complete physical independence of Black people in this country.”

Malcolm specifically spoke to the question of struggling for independent Black states years before the modern-day New Afrikan Independence Movement was launched.

In the mid-1960s, Malcolm said, “a true Negro revolt might entail, for instance, fighting for separate Black states within this country; which several groups have advocated long before Elijah Muhammad.” 2

There is today, popular recognition of the heroic accomplishments of Malcolm, the father of the New Afrikan revolution.

While the growth of the revolution has been steady, but relatively slow, the popular recognition

of Malcolm as a Black hero has grown at warp speed. Malcolm is on T-shirts, buttons, posters, hats, TV programs, in songs, magazine articles, books, and school textbooks, where he never was discussed before. Soon, Malcolm will be the subject of a Warner Bros. picture directed by Spike Lee.

Malcolm warned that many will try to mischaracterize him and his work after he died. He was right. As expected, the new popular “Malcolm movement” has been joined by opportunists of various sorts, ignorant “experts” on Malcolm and imperialist agents intent on the derailing the new movement, diffusing it, or misdirecting it toward total incompatibility with Malcolm’s expressed principles and beliefs.

So We now hear and see commentators and authors proclaim that Malcolm was “a great amerikan.” Our brother Spike Lee actually appeared on the TV program Saturday Night Live, clad in a garment with a red, white and blue star-spangled X on it.

Meanwhile, Playthell Benjamin, writing for Emerge magazine, calls the movie Spike Lee directing a “quintessentially American story.”

Considering who Malcolm was and what he represented, brother Benjamin’s comment on the film leaves us with one of two possible disappointing conclusions: either brother Lee’s film is not about Malcolm, or Benjamin’s critique doesn’t accurately address the film.

Malcolm was quite clear on the question of whether or not he was an amerikan, and indeed he was clear with regard to whether any of us New Afrikans are amerikans. Malcolm noted that because a kitten is born in an oven doesn’t make it a biscuit. Malcolm further said: “No, I’m not an American. I’m one of the 22 million Black people who are victims of americanism... I’m speaking to you as a victim of this american system... I don’t see any american dream, I see an american nightmare.”

When Malcolm called us Afrikan-Americans, or Afro-americans, he, unlike many who use the term today, was not suggesting We were citizens of the united states, or part of the amerikan political, economic and social systems. He was merely saying that We are Afrikans and he was

describing where We are physically located. He explains as follows: “... In this country, you and I, 22 million Afrikan-americans– that’s what We are – Afrikans who are in amerika. You’re nothing but Afrikans – nothing but Afrikans!”

Today, We use the term New Afrikan to identify ourselves as Afrikans in amerika. We realize that We are Afrikans who are part of the New Afrikan Nation which has evolved in amerika, as New Afrikan nations like Azania, Namibia and others have evolved on the Afrikan continent and as New Afrikan nations like Jamaica, the Bahamas, Guyana, Haiti and others have evolved in the Caribbean. In using this term, which was unavailable to Malcolm when he lived, We affirm our Afrikan identity, and like Malcolm, reject the amerikan brand that our oppressors once placed on our bodies and now leave on our minds. This mind brand is a colonial mentality which has us identifying with our oppressors.

When authors, filmmakers and commentators tell us that Malcolm was a great “American” they are perpetuating the colonial mentality. They’re playing a confidence game; attempting to misuse the name of the most outspoken proponent of an independent Afrikan and New Afrikan identity to obscure that identity and promote a false and foolish sense of “amerikan” identity and patriotism among our people. Since history and current events demonstrate that the amerikan system has always victimized us, the objective of this con game is ultimately to convince us to victimize ourselves.

We must be forever careful not to reach conclusions about Malcolm’s views by merely listening to what others say about Malcolm. We should listen to what Malcolm said in his own words.

**Self-Determination
is our pre-occupation.**

**The Struggle is for
LAND**

**INDEPENDENCE
SOCIALISM!**

Yaki on Deconstructing 'Race'

A leading theoretician in the realm of New Afrikan Nationalist Thought, Owusu Yaki Yakubu, formerly known as James Sayles, died in 2008 from complications of cancer only a few short years following his release after 33 years as a New Afrikan Prisoner of War. During his captivity he devoted himself to study and organizing around prisoner concerns. He reviewed the Black Liberation Movement and its collapse through the lens of self-criticism, always seeking a deeper understanding of internal weaknesses and potential strengths.

Yaki, sometimes using the non-de-plume Atiba Shanna, was a prolific writer, always emphasizing the importance of engaging and organizing the people: ordinary working people, students, young brothas on the block, single mothers, any and all who felt the sting of oppression in its various manifestations.

Prior to his release from prison, Yaki devoted himself to reviewing Frantz Fanon's classic text **The Wretched of the Earth**, first published in 1962. **Wretched** was 'furiously' written while Fanon laid upon his hospital deathbed as he battled leukemia. Having been involved in the armed liberation struggle in Algeria against French colonialism, and a keen observer of anti-colonial struggles around the globe, Fanon, a psychiatrist by profession, introduced an entirely new (if controversial) understanding to revolutionary struggle. **Wretched** became a major influence on revolutionary struggles on every continent, yet seemed to be a difficult read for many in the New Afrikan struggle.

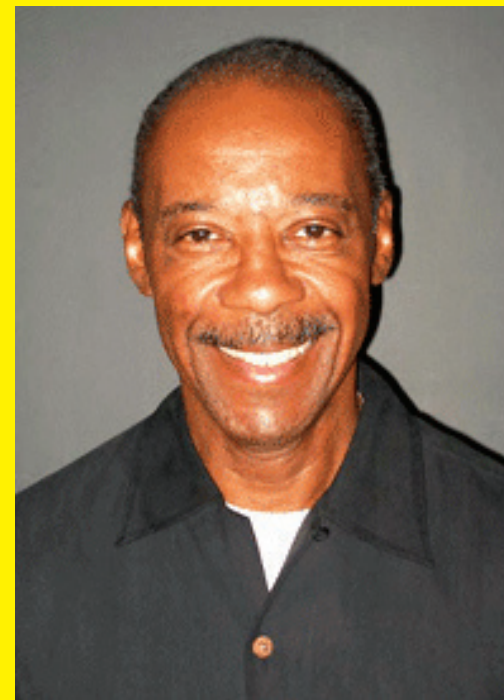
As Yaki fought cancer, he attempted a paragraph by paragraph breakdown and interpretation of **Wretched** to aid a new generation in rediscovering and understanding that important work. He did not complete it, however he managed to leave a major contribution towards dissecting Fanon's master work of anti-colonial revolutionary struggle. What follows is an excerpt from Yaki's **MEDITATIONS ON FRANTZ FANON'S WRETCHED OF THE EARTH**, published in 2010, addressing the deconstruction of race.

WE NEED TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO **THE DE-CONSTRUCTION OF "RACE"** (i.e., to disprove the authenticity of the concept) and We should begin the process of eliminating the word (and all racial language) from the vocabulary and consciousness of the world's peoples all as part of the process of eliminating racism, and transforming the material reality that "race" serves. This has to be done because of the probability that no effective revolutionary movement (no meaningful transformation of the world) will be generated without incorporating the deconstruction of "race" process into our theory and practice. The probability exists because "race" and racism have been the shadows that have historically diverted people's energies and diffused their revolutionary thrusts. This applies particularly to the motion of peoples within what are now U.S. borders, but it is clearly a worldwide phenomenon.

None of us are free of the responsibility to uproot racialized thought and practice – within ourselves, and wherever We encounter it. As i see it, a "racist" is anyone holding the belief that the human species is divided into a plurality of "races," some of which are superior to others. If you employ a racial binary (e.g., "black" and "white," or "sun people" and "snow people") to categorize people, then you're a "racist" and you practice racism—at a minimum, you confuse the shadow for the body, and you're wasting energy.

As i read the third chapter of **Wretched**, i began to meditate upon Fanon's discussion of the racism practiced by the (neo)colonial bourgeois forces (i.e., those "blacks" or Africans who took the places of the European colonial powers at the state level)—a "racism of defense, based on fear," as he called it. Their racism was adopted and practiced to defend their class interests, to "corner the positions formerly kept for foreigners," and to become the new ruling class. Their fear was/is that the people will act in their own interests, topple the bourgeois forces, and pursue the development of revolutionary socialist societies.

At the same time, Fanon continues, other



Owusu Yaki Yakubu
(s/n James Sayles)

sectors of the nation "follow in the steps of their bourgeoisie," and begin to practice racism against non-nationals: "In the Ivory Coast, the anti-Dahoman and anti-Voltaic troubles are in fact racial riots. The Dahoman and Voltaic peoples, who control the greater part of the petty trade, are, once independence is declared, the object of hostile manifestations on the part of the people of the Ivory Coast. From nationalism we have passed to ultra-nationalism, to chauvinism, and finally to racism."

It occurred to me that We, too, engage in racist behavior, largely as a result of following the lead of our bourgeois forces (and i know that too many of you can't readily identify these forces). And, as i think about it: How naive We all were to believe, back in the day, that just because folks were "black," that alone made them authentic representatives of truth and justice, and signified that they were true servants of the people. The pity is, tho, that even today far too many of us still think that way. It ain't the color of the skin but rather the content of the character, as Bro. M. L. King, Jr. reminded us.

Continued on page 6

YAKI ON DECONSTRUCTING RACE, *continued from page 5*

It's in the third chapter of *Wretched* that Fanon tells us that racialized thought and practice is one of the pitfalls of narrow, bourgeois nationalist consciousness. It causes the bourgeois forces at the head of the people's struggle to develop a neo-colonial "shell" (game) whereby "the nation is passed over for the race, and the tribe is preferred to the state." Later, Fanon describes it very succinctly as "a narrow nationalism, and representing a race."

Fanon proposes, instead, a "revolutionary nationalist" (socialist) consciousness and program, incorporating attention to the elimination of racism, consciously avoiding all forms of racialism (the categorization of peoples in "racial" terms), while also defeating the bourgeois forces that stand in the way of the people's struggle for genuine independence and socialist development.

Wretched addresses the deconstruction of "race" because Fanon clearly urges the abandonment of "racial" identities, and he proposes the adoption of identities based on "class," and/or "nationality"—he encourages us to begin to identify ourselves as "human."

Wretched is about the deconstruction of "race" because Fanon calls for the elimination of racism as part of the process of transforming oppressed peoples into "new people," as they build new, socialist nations, and as they help to build a socialist world.

* * * *

The de-construction of "race" (and successful revolutionary struggle)

requires that We deal with the role of bourgeois forces, especially those who feign a progressive, radical, or "nationalist" stand. It requires that all forms of national-class struggle (ideological, political, economic) be engaged with these allies of capitalism, whose fear of socialism causes them to use the shadow of "race" in defense of their class interests, while diverting the people from anti-capitalist struggle.

Recall: We're talking about the same bourgeois forces who, under a confused and militant guise, clouded the issue with "skin analysis" at the height of the last upsurge:

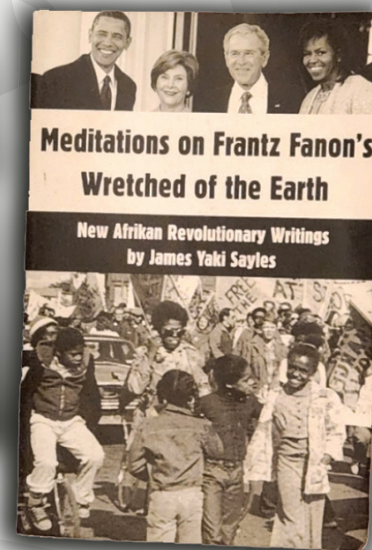
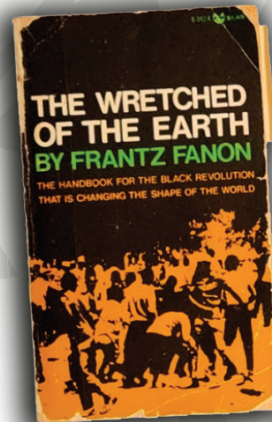
"The only reason we have to get together is the color of our skin. They oppress us because we are black, and we are going to use that blackness to get out of the trick bag they put us in ... We are going to build a movement in this country based on the color of our skin ..." [Quoting a young Stokely Carmichael]

Black people do not want to "take over" this country ... They want to be in [the whites'] place because that is where a decent life can be had.

What does Fanon say—"there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself up in the settler's place."

That is: The "native" that Fanon describes as wanting to "take the place of" the settler, is not yet the "ex-native"—the person who comes

to realize that it's not his skin or the settler's skin that matters, and that merely being in the settler's place will not change the inherent exploitative character of the system of colonialism, i.e., capitalism. Let's be clear: To merely want to be "in the settler's place" means that you really like the system—you support the system—and you just complain because you think you're not getting your "piece of the pie"!



There's a direct link between, say, the "skin analysis" of the mid- 1960s, and the reasons that "black power" went from a revolutionary slogan to an accommodationist one, taken up even by the rulers of capital, and reshaped as "green power" and "black capitalism" and what We today know as "empowerment" or as a call for "a piece of the action." It's no accident that the mass consciousness today is heavily "racialized," and nor revolutionary, just as "black nationalism" became "ethnic pluralism" and "cultural equality" in the form pushed by the rightist tendency of Afrocentricity. The real revolutionaries were disrupted and fell by the wayside;

the bourgeois forces filled the vacuum, and today the people think that "racial feeling" is the same as revolutionary thought and practice.

* * * *

People need to know that "class" —like "race"— is a socially constructed concept. But, unlike "race," the concept of "class" arises from an observation of the actual contradiction resulting from the unequal appropriation of the social wealth by one group, at the expense of others. We use the concept to help us understand the processes and mechanisms of social divisions, and social (revolutionary) change.

People need to know that "class struggle" is taking place every minute, in every sphere of their lives, and that it can be understood as struggle between regression (capitalism) and progress (socialism), no matter what terms We use to identify the opposing forces, e.g., "*Decolonization is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature.*" (Fanon) That is, terms such as "settler" or "bourgeois" can be used to identify the regressive, pro-capitalist forces, and terms such as "native" or "proletarian" can be used to identify the progressive, revolutionary forces — those most representative of the struggle for socialism.

i don't doubt that We may need new terms (i.e., other than "bourgeois" and "proletarian"), but it won't matter what terms We use if We don't know what it is that We struggle against and what it is that We struggle for — if We can't relate the terms to the concrete ways that We live, and to the ways that We want to live.

UN PANEL OF EXPERTS VISITS THE USA:

Slavery and COINTELPRO/Civil Rights Era Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, Exiles were on the Agenda

BY EFIA NWANGAZA, ESQ.
SPECIAL TO RE-BUILD

Greenville, SC--- Like the excitement generated when we first saw ourselves appearing on television, Atlanta's April 26th UN Delegation session, bearing the 2010 human rights campaign theme, "Putting COINTELPRO/Civil Rights Era Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, and Exiles on the Global Agenda," featured PP/POWs/Exiles in person, their relatives, former co-defendants, comrades, and on video has generated a buzz that will hopefully become a storm of sustained substantive activity for their release and relief. It seems to have had the humanizing effect our interned comrades, their relatives, and we longtime advocates could only conjure in our dreams.

Since 2010, with the visionary support of the U.S. Human Rights Network's founding director, Ajamu Baraka and his successor, Kali Akuno, I've been the one boarding planes, to Geneva, Switzerland, to talk to one UN Human Rights Council member, Commission staffer, treaty body reviewer or mechanism expert, or another. I would be asking them to affirm the existence, or call for the release or better treatment of all U.S. human rights defenders from the 1960s and 70's being held in prisons across the United States or exiled around the world..

I coined the phrase "COINTELPRO/Civil Rights Era Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, and Exiles" to capture the breadth and nature of the political activists the U.S. has locked down or out. While the ubiquitous Mumia Abu Jamal and Leonard Peltier support committees elevated their cases, Dr. Mutulu Shakur's Truth and Reconciliation Proposal, Ruchell Magee's Clemency Petition, or the privation of all others was never far behind. Our PP/POWs/Exiles are an integral part of our reparations demand and the 2001 UN Durban Declaration and Programme of Actions secures it to them and us.

This time, between April 24 to May 5, 2023, under the so-called "George Floyd UN Resolution," passed in response to global protest against his police murder, an independent panel of experts, appointed by the Human Rights Council came to the USA to assess the spectrum of US law enforcement violence and human rights abuses against people of African Descent. It ranged from the schoolhouse/beat cop to the courts, prisons, detention centers, and legislatures---assessing compliance with international human rights standards. The PP/POW/Exile hearing was held at and is archived on the Facebook page of the Atlanta's Auburn Avenue Library and Research Center.

This Expert Mechanism (EMLER) visited Atlanta, Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis, and New York where they talked to government and non-governments actors, and former PP/POW/Exiles, their relatives, and advocates. The experts will make recommendations as to the concrete steps needed to ensure access to justice, accountability and redress for human rights violations by law enforcement officials against Africans and people of African descent in the United States. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/media-advisories/2023/04/independent-expert-mechanism-racism-and-law-enforcement-visit-united>. The U.S. government's current assault on the African People's Socialist Party, lead by the Uhuru Movement, under Chairman Omali Yeshitela was featured at the panel's Chicago stop. In New York, Panther 21 and other directly impacted survivors were scheduled to testify.

At the end, they went to Washington, DC and meet with federal officials. They held a press conference and announced their preliminary findings.

1) Whole-of-government leadership needs to address legacy of slavery and redefine policing <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/05/usa-whole-government-leadership-needed-address-legacy-slavery-and->

redefine

2) The U.N. experts called on the United States to address as an imperative priority "the impact of the circle of poverty on people of African descent, including operating an urgent shift from a criminal justice response to a human rights-centered response to poverty, homelessness, substance abuse, and mental illness."

A final report will be submitted to the UN Human Rights Council at its 54th session in September-October 2023. It's up to us to give the recommendations meaning with public education and application. We have laid the groundwork and must be ready for the Mechanism to make more than the official references, case sightings, and inquiries my previous, though successful and occasionally historic efforts have garnered. This time, "naming, blaming, and shaming" the United States for, like all governments, lying about holding imprisoned human rights defenders, and treating them badly on top of that. Such findings, in diplo-speak, would be consistent with the UN's goal, inspired by George Floyd's murder, "to further transformative change for racial justice and equality in the context of law enforcement for Africans and people of African descent in the United States of America."

The International Independent Expert Mechanism to Advance Racial Justice and Equality in the Context of Law Enforcement was established in July 2021 by the Human Rights Council. Justice Yvonne Mokgoro (South Africa, chairperson); Dr. Tracie Keese (United States of America) and noted anti-torture advocate Professor Juan Méndez (Argentina) appointed by the President of the Human Rights Council in December 2021. to make recommendations, inter alia, on the concrete steps needed to ensure access to justice, accountability and redress for excessive use of force and other human rights violations by law enforcement officials against

Continued on page 11

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE Second Session Permanent Forum on People of African Descent 30th May - 2nd June, 2023 — United Nations Headquarters, New York Regarding the Centrality of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action 2001 World Conference Against Racism, Durban South Africa

BY ADJOA AIYETORO, ESQ.
SPECIAL TO RE-BUILD

I was one of three co-chairpersons (the other co-chairs were African and South/Latin American) of the African-African Descendant Caucus that was formed by NGOs attending the Preparatory Meetings for the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR). The African-African Descendant Caucus was the lead Caucus advocating for slavery and colonialism to be identified for what they were, crimes against humanity, and for reparations to be put forward as the necessary remedy. The African-African Descendant Caucus, however, did not just talk with itself. It networked with many other caucuses, gaining support for these goals. Many of the other Caucuses joined the African-African Descendant Caucus in demonstrations supporting these issues.

I was appalled, but not surprised, to learn that the United States and some Western European and other countries began their attack on the WCAR Declaration and Program of Action almost immediately after the WCAR. Not wanting to own their crimes and make reparations for the severe injuries they caused and continue to cause, they use their power to attempt to erase the World Conference that correctly called them to task. By forming the Permanent Forum on People of African Descent, the U.S., under the guise of supporting people of African Descent, will continue its historic track record of not fully acknowledging nor making amends for its crimes.

At the first Preparatory Meeting in Geneva in 2000, African Americans attending as members of various NGOs, attempted to meet with the head of the United States delegation, a woman of color. She was not willing to meet with us; however, as



Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, J.D.

the head of the United States delegation she did indicate that the U.S. did not support inclusion of language concerning reparations. The U.S. withdrew from WCAR during the Preparatory Meetings ostensibly because of proposed language suggested for the documents that Israel indicated was anti-Semitic. This language did not get into the document. It was clear to African Americans who had spoken with members of the U.S. delegation, as well as other NGOs and government delegations, that a major reason for the U.S. withdrawal was the advocacy for language in the documents that slavery and colonialism were crimes against humanity, and always should have been so, and that reparations are owed. This advocacy came from the NGOs and a number of Caucuses, the leader of which was the African-African Descendant Caucus. It also came from many government delegations, particularly those of countries in the Caribbean, South and Latin America and Africa. Indeed, the African-African Descendant Caucus met with members of a number of government delegations from Africa, South and Latin America. I also spoke, on behalf of the African-African Descendant Caucus, at one of the opening sessions of WCAR in Durban, South Africa.

The United States, in its withdrawal from WCAR, continued its historic pattern of ignoring the voices of those it had injured by its crimes against humanity in enslaving African peoples and continuing that legacy through many forms

of institutional racism. As such, from the first African its predecessor colonies allowed its agents of capitalism to capture and force into bondage to the WCAR and beyond, it has refused to recognize and honor African people's right to self-determination.

The Permanent Forum for People of African Descent must honor and respect, not diminish or eliminate, the hard fought for truths that are in the WCAR Declaration and Program of Action. These inclusions were made as a result of the courageous and self-determining work of the African-African Descendant Caucus, African nations and their allies, The Permanent Forum for People of African Descent should use these documents as the foundation on which to build its work. It should put some teeth in the call for reparations outlined in the Program of Action. Otherwise, the Permanent Forum will, consciously or unconsciously, be in collusion with the United States and Western European and Other Group, to escape full accountability. The United States and its allies must be required to fully acknowledge their roles in the crimes against humanity of slavery and colonialism and to make full reparations for slavery. To fail to push them to do so dishonors not only those NGOS and government delegations that courageously and relentlessly fought for the language in the documents, it once again denies the right of self-determination and devalues the importance of justice.

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, J.D., Professor Emerita University of Arkansas Little Rock, Wm. H. Bowen School of Law; Co-Founder, first female co-chair and chair of Legal Strategies Commission, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA); Former Executive Director, National Conference of Black Lawyer (NCBL).

New Afrikan Refugees

The truth about the so-called “migration” out of the Black Belt South

By KWASI AKWAMU

THE RE-BUILD COLLECTIVE

WITHIN THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (NAIM) We recognize the southeast region of the United States Empire as the rightful land of the black nation, as *the New Afrikan National Territory*.

In specific, we claim, as the core minimum, the five states presently known as South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. And there is a historical basis with this claim. First, the New Afrikan nation was born in this territory; born of a medley of Afrikan nationalities and ethnic groups during the period of our colonial bondage ("slavery").

Secondly, we not only made this territory habitable through our labor – *fertilizing the land with our blood, sweat and tears* – but We also made up the majority population prior to being driven into exile and dispersed throughout this settler empire. Hence the name of this region as the "Black Belt." In 1860, it is recorded that some 90% of the four million Afrikans in America resided in the Black Belt South.

* * *

New and improved ways of national oppression were implemented over one hundred years ago with the hoax of "Reconstruction." And it is from this point that we should begin our study of the colonialism that is prefixed with "Neo." ...we must begin our study of this "new and improved" form of colonialism from 1865. ~Sanyika Shakur¹

Historian Eric Foner begins the era of "Reconstruction" in 1863 with the signing of the "Emancipation Proclamation." Other historians start it in 1865 with the ratification of the 13th amendment to the U.S. constitution. And, yet, while there may be differences as to when it began, it is clear to all that "Reconstruction" ended in 1877 with the "compromise" between



Rutherford B. Hayes and southern settler whites; the "compromise" being a deal between former Confederates and the Union administration, whereby the ex-Confederates would support the presidency of Hayes providing that he promise to pull Union troops out of the South. Following its Civil War victory, the Union maintained a military presence in the South primarily to prevent Confederates from re-organizing their military capacity. By removing the Union troops, it enabled the southern Confederates to forcibly re-claim plantations and other land that was seized under the Confiscation Acts, a significant portion of it reallocated to the newly "freed" New Afrikans.

Simultaneous to the re-ascendancy of Confederate power was a growth in numerous white supremacist terrorist organizations bent on re-subjugating New Afrikans to their former degraded status.²

New Afrikans emerging from colonial bondage sought self-determination. Historian Lerone Bennett Jr. described the period of "Reconstruction" as an era of "Black Power." And, indeed, it was a clear manifestation of New Afrikans struggling to harness their social capacity towards self-determination during the entire period of the so-called "Reconstruction." And whereas the opposition to this "Black Power" – i.e., the white settler population of the South – contended that Afrikans could not support themselves without the guidance and support of white folks, formerly enslaved New Afrikans disagreed: "We used to support ourselves and our masters too when we were slaves," said one, "and i reckon we can take care of ourselves now."³

Afrikans in America had long seen themselves as a distinct nation apart from settler America and had from the earliest period of our experience in

Continued on page 8

the West struggled to free the nation *as a nation*.

With LAND being the basis of all true independence, We mustn't presume that this was lost on New Afrikan during "Reconstruction." As historian Nell Irving Painter points out, with the ending of colonial bondage "the issue of land remained one of the most crucial [matters in new race relations in the South], to both blacks and whites."⁴ The white settlers did not want New Afrikan to have the capacity for self-determination, hence the murderous refusal to allow the land to remain into New Afrikan hands. To do so would mean a confirmed end to the *colonial form* of New Afrikan national oppression. And as one New Afrikan fresh out of colonial bondage articulated: "Gib us our own land and we take care of ourselves, but widout land, de ole masses can hire us or starve us as dey please."⁵

In the decade or so of "Reconstruction" a significant portion of land ended up in New Afrikan hands. Whether it was through General Sherman's Field Order #15 or other government-sponsored land distribution programs, or through the thrift and purchases of New Afrikan themselves, New Afrikan came to possess vast portions of land. And where New Afrikan labor had previously benefited white settlers, production began to benefit the New Afrikan people themselves, who were struggling to be self-reliant and self-determining. All sorts of cooperative enterprises (ujamaa) arose during the "Reconstruction" period, expressing the growing national consciousness among New Afrikan. And even though this effort towards self-determination was taking place while still under the colonial rule of settler America, the sentiment of the New Afrikan masses had always leaned towards distancing themselves from their former enslavers who continued to express violent hostility towards them. The goal was separation on their own land and the governing of their own lives. However, this brief period of "Black Power" in the National Territory came to an end when the Union soldiers packed-up and left the South, leaving New Afrikan subject to the whims of the white supremacist ex-confederates.

* * *

In 1867, the Ku Klux Klan held its first national meeting in Nashville, Tennessee. This same year the Knights of White Camellia, another paramilitary white supremacist group, was founded in Louisiana, to be followed in 1874 by the White League. With these groups and others, before and after them, came organized violence against New Afrikan self-determination. The terrorism was so rampant and brutal, that in 1871 some 930 settlers were actually indicted in the Mississippi federal court KKK trials; included among those indicted were many prominent doctors, lawyers, ministers and college professors. In South Carolina, some 1,180 indictments were handed-out, and 1,849 in North Carolina. And, yet into the next century, the casualties of New Afrikan – *victims of lynchings, fascist pogroms and "race riots" initiated by white settlers* – continued to mount.⁶

* * *

You see, i was in debt, and the man i rented land from said every year i must rent again to pay the other year, and so i rents and rents, and each year i gets deeper and deeper in debt.

-John Solomon Lewis, 1879⁷

Physical terrorism was necessary to deter New Afrikan from becoming self-determining, but economic exploitation (the original basis for kidnapping Afrikan and bringing us here) was a means also to keep New Afrikan in a subjugated, colonial relationship to the ever-expanding United States Empire.

When John Solomon Lewis "in a fit of madness" confronted the white settler who was exploiting him, to inform him that he would "go somewhere else and try to make headway," the settler replied: "If you try that job, you will get your head shot away." The settler didn't want Solomon or any New Afrikan to become self-reliant, but neither wanted him to go anywhere. Eventhough *settler colonial* law prevented white settlers from

claiming personal ownership to any New Afrikan, they could and would lay claim to our labor, not omitting violent and extralegal means. Yet, in this particular case, at the suggestion of John Lewis' wife, the Lewis family took to the woods at night and fled towards Kansas in the mass exodus of 1879.⁸

From the earliest to the latest period of colonial bondage New Afrikan were known for fleeing from the National Territory to the North and West; we have "always been moving from one part of the country to another, and also out of the country, looking far freedom and opportunity."⁹ The Underground Railroad developed as a result of the need to escape the daily rigors and brutalities and super-exploitation of New Afrikan by the settler slave institution. Harriet Tubman – *a.k.a. General Moses* – was the most widely known conductor active with the Underground Railroad, delivering more than 300 New Afrikan refugees to the North (many of whom continued northwards into Canada).¹⁰ Prior to the Civil War, the settler government developed a series of "fugitive slave laws" that enabled slave-owners to "legally" re-kidnap escaped refugees and re-subjugate them.¹¹

After politically castrating and economically subjugating New Afrikan in the National Territory, after the attempt at "Black Power" was undermined, many of the new freed people felt unsafe remaining in the Black Belt under settler fascism. Not much different than the Vietnamese, Haitians or Syrians, who fled war-torn homelands, in order to re-establish their lives elsewhere – some even "migrated" to the enemy of their homeland, the United States!

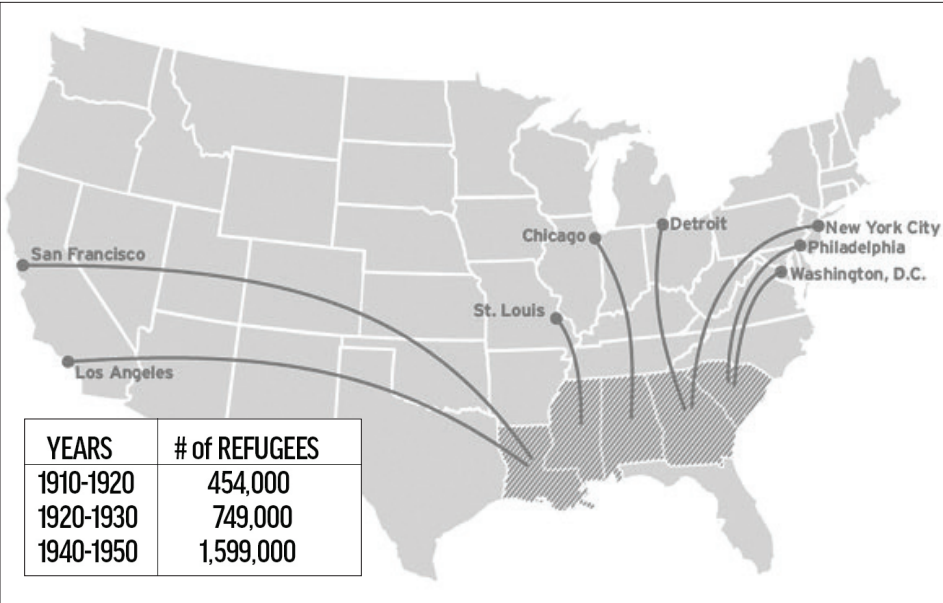
In 1879, there began a mass "migration" – the participants known to history as Exodusters – out of the National Territory into Kansas and towards the west. Thousands of New Afrikan left at a time. And yet the terror continued against New Afrikan. In 1883, there were 53 lynchings of New Afrikan reported. By 1893, the number had climbed to 118. "Race riots" and other

**"We used to support ourselves
and our masters too when we
were slaves and i reckon we can
take care of ourselves now."
~Formerly enslaved New Afrikan**

clashes between southern settlers and New Afrikans continued, with New Afrikan casualties reaching yet higher and higher numbers.¹²

Political historian Manning Marable said of settler lynchings: "Lynching is a peculiarly American tradition. From the nineteenth to the late twentieth century, the modern auto-de-fe parallels the development and maturation of capitalism in an oppressive, biracial society. Technically, the term is often used to describe the hanging of a person outside the legal sanction of the police and criminal justice system. Historically, and in actual practice, it is the ultimate use of coercion against blacks to insure white supremacy. The form it assumes – hanging by the neck, shooting, castration, burning at the stake, or other spontaneous and random forms of violence – is secondary to the actual terror it evokes among the black masses, and the perverse satisfaction that it derives for white racists. Lynching is neither irrational nor illegal, in the sense that the white power elite tolerate and encourage its continued existence. Lynching in a racist society becomes a legitimate means to check the activities of the entire black population in economics, culture and politics."¹³

The mass "migrations" of 1879 and onward slowed down by the end of the century. Yet by 1917 the urge to leave the Black Belt re-emerged in full force. The *Chicago Defender* newspaper, owned by a New Afrikan with neo-colonial sentiment, encouraged New Afrikans to leave the National Territory and to settle in the North, enticing them with false promises of "better opportunities" being available for "the race."¹⁴ And



in some of the responses to the *Defender's* Northern enticements, New Afrikans in the South openly expressed their feelings of despair, dissatisfaction and fear of living in the National Territory:

*After twenty years of seeing my people lynched for any offense from spitting on the sidewalk to stealing a mule, i made up my mind that i would tum the prow of my ship toward the part of the country where the people at least made a pretense at being civilized. You may say for me, through your paper, that when a man's home is sacred; when he can protect the virtue of his wife and daughter against the brutal lust of his alleged superiors; when he can sleep at night without fear of being visited by the Ku-Klux because of refusal to take off his hat while passing an overseer – then i will be willing to return to Mississippi.*¹⁵

Mobile, Alabama. April 26, 1917
...There is nothing here for the colored man but a hard time which these southern crackers gives. We has not had any work to do in 4 wks. and everything is high to the colored man

so please let me hear from you by return mail. Please do this for your brother.

Augusta, Georgia. May 12, 1917
Dear Sir: Just for a little information from you i would like to know whether or not i could get in touch with some good people to work for with a firm because things is awful hear in the south let me here from you seat as poseable. what ever you do dont publish my name in your paper but i think people as a race ought to look out for one another as Christian friends. i am a [chauffeur] and I cant make a living for my family with small pay and the people is getting bad with us black people down south hear. now if you ever help your race now is the time to help me get my family away. food stuff is so high. i will look for answer by return mail. dont publish my name in your paper but let me hear from you at once.

New Orleans, La May 2, 1917
*...Nearly the whole of the south is getting ready for the drive or excursion as it is termed. Please write at once. We are sick to get out of the solid south.*¹⁶

After 1901 the number of reported lynchings began to decrease.¹⁷ But, again, as Dr. Marable points out, it was the threat and not the lynching itself that terrorized New Afrikans: "Terror becomes real in one's mind only when a person recognizes that, at any moment and for any reason, he/she can be brutally tortured. Slavery left many Black people and their descendants unafraid of death. But there are many things that are indeed worse than death. It is the random, limited and spontaneous use of coercion that tends to afflict the mind and spirit of the oppressed. It is the omnipresent fear of a fate worse than death itself that creates the terror."¹⁸ However, various studies and reports from that period helped to explain the overall driving motive for New Afrikans to abandon the National Territory.

George Edmund Haynes, one of the founders of the Urban League, reported in 1912 that some 47.1% of the New Afrikan so-called "migrants" – actually refugees – in New York City sought better jobs. A 1917 study by the U.S. Secretary of Labor gave mostly economic causation to the "migrations," listing low-wages, injustice and evils of tenant farming, bad treatment from whites, and more dissatisfaction with those conditions than before. *The Crisis* magazine of the NAACP gave poor pay as the leading reason for "migration" out of the National Territory in a 1917 survey, with bad treatment, bad schools, discrimination, and oppression (in general) following on the list. And, so, as historian Florette Henri summed it up, "most blacks left the South simply to be able to feed themselves and their families."¹⁹

Continued on page 12

REFUGEES,
continued from page 11

It is estimated that between 1890 and 1910 that around 200,000 New Afrikans fled the South. In 1900, the total New Afrikan population in the U.S. was 8,834,000 (or 11% of the total U.S. population); of these, 7,923,000 lived in the national territory. Yet, over the years the pursuit for a safe refuge outside the white supremacist South continued to increase.²⁰

In choosing where to migrate, many New Afrikans simply followed the popular train routes. Those from Mississippi generally ended up in Chicago, whereas folks from Alabama often fled to Detroit, and if you hailed from Georgia you probably stopped in Harlem.

* * *

The cities of amerikkka arefull of New Afrikan refugees who entered then during the '30s and '40s, escaping the klan and the southern prison. One step ahead of the hounds, a few minutes ahead of the lynch mob is how many New Afrikans came north. Refugees from the National Territory. ~Owusu Yaki Yakubu²¹

The Black Belt South is the National Territory for Afrikans in America (New Afrikans), for citizens of the Republic of New Afrika. the Black Belt South is "down home," where Granny and Great-Granny still live. No, not all New Afrikans fled, many persevered, tried to hold on to the farm; that is why many of us – descendants of refugees – still have aunts, uncles, and cousins in Atlanta, Birmingham, Jackson, Baton Rouge, and in the small "Black Towns" that stretch across the rural South. Our people fled the National Territory seeking refuge from economic deprivation and exploitation, social degradation and settler colonial terrorism; and for "better educational and employment opportunities, for "where a man will Be anything Except a Ker ... where a man is a man."²²

Still, true freedom is never outside of home. And leaving the Black Belt South didn't/don't mean that we were becoming free or that We are even free today. Further, if "down home" is home – and if we have succeeded in getting "better"

education and regaining our lost dignity in the generations since we first began to seek refuge away from home – then We should return home now and continue the struggle for political self determination and economic self-reliance; in a word, for *National Independence* on the sacred land where We buried generations of Ancestors who suffered that We might someday live.

As Owusu Yaki Yakubu reminded us, *We are simply refugees, and not yet free.*

Re-Build to Win!

REFERENCES:

1) "Neo-Colonialism: The Conquest Continues," Sanyika Shakur in *Human Rights Held Hostage*, Fall 1994. 2) *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, Eric Foner, Harper & Row 1988, passim. 3) *ibid.*, pg. 102 4) *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction*, Nell Irving Painter, Alfred Knopf 1977, pg. 6 5)

Reconstruction, pg. 103 6) *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*, Lerone Bennett Jr., Penguin Books 1981, passim. 7) *Exodusters*, pp. 3-4 8) *ibid.* 9) *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1920*, Florette Henri, Anchor Press 1975, pg. 49 10) *Before the Mayflower* 11) See U.S. Constitution. 12) *Before the Mayflower*, passim. 13) *How Capitalism Under-developed Black America*, Manning Marable, South End Press 1983, pg. 115 14) *Black Migration*, pp. 62-66 15) *ibid.*, pp. 130-131 16) *Black Protest: History, Documents and Analysis, 1619 to Present*, edited by Joanne Grant, Fawcett Publications, 1968, pp. 178-182 17) *Before the Mayflower*, passim. 18) *How Capitalism Under-developed Black America*, pp. 118-119 19) *Black Migration*, pg. 53 20) *Black Migration; Before the Mayflower*. 21) "From One Generation to the Next" in *Notes From a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal, Book Three* 22) *Black Migration*, pg. 56

WORD
SEARCH

EQUALITY
FREE THE LAND
INDEPENDENCE
LIBERATION
NATIONALISM
NEW AFRIKAN
POLITICAL PRISONER
PRISONER OF WAR
REPUBLIC
RESISTANCE
REVOLUTION
SOCIALISM
SOLIDARITY

K B K P O P R D W X F J L H K W A G G W H W X M K G P A F F
V N R N S C N H Q T J N A T I O N A L I S M F R J S N M T M
Y M D E M L N F N K J Y L R E K T O O C K S N E P Z M M Z Z
V G E W O J B T G S U C W P J X Y Z D V S D U S A Q E W J L
Y K E A R Y J O A V T G I V R F H E X V G Q U I Y A D Z Y G
U P I F Y T Q Q G R A J T S L W U O F G C G T S F K R Z H J
I V P R A B Z L F B O L C K L R B N Y C O L V T W V U D H S
N E X I B L D R Z N S I H D K P O Y N V D Q W A L S A I V Z
D L C K N G K Y U I B U A M A W S K X H N T H N O Y K N I V
C N O A D E U S I Y R J E S K I D Q F L L K V C D J N D O G
B H B N R E V O L U T I O N O W G C J S V G O E M D S E O J
B F K H T F A C T U G D Q C C D I E T Q E N S R N A S P N U
U Q W A S O V N F P C R N C U J Y L F J E I U R L I N E U E
P W G V R A R B Y I R B D W V Z G S X Y G N K I H R F N R Z
K O K Z K T J V B Q D I Y O J K U V P D K T F S L S Z D M V
U B L B K V S D P M L F S K I C O K M P Y V N O N X N E D Q
I V X I S T N R Z F M T R O C S D O C D K X J C J P G N L H
R T F P T O Z N M M E B K E N Q S L Y H O Y C I L Z P C U L
Y Z H W G I L W L D W G T Q E E U F U V N C A A I A R E K H
E Q H H E F C I C S I D Q N L T R X N Y E I J L B R I S E C
Z M G U O F C A D R C E C Z H X H O C V A A A I E N I E I Z
T R H A L I R N L A I S Q B F C B E F M N Q M S R B C N T U
U C D Y S O V C P P R A G U F E Q M L W Q M X M A O Y T F Y
C F D D I E F Z Y H R I E M A V P X F A A G R M T P R C X N
N C D E U S B F Z D B I T F R L M H U D N R F U I X U S U P
Q M K E W M K L S Y T F S Y I P I U Y T C D V A O Q I K G Y
A T V S G E T R M E G H K O H Y Y T G P I T O B N W Z A Y G
Y B H I W J T F D F H N G J N O C X Y N M S V S N S W Z P P
F T C Z C I T U D V D N Q V U E K I U R E P U B L I C B X X
O W H F Q V T C N F G M E Y B I R I V E G L F K G K Q N W Z

SMASH THE NEO-CONFEDERACY!

DEMOCRACY FOR THE PEOPLE OF JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI!

THE STRUGGLE IS STILL FOR LAND, INDEPENDENCE & SOCIALISM!

As We sat down to put a few thoughts on paper, We surveyed the situation facing New Afrikan people here in this settler-empire called the united states of america. It's nothing new, but We are fighting to give it a new response. As Malcolm would say, a response that makes it crystal clear that We are "intelligent, as opposed to unintelligent." Today, our struggle needs to produce results that our descendants can build upon as they confront new problems that will inevitably arise as they work to build a new society in the ashes of oppression & empire. This is our task and our mission: "to build a better world...to build a better condition than the world has yet known"

The confederacy was (& is) an organized, institutionalized & codified monster which was (& is) an attempt to keep New Afrikan people in misery, oppression and sustained genocide. But New Afrikans are not cabbages or "horses, cows or chickens", so a war has raged on for six centuries. UP THE REBELS!

The neo-confederacy is a manifestation of everything backwards & reactionary in society today: 'controlling women's bodies, closing libraries, teaching lies in classrooms, guns in schools --- basically, our world is going to hell in a handbasket. But, settlers take all this shit in stride, and pretend that it's normal - that's what We need to be on the lookout for wherever We go, and whenever our ears are tickled by nonsense, or our thoughts drift toward acceptance of this madness. We have to be vigilant and stay in combat with our inner settler! The settler accepts "freedom is slavery", "war is peace", "ignorance is strength" - We don't embrace this crazy shit! The list below is not exhaustive, but these headlines are all within the last month! We need to have a sense of urgency - We need to all be asking

ourselves: HOW ARE WE GOING MAKE THE NEW AFRIKAN NATION RISE?

"Just this last october, 25 year old Rasheem Carter went missing in rural Mississippi after twice reporting to the Taylorsville Police Department that he was being hunted by a group of white men in pickup trucks. It was the last time he was seen alive..." (Ben Crump, MSNBC, 3/29/23)

"GOP lawmakers push for state control of St. Louis police", (AP, 4/23/23)

"Child labor laws are under attack in states across the country", (Economic Policy Institute, 3/14/23)

"The Pendleton 2 saved a man's life. A judge sentenced them to 200 years for it. Evidence of prison guards in indiana being affiliated with a kkk-splinter group known as the sons of light...", (The Real News Network, 4/3/23)

"Organizers are resisting a 2-tiered legal system in majority-Black Jackson, Mississippi", (Truthout.org, 4/15/23)

"Alabama and Mississippi mark confederate memorial day", (ABC News, 4/24/23)

"Republican [Ohio] suggests reparations for white descendants of civil war soldiers", Black Information Network, 4/24/23)

"Full audio released of Oklahoma sheriff discussing killing journalists", (The Oklahoman, 4/20/23)

"U.S. citizens & Russian intelligence officers charged with conspiring to use u.s. citizens as illegal agents of the Russian government", (Justice News, 4/18/23)

"Texas senate moves to allow GOP State Secretary to overturn elections in nation's 3rd largest county", (Democracy Now!, 5/3/23)

Stacey Abrams is the rightful governor of Georgia - kemp illegally conducted his campaign

& "won" the election while he was the secretary of state!

SMASH THE NEO-CONFEDERACY!

WE WANT OUR FORTY ACRES & MULES!
SOVEREIGNTY FOR THE PEOPLE OF JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI!

THE STRUGGLE IS STILL FOR LAND, INDEPENDENCE & SOCIALISM!

STOP COP CITY!

STOP THE LYNCHINGS!

VIGILANCE IS OUR CRY!

RE-BUILD!!!

U.N. PANEL OF EXPERTS, *continued from page 5*

Africans and people of African descent.

Now is the time to demand the negotiation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission or Process that ends this phase of our struggle and brings our remaining warriors home with the recognition and resources to which they and the previously abused and incarcerated are all entitled. For further information contact Efia Nwangaza at mxcentergvl@gmail.com, follow Black Alliance for Peace, Cooperation Jackson, and UN Anti-Racism Coalition websites. When WE fight WE Win! Forward Ever, Backwards Never!!!

Efia Nwangaza, Esq., can be reached by email at: mxcentergvl@gmail.com, and can be heard online at: <https://www.blogtalkradio.com/georgejacksonradio/2022/12/22/mama-efia-nwangaza-malcolm-x-center-for-self-determination> and <https://www.blogtalkradio.com/georgejacksonradio/2022/03/04/mama-efia-nwangaza-new-afrikan-attorney>

The Tale of Two Titans

A review of YouTube interview with Lance Williams, author of new book King David and Boss Daley

Recommended YouTube Video

Title: "The Tale of Two Titans: King David and Boss Daley"

Channel: The Chi Podcast

Also Watch: "Let's 'Gang - Up' on Oppression: the struggle for power in oppressed communities"

Channel: Haki Kweli Shakur

Related Books:

"King David and Boss Daley: The Black Disciples, Mayor Daley, and Chicago on the Edge" by Lance Williams

"The Almighty Black P. Stone Nation: The Rise, Fall and Resurgence of an American Gang" by Natalie Moore and Lance Williams

In "The Tale of Two Titans: King David & Boss Daley," Lance Williams discusses his two books on Chicago's street organizations. He compares Richard Daley (former leader of 'the hamburgs' - a white gang, who went on to become Chicago's mayor for more than two decades) to Black gang leaders:

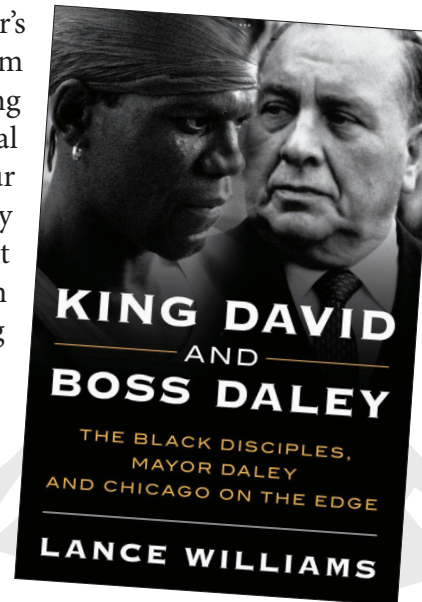
"Basically," says Williams, "every story of a Black gang leader is the same as [that of] Daley; it is just that the growth and development of the Black gang is stunted by Daley using his police to criminalize the Black Gang." (Williams, 48:00)

This discussion is important, because the subject matter is part of the fabric of life in Chicago. These street organizations are part of everyday life in Chicago's New Afrikan community. Though they derive their notoriety (thanks

to the oppressor's media machine) from ongoing highlighting of any & all criminal behavior in our community, many New Afrikans count these organization members among their loved ones.

Despite their negative image, on the block & in the hood, We have seen peacemaking, child rearing, merry making, and all varieties of normal, happy behavior from so-called 'gang-bangers'. In fact, We all know that when the community raises its collective voice in righteous protest against injustice, many of these men & women join our ranks & march shoulder to shoulder with us. When We marched with Dr. King thru marquette park, they endured catcalls & brickbats with the rest of us. Being part of our oppressed community, they rise up in anger when We rise up in anger.

But, if Williams believes that New Afrikans are an oppressed people, he doesn't say so. He candidly states that Jeff Fort was not involved in what he was charged with in 1984, and that the other members of the El Rukns were entrapped.* (see *Prosecutorial Misconduct*, CROSSROAD 7#4, Jan/February 1997) This frame-up, along with the Chicago government's desire to avoid a contest for power, as laid out in his earlier quote, leads



us to conclude that Fort is a victim of political imprisonment. Similarly, Larry Hoover was hit with new charges when his group, Growth & Development, began to mobilize members and the New Afrikan community to struggle for power at the ballot box. Now, both men sit in

Florence ADX.

In 'Let's "Gang" Up On Oppression' (CROSSROAD, 1994, revised in 1997), Yaki wrote the following:

"We cannot disassociate ourselves from the fate proposed for our brothers and sisters. We urge all members of the Afrikan community in particular, and other oppressed communities, to also take a stand on these words.

Our entire community - but especially the (nationalist) activists of our community - must intervene in the struggles of the "street force" to join the entire people in the war for our independence and progressive national development.

Our Collective also takes a stand upon the New Afrikan CREED, which affirms our belief in the community and in the family... our belief in the community

AS a family. The CREED affirms our belief in collective struggle, and in fashioning victory in concert

with our brothers and sisters -- whom We must love as We love ourselves; with whom We must be patient and uplifting - and work to bring into the community and into the Movement - on pain of disgrace & banishment.

An attack upon "gangs" in our communities by the U.S. is an attack upon us all -- and We must intervene. We must protect our brothers and sisters, and We must encourage and assist them in their continued pursuit of new values, new ideas, attitudes and behaviors that are more conducive to our collective survival and development."

We challenge Brother Williams and all scholars to confront and take hold of a concrete understanding of our circumstance in amerika as an oppressed NATION and the potential of street organizations in the service of national liberation.

*Please Support the
Re-Build Collective!*

*Help Keep This Paper
in Print!*

\$RBC2018





A Documentary Well Done

BY THANDISIZWE CHIMURENGA
& YUSEF BUNCHY SHAKUR
THE RE-BUILD COLLECTIVE

"DEAR MAMA"

Or should I say Dear Allen and Nelson and crew; Dear Glo and family; Dear Shock; Dear Blood; Dear Jamal; Dear Shaba; Dear Jamalah and Dear Watani?

Thank You.

It's hard to even find the words to describe after watching the FX/Hulu series *Dear Mama* — It reminds Us of Our power by being authentic and dynamic that is beautifully captured through Afeni and Tupac.

THANK YOU FOR WHAT YOU HAVE GIVEN US.

Thank you for giving us the origin story of Tupac Amaru Shakur, the poet-musician-artist beloved by millions around the world.

Thank you for giving us Afeni Shakur in her own voice. For giving us more than We've ever had before in just 5 one-hour episodes.

To overstand New Afrikan people in amerikkka is not to know Our individual stories but to know Our collective narrative. This docuseries is a narrative between a Black mother and Black son within the social, political and economic context of the Black Struggle for New Afrikan liberation and self-determination, and if you don't listen carefully, you can miss some shit.

Thank you for the footage, old to some and never-before-seen to many.

For the background and context. For your memories and your knowledge. Of Afeni and Tupac and Lumumba and Joan and Mutulu and the trial of the Panther 21 and Lincoln Detox and the Patient Bill of Rights.

What you might miss is that We resisted, We loved, We organized, We educated, We were adventurous and We were undermined. As a result, some went underground, others hijacked airplanes to leave the country, many were killed by settler police, some were framed and sent to prison to die as political prisoner/prisoners

of war, or some fell victim to drug addiction. And then there is the question of what happened to some of the children of Our movement?

Thank you for showing us that We need to do better in our relationships. For sharing the betrayal; the pain; the struggles; the hurt and the anger. Thank you for sharing the blemishes and all.

For not bitterly shitting on the servants of the people as you shared the blemishes and all.

For saying #FTP. Whether you realized you were saying that or not. This docuseries helps Us to answer that question of what happened to some of the children of Our movement by taking Us through the pain, abandonment, and anger that shaped a young Tupac and his generation. It reminds Us We can't heal what We are afraid to confront. Healing leads to transformation,

and transformation leads to healing, and both are necessary for achieving liberation.

Thank you for providing this opportunity to the activists and organizers amongst Us who want to rebuild; for giving Us this popular education tool, via the means of popular culture, for our movement.

Just think of all the New Afrikan people who are now talking about the actual Black Panthers and not the comic book Black Panther. Yes, everything is political, and We can - and We will - use this tool as part of Our political education arsenal to fuel Our movement in the fight for Our liberation and right to self-determination.

You have made your contribution.

It's now our turn to move us closer to where we need to be.

Free The Land! Re-Build!

Advertise in Re-Build!

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

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

info@rebuildcollective.org

Full Page Ad

10" w x 9.65" h
Commercial \$250
Support \$150

Quarter Page Ad

4.925" w x 4.75" h
Commercial \$100
Support \$75

Half Page Ad

Tall 4.925" w x 9.65" h
Wide 10" w x 4.75" h
Commercial \$150
Support \$100

Eighth Page Ad

Tall 2.38" w x 4.75" h
Wide 4.925" w x 2.275" h
Commercial \$50
Support \$35



**DETROIT,
WE DO
MIND DYING**

A PODCAST HOSTED BY

**DETROIT'S
DIFFERENT**
www.detroitisdifferent.com

EVERY 2ND & 4TH
SATURDAY AT NOON

WATCH LIVE ON
DETROIT IS DIFFERENT **YouTube** CHANNEL

YUSEF 'BUNCHY' SHAKUR

TAWANA 'HONEYCOMB' PETTY

KWASI AKWAMU



SAVE THESE DATES

*New Afrikan
Voting Matters
More to the
New Afrikan
Nation*

Let's participate in

PG-RNA ELECTIONS

**November
3-5, 2023**

July 16- 22, 2023
F. D. Roosevelt State Park
2970 GA Highway 190 • Pine Mountain, GA 31822

**CAMP PUMZIKO
PROVIDES...**

- ✓ A Safe Learning Environment
- ✓ Political Education
- ✓ Arts & Science
- ✓ Community Building
- ✓ Survival skills
& so much more

Malcolm X
Grassroots Movement

**For more information or to make an online payment
visit www.cadnational.org or call: 770-987-9390**

***Get New Afrikan Revolutionary National Lit
from Spear & Shield Publications***

• ReBuild newspaper (Mailed Quarterly)	\$10/year
<hr/>	
• Principles & Methods of Community Organizing	\$5
• Notes From A New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal, Books 1-7	\$5/ea.
• Vita Wa Watu: New Afrikan Theoretical Journals, Books 8-12	\$5/ea.
• Study Notes on Secure Communications (SNSC)	\$5
• P.O.W. Journal 1-7; Vita Wa Watu 8-12 + SNSC (set)	\$60

ORDER PRINT COPIES AT:
Spear & Shield Publications
1321 N. Milwaukee #441 Chicago, IL 60642
Or download free PDF files at
ReBuildCollective.org





Kojo Bomani Sababu (Grailing Brown) is a New Afrikan Prisoner of War serving a life sentence. Kojo was captured on December 19th 1975 along with anarchist Ojore Lutalo during a bank expropriation and the killing of a drug dealer in his neighborhood. He was subsequently charged with conspiracy for an alleged plan to use rockets, hand grenades and a helicopter in an attempt to free Puerto Rican Prisoner of War Oscar Lopez Rivera from the federal prison where he was serving.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY KOJO BOMANI SABABU!
May 27, 1953

Kojo Bomani Sababu
#39384-066
USP Canaan
P.O. Box 300
Waymart, PA 18472
thejerichomovement.com

SEEDZ OF REVOLUTION: DAUGHTERS OF THE WHIRLWIND
Podcast

DR. ASANTEWA SUNNI-ALI
PRINCESS MDAIAH YISRAEL
AIYISHA T. OBAFEMI

New Episodes Every Monday
seedzofrevolution.com/podcast

National Black Radical Organizing Conference

June 23-25, 2023

Unity in our Lifetime:
Connecting the National Black Struggle
For Self-Determination with Pan-Africanism



Location:
Ramada Plaza by
Wyndham Atlanta Airport
5010 Old National Hwy,
Atlanta, GA 30349

Register :
bit.ly/blkradconf



ON THE STATE OF OUR NEW AFRIKAN NATION: THE NEW AFRIKAN POLITICAL PRISONERS PERSPECTIVE

We are a state "out of power." It is from this point of view that we must analyze Ourselves and asses the state of Our Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. The state of any nation is predicated upon the relative political, social, cultural, economic and military development, or underdevelopment, of its' People, as a result of the Nations Policy of National development. If we can agree this is the case, Our New Afrikan Nation exists wherever Our New Afrikan People have built Communities, and to determine the state of Our Nation we need look no further than the nature and structure of Our Communities. Prison is a socially hostile microcosm of it's outside production, a reflection if you will, of Our New Afrikan Communities, stripped of all the illusions and distractions of the U.S. consumer counter culture.

If one wants to know what is going on in Our Communities, we New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalists bound in U.S. koncentration camps, need look no further than the Prison yard to see all the contradictions of Our National Development laid bare in all it's historical materialist

glory, carved into generations of New Afrikans walking the yard.

To truly grasp the state of Our New Afrikan Nation, we could analyze these populations and formulate a fairly accurate analysis, but as New Afrikan Revolutionary Guerrillas, of course, we take the question through every analytic of the crucible of Dialectical Materialism. What we find, from Our unique perspective, housed as we are in the bowels of the belly of the beast, is a

Nation that exists absent in the minds of the vast majority of the People it was formed to liberate and govern. All other contradictions aside for a moment, the state of Our New Afrikan Nation is dire because most of Our People don't know their Provisional Government, or any of it's National policies, even exist.

But why? Why is it millions of New Afrikans in Amerikkka don't know the Provisional Government of the People's Republic of New Afrika exists, or that they themselves are in fact New Afrikans, as opposed to "Black", "African Americans" or simply "niggas"? The answer is the ame reason why Our nation is currently in dire straits: Our policy of National Development is not positively impacting the daily lives of Our People in any noticeable way, or to the degrees that it would create National awareness of Our existence as a Nation within a nation, or any individual or collective incentive to participate in such a policy of National Development because, for whatever reason, the Nation has not formally adopted those Institution building mechanisms it's most advanced citizens have produced.

To be sure, even now, instead of accepting the Self-Criticism that could potentially lead to a re-imagining of Our policies for National Development, some will immediately enter a defensive posture in the face of this objective analysis, seeking to look to the henceforth unrealized, or simply ineffective, efforts made thus far as proof that such an analysis is too harsh. To those we say, it is this very political and emotional immaturity

which lies at the heart of Our ongoing underdevelopment and the absence of Our National practice of kujichangulia and ujamaa, both internally and externally. If we are to transform the nature and structure of New Afrikan Communities in Amerikkka, we must dispense with this flaw.

So what is the solution? What must we do as a NATION to correct this contradiction, re-organize Ourselves and restructure Our policies of National development to actually serve the needs of the People, positively impact and transform their daily lives, and raise the awareness of the existence of their Nation in creating solutions to the contradictions of social life that they face every day? The answer is embodied in Our New Afrikan Creed: What we must do

is rely on one another by leveraging the solutions and ideas of Our most advanced citizens, as the basis of a new Policy of New Afrikan National Development.

New Afrikan Political Prisoners and former NARN Political Prisoners, are by far, the most advanced socio-political, cultural, economic and military minds in Our Nation by writ of the fact that studying the contradictions facing Our People, waging transformational struggle on a daily

basis and creating solutions to the challenges facing Our People is all they do, all day every day. It was imprisoned NARN Guerrillas that developed the Initiatives of the Autonomous Infrastructure Mission to provide a functional blueprint for the New Afrikan Nation to delink

from the daily processes of the oppressor state and its dismal vision of social life; it was imprisoned NARN Guerrillas that developed the Emergency Response Network to ensure Our People had

an effective blueprint to respond appropriately in the event of a natural disasters or social unrest; it was imprisoned NARN Guerrillas that created Black August Memorial/ Black August Resistance (BAM/BAR) as a mechanism by which we can not only honor Our fallen Freedom Fighters, but to popularize Our culture of resistance as a foundation Of Our cultural identity; it was NARN Guerrillas that developed the Assata Alert Network to not only find our missing women, children and Elders but to prevent their abduction, abuse or murders in the first place; it was NARN Guerrillas that developed the George Jackson University as a basis to transform every prison cell into a class room and transform the New Afrikan criminal mentality into a New Afrikan progressive mentality; it was NARN Guerrillas that developed the concept of Community Release Boards to seek to put in the hands of Our Communities the power the determine when Our People are released after the parole Boards fail; it was NARN Guerrillas that developed Amend the 13th: Abolish Legal Slavery in Amerika Movement as a collective effort to end the oppression of Man and Woman by man and woman, it only in the Koncentration Kamps of Amerikkka, but extending to the 'civil death' laws that follow the formally imprisoned long after they've left from behind prison

walls; it was NARN Guerrillas that created the concepts of Community Release Boards, Strategic Release and Institutional Restitution as a vehicle to release those New Afrikan Revolutionary Elders who have a proven record of service to Our People and New Afrikan Communities, and a Commitment to perpetual service upon release as a grounds for release; it was NARN Guerrillas that developed FROLINAN and other handbooks

for New Afrikan Revolutionaries to guide their daily struggle on a correct and Revolutionary course. We could go on, but the point is clear: ALL of these, and more, THESE ARE OUR POLICY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, we need only formally adopt them and pursue them in a conscious and deliberate manner.

The purpose of the Autonomous Infrastructure Mission, Emergency Response Network, George Jackson University, Strategic Release Initiative, Community Release Boards, Institutional Restitution Campaign, etc. is: to forge our own food systems and proto-agricultural institutions through the Sustainable Agricultural Commune (SAC); to build our own jobs and businesses through the Closed-Circuit Economic Initiative (CCEI); to build our own science, engineering, medical and technological infrastructure through the New Afrikan Math & Science Centers Initiative; to prevent the abduction/abuse of Our women, children and elders and to find them in the event the unthinkable happens, through the Assata Alert Network (AAN); to educate, train and economically empower our youth to serve, protect and be active participants in the success of our communities through

the Youth-Community Action Program (Y-CAP);

to transform the Black Criminal mentality into a New Afrikan Revolutionary Mentality through the George Jackson University (GJU); to develop a network in our communities capable of affirmatively responding to save lives and resources in the event of a natural disaster or civil unrest through the Emergency Response Network (ERN); to ensure Our Communities, are empowered to have influence over when Our New Afrikan Elders and citizens are liberated from U.S. koncentration camps through Community Release Boards, Strategic Release Initiatives and the Institutional Restitution Campaign; to ensure the safety and security of our women, children and elders at those sites in Our Communities that they most frequently go to in their daily processes of social life through the Community Safe-Zones Initiative (CSZI); and finally, to ensure Our Communities have the necessary training, resources and orientation to defend themselves, their Institutions and Community from ANY threat through the Secure Communities Mandate (SCM) – all without reliance on ANY aspect of the fascist U.S. state.

These efforts are just what they asserts themselves to be: A POLICY OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO BUILD AN AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY-BASED INFRASTRUCTURE, ONE BASED ON NEW AFRIKAN REVOLUTIONARY SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES.

An infrastructure which not only provides a viable alternative to the fascist arrangement, but is in fact a functional program of transfer-culture, deliberately

and systematically decoupling and withdrawing from the U.S. capitalist state to forge a new and more sustainable basis for social life guarded by its most Revolutionary segment of the population: a New Afrikan Nation in Amerika serving, and served by, New Afrikan People who are not only aware of their Nations existence, but are actively living in it, and contributing to it's ongoing development, on a practical day to day basis.

Yes, the state of Our New Afrikan Nation is dire...right now, however, if we adopt the work product of some of Our most advanced and committed citizens as the new basis of Our New Policy of New Afrikan National Development, we will transform the nature and structure of Our Nation to breed ever greater victories. Understand, the Sons and Daughter of the People's Republik

of New Afrika have not been idle. In California, Georgia, Michigan, Illinois, Tennessee and across this land we have been building and we will continue to. Now is Our time to assess Our relative development in relation to Our Positive Objective, and reformulate a new basis for National sovereignty. We have already developed the blueprints and model examples for their implementation, we need only bend the full might of Our National organization to bring it to fruition, and one day soon look upon what Our Unity has built and say: The state of Our New Afrikan Nation is strong. Free the Land, until we win or don't lose. Guerrilla Love.

-Joka Heshima Jinsai

-Abdul Olugbala Shakur

-Ifoma Modibo Kambon

-Louis Powell

-New Afrikan Rev. Nat'l Party

**BLOGTALKRADIO.COM/
GEROGE JACKSON RADIO**

Call in # (516) 387-1305

**Abdul Olugbala
Shakur**

**Bomani Uhuru
Jihad Shakur**

Radio Host

**8pm EST Every Wednesday
7pm CST Night
6pm MST
5pm PST**

https://www.georgejacksonuniversity-gju.com/

..... If you are afraid of Black Nationalism, you're afraid
of Revolution. If you love Revolution, you love
Black Nationalism. He wants a nation



A Revolutionary is a Black Nationalist. He wants a

For additional posters, write NAPO, P. O. Box 7872, Chicago, IL 60680