Vol. 2 No. 1 Summer 2020

Re-Build!

A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical





Table of Contents

We Stand With the Resistance! p.3
Re-Orientation Toward the Conduct of Daily Struggle p.5
Remembering the Glenville Uprising p. 7
PFLP Statement of Remembrance for Comrade Seth Hayes p.10



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.

We Stand With the Resistance!

From
The Re-Build Collective



Image: protesters burn flag and overturn police barricade

We of the Re-Build Collective would like to express our absolute support for the mass protests, mobilizations (online and in person) and rebellions that have taken place in response to the callous murder of George Floyd.

Our people, confronted once again with the cruel disregard of the occupation for New Afrikan life, have taken the fight to the enemy and made it known that We will not stand idly by while our people are killed in the streets.

We commend all those who were willing to go out into the streets, despite the fact that doing so during a global pandemic meant that they were not only risking brutality and arrest at the hands of the police, but also the possibility of contracting the COVID-19 virus.

We especially commend those New Afrikans who stepped out and engaged in various acts of resistance. We know that New Afrikans have been disproportionately dying from COVID-19, and that We, as a people, also find ourselves most likely to be brutalized and arrested when We take to the streets.

We as a Collective, utterly reject the idea that those who refused to limit their resistance to peaceful demonstrations did anything whatsoever to disparage the cause or the memory of our fallen brother. Indeed, the opposite is true. It is precisely those who were willing to escalate the struggle who are responsible for ensuring that this murder would not go unpunished.

It is important for the enemy to know that if they continue to murder our people, they

will have to pay a heavy price. Every New Afrikan life has value to our people, and everyone should know that there will be severe consequences for those who fail to acknowledge and respect our humanity. We salute all of those who played a role in delivering those consequences.

We also salute those who continue to record and share the videos of these atrocities. It is imperative that We make use of every tool that We have to expose the savagery of the u.s. settler state and its armed defenders.

We know that without the work of the cell phone wielding citizen journalist We might never have heard the name George Floyd. He could very easily have joined the swollen ranks of the anonymous New Afrikans



whose lives have been similarly cut short by the violence of the settlers and their state.

Yet, even as We mourn the death of our brother, We take heart from the people's continued resistance. We take heart from the fact that more and more of our people are realizing that there can be no internal settlement to the centuries old conflict between our people and the americans.

More and more, our people are beginning to express ideas that convey their growing readiness to give credence to the position of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Now more than ever, We have an obligation to place the fight for land and independence before them.

For four centuries We have lived under the yoke of their tyranny. For four centuries the settlers have had their knees on our necks.

It is foolish to believe that after all that We have endured at the hands of these americans that We could ever obtain anything remotely approximating equality under their rule. It would be even more foolish and disgraceful to desire it.

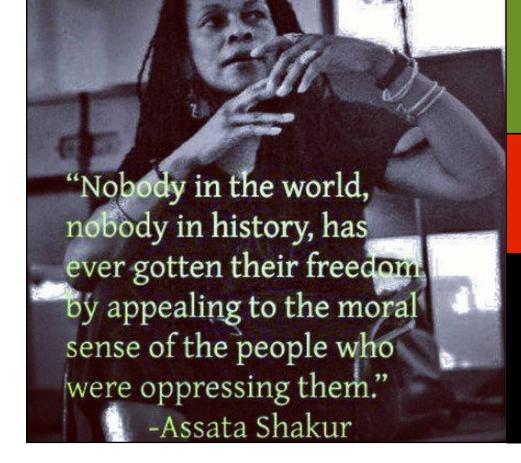
We are not national chauvinists. We do not seek anything more than equality with any other people on the earth. The equality that We demand however, is an equal place among the community of nations.

Civil rights, even with whatever reparations the settlers might be willing to cough up to save their empire will never be enough!

We demand the right to be selfdetermining. We demand INDEPENDENCE. We demand an INDEPENDENT, SOCIALIST, REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA. This, and only this, will bring REAL freedom to our people. This, and only this, can put an end to our long night of oppression.

The struggle is still for LAND and INDEPENDENCE! It will remain so until We FREE THE LAND!





Re-Orientation Toward the Conduct of Daily Struggle: From Reform to National Liberation Revolution

Atiba Shanna Spear and Shield Collective

"There are times when it is necessary to develop the cadre and the people by engaging them in certain political struggles to advance their knowledge and develop their talent for engaging the enemy, as well as for leading not-as-yet-engaged sections of the [people] into the fray to strengthen its social forces. In fact, the rhetoric of the...movement today is far beyond its leaders' capacity to produce. This rhetoric not only exceeds the movements' organizational strength and structure to implement. It also tends to disguise the lack of clarity as to the kind of [liberation we] are seeking...

Today...the struggles for...minds require concrete struggles for power to rule over land, goods, and the means by which goods are produced." (1)

Clarity as to the kind of liberation We seek/ need provides the orientation necessary for engaging in daily struggles around immediate issues, without losing sight of the long range objective. The kind of liberation We seek is NATIONAL liberation.

The struggles for "Freedom, Justice, and Equality," for "Bread, Jobs, and Peace," for "quality education" and adequate health care, are all inspired by the contradiction between the oppressed New Afrikan nation, and the settler-imperialist united states--and the u.s. is unable and unwilling to resolve this contradiction by any means short of prolonged warfare. Unless properly handled, slogans such as "No Justice, No Peace" illustrate Our lack of clarity, because they

assume that Our liberation can be realized within and by bourgeois legality. In a nutshell, the needed orientation for all mass work is this: What the reactionaries call "injustice," etc., is actually part and parcel of the Amerikkkan Way--the only solution is national liberation and socialist revolution.

We recall from Fred's speeches, as he recounted the struggles waged by the BPP around placement of the stop signs: People went through the process of attending futile meetings with officials of the colonial state; they observed the rules and regulations of "legitimate authority," only to have their dignity and self-confidence eroded. Some of the people who go through similar changes give up, having been frustrated once too often. Others continue to go through the motions, primarily because they're presented with no alternative, i.e., no party cadres to show how the people have the power to effect all the needed changes in their lives, and can do so without the intervention of the colonial state apparatus. Such knowledge and experience lends itself toward selfconscious motion seeking to abolish the oppressive state apparatus altogether, and replace it with a revolutionary apparatus truly of, by, and for the people.

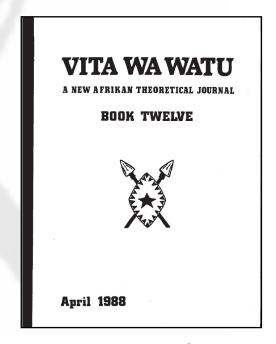
However, the people must do more than simply observe and participate--that is, unless We expand Our meaning of "participate" so that it includes DIALOGUE, agitation, propaganda, political education...

The party must be able to project a vision of the new society, and it must provide the means of materializing that vision, laying the foundation for the new society in the very process of the struggle for national

liberation. That is, "freedom" means acceptance of responsibility for self and kind; We must begin, in the midst of and as part of the struggle, to assume the responsibility for governing our selves, for producing and appropriating Our material and cultural values.

Our vision must be emphasized in opposition to the imperialist and neo-colonialist perspectives. Our vision demands that We stress the need to establish New Afrikan state power as the PREREQUISITE for the long term resolution of colonial violence, bad housing, miseducation, poor health, no jobs, etc.

At present, the orientation underlying mass struggle is primarily neo-colonialist; We ask the u.s. government to do things for us. Our struggle is AGAINST the u.s. government, to secure the power to prevent it from doing things to us and so that We can do things for our selves, under Our own government.





Each issue that the masses struggle around must be infused (by the people's vanguard) with the idea than none of Our problems can be solved until We achieve national independence, when We can then begin to use Our human and material resources to build a better life. This means We must continually point to the systems of colonialism and capitalism as the enemynot mere individuals.

It's not revolutionary to merely talk about the "administration" as the cause of Our problems, nor as the source of solutions.

Defining the kind of liberation We need starts by distinguishing imperialist and neo-colonialist reforms, from the "democratic" or progressive reforms used by the masses to improve their lives while struggling to establish national independence and socialism.

By imperialist reforms We mean those carried out by the u.s. settler-imperialist state to turn the tide of rising consciousness. The oppressor nation introduces these reforms in an attempt to diminish contradictions and to give the impression of

resolving them. Their aim is to preserve and protect the system of oppression, to perpetuate the amerikkan way.

"A revolutionary struggle unfolds steadily in all spheres of social life--political, economic and cultural. Hence, constant success in each area of combat requires the mobilization and organization of the masses to undermine the enemy's successive policies and thwart every one of his schemes and maneuvers."(2)

If We ain't clear on the type of liberation We seek, We can find our selves pushing for "changes" that, once they occur, will have little or no effect on Our fundamental oppression. For example, a "survival program" that serves free breakfast to the children in the community can, if not properly oriented (i.e., if the people ain't politically educated), be mistaken for a goal, an end, rather than a means. In such a case, the enemy destroys the vanguard, and then implements a similar program, serving free breakfast and lunch, and thus giving the impression that there's no need for more radical or revolutionary proposals. The revolutionary orientation that had guided the BPP free breakfast program was liquidated along with the party!

By neo-colonialist reforms We mean those initiated by reactionary forces inside the nation. In effect, the purposes of these reforms is the same as that of the u.s. settler-imperialist state, and those who initiate them are collaborators.

Reactionary forces introduce their reform proposals in an attempt to bring about "change" only within the limits of bourgeois legality and the ideological hegemony of the empire. They deny the necessity for NATIONAL liberation revolution and socialist development, and consequently their actions create divisions among the masses, sowing confusion and

illusions, while also undermining the confidence the masses have in their vanguard forces. The masses want "freedom"--but the reactionaries define freedom one way, while the revolutionary vanguard defines freedom another way; the reactionaries say that freedom can be obtained by "working within the system," while the vanguard says that real freedom can only be realized by opposing the capitalist-imperialist system--by opposing the u.s., and the "amerikkkan way"--and by establishing New Afrikan state power.

- 1. James Boggs, <u>Racism and the Class</u> <u>Struggle</u>, pps. 106; 111.
- 2. Le Duan, "Principles and Methods of Revolutionary Action," <u>This Nation and Socialism Are One.</u>



theoretician in the New Afrikan
Independence Movement. He founded
the Spear & Shield Collective. His
work continues to inspire New Afrikans
from one generation to the next! We
strongly encour age new comrads to
study his work.

Remembering the Glenville Uprising

Bro. Amir July 23rd Commemoration Committee

The following is the text of an address given by a member of the July 23rd Commemoration Committee at the African American Museum of Cleveland's Juneteenth Celebration.

Good afternoon brothers and sisters. I would like to thank sister Erica and the African American Museum for inviting us here to participate in this Juneteenth event.

It is very appropriate that the African American museum take the time today to recognize the historic nature of what happened in the Glenville neighborhood of Cleveland on July 23rd, 1968. I think it's very fitting that We do this here in Hough, because it was here in Hough where many of us got Our first experience with mass rebellion here in Cleveland.

Ironically, Hough kicked off on July 18, 1966 and went on until July 23rd in 1966. Two years to the day before "the pot" jumped off in Glenville. That's what We called it at the time, "the pot."

Juneteenth is the day that We celebrate the news of the end of slavery coming to our people in the state of Texas; more than two and a half years after the emancipation proclamation was issued.

Unfortunately, here in Cleveland in 1968, more than 200 years after that racist Lincoln signed his piece of paper, We found that Our people were still not free. That shouldn't be surprising to anyone here because most of you know that We're still not free today.

Cleveland in the 1960's and 70's was a major center of Revolutionary Black Nationalism in this country. Many people don't know this.



Image: July 23rd Commemoration Committee Members, Cleveland, Ohio 2018

In fact, it was here in Cleveland that brother Malcolm first delivered his famous "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech. He gave that speech less than a ten minute drive from this museum at the Cory Methodist Baptist Church on E. 105.

Many of the brothers and sisters that were involved in the uprising in 1968 were there when he gave that speech. So was brother Ahmed Evans. We all listened to what brother Malcolm had to say that day. But We didn't just listen, We put his words into action. In 1964, Malcolm told us that We needed to make use of the ballot, and if the ballot wasn't enough to advance Our rights and Our dignity as a people, to be ready to use the bullet.

In 1967 We used the ballot to elect Carl Stokes the first Black Mayor of a major city. We did that here in Cleveland. We tried two

years earlier in 1965, but We came up short. Stokes was not a revolutionary nationalist, but he respected and worked with those of us in the movement. And We went out to work to help get him elected.

Many of us, most of us, were just teenagers at the time and couldn't even vote. But We all supported Carl's election.

After he was elected Carl worked closely with the Nationalist movement. A perfect example of which was what happened after King was assassinated.

King and Ahmed Evans knew each other. In 1967 before Stokes got elected, up until right before he was killed, Martin Luther King Jr. used to come to Cleveland all the time. And when he would come to Cleveland, he would meet with the Nationalists. He would meet with brother Ahmed.



When King was killed, what had always been clear to us, became clear to many of Our people; that nonviolence would never be enough to get us freedom.

Rebellions broke out all over this country after King was killed. But here in Cleveland brother Ahmed, and other nationalist leaders walked the streets with Carl and told Our people to "keep it cool."

And We kept it cool for a time. We worked as much as We could to address Our issues through dialogue. But still the aggression from the police and the FBI, continued.

On July 23rd 1968, after years of provocation, a small band of courageous brothers, rose up in ARMS and proclaimed to the world that enough was enough. That We were a FREE people. And that We still had men and women willing to fight and die for Our FREEDOM and for Our DIGNITY. We had used the ballot, now it was time for the bullet.

What happened that day in Glenville was truly historic. It was not a riot, it was an UPRISING. There were many UPRISINGS during the 1960's, but what happened here in Cleveland in 1968 was unique.

It was the only UPRISING of that period that began with a battle between the

Nationalist forces and the police. There was urban guerrilla warfare going down right here in Cleveland. And to this day, it is the only recorded mass urban UPRISING in Our history that ended with more white casualties than BLACK.

I am careful to say "recorded" because We know how the enemy is when it comes to Our history of resistance against his oppression. We know how good of a job they have done at minimizing the knowledge that We have of the many battles, rebellions, and uprisings that We have fought against them. We know how they seek to deny Our children and our selves any knowledge of a history that might instill in us the will to take up arms against them, and the confidence that if We did, We could win.

We suffered four casualties that day. Brother Malik, Brother Amir, and Little Nondu were killed in action; Nondu El, Little Nondu's twin brother was wounded. The police suffered 18 casualties, 3 dead and 15 wounded.

It was also the first and only time that all white police were ordered out of a BLACK community. Mayor Stokes ordered the withdrawal of all white police from the Glenville community and community leaders patrolled the streets of Glenville. No one else was killed after the police withdrawal.

After the shootout Brother Ahmed Evans, Nondu, Little Ahmed, Osu Bey, and a brother We called Unknown, were captured. Ahmed was initially sentenced to death, but he died of cancer in prison in 1978. Nondu did 26 years for his part in the shootout, and was paroled to Philadelphia. He lived there with his wife until his death. The other three brothers were only 16 and 17 at the time and due to a technicality, ended up getting charged as juveniles. They did only a few years in prison and were released. Two of them went right back into the struggle.

Sadly, the history of that day, and the UPRISING remains mostly unknown. Most of Our people outside of Cleveland have never heard anything about what happened that day. And most of Our young people, even those who live on the same streets where the fighting took place, have no idea that anything ever happened there. That is why it is so important that We take the time today to remember and to honor the courage of the men who fought and died that day.

In closing, I would also like to say that a lot of misinformation has been spread about the people who fought the battle that day. This is especially true of Brother Ahmed, also known as Fred Evans.

Ahmed was not just a soldier, he was a teacher. He was a promoter of Black culture, of Black art, and of Black unity. And he was a man prepared to die for his people.

He inspired many of us, who were only teenagers at the time, to study Our history, and to have pride in our selves and in Our culture.

I am grateful that I had a chance to know him, and to learn from him. And I am thankful that I have had a chance to talk a little about the history he and others made on July 23rd, 1968. Thank you.



Image: Ahmed Evans with MLK

NEW

from THE UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

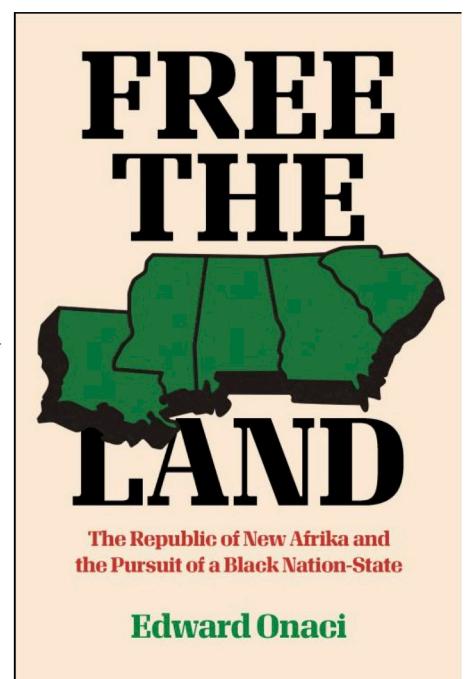
FREE THE LAND

The Republic of New Afrika and the Pursuit of a Black Nation-State Edward Onaci

On March 31, 1968, over 500 Black nationalists convened in Detroit to begin the process of securing independence from the United States. Many concluded that Black Americans' best remaining hope for liberation was the creation of a sovereign nation-state, the Republic of New Afrika (RNA). New Afrikan citizens traced boundaries that encompassed a large portion of the South--including South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana--as part of their demand for reparation. As champions of these goals, they framed their struggle as one that would allow the descendants of enslaved people to choose freely whether they should be citizens of the United States. New Afrikans also argued for financial restitution for the enslavement and subsequent inhumane treatment of Black Americans. The struggle to "Free the Land" remains active to this day.

This book is the first to tell the full history of the RNA and the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Edward Onaci shows how New Afrikans remade their lifestyles and daily activities to create a self-consciously revolutionary culture, and argues that the RNA's tactics and ideology were essential to the evolution of Black political struggles. Onaci expands the story of Black Power politics, shedding new light on the long-term legacies of mid-century Black Nationalism.

EDWARD ONACI is associate professor of history at Ursinus College.



GET YOUR COPY NOW!

PFLP Statement of Remembrance for Brother and Comrade Robert 'Seth' Hayes

Prison Branch Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine 28, February 2020

The prison branch of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine joins Our comrades in the struggle for liberation around the world in mourning the passing of Robert "Seth" Hayes, a political prisoner for over 45 years behind the bars of U.S. imperialist jails. Released only last year, he lives on as a martyr of the Black Liberation movement and of all of Our struggles to confront capitalism, Zionism, imperialism, and reaction. We salute his steadfast commitment to justice and liberation that was never suppressed through years of unjust imprisonment.

Robert "Seth" Hayes struggled in the Black Panther Party, joining the Black Liberation movement after his experiences in the U.S. imperialist military made clear the real enemy suppressing Black people in the United States as well as oppressed and colonized peoples everywhere fighting for their liberation. He was forced to go underground due to state repression and targeted attacks that sought to destroy the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation movement as a whole, in yet another attempt to crush this revolutionary movement that challenged the

Robert "Seth" Hayes 1947-2019

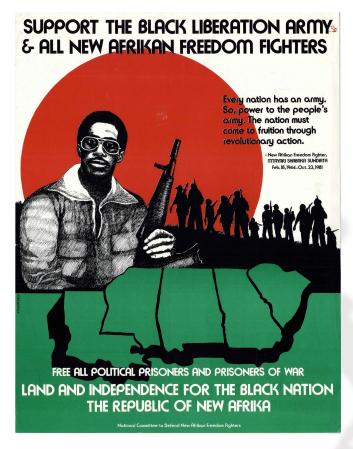
foundations of U.S. capitalism and imperialism.

We know that the U.S. empire that sustains the killing, apartheid, and

colonization of Palestine was built on upon the enslavement and genocide of Black people and settler colonialism and the genocide of Indigenous people. Robert "Seth" Hayes was part of a long history of Black revolutionary struggle that continues to inspire people around the world with its strong internationalist tradition and commitment to liberation. We in Palestine face the brutality of the United States outside its borders, while the Black Liberation movement inside the United States that same colonial, racist power.

The Black Panther Party worked to build a revolutionary infrastructure to fight back against U.S. imperialism and create a new vision of the future. It, along with the entire Black liberation movement, was targeted for massive state repression, including political imprisonment of leaders and strugglers like Robert "Seth" Hayes, Mumia Abu-Jamal, the MOVE 9, Mutulu Shakur and many others. The repression has also been accompanied by

criminalization and mass incarceration targeting the Black community and other oppressed communities.



The circumstances to which this brother and comrade were subjected to in prison are deeply reminiscent of Our own. We note that, like Our comrade George Ibrahim Abdallah jailed in French prisons, he was repeatedly denied parole because he retained his political commitments. He suffered from Hepatitis C and diabetes since 2000 and was repeatedly denied adequate health care. His medical condition deteriorated continuously as a

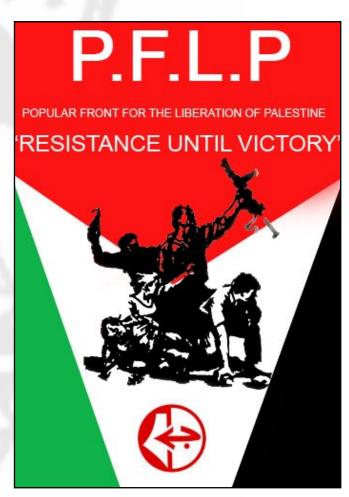


result of this form of medical neglect, an institutionalized practice affecting Palestinian prisoners as well. Despite Our varied and differing circumstances, there is a deep connection of struggle that brings us together.

Just as the Black Liberation movement has a long internationalist history – including one of joint struggle with the Palestinian national liberation movement - We recognize and remember Our brother and comrade Robert "Seth" Hayes for his commitment to supporting fellow political prisoners struggling for freedom. He fought not only for his own freedom, but for the freedom of his fellow political prisoners and the freedom of his people, within the dungeons of U.S. imperialism, the greatest threat to the Palestinian people and to all peoples around the world. Robert "Seth" Hayes was not only a prisoner but a leader; he remained jailed for 45 years because the power of his commitment and his message struck fear in the hearts of imperialism.

We raise Our fists in a revolutionary salute to Robert "Seth" Hayes and affirm once more that revolutionaries never die, but inspire generations to struggle onward toward Our collective liberation. We extend Our linked arms to the sisters and brothers of the Black Liberation movement who remain inside U.S. prisons today, including Mutulu Shakur and Mumia Abu-Jamal, and rejoice together with you in the freedom of Delbert Africa, Chuck Africa, and the MOVE 9 as We rejoice

in the freedom of every Palestinian prisoner. Our Palestinian struggle for justice and liberation is part of one collective fight with the Black liberation movement, and We pledge to continue the struggle until every prisoner is freed and until the systems that imprison us all – racism, capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, an Zionism – are defeated.



Prison Branch Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine 28, February 2020

Re-Build Call for Submissions



The struggle is Still for Land and Independence!

