

# Re-Build!



*A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical*

## IN SOLIDARITY AGAINST IMPERIALISM!



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**FREE THE LAND!**

# NEW AFRIKAN CREED

*i believe* in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black People, and in our new pursuit of these values.

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

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

*i believe* in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world.

*i believe* in collective struggle, in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters.

*i believe* that the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control our lives.

*i believe* that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign Black nation.

*i believe* that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.

*i believe* in the Malcolm X Doctrine: that We must organize upon this land and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote that We are free and our land independent, and that, after the vote, We must stand ready to defend ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.

Therefore, i pledge to struggle without cease, until We have won sovereignty. i pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a Better condition than the world has yet known.

*i will* give my life if that is necessary. i will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this *IS* necessary.

*i will* follow my chosen leaders and help them.

*i will* love my brothers and sisters as myself.

*i will* steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister, and spread no gossip.

*i will* keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that i am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.

*i will* be patient and uplifting with my brothers and sisters, and i will seek by word and by deed to heal the Black family, to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, left by the wayside.

*Now, freely and of my own will, i pledge this Creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For, i am by the inspiration of our Ancestors and the grace of our Creator a New Afrikan!*

# WHO WE ARE

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

## POINTS OF UNITY

1. We, the descendants of enslaved Afrikans under american rule are NOT americans but members of the New Afrikan Nation.

2. We recognize the ABSOLUTE EQUALITY of EVERY New Afrikan National, and OPPOSE ABSOLUTELY all forms of discrimination or oppression based upon sex, gender identity, sexual preference, or religion.

3. We assert that the ONLY state that can claim, by right, the allegiance of ANY New Afrikan, is an Independent Republic of New Afrika

4. We are committed to building an Independent, Democratic, Socialist Republic of New Afrika upon our National Territory.

5. We recognize that the right of EVERY New Afrikan to live under the protection of a sovereign, independent New Afrikan government is ABSOLUTE, and cannot be extinguished by ANY duration of foreign rule, nor voted away by any majority of the moment.

6. We recognize, support and defend the RIGHT of New Afrikans to fight for the liberation of the National Territory by ANY MEANS

NECESSARY.

7. We recognize that the american settler colonial project is illegitimate in its essence; and as such, the u.s. government has NO legitimate sovereign authority over any portion of OUR national territory nor ANYWHERE ELSE!

8. We recognize, support and defend that right of EVERY OPPRESSED NATION living under u.s. colonial rule to fight for self-determination and independence BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.

9. We stand in Solidarity with ALL Nations fighting to throw off the yoke of colonial and neocolonial oppression.

10. We demand the release of ALL Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War currently held captive in u.s. prisons and jails.

11. We demand that the u.s. government cease and desist in its efforts to capture all New Afrikan exiles, and WE recognize the right of ANY New Afrikan to resist enemy capture BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY.

12. We consider "Free the Land!" to be not merely a slogan of the Independence Movement, but a COMMAND to which We ALL are subject.

# NAPO/MXGM SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF CUBA & THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) and Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM), calls upon all New Afrikan, Pan-Afrikanists, and anti-imperialist formations to condemn and oppose the aggression of united states imperialism against the people of Cuba and their anti-colonial and socialist Revolution. The Cuban Revolution created models for people's medicine and literacy for humanity. Since 1959, Revolutionary Cuba has been a beacon of internationalism and solidarity with the people of the world. Cuba is exemplary for its provision of medical assistance to the Caribbean, Africa, and Latin America through sending doctors and brigades to assist the public

health of its people. Cuba's solidarity is also extended to training doctors from the formerly and currently colonized peoples of the globe to return to their home countries to serve the respective nations. New Afrikans, Afrikan descendants, Indigenous and Latinx doctors from oppressed communities within the u.s empire have been and are currently being trained in Revolutionary Cuba. Moreover, Cuban soldiers have shed their blood in Africa and Venezuela fighting shoulder to shoulder with national liberation movements against white apartheid, colonialism, and imperialism.

The Cuban people also deserve our utmost respect and love for providing safe haven for those engag-

ing in our fight for national liberation inside the u.s empire including New Afrikans Robert F. and Mabel Williams, Queen Mothers Assata Shakur and Nehanda Abiodun, and several other citizens of the Republic of New Afrika and members of the Black Panther Party, and Puerto Rican Independence Movement. Cuba has provided a refuge for those fighting for freedom throughout the Americas, Africa, Palestine, and Europe.

u.s. imperialism and global capitalism see Cuba as an enemy that must be destroyed. The Cuban Revolution represents possibilities for a liberated future for humanity. The current white nationalist regime controlling the u.s. federal government have extended the empire's policy of the Monroe Doctrine (the "Donroe" doctrine) to suppress resistance, dissent, and anti-colonial national liberation in the western hemisphere. The economic war the Trump regime is waging against Cuba is a form of genocide attempting to starve the

people of the Island into submission and neo-colonialism. Since the days of the great Fidel Castro, u.s. imperialism, aligned with right-wing Cubans, wishes the Cuban Revolution to cry "uncle." These arrogant settler colonists even desire to choose the leaders of the Cuban people.

*We say 'NO' to blockade and economic war. We declare imperialism's economic war is a violation of international law and genocide!!!!*

*We call upon all people's movements and friends of liberation globally to condemn the "Donroe" doctrine!*

*End the Economic War against the Cuban People!*

*We join with the people of Cuba in their fight for self-determination!*

*We salute Cuba's legacy of internationalism and solidarity!*

*Make the Caribbean a Zone of Peace!*

*"Cuba Si, Yanqui NO!"*

## CELEBRATING NEW AFRIKAN FAMILY DAY ON JULY 11

Recognizing the family as the cornerstone of the nation, *New Afrikan Family Day* was launched in Detroit in 2017 as an occasion for New Afrikan families to gather multi-generationally around more than just matters of struggle. We often proclaim the need for unity but rarely create the conditions that could forge the bonds that make it a real and lasting possibility.

Observed the second Saturday in July, New Afrikan Family Day is an opportunity to break bread and

bond during the summer months through a range of fun activities.

In recent years, the celebration has spread to other cities, including Chicago, IL., and Jackson, MS. It doesn't require much, just good intentions. It could be a BBQ in a backyard, or a potluck at a park. Invite folks from the community to engage. What's key is that people get to know each other, that We deepen our relations and have a good time together.

*Will it be in your city this year?*



New Afrikan family celebrating New Afrikan Family Day in 2017 in Detroit.

## Re-Build! Editorial Policy

Would you like to contribute articles, poems, art or ads? Please keep the following policies in mind.

### Editorial Style

Because We understand that the community is more important than the individual, We will always capitalize ‘We’ in our pages, and utilize a lowercase ‘i’ when referencing first-person singular pronouns.

When referring to people of Afrikan descent whose ancestors were enslaved in the u.s.a., We will use the term “New Afrikan”; unless We are printing a direct quote.

### Submission Guidelines

We print quarterly with occasional special issues. Submission deadline dates are: *March 1st, June 1st, Sept 1st, Dec 1st*. Timely submissions should arrive no less than two weeks before deadline date.

All written submissions should be sent as text files, preferably in .rtf (rich text format).

Submit pictures, graphs and charts as .jpeg files, preferably in CMYK color mode.

All submissions should be forwarded by email to: [info@rebuildcollective.org](mailto:info@rebuildcollective.org)

We reserve the right to reject any submissions that does not uphold the standard of the New Afrikan Creed or the RBC Points of Unity.

### Donate

We accept donations to support our work: \$RBC2018 (CashApp)

# NEWS FROM THE NATIONAL TERRITORY

## MISSISSIPPI

### **Development of Data Center in Mississippi**

The development of a large data center and turbine project in Southaven, Mississippi has sparked frustration among nearby residents who say they were never given meaningful input in the decision. People living close to the site report constant noise and fear long-term air pollution, with some saying the disturbance has made their homes difficult to live in or sell. Critics argue that the project represents a broader contradiction of modern capitalism, where new technology is developed not to improve the lives of workers but to increase corporate wealth, even if the same technology contributes to job loss through automation.

This situation reflects a nationwide trend as artificial intelligence infrastructure expands across the United States. Communities from Mississippi to Northern Virginia’s “Data Center Alley” are being reshaped to support the massive energy demands of data centers. While these projects are promoted as economic development, they often bring relatively few permanent jobs while consuming large amounts of land and energy. At the same time, corporations frequently receive tax incentives and subsidies, while residents who raise concerns about environmental impacts, health risks, and quality of life feel their voices are ignored.

Local and state officials continue to support the Southaven project, arguing it will bring economic

growth and investment. The mayor has acknowledged noise concerns but suggested some opposition is politically motivated, while pointing to corporate donations and potential job creation as benefits. The company has installed a multimillion-dollar sound wall and is exploring additional noise reduction efforts, yet residents say the constant hum from the turbines persists. For many in the community, the conflict represents a deeper question about who controls technological development and whether local communities have real power over projects that reshape their environment.

## LOUISIANA

### **Policing the Colony: Racialized State Violence in Louisiana**

A three-year analysis of Louisiana State Police data found significant racial disparities in the use of force. Although Black residents make up about 31% of Louisiana’s population, they were involved in roughly 60.5% of use-of-force incidents between 2022 and 2024. White residents, who make up about 61% of the population, were involved in about 23% of incidents. The advocacy group Innocence and Justice Louisiana, which conducted the analysis, noted that even with some missing racial data in the reports, similar disparities appeared across all ten state police regions, with the most extreme cases occurring in southwest Louisiana.

State police officials argue that the numbers do not fully capture the context of enforcement activity, pointing out that many incidents

occur during high-speed vehicle pursuits or efforts to stop fleeing drivers. In 2024 alone, troopers used tactics such as tire deflation devices to end hundreds of pursuits and occasionally used Tasers, physical force, or firearms. Advocates stress that the report is not claiming individual officers acted with racial intent, but rather that repeated law enforcement encounters in heavily policed communities increase the likelihood that routine stops escalate into force, producing racially unequal outcomes.

The findings have intensified calls for greater transparency and accountability in Louisiana policing. Innocence and Justice Louisiana is expanding the Louisiana Law Enforcement Accountability Database (LLEAD) to track complaints and use-of-force incidents across more than 600 agencies. Advocates argue that public access to officer conduct records is necessary to identify patterns of misconduct, especially in a state where obtaining disciplinary records has historically been difficult. While officials say new technology may improve public access to police data, activists contend that deeper structural changes are needed to address the long-standing racial inequalities reflected in policing practices.

## ALABAMA

### **Newbern Appoints Second Black Mayor Amid Ongoing Struggle for Black Political Power**

Barbara Patrick has been appointed mayor of Newbern,

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# TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION OF THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

*"It's not as simple as it sometimes seems it should be, this process of consolidation — especially when We speak of it in the most general terms, without addressing ourselves to the necessary particulars... One particular reason for the need for consolidation is so that We can more clearly define the Movement, and define the leading forces involved. This need is also behind putting forward exactly what the Movement is, and what the Movement is for." —Atiba Shanna, Book 7*

**B**ook 7: *Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal*, published in 1981 by the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization, contained an article entitled "Thoughts on Consolidation." The article was excerpted from a discussion paper entitled "Thoughts On Consolidation, Ideology and Organization." And though "Ideology and Organization" were dropped from the title of the article, excerpts were also drawn from those sections of the original discussion paper.

The article was published at a time when the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization, the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and what might broadly be referred to as the "Black Liberation Movement" were at a crossroads. The period of mass mobilization, mass direct action and genuinely mass organizations that had begun in 1950s had for all intents and purposes come to a close. Several of the "black nationalist" and non-nationalist black-led revolutionary organizations that were established during the previous period of struggle had been crushed by the combined pressures of repression and weight of their own internal contradictions. Some were dissolved and reconstituted in different forms, but with generally the same core leadership. Others continued to exist into the 1980s, and continue to exist today.

Significant numbers of New Afrikans were still committed to revolutionary struggle and New Afrikan soldiers were still in the field confronting the forces of the state. However, there was no

revolutionary center. No center of authoritative leadership, capable of giving direction to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, connecting the movement to the masses of our people, and wresting the allegiance of the masses over from the enemy state to the Independence Movement.

The publishing of the article was meant to broaden the discussion around the need for consolidation (either through the "heterogeneous affiliation of several groups. . . or the complete fusion of several groups of individuals into a homogeneous whole") in order to establish such a center. It was also meant to answer the question "with whom should We consolidate?"

The position of the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization was that consolidation should occur among organizations with an unambiguous commitment to the struggle for an INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA and with a strategic orientation centering armed struggle. The New Afrikan Prisoners Organization believed that victory in the struggle for LAND and INDEPENDENCE could only result from protracted People's War and that only organizations with a similar perspective, and organized on such a basis, would be capable providing the leadership that the movement required.

In the years following the publication of the above mentioned article consolidation would continue to be discussed within the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization, the Black Liberation Army and the New Afrikan Independence Move-

ment as a whole. Proscriptions for consolidation were put forth by movement participants and efforts at consolidation were made. New organizations emerged and structures meant to advance movement consolidation were stood up. However, the type of revolutionary center that the process of consolidation was meant to establish never fully materialized.

Five years would pass between the publication of *Book 7: Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal* and publication of *Book 8*. The name of the journal was changed to *Vita Wa Watu* (Swahili for People's War) and New Afrikan Prisoners Organization was succeeded by the Spear and Shield Collective. Spear and Shield was forged through the discussions around consolidation and would continue to advocate for it in subsequent issues of the journal. It was in *Book 8* that the slogan Re-Build! first appeared.

The Re-Build Collective was brought into being by New Afrikan Communists in 2018 for the purpose of advancing consolidation. As with the Spear and Shield Collective and the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization which preceded us, We too believe that there is a need for a revolutionary center capable of giving direction to the New Afrikan Independence Movement and helping to guide the struggle of the New Afrikan masses in the direction of a struggle to Free the Land.

While We recognize that We are in a period of struggle that requires the centering of different forms of struggle than were centered in the past, We are in complete alignment with the strategic goals advanced by the Spear and Shield Collective and We are unambiguous in asserting our commitment to fighting for an INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA by any means necessary. This, and ONLY this path can lead to liberation for our people.

Those who founded the Re-Build Collective felt that consolidation had to occur both internally and externally. By internal consolidation We meant the consolidation of New Afrikan Communists who had once been active in the Spear and Shield Collective, those who had worked alongside the Collective, and those who were in

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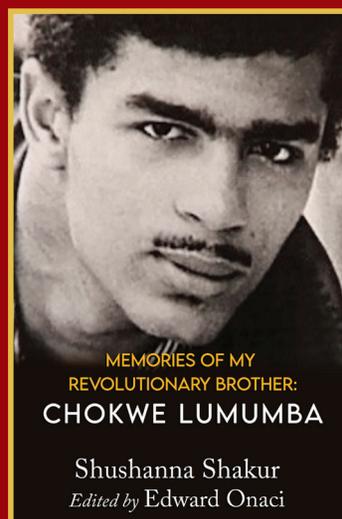
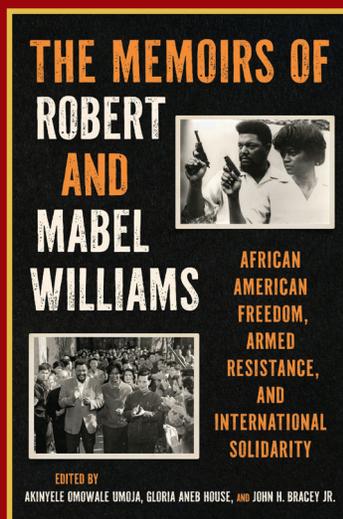
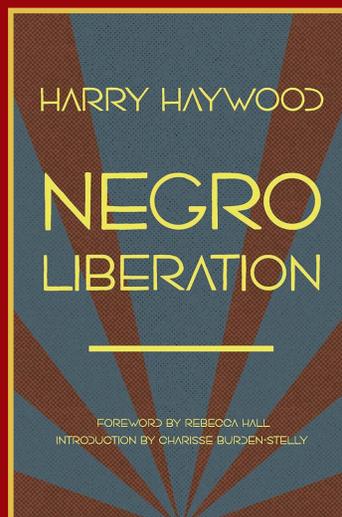
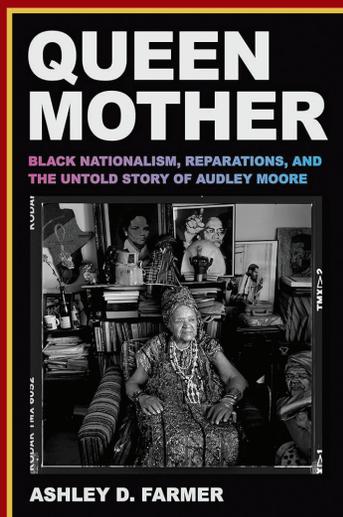
There is a significant resurgence in both interest and growth in the New Afrikan Independence Movement. One indicator is the number of new books from movement and scholarly circles that cast a sympathetic light on movement history, notable figures, and renewed engagement with archival theoretical works that adversarial class forces once hoped would bury this unfinished freedom fight. In just the past six months, several new titles have appeared that are worthy of your attention.

■ **QUEEN MOTHER** by Ashley Farmer (Pantheon Books, 2025) is the first full-length book on the life and struggles of Queen Mother Audley Moore (QMM, 1898–1997), who devoted nearly a century to advocacy for New Afrikan liberation. This political-intellectual biography recenters Moore as a leading champion of Black nationalism and reparations. Farmer traces QMM’s life from her Garveyite beginnings in New Orleans in the 1920s through Harlem communist organizing, advocacy of women’s rights and grassroots southern work, to her role as the first signer of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence in 1968 at the founding of the Republic of New Afrika. The book argues that Moore not only anticipated today’s reparations discourse but built much of its ideological infrastructure, especially the insistence on back pay, collective claims, and the link between nationhood and repair.

■ **NEGRO LIBERATION** by Harry Haywood, with a new introduction by Charisse Burden-Stelly (Haymarket Books, 2026), is the long-awaited reprint of his 1948 classic. A former member of the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood and the U.S. Communist Party, Haywood was a major communist theoretician. Having conducted the first full-length scientific study of the New Afrikan nation, he pushed for Soviet recognition of the New Afrikan



Study & Struggle... learn more about the pioneers of the Independence Movement



(“Negro”) nation through two Black Belt Nation resolutions in 1928 and 1930. He identified the Black Belt South as the national territory and championed national independence for New Afrikan people from the 1920s until his death in the mid-1980s. Negro Liberation is his major contribution.

■ **THE MEMOIRS OF ROBERT AND MABEL WILLIAMS**, edited by Akinyele Umoja, Gloria Aneb House, and John Bracey Jr. (University of North Carolina Press, 2025), traces the Williamses’ trajectory from Jim Crow Monroe, North Carolina—where they organized and practiced armed self-defense against the Klan—to political exile in 1960, when they received asylum in Cuba, China, and Tanzania before returning to the U.S. in 1969. Built from Robert’s unfinished memoir *While God Lay Sleeping* and Mabel’s own memoir fragments, and framed by comrades and family, the book offers intertwined first-person accounts rather than an external biography. While in exile, Robert Williams was duly elected as the first president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika in 1968.

■ **MEMOIRS OF MY REVOLUTIONARY BROTHER CHOKWE LUMUMBA** by Shushanna Shakur (self-published, 2026) is the first full-length treatment of the life of our late comrade Chokwe Lumumba. As Chokwe’s younger sister, Shushanna shares personal memories of her brother, whom she worked closely with for many years as he served in the Provisional Government of the RNA and later co-founded the New Afrikan People’s Organization and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. Beginning his activism in Detroit with the PG-RNA, he returned permanently to the New Afrikan National Territory in 1989. By 2009, his popularity in Jackson, Mississippi, led to his election to the City Council and later as mayor; he succumbed to illness in 2014 after only seven months in office. As an attorney, Chokwe was a fierce champion for some of our most celebrated freedom fighters, and like Queen Mother Moore, Harry Haywood, and Robert and Mabel Williams before him, he left a powerful legacy that must be known and learned from so we can carry the work forward until independence is won.

# BLACK LOVE IN ACTION 2026

## MXGM ORGANIZES COMMUNITIES TO FREE 'EM ALL

*The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) has successfully completed Our annual Black Love in Action (BLA), a powerful week-long series of political education, cultural resistance, and community organizing aiming to reignite the call to Free 'Em All!*

### THE ORIGINS OF BLACK LOVE IN ACTION

“The dates of memorable occurrences become holidays; the acts and practices which are taken up by the people during the course of struggle are later instituted as ritual or natural custom.”-BLA Study Guide

BLA Week traces its roots back five years ago to the campaign to bring home Dr. Mutulu Shakur. Dr. Shakur, a healer and revolutionary, taught and demonstrated throughout his life that “People struggle for liberation because they love people.” It was this Revolutionary New Afrikan philosophy that birthed Black Love in Action. The Week of Action was also strategically launched to coincide with Black Love Day, the holiday founded by Mama Ayo Handy-Kendi in Banneker City (Washington, DC). By coupling the holiday with the plight of political prisoners, We sought to engage the residents of Banneker City in the fight against the federal institutions keeping our elders behind bars.

After winning the release of Dr. Mutulu Shakur, the National Political Prisoner Committee, also known as the Free Em All Committee resolved to dedicate the week to supporting the campaign to free another Black Liberation Army combatant, Kamau Sadiki, whose birthday falls on February 19. Known by a name meaning “faithful” and “loyal,” Sadiki has been incarcerated for more than two decades for his refusal to participate in a plot to recapture fellow BLA comrade Assata Shakur, with whom he shares a child.



MXGM D.C. Chapter "Black Love in Action" campaign, educating and informing about New Afrikan PPs & POWs.

### A WEEK OF ANCESTRAL AND REVOLUTIONARY REMEMBRANCE

This year's Black Love in Action Week opened with a virtual program honoring the names and legacies of former political prisoners, prisoners of war, and political exiles—now ancestors—Assata Shakur, Tamu Kanyama, and Imam Jamil al-Amin, while drawing connections to ongoing struggles against political repression within the u.s. empire.

On Black Love Day, the Atlanta Chapter hosted a "Friday Flix" screening of *Eyes of the Rainbow* that brought us together to witness the life of Assata Shakur through the lens of Cuban filmmaker Gloria Rolando.

Breaking from the commercialism of Valentine's Day, Free Em All organizers spent February 14 engaged in direct community outreach. The Banneker City (DC) Chapter hosted a local People's Assembly that organized Our people

and allies in support of local Palestinian political prisoner organizing, solidarity with Cuba, and the laying of groundwork for Black August coordination.

On Sunday, February 15, the New York Chapter hosted "Be Sekou!" a commemoration of the 42nd anniversary of the late Sekou Odinga's sentencing for the liberation of Assata Shakur, with a critical screening and discussion of COINTELPRO 101, analyzing the state's historical attempts to dismantle the New Afrikan Independence Movement and other liberation struggles.

The latter half of the week focused on culture, faith and self-defense as the tools necessary for long-term resistance. Our newest organizing committees in Cleveland and Columbus united to host a Revolutionary Poetry Night showcasing the spoken word as a vital force in Our culture

*Continued on page 8*



president of the Neighborhood Martial Arts Project in Philadelphia, came through for Our virtual Kupigana Ngumi class. He shared his journey of creating a martial arts space rooted in antiracism and anticapitalism and then lead participants through movements to strengthen Our collective fight against fascism and state repression.

The week concluded with a 73rd birthday tribute for veteran Black Panther and BLA soldier Kamau Sadiki, who remains incarcerated despite declining health and an international campaign for his compassionate release. Visit the BAMN News Service YouTube channel to rewatch BLA 2026 programming.

While BLA Week 2026 has officially concluded, the work continues year-round through the creation of Free Em All Circles- MXGM's new national initiative to organize grassroots action committees to engage everyday people in the everyday duty to Free Em All!

What's The Call!?! FREE EM ALL!!

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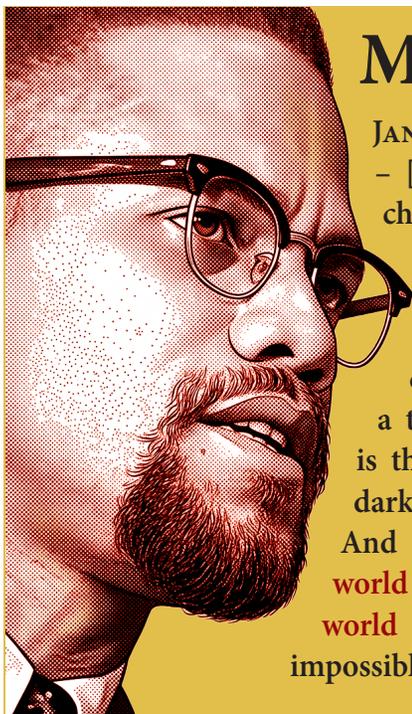
for the ongoing struggle for liberation.

The next day, "Toward a Revolutionary Ramadan", explored faith as a source of resilience and resistance for political prisoners behind the wall, and encouraged Muslims to engage in the fight to free political prisoners as the month of reflection began. The program featured

former BLA combatant & Prisoner of War Jihad Abdulmumit and scholar activist and author Dr. Su'ad Abdul Khabee, along with a Quran recitation by Dr. Aminah al-Deen and a reading of a letter from Assata Shakur to BLA comrade, ancestor Nuh Washington on her acceptance of Islam by Dr. amina wadud.

On Wednesday, Jelani Wilson, coach and

For more information on **Free Em All Circles** and upcoming actions, scan code to follow **MXGM National** on most social media channels.



## MALCOLM X ON THE BALANCE OF POWER

JANUARY 24, 1965  
- [An important] characteristic of this era that we're living in, that's causing it to be a troubled world, is the fact that the dark world is rising. **And as the dark world rises, the white world declines.** It's impossible for the dark

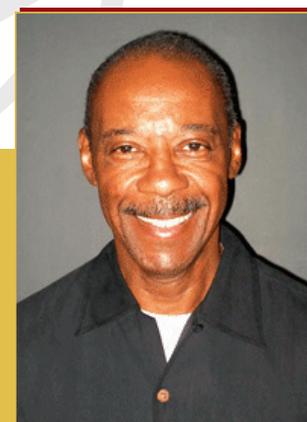
world to increase in its power and strength without the power and strength of the white world decreasing. This is just the way it is, it's almost mathematics. If there is only so much power, and all of it has been over there, well, the only way this man's going to get some over here is to take it away from those over there. That's plain fact.

Up until recent times, all of the power has been in Europe, it has all been in the hands of the white man. The base of power has been in London and Paris and Brussels and Washington, D.C., and some of those places like that. Now the bases of power are changing.

You have a base of power in Accra, in Ghana, in Africa. Another base of power in Zanzibar. Another base of power in Cairo. Another base of power in Algiers. Another base of power in Tokyo. Another base of power in Peking.

Well, **as these bases of power increase, it decreases Europe as a base of power.** And this is what's causing trouble. The white man is worried. He knows that he didn't do right when he had all the power, and if the base of power changes, those into whose hands it falls may know how to really do right. The rise of the dark world is producing the fall of the white world.

# THOUGHTS ON PUTTING MORE 'BASE' IN OUR MASS-BASED WORK



Owusu Yaki Yakubu  
(s/n James Sayles)

*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. Through his years of correspondence with comrades in and out of prison, he nearly always broached the topic of organizing, ever seeking to demystify this important task that eludes even the most devoted freedom fighters. We share one here.*

5-10-95

Comrads:

i've been sitting here, listening to Coltrane's "Live in Seattle," and waiting to see where my mind would settle. The past forty minutes or so have been spent thinking about "how to consolidate the collective; how to put more 'base' under the SN."<sup>1</sup> Better to put some of this on paper & share it than to just let it go...

There are several ways/places i could start, but let's go with this familiar quote from Bk. 5: *"One of our present weaknesses, too, is lack of cadres who can 'distribute the thousand and one minute functions of their organizational work among individual representatives of the most varied classes. Lack of*

<sup>1</sup> SN = "Support Network," an abbreviation of CRSN, which refers to the Crossroad Support Network, that base of supporters who helped produced and distribute the CROSSROAD (CR) newsletter for \_\_\_ years.

*specialization is one of the most serious defects of our technique ... The smaller each separate "operation" in our common cause, the more people we can find capable of carrying out such operations ... "* i could continue to repeat the words, but i'll trust each of you to go to the source & check out the whole, break it down line by line & word by word. At the moment, i just wanna start my focus on the "seed" i've quoted here: We have to learn more about how to bring the people around us in to the work! All of us can already do this to one extent or another, but it still remains a major priority for each of us to get better at it.

Each of us are overburdened, and each of us have needs that We can't fulfill by ourselves. We need help! And, in a real sense, We are already surrounded by people who are capable of helping us, and who are willing to help us. Sometimes, all We have to do is ask. Ask for help. Be prepared, so that the task you want help with is made as easy as possible for the person you're

asking. As best you can, be able to suggest ways and means of getting tasks done, or of acquiring needed information or materials or other assistance. Be patient. Have some sense of exactly what the person is capable of doing, & don't give them more than they can handle. There's no need for these people to be conscious & active, e.g., one of the rads has pulled his grandmother into the work – she sWe share ells copies of CR to her associates. Maybe she does this (initially) only to help her grandson; maybe the associates buy CR only to help her (initially). Maybe she won't continue to perform this task – she may disassociate altogether, or she may begin to perform other tasks. The point is to check out the process, the form of practice, the technique, the initiative, etc. Each of us are & will be overburdened; We are/will be performing tasks that other people could & should be doing. Some of the people around us at present, and some of the people We'll meet in the days to come, can help us build,

consolidate, & expand the SN.

If i introduce myself to someone as a member of the CRSN & they ask me, "What is the CRSN?", what do i say? At the core, i'm a member of a network that supports CR – and what is CR? Next, what does the network do to "support" CR? Maybe i'll pull out a copy of the "Principles & Program," and as they read or scan it, give them an outline of what CR is, its' history, its' function, its vision for the nation and/or its potential development. Maybe i'll list some of the ways that they can help in the production and distribution of CR. Maybe i'll talk about some of the concrete activities that the SN has undertaken in the past, activities the SN is currently involved in or has on schedule, and some of the activities that can be taken on if/when We get the people & resources to do so.

i may even ask them if they have an activity in mind that they would like to initiate – it doesn't matter that i haven't thought of it or that it's not on the org. agenda at present.

**Continued Next Page**

## YAKI, cont'd from page 9

We discuss it, go over the possibility of their idea becomes an SN project – a project that they can "lead" or coordinate ... Maybe they are "inclined" to get involved, but "not right now," or "i'm not sure," etc. Cool. "Here's my card, my number ... give me yours & We'll stay in touch ... talk later..." "Then, you be sure to call them ... send them some more lit. See if they wanna go with you to some upcoming event -- bottom line: it's our responsibility to follow through, to try to pull w/out being pushy ... To let them know who We are, w/out being doctrinaire. To find out more about them – and, in large part, let them know that they don't have to be "like us" (in a strict sense) in order for us to work

together. We wanna work with "the masses" & "the people", but We tend to forget that they ain't "like us"! The masses become "like us" through the process of "ordinary" activity that We engage in together with them. Yeah, sometimes it's more a matter of us working with them, & not them working with us – the more We begin to do this, the sooner We can stop moaning about why We are so few.

Now, let's go back to the question put to me, "*What is CRSN?*" Now, i know i'm standing on the printed "Principles & Program," and maybe some other printed materials – but i wanna be able to use my own words, and maybe some language/ words that my particular "audience" can relate to. The "particularities" will vary, depending on time &

place, etc. But i know that i should use some "common language" (w/ out violating principles<sup>2</sup>), because my objective is to demonstrate our common interests, and to assure them that this is something that they can/should get involved with/ support.

And, let's say that as a member of the support network, one of my priorities (aside from pulling in people) is to produce & distribute CR! So, maybe this is what i focus on, e.g., "*Well, one of the main jobs of the support network is to help the bloods produce and distribute the newsletter. i write for it, and i try to get other people to write for it. i do some typing. i do some copying. i help with lay out. i mail. i tighten up mailing lists. i keep track of the exchanges of CR w/other publications. i seek out people who'll financially sustain CR, in various ways, e.g., donate \$25 a month or every four months; take a bundle of ten or a bundle of one hundred of each issue and pay at cost; seek out other people to do the same; i hold a party at my house once a month as a fund raiser for the network; i seek out people who'll agree to send \$25 a month to one of the prisoners; etc., etc.*"

Be creative. Think. Don't be afraid to think! Every time i speak before a crowd or to another individual i present a list of things that they can do. Each of things i list is a separate task that a person or a group can begin to work on – and it then becomes a task that i don't have to do! It becomes a task that an organization is doing!!!! A "network" is doing. Although i haven't exhausted the subject, let's move on, cause i think i've made the

2 Remember *Creed*; avoid undisciplined talk.

point.

What else do i do as a member of the network? Well, maybe i'm part of a "phone tree" or some kind of communication link; maybe i recruit other people to become part of the link. Maybe i "do nothing" but correspond with certain prisoners, or fill the requests that prisoners make for literature, or some other request for information, referrals, etc. Maybe i'm part of a "research" section, or part of a "liaison" section to coordinate network activities with other groups that do similar kinds of work and/or that the network is working with.

And, We always go back to the Principles & Program<sup>3</sup> for the basic types of programs that the network initiates activity around. And, there's always the "programs" that arise from the simple fact of the network being "out there" within the reach of people who will seek the network out and ask for its help.

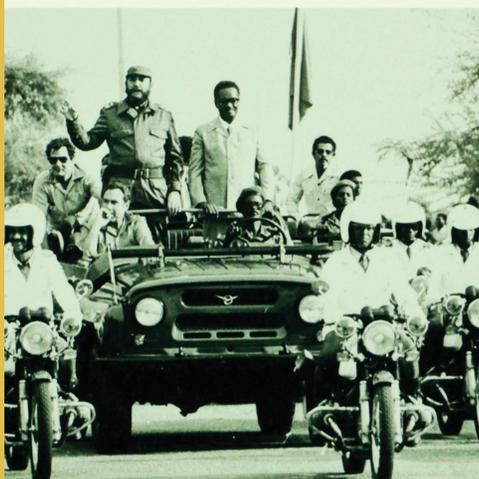
Right now, We could put people to work, have them send letters to schools, student orgs, unions, teacher orgs, orgs of journalists, etc. etc., seeking support and just making them aware of issues, comrades, make them aware of CR and the network. i mean, it's not like We don't have anything that people can do!!!!!! Our problem is that We don't know how to pull/connect ourselves with, the people!

### ReBuild! Yaki

3 Every organization should have some kind of principles & program that guide the work and culture of the movement; see, for instance, the RBC Points of Unity on page 2 of this paper; or check out the MXGM Six Principles of Unity which guides its mass-based program.

## CUBA: AN AFRICAN ODYSSEY

A FILM BY JIHAN EL-TAHRI



Scan this code to watch this richly informative documentary tracing over 30 years of Cuban solidarity with Afrikan anti-colonial struggles.

## WE OWE A TREMENDOUS DEBT TO CUBA

**FOR ITS UNWAVERING  
REVOLUTIONARY  
INTERNATIONALISM  
TO AFRIKAN &  
NEW AFRIKAN  
STRUGGLES FOR MORE  
THAN SIX DECADES**

**Relative to its size, and  
despite its own challenges  
in the face of imperialism,  
no other country can match  
the level of solidarity and  
support that this small  
island nation has given to  
struggling peoples around  
the globe.**

# JESSE JACKSON POLITICAL PRISONERS & CLASS STRUGGLE

BY KWASI AKWAMU

IT'S ONLY BEEN WEEKS SINCE JESSE JACKSON was laid to rest. He had been a fixture on the national scene for decades as an advocate for civil rights, and he was in Memphis in 1968 when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. That history deserves respect. Yet our memory of him deserves more than platitudes. Despite his long and nuanced legacy of activism, the good brotha is not beyond political critique. It is our responsibility to evaluate those many decades of leadership to ascertain – because our struggle continues and mythmaking will not advance our cause.

i do not write this to drag Jesse, nor to speak ill of the deceased. i write this because our historical memory is under constant in amerika. Book bannings, elimination of academic departments that address major gaps in narrative, and the rise in right-wing populism that is hellbent on a new wave of amerikkkan mythmaking is at an all time high. Our duty is to honor what was righteous in Jackson's life while also naming the contradictions that shaped his choices and the consequences those choices had for the revolutionary and working-class sectors of the New Afrikan nation.

A full view of history is not only a chronology of events or even limited

victories. Rather it is a record of pursued interests that are defined, in general, primarily by class. Of course, here, We are concerned specifically with those interests that govern the petty bourgeois class among New Afrikans.

Jackson's political project – whatever its sincere moral commitments – largely expressed the aspirations of the African-American petty-bourgeois stratum of the New Afrikan nation: access to institutions, recognition by the state, entry into corporate hierarchies, and the expansion of black electoral power within the empire. Such a program can lead to certain reforms and measurable gains. But it also tends to treat “inclusion” as the liberation end-goal, and to treat the empire's legitimacy as a fixed fact rather than a target of ongoing struggle. Within such a framework, the revolutionary line of self-determination, anti-imperialism, and the liberation of our captured freedom fighters often get swept under the rug and out of view.

Born in the Black Belt South – Greenville, South Carolina – it was from Chicago where Jesse catapulted himself to national attention. He was widely known for attempting to shatter the glass ceilings in corporate amerika that had long denied hard working New Afrikans access to



**Jesse Jackson freed over a hundred amerikan soldiers and hostages held captive around the globe, including these army combatants captured in Serbia in 1999. While he unsuccessfully supported the relase of indigenous political prisoner Leonard Peltier, and championed the end of the death penalty, his reknown and influence was never leveraged to free the dozens of New Afrikan political prisoners inside u.s. prisons.**

the higher echelons of professional success. Many New Afrikans benefited from Jesse's campaigns. Yet, despite our desire to see all New Afrikans succeed, We must ask are We seeking liberation for one New Afrikan at a time (within the empire), or are We aiming for total liberation (leaving oppressive systems and structures in ruins)? The uplift of a layer does not automatically translate into the liberation of the class, much less the liberation of a captive nation. And We must admit that there never was any grand strategy that would leverage the petty bourgeois class in service of greater New Afrikan interests.

It was also in Chicago that Jesse's complex ties to the Nation of Islam took shape. After Elijah Muhammad's transition in 1975, Jackson was present and offered powerful testimony to Muhammad's impact. Over time he developed ties to Minister Louis Farrakhan, who would assume leadership of a reconstituted NOI. When Jesse ran for his first bid for u.s. president in 1983, he tapped

Farrakhan and the Fruit of Islam to serve as his security detail. It didn't turn out well, as Farrakhan was highly vocal in his public skirmishes with Zionism. He had made several anti-semitic statements that brought forth a long running backlash from the Jewish Anti-Defamation League (ADL).

Jesse was pressured to distance himself from the Nation of Islam and to repudiate the minister. Jesse caved in to the pressure, becoming even more aggressive during his 1987 campaign effort when Farrakhan publicly expressed his unsolicited support for the presidential candidate.

Here, We should be principled. Antisemitism is real, and crude dehumanization is politically and morally unacceptable – even as We actively oppose zionism. The u.s. settler state polices discourse about israel and zionism in ways that are selective and disciplinary – punishing certain critiques while normalizing

*Cont'd next page*

## JESSE JACKSON, cont'd from page 11

settler violence against Palestinians. Some 38 u.s. states have laws that punish contractors that boycott israel. The effect of political censorship sets the boundaries of what a “responsible” black leader is allowed to say if they want to remain viable within the empire’s institutions.

Moreover, We must call out the gross hypocrisy and double-standard of Jewish cultural gatekeepers – particularly in music and film – where they control the narrative of New Afrikans, especially those of depictions of extreme anti-blackness. Not only do they profit from these, but they circulate these anti-black narratives globally. One cannot say aloud that “Jews own Hollywood” (which is *not* degrading) but it is perfectly okay to repetitiously say “Kill that Nigga!” in rap lyrics on music labels that are largely owned, curated by and generates huge profits for Jews.

Make it make sense.

Anyway, it was during Jesse's second presidential bid where, at the urging of Dr. Ramona Edelin of the Naional Urban Coalition, he decided to use his platform to reinforce the use of “*African-American*” as the preferred identity for black people in the u.s. Riding the wave of the black power struggle, he used militant posturing and cultural nationalist styling that was popular at the time to champion for both electoral power and black capitalism.

While “*black*” as an identity was rooted in racial constructs of color, he argued that *African-American* embodied greater cultural integrity and lifted us to a sense of “peoplehood.” Having had a background of protest and civil rights rabble-rousing, it was essential that Jesse show alignment with the empire if he ever hoped to secure electoral support from amerikans (“white people”). So, for him, emphasizing that he was a hyphenated-*amerikan* was the play.

For New Afrikans – those of us who recognize our national distinction from our colonizers – the question is not only about what We choose to call ourselves, but what *political trajectory* is implicit in that identity.

Effort aside, it didn't earn Jesse the presidency. He did, however, live to see another fellow Chicagoan Barack Obama succeed in that effort. Having

served 8 years as oppresident-in-chief, Obama experienced his own Jewish backlash for once proposing a freeze on expanding Jewish settlements in Occupied Palestine. His Jewish supporters of his presidency condemned his audacity for which he quickly reversed his position.

Immediately after Jesse failed his first presidential bid, he lept at opportunity to prove himself a hyphenated-amerikan of value to the colonial state. He negotiated the release of a u.s. navy pilot in early 1984, and later traveled to Cuba to free amerikan prisoners, along with imprisoned Cuban counter-revolutionaries. In 1990 he again acted to help bring amerikans home during the middle east Gulf crisis. In 1999 he obtained the release of three u.s.. soldiers held as prisoners of war during the Yugoslavia/Kosovo conflict.

Jesse achieved international reknown by negotiating releases of amerikans held abroad, and his humanitarianism deserve recognition. But, make no mistake, these were “safe” captives to defend – captives of states adversarial to the u.s. settler empire. The empire could applaud Jackson's compassion without ever having to acknowledge holding New Afrikan political prisoners and prisoners of war in violation of international legal standards.

Abroad, Jesse's work affirmed the humanity of amerikans. Back in the u.s., scores of New Afrikan political prisoners and prisoners or war, veterans of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, casualties of confrontations with u.s. colonialism the United States, were largely ignored. Meanwhile, the u.s. government insisted that it holds only criminals, because acknowledging the existence of New Afrikan freedom fighters would expose the colonial reality of the state itself.

To be fair, Jesse was not completely absent domestically. He helped fellow Chicagoan and former Black Panther Bobby Rush *surrender* to the police without harm in 1970, in the shadow of the state's assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He appeared in Philadelphia around a campaign to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, emphasizing opposition to the death penalty amid a case that a mountain of evidence suggests is a state frame-up. He called for executive clemency for Leonard Peltier near the end of the Clinton era

and later advocated clemency even for a reformed Stanley “Tookie” Williams, a co-founding member of the notorious CRIPS street organization in 2005. Despite the lack of success, these were not meaningless interventions. Mumia did win a stay of execution and We will not ignore Jesse's role in helping bring public awareness. In 2003, he co-wrote *Legal Lynching* a book condemning the death penalty.

Yet the pattern remains hard to ignore: the scale, visibility, and urgency of Jackson's advocacy were far greater when the prisoners were amerikans held by foreign adversaries than when the prisoners were New Afrikan victims of u.s. counterinsurgency and domestic war. That is not simply an individual moral failure. It reflects the class character of his trajectory. Jesse's politics leaned towards reform and inclusion, carefully avoiding claims that would de-legitimize the colonial state – claims like “the u.s. holds political prisoners,” “the u.s. wages war on internally oppressed nations,” “the u.s. has captured combatants of liberation struggles.”

And this is where the question of PPs & POWs inside the u.s. becomes unavoidable. The settler-colonial government does not only deny political prisoners; it denies that it holds *entire nations* at gunpoint under colonial rule. Those nations include New Afrika (the black nation) and other colonized peoples and territories – Puerto Rico, Aztlán, Hawai'i, and more – along with numerous u.s.-controlled territories and associated states that live under various forms of u.s. domination.

Amerikan denial is official policy. It is the ideological shield that allows the settler state to describe captivity as “crime control” rather than counterinsurgency. It is, for instance, the u.s. pre-attack threats against Iran for attacking protesters, while simultaneously deploying and defending untrained ICE agents who have wantonly killed civilians who protest their draconian measures. Gaslighting as deflection.

This is why omissions matter. It is not simply that Jesse did not uplift certain names. It is that certain names are disallowed in the empire's formal discourse.

Kojo Bomani Sababu – now in his 51st year of captivity – remains unknown to most. Kamau

**Cont'd on page 14**

# NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE HISTORY ARCHIVES

## FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT!

Ours is a struggle with continuity, unbroken except occasionally in our own minds. We have, and must continue to struggle from one generation to the next; evolving in time and space, a people in motion, regaining independence and making history.

Ours is a mass struggle, a people's struggle, a struggle involving the participation of the young and the old, the female and the male.

Ours is the struggle of an entire people, a whole nation oppressed and moving toward a new way of life on a planet made mad by greed and fear.

Our struggle involves our elders, the refugees who were forced to abandon the National Territory, head north and northwest, during the "migrations."

They were REFUGEES, those who "migrated" from the National Territory during the WWI and WWII years. Our elders were REFUGEES during the years of the "Black Codes" when they fled the National Territory.

The cities of amerikkka are full of New Afrikan refugees who entered them during the 30s, the 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.

New Afrikans now living in Peoria, Brooklyn, Oakland and Des Moines, were born in Clarksdale, Mississippi, and Greensboro, North Carolina. Twelve year-old bloods boarded trains in New Orleans, Mobile and Atlanta, loaded with stained brown paper bags of cold chicken, cardboard suitcases, and dreams of big cities where work was available and where white folks weren't so mean.

New Afrikan women who cooked in big pots for white folks in Charleston, came to New York and Chicago only to cook in "greasy spoons" or in the quiet kitchens of more white folks, for the same few dollars a week and all the left-overs they could carry. We became refugees from the National Territory; We came with dreams and We wanted "to forget the past," to forget the oppression and terror, to forget the snarls of rednecks and the strange fruit of poplar trees. Far too many of us forgot that the struggle goes on, from one generation to the next.

We forgot that We were simply refugees, and not yet free.

The 40s, 50s and even the early 60s were years which saw New Afrikan faces rubbed with Royal Crown so they wouldn't be "ashy"; saw our heads plastered with Murray's, saw noses and lips



Pictured above is the third panel in Jacob Lawrence's iconic Migration Series. Lawrence was a pioneering artist who, in 1941, at age 23, painted, on 12x18 inch boards, some sixty images depicting the historic flight of millions of New Afrikans who fled the rural South with hopes of escaping the brutal oppression and exploitation they continued to face since the end of Amerikan slavery in 1865. The young artist's motivation was deeply personal: his parents themselves were refugees who migrated North, shaping his understanding of this journey. Lawrence also aimed to capture the hardships, hopes, and uncertainties faced by these refugees in northern cities: poverty, discrimination, and overcrowded tenements, but also their determination and optimism for a better life.

as repulsive objects in the thin-shaped beauty standards of amerikkka.

These same years saw us move gradually farther from our first stops upon leaving the trains and buses; they saw the families that came north move farther "out south" and into dwellings just abandoned by whites; they saw us move further from each other and the strength which allowed us to survive and maintain the consciousness of ourselves as one people, struggling from one generation to the next, until We are free.

Being colonial subjects situated so near the seat of empire has blurred our vision. Slaves in "the richest country in the world" while still slaves-are "better off" than slaves

elsewhere. Amerikkka is the "big house" of the plantation it has made of a good part of the world. It is more difficult now than in the past, for us to feel acutely the chains that bind us-enough so that We begin again to pass on the history, to begin again to socialize the children and hand down the awareness that comes with being taught the survival/resistance techniques needed to overcome the obstacles to our independence presented by the settlers who rule.

From one generation to the next is how We must move, until the nation is sovereign.

~Owusu Yaki Yakubu

Reprinted from *Notes from a New Afrikan POW Journal: Book 3*

# THE NEW AFRIKAN CREED: RECIPE FOR COMMUNITY

We put it on pg 2 of every edition of the paper because We have to remind ourselves every day of our goal & objective of building a new & better community, where We can live in peace & harmony with one another and recommit ourselves to the project of changing our reality for ourselves & our future.

all community, if it is gonna last, has to be consciously formed & maintained for generations - thats how nations are formed

We, like no other nation in history, have had our national identity systematically & continuously attacked ever since We arrived on these shores

our national identity, New Afrikan, was only given concrete expression (named) less than sixty years ago - the development of the nation started much earlier, when We were first introduced into this shituation

"We were robbed of our names,

We lost our culture(s)...many of us, by the way We act, We even lost our minds!"

in 'The Cultural Unity of Black Africa', diop showed that there were cultural consistencies throughout the Afrikan continent, despite the vast diversity - why wouldnt those cultural consistencies persist wherever Afrikan peoples find themselves in other parts of the world, including the u.s.of a.?

i argue that the 'New Afrikan Creed' is another expression of this cultural consistency - developed & articulated by Us, as We came into an understanding & appreciation of Us as a people.

that is why Our people grasp it

and appreciate it when they learn of it.

i encourage comrads, friends and family to embrace it and practice it as our prayer - to be recited daily and taught to our children.

this is how We can consciously build an understanding of Who We Are & What Our National Objectives should be.

This is part of our necessary process if We ever intend to be free of our colonizers.

in future installments, i will look at each stanza of this gift from our founders.

Re-Build!

hondo t

## JESSE JACKSON, cont'd from page 12

Sadiki, targeted and later imprisoned on decades-old allegations, sits in a medical prison with the ever-present danger of neglect. There are many more.

This is not written to indict Jesse alone. The *entire movement* bears responsibility for failing to keep prisoners at the center of the struggle. But Jesse's extraordinary platform makes the contrast sharper, and therefore instructive. If a leader can move mountains for captives of enemy states, then the refusal to elevate the reality of political captivity inside the United States is not merely oversight - it is a political choice shaped by the requirements of legitimacy within the empire.

A liberation movement worth its salt never forgets those whose very sacrifices gave the movement its currency. A serious liberation movement lifts the memory of those who were felled in the fight, and

champions the release of those who have been taken captive by enemy forces. It does not merely celebrate the negotiation of imperial hostage releases while allowing New Afrikan POWs to disappear into obscurity.

So, yes, We honor Jesse's courage where it mattered, and We acknowledge the doors he helped pry open. But We must also recognize that liberation is *not* integration of a few into the upper floors of a burning house but the defeat of the material conditions that prompt freedom fighting in the first place - settler colonialism & capitalism.

It is critical to our own sense of fidelity to this struggle that We know who our freedom fighters are, that We champion humane treatment during their captivity, and that We ultimately and actively seek to obtain their release, not as a footnote but as a measure of our loyalty to those who made such courageous sacrifices in our name.

*Free the Land!  
Rebuild to Win!*

# Kilombo Academic and Cultural Institute

Kilombo fosters an academically excellent and culturally relevant education that produces students who are equipped to succeed globally and are committed to social justice.

Kilombo Academic and Cultural Institute is an African centered accredited independent school in Lithonia, Georgia, that educates children from Pre-K to the 8th grade. Kilombo follows the words of Dr. Asa Hilliard during a speech at First African Church. Teach Black children who they are, where they came from, how they got here and what We must do now. The goal of school is not only to teach academics, but to socialize children. Right now most of our children attend public schools where the majority of them are not being taught how to read and write. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) 2024, only 14% of Black 8th graders nationwide are proficient in reading. Which means that our children are below grade level, often by two to three years. Schools in America are not successful in tapping into the genius of our children, but they are successful in socializing them to be loyal to America, not to Black people. Too many of us do not see schooling as a part of liberation work. If We want our children to be loyal to the New Afrikan nation, to Black people, We must intentionally teach that loyalty. Our colonization is taught and sustained in public school through daily instruction. If We want to socialize children to be proud of themselves, proud of their people and committed to liberation, We must teach that every day.

At Kilombo, We pride ourselves in creating an environment for children where they are loved, seen and honored. We uplift African people every day. We begin each day with the Umoja Circle, the Unity Circle.

After the Umoja Circle, We line up silently to begin our academics. Our subjects are taught through an African lens whether it be reading, math, science or social studies.

At Kilombo we differentiate our instruction so that children who are below or above grade level

***If We want our children to be loyal to the New Afrikan nation, to Black people, We must intentionally teach that loyalty. Our colonization is taught and sustained in public school through daily instruction.***

receive academic tools and skills necessary to succeed and thrive. We are also grounded in Iwa Pele, good character, so that our scholars grow and learn to care for humanity – not just themselves. Kilombo’s curriculum teaches the contributions of Africans in America, other people of color and women – centering the lives and stories of those who, historically, have been marginalized. Our students learn how people of color and the poor have been affected by oppression; they also learn how people have resisted and defended themselves. Through our academic program, the children of Kilombo become empowered with knowledge, through collaboration, and discovery.

Kilombo is not only committed to academic excellence, We are also committed to social justice and our practice reflects our commitment. We partner with CAD, Community Aid and Development, to provide a place for the New Afrikan Scouts. The New Afrikan Scouts (NASO) is a youth organization, for ages 6-17. Scouts meet every Friday at Kilombo, to learn the history and culture of Afrikan people. Scouts is open to the children of the community. Many of Kilombo students also participate in New Afrikan Scouts.

Kilombo also partners with the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. Often parents who bring their children to Scouts,

become involved in MXGM. MXGM is an activist organization that organizes around 6 principles:

1. The support of human rights
2. A demand for reparations
3. Self-determination
4. Opposition to genocide
5. End to gender and sexual oppression
6. The freeing of all political prisoners

When Kilombo is most successful We are educating and organizing the whole family for our liberation, self-determination and sovereignty!

## INVEST IN OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE



The end of the year is upon us. Please consider making a **tax-deductible investment in Kilombo Academic and Cultural Institute.**

We thrive because our community **invests in us.** Please Zelle or PayPal at **Kilomboshule@gmail.com** or **cash app us @ \$Kilombo.** Thank you!

In the spirit of Mary McCleod Bethune and Ujamaa, we will build a freedom school for our grandchildren's children. *We have everything we need to educate our children ourselves.*

**Let's build!**

Please Zelle or PayPal at **zelle**  **Kilomboshule@gmail.com** or **S** **\$Kilombo**

Sign up to be a monthly donor at <https://kilomboschool.com/committed1000/>

## TERRITORY NEWS, cont'd from page 4

Alabama, becoming the town's second Black mayor and the first woman to hold the position. She was selected by the town council on Feb. 1 after the resignation of Patrick Braxton, who had made history in 2020 as the town's first Black mayor. Braxton stepped down following a private legal settlement tied to an election dispute in which his opponent claimed he did not meet residency requirements. Although Braxton denied the allegation, the case ended before trial and resulted in his resignation.

Braxton's tenure was marked by intense political conflict that reflected deeper struggles over power in the majority-Black rural town. After his historic 2020 victory—the first municipal election held in Newbern since the Voting Rights Act of 1965—he faced resistance from the majority-white town council, which at one point locked him out of town hall and attempted to maintain control of the government through a disputed special election. Braxton

filed a federal civil rights lawsuit in 2023, and a federal judge later ruled in his favor, reinstating him and ordering the town to hold regular elections.

During his time in office, Braxton focused on addressing long-standing community needs, including launching a mobile grocery program with the Equal Justice Initiative after the town lost its only grocery store and working with universities to develop plans for a modern sewer system. The sewer proposal sparked further controversy, including a lawsuit from his political opponent. Following Braxton's resignation, the council appointed Patrick to lead the town, marking another step in Newbern's ongoing struggle over local governance, development, and Black political representation in Alabama's Black Belt.

### GEORGIA

#### **Georgia Rail Project Sparks Land Struggle in Majority-Black Community**

Residents of Sparta, Georgia — a rural town in the historic Black Belt — are fighting to keep their land after a hearing officer with the Georgia Public Service Commission approved a railroad company's request to seize property through eminent domain. Sandersville Railroad Co. plans to build a 4.5-mile rail spur connecting a Heidelberg Materials rock quarry to a nearby main rail line. The project would affect land owned by 18 property holders along Shoals Road, many of whom say they refuse to sell and fear the rail line will damage their homes and disrupt their community.

Company officials argue the project would bring economic development

to Hancock County, including temporary construction jobs and a small number of permanent positions with relatively high salaries. Residents and their attorneys counter that the project primarily benefits a private corporation rather than the local community. Some residents also say they were not properly informed about the development until late in the process, fueling distrust and concern about how decisions affecting their land were made.

For many families in Sparta, the case represents more than a legal dispute—it is a fight over generational land and community survival. Some of the threatened property has been held by Black families for nearly a century, symbolizing hard-earned stability in a region with a long history of land loss among Black farmers. Although the hearing officer ruled the project meets the legal standard for public use, residents plan to appeal the decision, arguing that allowing the land seizure would undermine protections meant to prevent eminent domain from being used primarily for private corporate development.

### SOUTH CAROLINA

#### **South Carolina Black Community Faces Corporate Sacrifice for AI and Data Center Expansion**

Residents in rural Colleton County, South Carolina — a predominantly Black community — are organizing to oppose a massive proposed data center complex that would span an area equal to about 1,200 football fields. The project, planned by developers working with timber company Weyerhaeuser, would include nine data centers, two

electrical substations, and a \$5 billion gas power plant with a pipeline to supply the facility's massive energy demands. Local residents and activists fear the project would destroy forests and wetlands while threatening long-standing traditions such as farming, fishing, and raising livestock.

Community members argue the development reflects a broader pattern of environmental injustice in which polluting industries are placed in Black and low-income communities. The project was reportedly moved to Colleton County after facing opposition in a predominantly white area in Georgia, increasing concerns that poorer Black communities are being targeted for industrial projects others refuse. Researchers warn that emissions from the gas power plant and diesel backup generators could worsen air pollution and lead to serious health problems, including respiratory and cardiovascular diseases, with estimates suggesting tens of millions of dollars in potential health costs.

Local organizing has grown quickly as residents raise concerns about pollution, water use, noise, property values, and the protection of family cemeteries. Meetings at local Black churches have become key spaces for community coordination, especially since many residents say they learned about the project only shortly before it was announced publicly. For many in Colleton County, the fight is not just about one development but about protecting their land, health, and community from a pattern of corporate expansion that shifts environmental and social costs onto communities with the least political power.

*"The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements — which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform — constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all."*

*~Amilcar Cabral,  
Weapon of Theory  
(1966)*



# PUERTO RICANS IN CHICAGO QUESTION P.R. GOVERNOR'S SUPPORT FOR TRUMP'S AGGRESSIVE MILITARY STANCE TOWARDS CUBA

"We must all reject the use of Puerto Rico's national territory to unjustifiably attack a sister nation," said José López.

BY MARIELIS ACEVEDO IRIZARRY  
FEBRUARY 18, 2026

NEW YORK – José López, executive director of the Juan Antonio Corretjer Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago, labeled as complicity the statements made by Governor Jenniffer González in which she expressed her support for any decision the Trump Administration makes regarding its intervention in Cuba.

"We condemn the expressions of complicity by the governor of Puerto Rico, who gave Trump a blank check to use our Puerto Rican homeland for an attack against the Cuban people. History will not absolve her for lending herself to such cruelty," the Puerto Rican activist stated in a written statement on Monday.

López directly questioned the possibility that the U.S. would use Puerto Rico for an "attack" on Cuba.

Regardless of anyone's opinion about the Cuban government, we must all reject the use of Puerto Rico's national territory to unjustifiably attack a sister nation. We must also all reject the arbitrary suspension of fuel shipments to Cuba due to U.S. coercion. Using misery for political manipulation is reprehensible, and, as we saw in Venezuela, Trump is not interested in human rights or democracy, but rather in resources and power," stated the professor and brother of former political prisoner Oscar López Rivera.

In a conference earlier this month, González indicated to the press that he favored using Puerto Rico for an intervention in Cuba.

"I have no information about that (a plan to intervene in Cuba from Puerto Rico), but anything that supports our military forces and the president's (Donald Trump's) public policy, of course I will be in favor of. We demonstrated that in the case of (Nicolás) Maduro in Venezuela. I have no information that this is being discussed in Puerto Rico, but I support the public policy actions that the president is taking to liberate the Cuban people," the governor declared at an event at Camp Santiago in Salinas to announce modernization work with federal funds.

In anticipation of the operation that resulted in the capture of Nicolás Maduro and his wife, Cilia Flores, in Venezuela, Puerto Rico served as a space for military exercises for various branches of the Armed Forces.

Parts of the Roosevelt Roads Air Force Base airport in Ceiba (closed in 2004) and the Ramey Air Force Base airport in Aguadilla were reactivated last September for the arrival of soldiers, aircraft and other resources.

Currently, U.S. military authorities maintain contracts with the Ports Authority to continue operating in those and other spaces.

Due to Puerto Rico's territorial status, the archipelago does not have its own militia. However, Puerto Ricans have been serving in the U.S. Armed Forces since the beginning of the last century.

Although it is not clear how the Trump Administration will proceed in Cuba, the pressure to overthrow the regime is becoming increasingly evident.

This Wednesday, it emerged that US Secretary of State Marco Rubio is holding secret talks with the grandson of former Cuban President Raúl Castro about the future of the island.

On Monday, President Donald Trump had announced talks between Rubio and the Cuban government.

According to Trump, an "agreement" is being discussed. Apparently, the Republican does not consider a military operation in the country similar to the one reported in Venezuela necessary.

"We're talking to Cuba right now. Marco Rubio is talking to Cuba right now, and they should totally come to an agreement, because it is... really a humanitarian threat," Trump told reporters while aboard Air Force One.

The US president argued that Cuba is "a failed nation" and anticipated that Cuban-Americans will be happy when they can return to the island and reunite with their families.

Cuba has been experiencing critical weeks since the U.S. imposed an oil embargo on the island last month.

The lack of fuel not only affects the daily lives of Cubans but also impacts areas such as tourism.

Last week, Air Canada announced it was suspending its services to Cuba due to a lack of aviation fuel at the island's airports.

In a letter to the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), Florida

congressmen of Cuban origin, Maria Elvira Salazar, Carlos Gimenez and Mario Diaz Balart, asked that the U.S. revoke the licenses of companies with business on the island.

According to Republicans, OFAC, attached to the Treasury Department, and the Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS) of the Commerce Department continue to authorize transactions that benefit the Cuban regime.

This week, the same congressmen, along with other political leaders and activists, asked the Trump Administration to suspend licenses for the export of luxury goods to Cuba, arguing that they also benefit the government.

Reprinted from: <https://eldiariiony.com/2026/02/18/boricuas-en-chicago-cuestionan-apoyo-de-gobernadora-de-puerto-rico-jennifer-gonzalez-agenda-de-trump-para-cuba/>

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## TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION, cont'd from page 4

general alignment with the politics of the Spear and Shield Collective. Whether they were on the street or behind the walls. We wanted to connect (or re-connect) with them and bring them into the fold; into the Re-Build Collective. This was the initial phase of consolidation,

By external consolidation We meant the coming together with other strategically aligned New Afrikan Independence Movement cadre organizations for the purpose of advancing the struggle and placing the movement once again on a revolutionary footing.

This paper, *Re-Build! A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical*, was meant to be a tool for the furtherance of both internal and external consolidation.

As Lenin wrote in "Where to Begin," *"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour. With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organization will naturally take shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence these events."*

The tasks associated with production and distribution of the paper advanced the consolidation of our initial internal core. In fact, one could say the Re-Build Collective as an organization was built through and around the paper.

The production and distribution of the paper also helped to lay the foundation for further internal consolidation and subsequent external consolidation efforts. Indeed every decision We made around the paper, including its initial design, was meant to advance both internal and external consolidation.

When the decision was made to place the Spear and Shield logo on the cover of the paper, that was not done for stylistic reasons. It was meant to be a signal to those who knew what that logo represented that a new initiative had been launched by those who remained committed to a particular political orientation.

The signal reached its targets and almost immediately began to generate the desired response. Comrads from behind the walls who, for various reasons, were not privy to our initial internal discussions began to make contact. Those who were not associated with the New Afrikan Communist tendency, but who had read or written articles for Crossroad (another periodical that was produced by Spear and Shield), including Political Prisoners and P.O.Ws wrote requesting subscriptions and even sending financial support to us from behind the walls!

Also critical to our efforts of consolidation was the decision to make the paper a *movement paper* and not the exclusive voice of the Re-Build Collective. That is not to say that the voice of the Re-Build Collective cannot be heard in the paper. Clearly We speak through the paper. However, so do others. Indeed, whole issues of the paper have been devoted to movement leaders who were never members of either the Re-Build Collective or Spear and Shield.

This was done because We know that the first step in advancing towards external consolidation must be increasing communication among New Afrikan Independence Movement organizations and activists. It is critical that We begin to know one another and to become more familiar with the work that We are involved in. In subsequent issues even more movement voices will be heard in the pages of this paper.

It is our hope that increased communication will lead to increased collaboration, coordination, and, ultimately speaking, coalescence among aligned movement organizations.

To be clear, We do not believe that every organization in the New Afrikan Independence Movement should come together under a single umbrella. Some organizations in the movement are not strategically aligned. We do however advocate for organizations within the movement to

consider coalescing with those with whom they do have strategic alignment.

Over the past several years, members of the Re-Build Collective have been in discussions with fraternal organizations about the need to move toward consolidation. We have made some progress in this direction and We are optimistic about the progress that has been made, but We need to make more.

The need for consolidation has long been discussed within the New Afrikan Independence Movement, however the urgency of this task has grown in recent years due to the deepening crisis of U.S. imperialism, the Neo-confederate assault on the democratic gains of the Civil Rights Movement, escalating state repression, and the need for strategic clarity around what We must do to meet the challenges of the moment.

And while the need for consolidation is clear, it is equally important to recognize that consolidation will not—and cannot—occur overnight. Consolidation is a process, and often a lengthy and difficult one. Organizations within the Movement possess different histories, ideologies, organizational cultures, and perspectives. For consolidation to proceed in a healthy and sustainable manner these realities must be recognized and addressed with seriousness and patience.

Despite its relatively small size, our Movement possesses significant strength. New Afrikan Independence Movement activists are often strategically positioned within communities, universities, organizations advocating around democratic demands, and also in the prisons. We are stronger than We appear and our opponents are more vulnerable than they seem. However, without coordination and unity, our strength is diffused rather than concentrated.

As Malcolm once said "if i take my hand and slap you, you don't even feel it. It might sting you, because these digits are separated. But all i have to do to put you back in your place is bring these digits together."

It's time to come together.

**Free the Land!  
Re-Build!**

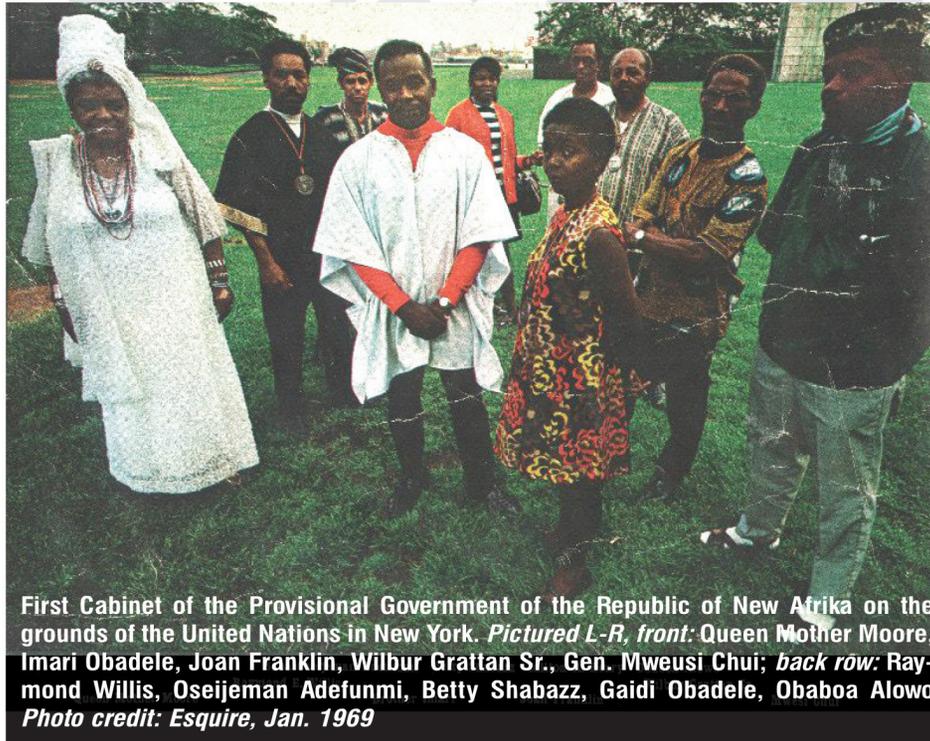
WE, THE BLACK PEOPLE IN AMERICA, in consequence of arriving at a knowledge of Ourselves as a people with dignity, long deprived of that knowledge; as a consequence of revolting with every decimal of Our collective and individual beings against the oppression that for 300 years has destroyed and broken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

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

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

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

# NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



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

and equal access to that maximum;

- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;

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

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

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

- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;

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

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

natural rights;

- To assure justice for all;

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

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

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

# MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT

Self-Determination | Self-Respect | Self-Defense

The **Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM)** is an organization of Afrikans in America/New Afrikans whose mission is to defend the human rights of our people and promote self-determination in our communities.

We understand that the collective institutions of white-supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism have been at the root of our people's oppression. Without community control and without the power to determine our own lives, we will continue to fall victim to genocide. Thus we fight for **power and community control**.

We seek to heighten our consciousness about self-determination and national independence as a human right and a solution to our colonization.

While organizing around our **Principles of Unity**, we are building a network of Black/New Afrikan activists and organizers committed to the protracted struggle for the liberation of the New Afrikan Nation – **BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!**

## PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

- We Defend the Human Rights of Afrikan People
- We Demand Reparations
- We Oppose Genocide
- We Promote Self-Determination
- We Demand the Release of All Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, & Political Exiles
- We Struggle to End Gender & Sexual Oppression

### JOIN A LOCAL CHAPTER:

Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Jackson, New York City, Oakland, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C.



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@mxgmnational #FreeTheLand