

Re-Build!

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A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical

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The New Afrikan Creed

1. i believe in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black People, and in Our new pursuit of these values.
2. i believe in the family and the community, and in the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live.
3. i believe in the community as more important than the individual.
4. i believe in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world. i believe in collective struggle; in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters.
5. i believe that the fundamental reason Our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control Our lives.
6. i believe that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign Black Nation.
7. i believe that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.
8. i believe in the Malcolm X Doctrine: that We must organize upon this land, and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote that We are free and Our land independent, and that after the vote, We must stand ready to defend Ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.

9. Therefore, i pledge to struggle without cease until We have won sovereignty. i pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a better condition than the world has yet known.
 10. i will give my life, if that is necessary. i will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this is necessary.
 11. i will follow my chosen leaders and help them.
 12. i will love my brothers and sisters as myself.
 13. i will steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister, and spread no gossip.
 14. i will keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that i am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.
 15. i will be patient and uplifting with my brothers and sisters* and i will seek by word and by deed to heal the black family; to bring into the movement and into the community, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside.
- Now, freely and of my own will, i pledge this creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For i am, by the inspiration of Our ancestors and the Grace of Our Creator— a New Afrikan.

Re-Build Collective Points of Unity

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

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

The Struggle is STILL for Land and Independence!

by
N.A. Freeman

“Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.”

-Malcolm X

We, the descendants of enslaved Afrikans under american rule, are **NOT** americans. We have **NEVER** been americans. We can **NEVER** be americans. More to the point, We should not aspire to be americans.

We **ARE** New Afrikans. We **ARE** members of the New Afrikan nation; a nation forged from the many tribes and Nations of Afrika from which our ancestors were stolen.

On March 31, 1968, at the Black Government Conference held in Detroit, Michigan, the reality of our existence as a NATION was reaffirmed with the defining of our **National Territory**, and the establishment of a **Provisional Government** with a mandate to liberate that territory and to establish an independent **Republic of New Afrika**.

The **National Territory** was defined at that time as consisting generally of the lands currently incorporated into the states of **Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina**. This is the land We are referring to when We say **Free the Land!**

The individuals and organizations that participate in the struggle to liberate the National Territory make up the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

For those of us in the New Afrikan Independence Movement there is no

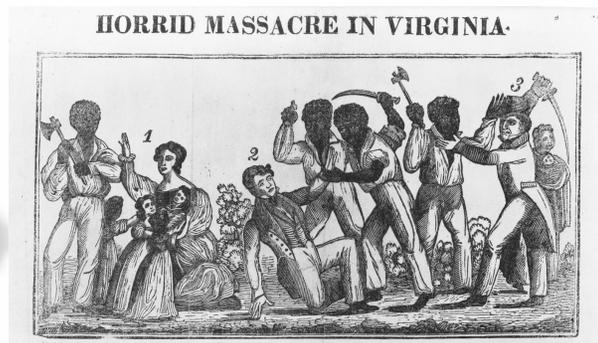


Image: a scene from Nat Turner's Revolt

national question. The question has been resolved long ago. We are a **NATION**. **PERIOD. FULL STOP.**

As a **NATION**, We have an absolute right to self-determination and political independence. We have an absolute right to live freely upon the land that gave birth to us as a people. We have an absolute right to join the community of nations on an equal footing. However, between us and our ability to exercise these rights stands the u.s. government.

We can either reconcile ourselves to remaining forever a subjugated people, our rights, and the rights of our future generations denied; or We can strike out towards freedom. One thing is certain, We shall never be free under the u.s. government and the u.s. flag.

No people has ever gotten free while remaining under the flag of the nation that colonized it. Freedom has only come through the determined struggle of the oppressed nations for land and independence.

We have a long history of heroes and sheroes who have understood that. And from Nat



Image: a scene from the Haitian Revolution

Turner and his comrades, to the soldiers of the Black Liberation Army, We have always had among us those with the courage to rise up in arms against the enemy on the basis of that understanding.

Let us not be seduced into sacrificing our national rights upon the altar of integration,” social justice,” or any other promise involving an “internal settlement” to our conflict with america.

The struggle is **STILL** for **LAND** and **INDEPENDENCE**, and it will remain so until freedom is achieved.

FREE THE LAND! BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!



Image: The New Afrikan National Territory



Atiba Shanna (Yaki)

WHO WE ARE

The Rebuild Collective is a New Afrikan Independence Movement formation inspired by the thought of Movement theoretician Atiba Shanna.

From One Generation to the Next!

Thoughts On The Creed: What It Means to Be ‘deaf, dumb & blind’

What follows is a statement and response that was part of an internal discussion between comrades within the Re-Build Collective. After discussion and reflection, the position advanced in the “response” was embraced wholeheartedly by the writer of the initial statement and the Re-Build Collective.

“We need a do it right now philosophy! We need a ‘its already too late philosophy’! thats what u & i -need!...” (malcolm x)

“turn the system upside down! u ‘sposed to be fed up by now!” (‘get up’, the coup w/dead prez)

It’s (deaf, dumb and blind) not a statement of intelligence, or lack thereof its a description of what it means to be an ‘unconscious citizen’ - one who is “unaware of the very existence of the nation, ie...one’s nationality is not New Afrikan” (yaki)

“The question of national identity is uniquely important to Afrikans in the U.S., unlike most peoples who struggle for national liberation. The colonization of Afrikan peoples in the Western Hemisphere was facilitated by forms and techniques of oppression which were designed to undermine or destroy our original identities as peoples – peoples who shared similarities with each other, and who shared differences from the peoples of the oppressive settler-colonies.” (yaki)

how can a person such as this fight for national independence?

It is our job to help our people develop a subjective understanding of our objective reality, so they can respond appropriately.

We have a human right to New Afrikan citizenship & a responsibility to return the nation to an independent path of development; We must go ‘back to independence’

“So long as We maintain our sense of similarity between ourselves and the sense of difference from the oppressor (and the sense of dignity inherent in our sense of separate identity), then We will continue to resist oppression and fight to regain our independence as a people – a people separate and distinct from the oppressive state.” (owusu yaki yakubu)

There is a dignity in understanding that We are not the oppressor; that We don’t share the mantle of evil with our oppressors - BUT, if We don’t struggle to free the land, if We don;t struggle to remove ourselves from the settler-empire, then We are different in name only from the beast which is destroying the planet.

The varied & sundry acts of resistance that New Afrikans undertake on a daily basis all over the empire will resound with thunder & shake the earth when We give it a national identity, purpose & direction.

It is the responsibility of every New Afrikan to do whatever she or he can do, to make every citizen aware of their nation & its historic duty to be free, self-determining & sovereign - to be responsible for our own growth & development.

We know its right to resist, but oftentimes the desire & need for state power - land, independence & socialism - is

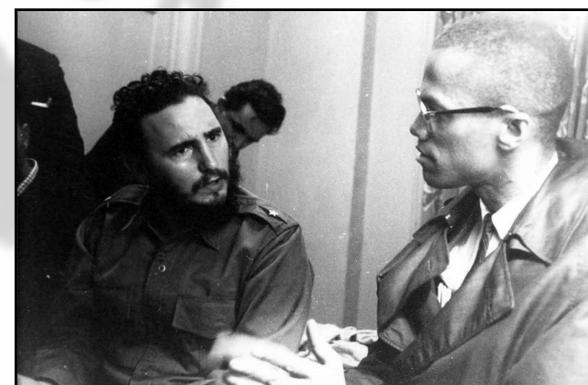


Photo: Malcolm X with Fidel Castro

not clearly articulated & demanded; thus, We rise up, then go back to sleep...because We’re deaf, dumb & blind.

When We were unconscious, We were objectively a captive people, unaware & ineffective in changing our circumstance as subjects of a capitalist settler-empire; when We became CONSCIOUS, We became subjectively aware of our colonial & neo-colonial reality. We became makers of our own history & freedom fighters...



Photo: man with BLM sign in Ferguson, MO

Some More Thoughts on the Creed: What it means to be “deaf, dumb and blind.” A Comradly Response

Thank you for presenting your thoughts on the matter of the use of “deaf, dumb and blind” in point 15 of the New Afrikan Creed. Given the significant role played by the New Afrikan Creed in expressing the principles and concepts that supposedly undergird the New Afrikan Independence Movement, it is important that We meditate on what exactly is being expressed; by each separate point, and by the document as a whole.

Also, it is important that We begin to put into practice the concept of unity, struggle, unity. There will, of course, always be differences of opinion among comrades. Sometimes these differences will arise on matters of small consequence; sometimes they will arise on matters of considerable consequence. Irrespective of the order of magnitude involved, the important thing is that We go about the presenting and discussing these differences in a principled and comradly fashion.

This issue of the “deaf, dumb, and blind” language utilized in point 15 of the Creed is certainly not a “dividing line” issue. However, it is not inconsequential, as it relates to our ability “to bring into the movement and into the community, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside.” (Point 15, New Afrikan Creed)

Negative connotations of the word “dumb”

In your notes, you assert that deaf, dumb and blind is “not a statement of intelligence or lack thereof, it’s a description of what it means to be an unconscious citizen.”

Before addressing the correctness of that assertion directly, i think that it is

critical to remember that though the term “dumb” has been utilized historically to refer to persons who are either unable or unwilling to speak, this term has been largely rejected as insulting and “ableist” by members and advocates of the differently abled community. A preferred term to refer to persons possessing the aforementioned “disability” at this point in time, is “mute.” So even when used “properly,” dumb is currently considered to be a derogatory term. It is roughly equivalent to calling a New Afrikan a “Negro” (a term once embraced by the likes of Marcus Garvey, and now rejected by the most reactionary of Uncle Toms).

Further, We should take into consideration the colloquial use of the word dumb; especially given that the word is practically never utilized by New Afrikans (or anyone really) other than colloquially. Words are not really things in and of themselves, but devices used to convey to meaning; used to conjure up images of a reality which the user of the words seeks to accurately represent.

The word dumb is so closely associated with stupidity that it can not be heard by any speaker of modern english without conjuring up that image, or at least the shadow of that image. In this sense the word bears some similarity to the word nigger; which some dictionaries have defined as “an ignorant or shiftless person.” We, however, know better. And We know better than to use that term, in any way, in reference to any New Afrikan who We do not intend to demean.

While it is obvious that “nigger” is an infinitely more offensive and demeaning

word than dumb, dumb remains demeaning. The question must be asked “should documents of “liberation” contain language that is demeaning towards the very people whom We seek “to bring into the movement?” Perhaps not.



Photo: Elijah Muhammad and Fard Muhammad

Connection to the Nation of Islam and the 5 Percenters

The phrase “deaf, dumb and blind” was popularized by the Nation of Islam and the 5 Percenters. The phrase has its origins in the “lessons” taught by Fard Muhammad, which contain the following:

19. *How many original Muslims are there in North America?*
20. *A little over seventeen million.*
21. *Did I hear you say that some of the seventeen million do not know that they are Muslims*
22. *YES, SIR!*
23. *I hardly believe that unless they are blind, deaf and dumb.*
24. *Well, they were made blind, deaf and dumb by the Devil when they were babies.*



Photo: Bree Newsome taking down confederate flag

According to the 5% Nation of Islam 85% of the people are deaf dumb and blind, 10% are the manipulators of 85%, and 5% are the “righteous teachers,” who know the truth about this situation, and are tasked with waking up the 85%.

Malcolm X also used the phrase:

“The white devil’s time is up; it has been up for almost fifty years now. It has taken us that long to get the deaf, dumb, and blind black men in the wilderness of North America to wake up and understand who they are.” (<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/a-summing-up-louis-lomax-interviews-malcolm-x/>)

The phrase clearly has its origins, not in the struggle for Land and Independence, but in the doctrine of the Nation of Islam. And by “who they are,” Malcolm meant “Muslims” (members of the “Lost and Found Nation of Islam.”), not New Afrikans.

Does deaf, dumb and blind refer to a lack of intelligence?

Deafness, dumbness, and blindness, are physical disabilities. And since the use

that We are discussing is metaphorical, it is clear that it is not being used to describe actual physical handicaps possessed by our people, but mental handicaps; that there is an intellectual or perhaps psychological block that prevents our people from perceiving the “obvious”. It is saying that the truth of the Nation is right in front of our people but they are too blind (or too dumb) to see it. This i believe does indeed call into question the intelligence of our people.

Our people’s lack of national consciousness

It is undoubtedly true that most New Afrikans who have yet to become New Afrikan Nationalists, have a psychological attachment to america. They see themselves as americans, and if asked about their nationality, they would say “american” or “African-American”. However, it is a bit presumptuous for Us to say that this is a consequence of them being deaf, dumb and blind with respect to their New Afrikan Identity.

National consciousness (not merely group or “race” consciousness) is not something that occurs spontaneously among a colonized people who have never existed as a self-governing unit. National consciousness among such a people has to be aroused , and set in motion by the Nationalist Movement.

Most New Afrikans have never even been told of the existence of such a thing as a New Afrikan Independence Movement. How can they be expected to advocate or fight for it? How can We say a person is “deaf” for not hearing what has not been told, blind for not seeing what has not been shown, and dumb for not speaking from a perspective that said person doesn’t know exists?

And yet, in spite of their

lack of national consciousness, it has been the New Afrikans outside of the Independence Movement who have been at the forefront of the resistance against the most egregious manifestations of our national oppression. It was they who rose up in Ferguson, in Baltimore, and in Miami, L.A., and in countless other cities before that.

Perhaps they do go to sleep thereafter, but at least they RISE!

The absence of sustained resistance is a consequence of the absence of competent, organized and disciplined, revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalist Leadership; not the deafness, dumbness, and blindness of New Afrikans. It is the product of the absence of a core of professional revolutionists capable of leading in struggle, not only the most advanced strata of the New Afrikan working class, but even the progressive and slightly backward strata.

Perhaps it is not that our people are, or have been, deaf dumb and blind, but that We, the proponents of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, have been deaf, dumb and blind; and to that We could easily add invisible.



Photo: New Afrikan youth throws a brick at police in Baltimore

Excerpts from

PGRNA Reflections: as seen through the eyes of a New Afrikan, Muslim, Garveyite and Panther

(the full text is available at rebuildcollective.org under "resources")

by

Bilal Sunni-Ali

At the historic New Afrikan Nation Day commemorating fifty years of existence of the PGRNA (Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika) held in Detroit in March of this year 2018, several of us were invited to participate in a session titled, "Elders Reflections". Here are some of my remarks....

I seek refuge in Allah against misleading and against being misled into ignorance and oppression by others. And the worst oppression is self oppression. That which we allow to happen to ourselves and I ask Allah to guide my heart and my tongue in whatever I am caused to express in these reflections.

In the spring of 1968 I was already organizing the Bronx-Harlem chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. I had been and still am a Garveyite from birth. I was then and still am now a practicing Muslim. At that time not fully understanding what was meant by protracted struggle I was one of those youth that used the slogan "free by '73".

Myself and several others in Harlem at the time were anxious to know the outcome of this Black Power Conference and the founding of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. This was the period of mass urban rebellions. There were a series of Black Power Conferences that created five to twenty-five year plans of policy development for the movement. The Black Power movement at that point was clearly a movement for self-determination. Direction for that movement was being established by the Black Power Conferences.

In 1968 there were two Black Power Conferences; one in Detroit, in March, at which the Provisional Government of the RNA (Republic of New Afrika) was founded. In August 1968, a BPC was held in Philadelphia, at which time the Afrikan People's Party (APP) was founded .

We had in Harlem, at that time, the Harlem People's Parliament; a body of leaders appointed or elected, that were concerned with establishing policy on how conditions of life could be affected through the actions of

Harlemites independently. The Parliament accepted direction from the BPC's.

Members of Parliament had relationships with newly independent countries and forces struggling for independence in Africa and the Caribbean.

Within a few years the Mosque of Islamic Brotherhood (MIB) was established with Sheik Ahmed K. Tawfiq as the Imam. Imam Talib Abdur Rahman succeeded him and is still presently the Imam. There was the common reference to both Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn as "People's Republics" the People's Republic of Harlem and the People's Republic of Bed-Stuy. So there was a conscious body of politics that was operating in those areas that was separate from the conventional body of electoral politics that governed the overall society.

Along with this independent political and social development there was a growing understanding that returning south was key to our national survival and development. Going south meant organizers with independent black political thought, over half of which was born in south would return to the southern part of the United States where many Africans had been held in bondage and where segregation was still the rule of law. Many were themselves escapees or children of escapees of white terrorist lawlessness in the south.

Our esteemed ancestor Queen Mother Audley Moore-El, from New Iberia, LOUISIANA, is a classic example of an activist within this body of thinking and action. She was one of the first, if not the very first signer of the New Afrikan DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. She is the person from whom i first heard the name New Afrika used as the name of our nation.

The New Afrikan people were so defined to distinguish us culturally as well as

ideologically from the terms "Afro-American" and/or "African-American". These were the two most progressive popular terms to define us during that period.

The term "American" had been used by the colonial usurpers of the Western Hemisphere in their intent to transform the entire hemisphere into one white country. Disregarding the indigenous name "Turtle Island" they used the term America chauvinistically to refer to the expansion of their efforts in the "americas". Afro and/or African-American began to mean Africans born in the United States of America rather than Africans born in the Western Hemisphere. After the War of 1812 Mexico and Canada although considered part of North America were not part of "America". So the term New Afrika was clearly to distinguish us as a people and our territory from the white chauvinist reference to America.

I actually got involved with an RNA study group while serving time as a political prisoner in Soledad, California 1969 through 1972.

To captured and imprisoned urban guerrillas, Robert F. Williams being chosen as President in exile and H. Rap Brown was chosen as Minister of Defense were big pluses.



Photo: H. Rap Brown/Imam Jamil Al-Amin

Robert Williams had a broad following of adherents to armed struggle. He circulated a newsletter, the Crusader, which contained his pronouncements on armed struggle based on the activity of himself and other comrades of his in the U.S. armed services, along with what he learned from the experience of other combatants while in exile in Cuba, Korea, Africa and China.

H. Rap Brown had emerged as a spokesperson for the youth. In his emerging as chairman of SNCC, he had been involved in advocating and providing armed defense for those involved in voter registration as well as building bases of Black Power in Alabama and Mississippi. He was part of the delegation to the 1964 Democratic Convention at which the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party sought to unseat the Delegation of the white Democrats of Mississippi. That was a turning point in electoral politics towards black independent politics and towards Black Independence.

These two men were drawing cards to the RNA, not just because they were popular, but for what they were popular for. They both had reputations for being brave, disciplined and dedicated to struggle and movement.

There was mass acceptance and support of their being in exile (Robert Williams) and being underground (H. Rap Brown).

The other attraction to urban guerrillas under lockdown was that the RNA had been involved in shooting incidents in which the only casualties were the enemies. The attack on the government at the first anniversary of the founding at New Bethel in Detroit (Aretha Franklin's father's church). Then they won their court battles. Everyone arrested was released and then the two brothers arrested at the scene of the incident Chaka Fuller and Raphael were tried and acquitted. Then came the RNA eleven incident in which again no casualties except the enemies.

When I was released from Soledad and returned to New York some of the people that I personally worked with mostly Panthers were also RNA citizens. In fact there were

joint ministries of information, defense, and the development of the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, which was worked on by Panthers, RNA government workers and a host of other para-military groups whose work was resulting in swelling numbers of political prisoners and prisoners of war. I took the oath in Brooklyn in February '72. I joined the New York Consulate as a work study cadre. We had to study, do work study and physical/military training. Every citizen had to.



Photo: RNA President Robert F. Williams in China with Mao

The “going south” program of the movement began to have structure within the PG-RNA based on your progress with study, work study and training. The biggest difference I see going on today is the lack of this work, study and training.

We had a book called the Government Administration Handbook. The GAH outlined how a PG-RNA local unit was to be organized. Each PG-RNA unit was an administrative unit - local president, secretary, treasurer and government workers in housing, education, healthcare, food, youth, culture, prisoner support. In fact, each unit had a person leading and reporting on RNA 11 support activity.

We have people who say they remember this being the case but the only copies of the Government Administration Handbook existing are copies where this crucial information has been deleted.

Nation-building courses were developed for citizens of record to become government workers. The nation-building course was designed to study history, history of struggle, the current struggle including study of current leadership. The other important thing was that everybody had to study self defense techniques as well as weapons/firearms safety, weapon maintenance and target practice. Each unit of government workers engaged a weekly collective study process.

Under this system of organizing and using this process of recruitment, every potential government worker cadre was grounded in mass work and had a level of training that each other could rely on. The trust level between cadres was raised to a higher level. This relationship of training and trust amongst the government worker cadres translated to greater levels of trust in and for the PG-RNA by the public; that “trust” was based largely on our being able to respond with predictable behavior.

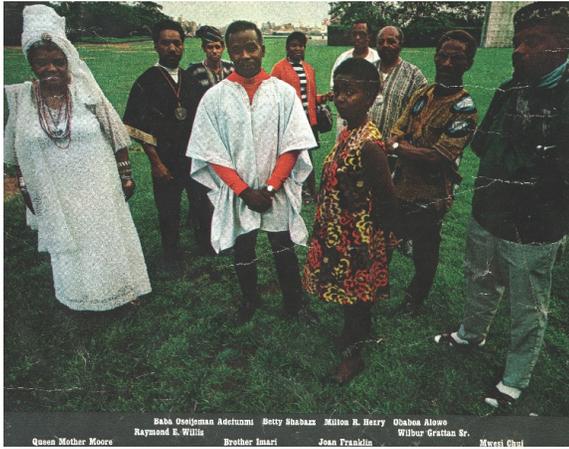
The character of the local units and its leadership was qualitatively different from what it is now. Likewise the character and quality of regional and national ministries was much different. Local, regional and national ministries were made up of cadres disciplined by training,

grounded in history and mass struggle, guided the work through local, regional and national conferences through which the ministries reported and interacted.

The ministries guided and tracked our work. Nation building was focused on two fronts: 1. Engage in struggle against the state to force the state to provide services and opportunities for our people's welfare. 2. The building of independent alternative institutions that develop our people's capacity to govern themselves.

This process was designed to engage people in actively challenging the state and to engage our people in institutional development in areas of self-determination.

Through this process we saw the process of liberation. Block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, city by city, state by state, region by region, family by family, gang by gang, association by association winning the hearts minds and allegiance of our people.



This painstaking process was abandoned for a legal concept of liberation which says that this work of engaging our people in the revolutionary process of liberation can be substituted by engaging our people in holding a plebiscite to transfer power from the oppressor state to the people by vote.

This was actually a change of direction called for by Imari Obadele in the second edition of "War In America".

Without proper study the role of the plebiscite is grossly misunderstood. And it needs to be understood that a plebiscite is to determine the will and level of readiness of the people to be self governed. It is not done to transfer power.

This erroneous counter revolutionary concept gives people false hope of easy victory.

To prepare for a plebiscite is not merely to define the word "plebiscite" and hand people a ballot or tell them to go vote online. To prepare for a plebiscite is to engage the people in the revolutionary process of liberation so that they can have the experience that gives them the confidence to vote to be self governed. It is to be re-engaged in the work of voter education, this kind of voter education is one that clarifies to our people the difference between inclusion/assimilation and self determination.

There is no easy way to gain our liberation.

This erroneous concept gave rise to an even more erroneous concept; that revolutionary leadership could be selected through the popular vote. But the first erroneous concept, the one that paved the way for the others to be accepted, was the idea that we did not need a process of education that included a training program to even out our

development and allow us to assess our own and each others' strengths and weaknesses.

At one point we were creating local units centered through study of history, disciplined by training, grounded in community service work. Without this process of recruitment and training the local units ceased to exist, followed by ministries ceasing to exist.

The PCC, which was at one time a body of disciplined cadre, selected by disciplined cadre, from disciplined cadre, disintegrated into a group of individuals who had no grounding in history, nor in mass work/community service; not having a clue as to what a PEOPLES CENTER COUNCIL was supposed to do.

The PCC is the highest legislative body in the nation of New Afrika. The PCC's job is to create legislation that is supposed to govern our lives. Initiate rules to guide our work. The faulty notion of having to have "democratic processes" lead to the ultra democratic policy of creating imitation electoral districts; legitimizing this grouping by having them voted for by people without who had no clue as to what they were voting for.

That moved to the PGRNA having people doing recruitment who were not clear on what they were recruiting people to do. The PCC moved from being the highest legislative body in the Nation to a group of individuals vaguely interested in talking about the concepts nationhood, national independence, national liberation but never studying these concepts...just talking about them.

The idea of a revolutionary provisional government of a people at war was/is totally missing from the present manifestation of the PCC and the move to using popular elections to build the PG has crippled the work.

So now you have people in leadership with titles and positions who don't know anything about what they should be leading. People have begun trying to build a conventional government and act like a conventional government rather than structure a revolutionary Provisional Government that serves the New Afrikan masses. Unfortunately it appears that the lack of study renders these present PGRNA government workers to not know the difference.

The first national project that I remember getting involved with was the

international New Afrikan Prisoner of War SOLIDARITY DAY. Held in Jackson, Mississippi in August 1973 on the second anniversary of the arrest of the RNA 11. It brought together forces domestically as well as internationally in SOLIDARITY with New Afrikan PPOW's. This work was lead by the then National Minister of Information Fulani Obafemi. In fact it is where I got to study the work ethics and discipline of the National Minister of Information that led to our eventual marriage in December 1976.

The first local project that I got involved with was the Lincoln Hospital drug detoxification program. Lincoln Detox - under the leadership of the PGRNA Ministry of Interior. The Interior ministry was headed up by brother Jeral Williams, today known as Dr. Mutulu Shakur.

Lincoln Detox was the program that had the lowest rate of recidivism in the entire world. Started by a takeover of the Nurses' residence at Lincoln Hospital by Black Panthers and Young Lords, holding them and negotiating with the City of New York and its Health and Hospitals for community organizers who had created programs to serve the people to get official salaries for their work. They served the mentally ill, the substance abusers, the welfare recipients, organized hospital workers, and organized the community. It maintained and built upon the SOLIDARITY of black and brown/New Afrikan and Puerto Rican it was founded on.

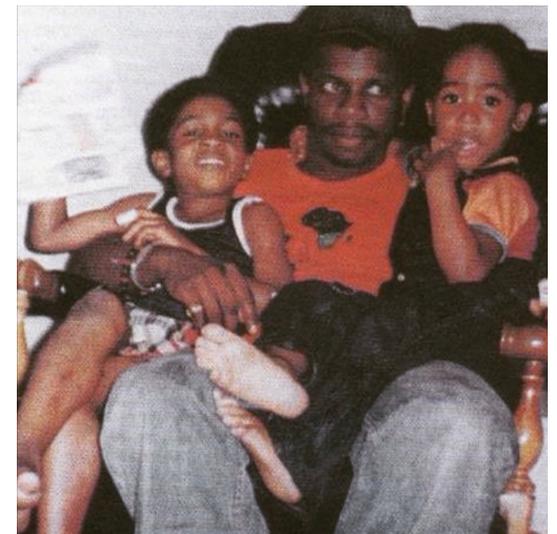


Photo: Dr. Mutulu Shakur (center)

Lincoln detox was a central element in the building of BAD, the Black Anti-Drug Movement. BAD was a national network of revolutionary substance abuse workers and centers. The primary centers of BAD were Lincoln Detox in the Bronx, New York and RAP INC. in Washington, D.C. The center became our center from which to combat genocide. Dr. Mutulu Shakur reported on research which provided proof that whether the drugs were over the counter or off the corner long and short term use of drugs was detrimental to our vital organs. It was here that we began researching and applying Acupuncture becoming the first center in the country to offer Methadone detox and refuse to offer the Methadone Maintenance as a program. As this became an obstacle for the pharmaceutical companies being unable to claim to the public that Methadone Maintenance programs was a 'service' to our community.

The decision to stop serving as a Methadone Maintenance program meant that funds from pharmaceutical companies and support from the state would soon be cut off. The detox collective formed BAAANA, the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America, bought a building in Harlem and set up its own community based privately owned clinic and organizations.

Another area of work of the New York based RNA government workers was working with the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; the paralegal attachment to that committee became the embryo of the National Task Force for COINTELPRO Research and Litigation. This arm of political prisoners support work actively compiled information gathered through on our prisoners that could persuade prosecutors that it was more expedient to let prisoners go than to bring into court more hard evidence exposing the US government's counter-intelligence program.

After leaving New York I served as a government worker in Washington, DC. It was while serving as a government worker in Washington, DC that I noticed first that the government administration handbook wasn't being used. We reintroduced it, made some clear improvements and expansion in work. We also made some enemies.

It was here that we also encountered liberalism and a tendency to do certain things



Dr. Imari Obadele and Hon. Chokwe Lumumba

based on unprincipled personal relationships; particularly in regard to President Imari Obadele. I often challenged this tendency making more enemies. Especially when making statements that his ideas were, from my point of view, not revolutionary nationalism. "How could you say that?", Chokwe would ask.

I could say that then and still say it now, based on his own statements in his own writings.

The points of clear departure already stated 1. his claim that working for US Army general excluded him from collective study and training. 2. the ideas that we didn't need to engage in mass organizing around our people's needs but merely hold a plebiscite to win political control over a geographical area. I would humbly stand corrected if someone could point out to me any unsoundness in my position.

**SOME RECOMMENDATIONS
TOWARDS A RECTIFICATION POLICY
IN THE NEW AFRIKAN NATIONAL
LIBERATION MOVEMENT/
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT ---
COLLECTIVE STUDY, WORK STUDY,
TRAINING, WORK & CRITICAL
REVIEW**

1. Everyone needs to engage in a review and restudy process. Older (in work) cadre must engage with each other on a collective process with one another to insure more evenly developed future cadre.

2. Every (new) interested party should engage with a study process before engaging in actual work.

3. After engaging in an organized study process each potential cadre should be part of a work/study process that gradually graduates that person to becoming an actual cadre.

4. Redevelopment of a Government Administrative Handbook.

5. Reengage process of establishing local units according to the proposed new government administration handbook. Develop and include a work/study process.

6. Develop a study & training process that includes physical development so that everyone's level of physical capacity and endurance can be assessed and critiqued.

7. Develop and establish a process of teaching, testing and grading. Employ SELF-CRITICISM.

8. COMBAT LIBERALISM. engage in the UNITY-CRITICISM-UNITY process.

We welcome comments, criticism, additional rectification, and honest dialogue on the subject.

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



Photo: Bilal and Fulani Sunni-Ali

Smash the Neo-confederacy!

by
N.A. Freeman



Photo: Maya Little being arrested on the UNC campus

On August 25, 2018, activists at the University of North Carolina brought down the school's infamous Silent Sam statue. The statue was erected to honor the memory of UNC students who were killed while fighting for the Confederacy during the Civil War.

At least seven activists were arrested in connection with the downing of the statue. Maya Little, a doctoral student who in April poured a mixture of red ink and her own blood on the statue, is currently facing expulsion and criminal charges for vandalism.

This action was just the latest in a series of protests and civil actions targeting the confederate symbols and monuments throughout the South.

New Afrikans everywhere should celebrate, support and encourage the anti-confederate protesters who are climbing poles and tearing down confederate flags (ala Bree Newsome); who are defacing and tearing down confederate statues and monuments. We should defend their actions politically and when possible, We should provide material support to those New Afrikans who are arrested and facing charges for engaging in such actions.

We should reject, and encourage our people to reject, the arguments of the "liberals" who "support the cause" but condemn the actions of the students, workers, and community activists who are spearheading these efforts.

Those who say that the monuments and flags should come down, but who condemn the protestors on the grounds that only peaceful and legal means should be used to achieve that objective, must be rebuked in the strongest possible terms.

These are the same sort of people who condemned the youth of Ferguson and St. Louis when they rose up against the murder of Mike Brown. The same folks who condemned the "violence" of the Baltimore youths that went out and stoned the police that were sent in to suppress the protests against the murder of Freddie Gray (but who celebrated the "violence" of the mother who assaulted her son for participating in the rising). And these are the same sort of people who stand ready to condemn the people of Chicago if the murderer of Laquan McDonald is set free and the people rise up in outrage.

Such enemy collaborators fear any movement of the people that steps outside of the bounds of state sanctioned political activity. They fear the forceful expression of the legitimate rage of Our people. To them, any such action is always terrible.

Though We do not object to legal action being taken to remove confederate monuments (or to challenge any other injustice), We must NEVER be foolish enough to condemn those who refuse to be limited to acting only within the sanctioned processes of the establishment.

When Our people rise up in militant action against injustice, We must say, in the words of Chairman Mao, "It is not terrible, it is fine." Or better still, in the language of Our own movement, "Right On!"

And yet, as New Afrikan revolutionists, We must go beyond just cheering the bold actions of those who are currently on the front lines of this struggle. We must raise the slogan "Smash the Neo-confederacy," and work, not

only to unite the various existing struggles under that banner, but to expand and deepen those struggles.

We must work to transform these *local* struggles against the symbols of the confederacy into a *regional* popular revolt against neo-confederate power itself. Into a struggle that can shatter the pillars of support upon which neo-confederate power rests. Such a struggle, if intelligently led, will receive the support of New Afrikans *and* progressives throughout the empire.

This is obviously easier said than done, but that is no excuse to delay setting about the task. We must not delay. We are already so far behind the organized and even spontaneous actions of the southern activists.

Neo-confederate power rests upon the pillars of national oppression (the subjugation of the New Afrikan nation), the subjugation of women, the subjugation of the workers, and the overwhelming majority support of the southern whites (across class and gender lines). It is our responsibility to help convince our people of the need to assault these pillars of neo-confederate power and not just the symbols (though the symbols must go).

We cannot stand on the sidelines and merely criticize the shortcomings of the existing movement. We must join these struggles and say to our people in them "yes these symbols must come down, but what is the use of attacking the symbols of oppression and leaving the structures of oppression untouched?" And then We must work with Our people in developing and carrying out a viable strategic plan to destroy those structures.

Once again our people are on the move in the heart of Our National Territory. They are on the move, and they are going to continue to move against these symbols of our national oppression; *with* or *without* us.

Shall We join them?

REVOLUTION WITHOUT WOMEN AIN'T HAPPENIN'!

by
Aminata Umoja
New Afrikan People's Organization



*This presentation was made at the "New Afrikan Women In the Field: Cultivating Our Legacy of Struggle," Regional Conference, July 10-11, 1993 at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. An audio recording of this speech can be found on the **Rebuild Collective YouTube channel**.*

Free The Land! Free The Land! Free The Land!

We in the New Afrikan People's Organization say Free the Land because We recognize that you can't have freedom, you cannot have liberation, you cannot have independence unless you have a land base. So We talk about Free The Land. Because that's what We plan to do. We're struggling for a free, independent New Afrika. Where Black people are in control; where self-determination is practiced in it's highest form.

People know about Free The Land. People in Algeria certainly know about Free The Land, because they wanted to free **their land** from the French. And they were successful in freeing the land. The women

participated on every level of struggle. And now Algeria is free; but it's women are not.

In Zimbabwe, they understood that land had to be free. Again the sisters were right there - every level of struggle. Zimbabwe is free; but it's women are still oppressed.

Even in Cuba, the progressive country of Cuba - they talked about Free The Land. And again, they were able to win freedom. The Cuban revolution was successful. But the women of Cuba **still** have to fight against sexist oppression.

Participating in struggle is not enough. Sisters, We will not be free if We don't also fight against sexist oppression every step of the way. Now, i don't know about you, but i love the Black man; but i don't love the Black man so much - and myself so little - that i'm willing to help him get his freedom at the expense of my own. i'm in this movement because i want to be free! i want my children to be free. My male child *and* my female child. And that's not going to happen unless We fight against

sexist oppression. Unless We fight for revolution.

Now, revolution is a scary word to some people, but it simply means complete change. And all of us in this room should understand clearly that amerikkka has to be completely changed! We know that every time We see our people on the streets. We know that when We hear about our young men shooting each other down. We know it when We see our young women pregnant. We know it when We see our people addicted and hung up on crack and alcoholism. We know that when you get sick in amerikkka, the sicker you get, the more money you have to pay - what a sick country!

So, if you love your people - whether you be a revolutionary or a progressive - you have to talk about complete change. And complete change is revolution! And in the New Afrikan People's Organization that's the kind of change We're talkin' about. We're not talking about just land and independence. We're talkin' about a place where all people can live in freedom. Where the men and women of our nation, and the children can live in freedom. And in order to do this, We have to talk about sexist oppression. Or what We'll experience will be a political revolution. You see, a political revolution is when power changes hands. *But, nothing really changes for the people themselves.* No, We can't just have a political revolution; We must have a political revolution **and** a social revolution. You see, We're not just struggling for land and independence, We're also struggling for liberation! We're not gonna follow the same mistakes as Zimbabwe and Cuba and Algeria. Oh no! Our people are too precious to us for that. No, so We understand in the New Afrikan People's Organization that We have to fight against sexist oppression.

Well, what is sexist oppression? Well, the sisters in the New Afrikan Women's Task force define sexist oppression - as it is practiced currently (and has been practiced historically) - as the subjugation of women by men. It's male supremacy. It's the belief that men are superior to women physically, culturally, mentally, economically --- on every level. It's male patriarchy. It's the belief that men are inherently superior, based solely on biology. That they're the natural leaders. Well, certainly many people believe that. I mean, the bible says "women be subservient to your husbands." The Q'uran says something similar. And how you gon' argue with God? How you gon' argue with Allah? This is sexist oppression.

You see, We have an intimate, **intimate** relationship with sexist oppression; because it is the first form of oppression We learn. We learn it from our mommas and daddys. We learn it at home. We learn it before We even find out about racism. We learn it before We even find out about classism. We learn that "the father is the head of the household," then come momma, then come the children. Some of you might be sayin' "huh, she's only talking about two-parent households." Even in a single parent household, you hear women talkin' 'bout, "You wait 'til i tell your Uncle Joe! You wait 'til i tell you grandfather - he's gonna deal with you!" You even hear sisters who are heading their households say to their male children, "You are the **man** of the house." Indicating that in some way, he is more special - more unique. And he is special and unique, **but so is his sister!**

We have an intimate relationship with sexist oppression. And because of that, it is difficult for us to get rid of it. Because it requires us to reject a part of our culture. But isn't that what We do? As revolutionaries? Isn't that why you're here today? Because you're trying to find out www.rebuildcollective.org

how you can promote the liberation of our people? Isn't that why many sisters stop pressing their hair? Isn't that why many of us drop 'Joy' and 'Van' and 'Bob', and take on 'Aminata' and 'Safiya' and 'Chokwe' and 'Akinyele'? Isn't that why We practice Kwanzaa? Because We're trying to rid ourselves of the negative aspects of our culture. As We struggle toward freedom. We're trying to develop a culture that's a liberating culture. A culture that will bring hope to the hopelessness. A culture that will push us forward. To Freedom! Not one that will maintain our oppression. That's what

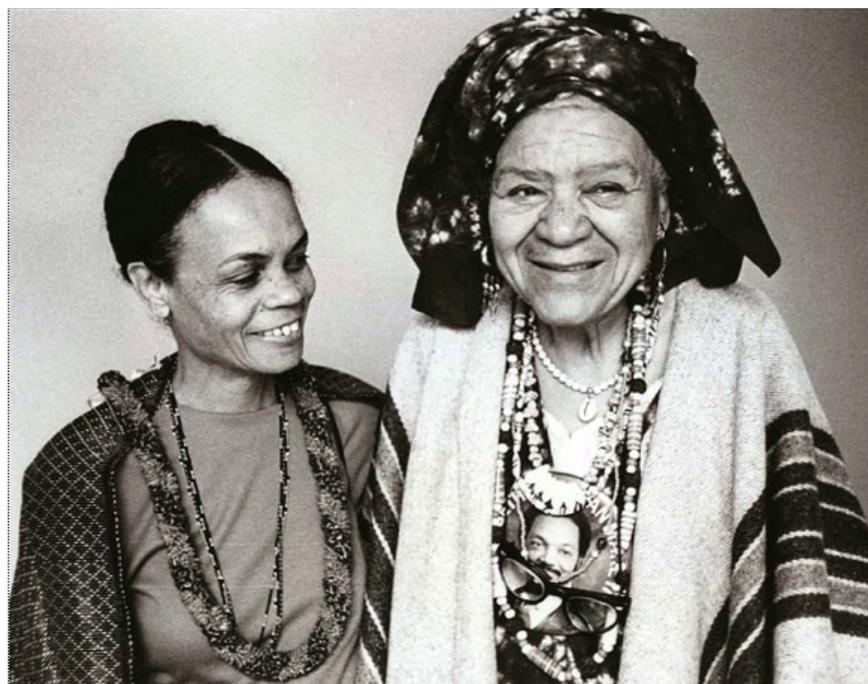


Photo: Queen Mother Moore and Sonia Sanchez

We're supposed to do - as revolutionaries. Well, this requires a new perception of the world, doesn't it? Not the perception that you were taught, and i was taught in the amerikkkan system, but a new perception. One that's based on afrocentrism. One that's based on a history of resistance. One that's based on the fact that We are oppressed. You see, once you get this new perception, you start gettin' excited. Because then you can figure things out! You start beginning to realize that our people are not inherently ignorant. That our people are not inherently lazy. You're able to combat some of the discussions you hear in our community.

From my understanding, there's been a lot of talk about mass work - about

dealing with the masses. When We talk to our people, what kinds of things do We hear? We hear things like, "Niggers ain't gon' ever do anything." We hear things like, "You know the Koreans can come over here, the Japanese can come over here, these other folks come over here and they develop their own businesses -- Black people ain't never gon' get it together! Why can't We do that?" But once you understand what your place is in the world, once you understand that you have been oppressed, and there is an oppressor; once you understand that you have been raped and

We are trying to be healed of that victimization, then you start seeing things more clearly. And you understand that We have a self-hatred thing going on. The sister talked earlier about the competitiveness at the business place -- that ain't nothin' but self-hatred! When We talk about, "She's too light; She's too dark," that ain't nothin' but self-hatred.

We're able to identify those things, and you know - once you can identify a problem, then you can go about solving the problem. Our perception of the world has to be different - and with that difference, you study. With that difference, you continuously analyze your life - every aspect - from the way you worship God, to what you call yourself, to the way you dress.

Well, as nationalists, We've been pretty successful with that - oh yes. We're into studying; We are into analyzing; We're into re-evaluating our positions. And We've grown. We've grown tremendously. But when it comes to the area of sexist oppression, We've failed. We haven't studied that much. We just started having the kind of dialogue that you've experienced today on a serious level.

Well, why is that? Why is it that We've failed when it came to sexist oppression? Well, i believe that there are a couple of reasons, and of course i'm gonna share them with you. One is that We've been taught to think in terms of things as a *hierarchy*.

This is a western way of thinking. We're taught to think in terms of things as "what comes first?, what comes second?, what comes third?" And then, We were taught (as young Black women growing up in the struggle) that the race, that "the nation must come first." Well see that's a joke, 'cause really what they talkin' about is the Black man, right? Because if you talkin' about the **nation**, then certainly it fits that We should fight against sexism, because We're half of the nation! We're more than half of the nation! But naw, We bought into that. We bought into supporting "the Black man"; to our own detriment, We bought into that. i think another reason why We failed - in terms of really dealing with sexist oppression - is We were taught that "that was the white woman's thang; sistas don't deal with that. That's the white woman's thang!" And see, that was easy to buy into. Because white women *were* doing it (for white women!) they weren't doing it for us. Certainly We were turned off by white women, because they were middle class white women; struggling to be a part of our oppression. Struggling for "equal rights"; not struggling for a revolution, not struggling for a total difference in society. They were just struggling to put their foot on our necks too!

So, We couldn't deal with white women.

We also didn't trust white women because We know that they grew from our disasters. When the COINTELPRO was attacking us, when the government was attacking Black organizations, white women continued to grow. So We had a mistrust for them - a mistrust that was based in history. They have always

been very clear: that Black people don't really mean anything to them. Unless it's to expedite their own cause. And We were clear about that.

The third reason why i think that We didn't deal with white women, or feminism at that particular time (and even now), is because many of them have an extreme dislike for men. And that turned us off - that they would actually resent men - at least that's what We were taught in the sixties.

And if none of that worked - if you didn't go for the hierarchy and you didn't go for the white woman's position (feminism) - well there was always name calling, wasn't there? There was always name calling, and that would get you, right? "You're a ballbreaker," "you a castrater," "you must be a lesbian." So, what did We do, sisters? What did We do? We kinda put our own needs to the side.

But the truth is (sister Efa mentioned it earlier) that white women don't have any hold on fighting against sexism! Black women have been fighting against sexism for at least one hundred years (and that's just based on my narrow base of knowledge)! From my few studies, i know We've been practicing anti-sexism for at least one hundred years.

Sister Mary Chad, in 1880



organized the *Colored Women's Progressive Association*. It's job was not just to work for race; it's job was also to push forth women's issues. "Consistent with the Black women's concerns, the clubs were not organized for race work alone," Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin said, "But for work along the lines that make for women's progress." This was a hundred years ago! Sisters were talkin' about "We have to fight for our people, but We must also fight for our rights" - one hundred years ago.

i'm gonna tell you a little about how the clubs grew strong. Sister Ida B. Wells is partly responsible for that. You know, Ida B. Wells was a famous journalist during that time, and she did a lot of anti-lynching work. She would write down whenever people were lynched. Well, during this period in 1893, a brother named Henry Smith was accused of raping a five-year old little white girl. Well, as you can imagine, the white community was in a rage. So they decided to close the schools; and have a picnic. The men and women and children all came to see Henry Smith, first tortured with hot irons and then burned to death. And then, after the brother was burned, they scrambled to the site of the fire to pick his bones, his buttons, and his teeth off the ground - to take them home for

souvenirs. Well, Great Britain heard about this incident, and they could not believe how inhumane it was. So, they asked Sister Ida B. Wells - this is a hundred years ago - to come to Great Britain, and talk about the tragedy. And Ida B. Wells did.

And Great Britain couldn't believe it! They couldn't believe that kind of thing went on in the united states.

So they said, "what about your liberal white people?!? What about people like Francis Willard?" You see, Francis Willard was supposed to be progressive - she was the president of the Women's Temperance Union (temperance means that she was fighting to stop alcohol). Ida B. Wells said, "Well, Francis has been kind of quiet on the issue. As a matter of fact, Francis has kind of added fuel to the fire. She's saying that 'Black people hang out at the bars all the time. Black men are getting plenty drunk; and white women and children are in danger!'" Well, Francis Willard just happened to be in England at the time. And was very upset that Ida B. Wells was saying these things; and basically called her out and said, "You lying on me Ida B. Wells!" And Ida B. Wells said, "Well, if i'm lying, name one Black woman that's in your organization of women!" Francis couldn't say a thing. So, what happened? Well, you know amerika was very concerned about how she looked to England. So Ida B. Wells was actually successful in stopping some of those lynchings - they didn't stop altogether - but they decreased *tremendously*.

Well, that pissed the press off. They wrote an open letter to the women of england. They said, "Look, now y'all are nice - you got a good heart - but you don't know the nigger woman. The nigger woman has no morality. She will lie. She will do whatever is necessary."

Well, that response pissed Sisters off! And they decided to have a woman's club here, and a women's club there - this wasn't enough. So they united and became one large national organization: The National Association of Colored Women (NACW). The president of that association was Mary Church Terrell. Now at this founding meeting many sisters were there, very impressive guests. You had Ida B.

Wells, you had the daughter of Frederick Douglass, you had the daughter of Ellen Craft, you had Frances Ellen Harper; but the most impressive guest, a sister who is a **known freedom fighter**, a sister who risked her life over and over and over again for our people, and a sister who by her presence was obviously conscious of women's rights - Harriet Tubman attended this meeting. Oh, Sisters, white women ain't got nothin' on us! ***Fighting for our rights is a part of who We are!*** So, what happened?

We continued to work. We worked on every level. We were in SNCC; We were in SCLC; We were in the House of Umoja; We were in the A-APRP; We were in the Provisional Government-Republic of New Afrika. We're in NAPO now. We worked on every level, so what happened? If We didn't want to deal with white women, why didn't We come together and start fighting for our own issues? Because of the hierarchy. Because We deeply believed that, "We should struggle for the nation first." Because We were so afraid of homosexuality and homophobia - that someone would call us 'lesbian' and We'd run. i'll tell you one thing: i don't care what you call me, i'm fighting for my rights. i am fighting for my rights as a woman, and i am fighting for my rights as a New Afrikan. i will not struggle and dedicate my life to free only half of our nation --- it does not make sense. And i want you to know that i am pissed off today! And one of the reasons why i am pissed is because We remain invisible. And it makes me angry. We hear over and over again about how We have to focus on 'the Black male', 'the Black boy'. In the sixties, it was "the Black man" - "Sisters Support Your Black Man!" "Black Men Are In Danger!" And now in the nineties, it's the Black boys. "Black Boys Are Killing Themselves!" YES, the Black Man is in danger. YES, Black Boys are in danger.

AND SO ARE BLACK GIRLS. AND SO ARE BLACK WOMEN. **OUR NATION IS IN DANGER. How Dare You Continue To Ignore Our Cry!**

We have to leave this meeting feeling empowered. We have to leave this meeting going out and speaking against sexist oppression. To the masses of our people. No, to them it may not matter whether We call it "womanism" or "feminism". To them it may not matter what We talk about in theoretical discussions. But We cannot disregard the necessity for intellectual debate; that's how We get our theory so We can move forward. If We were to discard that, We'd be discarding W.E.B. DuBois, Amilcar Cabral, Malcolm X - We cannot do that. We cannot afford to do that.

So, when you leave here and you go to the barbershop to get your haircut; and you go to the hairdresser and get your hair done; and you sit in your living room with your family; and you're sitting in your church prayer group, or your bible study - you must fight against sexist oppression. Not only because it will benefit our nation, but because it is your human right to be free. It is your God-given right to be free! Don't let anyone take it from us. Don't let anyone take it from my daughter and her daughter. ***Free The Land, Brothers and Sisters!***



SUPPORT THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY & ALL NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Every nation has an army.
So, power to the people's
army. The nation must
come to fruition through
revolutionary action.

-New Afrikan Freedom Fighter,
MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA
Feb. 18, 1944 - Oct. 23, 1981



AKENWORKS

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR
LAND AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE BLACK NATION
THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA