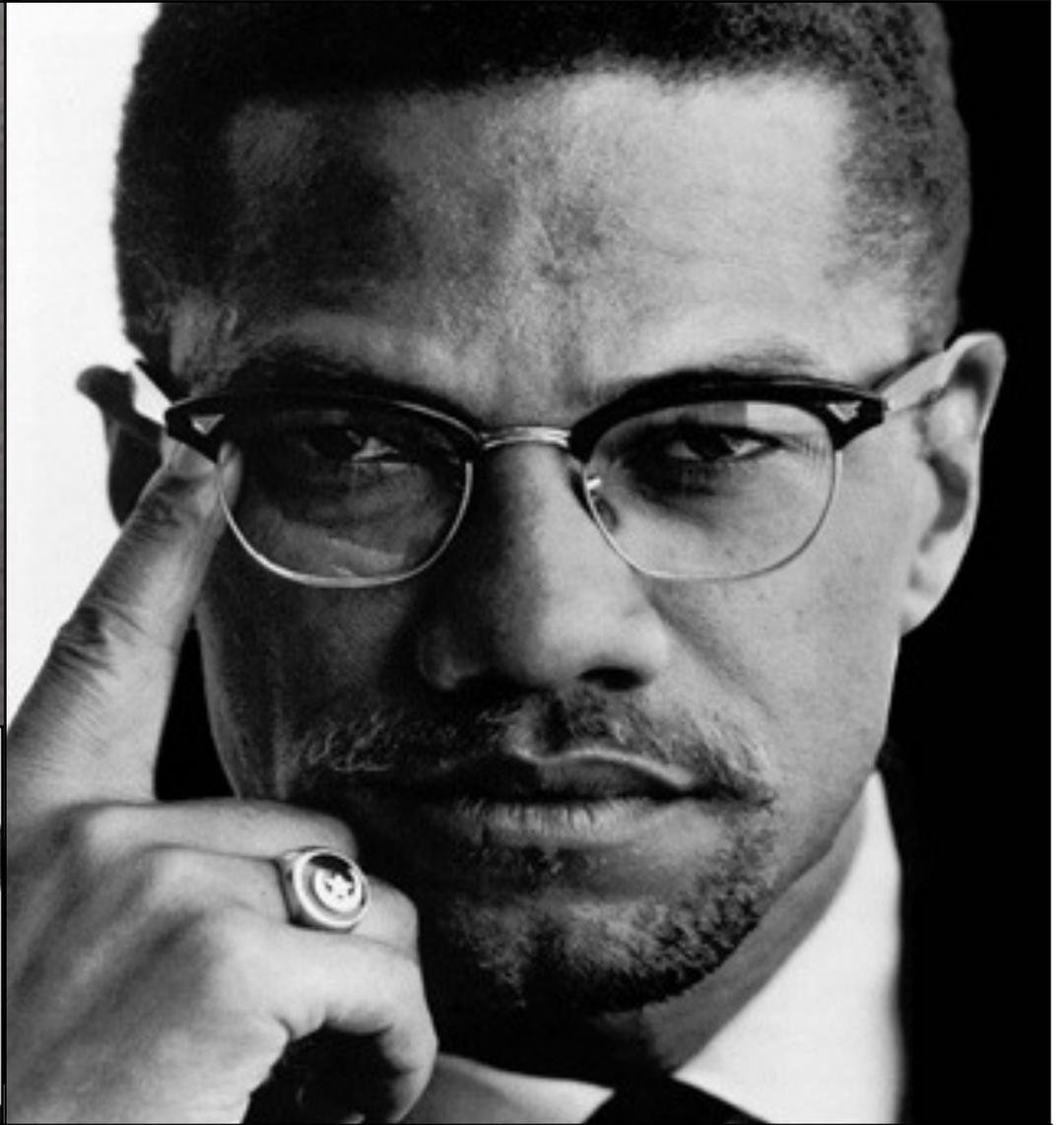
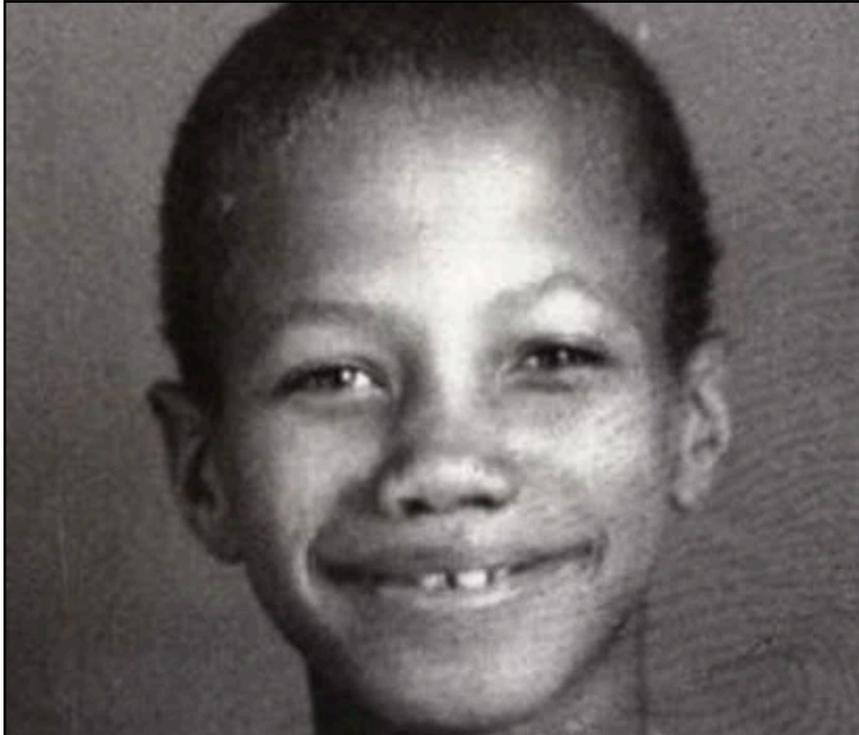


Re-Build!



A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical



Malcolm X: Model of Personal Transformation

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.

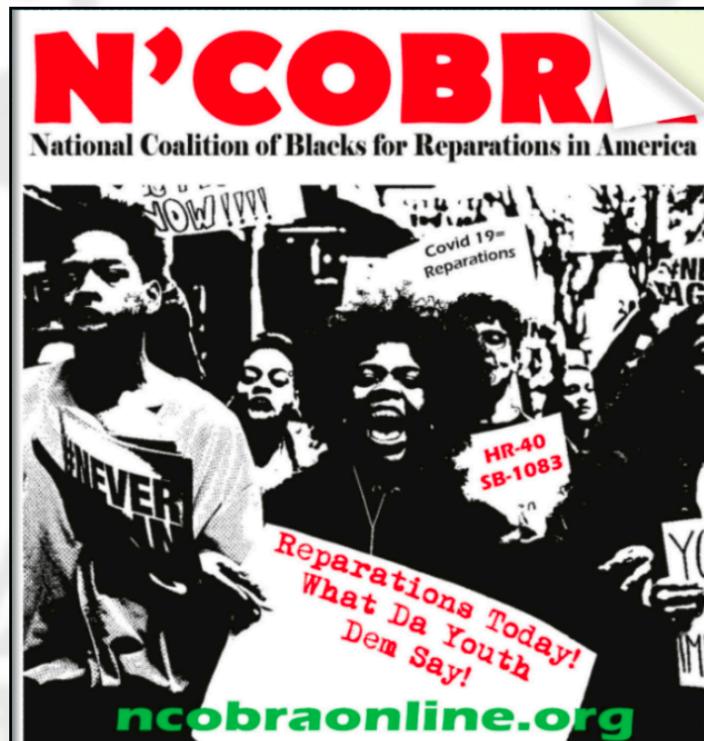
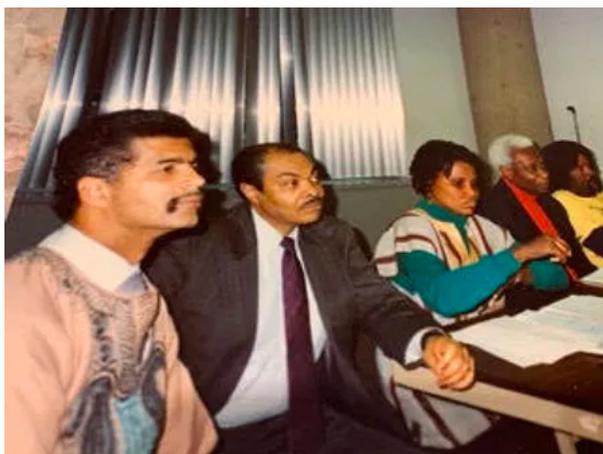
Healing and National Liberation: Reparations Begin Within

**Kwasi Akwamu
Re-Build Collective**

i will be patient and uplifting with my brothers and sisters, and i will to seek by word and 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. – New Afrikan Creed

Since the end of chattel slavery in the U.S., reparations has been a constant demand by New Afrikans. Callie House began her push for reparations (in the form of compensation for ex-slaves and pensions for aging black Union veterans) in 1894. Queen Mother Audley Moore began championing reparations in the 1950s. And during the 1980s, with the founding of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), the cause returned for yet another generation.

It was N'COBRA co-founders Dr. Imari Obadele and Chokwe Lumumba who pushed longtime Detroit congressman John Conyers to draft and submit House



Resolution 40 in 1989. The bill, which merely sought a formal government study on whether there was merit in the reparations claim, was ignored by a majority settler congress, never being considered for a vote. Before joining the ancestors in 2019, Conyers re-submitted the bill every two years over three decades to the same result. Nothing.

Today, H.R. 40 is being more vigorously discussed in the settler u.s. congress, while a handful of municipalities and institutions, including some churches, are alleging to award what they are calling reparations. The problem with these efforts are they remain grossly limited in scope and impact.

The suburb of Evanston, Illinois, for instance, passed a municipal reparations bill related to past housing discrimination. The eligibility criteria reads like a class action lawsuit claim rather than a reparations award: *“In order to be eligible for the program, individuals must have lived in Evanston between 1919 and 1969 or be a direct descendant of an individual harmed by discriminatory housing policies or practices during this time period.”*

How does that repair the legacy harm to New Afrikans who arrived in Illinois as a result of fleeing settler supremacist terrorism in the Black Belt South? The city has allocated a measly \$400K in housing assistance for those directly harmed by housing discrimination during the 50 years between 1919 and 1969. Those are senior citizens, if even still alive. What about their descendants, and the mental and emotional harm that accrued from that experience? How is that remedied?

Self-Healing is a form of reparations

Many New Afrikans understand reparations in terms of money. Our enslaved ancestors were not paid for their labor for 246 continuous years, to be followed by another 150 years of exploitation and systemic discrimination. We want backpay for this crime against humanity, and rightfully so. Not as individuals but *as a class*. And under u.s. settler colonialism, *all*

New Afrikans – *as an oppressed nation* – are members of that class.

Still, financial payment alone doesn't fully balance the ledger, for the greatest injury inflicted upon our ancestors (and ourselves, by inheritance) was psychological, emotional and spiritual in nature.

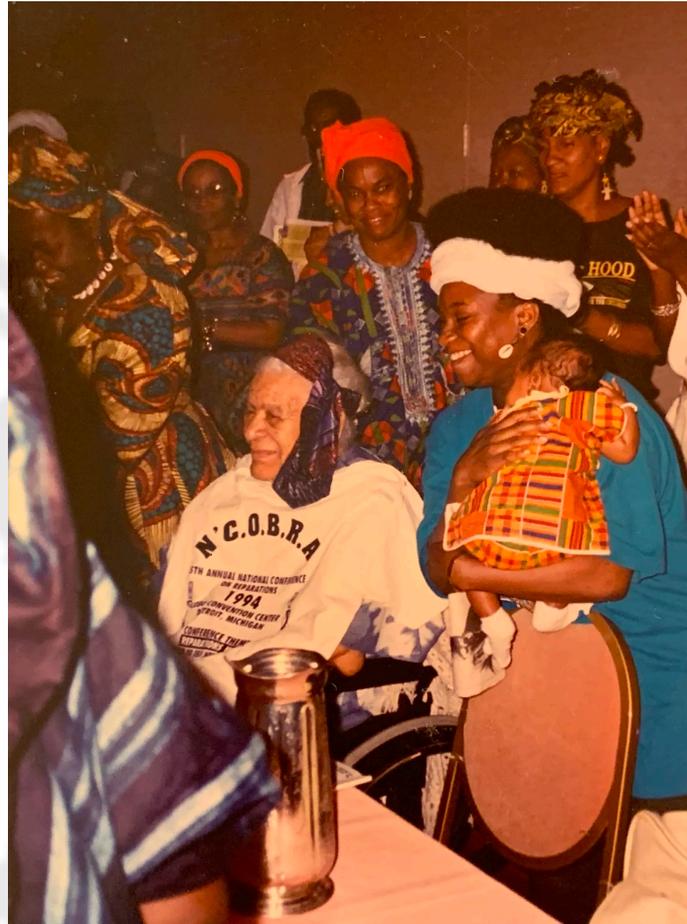
Compensation is not the same as reparation.

Gross acts of inhumanity has been inflicted upon us over several centuries. Slave traders and colonialists not only displaced and subjected Afrikan bodies or destroyed and dominated Afrikan societies – both in the fulfillment of a voracious greed and ill-gotten gain – they also disrupted our self-motivated trajectory forward as shapers of our own destiny. These acts has left a deep and destructive imprint on our emotional, psychic and spiritual being. For far too many, these impacts have caused irreversible mental damage, which often leads to self-destructive behavior and a wide range of communal harm within the New Afrikan nation.

The pursuit of reparations is often framed as what our oppressors owe us, while We ignore or minimize what We owe ourselves. Yet, the very framing of our liberation as being for *self-determination* – for land and self-government – demands that We take greater control over our destiny *now*.

“The liberation of the individual does not follow national liberation,” wrote Frantz Fanon in 1958. “An authentic liberation exists only to the precise degree to which the individual has irreversibly begun his own liberation.”

This process includes initiating the internal repair (self-healing) that coincide with our vision of the new society. The restoration of internal control over our destiny – *self-determination (self-government on sovereign territory)* – is the essence of what it means to achieve reparations.



Reparations means repair

At its root, reparations is about "repair" for an injury or damages. It is true that our ancestors were never paid for 246 years of forced labor, and continue to receive less pay for equal labor and skill. Again, We emphasize that compensation aint the same as repair. Backpay is absolutely due, and We should continue pushing for it (but within the collective context of national independence).

Everyone has heard the proverbial rejoinder that reparations given in the form of a check will ultimately go back to the descendants of the former slaveholders after We go spend it on Cadillacs, expensive clothes, and other depreciable material consumer goods with the money. This would be the consequence of compensation absent the much needed internal healing.

True reparations is what We do for ourselves. Ultimately, there is no way to compute monetary value of the mental damage caused by slavery, Jim Crow and the continuation of white supremacy in this society. Money cannot resolve self-hate. And as the Notorious B.I.G. so aptly pointed out, more money can only mean more problems, especially for an emotionally displaced people. That is, so long as the substantive mental damage of slavery goes unrepaired.

In my mind, true reparations would be restoring us to the place We were before slavery, i.e., back in control of our own destiny, as shapers of our history rather than continue as victims of it. And no one can give that to us. That is what We do for ourselves and each other when We begin the process of self-love, self-healing and mutual support.

Our movement for national liberation isn't a chauvinistic push to be like our oppressors. In the New Afrikan Independence Movement our aim isn't to create a black-faced version of amerika, free of settler discrimination. Rather, We seek to build a nation that was born and shaped by a tragic history, purging ourselves of a legacy of psychic, emotional and spiritual damage, to take charge over ourselves.

And that can only succeed through the restoration of our humanity, shedding the toxic traits internalized through our 403 years as a captive nation within the belly of the settler-imperialist united states, and advancing the struggle to return to history as shapers of our own destiny as a free and independent nation on territory where our blood, sweat and tears fertilized the soil for 246 years during colonial bondage (slavery) and the 150-plus years since.

Let's heal! Re-build to Win! Free the Land!

Malcolm X: Model of Personal Transformation

James Yaki Sayles
Spear & Shield Collective

Malcolm X often used the concept of prison as a metaphor to describe the situation of New Afrikan people. He implied that just as those in actual prisons are expected to “rehabilitate” themselves as a condition for their release, We must transform ourselves, as a people, as a condition for securing our freedom from oppression.

Malcolm’s autobiography offers evidence of the pivotal role that prison played in his transformation (esp. chapters 10,11,and 12), and provides guidance for imprisoned New Afrikans, who can begin a process of self-transformation similar to that undertaken by Malcolm. We have the added benefit of knowing the general outline of our identity, purpose, and direction.

Although in prison, We are not defined by this condition. We are New Afrikans (identity; nationality), citizens of an oppressed nation. Our purpose is to secure the independence of the nation, and socialist development is the direction.

The time spent in prison should be devoted to our self-transformation...to the further development of our identity, commitment to our purpose, and the pursuit of knowledge and skills needed to aid our people in the realization of the socialist development of our society.

While in prison, Malcolm began to think – in a systematic, critical way, about his past life-style, about the world and the society he lived in. He began to question the way things were, and he realized that change – in his life, and in the society – was both possible and necessary.



While in prison, Malcolm began to think – but only after he began to read. Prior to his imprisonment, Malcolm had been enclosed in the world of the hustler, the player, the pimp, the gangster – the parasite – and he couldn’t imagine himself outside of that world. Reading exposed Malcolm to new worlds; it allowed him to see that there were alternatives to the lifestyle and values of the social parasite.

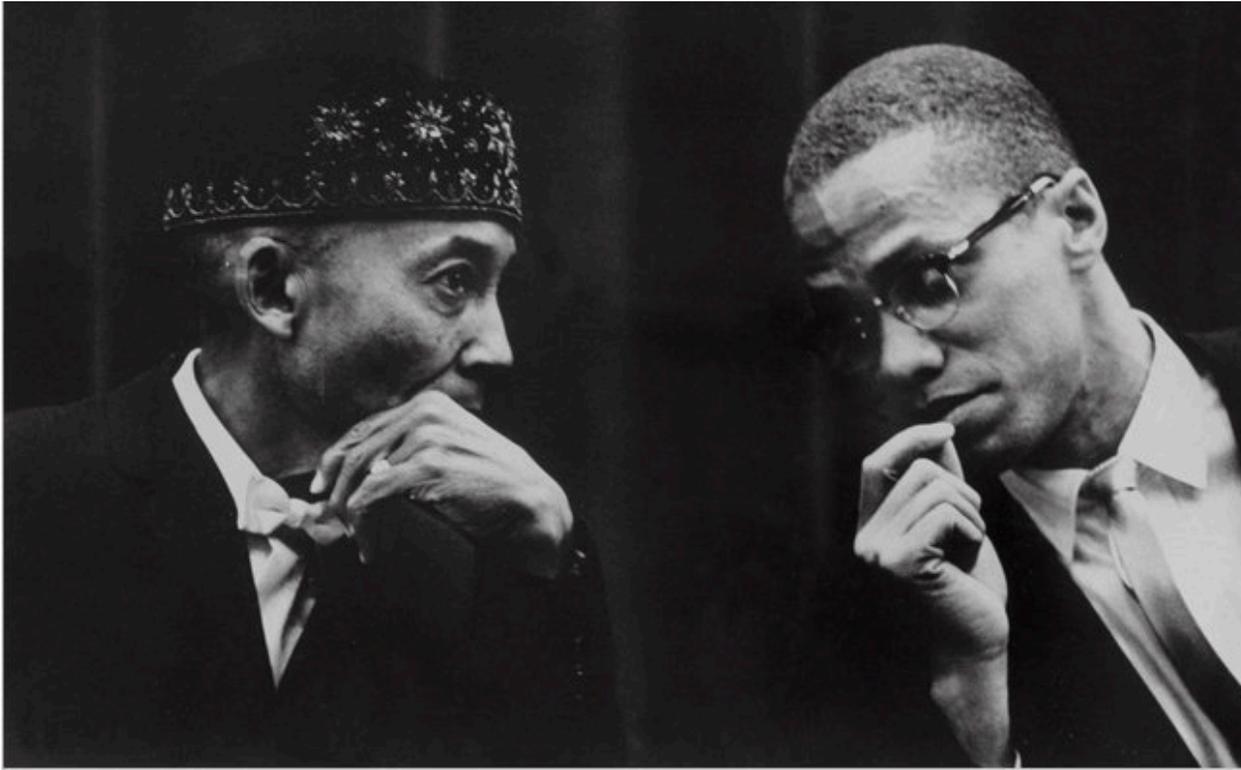
While in prison, Malcolm began to think, and to read – but only after he had been encouraged to do so by someone that he respected and who had taken an unselfish interest in him. Malcolm was later motivated

by a new sense of self-worth and identity and purpose, as his family introduced him to the religious and political philosophy of Islam, as taught by Elijah Muhammad, and practiced by the Nation of Islam.

Soon after leaving prison, Malcolm began to effect change upon the world – but he was able to do so because he had first changed himself, while in prison. Many imprisoned New Afrikans can follow his example, change themselves, become new men and women committed to acting upon the world to effect its radical transformation. As with Malcolm, such change would more likely occur if imprisoned New Afrikans are encouraged and assisted by individuals, groups, or a community seeking to make them part of a collective process of redemption and progressive social development.

When imprisoned New Afrikans read Malcolm’s autobiography, We should reflect upon our own lives, as We can easily identify with Malcolm, and see similarities between his life and our own. In fact, Malcolm charges us to examine our lives when he says, “...why am i as i am? To understand that of any person, his whole life, from birth, must be reviewed. All of our experiences fuse into our personality. Everything that ever happened to us is an ingredient.” (1)

Critical review of one’s own life is the first step in the process of personal transformation. It’s also the hardest step to take, because it requires that one be brutally honest and unreserved in the examination and critique of one’s fears and shortcomings.



Reading Malcolm can help us to understand how critical self-examination is done. What is there in Malcolm's life that's not in our own? Who was he, if not one of us? What does Malcolm mean to us if not that We, like him, can change? What does his prison experience mean to us if not that We, too, can use the prison as the environment within which We undergo our own metamorphosis?

As Malcolm looked back on his life as a parasite, he acknowledged the degree to which it was a result of the bad choices he had made, due in part to "the wrong kinds of heroes, and the wrong kinds of influences." but those heroes and influences, those bad choices, should be examined within the context of the society that helped to produce them – We are all products of a unique form of colonial oppression.

Most people enter prison thinking only of surviving the experience and returning to their previous way of life. They spend most of their time watching television, listening to music, playing sports or working jobs linked to the operation of the prison (e.g., kitchen

or laundry or janitorial services). Educational programs in prison are designed so that only a few prisoners may participate. Rare are the self-motivated prisoners who decide to educate and transform themselves.

A prisoner has time that he can put to good use. I'd put prison second to college as the best place for a man to go if he needs to do some thinking. If he's motivated, in prison he can change his life. (2)

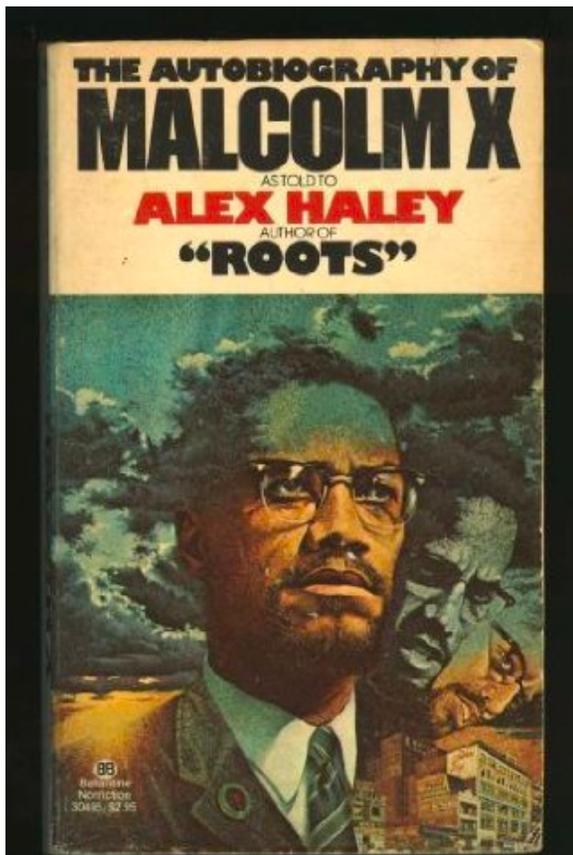
I don't think anybody ever got more out of going to prison than I did. In fact, prison enabled me to study for more intensively than I would have if my life had gone differently and I had attended some college.... Where else but in prison could I have attacked my ignorance by being able to study intensely sometimes as much as fifteen hours a day? (3)

When convicted in 1946, Malcolm was first sent to the prison in Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he initially wasted his time, engaging in aimless rebellion and drug use. He didn't begin to put time to good use until he was encouraged to do so by Bimbi, an older con who'd spent many years in many prisons – but he had not wasted his time. Bimbi was articulate and well-read, and he became a minister to Malcolm, who'd been drawn to Bimbi because "*he was the first man I had ever seen command total respect... with his words.*" (4). Bimbi reignited within Malcolm the passion for words and the acquisition of knowledge that he'd begun to lose in the 8th grade. He urged Malcolm to take advantage of the prison library, and to enroll in some of the correspondence courses allowed by the prison.

Malcolm admitted that at that point in his life, his working vocabulary may have been only two hundred words which, together with his penmanship, made it impossible for him to write a decent letter. He first took a correspondence course in English. He began to read from the prison library, saying later that:

I have often reflected upon the new vistas that reading opened to me. I knew right there in prison that reading had changed forever the course of my life. As I see it today, the ability to read awoke inside me some long dormant craving to be mentally alive. (5)

However, it would take more time, and a different motivation, for Malcolm to develop the appreciation for reading just described. Initially, his reading was aimless, and he was motivated by little more than the desire to become a more literate hustler – he hadn't transformed that criminal/colonial mentality. It wasn't until Malcolm was



transferred to another prison that he moved beyond his mere “book-reading motions”:

Pretty soon, I would have quit even these motions, unless i had received the motivation that I did. (6)

Malcolm was transferred to the Norfolk Prison Colony in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1948. There, he received a letter from his brother, Philbert, who said that he had joined the “Nation of Islam,” and he urged Malcolm to “pray for deliverance.” Malcolm wasn’t ready to hear anything about religion. His attitude changed, however, after he received a letter from another of his brothers, Reginald.

Because Reginald knew how Malcolm’s street hustler mind worked, his approach was more effective than Philbert’s. Reginald told Malcolm to stop eating pork, to stop smoking cigarettes, and that he would show Malcolm how to get out of prison. Malcolm took the bait. What initially

regarded as a probably con to be worked on the prison authorities, turned out to be the next step in the process of his transformation:

...For the next years, I was the nearest thing to a hermit in the Norfolk Prison Colony. I never have been more busy in my life. I still marvel at how swiftly my previous life’s thinking pattern slid away from me... It is as though someone else I knew of had lived by hustling and crime. I would be startled to catch myself thinking in a remote way of my earlier self as another person. (7)

It was at this point in his life that Malcolm began to read selectively and critically, and to develop intellectual discipline to complement his spiritual and moral development.

For New Afrikan women and men held in U.S. prisons, Malcolm stands as an example of the way in which We can free ourselves, even though behind prison walls.

Malcolm attained his freedom long before he was released from prison – when he began to read, to think, to question his old habits and values. If Malcolm had not used his time in prison to change his life, he would not have left us ideas and a life worthy of examination and emulation.

Moreover, if Malcolm had not changed his life while in prison, he would have returned to the life of the “criminal” and the oppressed colonial subject.

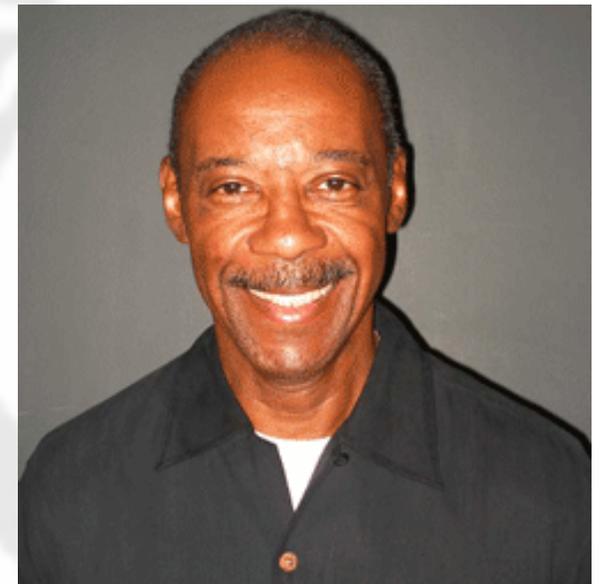
The parable of Job, which Elijah Muhammad used in introducing Malcolm to the Nation of Islam soon after Malcolm’s release from prison, is instructive. Mr. Muhammad told the gathering that Malcolm had been strong while in prison. Malcolm reports that he then said:

When God had bragged about how faithful Job was...the devil said only God’s hedge around Job kept Job so faithful. “Remove that protective hedge,” the devil told God, “and I will make Job curse you to your face.”

The devil could claim that, hedged in prison, I had just used Islam, Mr. Muhammad said. But the devil would say that now, out of prison, I would return to my drinking, smoking, dope, and life of crime. (8)

We can go through the motions of changing our lives – while in prison, or otherwise – but the test of the truth comes when the prison doors are opened, or, when otherwise We’re confronted with situations which test our characters.

Nevertheless – before We can remain faithful, We must first **become** faithful. Malcolm’s prison transformation can be a model for our own.



James “Yaki” Sayles, also known as Atiba Shanna, was a New Afrikan Communist and a leading theorist of the New Afrikan Independence Movement

Street-holics: Gangbangers, Gangsters and Thugs in search of Revolutionary Transformation

Yusef “Bunchy” Shakur
Re-Build Collective

“We already know the story. It is the same issue that Claude Brown wrote in ‘Manchild in the Promised Land’ and Malcolm X documented in his ‘Autobiography’. That Eldridge Cleaver expounded on in ‘Soul on Ice’. That Tookie elaborated on beautifully in ‘Blue Rage Black Redemption’, that Baba Ahjamu Baruti (Yusef’s father) explained so eloquently in ‘Scribes of Redemption’, and finally, that i myself got down on in Monster: ‘The Autobiography of an L.A. Gang Member’. This issue is our oppression and all the related problems that attend such a harrowing deathstyle. Yusef is uniquely qualified to expound on the social phenomena that We are STILL confronted with.”

Comrad Sanyika Shakur

Every thug, gangsta and gangbanger has the potential to transform into a revolutionary, but only a few will commit themselves to the necessary revolutionary transformation to develop and manifest their potential into concrete reality—the scientific struggle of transforming Our colonial-criminal mentality, which requires an intense work on Our part to come out on the other side of not only being a revolutionary but a new human being. Those who are successful in that revolutionary transformation overstand that transformation is beyond some romantic idea after reading your favorite revolutionary book full of revolutionary characters or adventures.



The period between the 1970s and the 1990s saw so many New Afrikans (Black) who were shuttled into youth facilities and prisons. The majority of them were products of the *Money, Mack, Murder and Gangbanging* street-elements across Black amerikkka. This period put a premium on the need for transformation. The need for transformations is just as pressing now.

In prisons across amerikkka, Malcolm X would emerge as the model for *Black Transformation* (transforming the colonial-criminal mentality into a revolutionary New

Afrikan consciousness). He wouldn't be the only example, but if you search even deeper you would come across names such as George Jackson and Bunchy Carter, who also represented their own versions of revolutionary *Black Transformation*.

Comrad George proclaimed in his second book, entitled *Blood in My Eye*, that the aim was to “transform the Black criminal mentality into a revolutionary mentality.” This proclamation by the comrad existed in the underground of the prisons in amerikkka. *Blood In My Eye* was/is banned reading material, but those who were/are seriously committed to that type of transformation overstood it was/is necessary to uproot the colonial-criminal mentality by finding a way to get their hands on a copy.

Our colonial-criminal mentality had/have Us functioning as savages and predators against Our people and even against Our mothers - Our primary providers, who love Us despite Our underdeveloped colonial-criminal behavior.

Comrad George teaches Us more intensely about the process of *Black Transformation*: “I met Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engles, and Mao... They Redeemed me.” He would go on to add “I met the black guerrillas, George ‘Big Jake’ Lewis, and James Carr, W.C, Nolen, Bill Christmas, Tony Gibson and many others.”

The most important first stage of *Black Transformation* is acquiring new information that will push you to



deconstruct your colonial-criminal mentality. The transformation process grows when it is in concert with other serious and like-valued New Afrikans (Blacks) engaging in the same scientific struggle of personal and collective transformation.

To add a personal element, when i think of my own *transformation* inside of the Michigan prison system in the early 90s, i met Baruti (my father who i met in prison for the first time) Smiley, Kwasi, Greer-Bey, Omowale, Jimmy (my uncle) and a comrad known as Che. They helped redeem me. We helped to redeem each other.

Prior to coming to prison i was a street-holic. i had an addiction to the streets that fed my appetite for the destruction of community/self in my quest for power as a gang member.

At the age of 13 i would co-found the street organization (gang) Zone 8 in the City of Detroit in the 1980s. The lifestyle i thought i was living (surviving) was nothing

but a deathstyle, as rad Sanyika Shakur has enlightened Us to. This deathstyle behavior is governed by self-hatred. This self-hatred mentality made it easy for me/Us to gang bang, sell drugs, rob, rape, murder and just not give a fuck about any other New Afrikan (Black) person. i/We viewed each through the lens of being niggas and it is easy for a nigga to hurt another nigga because a nigga is only loyal to self-destruction. This is because a nigga is a walking bastardized embodiment of the values of capitalism.

So, as long as i saw the world through the eyes of a gangbanger i functioned as such. When i transformed my thinking and values through commitment to re-building myself my behavior changed.

We were building on books such as *Wretched of the Earth*, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *Assata*, *Seize the Time*, *Destruction of Black Civilization*, *Miseducation of a Negro*, Yaki's writings, etc.

Every brotha and sista who finds themselves captured in the belly of the beast (prison) or on the outside has the potential to transform into an Assata Shakur, Lumumba Shakur, Yaki, Bunchy Carter, Malcolm X or Comrad George. In Our modern time, you have a chance to follow the footsteps of a Ahjamu Baruti, Kwasi Akamu, Sanyika Shakur, Yusef Bunchy Shakur, etc.

Yes, prison does offer the luxury to read, reflect, exercise etc. but this is not transformation. Yes, reading and study are important aspects of transformation, but by themselves are insufficient for real transformation. Many folks read while in prison, i.e., read religious books or novels, which all can contribute to passing the time and even influence a person to entertain the idea of changing themselves.

Again this is not transformation. But concrete reading material such as *Negroes with Guns*, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, *The Spook Who Sat By The Door*, *Soledad Brother*, *Die Nigger Die*, and *Black on Black Violence*, to name a few, pushed you to not only think about changing yourselves, but taking things to the next level of revolutionary *Black transformation*. Through reading through reading these type of books that you begin to overstand the *Black transformation* is less about the individual and more about the collective.

It is in the collective that individuals develop purpose and meaning in their lives by ridding themselves of their colonial-criminal mentality. When We commit Ourselves to the hard work of transformation, then We are taking on the responsibility of joining Our struggle, armed with the purpose to seize land, liberation, and independence for Our captive New Afrikan (Black) nation.

Transformation is greater than the mere thought of wanting to change Ourselves. Anybody can change, but not all transform

themselves. Participating in political education, using books like those mentioned above, has played a crucial role in the transformation of many thugs, gangbangers and gangstas. Through collective study and by going inside Ourselves and doing the painful work of uprooting the seeds of self-hatred and the trauma of colonization, We begin transform into better men and women.

Nowadays when you ask a person what they have read or reading, they often draw a blank. Reading is essential to transformation. Revolutionary *Black Transformation* is not some fantasy thing. Transformation is not about being liked or popular because if you truly transform yourself, it may produce the opposite.

There are levels and phases to transformation that We must overstand. It is not a one stop shop like We have been treating it over the years. It requires continuous work because Our internalized oppression runs deep and operates like enemy sleeper cells in Our bodies. Wherever We find Ourselves— on schoolyards, in prisons, at home, on the job, running the streets, in relationships, walking down dirt roads or in college—We face this responsibility of engaging in the intense struggle for transformation as individuals and as an oppressed people.

Transformation positions Us to fight for personal liberation through participation in Our collective struggle. Transformation helps Us to develop the correct analysis about why We struggle for land, liberation, and independence.

Transformation is serious business that requires commitment to ridding Ourselves of the internalized oppression that has Us functioning as pawns in Our own subjugation.

Our internalized oppression has Us “chasing the bag” at the expense of Our people and Ourselves. We can’t heal and

transform unless we confront this contradiction.

Transformation is about not only transforming Our bodies, but Our minds, spirits, and values as well. And i repeat healing is an essential element of transformation. Healing from my own trauma positioned me to not only redeem myself but to help others engaging in the struggle for transformation.

After putting in the hard work of transforming Our minds, values, and bodies, then We must get to the work of sustaining this transformation, which is another intense struggle. Transformation reaches its highest level in community when We are engaging the people on every level.

Bunchy Carter is a house name because his transformation led him not to function as an individual, but to become part of a revolutionary vehicle (the Black Panther Party for Self-defense) that was conducive to his transformation.

Comrad George said that there are two kinds of men that leave prisons: the broken-men and the Bunchy Carter’s. Our late Comrad Sanyika Shakur transformed inside the belly of the beast, but found it difficult (like so many of Us) to have the same success on the outside.

Those of Us who are fortunate enough to be released, face a social dynamic that that we are often unprepared for. Even if We are able withstand the pressures of reverting back to our colonial-criminal activities, We find Ourselves confronted by efforts of neo-social justice folks (often white) to turn us into poster children for mass incarceration in order to further their own liberal agendas.

Sanyika represents an example of transformation for Our generation, as well as the challenges We are faced with as We struggle to sustain Our transformation.

The enemy isolated Our comrad and his demons preyed on him (like all Our demons have the potential to).

He could have followed the road of being a poster child for one of these neo-social justice organizations, got on the speaking circuit with his book and code switched like so many have done. He rejected this opportunist approach, and fought to maintain a Revolutionary New Afrikan Communist line.

Though he was ultimately overcome by compounded effects of years of physical, mental and emotional trauma, his refusal to be coopted is worthy of our respect.

This past January i celebrated 21 years outside of the belly of the beast and i know that the code-switching struggle is real and it can eat at your soul. Some of Us wear the mask for so long We forgot to take it off.

Transformation must be a new lifestyle that We practices through re-educating and re-building Ourselves from the inside out.

We need revolutionary organizations for transformed individuals to function in and continue to transform themselves. It is within the organization that We put Our talents to work for the good of Our people and Ourselves and this is how We make amends with the many demons that hunt Us.

Re-Build to Win!

Ava Jo’s son,

Yusef Bunchy Shakur

Study & Struggle/Struggle & Study



Concerning Ukraine: When Elephants Fight

New Afrikan Peoples Organization/Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

Concerning the question of the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the international significance of that war, we believe that US imperialism (and neo-liberal capitalism) is the primary enemy of people globally. The USA/NATO threat to the freedom seeking nations of the world is evident in it's ongoing blockade against Cuba, it's embargo against Venezuela and the overthrow of revolutionary governments of Chile, Granada and Haiti in the past. We call for an immediate abolition of NATO and it's military forces.

We condemn the alliance of the Ukrainian state with NATO forces which can only serve to tighten the hold of western imperialism on the colonized people of the world. We believe that the neo-liberal aspirations and courting of NATO by the Ukrainian government and it's absorption of neo-Nazi militias such as the Azov regiment into it's military and the influence of these fascists into the government must be condemned. It is also important that We condemn and refute the Ukrainian treatment of African and Indian immigrants and students which has been revealed during this war crisis. Additionally, as anti-colonialist supporting self-determination, We strongly demand that the Ukrainian government honor the plebiscite and vote for independence legally held by the people of

the Russian speaking Donbas region of Ukraine since 2014.

With this understanding, We want to be clear that We believe that the present war in Ukraine is the result of an ongoing conflict between two State powers who have no interest in the welfare of the oppressed peoples of the world. An African proverb states, "when elephants fight, only the grass gets hurt". We condemn the manipulation of Ukraine by NATO for the purposes of neo-liberal capitalist and imperialist expansion, and we recognize that NATO has no interest in the welfare of the Ukrainian people. We also believe that the Russian regime has unjustly invaded Ukraine's national borders. As a colonized nation struggling against imperialism and understanding that the Ukrainian government has aligned with neo-liberal capitalism, We stand firmly with the people of Ukraine fighting to maintain Ukrainian national sovereignty against Russian invasion. We call for an immediate end to Russian military aggression against the Ukrainian people and land. We condemn Russia's aggression against a sovereign nation as well as ongoing Russian support of white supremacist and fascist movements globally which pose a threat to the people of the world.

We see the conflict between Russia and NATO as examples of big power

imperialism at the expense of the worlds peoples which has historically led to two imperialist capitalist world wars, and which endangers the worlds people of being once again drawn into wars benefiting only our imperial capitalist colonizers.

We call on the peoples of the world to stand resolutely against military aggression and violation of the sovereignty of Ukraine, Palestine, the captive nations of the USA including our own New Afrikan nation and all colonized peoples. We condemn imperialist war and call for a third force of anti-racist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist nations, peoples and social movements for true world liberation.

We want to hear from you!

We would like to extend a call for submissions to the New Afrikan Independence Movement

Article submissions should be between 500 and 2,500 words.

Please send your submissions or other communications to:
info@rebuildcollective.org.

Submissions or letters by mail should be sent to:

Re-Build! c/o Spear and Shield
Publications, 1321 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Suite 441.Chicago, IL 60642

- @Rebuild2Win
- Send donations to \$RBC2018



Welcome Home Comrad! Maumin Khabir Wins Compassionate Release After 27 years

The following is an excerpt from a transcript of an interview with Maumin Khabir on 3/8/22.

Comrad Maumin Khabir (referred to as Mau in the transcript) was granted compassionate release after 27 years behind the wall. He was captured in 1995, after 9 years on the run following his indictment in August 1986 on charges of negotiating to buy armor-piercing "LAW" rockets.

Maumin, now 64, had been serving three life sentences at a medical prison facility in North Carolina stemming from his conviction in a massive racketeering conspiracy case.

RB: We welcome you back to the streets, brother.

Mau: Alhamdulillah, i truly appreciate all the assistance that everybody gave me; the jericho march, amnesty international, spear & shield, brothers & sisters from all over --- everybody, Alhamdulillah, appreciate it.

RB: Well, We won't say "it was our pleasure", but We will say it was our duty, and We just thank you for your service.

Mau: Alhamdulillah!

RB: Our first question is, can you tell us about your early development; where did you grow up, your parents, etc.?

Mau: i grew up on the south side of chicago, you know, movin around. i think i



first became aware of struggle with the BPP and De Mau Mau and Lu Palmer. i was about 14; We went to the De Mau Mau meeting on 43rd & Indiana or Prairie & Lu was there. And, after the meeting was over, he said to me, "Brother, how old are you?" i told him i was 14 and he said, "Brother, keep doin what you doin!" i said "hum di Allah" and We kept on! If Lu Palmer say so, i knew i couldn't be wrong. (laughing)

RB: Right On! Lu was the man! So it was a De Mau Mau support meeting?

Mau: No, you know, it was after they had moved on De Mau Mau, right? So, We was having a rap session to see what We could do, to help out. And then, after that, We moved a little west on 72nd & sangamon and became part of a couple of different organizations, "Revolutionary Brothers & Sisters" and the main organization was, "B.R.O.T.H.E.R." (Black Revolutionary Organizations to Hereby Eradicate Racism).

So, it was a steady evolution. And then when Elaine Brown & Bobby Seale started running for office, i said, "Wait a minute, there's got to be something else".

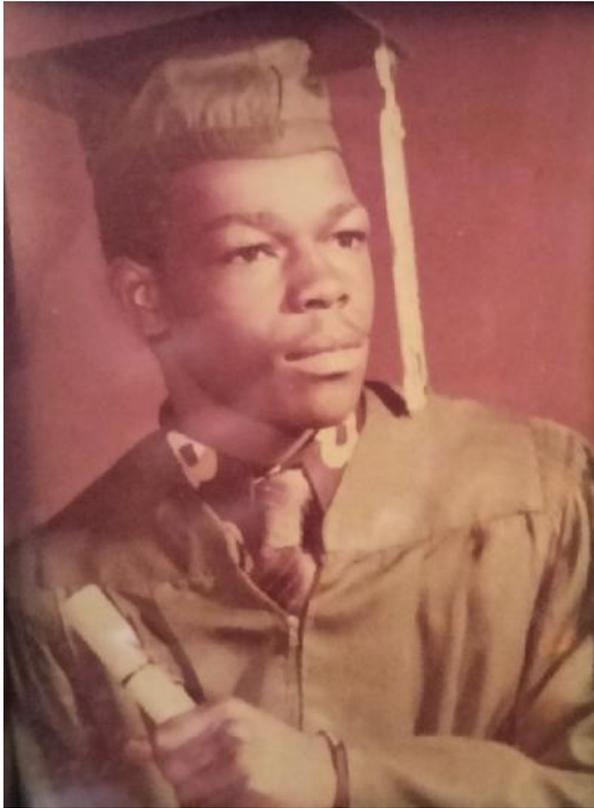
RB: What contributed to you becoming a conscious citizen of the Republic of New Afrika?

Mau: Over the years, i always read & then i met a brother and he stayed on me. It was a good thing & then he told me, "hey, by becoming a citizen of the RNA, that don't mean you can't be a doctor or a

lawyer or indian chief or whatever, you can still be a part of whatever you want to be a part of." i said, "Alhamdulillah."

RB: Can you tell us why it was appropriate to call you a political prisoner?

Mau: Because i was a political prisoner; everywhere that i went, these people come & if i was just a common street criminal, why did they come to Amsterdam, Morocco, Libya, Tanzania, Korea --- why did they come all around the world just looking for a "common street criminal"? Because i spoke out & said, "Yes, certain people should be



our friends & i don't think the u.s. was right for messing with this particular man & that particular man." Because remember, back then they was calling Nelson (Mandela) a terrorist and We called Nelson our friend. And, when Nelson got out, they tried to get him to go against us & he wouldn't do it. He said, "No, they was with me when nobody else was with me."

We saw his people at that World Mutaba (?) meeting, and We learned a lot from them. One of the brothers was asking them, "Why don't y'all support Desmond Tutu and his people?" At the time, Desmond Tutu was still supporting the (South African) government. The brother responded, "We can't want freedom for them people, they got to want it for themselves! If i tell them 'you need freedom' & they don't want it --- they got to understand that they need freedom." He was from the ANC, he asked the brother who raised the question about Tutu, "Are you gonna eat that fish?" The brother said "no", so the ANC comrade ate it and then he said, "See, all that time you were talking,

and the restaurant closed. It's too late, and you didn't eat nothing. i can't want it for you, you got to eat it for yourself!" Yeah, i liked that brother; and he just so happened to be Muslim too! (laughing) Hum di allah!...

We can't want freedom for them, they got to want it for themselves! It was after that summit that Desmond Tutu & them started pushing on the same accord with the ANC. i said, "it's about time!" Mashallah.

RB: Yeah, We got a similar situation here....

Mau: Well, let them be whatever they want to be. If they wanna be americans, let america have them. But, for those of us who would like to be citizens of the Republic of New Afrika, let us be citizens of the Republic of New Afrika! Because all of this other stuff - you wanna be americans, then you america's problem! So, let america deal with you. But let us deal with us. We built this country, We can do it again. We got everything We need. We got the doctors, lawyers, archaeologists, architects - We got everything - We got police, nurses, the judges --- We got everything - the electricians, the plumbers - Let Us Do Us!

Imam Malik always told us, 'We got everythnig We need to build our own, so let us do us...'

The main thing is We got to be free, We got to be us. If you say you're an american - american problem. When you stand up & be a man, you rule every square inch you step on because you are a human being, and you demand human rights. So, you must understand & realize that citizenship cannot be forced upon a person or a people. They got to give consent, you got to give knowing consent; they can't just do that to you...

When did they ask any slave [enslaved Afrikan] did they wanna be a citizen of the u.s.? The 13th amendment freed them, and the 14th & 15th made them

slaves again. That's all that happened! Now, in order for you to do anything, you to got to go to this court to get a right that's supposed to be for every citizen. They violated your civil rights - march out there in the street. Go to the court there; get behind closed doors to get whatever it is you supposed to get. But, that's supposed to be the right of every citizen. It's people that was born here, so why they still marching for civil rights? Please! Come on, i know i'm dumb as a box of rocks, but i aint stupid! What it is is what it is.

We've always been political. Look, you may not remember, but when they called Imam Malik ('Jeff Fort' at that time) in front of the the senate committee, and he said, "The only power We recognize in these united states is Black Power." And he held up his fist for them. It was in their encyclopedia, but they took it out since then. It wasn't nobody wearing Marcus Garvey's Red, Black & Green until he brought it back.

Then when he shut down the John Hancock building site, saying "We shuttin it down; If We don't work, don't nobody work --- It's gonna be the tallest building in the world, and they gon build it!" When downtown chicago shut down, that meant that new york couldn't talk to california because chicago had shut down. So, the stock market closed, the gold exchange, the diamond exchange - all of that closed down. And then they said, "Who did such a thing?". They said, "it was that young man there [Jeff Fort]". So, after Nixon got in, they invited him to the inauguration, right - he sent Nicky Caldwell & somebody else to that demonstration. But all of this, it's always been political...

RB: Do you have any advice for our younger comrades & readers?

Mau: Yeah, the time for ignorance is over. Silliness need to stop, for real. So, if you are a leader, be a leader of men and, if you are a

leader of men, then you can tell anybody you leading to stop, and they will stop. But if you cannot tell a lame to stop & they follow your orders, then you ain't the leader! They is! They is!

So look, either be a leader of men, or quit faking - the time for ignorance & stupidity is over! We got to go ahead & start building for the young & unborn; We need every able body, and if you can't think past go, go on and get out the way. If you stuck on stupid, stay there! Stupid is what stupid does. You're out there shooting up the neighborhood for what? A color, a piece of grass, a spot --- and you don't own none of it. That spot you got, that man can shut it down, and you got to go. You don't own none of it, it ain't your spot, it's them people's spot. You got to do something else; crime ain't payin. They knocking fire from you - the time for all that is over.

So look, chief say when We tell them to stop, We got to give them something to go to, so We had work crews like "this man here gonna teach you everthing there is to know about electricity, from the poles all the way to the house & running all the lines; you will know this." So, We had 25 brothers

signed up for that, and 25 brothers signed up for being a plumber - he's teach them everything they need to know about plumbing.

You know, We had to give them something other than the streets. Now, what is there to give them? The way that they done left us, We ain't got nothing to give ones, but that's what We need.

RB: Okay, We prolly could talk to you for a good little while, but this is our last question for now: What has surprised you most, since your recent release?

Mau: Well, i only went out once, to Juma which was a blessing. But We did have problems getting up the stairs, then getting outside... i can't really hang out, so i didn't see nothing much besides the highway.

RB: Well, brother, We're gonna close this out - We really wanna say that We're so happy to have you on this side of the wall, to talk to you & We wish only nothing but success for our struggle in the days ahead.

Mau: FREE THE LAND! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

As salaamu alaikum

RB: Wa Alaikum Salaam



A gofundme has been set up to raise funds to help cover Comrad Maumin's medical expenses. For information or to donate, go to:

<https://www.gofundme.com/f/support-fund-for-maumin-khabir>

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News Briefs From Around the World

UN warns of 'avalanche of child deaths' from drought

More than 10 million children are among those facing severe drought in the Horn of Africa.

The UN's children's body, Unicef, estimates that this figure is three million higher than it was just two months ago. They say that unless more money comes in and rain falls, the region could face "an avalanche of child deaths".

Unicef requires about \$250m (£199m) for humanitarian aid to Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Eritrea and Djibouti.

Mounting concern about police brutality in Kenya

Cases of police brutality and enforced disappearances are on a steady increase in Kenya, according to a joint report by Amnesty International Kenya and 16 local NGOs.

The report found 189 cases of police killings, as well as at least 30 people who have gone missing in police custody.

"We're noticing a significant increase since 2020, and the numbers are steadily going up," said the executive director of Amnesty International Kenya, Irūngū Houghton.

May 2022 Legal and Health Update for Dr. Mutulu Shakur

Mutulu recently had a parole hearing on April 27th. This hearing took place due to an order issued by a federal judge in California,

which directed the US Parole Commission to rehear his case within 90 days. The order resulted from a petition for habeas corpus filed by members of Mutulu's legal team.

The Parole Commission has not yet issued a decision and we will provide further updates once they are available. Mutulu, his legal team and Friends and Family of Mutulu Shakur greatly appreciate everyone who has advocated for Mutulu's release and we value your ongoing support.

In terms of his health, since the early relapse in bone marrow cancer, he has to receive weekly chemotherapy infusions that come with serious side effects. On top of this, he has already contracted COVID three times.

WHO to consider shutting Europe office in Moscow

World Health Organization will consider a resolution against Russia next week, including the possible closure of a major regional office in Moscow, a document obtained by Reuters news agency shows.

The draft, prepared largely by EU diplomats and submitted to the WHO's regional office for Europe this week, follows a request by Ukraine, signed by at least 38 other members.

El Salvador rights groups cite 338 violations amid gang crackdown

Five human rights groups in El Salvador have reported that there have been

complaints of at least 338 violations of human rights during El Salvador's crackdown on gang members.

The five organisations said arbitrary arrest was the most frequently cited abuse since the government imposed a state of emergency in late March. Illegal searches of homes, injuries, robbery and the death of a detainee were also among the alleged violations.

Speaker of Puerto Rico House Calls on Congress to Endorse Self-Determination Act

On Saturday, Rafael "Tatito" Hernández Montañez, speaker of the Puerto Rico House of Representatives, sent a letter to Rep. Raúl Grijalva, chair of the U.S. House Natural Resources Committee, asking Grijalva to endorse the self-determination bill currently before the committee.

The bill, H.R. 2070, known as the Puerto Rico Self-Determination Act of 2021, would allow the people of Puerto Rico to vote on the political status of the U.S. colony through the creation of a status convention that would consider three options: statehood, the status quo, or independence. The bill is sponsored by Rep. Nydia M. Velázquez (D-NY) and has 76 other cosponsors thus far, including Reps. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY), Joaquin Castro (D-TX), Rashida Tlaib (D-MI), Ro Khanna (D-CA), Jamaal Bowman (D-NY), Ilhan Omar (D-MN), Ayanna Pressley (D-MA), Cori Bush (D-MI), Adriano Espaillat (D-NY), and Chuy García (D-IL)

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'Pumziko' - kiswahili meaning:
'We Come In Peace, Ready to Defend!'

Our first Camp Pumziko was held in 1990. This 7 day - 6 night annual camp is for co-ed youth, ages 6-17 years old. Our goal is to promote a sense of pride in our Afrikan heritage, as well as discipline and responsibility to make the communities we live in respectable, viable and safe.

THIRD EDITION

African American Studies

A veteran member of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, Jalil Muntaqim, was imprisoned by the United States government in 1971 and not released until 2020. He was one of the longest held political prisoners in the world, having spent nearly 50 years in prison. Jalil has remained a staunch opponent of white supremacy and capitalist-imperialism, and as a human rights advocate was instrumental in organizing the International Tribunal 2021, that on October 25, 2021, found the United States corporate government guilty on five charges of Genocides against Black, Brown and Indigenous people.



Jalil is an author, poet, teacher and revolutionary organizer.

"Ultimately, the U.S. will eventually find itself at war with itself, as the ideology of a free democratic society will be found to be a big lie. This is especially disconcerting as greater restrictions on civil and human rights are made into law eroding First and Fourth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution."

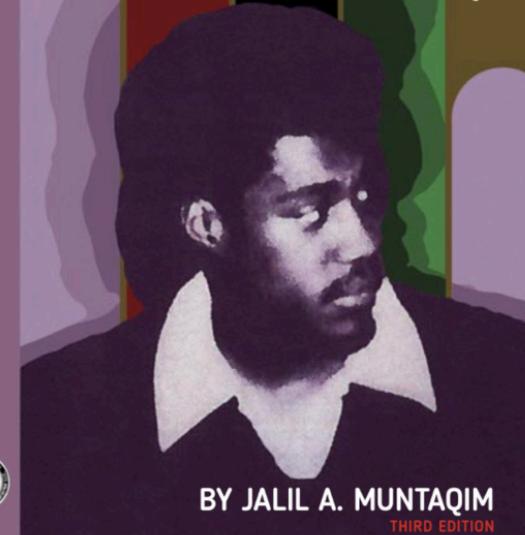
— Jalil Muntaqim



WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS BY JALIL A. MUNTAQIM

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FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The Theoretical Foundation
for the Front for the Liberation
of the New Afrikan Nation
(FROLINAN)



JALIL ABDUL MUNTAQIM
(Revised 2020)

A Discussion Paper by the
Spear & Shield Collective
on "Identity Politics"

THOUGHTS ON WHAT WE ARE BECOMING



Owusu Yaki Yakubu

WATCH YOUR MOUTH + PROTECT YOUR MOVEMENT

Three Essays
on the Importance of
Secure Communications
While Organizing for
Revolution

WAR IN AMERICA

THE
MALCOLM X DOCTRINE

By BROTHER IMARI
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