

Re-Build!



A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical



HANDS OFF VENEZUELA



INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

- STATEMENTS OPPOSING U.S. IMPERIALISM IN VENEZUELA - PG. 3
- EDUCATION FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT - PG. 5
- REPARATIONS CAUSE NOT ON PAUSE - PG. 7
- REMEMBERING JAMIL AL-AMIN - PG. 9
- FADE FROM BLACK BY YAKI - PG. 11
- NEWS BRIEFS FROM NATIONAL TERRITORY - PG. 14



NEW AFRIKAN CREED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

i will follow my chosen leaders and help them.

i will love my brothers and sisters as myself.

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

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

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

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

WHO WE ARE

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

POINTS OF UNITY

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

RBC UNEQUIVOCALLY OPPOSES IMPERIALIST ATTACK ON VENEZUELAN SOVEREIGNTY

The escalating U.S. campaign against Venezuela is an imperialist assault that must be rejected clearly and unequivocally. Under the false banners of a “war on narco-terrorism” and “liberation,” Washington has trampled Venezuelan sovereignty, decapitated its elected leadership, and moved to reassert control over the country’s vast oil reserves.

The people of Venezuela have the right to determine their own political, economic, and social future free from external coercion, sanctions, mercenary plots, and military attack. From earlier attempts to depose President Hugo Chávez, to the failed 2020 Operation Gideon mercenary raid, to the present kidnapping of President Nicolás Maduro and bombardment of Venezuelan territory, the United States has repeatedly violated the fundamental principles of non-intervention and self-determination in pursuit of regime change. These actions constitute aggression against a sovereign state and pose a grave threat to all peoples of the Global South resisting imperial domination.

We unequivocally condemn the killing of Venezuelan sailors and maritime workers carried out under the pretext of “counter-narcotics” operations. These sailors were not combatants in a drug war but members of Venezuela’s civilian and national maritime infrastructure, targeted as part of an expanding campaign of militarized aggression.

The use of naval force, interdictions, and lethal operations against Venezuelan vessels under the guise of fighting drug trafficking is a transparent attempt to normalize extrajudicial killings, escalate military pressure, and provoke wider conflict. Such acts constitute war crimes and further expose the “narco-terrorism” narrative as a cover for imperial violence rather than any genuine effort to address drug trafficking.

The U.S. government has weaponized the language of “narco-terrorism” to criminalize an entire state and justify sanctions, blockades, paramilitary operations, assassinations, and now a full-scale decapitation campaign—while failing to dismantle the regional drug economy it claims to oppose. This same narrative has been used to demonize Venezuelan migrants as security threats, even as they are bused to cities like Chicago, subjected to militarized raids, and hunted by ICE for deportation after serving as political props. Venezuelans are portrayed as criminals when they flee and as helpless victims when regime change must be disguised as “humanitarianism,” denying them recognition as a sovereign people capable of choosing their own path.

Behind the rhetoric of drugs and democracy lies a familiar objective: control over Venezuela’s immense oil wealth and strategic position in the Americas. Sanctions, licensing regimes, and now overt military intervention are tools to discipline

any government that dares to nationalize resources, pursue independent alliances, or defy Washington’s economic order. The push to impose a U.S.-managed “transition” authority is not about protecting Venezuelan lives but about reopening the oil-rich Orinoco Belt on terms favorable to U.S. corporations and their allies.

The RBC, as champions of our own national sovereignty, affirms full solidarity with the Venezuelan people against these imperialist attacks and rejects all efforts to legitimize military intervention, sanctions, assassinations, or externally imposed “transitions” in Venezuela. We condemn the killing of Venezuelan sailors, the criminalization and deportation of Venezuelan migrants, and the collective punishment imposed through economic warfare—each a different expression of the same imperial project. Genuine democracy and an end to violence in Venezuela can only emerge from processes led by Venezuelan workers, peasants, Afro-descendant and Indigenous communities, women, youth, and popular organizations—not from foreign powers that treat their country as a battlefield and their people as expendable.

Long Live the Bolivarian Revolution!

Hands Off Venezuela!!

NAPO/MXGM STATEMENT ON U.S. ASSAULT ON VENEZUELAN SOVEREIGNTY

The New Afrikan People’s Organization and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) resolutely condemn the kidnapping of Venezuelan Head of State Nicolás Maduro and his partner Cilia Flores, First Combatant of the Bolivarian Revolution. This aggression is a violation of international law and another example of the lawlessness of the Trump Regime. We call upon all national liberation and social justice forces within the empire and internationally to oppose imperialist continuation of the Monroe Doctrine on Venezuela and the people of the Caribbean.

Return Nicolás Maduro and Cilia Flores!

Self-determination and Sovereignty for Venezuela!

Make the Caribbean a Zone of Peace!

"TO MAKE THIS CONCEPT LIVE"

This morning, as i walked into my office and sat down at the computer preparing to write a much different article than the one you are reading now, an older copy of *Re-Build!* happened to catch my eye. This copy (the Winter 2020/2021 issue) came out shortly after the January 6, 2021 storming of the U.S. Capitol by supporters of the current U.S. president and had on its cover an image depicting the events of that day.

That issue of the paper included an article entitled "The Neo-Confederates Are on the March," discussing the attempt to overturn the results of the 2020 U.S. presidential election and placing it in the context of the violent overthrow of Reconstruction in the 1870s. And though i initially intended to re-read that article in preparation for writing an article about the resurgence of the Right and looming authoritarianism, i never made it that far into the paper. That article appeared on page 9 of the paper, but i opened the paper and never made it past page 3.

On the inside cover of every issue of *Re-Build!* one will find the New Afrikan Creed. When the decision was made to begin publishing the paper, the Collective made a conscious decision to place it there as a reminder to ourselves and to the readers of the paper of what We, as New Afrikan revolutionists, have committed ourselves to, of who We are, and of what We are striving to become. Members of the Re-Build Collective are strongly encouraged to commit the Creed to memory, and to begin and end their day with its reading or recitation. We do this not for the sake of ritual, but as a way of grounding and orienting ourselves.

Seeing the Creed reminded me that i

had failed to begin my day this morning by reciting it, and that in recent months this had become more the rule than the exception. i closed my eyes and began to recite the Creed, not because that is my usual practice, but because i wanted to confirm that i could recite it from memory without mistake. Only a few nights prior, i had stumbled while reciting it at a Kwanzaa event. i did better this time.

i opened my eyes and returned to the paper. On the third page of that issue was a reprinting of an article written by Yaki entitled "To Make This Concept Live." Originally published in 1996 in Crossroad (Vol. 7, No. 2), the piece is a reflection on the second point of the New Afrikan Creed:

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

This short text, written by the comrade in his 25th year of imprisonment, is deceptively simple. It does not announce a new line, discuss a new campaign, or offer a grand theoretical analysis. Instead, it issues something far more uncomfortable: a brief but painful reflection of how New Afrikan nationalists relate to one another in practice.

In the article, the comrade reflects on the difficulty he has had maintaining connection with New Afrikans "outside the wall" due to his imprisonment and poses the question, "But why do Conscious Citizens residing in Chicago find it so difficult to socialize with each other?"

Reading this caused me to reflect on my own practice during the past year and my broader experience over the totality of my participation in the independence movement. Over the past

year, with the exception of New Afrikan Nation Day, i have had practically no social interaction with any New Afrikan nationalists outside of the organizations to which i belong, and very few purely social interactions with New Afrikans within the organizations to which i belong.

My conversations with even my closest comrades very rarely stray beyond the tasks at hand at the moment. We are

"We are often together in struggle, but apart in life. We work together, strategize together, conspire together, but rarely spend time together just shooting the breeze. We trust each other with our lives, but do not always know one another's families, stories, or struggles."

often together in struggle, but apart in life. We work together, strategize together, conspire together, but rarely spend time together just shooting the breeze. We trust each other with our lives, but do not always know one another's families, stories, or struggles.

Yaki calls this "lack of simple association between Conscious Citizens" the weak link in the chain of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

He offers a simple suggestion: that We begin to regard the entire New Afrikan Independence Movement as our community—and therefore as our family. Not just our own organization. Not just those who share our exact line or language, but the movement as a whole.

As We move into the coming year, We must reflect not only on how We can do more to advance our struggle, but on how We can, and must, be better with one another.

We must make more of an effort to reach across organizational lines inside

the movement to bridge gaps and to combat isolation. We must do more to show up for our comrades behind the walls and on the outside, not merely out of organizational responsibility, but because We have internalized the call of the Creed to love our brothers and sisters as ourselves. We must begin to spend time together without an agenda, to re-build trust through regular face-to-face interaction, and to remember that the society that We hope to build must be reflected in our daily practice now.

Re-Building is not just about structures or strategies; it's about relationships. It's about waking up every day and making the commitment, again and again, to treat one another as family, even when it's difficult, even when it is uncomfortable.

From behind a prison wall, Yaki reminded us that the greatest danger to our movement may not only be the enemies who oppose us openly, but the distance We allow to grow between ourselves. Walls alone do not isolate people; distance does. And distance is something We have the power to close.

So, this year, let us take this call seriously. Let us make a conscious effort to make every concept in the New Afrikan Creed live. Let us re-build not only our organizations and our movement, but our bonds with one another.

Free the Land!
Re-Build to Win

EDUCATE TO GOVERN: REBUILD THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION!

Of all social institutions, the system of education is among the most important. In the u.s., We see as much in how interested both ruling parties are in exerting and fulfilling their plans in this field. In the past two to three decades, the right wing of the u.s. settler ruling class has set itself the task of rolling back and foreclosing all the "gains" of "progressive" education. From school voucher programs (which drains public funds), charter schools, corporatization, and anti-DEI legislation, the prospects for "good" education for New Afrikan people under this system seem grim.

We ought to take the lens that understands and says plainly that Amerikan "education" is nothing but a tool of colonial subjugation. Such an approach requires us to look at the school system with skepticism and disgust while acknowledging where there is potential opportunity to mitigate the harms inherent in the system. It says the school system is a mechanism embedded within a larger social system and that revolution is the only way to change Our predicament. That lens is New Afrikan Nationalism

This world outlook calls not only for an analysis of the u.s. education system as it exists, but also the development of a platform and program for We as New Afrikan Nationalists can do about it. In this piece, We present a sketch of education in the United States. From here, We can move to rebuild the nationalist movement.

A. Education under Colonialism: Infrastructure and Superstructure

In all societies, educational systems express the outlook of the dominating classes. As Engels once said

"The political, legal, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, development rests upon the economic. But they all react upon one another and upon the economic base. It is not the case that the economic situation is the cause, alone active, and everything else only a passive effect. Rather there is a reciprocal interaction with a fundamental economic necessity which in the last instance always asserts itself" (1).

This isn't to say that oppressed classes and nations have no impact on things; the work done by the nationalist movement and black students to bring about black history courses, programs and departments prove this. The u.s. education system's primary function, however, is the maintenance of the capitalist system and Our people's subordination to u.s. settler colonialism.

However, it must be understood that the education system is but a component part of the overall social system. If the social system is one of capitalist exploitation and settler colonialism, then the education system produced by that social system will, by necessity, correspond with the needs of the broader social system. As French social theorist Louis Althusser stated: "It cannot be other than what it is, whether

certain dreamers like that or not, as long as the foundations of capitalist exploitation [and national oppression] remain in place." (3)

No wonder We see Our people going into dead-end jobs or at best becoming code-monkies for the CATO institute. The only explanation is the link between educational systems and social structures they spawn from. Thus, We aren't surprised at the closing of 13 schools in Jackson, Mississippi last year (3), the acquisition of a school building by a church and charter organizations in that same city (4), or the underdevelopment of New Afrikan school systems in New Afrikan majority counties.

B. The Poverty of Liberalism and Opting Out

The present education movement is saturated with 'requests' from city and state governments to provide more funding and be more 'equitable' in education outcomes. No issue with this per se; We all need good education. The problem is the petty liberalism that animates it. Liberalism proposes that We look at political questions from an individualistic and overly legal perspective. The foundational unit is the citizen and his/her family. According to this view, the education activist is working to create a school system that balances the many interests of these family units through policy and advocacy.

We then become obsessed with bourgeois right—the declaration of formal, abstract equality

despite real, actualized inequality. "Black Liberation" becomes equated with access rather than with independence and self-determination. At best, We elect (or appoint in the case of Jackson) a "Black" superintendent for them to shuck and jive to for crumbs of super-exploitation! While it is true that New Afrikans in the territory "staff" educational institutions, the plans they produce are constrained by settler interests.

With what's been said above, let's turn Our attention to the Opt-Out movement from 2015 as a case study of liberal reformism.

The Opt-Out Movement emerged as a response to the rise and proliferation of standardization testing across the United States. Guided by so-called human capital theory: "through learning, individuals' store of capital increases as they accumulate skills and capabilities," testing regimes were prophesied to narrow achievement gaps between whites and the non-settler population (5). It was assumed that by making them more "competitive", minority students would have a better chance to overcome barriers to their continued impoverishment. However, as pointed out by historian, John Bellamy Foster,

"There is no evidence that the new system of high-stakes standardized tests has served to lessen chronic inequalities. In the 1970s to early 1980s the white-black and white-

cont'd next page

EDUCATION, cont'd from page 5

Latino achievement gaps narrowed sharply, with black and Latino students gaining relative to their white student peers. However, this closing of the gap has since slowed dramatically, especially in the decade and a half since No Child Left Behind was introduced.” (6)

In reality, they have only increased the gutting of education funding in New Afrikans districts due to the tight correlation between test scores and socioeconomic status. If you go to an D or F school, the likelihood of adequate funding is all but non-existent. But at the same time, those A and B districts are often white, affluent, and strong preparation programs for their students. Lastly, the average income for a New Afrikan sits at about \$37K just over half that of the average White (68K). In other words, the unequal exchange of value and over-exploitation of New Afrikans, is the real ground of Our educational backwardness.

Starting in school districts in the state of New York (with over 200,000 students) true to the name, parents chose for their children to forego state testing. The movement eventually spread across the country.

Problem: opting out is not a privilege available to most of Our people, and this is confirmed statistically with most families opting out being of the white middling classes (7). Even if it was, it's a wrongheaded strategy since it fails to address the question of state power. Howard Ryan sums it up well:

“Corporate interests have been able to seize control of schools not because of tests, but because these interests enjoy power at all levels of government, effectively allowing them to dictate education policy. Ousting corporate players from schools would require defeating them politically and winning real democracy, a vast undertaking that would require a multi-issue movement, if not the defeat of capitalism altogether. Education organizing can play a rich role toward such long-term transformation, but not by narrowing its purview to high-stakes testing.” (8)

We can't underestimate Our enemy. Look at the results of Reconstruction and the Civil Rights

movement! They regrouped, revamped, and worked to co-opt the call for liberation! We have to go further. Something else is called for in the education struggle.

C. From Education Reform to New Afrikan Nationalism

We have to change the nature of the game We're playing. Kings don't jump in chess, but if I'm playing checkers, it's a different story. The same is true with education. As long as We play the game of “Amerika”, equal education is a pipe-dream. It's not in the cards; no amount of begging is going to change that.

Therefore, We must shift Our focus to rebuilding the Nationalist movement. It will entail a call for New Democratic revolution. New Democracy is the joint governance of society by all revolutionary classes. By revolutionary, i mean all those classes or groups that struggle against u.s. settler-colonialism and the establishment of a Socialist Republic of New Afrika. All those individuals who see the need for structural rather than merely institutional change. In other words, the New Democratic Movement is the movement to abolish the present state of things—in all forms (racism, sexism, and class domination).

Break with bourgeois reformism, embrace New Afrikan Independence, and commit to struggling for Land, Independence, and Socialism. With these three ingredients in hand, We will have the means necessary to build an education system worthy of Our children.

References:

- (1) Engels to Starkenburg. (1894).
- (2) Louis Althusser. (1972). *The Reproduction of Capitalism*. Pg. 38.
- (3) Julia James. (2023). *Mississippi Today*. “Jackson public schools votes to close 13 school buildings”.
- (4) Morgan Bridgeman. (2025). WLBT. “Former Jackson Public Schools’ property purchased by local church”
- (5) Miriam Reynoldson. (2023). *The Sociological Review*. “Making education count: How a focus on quantitative metrics threatens the very purpose of

learning”.

- (6) John Bellamy Foster. 2016. *Monthly Review*. “The Opt Out revolt: Democracy and Education”.
- (7) David Casalaspí. (2022). *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 30(136). “Equality, inclusion, and the opt-out movement: Who chooses to opt out?”

- (8) Howard Ryan. (2016). *Monthly Review*. “Beyond Opt Out: A broader challenge to corporate school reform”.

Get Your Revolutionary Merch!

i believe in the COMMUNITY as more important than the individual.
~New Afrikan Creed

Shop the
Re-Build
Online Store

WINTER 2025-26

THE REPARATIONS CAUSE IS NOT ON PAUSE!

BY FATOU NSOROMA

There has been a lot of discussion and handwringing about the plight of New Afrikan museums, colleges/universities and other spaces under attack by the current u.s. administration. Yet, there seems to be a resistance, resurgence even, of the expressions of New Afrikan futures, culture, pride, and history. This month, Kwanzaa celebrations have proliferated in my area. New Afrikan bookstores are multiplying, and our youth have questions and afrofuturistic ideas. There will continue to be opportunities for New Afrikans to learn, engage with one another, and advance the cause to "Free the Land".

i recently attended two meetings, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) Ideological Conference in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and the First Repair 2025 National Symposium for State and Local Reparations in Evanston, Illinois. i would like to share my takeaways from these experiences. i found some overlap in content, concerns and practices. If you have the opportunity to attend events sponsored by these organizations in the future, these were great learning experiences. The reparations movement focuses upon several important topics: Housing, Health and Wellness, Criminal Justice, Economic Opportunity, Education, Arts and Culture, Technology, and others. This brief article will only provide a glimpse into the presentations on housing.

One overlap was on the history of New Afrikan land ownership and the experiences of neo-apartheid – new and persistent forms of race-based exploitation and harm. For this article housing will be the example of historical crimes, harm and potential repair.

New Afrikans are, and have been for centuries, facing a housing crisis in the u.s. Ironically, New Afrikans in Chicago fear displacement and gentrification near the new President Obama Center. Developers and the Obama Foundation building the center have refused a Community Benefit Agreement, when a property developer

and the surrounding community leaders discuss and negotiate community-oriented amenities and assurances about rent and tax stability to ensure that community members can continue to afford to live near the new development.

Presenters at the First Repair conference described an international approach to reparations using the *Crime-Harm-Repair* model. The **Crime** is an illegal action, offense, violation or wrong. What We call racial discrimination, international reparations advocates prefer the term apartheid or neo-apartheid, because there are applicable international laws that forbid these types of crime. These laws arose from the Durban World Conference Against Racism. Specific crimes against New Afrikans in housing include the following:

Segregation: isolating New Afrikans in geographically separate and less desirable locations. This is apartheid.

Property devaluation: assigning lesser value to New Afrikan housing and neighborhoods.

Dispossession: removing New Afrikans from their homes, raising taxes to make homeownership unaffordable, displacing them into less desirable housing and homelessness, committing land theft, particularly under the guise of programs like Urban Renewal, or expansion of highways, colleges and hospitals.

The **Harms** are the damages, impact, and lasting effect of the crimes, the negative legacies that linger for generations. Results of segregation

and property devaluation include disinvestment, lowered home equity, and poor access to home equity loans for maintenance and upgrades.

In a presentation of The Folded Map Project, Tonika Johnson interviewed two people who had the same address but lived across town from one another (i.e. 123 North Sesame St and 123 South Sesame St), a white homeowner in a predominately white neighborhood and a New Afrikan in a predominately New Afrikan neighborhood. Despite living in similarly sized, one family homes, the white homeowner's property was worth over six times that of the New Afrikan's. The project has many such examples. The devaluation not only limits the access to home equity loans for the New Afrikan family but also allows banks to refuse adequate investment in the neighborhood.

In addition to exposing the harms of segregation, Ms. Johnson also exposed the use of land sale contract purchasing, a practice used in the 1950-1970s in predominately New Afrikan communities where people were provided with a contract to purchase their home over time instead of a mortgage loan. However, the contracts were designed to create defaults and deceptions that prevented the family from ever owning the home. These practices were eventually outlawed but not before generations of New Afrikans' wealth was stolen and diverted from their families.

In pursuit of reparations, New Afrikans need documentation to demonstrate the crime was committed and had a lasting, negative impact. The Civic Repair Lab provides a list of historical

Continued on page 8



FREE 'EM ALL!

Visit Website of THE JERICHO MOVEMENT
for the latest information on PPs & POWs:

TheJerichoMovement.com

REPARATIONS, cont'd from page 7

documents for evidence of the harms and violations committed in redevelopment plans, housing policies, zoning codes and maps, city council minutes and reports, online state archives, county assessor and recorder, and many more forms of municipal and county documentation. Maps, photos and videos are particularly compelling evidence and devices for not only telling but showing the scope of the harms. The book, *The Black Tax: 150 Years of Theft, Exploitation and Dispossession in America* by historian Andrew W. Kahrl was referenced and recommended at both conferences.

Repair is the corrective response to these housing crimes and harms. Repairs included reparations and restoration with a commitment to ensure these crimes, or similar and

evolved versions of the same crime, cannot occur without immediate redress and consequences.

Conference presenters described short and long-term repairs. In the history of progressive housing policies, New Afrikan homeowners have benefited from short term programs for first time homeowner, low-cost home remodeling loans or grants that need not be repaid. However, these remedies shift with the political winds. The current administration suggested a 50-year home loan to help americans secure a home – but the overall cost would be astronomical! Even standard, 30 years loans are exploitative, although long accepted. Local reparation advocates have on a small scale proposed or secured land, direct payments, tax relief, funds for home building and buying. Local reparations activities occur at the municipal (examples: Evanston, IL, Chicago, IL, Palm Springs, FL,

Kansas City, MO, Tulsa, OK, St. Paul, MN, Detroit, MI and more) and state levels (California, Illinois) and are working despite push back and legal challenges to their work.

There are no guarantees that such repairs will hold in u.s. territory long enough to address the generational harms and lost wealth of New Afrikans. Nevertheless, these short-term remedies have made a significant number of New Afrikan homeowners and their families stronger financially, and more able to shift to a longer-term solution, buying property in the National Territory currently described as Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Indeed, many have in a recent shift left northern urban and suburban areas and bought or reclaimed land in the National Territory.

Freeing the Land will repair these harms and ensure that they are neither repeated nor evolve into a

new form of exploitation.

In New Afrika, how can We ensure that these problems would not occur, and good housing will be available, maintained and valued? Some examples currently occurring in the National Territory include cooperative housing models which are collective ownership of land and property that decenters or eliminates profiteering and centers on housing as a right that supports the health and well-being of New Afrikans.

<https://freethelandmxgm.org/>

<https://firstrepair.org/>

<https://www.un.org/en/conferences/racism/durban2001>

<https://www.foldedmapproject.com/>

<https://www.civicrepairlab.com/>

PRIORITIZING NEW AFRIKAN NATIONALISM ADVANCES PAN-AFRIKANISM

BY KWASI AKWAMU

Twenty-five years ago i was afforded an opportunity as a budding journalist to interview one of my scholarly heroes, Leonard Jeffries. An elder comrad and fellow journalist once advised me, when possible, to learn as much about my subject as possible prior to an interview. More than helping me frame questions it would enable me to anticipate answers.

While interviewing Dr. Jeffries, i raised the example of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, who is often considered the modern father of Pan-Afrikanism, and asked what might be considered an innocent question: Which did he think should be prioritized between Nationalism and Pan-Afrikanism?

To my surprise, the good scholar began an answer about a cup half full, and then hesitated before blurting that i was looking at the world half



won national independence for his homeland before proclaiming his greater aspiration for a United States of Afrika.

Without question, Pan-Afrikanism inspires Afrikan people everywhere to build unity and collective power against colonial oppression. However, it remains critical that New Afrikans (i.e. Afrikans in the u.s.) confront the contradiction of advocating for global liberation while neglecting our own colonial condition. Only by genuine-

ass backwards. i was shocked at the failure of this prominent Afrikan-centered scholar to welcome and answer this most basic query.

Indeed, by raising the example of Nkrumah i had hoped the scholar would have acknowledged that the Ghanaian freedom fighter sought and

ly prioritizing New Afrikan nationalism and the struggle for self-determination can We fulfill our responsibility to the global Afrikan community and effectively challenge imperialism at its source.

The contradiction is clear: New Afrikans always raise the banner of Pan-Afrikan unity, standing in solidarity with Afrikan peoples across borders and oceans, while in practice We ourselves remain a subjected nation.

Understanding this contradiction requires us to look beyond surface-level unity and to evaluate what true liberation must mean for our community in concrete, daily reality.

The rallying cry for New Afrikan national liberation doesn't undermine Pan-Afrikanism, rather it, in fact, centers and grounds us in the global fight against those colonial-imperial forces that has historically degraded Afrikan humanity worldwide for the sake of pillage and profit.

Continued on page 13



REMEMBERING H. RAP BROWN 'JAMIL ABDULLAH AL-AMIN'

Remembering of H. Rap Brown 'Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin' and reflections on why his life, struggle, and death demand remembrance, critical engagement, and memorialization.

H. Rap Brown was one of the most uncompromising, unapologetic, and boldly speaking Black leaders in America; he spoke straight-up to America about its racist oppression of Black folks.

Brown's frank words were not for shock, he articulated what many Black folks felt but had no platform to voice; that after centuries of enslavement, segregation, neglect, and state violence, the demand for justice

must be said as uncompromising as the oppression itself.

Brown didn't pull any punches, and the racist American authorities would engage in targeted persecution of him politically for decades. The federal government through the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) politically repressive program against Black leaders and organizations 'COINTELPRO' surveilled, harassed, and demonized Brown.

In 1968 Brown was targeted legislatively when the federal anti-riot legislation passed sometimes called the "H. Rap Brown Law", this anti-riot provision added to the Fair Housing Act criminalized crossing

"Being a man is the continuing battle for one's life. One loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe."

– H. Rap Brown

"The white man does not beat your head because you got a Cadillac or because you got a Ford; he beats you because you're Black!" – H. Rap Brown

"Everybody in the Black community must organize, and then we decide whether we will have alliance with other people or not, but not until we are organized." – H. Rap Brown

state lines to incite a riot. This law reflects the fear and the lengths of the state to suppress Black revolutionary speech and organizing.

Indeed, Brown was targeted for repression when he was a leader in SNCC, when he was in the Black Panther Party, and as an Islamic leader; this persecution finally led him to be falsely arrested, imprisoned, and dying as a political prisoner, Brown once stated this regarding being tormented:

"This is a very unforgiving country when you show this country its warts, when you hold the mirror up. If you happen not to share their beliefs, they'll kill you."

H. RAP BROWN'S LIFE & POLITICAL HISTORY

Born Hubert Gerold Brown on October 4, 1943 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, H. Rap Brown emerged from humble beginnings to become one of the most uncompromising voices of Black resistance in the 1960s.

As young as 17, Brown moved to Washington, D.C., joined the non-violent action circles, and soon became a dedicated organizer. In the mid-1960s, he worked on voter registration drives across the Deep South

(Mississippi, Alabama), confronting entrenched white supremacy directly.

In 1967, at only 23, Brown succeeded Stokely Carmichael as national chairman of SNCC, at a time when civil rights activism was fracturing over disagreements about nonviolence vs. self-defense.

Under Brown's leadership, SNCC shifted: he pressed the organization to drop "Nonviolent" from its name — a symbolic and practical break from the Gandhian tradition of earlier civil rights, reflecting a growing impatience among Black youth with the slow pace of justice.

Brown's shift signified a crucial turning point in the Black struggle: from civil rights to Black Power; from integration to self-determination; from pleading to demanding.

Brown stood in service of a vision where Black people could control their own destiny, defend their communities, and build institutions grounded in dignity, self-respect, and self-defense.

For a brief period Brown helped forge an alliance between SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP); he served as "Minister of Justice" in the BPP. Brown also served as the Min-

Continued on page 14

FADE FROM BLACK

Notes on the “Resurgence” of Nationalism and the Struggle for National Identity and Purpose

...[W]hen -- the intellectual elements have carried out a prolonged analysis of the true nature of colonialism and of the international situation, they will begin to criticize their party's lack of ideology and the poverty of its tactics and strategy. They begin to question their leaders ceaselessly on crucial points: "What is nationalism? What sense do you give to this word? What is its meaning? Independence for what? And in the first place, how do you propose to achieve it?... ~Frantz Fanon.

A comrad recently sent me several 1994 newspaper articles (from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Chicago Sun-Times*), each of which deals with a report¹ released in April of that year, written by Michael Dawson, of the University of Chicago, and Ronald Brown, of Wayne State University.

The report concerned the findings of a random survey of 1,206 Afrikans in the U.S., conducted by Dawson and Brown which, in Dawson's words, showed “a more radical black America than existed even five years ago.” (*Wall Street Journal*)

As evidence of this greater radicalism, each of the news paper articles highlighted an alleged “turn toward nationalism” by Afrikans in the U.S.:

...Black Americans are increasingly embracing Black nationalism and abandoning the hope of ever achieving racial equality in the United States...

...Support for black nationalist goals is at an all-time high among African-Americans...

¹ *Black Discontent: The Preliminary Report of the 1993-94 National Black Politics Study.*

...There's mounting evidence that blacks, especially young blacks, see less and less value in working within the current political and social structure and instead favor breaking out of that system. These sentiments are finding their voice in the growing numbers of African-Americans who... identify with a rising tide of black nationalism...

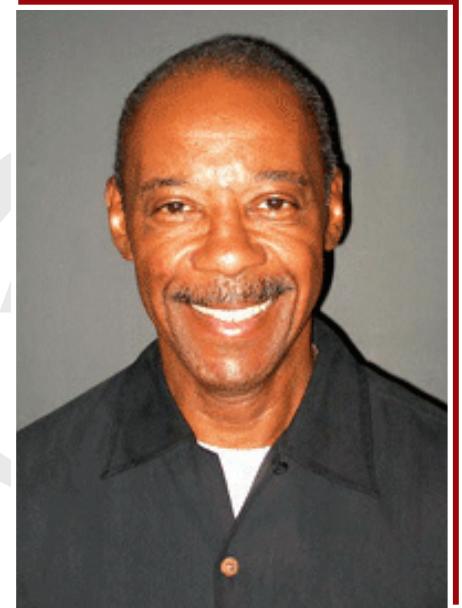
...Integrationism is out of sync with the nationalist mood pervading much of the African community....

Far from being “black nationalist” publica-tions, these newspapers are tribunes of U.S. capital-ism and empire – which tells me that their stories on the survey had nothing to do with so-called “objec-tive” reporting, and even less to do with a desire to promote the interests of Afrikan nationalists. Their disguised purpose was to sound an alarm against the Afrikan nationalist movement, and to place obstacles in its path.

These notes are directed toward an audience of genuine Afrikan nationalists. We, too, need to sound an alarm. As i try to show below, with regard to a genuine NATIONALIST

the articles in question indicate that there is a significant number of Afrikan people in the U.S. with a strong sense of being a distinct people, yet they lack a commitment to the creation of a separate nation. This lack of commitment results from the absence of a pervasive nationalist ideology and program capable of commanding the intellectual and political allegiance of left petty-bourgeois forces and, most importantly, the masses of Afrikan people in the U.S. The alarm that We sound calls us to engage intense ideological, theoretical, and practical battles to define who We are, what We struggle for, and how the struggle should be conducted.

For example, whenever We see the phrase “Black nationalism,” it should be taken as a call to ideological battle – and We should understand that such a “war of words” has very important practical consequences for the progressive development of the nationalist movement. We should, by now, under-stand that the phrase “Black nationalism” perpetuates a concept of nationalism – New Afrikan nationalism – that is narrow, fundamentally incorrect, and ultimately serves to maintain confusion among the masses with regard to a genuine NATIONALIST



**Owusu Yaki Yakubu
(s/n James Sayles)**

perspective, and diverts us from a truly revolutionary orientation for the independence movement.

The point of conducting an ideological battle – in part, against the phrase “black nationalism” – is really very simple: Nationalism is, in part, loyalty and devotion to a particular nation — which nation are “black” nationalists loyal and devoted to? If you are a nationalist, what is the name of your nation? If you are a nationalist, what term do you use to identify your nationality?

To refer to a nationalist – to refer to a citizen or national of a nation – is to recognize that person's “nationality”. Every nation has a name, and this name is the root of the term used to identify the nationality of its citizens and nationals. Thus, persons identifying themselves as “nationalists” must have as point of reference the particular name of the nation toward which they are loyal, e.g., “American,” “African-American,” Mexican, Puerto Rican, Tanzanian, Chinese, French – New Afrikan!

Not only must We wage an ideological struggle to establish the national identity, but We must also struggle to clearly define "nationalism": Ron Walters was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* (5-11-94) describing himself as a "black nationalist." However, he made what could be considered a con-tradictory statement (if one doesn't consider his petty-bourgeois stand and its inherent vacillation), by saying that he held a vision of "black nationalism" in which Afrikans in the U.S. would be "part of the mainstream at the same time."

Now, it should go without saying that real nationalists don't aim to be part of the U.S. mainstream – We want our own "stream." But, We have a two-fold problem here: 1) Afrikan nationalists are still struggling to define and to promote a national identity, i.e., a nationality that is defined primarily by social development and ideology, rather than by mere biology or skin color; 2) the real nationalists among Afrikans in the U.S. have yet to wage an effective battle against the pseudo nationalists...the reactionary and reformist/neo-colonialist petty-bourgeois elements that have played the dominant role on the stage of struggle for at least the last twenty-five years.

Like Ron Walters, there are some among us who call themselves nationalists, but who don't really want their own nation. In the words of Sterling Stuckey, such so-called nationalists merely use the nationalist movement of Afrikans in the U.S. as a modus operandi, rather than as an end in itself. They use nationalist sounding rhetoric and dress in nationalist garb, only to latch onto the momentum of the nationalist sentiments of the masses, to fool the masses while actually promoting ethnic-pluralist, assimilationist, neo-colonialist agendas.

We simply can't continue to allow the people to be confused: The concept of nationalism is the belief, of an oppressed people, that they ought to possess their own nation. Nationalists believe that they should rule themselves and shape their own destinies through absolute control of the social, economic, and political resources and institutions of their own nation!

Now, maybe Ron Walters is simply confused, but it's the responsibility of all genuine nationalists –

the responsibility of all conscious New Afrikans — to help end such confusion among the masses of our people.

Nationals/citizens of nations have a political status or relationship to the nation that's generally defined by the allegiance that they pledge to the nation, and by the promise of protection that they receive from the nation. That is, nationals/citizens give their allegiance for protection, and the nation gives protection to its citizens for their allegiance.

Within the context of struggles of oppressed nations for their independence, the allegiance/protection relation is that between, say, the organized body recognized as the "center" of the national independence movement, and those that support that leading body and the movement, e.g., the P.L.O. and those that recognize it as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," and those who give it their allegiance and support and who receive its protection. In effect, the P.L.O. or any leading/central organized body of a national independence movement, becomes the universally recognized symbol of the nation's identity.

Now, "protection" comes from the nation – or from the independence movement and its organized leading body – in many forms. There is protection from physical attack by enemy police and military forces; there is protection against the attacks of enemy social, judicial, political and economic institutions. And, there is protection in the form of the nation's development of its own police and military forces, and in the form of the development of the nation's own social, judicial, political and economic institutions. That is, the masses of oppressed nations begin to pledge their allegiance to the independence movement as they see it begin to serve their needs and provide both "reactive" and "proactive" protection. Now, on this note, let's return to some discussion of the Dawson and Brown survey and some of its findings.

Unfortunately, i've been unable to secure a copy of the full report, and i'm sure that the newspapers only touched few of the survey's

questions and findings. Among those were the following:

- Eighty percent of those surveyed said that they believed that the U.S. political and economic system is "unfair" to Afrikans.
- Fifty percent of those surveyed said that they supported the idea of an all-Afrikan ("all-black") political party.
- Seventy percent of those surveyed said that they believed that Afrikans in the U.S. should control the governmental and the economic institutions in their communities.
- Fifty percent of those surveyed are said to have characterized, or to have agreed to the characterization of the status of Afrikans in the U.S. as that of "a nation within a nation" – yet, only 14 percent of those surveyed are said to have wanted Afrikans in the U.S. to have their own nation!

To be clear: We're talking about a very necessary phase of ideological and theoretical struggle that will help to both broaden and consolidate the independence movement. We're talking about a fundamentally necessary phase of activity characterized by dialogue, research, and "pilot projects" that initiate the process of creating programs, establishing the foundations for national(ist) institutions, and, primarily, beginning to link ourselves in whatever possible ways to all existing struggles of our people, and to the programs and institutions that they now support.

We're talking about testing the "three phase theory," which means, in part, challenging those inside the nation and inside the movement who represent both "left" and "right" deviational tendencies. It's primarily "right" deviationists that must be challenged within the nation, and primarily "left" deviationists that must be challenged within the movement. Both tendencies will be confronted, for example, on the issue of an "all-black" political party. The "right" tendency, inside the nation, will continue to push for such a party, but their aim is essentially to merely have another U.S. party,

cont'd next page

FADE FROM BLACK, cont'd from page 11

only now, one in black-face. The “left” forces, primarily inside the movement, will continue to object to any form of involvement in the U.S. electoral arena – but in doing so, they substitute their consciousness for that of the masses, and will end up in continued isolation from the masses in this, as in other, forms of struggle.

When the respondents to the survey characterized their relation to the U.S. political and economic systems as “unfair,” what, exactly, did they mean? What is the meaning of the word “unfair” within the context of a struggle between oppressed and oppressor nations?

Our people must be challenged to change their characterization of our relationship to the U.S. They must see the U.S. response to our struggle for self-determination not as “unfair” but as colonialism. The basis of the ideological battle, here, is to develop the characterization of Afrikans in the U.S. as an oppressed nation, and to develop the characterization of the U.S. as an oppressor nation – as a settler-imperialist state which denies the independence of the New Afrikan nation.

The term “unfair” hides, distorts the colonial reality of New Afrikan people. Our task, in this respect, involves taking each concrete manifestation of so-called “unfair treatment” and expose it as an element of COLONIAL oppression and exploitation. By denying independence to our nation, the U.S. denies us our ability to freely exercise and develop, for our own purposes, our productive capacities. (I’m pointing to the need for us to

begin to talk about how capitalism and imperialism work, and about how We want to develop socialism in an independent New Afrika. We simply can’t talk about what’s “fair” or “unfair” and why or why not, without beginning to explain how capitalism works, why it works as it does. We can’t begin to talk about

a turn toward nationalism, it would have to have, as the primary goal in its platform, the creation of an independent nation for Afrikans on these shores.

An “all-black” political party could signal a move toward national independence, if it demonstrated a revolutionary and a nationalist

“Our people must be challenged to change their characterization of our relationship to the U.S. They must see the U.S. response to our struggle for self-determination not as “unfair” but as colonialism.”

and to build a “fair” economic system of our own without educating the masses on the political economy of oppressed and oppressor nations.) In this way, We begin to see why it’s simply impossible for the U.S. to be “fair” in its relations with New Afrikan people, and in its relations with other peoples that it oppresses and exploits, both inside and outside its borders – capitalism, imperialism, makes it unwilling and unable to do otherwise.

Fifty percent of the respondents to the Dawson and Brown survey said that they supported the idea of an “all-black” political party. The “idea” of an “all-black” political party – even the actual formation of such a party – doesn’t necessarily signal a “turn toward nationalism” – especially not on the part of those who would call for and lead/benefit from such a party. Such a party could be built on the basis of the nationalist sentiments of the masses, but it would likely be a neo-colonialist black-face caricature of existing “mainstream” U.S. political parties. In order for an “all-black” political party to truly signal

mass stand, and if it conducted political struggles that exposed and sharpened the contradictions between Afrikans and the U.S. Such a party could be used to help begin to build “dual/contending” bases of power that would serve the construction of revolutionary-national institutions.

Ideally, the only kind of party that nationalists should promote should be the “nationalist party,” not an “all-black” party. To begin with, the phrase “nationalist party” tells us more clearly what it’s about, which ain’t necessarily so with an “all-black” party.

I suggest that We don’t live in an ideal world, and in the world in which We do live, We must make the creation of a “nationalist party” our strategic goal – but We must also act upon the tactical need to engage ourselves in any and all discussion and activity regarding the idea and/or the formation of an “all-black” political party that would function inside the U.S. electoral arena and would, in essence, serve U.S. interests in the continued subjugation of our people.

We already have, in essence, a “nationalist party,” because We

have a nationalist movement and the nationalist organizations and individuals that comprise that movement.

But, We gotta get out among the people and do more work with them – and in the process, build and demonstrate for them an alternative not only to the “traditional” U.S. mainstream parties and politics, but also an alternative to any “all-black” party that would dare claim to be “turning toward nationalism” while “trying to be part of the U.S. mainstream at the same time.”

At a minimum, nationalists wanna be involved in all dialogue about the participation of Afrikan people in the U.S. electoral arena. We wanna be loudly critical of U.S. national and local governments and their policies and practice.

Rather than avoid all involvement in electoral politics, We need to begin forging our ideas on, and methods for, conducting our involvement – starting with the understanding that “involvement” doesn’t mean that We are abandoning our politics, principles, or that We embrace any illusions about the ability of U.S. electoral politics to solve our problems. Our “involvement” is a matter of need: Whether We like it or not, the masses of our people still participate in that arena, and they’re likely to continue to do so unless and until We change their minds, and provide them with what they can regard as a desirable and effective alternative.

Moreover, We realize that tactically and strategically, there will be instances when “involvement” in electoral activity will serve our purposes, e.g., in the National Territory, and in areas outside of it when victories can turn into bases of contending power, the critique

of the U.S., and the sharpening of contradictions, or otherwise serve the interests of the independence movement.

The need to push the idea of a “nationalist” (and not some simplistically defined neo-colonialist) political party, and the need for nationalist involvement in the electoral arena of the U.S. on local and national levels, manifests themselves when We discuss the general theme of “community control,” with particular reference to governmental and economic institutions on local levels.

Seventy percent of Dawson’s respondents said that they believed that Afrikans ‘should control the politics and the economics’ of their communities. For us, this is another way of saying that such objectives are merely elements of a “nationalist revolutionary-democratic program.”

On one hand, We need to assist the masses in their attempts to satisfy their basic needs, while on the other hand, there’s the need

to expose the inability and the unwilling-ness of the U.S. to satisfy even our most basic needs – short of national revolution and socialist development.

The nationalist revolutionary-democratic program serves these ends: The masses will see that “control” over politics and economics *within the U.S. system* will not satisfy their needs, so We push the system to its limits, and beyond. We raise contradictions and expose the nature of the beast as it fails to fulfill the expectations of those who continue to believe in it and who drag their feet on choosing independence and socialism. Put pressure on the U.S. to house the homeless, to heal the sick, to feed the hungry, and to give jobs to all of the jobless, etc., and it’ll come up short. Consciousness will rise and consolidate; interests will be distinguished and fought for; people will organize and begin to assume responsibility for the construction of a new society; seeds of the institutions of the new society will be planted in the process of such struggles.

The best way to challenge the U.S. for the allegiance of the New Afrikan masses is to struggle with them, every day, around the issues that are of immediate concern to them.

Of major concern to the theorists and organizers of the nationalist movement should be those findings of Dawson’s survey regarding the divergence between those who believe Afrikans in the U.S. are a “nation within a nation” (revealing their sense of being a distinct people), and those comparatively few who want their nation to be independent of the U.S. (Can We win with 14 percent?) Why do so many of us fear being independent of the U.S.? Why is the sense of being a distinct people not developed enough to allow a greater number of us to want our own nation at the present time?

The problems point to our tasks, i.e., We must push the idea of the nation; We must further develop national(ist) consciousness. Most importantly, We must develop the programs and institutions, in

all areas of social, political, and economic life, that will gradually acquire the support of the people by increasing their confidence in the ability of the independence movement to serve and to protect them, and by increasing the people’s confidence in themselves and in their ability to survive and develop as a nation independent of the U.S.

Re-Build!
(*Re-Orientate and Re-Organize*)

August 6, 1996

Owusu Yaki Yakubu
(aka Atiba Shanna)

ReBuildCollective.org

Twitter:
@Rebuild2Win

Instagram:
@RBCNational

YouTube:
Rebuild Collective

PRIORITIZING NATIONALISM, cont'd from page 8

Without national self-determination, New Afrikan expressions of Pan-Afrikanism risk becoming empty symbolism or merely rhetorical.

New Afrikan nationalism means recognizing ourselves as a distinct people, forged through collective resistance and survival—and claiming our right to govern ourselves and control our future to the very same extent that We champion for our Afrikan brethren everywhere. This movement toward independence

gives substance to our Pan-Afrikanism and situates it in real relationships of struggle.

As we grapple with this, it becomes even more evident that We must raise New Afrikan NATIONAL consciousness that We can effectively organize ourselves for NATIONAL independence.

Therefore, by escalating our efforts towards New Afrikan independence and struggling for real sovereignty, We unlock the greatest hope of supporting Afrikan liberation beyond our borders. Our liberation, by default, disrupts the network of imperial capitalist exploitation that keeps

Afrikan people oppressed globally. This act of internal liberation is the most potent way to strike at the base of imperialism, transforming symbolic gestures into material change.

i assert that embracing New Afrikan nationalism does not undermine or take away from Pan-Afrikan unity. True New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists would also be Pan-Afrikanists in their world outlook. But i also argue that to champion Pan-Afrikanism while negating your own liberation is a great disservice to genuine Pan-Afrikanism.

By pursuing national freedom and self-governance, We fulfill the

promise of Pan-Afrikan solidarity, grounding it in real practice. As We move past old contradictions and false choices, We strengthen the global movement for black liberation – at home and abroad – with renewed clarity and purpose. Let us embrace this imperative, acting with unity and determination to fulfill the universal promise of Pan-Afrikanism in tangible ways for our people currently situated in the belly of the empire and for all Afrikans across the globe.



**FREE THE LAND!
REBUILD TO WIN!**

Letter to the Youth from a 27-Year old revolutionary

Revolutions are not easy; change takes time; in fact, change is at times one of the hardest things to do. The independence of Ghana from the British took 83 years; Guinea's independence took 67 years; hell, the simultaneous independence movements of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola didn't reach fruition (1974) until years of a three-pronged war with Portugal. Those struggles took time, sacrifice, and a lot of patience. I understand your malaise and disillusionment with standard approaches to politics. I asked the same questions: "What i need to vote for?" "What about the Black Panthers; i mean they were wiped out!" "What's the point?"

They're good questions, and to be honest, I can't pretend that I or anyone has all the answers. In fact, I think that anyone that says they got em all should be treated with skepticism. What I can say however, is that there's a way to orient the

struggles of the present and future. Ask yourself: "What do I value and how do I achieve it?"

You should ask: "What are some things I love about my city (or the country)? What are some things that I hate? How do I turn those things I hate into things that I love?" The answers will give direction to your struggle and help determine your objectives.

For example, my political journey started when I asked why is it that We more willingly to kill another person over a pair of Jordans or a Birkin bag rather than address the problems in the community. I hated all the talk about "black excellence" that didn't involve a good school system, doctors, artists, and safe, interconnected communities. Capitalism, Kamala Harris, the Beyoncés, the Keynes, and even the Kendricks, ain't saving us. The problems of the world are not primarily spiritual or because of "bad people." The

problems are, in the last instance: 1) We don't have real control over our lives, 2) we trying too hard to be like the oppressor, and 3) By distracting ourselves with promises of a next world We forget about this one.

I've come to see that our history of struggles—including the defeats and successes—are fountains of knowledge. Not just knowledge for the sake of a trivia quiz or for building conspiracies. Instead, as Amílcar Cabral said, "History allows us to know the nature and extent of the imbalances and conflicts (economic, political, and social) which characterize the evolution of a society." In other words, it allows us to know who we were, are, and will become.

It's not enough to be merely anti-capitalist, merely anti-patriarchal, merely anti-racist, etc etc. We gotta get organized, and that means being ok with NOT being the BOSS. The revolutions mentioned above were won because of ORGANI-

ZATION with platforms, disciplined cadre, and PROGRAMS. The primary antagonism in the South is that between neo-confederate power and New Afrikans. Y'all can contribute to the campaign to SMASH it.

In 2026, We must continue to raise the banner of New Afrikan Independence! We must say "Uproot the Neo-confederacy and establish New Democracy!" Our struggle is a just one, and history will bear out the truth of it.

So, join up and lace your boots. We have a world to win!

The New Afrikan Creed
plants a seed
feeds a need
to be freed
from colonialism & greed
what do u believe?

JAMIL AL-AMIN, cont'd from page 9

ister of Defense for the Republic of New Afrika (RNA).

By 1970 he was indicted and fled eventually resurfacing after a confrontation with police in New York, convicted of robbery, and sent to prison. Yet even in prison, his journey was not over. In prison Brown converted to Islam, adopted the name Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin.

After his release worked to rebuild moving to Atlanta, opening a grocery/health-food store, becoming a Muslim religious leader 'Imam', working as a community leader

in Atlanta's West End, preaching against drugs, gambling, and helping young Black people avoid despair.

In March 2000, two sheriffs' deputies were shot outside his store in Atlanta while attempting to serve a warrant. One died. Brown (Al-Amin) was arrested, tried, and in 2002 convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

Brown's trial remains controversial, the case against him had serious irregularities: inconsistencies in eyewitness accounts, withheld evidence, and newly uncovered surveillance files that raise credible questions of conspiracy frame-up rooted in decades of the state targeting him.

Brown was charged with murder and sentenced to life in a federal prison where he died as he stated: "If you happen not to share their beliefs, they'll kill you."

Brown's trajectory from rising Black power leader, to hunted militant, to Islamic convert, to community spiritual leader imprisoned again maps the violent arc of racist state suppression of Black dissent.

His death in prison (Nov 2025) draws attention to the many Black revolutionaries whose lives were cut short, became political prisoners, whose voices silenced, whose communities disrupted by state violence and incarceration.

Remembering H. Rap Brown 'Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin' means refusing the erasure of those who uncompromisingly and unapologetically dared to demand radical justice, Black power and self-determination. Remembering his vision, outspokenness, courage, and pain.

It demands that we memorialize him through books, murals, educational curricula, community rituals, spoken-word, dance, song, and demanding justice for Black political prisoners. Let us keep his committed spirit of resistance alive for the present and future generations.

Submitted by Comrad Cinque

NEWS FROM THE NATIONAL TERRITORY

MISSISSIPPI: Supreme Court Case Threatens Mail-in Ballots for Black Voters

For New Afrikan people in Mississippi, the fight for political power is ongoing and deliberate resistance to it is nothing new. Recent victories—like the election of Johnny DuPree and Theresa Gillespie Isom, which broke the Republican supermajority in the state Senate—came only after federal courts forced redistricting to correct maps that weakened Black representation. Community organizations rightly celebrated these wins as proof that collective action still matters and that the people can assert their will, even within systems designed to limit it.

Yet almost immediately, that progress was met with pushback. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear a Republican-led challenge to Mississippi's mail-in voting law, which allows ballots postmarked by Election Day to be counted if they arrive within a short grace period. With New Afrikan people making up 38% of the state's population—the highest proportion in the country—the outcome could significantly affect Black political participation in Mississippi and beyond. For communities long burdened by long lines, polling place closures, and other barriers to in-person voting, mail-in ballots are not a convenience but a necessity. At stake is whether New Afrikan political power will continue to advance—or be constrained once again by legal mechanisms that undermine the people's ability to fully exercise their voice.

LOUISIANA: Explosion at Louisiana Oil Plant Leaves New Afrikan Community Coated in Toxic Fallout

In Roseland, Louisiana, New Afrikan communities once again found themselves on the front lines of industrial danger. Just minutes after Tyreik Taylor, a 26-year-old worker, left his shift at Smitty's Supply, the chemical plant erupted in a catastrophic explosion. Flames tore through the facility, releasing toxic smoke and chemical

runoff into the air, water, and soil surrounding the predominantly New Afrikan town. Residents watched in confusion and fear as the sky filled with smoke—unaware that one of their neighbors had narrowly escaped being inside when the blast occurred.

The explosion exposed a familiar pattern of environmental racism. The 15-acre facility stored hundreds of thousands of gallons of flammable materials, and federal testing later detected arsenic, lead, chromium, and other hazardous substances, including cancer-causing nitrobenzene, in nearby soil and water. While the Environmental Protection Agency has claimed the contamination poses no threat to human health, New Afrikan communities have long been asked to trust reassurances that come only after damage is done. In Roseland, as in countless other Black towns, profit-driven industry continues to place New Afrikan lives at risk—treating their land as expendable and their health as an acceptable cost of business. Although no deaths had been reported as of Thursday, the fire inflicted environmental anxiety, residents said. The inferno at Smitty's Supply is just the latest flash point as states and the federal government make it harder to hold industrial companies accountable for damage by rolling back regulations and oversight.

“They don’t care about us,” said Taylor, referring to both the industrial company and government officials. “There is no way people don’t get sick, because we need help over here and we’re not getting it.”

Last year, Louisiana emerged as a flashpoint in the rollback of protections meant to shield New Afrikan communities from environmental harm. A state court ruling blocked the federal government from using the Civil Rights Act to prevent the expansion of toxic facilities in Black neighborhoods, effectively stripping communities of a critical tool to challenge environmental racism. The decision signaled a dangerous shift—one that prioritizes industrial growth over the health and survival of New

Afrikan people.

That erosion has only accelerated. Under the Trump administration, permits for polluting facilities are being approved with minimal scrutiny, while enforcement of environmental safeguards continues to weaken. As key provisions of the Clean Air Act are rolled back, corporations are being granted greater freedom to release harmful chemicals into the air, land, and water. For New Afrikan communities already overburdened by pollution, these policies deepen a long-standing pattern: state power protecting industry, while treating Black lives and environments as disposable.

ALABAMA: Campus Resistance Grows After University of Alabama Moves to Silence Student Publications

The University of Alabama's suspension of two student-run magazines has ignited backlash and sharp criticism across campus, with many students viewing the move as an attack on independent expression. The decision has raised concerns about whose voices are permitted space within the university and whose are subject to control.

In response, the Leftist Collective at UA—an organization that identifies as anti-capitalist, anti-racist, and feminist—organized a petition delivery on Wednesday to demand the reinstatement of Alice, a women-centered publication, and Nineteen Fifty-Six, a magazine highlighting Black lifestyle and culture. The petitions were delivered to Vice President of Student Life Steven Hood and University President Peter Mohler, signaling growing student resistance to what organizers see as an attempt to silence marginalized perspectives on campus.

In August 2024, the university closed both the Safe Zone—an affirming space for LGBTQ+ students—and a dedicated space for the Black Student Union, citing compliance with SB 129. In a federal lawsuit filed by UA students and faculty challenging those actions, university attorneys argued that reopening the spaces would amount to “unlawful discrimination,” relying on

cont'd next page

NEWS, cont'd from page 15

a memo issued by Bondi. The claim framed identity-affirming spaces as legally impermissible, despite their long-standing role in supporting marginalized students.

Attorneys representing the students and educators disputed that interpretation, emphasizing that the memo carries no binding legal authority and noting that the spaces were open to all students regardless of race, gender, or sexual orientation. Meanwhile, university spokesperson House said in a statement Tuesday that administrators “hope to work with students to develop a new publication that features a variety of voices and perspectives” to launch in the next academic year—a proposal some students view as a substitute for, rather than a restoration of, independent student-led platforms.

GEORGIA: Displaced but Not Defeated: A New Afrikan Georgia Community Still Fighting to Return Home

In 1942, the Harris Neck community was violently erased when the federal government seized the land through eminent domain to construct an army airfield, forcing New Afrikan families from homes they had built and sustained for generations. What followed was not just displacement, but a long struggle for return. For nearly five decades, descendants of Harris Neck have pressed their case through peaceful protest and appeals to local and federal officials, demanding restoration of their ancestral land—efforts that have yet to bring justice. Among the losses was Tyrone

Timmons’ great-grandfather’s oyster factory, part of more than 300 acres taken during the government takeover. Years later, Timmons and his family were able to walk the land for the first time in decades. The site—now a clearing framed by oak trees and overlooking marshland—carried deep meaning. For Timmons, then 52, simply standing there was an act of reconnection. It was, he said, the feeling of being home again—of reclaiming a sense of wholeness that had been denied for generations.

The Harris Neck Land Trust is seeking the return of 500 acres of ancestral land so descendants of the displaced community can restore both their presence and culture. Plans include opening a Gullah Geechee restaurant, granting land to descendants, rebuilding the original school, and creating a public homestead where traditional practices like sweet grass basket weaving can be shared.

While the land remains in federal control, descendants are preserving their history through annual commemorations, site tours, and storytelling led by elders. Using tools like QR codes and social media, community leaders are working to pass knowledge to younger generations and unify descendants nationwide in the ongoing fight to reclaim their land and legacy.

SOUTH CAROLINA: New Afrikan man targeted in racist attack says South Carolina needs hate crime law

A New Afrikan man in South Carolina is demanding structural accountability after surviving a racist, terroristic attack that reflects the state’s ongoing failure to protect

Black life. Jarvis McKenzie was targeted while waiting to go to work when a white man allegedly fired a rifle over his head and hurled a racial threat—an act meant to intimidate and reinforce white dominance. McKenzie escaped and a suspect was later arrested, but the incident exposed the deeper absence of meaningful legal safeguards for New Afrikan people in the state.

South Carolina remains one of only two states in the country without a statewide hate crime law, leaving Black communities vulnerable to racially motivated violence. Although some local governments have passed limited hate crime ordinances, these measures carry weak penalties and offer little deterrence. McKenzie’s call is not only for justice in his own case, but for laws that recognize racist violence as a systemic threat and affirm the right of New Afrikan

people to live, work, and move without fear.

Jonathan Felkel, admitted he aimed a gun at him simply because of his race. McKenzie described the fear of waking up not knowing if he might be targeted again and called for statewide hate crime protections to safeguard Black communities.

Localities like Richland County have passed limited hate crime laws to push the state toward stronger protections, but statewide legislation has stalled in the Republican-led Senate. Advocates, supported by survivors of the Charleston church massacre and civic leaders responding to nationwide calls for racial justice, emphasize the urgent need for laws that hold perpetrators of racially motivated violence accountable and protect Black lives in a state with a long history of systemic racism.

Advertise in Re-Build!

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

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

All advertising inquiries should be sent by email to:
info@rebuildcollective.org

Full Page Ad

10" w x 9.65" h

Commercial \$250

Support \$150

Quarter Page Ad

4.925" w x 4.75" h

Commercial \$100

Support \$75

Half Page Ad

Tall 4.925" w x 9.65" h

Wide 10" w x 4.75" h

Commercial \$150

Support \$100

Eighth Page Ad

Tall 2.38" w x 4.75" h

Wide 4.925" w x 2.275" h

Commercial \$50

Support \$35



FREE XINACHTLI

Xinachtli (Alvaro Luna Hernández) is a revolutionary Chicano political prisoner, father, writer, artist, organizer, and jailhouse lawyer who has endured 30 years of unjust incarceration in Texas prisons—23 in solitary confinement—targeted for his anti-colonial and anti-imperialist politics and work, and for organizing prisoner solidarity.

Born in Texas, Xinachtli first entered jail at age 23 after authorities convicted him of a crime he did not commit. While captive, Xinachtli suffered extreme repression and witnessed prison officials commit atrocities against other incarcerated people. This politicized him; he turned to legal

studies and revolutionary history. He changed his name to Xinachtli—Nahuatl for “germinating seed.”

Xinachtli studied global liberation movements, including the anarchist-communist Mexican Liberal Party and the Black Panther Party, and engaged deeply with the writings of George Jackson and Ricardo Flores Magón. These thinkers shaped his political development. Xinachtli became a widely respected jailhouse lawyer, helping incarcerated people reduce sentences, file grievances, and challenge corruption and abuse by prison staff. After his unjust conviction was overturned, he continued this organizing on the outside.

Police and state officials have long viewed Xinachtli as a threat because of his leadership in the Chicano liberation struggle. As national coordinator of the Ricardo Aldape Guerra Defense Committee, Xinachtli led the successful campaign to free Mexican national Ricardo Aldape Guerra from Texas's death row after police framed Guerra for killing a cop. Xinachtli's human rights work was recognized in Italy, France, Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, and beyond. He played a central role as a Chicano freedom fighter, led political education against imperialist ideology, and helped build the National Movement of La Raza and the Stop the Violence Youth Committee.

Attempting to subdue this successful revolutionary, on July 18, 1996, a Brewster County sheriff tried to arrest Xinachtli in his

home without a legal warrant. When Xinachtli challenged the officer's abuse of power, the officer drew his weapon. Xinachtli disarmed him and fled to the mountains. Authorities later captured him, sentencing the already middle-aged organizer to 50 years in prison. Xinachtli has spent the past 23 years in solitary confinement. He continues to lead his freedom campaign, guides political dialogue, and writes history from inside prison.

Xinachtli's politics grow from a profound love for life and humanity. At 73 years old, he faces ongoing medical abuse and elder neglect by the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ).

In Nov 2025, after months of worsening health and failing mobility, Xinachtli suffered a serious fall in the shower. Staff at the McConnell Unit misdiagnosed him for weeks as his health rapidly declined. Only after sustained public pressure did TDCJ transfer him to a prison hospital, where doctors finally treated him. During this period, his attorney filed a lawsuit against TDCJ for medical neglect.

On Dec 24, 2025, TDCJ retaliated, abruptly transferred Xinachtli from the hospital back to the McConnell Unit, placed him in a disciplinary cell without electricity or drinking water, deprived him of his medication, and left him with a catheter bag attached to his body without any way of cleaning it, putting him at risk of infection. After more public pressure, TDCJ moved him to the Carol Young Geriatric Facility, where he is as of Jan 5, 2025.

Xinachtli remains steadfast and refuses to back down even as he faces continued repression by the state of Texas. After decades of unjust incarceration and continued medical abuse, he demands his freedom! “They can bury me in a concrete tomb and I will grow. There is no dark place they can throw me where I won't find light—because you can jail the body, but you cannot jail the spirit.”

Follow the Xinachtli Freedom Campaign on Instagram @freexinachtlinow for ongoing updates about his case and conditions as the campaign continues to organize for Xinachtli's liberation from the Texas dungeons. Viva Xinachtli! Venceremos!

*Please Support the
Re-Build Collective!*

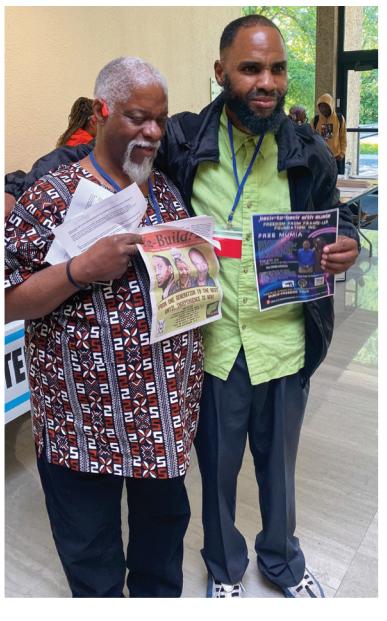
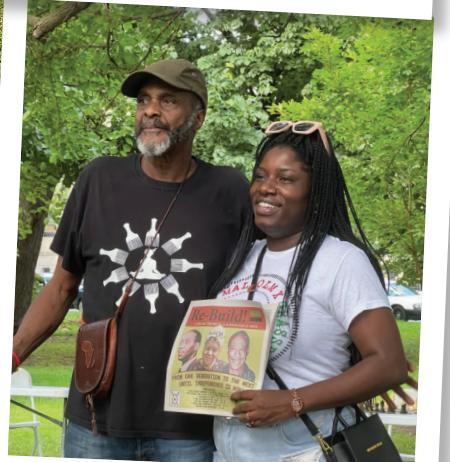
Help Keep This Paper in Print!

Donate Via Cash App Here



\$RBC2018

2025 PHOTO RETROSPECTIVE



A few photos from New Afrikan Nation Day (Mississippi); Black Radical Organizing Conference (Indianapolis); Assata Shakur Tribute, Wholistic Health Expo, and MXGM State of the City (Detroit); All Nations/New Afrikan Family Day (Chicago).



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

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

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

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

NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



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

natural rights;

- To assure justice for all;
- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to society and all its members; and
- To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.

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

and equal access to that maximum;

- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;
- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of god and/or the destiny, place and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance;
- To build a Black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the Aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
- To end exploitation of man by man or his environment;
- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;
- To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society;
- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his

MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT

Self-Determination | Self-Respect | Self-Defense

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

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

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



JOIN A LOCAL CHAPTER:

linktr.ee/FreeTheLand

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

[@mxgmnational](https://www.instagram.com/@mxgmnational) #FreeTheLand