

Re-Build!



A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical



In Memory of
Russell
“Maroon” Shoatz
1943-2021



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.

Russell Maroon Shoatz: New Afrikan Prisoner of War

The Re-Build Collective would like to express our sincere condolences to the family, friends and comrades of Russell “Maroon” Shoatz.

Though We were long aware of the health struggles that the comrade was dealing with, We were still saddened to learn that a great man and soldier of the movement had made his transition.

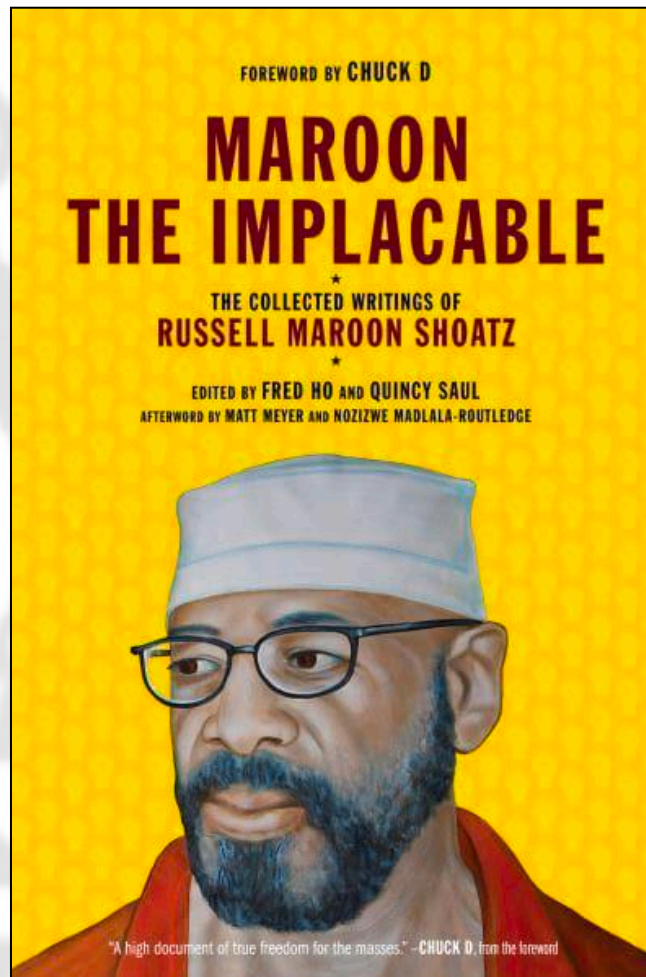
In honor of Maroon, We decided to share this bio with our readers. This bio was written by Maroon himself and appeared in the 4th edition of “Can’t Jail the Spirit: Political Prisoners in the U.S.”

My name is Russell (Maroon) Shoatz and I am a New Afrikan Political Prisoner of War, who at this moment is serving a prison sentence at the Greene County State Institution at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. I was originally locked up in January of 1972 and have since spent over 25 years in 15 different state, county and federal prisons, jails and a maximum security prison/mental institution. Over 17 of these years were spent in the “holes” of these various facilities locked down for 23 or more hours daily.

I was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in August of 1943, one of 12 children in the household of Gladys and Russell Shoatz.

I attended school there until the age of 15, after which I was in and out of reform schools and youth institutions until the age of 18 mainly due to gang related activities. These gang activities, though not drug related as the bulk of similar activities are today, still had the same root causes of lack of comprehensive youth oriented programs in the schools and neighborhoods, coupled with high unemployment and police repression in the New Afrikan communities.

I married twice and became the father of 7 children between the years of



1964 and 1970. During the early to middle 1960's I became increasingly politically aware and active in the New Afrikan Liberation Movement.

I was a founding member of the Black Unity Council, a Philadelphia group that eventually merged with the Philadelphia Chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1969.

In August of 1970, at the height of the nationwide repression of the New Afrikan Liberation Movement I became a fugitive after a Philadelphia policeman was killed and another was wounded in a retaliatory attack on a Philadelphia police station, in response to the heightened repression of the New Afrikan Liberation Movement in general, and the unjustified

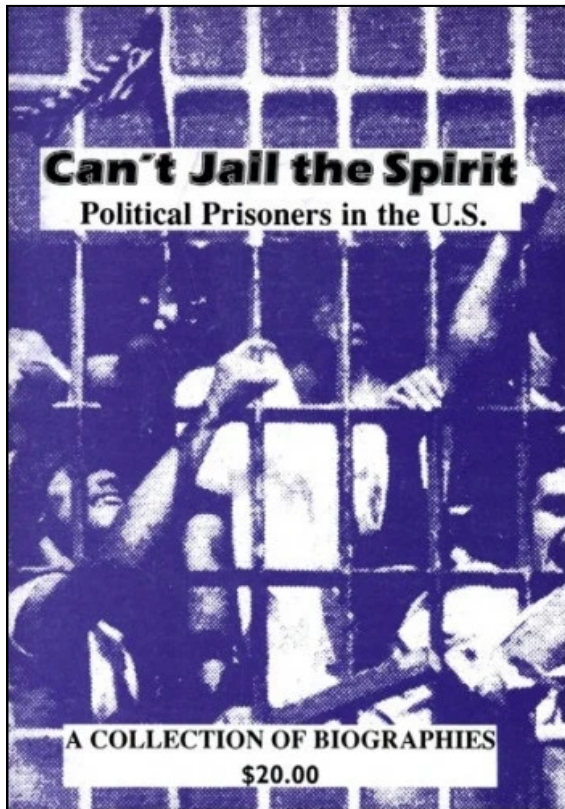
killing of New Afrikan youth by the repressive police in that local community. From August of 1970 until January of 1972, the date of my capture and arrest, I was active on the armed front of the New Afrikan Liberation Army (Black Liberation Army). All of my actions and activities during this period were in direct response and in direct support of the movement's activities. I was tried and convicted for the attack on the police station and sentenced to life-plus imprisonment.

In September of 1977, myself and three other New Afrikan Political Prisoners of War liberated ourselves from the state prison at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. Two of these brothers were recaptured and a third was killed during the escape. However, I remained at large for a month, in the teeth of a massive “slave style” hunt by local, state and federal forces, who had also recruited large numbers of the local rural white population to help in their search.

From my capture in October of 1977, until November of 1989, I was kept in various “holes” in numerous state, county, and federal prisons, and a maximum security prison/mental institution.

During this period I was locked down daily at the state prisons at Huntingdon, Pittsburgh, Camp Hill, Dallas, Rockview, and Graterford, Pennsylvania, as well as the Allegheny, Wayne, Washington, Lackawanna, Montgomery, and Philadelphia County Prisons and the US Penitentiaries at Lewisburg, PA, and Leavenworth, Kansas and El Reno, Oklahoma.

In 1979, I was forcibly transferred to the maximum security prison/mental institution at Waymart, PA known as “Fairview.” During my over one year stay at



this facility I was forcibly drugged and on one occasion was hospitalized from a hospital induced overdose of these drugs.

In March of 1980, myself and another New Afrikan Political Prisoner of

War were able to liberate ourselves from this institution after a female New Afrikan activist smuggled a revolver and sub-machine gun into the institution for our use. Three days later all three of us were captured after a gun battle with local, state and county police, and FBI agents.

In the wake of the historic Camp Hill Rebellion, during October of 1989, at the State Prison at Camp Hill, Pennsylvania, I was transferred from the State Prison at Dallas, Pennsylvania to the US Penitentiary at Lewisburg, PA and then to the US Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas.

Although I had no part in this rebellion (having been at Dallas at the time), I was nevertheless singled out by the prison administration to be transferred over 1,000 miles from family, supporters, and friends with a view towards ultimately having me confined at the notorious federal prison at Marion, Illinois.

While being kept 23 hours a day on lockdown at Leavenworth, during



November of 1989, my relatives and supporters mounted a campaign to lay bare, reveal the lies and falsified records the Pennsylvania prison administrators had used to implicate me in the Camp Hill rebellion, which was used as a basis for my transfer to Leavenworth and there to be evaluated for placement at Marion, Illinois.

These efforts were successful and I was finally released to the general prison population in December of 1989. I was returned to Pennsylvania in 1991. I'm now being held on 23 hour lockdown at the Waynesburg, Pennsylvania state institution in its "Control Unit" where I remain a committed New Afrikan freedom fighter, who will not rest until the New Afrikan peoples are free from oppression, and a free and self-governing nation.

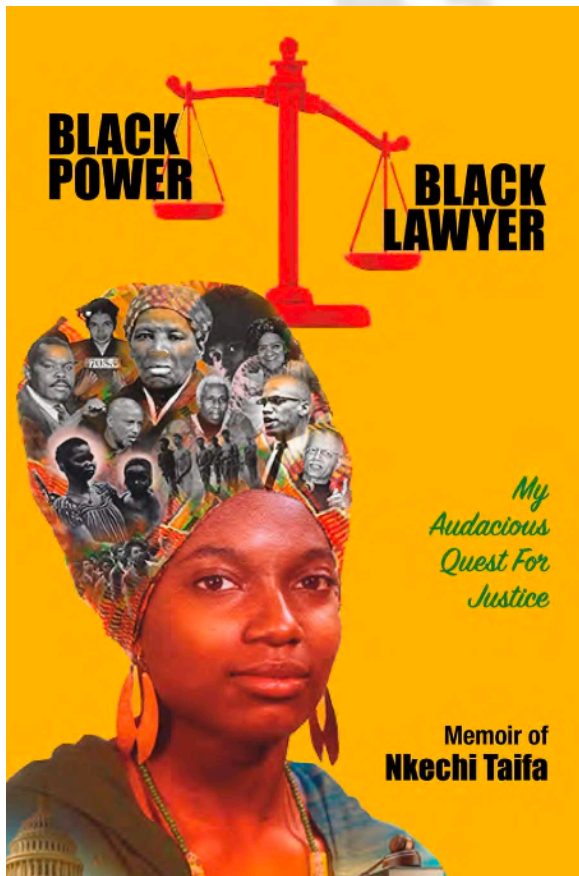
Russell "Maroon" Shoatz Presente!





Black Power, Black Lawyer: A must read for 2022 and beyond

Thandisizwe Chimurenga
Re-Build Collective



Black Power, Black Lawyer: My Audacious Quest for Justice is the memoir of Nkechi Taifa, a Washington, DC-based human rights attorney.

Nkechi is what is known as a “movement attorney.” Movement attorneys are those legal warriors whose battlefield is the courtroom. They fight on behalf of activists and organizers, progressives, revolutionaries and regular folks who have been targeted by or ensnared in the criminal INjustice system. Chokwe Lumumba, Evelyn Williams, Haywood Burns, Lennox Hinds, Alton Maddox, Adjoa Aiyetoro, Thomas Ruffin,

Nana Gyamfi, James Simmons, Rebecca Henry, Iris Bright Johnson, Jeffrey Edison, Roger Wareham, Michael Warren, Soffiyah Elijah, Joan Gibbs, Mawuli Davis, William Kuntsler, Charles Garry, Robert Boyle and the People’s Law Office in Chicago are just a few of the others.

For most of her life Nkechi has had her entire body and soul (not just her foot) firmly planted in two different worlds - the US legal/political system and the cultural and revolutionary nationalist community - that find themselves at antagonistic odds with one another. Despite the extreme odds, Nkechi has been able to “make it work.” She has been and continues to be a hard working loyal and dedicated servant of the people and supporter of independent, self-determining Black institutions and organizations; and, she has either lead or been a critical participant in some of the most far-reaching criminal justice reform efforts within the United States over the past 30 years.

Reading her memoir was enjoyable beyond measure. Not only did I get an eyewitness view of history and the stories behind the stories, I was also taken on a wonderful trip down memory lane.

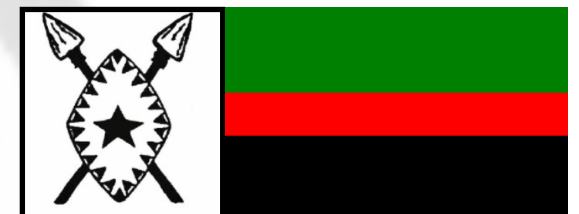
I landed in Washington, D.C. a naive transfer student to Howard University. I soon learned what most all college students learn: your real education takes place outside of the classroom.

I was transported back to the “Chocolate City” where my political consciousness was nurtured and grew by leaps and bounds. I read about people and places I had (mostly) fond memories of, experiences I appreciated because they contributed greatly to the development of the woman I am today.

For several years now, I have been a staunch advocate of New Afrikan women telling their stories. We all have them, whether We believe it or not, and it is crucial that We get those stories out of us and into the world. Ida B. Wells knew it. That’s why she sat down and wrote her autobiography. Toni Morrison knew it. That’s why she published the autobiography of a 30-year-old, former political prisoner named Angela Davis. It’s why Black Lives Matter co-founder Patrisse Cullors penned her memoir in her early thirties.

New Afrikan womens’ stories are important. I’m so grateful that Nkechi has now told hers.

Asante Sana!
Free The Land!
Pamoja Tutashinda Mbilishaka!



The Fight for Reproductive Justice in Mississippi: A Re-Build Interview with Valencia Robinson



The following is an excerpt from the transcript of our interview with Valencia Robinson of the SHERO (Sisters Helping Every Woman Rise & Organize) collective. SHERO provides training in Reproductive Justice & Health. Valencia is also the founder & executive director of Mississippi In Action.

We stand with Valencia Robinson and the women of the SHERO Collective in their fight to defend the rights of women to exercise full control their reproductive health care decisions; including their right to access a safe and legal abortion.

RB: Could you tell us a little about the SHERO Collective?

VR: The SHERO Collective was formed to be like a leadership development group or organization. We have reproductive justice training, EEOC workshops for discrimination in the workplace for LGBTQ & pregnant women. We also do Plan B training & We are just trying to get the community educated on reproductive health as well as other alternatives out there.

RB: So, how did you get involved, personally, in the reproductive/abortion rights fight in Mississippi?

VR: Well, I actually got involved in the reproductive justice fight because I was involved in HIV work. A lot of women (who were living with HIV) were being seen by doctors that were telling them that they should get an abortion. So, that in itself was 1) disrespectful & it wasn't right. Also, 2) in MS, when a person tested positive for HIV, the woman had to sign a document stating that they would not get pregnant, and the men would have to sign a document stating that they would not impregnate a woman. So, that was an infringement on their reproductive rights, reproductive health & reproductive care. That got me involved in the reproductive justice work.

RB: So, how did you shift to being a proponent of abortion access?

VR: Well, it's really more than just abortion for me; We do wholistic work. Because if you are going to try to change the constitution to ban all abortions, to overturn Roe V. Wade, what other laws or rights are you going to try to take away from citizens of the United States? So,



that's my angle - where I come from. We're being violated & rights are being taken away...

RB: What's the current situation with regards to abortion access in Mississippi?

VR: As of right now, people can still access abortion in MS up to 15 weeks...because of the ban in Texas (SB. 8), We have a lot of people coming in from TX to access abortions up to 15 weeks.

RB: What has been the response of the New Afrikan community in Jackson to the potential overturning of Roe V. Wade?

VR: Well, it depends on who you are talking to in the community...Many Black men understand and take the position that it's a woman's decision & right to choose...but Black folk are pissed off at the government.

RB: When we've seen rallies around this issue in Jackson, which is almost 90% New Afrikan, whites are mostly present, on both sides of the issue. How do you explain this?

VR: We have to be honest. Black folk are conservative on certain issues, and one of those issues is abortion. And people don't want to be tied to it. They don't want to be tied to the movement.

Behind closed doors, they often support, but publicly, because of where they work...believe it or not, people have been fired for taking a stance around abortion issues... We had

police pulled from our security detail. Because they "don't want to get involved". The anti-abortion activists have sued the city of Jackson - they won this lawsuit on the buffer zone (around reproductive health clinics), and they are all on the clinic. We only have one clinic in the state of MS — so, they all on the clinic yelling & screaming & hollering at the people & threatening to sue the city...

RB: You mentioned that the state legislature has not only had a negative impact on reproductive rights, but other things as well. What has been the response of elected officials & local democrats to the potential of overturning Roe and the banning of abortion. Have they been vocal? Do you have any particular champions in the legislature or any elected democratic officials defending the rights of women?

VR: We had a couple of elected officials in the House & some in the Senate too. But one who was really vocal is no longer in the House; he's actually the executive director of the ACLU - Jarvis Dortch, a very strong supporter around reproductive rights. We have quite a few men that are in support of reproductive rights & a few Black women too. Not too many white women...

RB: So, you would say that there's not necessarily a really strong, prominent vocal proponent of reproductive rights in Jackson right now?

VR: Well, to be honest with you, the conversation needs to be had on a city level. Those are things that we are going to be looking at, like a Healthy Jackson — you know- do some health work. Given the fact that Jackson is predominantly Black, and we have a whole lot of health disparities, but we also know that our



state government is not helping Jackson, for several reasons. In fact, the only abortion clinic left in MS is right here in Jackson.

RB: Well, what about at the state level? What about those representing Jackson at the state level, and even in congress? Are they standing up? This is a big deal — it could change the way the constitution is interpreted for fifty years, negatively & disproportionately impacting the New Afrikan population in MS, which is 40% of the electorate.. You would think that the Black elected officials would be taking a stand on such an important issue, but there's nobody?

VR: Nobody. This is not important to them. What's important to them is getting money in the state for infrastructure; getting funds for redlining. (There is) a lack of access to hospitals because MS didn't expand Medicaid funding. This is not in the forefront of their brains. The fact that a pregnant person has to drive two hours to get to the abortion clinic, or two to three hours to Memphis or New Orleans to get an abortion. This is not on the forefront for them. It's not.

RB: What can be done to bring it to the forefront?

VR: We have to be unapologetic and have a real conversation. We have to call legislators & elected officials out. You have to get them to have conversations. In my HIV work, they met behind closed doors. Publicly, they wouldn't be in support, because they would be afraid of losing their base. But, they need to look at the data. How many people have come from their district to have an abortion? What are the infant mortality figures in their district? What are the maternal mortality numbers? These people claim to be pro life, and they say they want MS to be safe for children, but yet the infant mortality rate is high, especially for Black children, and the foster care system is full of Black babies, so they're not even taking care of the children that are already here. We have to be more proactive & unapologetic about bringing this issue of abortion access to the forefront.

RB: So, for those people who would ask you, why this issue?

VR: Well, because government has no place in people's personal lives - that is the biggest thing for me...Until We de-stigmatize abortion and talk about it as an essential right, as a medical procedure, as an issue of health, people will continue to use emotion & talk about it as wrong. But they (those that can afford it) will continue to go to private doctors for a DNC (scraping the lining of the uterus to remove unwanted tissue when they want to terminate a



pregnancy). This isn't recorded or reported as an abortion...

RB: What do you think will be the impact on women, particularly New Afrikan women, if the supreme court overturns Roe V Wade?

VR: It's going to put some women in poverty. It's gonna be devastating. Because the structures, the systems are designed to negatively impact Black women. That's what the problem is gonna be. Placing more barriers to New Afrikan women's access that we have to face. It's just putting us in a bad place, because We can't determine our own family structure.

RB: There's only one clinic in the state now. As a worker in the system, what happens if your clinic closes? What would happen with your work at that point?

VR: We would have to figure out how to cross state lines in search of adequate health care. But also, We have to remember that 28 other states are already planning to ban abortion if Roe V Wade is thrown out, so We would have to find a state that allows it, and figure out how we could get women to that state for appointments, transportation, lodging, food, etc. We gonna have to go back to the concept of the village & help each other - use what We got to get what We need. We gotta take care of each other. There are also self-managed abortion techniques, condom distribution, educating on Plan B as well. "It takes a village" - We're trying to provide what people need — the basics.

RB: Many states are gonna have elections in 2022...but MS is gonna have the governors race in 2023.

VR: You know that's by design, right? Our other elections happen the same year (2022), but then We gotta go back & vote for governor in 2023. Even right now, We are trying to find

viable candidates for governor. We trying to be proactive, but We have to be honest. We're looking for a Black woman with some beliefs that line up with ours.

We gotta think about this whole redlining. This re-districting, where they're taking away areas from Black folk & giving whole areas to white folks! A lot of folk don't want to get into politics. i get it, but...People have to know that these issues are connected. We're voting people in who don't have our best interests at heart. We becoming like the white folk - not voting in our best interests. We need to learn how to vote our interests, not party.

RB: What would be your response to those people who might say, "We shouldn't be bothered with elections, or electing democrats, because democrats don't represent our interests anyway."

VR: That's a hard one. Honestly, because people, they just don't have faith in elections anymore. Don't have faith in government anymore. But it still goes back to education.

We talk about electoral vote vs. popular vote, and when you see what happened with (45 - trump), it deters people from voting because people get in their mind: "they gonna put in whoever they wanna put in." With it looking the way it looks, how do We combat that? So they can feel like their voices are being heard?...

RB: i think We don't necessarily have to restore faith in the process, as much as help our people understand that this is just one tool in our toolbox, and keep the focus on the issues and not the personality...

In an earlier issue of Re-Build!, We discuss the neo-confederate power structure that was erected in the aftermath of reconstruction throughout the entire south. This power structure has three (3) main pillars:

- 1) the subjugation of women
- 2) the subjugation of New Afrikan people and,
- 3) the subjugation of working people

These actions are being taken to shore up these pillars before they collapse. They see the tide shifting, so they can't leave things as they are, they have to be more aggressive in order to try to hang on to what they have...

RB: Before we end, Is there anything that you would like our readers to know in closing?

VR: Well, in closing, i would just like to say, "Stop sleeping on Mississippi!"



Thoughts On Constitutional Politics

N.A. Freeman
Rebuild Collective

“The New Afrikan nation is presently engaged in an actual war for its independence, and to us that means that all mass organizations and all mass work are designed to serve the war effort. Strikes can serve the war effort, but they won't be the basis for the overthrow of the armed power of the oppressive state. Elections may help the war effort, but We can't vote out of existence the rule of the u.s. over the nation. We must fight in order to win. From one generation to the next...”

Atiba Shanna

The issue of what stance revolutionists should take with respect to constitutional politics is one that confronts every revolutionary movement. By constitutional politics We mean those areas of political activity that are permissible according to the constitution or the laws of a government. Every movement must grapple with the opportunities and the potential dangers that arise from engaging with the system that they have a stated objective of overthrowing.

Every movement must struggle to identify for itself what reforms to the system they can organize around that strengthen the movement and undermine the movement's opponents, and the conditions under which they will support candidates for office or run candidates for office in the enemy system. Additionally there is the question of whether or not holding particular offices is compatible with the struggle against enemy state power.

This issue is currently squarely in front of the New Afrikan independence movement.

The question is further complicated in the New Afrikan case by the fact that unlike many bourgeois democratic states, which have several recognized political parties holding seats in parliament, the U.S. settler state has a de facto two party system. In this system, both parties have colluded to erect substantial (often prohibitive) barriers to participation of other parties. The exception to this general rule would be those municipalities and counties that have nonpartisan elections for local offices or that allow easy ballot access for third party or independent candidates. The prospect of actually winning a statewide or federal election running



outside of the two major parties is often remote if not impossible.

This reality has led to a tendency among those seeking to run for office, whose political perspectives generally lie outside of the lines of either the Republican or Democratic parties, choosing to run for office under the banner of the party that most closely aligns with their politics.

Given the voting patterns of New Afrikans, the choice is generally between running on the Democratic ticket or running as an independent candidate. In some cases the Green Party may also be an option, though the party has lost ballot access in several states in recent years.

In 2009, Chokwe Lumumba, founding member of NAPO and MXGM ran for Jackson City Council to represent Ward 2. According to Chokwe, this decision was made in consultation with the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, who would provide the backbone of his campaign team. At an event held in Washington D.C. in

support of his council candidacy he described his campaign team as “MXGM plus.”

When asked at the same event whether or not he would be running “as a Democrat,” Chokwe responded that he would be running on the Democratic ticket. This decision was made Chokwe said, “because We wanted to win” and that winning as an independent candidate was not a possibility in Jackson at that time.

The election of Chokwe Lumumba in 2009 to the Jackson City Council and later Mayor on the Democratic ticket did not require any consequential concessions from MXGM, NAPO, or the other movement organizations that chose to lend support to the campaign.. Nobody was required to cease organizing around independence or to renounce independence as their objective. Nor was the broader NAIM weakened. In fact, the opposite is true. The election of Chokwe to the Jackson City Council, paved the way for his successful run for Mayor in 2013, and the subsequent election and re-election of current Jackson, MS mayor Chokwe

Antar Lumumba (son of the late Chokwe Lumumba.)

The movement was strengthened and movement supporters and participants have a broader base of community support and occupy more strategically important positions in Jackson today (both inside and outside of the government) than at any other time in the history of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

Prior to Chokwe's election as Mayor of Jackson, no New Afrikan Nationalist had ever been elected to such a position. This victory was celebrated by New Afrikan nationalists throughout the empire as it demonstrated the willingness of the New Afrikan masses to entrust a prominent and known leader of the independence movement with positions of significant responsibility.

To be clear, the Democratic Party is an enemy institution. However, it is important to understand that when a tactical decision is made to use the Democratic Party ballot line, there is no need to surrender anything. There is no need to agree to be bound by the platform of the Democratic party. There is no need to do anything in conjunction with the party except use their ballot line to gain access to the New Afrikan electorate.

Furthermore, the question of constitutional politics is not limited to running candidates. There are currently several major struggles occurring in the National Territory around what might loosely be termed "democratic rights" that offer opportunities for New Afrikan Nationalists to demonstrate their capacity to provide leadership to the New Afrikan masses around issues that impact them directly. These issues are not disconnected from the electoral arena. Electoral politics covers everything that can be placed before eligible voters in an election.

For example, the fight to end the cash bail system, and to do so in a manner that doesn't simply lead to the indefinite detention of hundreds of thousands of people without bail, is particularly worthy of our attention.

At present approximately half a million people are detained in county jails throughout the empire who have not been found guilty of the charges that have been leveled against them. And while some of these people have been detained without bond, the overwhelming majority remain incarcerated pretrial simply because they lack the ability to purchase their release.

The fight to end the cash bail system is a reformist fight. However, victory in this fight will have the effect of keeping tens of millions

of dollars that would otherwise go to the bail industry and to the capitalists who profit from mass incarceration in the pockets of New Afrikans. It will also take a major weapon of class rule and national oppression from the enemy state.

Cash bail is not only a means of generating revenue for the capitalist class (in particular the insurance industry) it also gives that state the ability to effectively implement a strategy of preventive detention and internment of political dissidents.

Perhaps the most prominent example of the cash bail system being used in this manner is the case of the Panther 21. An entire radical political leadership was targeted for removal from the community. And though those of the 21 who ended up going to trial were ultimately acquitted of the charges against them, the \$100,000 bail amount that was set for each defendant ensured that many of the defendants remained behind bars for the entire 8 months that it took to conclude the trial. Some members of the 21 remained in custody on other charges even after the acquittals.

Electing county and statewide officials who are in favor of ending the cash bail system can play a major role in undermining that system. For example, following the election of 19

"black" women judges in Texas's Harris County in the 2018 election, misdemeanor bail reform was implemented in Harris County. This meant thousands of people who would otherwise have been forced to languish in jail, in some cases for lack of 50 dollars, were able to be released on personal recognisance bonds. Among these thousands were hundreds of people who were detained for their participation in protest actions in the wake of the murder of George Floyd.

Ending cash bail would be particularly impactful for the New Afrikan working class in the National Territory given the low level of income and the high rate of incarceration.

The struggle over voting rights and the rights of women to control the decisions around their reproductive health care also afford opportunities to galvanize and lead our people in struggles that help to undermine neo-confederate power.

The struggle to end cash bail is a progressive struggle, whereas the struggle to retain existing abortion rights and voting rights are more defensive in character. However, our engagement in electoral politics is not merely defensive.

It is important that We not see elections in the narrow sense of merely giving one's vote to this or that candidate of the ruling class, or of one of



the two parties that have dominated the electoral arena since the collapse of reconstruction. It is important that We recognize the totality of matters that can be brought before the electorate.

For example, Georgia law provides for the recall of all elected officials, including the governor (though the requirements to get a recall election for a statewide official are extremely challenging to meet).

If in the aftermath of the 2018 Governor's race in Georgia, the Democratic party and its donor base decided to fund a campaign to recall Brian Kemp, is there anyone who would suggest that voting for the removal from office of Brian Kemp would in some way weaken the movement?

On the contrary, the defeat of a leading neo-confederate would weaken our enemies and empower and embolden the New Afrikan working class.

Participating in such an election would not require the endorsement of, or the voting for, any particular candidate. This would merely have been a vote against an enemy.

There are also innumerable ballot initiatives and propositions that allow for the electorate to vote directly on the issues that impact them. We should give serious consideration to how we can creatively use the ballot initiative and proposition process to build power in the territory.

That is not to say that in this current phase of struggle We should not encourage our people to vote for candidates in the Territory who are genuine members of the Democratic Party.

Three of the five states that We claim as the New Afrikan National Territory will be electing governors in 2022. Mississippi and Louisiana will hold their elections in 2023. Of the elections scheduled for 2022, Georgia is the state most likely to see a defeat of the neo-confederate incumbent.

Democrat Stacey Abrams has recently announced that she will indeed be challenging Republican Brian Kemp for the office of Governor of the State of Georgia. When she initially challenged Kemp for the seat in 2018, some New Afrikan nationalists, and other so-called "black nationalists" opposed New Afrikans voting for Abrams at that time.

One argument raised by those who opposed supporting Abrams was rooted in a general opposition to electoral politics, on the grounds



that casting any vote in a U.S. election effectively constitutes a vote for the enemy system and thus confers legitimacy to it.

This argument would hold some weight if We were in a revolutionary situation and the New Afrikan masses were, in their millions, supporting a seizure of power by New Afrikan revolutionary forces. However, at present, We are far from such a situation. We, as a movement, are ourselves struggling for legitimacy among the New Afrikan masses, and We can only gain that legitimacy by providing leadership to our people in their struggle against those who seek to intensify the subjugation of our nation and the suppression of our movement.

We should encourage New Afrikans living in Georgia to vote for Abrams, and We should encourage New Afrikan nationalists to actively participate in what is likely to be the most consequential election in Georgia since the defeat of Reconstruction. We should do this not because Abrams is something other than a slightly left of center Democrat, but because the defeat of neo-confederate power in the South is a prerequisite for beginning the struggle for New Afrikan nationalist political hegemony in the National Territory in earnest.

No Illusions:

While it is imperative that We actively engage in and actively encourage the New Afrikan masses of ALL classes to maximize electoral participation, it is even more important that We have no illusions about the limitations of what

can be accomplished via elections. This is especially true for those of us who see the struggle as not only one for national democracy and self-determination, but for the conquest of political and economic power by the New Afrikan working class.

There is no parliamentary road to national independence. There is no provision in the U.S. Constitution that provides for the democratic right of any state to secede from the American empire, let alone an entire region. And there is no reason to believe that even if We (New Afrikan nationalists) have a super majority within the state and local governments of the Territory and control all of the governorships of the same, that the settler state will be any more inclined to recognize our right to secede than it recognized the right of

the confederacy to secede following the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

We must expect maximum opposition and maximum resistance to any attempt to threaten the so-called territorial integrity of the United States. We can expect, and therefore must prepare for every sort of assault upon movement leaders and activists from the state and from organized and as well as lone wolf settler extremists.

The reality of the prospect of our assertions for independence being met with violent repression is alluded to in Point 8 of the New Afrikan Creed which states "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."

We must indeed expect to have to "defend ourselves" against the attempts of the empire and its defenders (including Negro loyalists) to forcibly subjugate us, even if We "win" a plebiscite on the question of national independence. U.S. dominion over our people itself originated in force and has hitherto been maintained through varying levels of direct and indirect violence. However We should also expect the empire to declare even the attempt to hold a plebiscite to be a seditious act.

The Case of Catalonia

The case of Catalan independence movement is a clear example of the willingness of a so-called

“western democracy” to employ Gestapo tactics to hold on to every inch of the territory that has come under its control.

Under the Spanish Constitution, Catalonia is a semi-autonomous region. The Catalan people speak their own language, have their own parliament, and their own flag and national anthem. The Catalan people are a nation, albeit one that has been for centuries under Spanish rule.

On October 1, 2017, a referendum on independence was held in Catalonia. The referendum was called for by the semi-autonomous Catalan regional parliament, and authorized by then Catalan President Carles Puigdemont.

Despite the fact that the elected representatives of the Catalan people had democratically decided to give their people the opportunity to express their will on the independence of Catalonia, the Spanish government, declaring the referendum to be illegal, directed the regional government to halt all preparations for the referendum. When the regional government refused to comply with the dictates of the Spanish government, Spanish police raided regional government offices, attacked polling stations, and beat pro-independence demonstrators in an attempt to prevent the Catalan people from freely participating in the vote.

In the face of Spanish violence and intimidation, more than 2.2 million Catalans (approximately 43% of the electorate) participated in the vote. Upwards of 90% of those who cast their ballots voted in favor of independence.

Having received a mandate from the electorate the Catalan Parliament subsequently declared the independence of Catalonia.

In response to the declaration, Spain suspended Catalonia’s autonomy, dissolved its parliament, and jailed the six leaders of the independence movement on charges of sedition. Three leaders of the independence movement, including then Catalan president Carles Puigdemont fled the country, and remain wanted and subject to arrest under Spanish and European arrest warrants.

In conclusion

Though We should have no illusions that We will be able to win national independence



through the ballot box, We must also recognize that there is no pathway to National Liberation and state power that does not include active engagement and participation by New Afrikan nationalists in settler state elections. Indeed, it is foolish to think that We will be able to successfully contest for state power prior to controlling the governorships of every state within the Territory, without obtaining majorities in the state legislatures and city councils etc.. within the Territory. The exception to this would be if movement activists are banned from participating or if elections themselves are suspended.

Our struggle to Free the Land will be difficult and protracted. In this fight, it is imperative that We utilize every means at our disposal to build our own power, deepen our relationships with the New Afrikan masses within the National Territory, and deny political and institutional power to the opponents of independence. Success will depend upon our ability to exercise maximum tactical flexibility, while never compromising or losing sight of strategic objectives.

Failure to recognize the necessity of engaging in constitutional forms of struggle and even making temporary alliances with our lesser enemies in order to isolate and hasten the defeat of the neo-confederates will only perpetuate our current state of marginalization.

And while engaging in constitutional politics is important at this phase in our struggle, We must simultaneously develop our capacity in other areas. Our defensive capacity, for example, is woefully inadequate. This goes for

the community at large as well as the independence movement.

Ida B. Wells famously asserted that “A Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give.” We must encourage ALL New Afrikans to arm themselves and to become proficient in the use of arms. Central to the concept of self-determination is the ability to defend the will and the interests of our nation. If We are to be a free people, We must be an armed people. If We are to have a chance at all of a more or less peaceful existence, We must be prepared for war. At present We are not.

The terrain along the road to independence is treacherous. We must tread carefully, yet boldly. We must have the courage to forge ahead and the wisdom to discern those tactical maneuvers and compromises which allow us to advance our struggle and those that serve to retard our progress towards Land and Independence.

Those who believe that there is a path to National Liberation that does not involve tactical engagement in constitutional politics in the Territory are welcome to let us know what they think it is.

We welcome thoughtful debate and discussion around this and ALL matters pertaining to our struggle. We must however reject ultra-leftist phrase mongering and critiques which are divorced from a realistic appraisal of the existing balance of power, or which propose no actual alternatives.

It is the task of New Afrikan revolutionists not only to constantly advance in the direction of the seizure of state power, but to also be as prepared as possible to exercise state power. That is, We must not only be able to overthrow a government, We must be prepared to actually govern, to actually exercise state power, and to do so in a manner that strengthens the confidence of the New Afrikan masses in our capacity to lead.

We can only build that confidence by taking on the responsibility of governing, even while under the enemy system.

Re-Build to Win!

Organizing in the South

Black Women of the New Orleans People's Assembly

First and foremost, we are committed to organizing in alignment with our Fight Back Manifesto, which centers the needs of our Black working class community. We have a commitment to building the systems necessary to not only sustain our lives but honor our inherent value and collective genius as human beings. We organize to meet our current needs, on the pathway toward reorganizing our means to sustain our lives into the future.

One part of our Fight Back Manifesto deals specifically with soil, water and air – the environment that impacts us all. This demands that we are engaged in an active

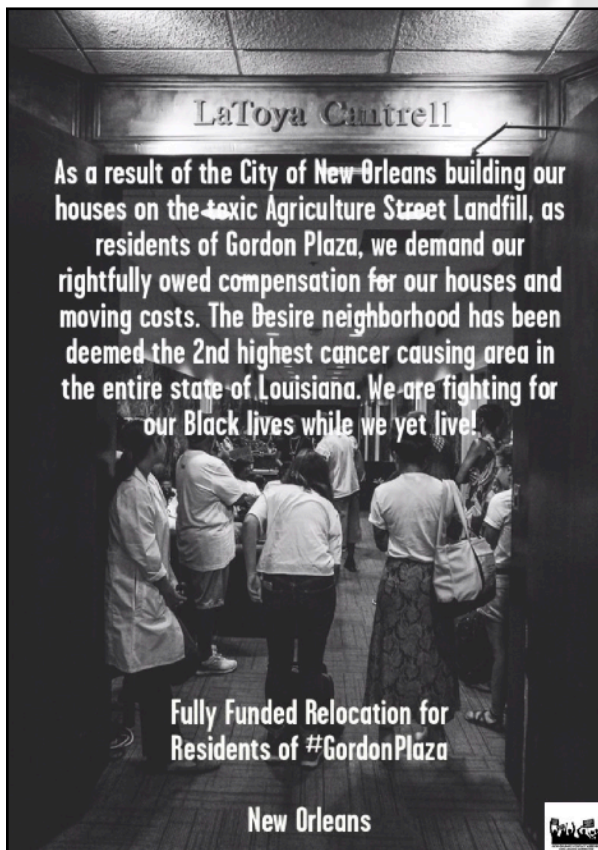


Photo taken at December 15, 2021 Rally for Healthy Soil, Water, and Air, where Residents of Gordon Plaza Elevated Their Fight for a FULLY Funded Relocation.

struggle on the ground in Bulbancha, the Indigenous name for the place that we live, renamed New Orleans by colonizers, a place that is also has a vast space recognized as a part of cancer alley named due to the extraction and pollution that is a direct result of capitalist exploitation and oppression. This struggle pertains to the Residents of Gordon Plaza (visit: GordonPlaza.com). Gordon Plaza is an all Black subdivision of residents who live in homes that the city of New Orleans knowingly built on the

Agriculture Street Landfill in the name of “affordable housing”, which has contributed the area being the second highest cancer causing land tract in the state of Louisiana. We remain in complete solidarity with the Residents of Gordon Plaza in their fight for a FULLY funded relocation. This is one step toward advancing the struggle toward.

As we currently build toward our 4th International Working Women’s Day in New Orleans, which will take place on Saturday, March 26th, we are committed to building with our revolutionary sisters from the North, to the West Coast, to the East Coast, and across all colonial borders as we fight for complete and entire liberation here in the Gulf South Coast.

It’s evident in this moment that there is an all out assault on the livelihoods with minimum wages of \$7.25 and bodily autonomy of child bearing people with attacks on reproductive health, and we say no to that. We recognize that this assault requires more than a verbal opposition, but an action oriented one to protect our reproductive and over-all human rights.

The capitalist banks and industries, aided by southern legislatures, state and local, have targeted the labor of the Black working class like no other, as a source of enormous profit and super profit. Throughout the South, social, educational, and health conditions as well as wages are the worst in the United States. This is doubly and triply true for Black women, and those of our people who are Black LGBTQ, historically and currently.



Women of nationally oppressed groups in the southern states are the most impoverished and the most socially restricted by attacks on reproductive rights and capitalist discrimination which are egged on by right wing preachers. Louisiana now has at least 8 migrant detention centers, one of the highest mass incarceration rates in this country, as well as widespread environmental destruction.

For many years the capitalist economy has expanded in the south with corporations running to the south from other parts of the U.S., and from abroad, to take advantage of governments eager to offer sweeping exemptions, outright grants, and a non-unionized workforce.

The working class of the southern U.S. has been subjected to poverty wages made possible by a lack of unionization and by the division of workers by widely promoted racism.

Unions are a training ground for class struggle and class unity. Our organization views it of top importance to help, in any way possible, the organizing of workers into unions or workers' committees and for them to engage in class wide solidarity and fight back, both economically and politically to actually bring an end to the system that exploits and

oppresses at it's core. We are aware that this is a difficult task, and we call upon all to support organizing work in the south. Not doing so has brought the anti-worker policies of the south northward and westward, and the processes is reciprocated under the illusion that any region that has a lesser exploitation is the place to go, versus an all out effort to end exploitation in all areas to ensure we all are safe, healthy and whole.

The South has been targeted as a safe place for military bases and industries, fossil fuel industries, prisons and detention centers as economic profit centers. As other industries have been wiped out, workers have been forced into dependence on these destructive and valueless sources of capitalist profit. We must develop a programmatic position to the workers in those areas. We want to see workers in these industries organized and leading the fightback against capitalist environmental destruction and repression-based employment. All aspects of our lives are impacted by an exploitive economy.

We believe that the united and organized collective power of the working class will, under socialism, begin to eliminate the class divisions from which oppression and exploitation originate in our society. As Black women, we wait on no others to take the lead in the freedom fighting efforts required to ensure our safety, well-being and dignity. We believe that building toward a planned economy that ensures the meeting of needs for all of our people, according to our needs is not only possible but inevitable for a truly Liberated society. Forward ever!





The Importance of Kwanzaa

Kwasi Akwamu
Rebuild Collective

Kwanzaa should rank as the foremost important of annual observances within the New Afrikan community. That means, it should be given higher priority than Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, Mother's Day, Fourth of July, MLK Day, etc.

Yes, this might seem a very tall order, but there is a practical reason why.

Before elaborating, allow me to clarify that i am NOT a follower of Dr. Maulana Karenga, widely considered to be the founder of this annual observation. Fortunately, i am capable of separating the message from the messenger. Kwanzaa, to me, remains a potent and relevant idea today as it was when it was initially conceived in 1966.

All "holidays" have a starting point, were initiated by someone at sometime. Some are older than others. Of course, the significance of all "holidays" rest in how they reinforce



Alkebu-Lan Village dancers perform African dance at the first day of Kwanzaa celebration in Detroit



Children gather to light the Kinara candles at the Medgar Evers Community Center in Jackson, MS.

the social and cultural values of the occasion being observed. Christmas is celebrated as the birth of Jesus Christ and is ostensibly meant to help Christians maintain a sense of God-consciousness (that it has become an occasion marked largely by material consumerism is another discussion). The Fourth of July is meant to highlight and reflect upon the struggle for u.s. independence from colonialism, reinforcing patriotism. And so on for any "holiday" or observance that people recognize.

The importance of Kwanzaa for the New Afrikan community is that it serves as a potentially unifying force that aims to strengthen a set of core values that are needed for group survival and development. What distinguishes Kwanzaa from other observances is:

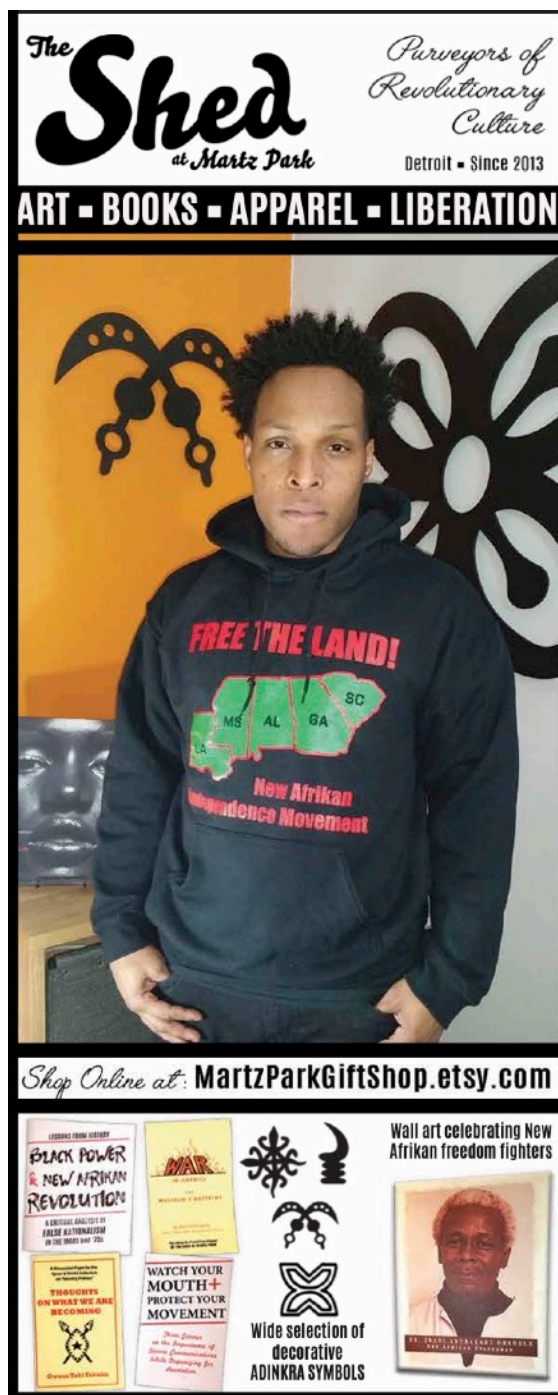
1) IT IS NOT RELIGION-BASED; that is, for the black community, which is far from

homogenous, religion can often be a wedge promoting division. Kwanzaa enables us to come together despite such spiritual differences, acknowledging our common cultural roots;

2) IT IS NOT PERSONALITY-BASED; that is, it does not focus or place special emphasis on any person or figure, rather it highlights the importance of family and community; and

3) IT ISN'T ROOTED IN ANY PARTICULAR EVENT, rather it offers itself as an opportunity to reflect back over past year to assess our gains or setbacks, celebrate achievements, learn from mistakes, strengthen our bonds as family and extended family, uplift our history, and recommit to the principles that serve as Kwanzaa's moral foundation.

Kwanzaa is a practical observance. New Afrikan children need grounding in self-knowledge; and they need it to derive not from a school classroom but from their households and the community where they come from. When our youth go astray, it is because we haven't made strong their value for family and community; it is because they begin to allow the pop culture of individualism to dominate their thoughts and actions. Of course, they only know what they have been taught and cannot be fully blamed for the dereliction of adults. Like most "holidays," Kwanzaa is ritualistic, but it is rituals that reinforce the consistency of tradition and enable the transmission of



values from one generation to the next. (This is WHY adherents of Kwanzaa are encouraged to stay within ritualistic guidelines, otherwise the substance of what's "traditional" is lost and diluted in the varied practices.)

What makes us strong is common values. Without common values there will be no common practices or common outcomes.

We don't have to adhere to same faiths or political doctrines to observe Kwanzaa. The Nguzo Saba (seven principles) that is the foundation Kwanzaa represents only a minimum set of principles. And, in my experience, while i've heard numerous excuses and rationalizations posed for why some black folk don't or haven't yet observed Kwanzaa, i have yet to meet a single person who disagreed with the validity and relevance of the seven principles:

- Dec. 26 - Umoja (Unity)
- Dec. 27 - Kujichagulia (Self-Determination)
- Dec. 28 - Ujima (Collective Work & Responsibility)
- Dec. 29 - Ujamaa (Cooperative Economics)
- Dec. 30 - Nia (Purpose)
- Dec. 31 - Kuumba (Creativity)
- Jan. 1 - Imani (Faith)

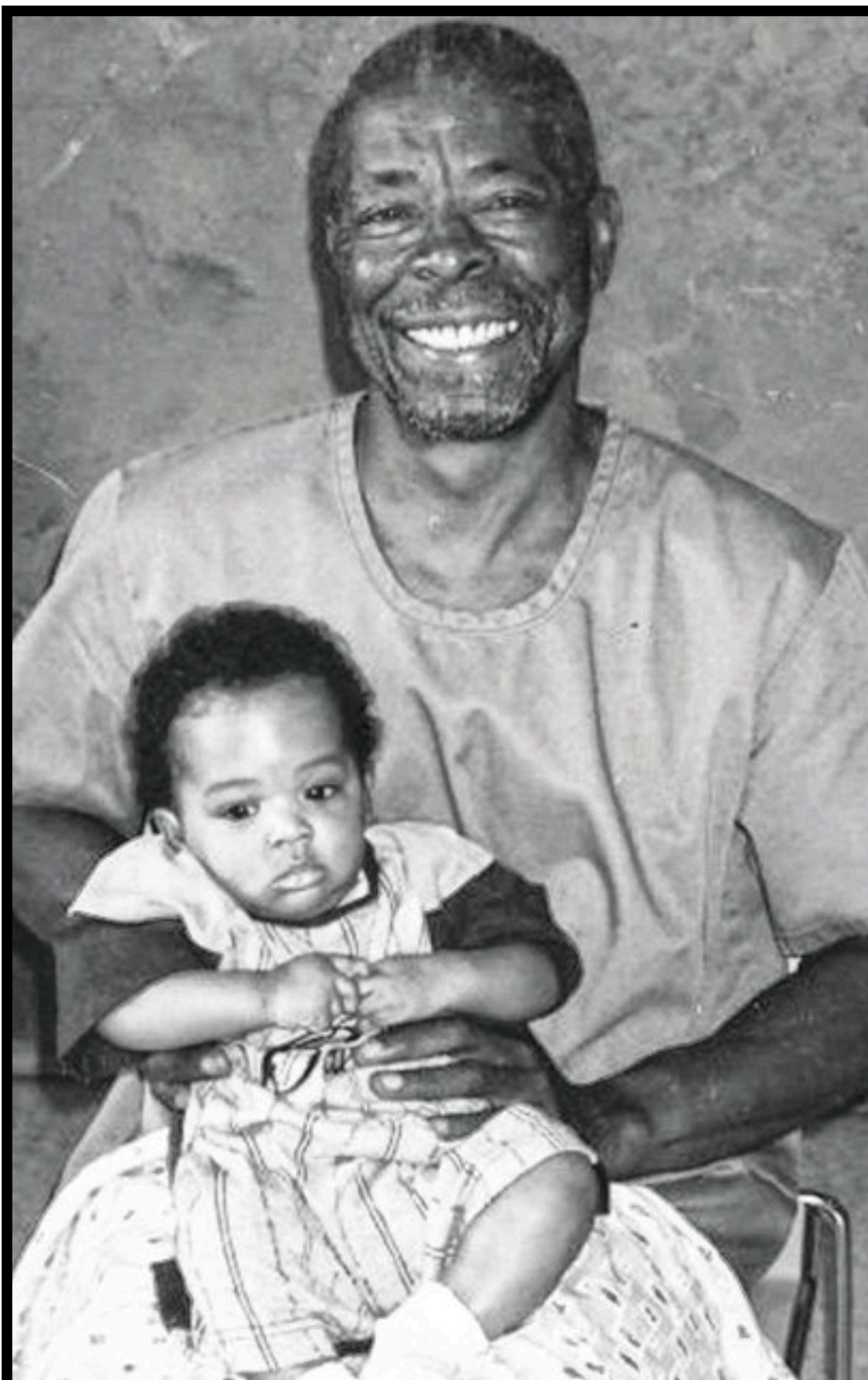
While asserting that Kwanzaa should be given higher priority in the New Afrikan community than other "holidays" and observances doesn't mean that anyone should discard pre-existing beliefs or practices. Instead, Kwanzaa also offers itself as an opportunity to evaluate how other "holidays," beliefs, or observances have ultimately benefited our survival, growth or enhancement as a people.

Lastly, for Kwanzaa 2021, i'd like to add that the observance of Kwanzaa fits the criteria as a concrete example of a cultural practice that can help galvanize more New Afrikan people into the national liberation struggle. Kwanzaa transcends all the "diversities" among New Afrikan people that contribute to division. It, therefore, serves as a New Afrikan national observance. Like the month-long observance Black August, the seven days of Kwanzaa offers a way to keep our liberation struggle front and center in our lives.

While We support the ritual system as conceived by Dr. Karenga, how the principles are defined can and should be expanded to match the actual needs within the New Afrikan community and broader struggle. Many may find agreement with the interpretation Dr. Karenga offers, but these can, and must be, interpreted to fuel greater engagement and focus towards national liberation, or Kujichagulia (Self-Determination). Observing these principles without involvement or alignment with the greater struggle for self-determination (self-government) is culturally hollow and useless.

Free the Land!
Re-Build to Win!





**For Russell Maroon
Shoatz
By Sundiata Acoli
12-17-21**

**“Death comes to us all
And so, it has come to Maroon
Favorite PP of mine:
Maroon “The Implacable”
A constant source of
Joy and Love, Wisdom and
Courage
And Struggle Always.
I searched his release photos
For signs of vigor and Long Life
There was Strength in his
bearings
With Determination in his Eyes
So like Marilyn Buck
And Herman Wallace
I thought he would last for
years...
Then soon, he was gone.”
May the the Ancestors Welcome
you in their
Embrace,
Rest in Power Maroon.
#BringSundiataHome**