

# Re-Build!



A NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT Periodical

Spring 2024



Honoring the work & legacy of  
**Iyaluua & Sekou**  
Stalwarts for New Afrikan Independence

IN PHOTO L-R: Iyaluua Ferguson, Sekou Odinga, Kalonji Changa, Walia Davis-Burnett, Dhoruba bin-Wahad, Pam Africa, and Nana Njinga Nyameky



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# NEW AFRIKAN CREED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# WHO WE ARE

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

## POINTS OF UNITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

NECESSARY.

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

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

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

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

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

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





Iyaluua Ferguson serving as PCC Chair, introducing members of the People's Center Council, including author, during New Afrikan Nation Day weekend at Tougaloo College in Jackson, MS, in March 2002.

## Thoughts on 'Queen Mother Iyaluua Ferguson'

### Committed New Afrikan Freedom Fighter since founding of P.G. in 1968

BY CINQUE KOFI KINAYA  
SPECIAL TO RE-BUILD

When i heard that New Afrikan 'Queen Mother Iyaluua Ferguson' had passed 'transitioned' to Ancestor status, i had a heartfelt remembrance 'reflective' moment. Yes, she touched my life and i am 'thankful' to have shared in the struggle with a remarkable Black woman.

Iyaluua was involved in the struggle for Black nationalist independence for over 50 years. She was one of the 500 signers of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of New Afrika, and served as Chairperson of the Peoples Center Council, the governing body of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika.

Indeed, i had the honor and appreciation of serving with Iyaluua as RNA 'Peoples' Center

Council' (PCC) representatives. Looking back having served with Iyaluua, having been involved in meetings with her, she was a calming presence of seasoned wisdom; a stable presence of decades of 'commitment' and 'sacrifice' to the 'New Afrikan Independence Movement' (NAIM).

Though Iyaluua had a calming disposition, she had a 'fiery firm' side like Ancestor Freedom-Fighter 'Safiya Bukhari'. For



me Iyaluua had the presence 'Aura' of 'Queen Mother Moore'. Yes, she reflected the strong tradition of New Afrikan freedom-fighting women like Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells, Ella Baker, Fannie Lou Hamer, Coretta Scott King, Dr. Betty Shabazz, Dr. Frances Cress Welsing, and many Others; as

Asha Bandele remarked about Iyaluua: "She ensured we knew the

history of the Black Liberation Movement and the powerful role Black women played. She ensured we knew not to work in the shadows of men, but on the frontlines."

Another point about Iyaluua was the marriage she had with her freedom-fighting husband now Ancestor Baba Herman Ferguson; she was truly his equal comrad in the New Afrikan Independence struggle; they had an enduring revolutionary love of joint sacrifices and service.

When i think of Iyaluua's, i think of her special character trait of making you feel like family that's embodied in Point #2 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."

Moreover, whenever i think of Iyaluua, i'll think of an Elder New Afrikan freedom-fighter who wanted a sovereign Black nation in a passionate way. Who was always ready, selflessly, and determined; not succumbing to appeasing and opportunistic influences. Being aware that as a New Afrikan one is responsible for cultivating the New Afrikan Independence Movement to 'Free the Land'.

Iyaluua, We thank you for your committed service to the Black nation. Your name is always worthy to be remembered and called out when libations are performed.

Iyaluua the strong New Afrikan energy that you manifested has been imprinted into the 'New Afrikan Ancestral Energetic Grid' that's available for us to inspirationally tap in to. Elder comrad sister, now an Ancestor, i salute you with a grateful clinched-fist - *Ashe!*



## **AFFIRMATION** a poem by Assata Shakur

I believe in living.  
I believe in the spectrum  
of Beta days and Gamma people.  
I believe in sunshine.  
In windmills and waterfalls,  
tricycles and rocking chairs.  
And I believe that seeds grow into sprouts.  
And sprouts grow into trees.  
I believe in the magic of the hands.  
And in the wisdom of the eyes.  
I believe in rain and tears.  
And in the blood of infinity.

I believe in life.  
And i have seen the death parade  
march through the torso of the earth,  
sculpting mud bodies in its path.  
I have seen the destruction of the daylight,  
and seen bloodthirsty maggots  
prayed to and saluted.

I have seen the kind become the blind  
and the blind become the blind  
in one easy lesson.  
I have walked on cut glass.  
I have eaten crow and blunder bread  
and breathed the stench of indifference.

I have been locked by the lawless.  
Handcuffed by the haters.  
Gagged by the greedy.  
And, if I know any thing at all,  
it's that a wall is just a wall  
and nothing more at all.  
It can be broken down.

I believe in living.  
I believe in birth.  
I believe in the sweat of love  
and in the fire of truth.

And I believe that a lost ship,  
steered by tired, seasick sailors,  
can still be guided home  
to port.

Scan QR Code  
to listen to Kojo  
read Assata's  
poem.



## **KOJO BOMANI SABABU** *needs our support!* **A New Afrikan PRISONER OF WAR Since 1975**

My Afrikan name is Kojo Bomani Sababu, specifically meaning "unconquerable warrior, one who takes the struggle of his people to heart." i am a New Afrikan political prisoner. My political persuasion is Communism, and i am actively engaged in the New Afrikan liberation movement. i was in the Black Liberation Army, immersed in the struggle for our land and independence. i sincerely believe our national independence struggle has to culminate in the formation of a state called the Republic of New Afrika, since the problems of oppression for New Afrikans cannot be resolved primarily through multinational class conflict ...

i was born Grailing Brown, *Write & Wish Kojo a Happy Birthday* **May 27, 1953**, to Clarence and Edna Brown, who had nine children. Both were good parents until their deaths. My father was a diligent worker whose only indulgence was loyalty to the bosses. His life was cut short while he was returning home from work during a flood and hurricane.

Two years later my mother was brutally murdered, stabbed at least 35 times. It was after my mother's tragic death that i began to acquire New Afrikan consciousness. That was 1964, in Atlantic City, N.J. The Nation of Islam was strong in my community, and as it did for many other Brothers and Sisters, it attracted my interest. It was the Nation of Islam that provided me with my first lesson in nation building. The NOI placed much emphasis on studying history, which, ironically, later in my life influenced my departure from that organization. The NOI lacked the ability to evolve into a nation—an incredible history lesson. The Black Panther Party had a chapter in Atlantic City in 1968, and i attended a few of their Political Education sessions. But cultural and religious nationalism continued to dominate my perspective.

In 1972 i was convicted and sent to New Jersey state prison. While there i met two people who helped me develop a revolutionary nationalist perspective—Kuwasi Balagoon and Andaliwa Clark. Both these comrades forced me to re-read history and to reinterpret it. They showed me

how history was made through the actions of the masses, and not through passive rhetoric. Even the civil rights movement, which is presented to us as "nonviolent," was actually characterized by violent confrontations. My only regret in that period was that We had no cohesive ideological upbringing: our politics were eclectic. In 1975 i was released from prison; i returned to the community, and to the Black Liberation Army. In December of that year our unit was destroyed and i and two others were captured during a shoot-out following a bank expropriation. i was charged with bank expropriation and attempted murder against two colonial pigs; later, additional charges of liquidating drug dealers in New Afrikan communities were lodged against me. The colonial media tagged me with the title "leader of a Third World death squad."

... i was married (while in the Chicago MCC) to my childhood sweetheart, Shirley Miller of Atlantic City, N.J. My lovely wife struggles adversely with my colonial imprisonment; she is a beacon of inspiration requisite to survival. We have no children ...

Currently (2024) i've been incarcerated [49] consecutive years on the various charges lodged by the state. The earlier convictions led to multiple life terms and consecutive years. At each colonial inquest i represented myself, and condemned the bizarre treatment of New Afrikans on North America. Presently i'm at Florence (CO) federal penitentiary ...

Seldom are opportunities apparent to support political prisoners, or even to ascertain their existence. Many organizations are now attempting to illustrate that the nameless, faceless revolutionaries hidden in America's infamous prisons exist.

Sources: *Can't Jail The Spirit*, (1988) & *CROSSROAD*, Vol. 1 #1 (May, 1987)

**Grailing Brown (Kojo Bomani Sababu)**  
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# Sekou Odinga devoted his entire life, including 33 years as a Prisoner of War, to the liberation of New Afrikans

By COMRAD ASANI  
RE-BUILD COLLECTIVE

Comrad Sekou Odinga, born Nathaniel Burns on June 17, 1944, in Queens, NY, adopted the name 'Sekou Odinga' to honor African revolutionaries Ahmed Sekou Toure and Oginga Odinga. His journey began at the age of 16 when he was sentenced to serve three years in upstate NY in connection with a robbery. While incarcerated, Sekou was exposed to the teachings of Malcolm X, shaping his political outlook.

By 1965, Sekou was back on the streets and fully integrated into the cultural nationalist scene in NYC. He converted to Islam and became a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which Malcolm X started after his departure from the N.O.I. During this time, Sekou's politics continued to grow, and he came to identify as a revolutionary nationalist. After Malcolm X's assassination, Sekou and his comrades organized the Grassroots Advisory Council in South Jamaica, aimed at

tackling poverty. After years of struggle, he became disillusioned with it and caught wind of a new organization—The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP).

By 1968, Sekou helped start the Bronx chapter of the BPP. After a year of struggle, government repression against the BPP forced Sekou, like many others, to go underground. On the morning of April 28th, at 5:30 am, Sekou awoke to the sounds of the FBI SWAT and N Y P D

breaking into his home to capture him in connection with a police shooting. Legend has it that Sekou found himself surrounded and the entire neighborhood sectioned off. Miraculously, Sekou escaped four stories down a drain pipe, and the next time any of his comrades heard from him, he was in Algiers.

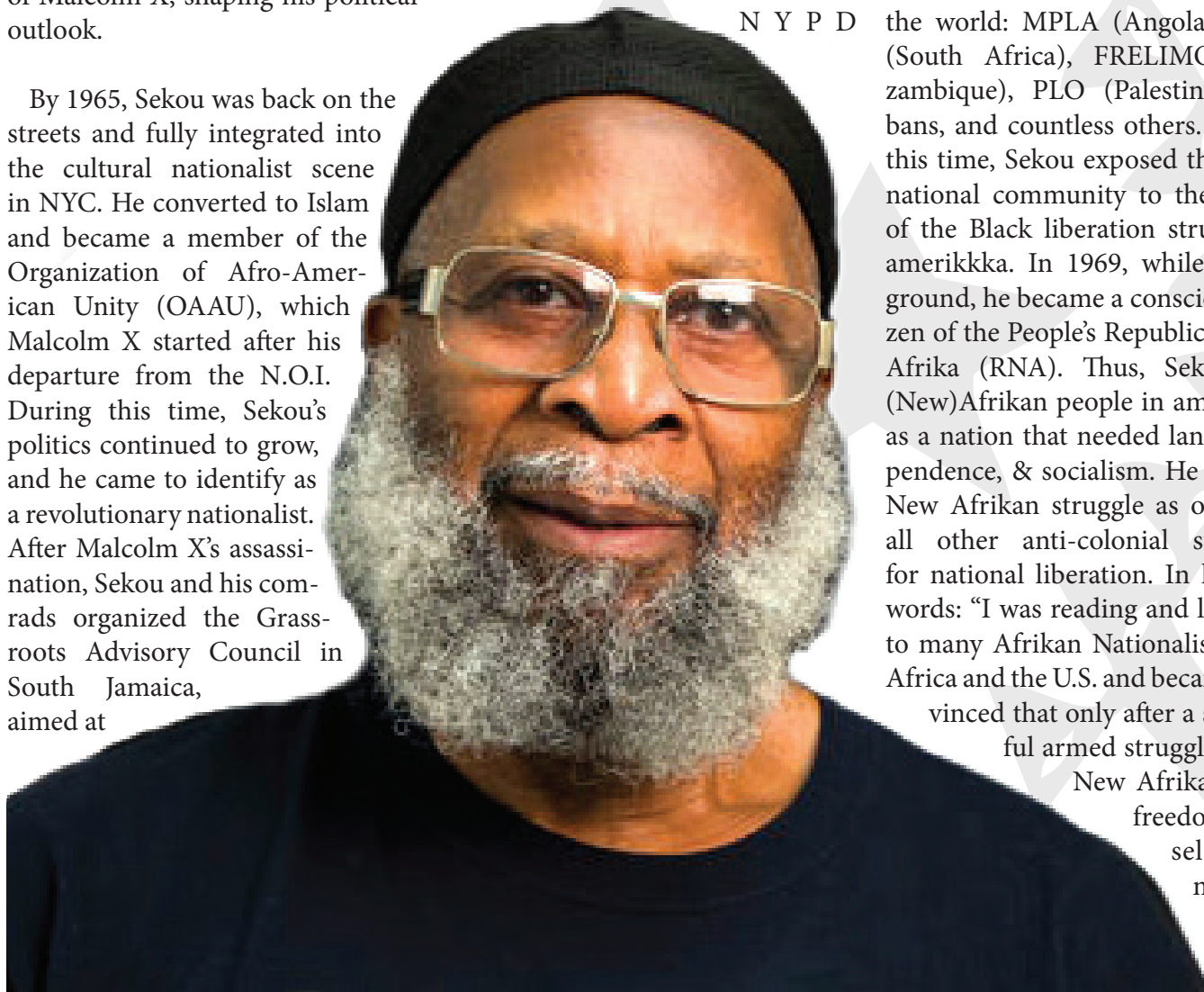
In Algiers, Sekou helped establish the international chapter of the BPP, as well as connect, study, and train with revolutionaries from around the world: MPLA (Angola), ANC (South Africa), FRELIMO (Mozambique), PLO (Palestine), Cubans, and countless others. During this time, Sekou exposed the international community to the reality of the Black liberation struggle in amerikkka. In 1969, while underground, he became a conscious citizen of the People's Republic of New Afrika (RNA). Thus, Sekou saw (New)Afrikan people in amerikkka as a nation that needed land, independence, & socialism. He saw the New Afrikan struggle as one with all other anti-colonial struggles for national liberation. In his own words: "I was reading and listening to many Afrikan Nationalists from Africa and the U.S. and became convinced that only after a successful armed struggle would New Afrikans gain freedom and self-determination."

After extensive travels from Palestine to Cuba, Sekou eventually returned to amerikkkan soil. Upon returning, he continued struggling with the RNA and the Black Liberation Army before being captured in 1981. In 1983, after being tortured and brutalized by the pigs, Sekou was convicted on RICO charges related to the liberation of his New Afrikan comrad, Assata Shakur, from prison, and an armored truck expropriation for half a million dollars, which authorities state went to "Black children, health care, and political causes, including support to families and legal defense of political prisoners and the African liberation movement in Zimbabwe." Ultimately, he spent 33 years incarcerated as a New Afrikan Prisoner of War before his release in 2014.

Unfortunately, Comrad Sekou transitioned earlier this year, on January 12th, at the age of 79, to a terminal illness. It is people like Sekou, whose names will echo long after the whirlwind of revolution flames out the last ashes of empire. And it is in this whirlwind that we will look for Sekou. May Allah be pleased with Sekou's life of struggle, and may the ancestors welcome him into eternal paradise with open arms. Sekou's spirit lives on through those of us who take up the struggle to free humanity from the tyranny of hierarchy.

In Sekou's name, we rage on...

*Free The Land!*





# 1982 Courtroom Statement of Sekou Odinga

**LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET OF THIS STATEMENT THAT I AM A MUSLIM AND A NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTER.**

Both positions leave me out of the jurisdiction of this court and make these court proceedings null and void (illegal).

As a muslim i am subject to the laws of the Qur'an which clearly tells me to fight oppression. To enjoin what is right and to forbid what is wrong. As a Freedom Fighter, fighting for the freedom, liberation and self-determination of my people, the United Nations Charter and all other legal bodies dealing with the subject of liberation of an oppressed people, recognize my right to wage armed struggle against my oppressor. It is important to understand who i am and who my people are.

i am the descendant of Afrikan slaves, brought to this country in chains as captives of a brutal slave war waged against the Afrikan people. My people have been fighting for our survival, liberation and self-determination since the first Afrikan was illegally kidnapped and enslaved for the profit and the pleasure of the European.

We the Afrikan descendants are now called citizens of the United States, but like everything else that has been forced on the Afrikan slaves and their descendants, We were never asked if that is what We wanted or needed. This title of citizen was forced upon us, but the rights that go along with this citizenship for the European American citizen, werenever given to the ex-slave and his descendants.

*i am not an American citizen. i*

*am a victim of America. i am a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika. i do not want to be an American citizen. America has proven itself to be the most devilish and barbarous people that has ever called themselves civilized.*

Black people in the United States are a colonized people and have always been a colonized people. What is meant by "a colonized people?" A colonized people is a people whose land, labor and resources are controlled and exploited by another group of people. It makes the colonized dependent on the exploiting group. Dependent on them for almost everything. Their laws, their livelihood, their protection, their every way of life. A colonized people don't ask to be dependent, it is forced on them, usually with arms, as it was forced on my Afrikan forefathers. And it is with arms that their hold in usually broken by the oppressed people. The U.S. Declaration of Independence declares, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation

on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

"But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their duty, to throw off such Government and to provide new Guards for their future security." On Jan. 24, 1979 the United Nations

passed a specific resolution stating "The General Assembly declares that Freedom Fighters captured during the struggle for liberation must be entitled to Prisoner of War status in accordance with the relevant provisions of The Geneva Convention." In 1950 as part of its "Programme of Action" to end Colonialism, the General Assembly has specifically insisted that the captured anti-colonial freedom fighter may not be prosecuted as a criminal under the domestic law of the detaining colonial power, but must instead be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War. (This is resolution

2621.) So as a Prisoner of War, international law, which Article 6 of the United States Constitution states supercedes domestic law, prohibits me from being tried in a Criminal Court



by the colonizing power, which the U.S. government is in relationship to the descendants of Afrikan slaves.

So i do not recognize any legitimate right of this Court to try me. My only participation in these proceedings will be to push for my legitimate political rights as a Freedom Fighter and Prisoner of War and to denounce these illegal proceedings in particular and the colonial government of the United States of America in general.

"All Power to the Righteous People"

**Free The Land!**

(source: Arm The Spirit, Fall 1982)



# TOWARDS A New Afrikan Revolutionary Culture

by Kwasi Akwamu  
Part 1

WE NEED A CULTURAL REVOLUTION. Not one necessarily characterized by the wearing of locs and natural hair, or wearing ankara fabrics and ornamental beads, or by mesmerizing dance and drums. We welcome those too, but We need a culture that transcends symbols that can be easily co-opted by conniving opportunists who show up in mudcloth, greet us in kiSwahili while representing a continuation of neo-colonial values and aspirations.

When We say We need a cultural revolution, what We really mean is *We need a revolutionary culture!* One that operates on a deeper level of *values* that align with our aspirations. One that harmonizes us in the realms of our social, economic and political life. One that propels us uncompromisingly towards our desire for independent nationhood.

This is only possible if We accept that our understanding of *what culture is* has been perverted over time. Many of us *look back*, in the spirit of *Sankofa*, seeking to find the culture that We were dispossessed of as a result of our oppression. But this begs the question: At what point over the tens of thousands of years do We focus on? Do We merely seek the period immediately preceding the arrival of colonialists? Or how about returning to the period of hunters & gatherers? When and where in our long human journey do We find the traditions and ways that serve us today?

Make no mistake about it, there is much that can be used from our rich past. Yet, as some of our great thinkers and scholars have

argued, culture is a living thing. It is contemporary. It is neither good or bad, except that We shape it to be what it is.

When We look back We are reviewing history, our past. We do so to increase our understanding of how We arrived at the place We are at today. History is a tool used to both understand the present and to project the future.

We don't look back, however, to develop revolutionary culture; rather We look forward.

CULTURE IS A PRODUCT OF HISTORY, but it exists in the *now*. Whatever culture looked like at any period of history is a *reflection* of the values practiced *in that moment*, for better or worse. Indeed, when We view ourselves today We see a precise reflection of the values that We deploy in *this* moment in history. Many are familiar with the philosophical meaning of the Zulu term *Ubuntu* which translates as "*i am what i am because of who We are*". We should take a moment to meditate on this philosophical concept; as simple as it appears, it

offers some deep lessons for us to grapple with.

Our Afrikan forebears had culture for their time. That culture was under constant evolution, from hunting and gathering to the consolidation of kingdoms. Because it is a product of social necessity, culture – which is the sum total of all aspects of a people's life, including social organization, politics and economics, innovative creativity, spirituality, history and ethos – changes and adapts to the concrete needs of a people and their society.

In Afrika, colonialism interrupted the flow of history and therefore disrupted the organic cultural advancement of Afrikan societies. In contrast to the system of chattel slavery (colonial bondage) in Amerika, where a complete cultural wipe was needed for the purposes of dehumanizing Afrikan people, colonialism on the Continent intentionally preserved those aspects of Afrikan culture that benefitted domination and exploitation. That is why there still exists chiefdoms and, its corollary, widespread ethnic conflicts (tribalism) in 2024.

New Afrikan people are a product of history. We were taken out of history to become the footnotes to the history of the Americans. Yet, through determined struggle, our enslaved ancestors managed to overcome the ethnic differences that once distinguished and divided them.

While We were forcibly prohibited from practicing and maintaining

our old traditions, or speaking our former tongues, We seized that void to cultivate a new unity among ourselves, with new ways of communicating. We shaped and shared values that served us in the face of oppression. It was an act of culture – *of revolutionary culture!* – to seize an imposed religion, for example, and wield it to feed our spirit in ways never intended by the Americans who only wanted us to "obey our earthly master."

IN ORDER TO EFFECTIVELY construct a revolutionary culture, one that can propel us forward and onward to national independence, We must grasp that it is a communal undertaking. It operates at the level of our values and aspirations, "in concert with our brothers and sisters." Our vision for independent nationhood guides us. We begin to collectively embody *self-determination as a lifestyle*, knowing that our liberation starts not after self-government has been achieved, but *now* in our daily habits and practices while anticipating independence. As Frantz Fanon once noted, "An authentic national liberation exists only to the precise degree to which the individual has begun [their] own liberation."

Each of us – meaning *you too!* – play an important and indispensable role in ushering forth the future We want. There are no spectators in this drama of liberation, only revolutionaries – or, more specifically, *revolutionary nationalists*.

THIS IS BUT THE FIRST IN A SERIES  
**Continued on page 10**



# Notes on the Convergence of the National and the Democratic Elements of the Revolutionary Independence Movement

Or: "No Provisional Government Can Win My Allegiance If It Won't Serve My Needs"

## PART 1 OF 2

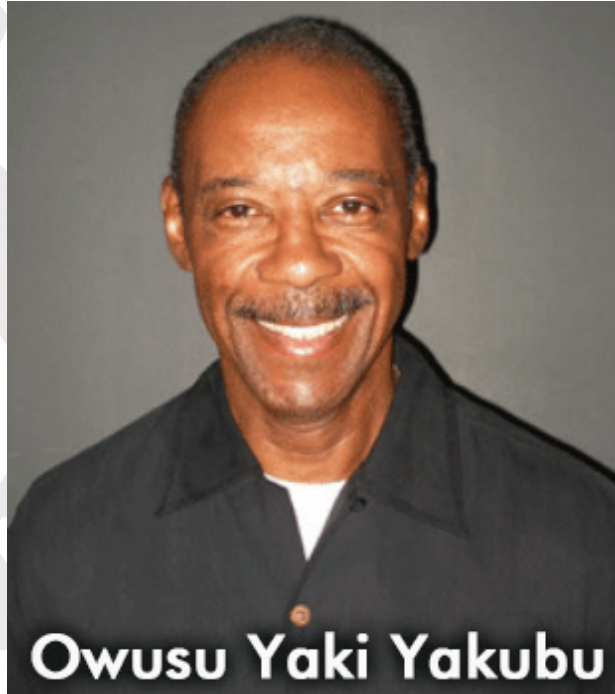
*The objective of nationalist parties as from a certain given period is strictly...national. They mobilize the people with slogans of independence and for the rest leave it to future events. When such parties are questioned on the economic program of the State that they are clamoring for, or on the nature of the regime which they propose to install, they are incapable of replying, because, precisely, they are completely ignorant of the economy of their own country...*

*...Because it is bereft of ideas, because it lives to itself and cuts itself off from the people, undermined by its hereditary incapacity to think in terms of all the problems of the nation as seen from the point of view of the whole of that nation...*

~Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

Recently, while going through some notes, i found a reference to Che Guevara's definition of the guerrilla as a "social reformer." He meant that the guerrillas must engineer gradual improvements in the material living conditions of the people in the areas where they are operating, in order to gain the support of the people, upon which eventual success of the revolutionary struggle depends.

i had this in mind when, in "The Grassroots Program of the Nationalist Movement", i pointed to the need for a mass-based, revolutionary-democratic program, designed to link the consciousness and strategic goals of the nationalist movement to the daily economic, political, and socio-cultural struggles of the masses of Afrikan people, through activities organized – or joined – by nationalist forces. i believe that in order for the nationalist movement to take the next step in its development, there must be a convergence



of the national (i.e., consciousness and strategic goals) and the democratic (i.e., the daily struggles of the people in ALL spheres of their lives) elements of the independence struggle.

i believe that the nationalist movement now has an essentially rightist, petty-bourgeois character, which tends to promote the national element while neglecting the democratic element.

This results in isolating the nationalist movement from the majority of our people, which undermines the possibilities for the movement's development, and, consequently, limits the possibilities for an end to the oppression and exploitation of Afrikan people inside U.S. borders.

Let me emphasize this point, because i think emphasis is necessary: Nationalists have to change their forms of practice, i.e., nationalists must get out into the streets, into all the places that We don't normally go, and begin to work with our people around ALL issues that affect

them. Of course, i'm talking to those nationalists that don't even see the need to get out into the streets. And, i'm talking to those who do recognize or understand the need, but for one reason or another they haven't yet adopted: new forms of practice, new styles of work, new attitudes towards the masses of our people and their lifestyles – i'm talking to all those who's minds and hearts may be in the right place, but who haven't yet abandoned the old values and behaviors which prevent their interaction with our people "on the block," who tend not to speak our language and use our slogans – and WE don't yet know HOW to interact with THEM.

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i've said that there must be convergence ("unity") of the national and the democratic elements of the independence struggle, and that the nationalist movement now promotes the national element, and neglects the democratic element. By "national element," i mean:

1) that which promotes beliefs and concepts regarding the commonly held and distinctive culture of Afrikans with U.S. borders;

2) that which promotes the idea of the nation and the national identity of Afrikans within U.S. borders;

3) that which promotes the conviction that Afrikans within U.S. borders should establish our own nation-state.

Promotion of the national element of the independence struggle serves primarily to shape that which characterizes national(ist) consciousness – it's necessary, but alone, it's insufficient for the generation of an effective revolutionary nationalist movement. When the national element is not united with the democratic element, the need for the organization and activity of the majority of our

people is minimized or totally ignored. Most nationalists can talk well about our culture, the idea of the nation, and the need to struggle for an independent Afrikan state – but far too few of us are actually engaged in daily struggles, in our communities, that aid our people in their efforts to place or to keep a roof over their heads; to keep a job, find a job, or engage in activities on the job that will guarantee a safe working environment, etc., etc., etc.

Policies based solely on the national element tend to result in activities that take on a sectarian character, isolating us from the majority of our people (i.e., held only for the "conscious"), and from actual or potential allies. Some of us ACT as though We truly believe that independence will be the result of a U.S. government decree, rather than as a result of the efforts of Afrikan people.

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Harm to the interests of the independence struggle results not only when the democratic element is minimized or neglected, but also when the national element is promoted in a one-sided or idealist manner. This happens, for example, when We discuss culture narrowly, only in relation to its non-material aspects or artistic forms, neglecting to discuss culture's ever-present and dynamic material base, i.e., a system of economic production, distribution, exchange, and consumption – and the consequent social relations, and cultural expressions:

*In fact, culture is always in the life of a society...the more or less conscious result of the economic and political activities of that society, the more or less dynamic expression of the kinds of relationships which prevail in that society, on the one hand between man (considered individually or collectively) and nature, and, on the other hand, among individuals, groups of individuals, social strata or classes.*

*The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to*

*be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive or negative influence which it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society, as well as among different societies.*

***"i believe that in order for the nationalist movement to take the next step in its development, there must be a convergence of the national (i.e., consciousness and strategic goals) and the democratic (i.e., the daily struggles of the people in ALL spheres of their lives) elements of the independence struggle."***

*Ignorance of this fact may explain the failure of several attempts at foreign domination – as well as the failure of some international liberation movements. (my emphasis)*

~Amilcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," from *Return To The Source*

i raise this subject of culture here because it's clearly related to the need to link ourselves to the social (cultural)

reality of the masses of our people, through daily struggles around economic, political, and socio-cultural issues.

It's very important that nationalists understand that our culture is not a static thing, and that it is a "more or less conscious result of the economic and political activities" that We engage in today... and tomorrow. Our culture is "the more dynamic expression of the kinds of relationships that prevail" among us today...and it will express the relationships that We shape as We Struggle – to free ourselves from the domination of the U.S., and to build the new society that We say We want for ourselves in the future. What We must understand is that, in this context, the "future" is now, i.e., the relationships that We hope will exist

in the future begin to take shape in the activities that We engage in today.

The "cultural revolution" is the struggle to provide safe environments for our children – now. We shape the culture of the "new society" today – as We engage (or fail to engage) in activities to educate our people about AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. We strengthen and develop "common culture" according to the way We relate to each other on a day-to-day basis, i.e., one person to another, one organization to another, today.

Our culture has been shaped by the relationships that We have established with each other and with our environment; it has been shaped by our collective relationship to the U.S. empire. In the course of a revolutionary struggle to change our present relationships with each other, our environment, and the U.S. empire, new relationships will be shaped – our culture will assume new forms of expression, while some of its present forms will fade away. The new forms will emerge as We struggle to obtain and to creatively utilize new and existing technologies; as We seek new and better ways to educate and train ourselves, and to establish, fund, and operate our schools.

\*\*\*\*\*

*'The pigs would come up to the Sisters and say, "You like communism?...You scared of communism?" And the Sisters would say, "No--scared of it, i ain't never heard of it."*

*'The pigs would say, "You like socialism?" And the Sisters would say, "No, i ain't never heard of it."*

*'The pigs, they be crackin' up, because they enjoyed seeing these people frightened of these words.*

*'The pigs would say, "You like capitalism?" And the Sisters would say, "Yeah, well, that's what i live with – i like it."*

*'And the pigs would say, "You like the Breakfast for Children program, nigger?" And the Sisters would say, "Yeah, i like it."*

**Continued on page 12**



# AMILCAR CABRAL ON "NATIONAL LIBERATION AND CULTURE"



The principal characteristic, common to every kind of imperialist domination, is the negation of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violently usurping the free operation of the process of development of the productive forces. Now, in any given society, the level of development of the productive forces and the system for social utilization of these forces (the ownership system) determine the mode of production. In our opinion, the mode of production whose contradictions are manifested with more or less intensity through the class struggle, is the principal factor in the history of any human group, the level of the productive forces being the true and permanent driving power of history.

For every society, for every group of people, considered as an evolving entity, the level of the productive forces indicates the stage of development of the society and of each of its components in relation to nature, its capacity to act or to react consciously in relation to nature. It indicates and conditions the type of material

of a society. To speak of these is to speak of history, but it is also to speak of culture.

Whatever may be the ideological or idealistic characteristics of cultural expression, culture is an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the product of this history just as the flower is the product of a plant. Like history, or because it is history, culture has as its material base the level of the productive forces and the mode of production. Culture plunges its roots into the physical reality of the environmental humus in which it develops, and it reflects the organic nature of the society, which may be more or less influenced by external factors. History allows us to know the nature and extent of the imbalance and conflicts (economic, political and social) which characterize the evolution of a society; culture allows us to know the dynamic syntheses which have been developed and established by social conscience to resolve these conflicts at each stage of its evolution, in the search for survival and progress.

Just as happens with the flower in a plant, in

relationships (expressed objectively or subjectively) which exists among the various elements or groups constituting the society in question. Relationships and types of relationships between man and nature, between man and his environment. Relationships and type of relationships among the individual or collective components

culture there lies the capacity (or the responsibility) for forming and fertilizing the seedling which will assure the continuity of history, at the same time assuring the prospects for evolution and progress of the society in question. Thus it is understood that imperialist domination by denying the historical development of the dominated people, necessarily also denies their cultural development. It is also understood why imperialist domination, like all other foreign domination for its own security, requires cultural oppression and the attempt at direct or indirect liquidation of the essential elements of the culture of the dominated people.

The study of the history of national liberation struggles shows that generally these struggles are preceded by an increase in expression of culture, consolidated progressively into a successful or unsuccessful attempt to affirm the cultural personality of the dominated people, as a means of negating the oppressor culture. Whatever may be the conditions of a people's political and social factors in practicing this domination, it is generally within the culture that we find the seed of opposition, which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement.

In our opinion, the foundation for national liberation rests in the inalienable right of every people to have their own history whatever formulations may be adopted at the level of international law. The objective of national liberation is therefore, to reclaim the right, usurped by imperialist domination, namely: the liberation of the process of development of national productive forces. Therefore, national liberation takes place when, and only when, national productive forces are completely free of all kinds of foreign domination. The liberation of productive forces and consequently the ability to determine the mode of production most appropriate to the evolution of the liberated people necessarily opens up new prospects for the cultural development of the society in question, by returning to that society all its capacity to create progress.

■ READ FULL SPEECH IN *UNITY AND STRUGGLE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF AMILCAR CABRAL*

## TOWARDS REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE *continued from page 7*

to explore the important role of culture in the New Afrikan Independence Movement. While the discussion of culture can get deep and theoretical, as exemplified by Amilcar Cabral in his important 1970 lecture to a New Afrikan audience at Syracuse

University, "National Liberation and Culture," which We highly recommend you read (*a brief excerpt is reprinted on this page*), We hope to keep it simple. the goal is to help us get on common accord with a eye towards independence. **Rebuild to Win!**

# An Amerikan Family: The Shakurs and the Nation They Created

## BOOK REVIEW

BY THANDISIZWE CHIMURENGA

Two truths can occupy the same space at the same time.

On the one hand, *We* - the public in general and the New Afrikan Independence Movement in particular - have been given a gift from Santi Elijah Holley in the form of his book "An Amerikan Family: The Shakurs and the Nation They Created," by Mariner Books.

This book is the only other time that I know of - other than the publication of Assata Shakur's 1988 autobiography - where *We* are given the stories of New Afrikan Freedom Fighters in their own words, from their own mouths, with the context and depth that is usually deliberately missing in mainstream (i.e. "enemy") reporting, coupled with respect and care (also usually deliberately missing).

On the other hand, despite a decent presentation of New Afrikan Independence Movement beliefs, politics and goals, in one fell swoop all of it is \*almost\* negated by the title.

Calling the Shakurs an "Amerikan" family, even with the author's explanation of the politics behind the spelling of that word with the letter "k", is not only a negation of the lived history and current reality of the Shakurs and our movement, it is at the same time more of that annoying 'amerikkkan exceptionalism' that so many people succumb to, sometimes unintentionally. The hegemony that Antonio Gramsci told us about. That "Oh, protest is in the best tradition of Amerikkkan liberty" and its attendant Patrick Henryism kool-aid that settlers, i.e. amerikkkans, love to drink.

But like I said: \*almost\*.

Once the book is cracked and the pages are turned, it is clear that something else is taking place here.

Here, we are given more in-depth pictures of not only the Shakur Family - Abu Salahudeen, his sons Zayd and Lumumba, Mutulu, Afeni, Assata and Tupac - but of Sekou Odinga and Bilal Sunni Ali, two long-time, committed and stalwart servants of the people; more than we have ever gotten before.

We also get to "meet" Cleo Silvers, Yaasmyn Fula, Nehanda Abiodun, Makini Shakur, Susan

Rosenberg and several others via the relationships cultivated by the Shakurs.

The relationships of the Shakurs, to each other and their wider community, tells us much about their development as well as our movements for liberation.

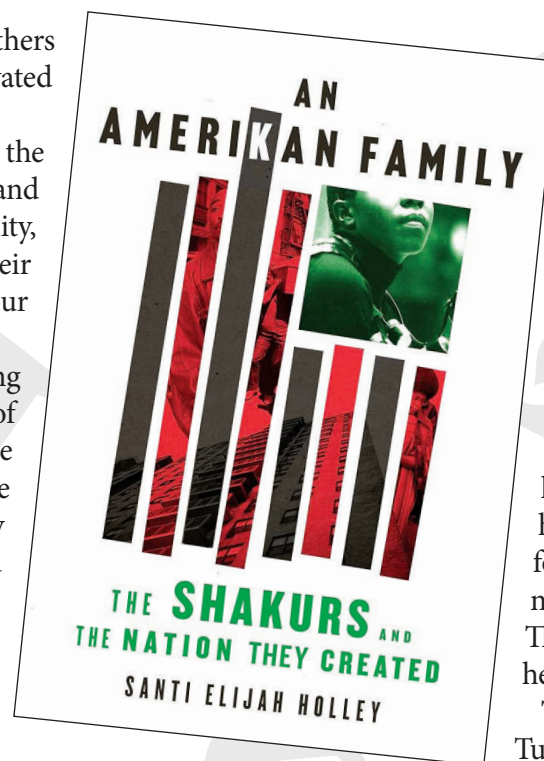
I found most interesting the 1970 takeover of Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx that provides us the context that leads directly to a committed Mutulu Shakur leading the effort to create BAANA, the Black Acupuncture Association of North America, in 1980.

The story of the Lincoln Hospital drug detoxification program needs to be told more often. The story of its development and its successor, BAANA, needs to be told more, often, and loudly. Using natural means and the body as its own healer, coupled with revolutionary political education and love, instead of a drug to wean drug addicts off of a drug? We should be shouting this from rooftops, the sides of cars and in social media posts on a daily basis.

Like many projects, the impetus for this book was a personal one for Holley: his admiration of and appreciation for Tupac Shakur. As a journalist who covers music, as well as being a DJ, Holley was "stunned by the depth of [Tupac's] knowledge about the Black liberation struggle and his commitment to highlighting racial and social injustices." Holley goes on to state that he "sought out more information about [Tupac's] mother Afeni Shakur, his stepfather Mutulu Shakur, and other family members, and I was surprised and disappointed to learn how little had been written about this remarkable family ..."

Thus, the seed of this book was planted.

Despite my criticism of the injection of amerikkkan exceptionalism via the title, my only other major criticism was the grievous omission



of Baba Mukasa, Willie Ricks, as the rightful spark behind the popularizing of the term "Black Power."

Holley makes a mighty effort to provide historical background and context as often as possible in the book. The volume of printed sources he combed through is impressive and I appreciate his utilizing oral interviews as a crucial part of his research. You'd be surprised how many writers hold disdain for the oral tradition and people's memories of their own lives. Thankfully, Holley doesn't do that here.

The book ends by giving us Tupac's story in a way that honors his roots. More than the usual

sound bites of "Tupac, Black Panthers and his stepfather Mutulu," this chapter - and the entire book - coupled with the recent Fx documentary series "Dear Mama" gives us a robust and deep treatment of the artist whose career only lasted five years.

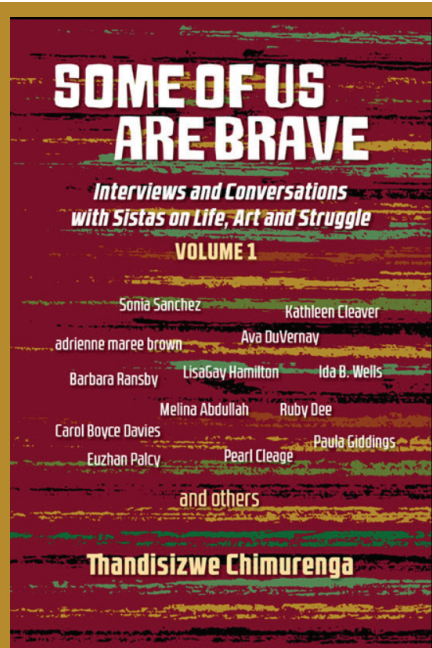
Through the story of the Shakurs, Holley's book tells the traumas and tragedies involved in fighting for Black Liberation and the painful sacrifices that are sometimes required. It also shows us a generation of folks whose love for Black people was so deep and so wide, so thick, so tangible, you gain some of the understanding that it couldn't have gone any other way.

The stories of the Shakur family, those related by blood and those by commitment, and how they developed into the beings most of us have only heard about, has now been made accessible to a much wider audience than ever before. It has also been given a permanence of place in the form of the printed word, which means it cannot be ignored or suppressed. It must be contended with.

For this reason alone, we should say shukran ("thank you") to Holley for this gift.

*Free The Land!*





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## YAKI - Notes on Convergence *continued from page 9*

*'And the pigs would say,  
"Well, the Breakfast for Children  
program is a socialistic program.  
It's a communistic program."*

*'And the Sisters would say, "Well,  
i don't know if i like communism,  
and i don't know if i like socialism.  
But i know that that Breakfast for  
Children program feeds my kids,  
nigger. And if you put your hands  
on that Breakfast for Children  
program, i'm gonna come off this  
can and beat your ass like a..."  
(Fred Hampton)*

Too many of us seem unaware of the difference between promoting the idea of the nation, and the process of nation-building. The idea of the nation generally precedes the generation of a nationalist movement that's taken up by the masses – taken up by them because of the existence of a nationalist or nation-building program that they come to support because they help to develop it, they participate in its unfolding, it affects their lives and, consequently, they can accept it as their own.

We like to say that "the nation exists – it's just not independent." If We believe that the nation exists, then We must assume responsibility for it. If We want to claim roles as "leaders," "conscious citizens," "vanguards," "revolutionaries," "nationalists" – or as the "Provisional Government" – then We must assume responsibility now for all of the people and for helping to solve all of the problems that the people have – now. Real leadership can't be simply proclaimed – it has to be earned through the practice of those claiming the responsibility. It's through

the force of example that the majority of our people will be won over to the ideological and practical leadership of the revolutionary nationalist (i.e., New Afrikan independence) movement.

The nation, its interests – and its leadership – are crystallized through the process of struggle to link the nationalist ideology to the struggles of the people to make immediate improvements in all areas of their lives. We build the nation as We

utilize the existing struggles, programs, and institutions that our people presently rely on to serve their needs. We build the nation – We actually conduct the struggle for independence and the development of the "new society" – as We compete with the U.S. and its neo-colonial allies for the allegiance of our people as We initiate new struggles and create new programs and institutions to serve their needs.

---Part Two in Next Issue

**SEEDZ OF REVOLUTION: DAUGHTERS OF THE WHIRLWIND**  
Podcast

**DR. ASANTEWA SUNNI-ALI**

**PRINCESS MDAIAH YISRAEL**

**AIYISHA T. OBAFEMI**

Dr. Asantewa Sunni-Ali (@actsofliberation), Princess Mdaiah Yisrael (@princess\_mdaiyah) and Aiyisha T. Obafemi (@aiyishatheblessed) are the daughters of lifelong liberation movement builders, educators, intellectuals, performing artists and all around dope humans! Continuing the rich legacy of their parents and community elders, these sisters carry on traditions of leadership, education, activism, organizing, land ownership, business entrepreneurship and cooperative economics. Listen up! They have something to say.

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# Palestinian National Factions Call for Consensus & Unity

The following joint statement by Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Palestinian National Initiative Movement was posted by Resistance News Network on March 15, 2024.

In light of the decree issued by the President of the Palestinian Authority, appointing Dr. Mohammad Mustafa to form a new government, the Palestinian national factions affirm the following:

The highest national priority now is to confront the barbaric Zionist aggression and the genocide and starvation war waged by the occupation against our people in Gaza Strip, and to confront the crimes of its settlers in the West Bank and occupied Al-Quds — especially Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the significant risks facing our national cause — at the forefront of which is the ongoing risk of displacement.

Making individual decisions, and engaging in formal steps devoid of substance, such as forming a new government without national consensus, is a reinforcement of the policy of unilateralism and a deepening of division, at a historical moment when our people and national cause are most in need of consensus and unity, and the formation of a unified national leadership, preparing



for free democratic elections with the participation of all components of the Palestinian people.

These steps indicate the depth of the crisis within the leadership of the [Palestinian] Authority, its detachment from reality, and the significant gap between it and

our people, their concerns, and aspirations, which is confirmed by the opinions of the vast majority of our people that expressed their loss of trust in these policies and orientations.

It is our people's right to question the utility of replacing one government

with another and one prime minister with another, from the same political and partisan environment.

In the light of the Palestinian Authority insistence on continuing the policy of unilateralism, and disregarding all national efforts to unite the Palestinian front and unite in the face of aggression against our people, we express our rejection of the continuation of this approach that has harmed and continues to harm our people and our national cause.

We call upon our people and their living forces to raise their voices high, and to confront this folly with the present and future of our cause and the interests, rights, and national rights of our people. We also call on all national forces and factions, especially the brothers in Fatah movement, to take serious and effective action in order to reach consensus on managing this historic and pivotal stage, in a way that serves our national cause and fulfills our people's aspirations to extract their legitimate rights, liberate their land and holy sites, and establish their independent state with full sovereignty and its capital as Al-Quds.

*[This statement was lightly edited. Workers World, March 16, 2024]*



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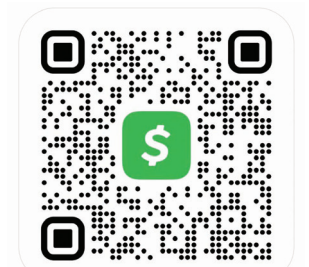
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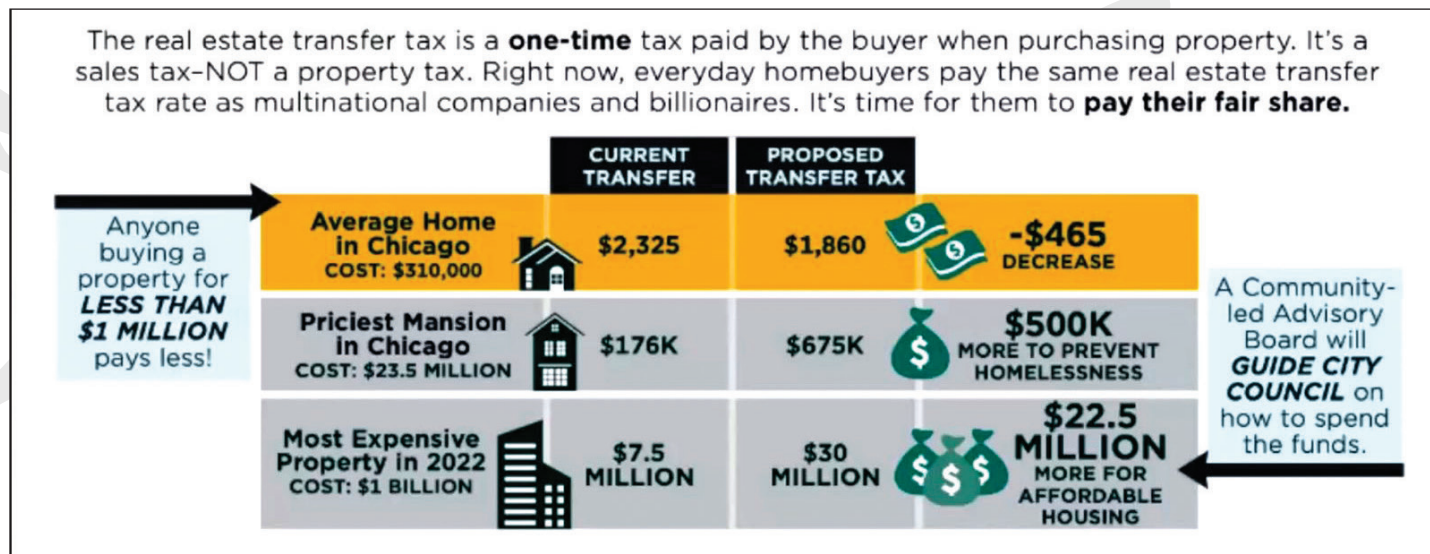
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# Fighting for Decent Housing in the 21st Century

“...its a crying shame that inside a country like the united states you have all those people living out there in the streets - whole families because they don't have the means to have shelter. There has to be shelter, the basic necessities of life, for everybody! Any movements that starts out has to deal with those questions. Every body has to have a shelter. Everybody has to have a means to survive...”

~donald cox  
interview, march 1993



New Afrikans are working in local communities with residents to address the critical question of housing insecurity. The CBA Coalition, 'Not Me We', Bring Chicago Home (BCH), The Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, and 'Southside Together Organizing for Power' (STOP) have all taken up the task of organizing New Afrikan communities on the south side of Chicago. The groups use different strategies but employ similar tactics of engaging people around the issues of homelessness, 'doubled up' households, and fair housing practices for renters, property owners and concerned residents. They canvass local communities, research housing practices & trends, lobby local government, educate local populations about their goals and objectives, and challenge our people to develop communities of love & respect for one another.

All of these groups have put time & energy into pushing and supporting the 'Bring Chicago Home' ballot initiative. This initiative appeared on the ballot this primary season and has a good chance of passage because of the efforts of these aforementioned groups, along with other progressive

groups & individuals. Currently, every purchaser pays the same tax rate: .75% of the purchase price. The ballot initiative asks voters to vote 'Yes' on the passage of a change in the 'Real Estate Transfer Tax' (RETT) rule. Most homes & properties are sold for less than \$1 million - the purchaser would pay a reduced (.6%) RETT. The buyers of properties which sell for more than \$1 million would pay an increased RETT tax of 2% on sales of \$1 - 1.5 million, and 3% on properties which sell for more than \$1.5 million. These proceeds would be used to alleviate homelessness and support affordable housing efforts in Chicago. Organizers are encouraging Chicago residents to vote Yes on this ballot initiative Tuesday, March 19.

The South Shore Housing Preservation Ordinance was introduced into City Council by Alderman Desmon Yancy on September 14, 2023. It includes 16 policies aimed at preventing displacement of current South Shore residents as real estate speculation increases by protecting renters, homeowners, and condo-owners, supporting local property owners,

and promoting long-term equitable development of affordable housing. The ordinance includes \$62.3 million in investments for housing and development resources for the neighborhood. The majority of funding attached to the ordinance would go toward supporting homeowners, condo-owners, and property owners, with protections for renters focused on City policy changes rather than cash expenditures. Many of the proposals reflect programs the City already operates citywide or in other neighborhoods, while others are new ideas drawn from major cities, including LA, NYC, Philadelphia, SF, Seattle, and DC.

## ADDENDUM

- in tuesday's primary, residents of chicago rejected the ordinance; the 'yes' votes were 46%, while the 'no' votes were 54%. BCH organizers were disappointed, but they recognize that the vote was attacked by business & corporate lies which were plastered all over tv & social media to confuse voters.

- turnout was also very low, with only 20% of eligible voters casting

ballots. only 3% of the votes were cast by young people aged 17-24 years of age, while on the other hand, 20% of the votes were cast by folks aged 65-74...

- in canvassing & phone banking, We learned that people were generally in favor of BCH --- when they understood the facts of the proposal.

- the bourgeoisie has done a remarkable job of convincing the electorate to react negatively to any mention of the word 'tax'; oftentimes, the mere mention of the word caused a knee-jerk reaction & an immediate 'no' vote.

- coupled with a disheartening contempt for the poor, We have a serious problem...

For more info, see the following:

- bringchicagohome.org
- obamacba.org/SouthShore
- Not Me We (facebook)
- STOP www.stopchicago.org

Reference: 'What Is Bring Chicago Home? The TRIBE explains Ballot Q1: Amending the Real Estate Transfer Tax' (Youtube)



# *Some Throwbacks... For the Sake of Posterity & Continuity*

And just think  
Some bloods still ask “where is the nation”  
as if it should drop from the sky

Others, being more scientific, look for  
evidence of the nation in the archives of  
amerikkka, where the nation is buried  
under centuries of oppression  
where the nation is distorted by  
kidnapping and colonialism (most  
commonly called “chattel slavery”)  
where the stark reality is unclear to bloods  
still learning to apply science concretely  
after truly awakening from the nightmare  
and realizing that the nation is themselves  
and like all others has to exist by  
choice

and be free to develop  
free of kidnappers and the  
bonds of empire  
independent nations must be just  
that, and the full reality of any nation  
can only be recognized when its  
self-governing

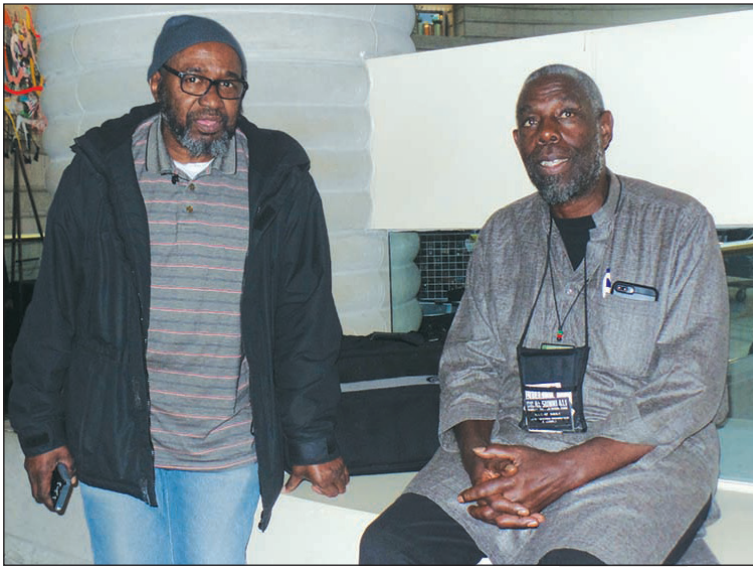
national oppression, bloods is what keeps  
existence of the nation in  
question

its liberation and development depends on  
you

it requires a choice.







**ABOVE:** Movement Elders and former political prisoners. Masai Ehehosi and Bilal Sunni Ali at the 50th New Afrikan Nation Day in Detroit.



**ABOVE:** New Afrikan President-in-Exile Robert Franklin Williams (3rd from left) and Vice President Gaidi Obadele (3rd from right) in Tanzania prior to Franklin's return to the United States in 1969.



**LEFT:** Movement Elder Ukali Mwendo and (Ancestor) Hamid Abdul-Aziz at the 50th New Afrikan Nation Day in Detroit.

**RIGHT:** Shushanna Shakur, sister of Chokwe Lumumba, leads the Heritage Youth Program in Detroit, which has been in operation for 18 years, instructing youth in drama, chess, drum & dance, arts & crafts, and reading proficiency.



Heritage Youth enjoys tournament level chess training (above), and hip-hop dance (right).



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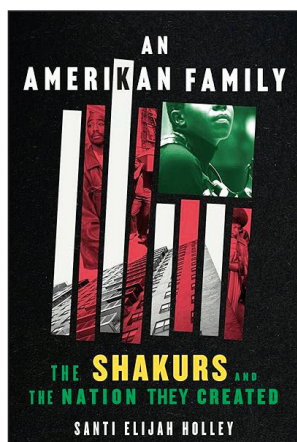
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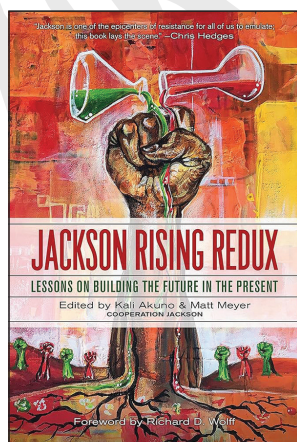
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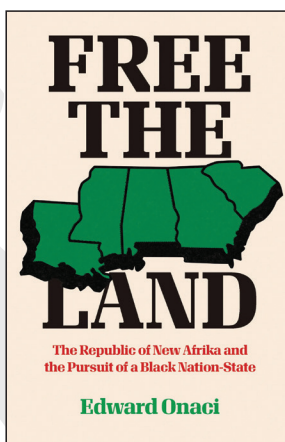
# A Few Recommended Titles About or Related to the New Afrikan Independence Movement



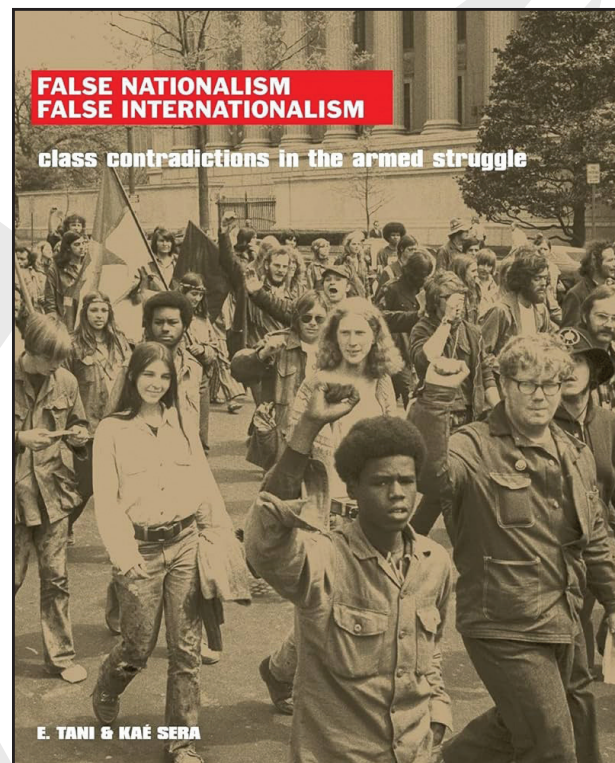
**AN AMERIKAN FAMILY: The Shakurs and the Nation They Created** by Santi Elijah Holley.



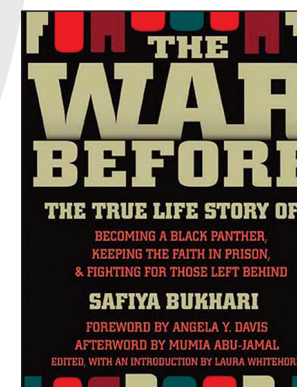
**JACKSON RISING REDUX: Lessons on Building the Future in the Present** edited by Kali Akuno and Matt Meyer.



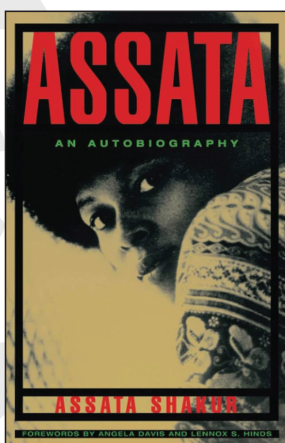
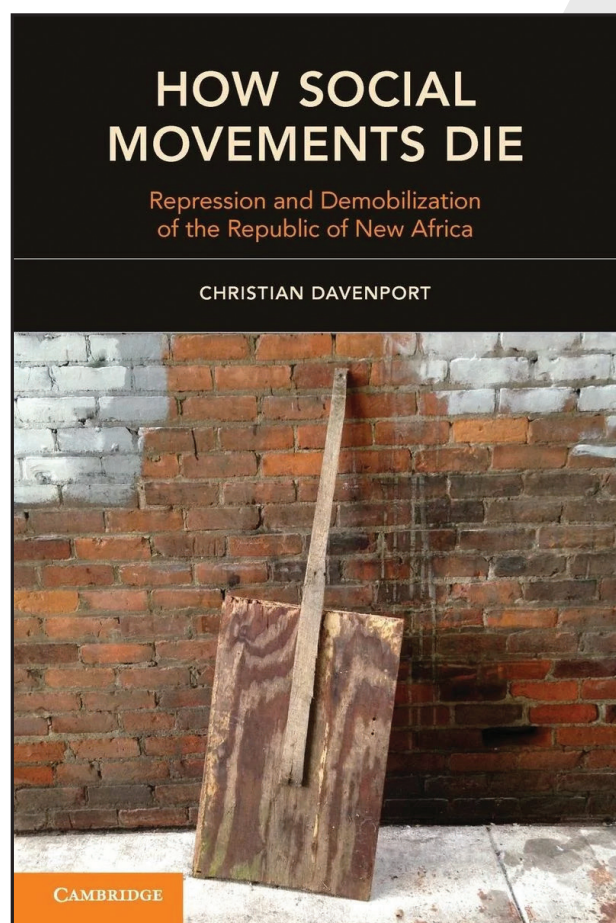
**FREE THE LAND: The Republic of New Afrika and the Pursuit of a Black Nation-State** by Edward Onaci.



**FALSE NATIONALISM, FALSE INTERNATIONALISM: Class Contradictions in the Armed Struggle** by E. Tani & Kae Sera.

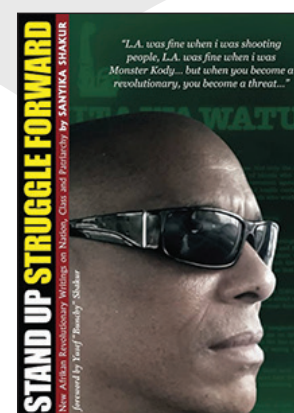


**THE WAR BEFORE: The True Life Story of Becoming a Black Panther, Keeping the Faith in Prison & Fighting For Those Left Behind** by Safiyah Bukhari.



**ASSATA: An Autobiography** by Assata Shakur.

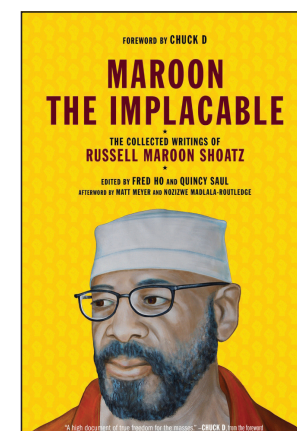
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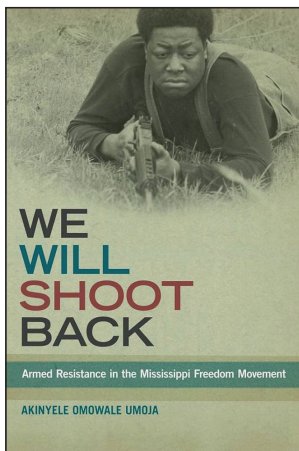


## Meditations on Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth

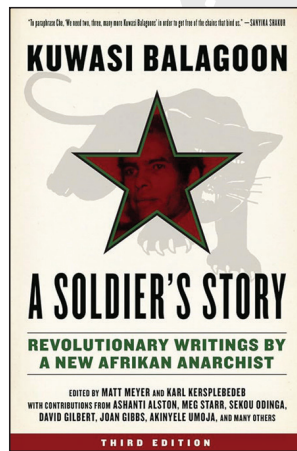
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by James Yaki Sayles



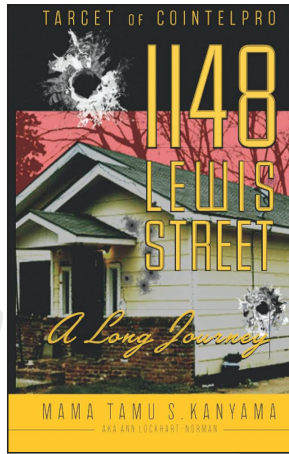
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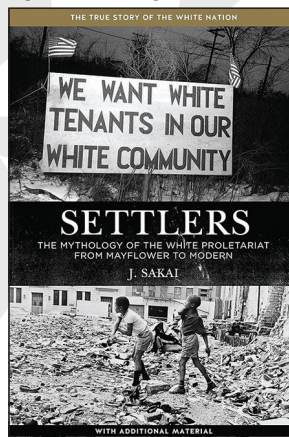
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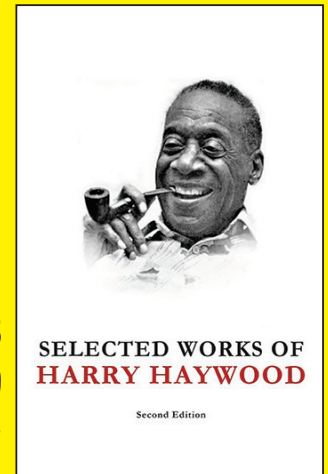
**COLLECTED  
WORKS OF THE  
BLACK LIBERATION  
ARMY, Vol. 1** edited  
by Rookery Press.



**SETTLERS:  
Mythology of a  
White Proletariat** by  
J. Sakai.



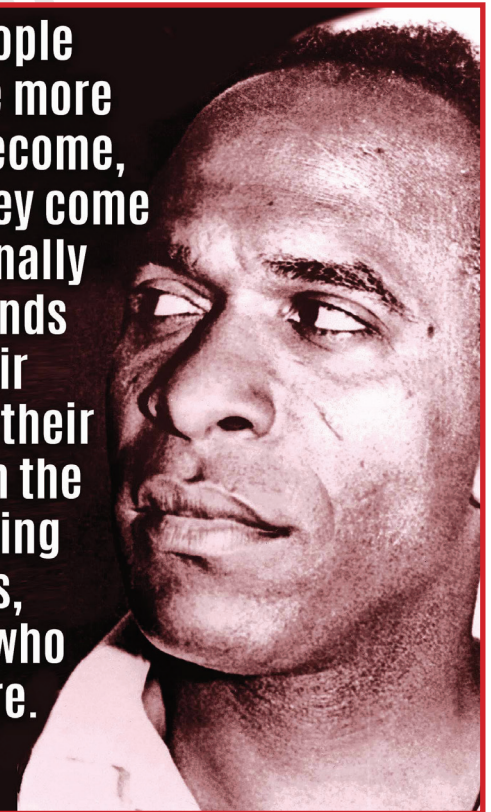
**A BLACK COMMUNIST IN  
THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE**  
by Harry Haywood.



**SELECTED WORKS  
OF HARRY HAYWOOD**  
by Harry Haywood.

Harry Haywood represents a bridge across generations from the period of the New Negro of the 1920s to the New Afrikan of the 1960s and beyond. Having began his revolutionary activism with the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood, he was the leading theoretician of the Black Belt Nation thesis, which was the foundation of the modern New Afrikan Independence Movement.

**The more the people  
understand, the more  
watchful they become,  
and the more they come  
to realize that finally  
everything depends  
on them and their  
salvation lies in their  
own cohesion, in the  
true understanding  
of their interests,  
and in knowing who  
their enemies are.**  
~Frantz Fanon





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

and equal access to that maximum;

- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;

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

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

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

- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;

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

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

natural rights;

- To assure justice for all;

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

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

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