

CROSSROAD

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The National Plebiscite Education Campaign for Self Determination

Mission Statement

The **National Plebiscite Education Campaign for Self Determination (NPECSD)** is a project of the New Afrikan Liberation Front. The purpose of the NPECSD is to raise public consciousness among Africans born in the U.S. regarding their collective rights to self determination (Kujichagulia) and how that is attained.

The principle of self determination enunciates that every people should be left free to determine its own form of government. Self determination means for a people to take their destiny into their own hands. Self determination became an important concept on the international stage at the end of World War I as the first step in the decolonization process.

Plebiscite means a vote of a common people, in order to determine the political will of the people on the national question. Generally, it refers to independence versus a continued relationship with the established colonial power. The national question for Africans born in the U.S. presumes that we are a colonized people who seek to exercise our right to self determination.

After the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, the so-called freed slaves should have had a national plebiscite to determine their political destiny. This did not occur. Consequently, the national question remains unresolved and Africans born in the U.S. remain victims of a continued diabolical and genocidal attack by the multiple evils of U.S. racism, imperialism, sexist oppression and capitalist global economy.

It is time for Africans born in the U.S. to take our destiny into our own hands. Toward this aim, it is the mission of the NPECSD to develop and launch a mass political education outreach campaign to the Black (New Afrikan) community.

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Goals and Purpose

- To foster concepts of self determination, sovereignty (self government) and National Independence.
- To illustrate clearly how self government is our sociopolitical, economic and spiritual salvation as a people. Our survival must be first and foremost in our hearts, minds and in our actions.
- To impart and instill hope within the Black (New Afrikan) community and to illuminate the vast array of resources available to us when we function as a united people. We must work towards collective work and responsibility (Ujima).
- To raise Black (New Afrikan) community awareness of our historical greatness and our prophetic destiny towards freedom, justice, equality, independence and Black (New Afrikan) Liberation.
- Lastly, the primary goal of the NPECSD is to culminate with an enlightened Black (New Afrikan) populace that is prepared to cast a well informed vote as to our national destiny.

Objectives

The NPECSD is committed to a broad based involvement and a democratic process which earnestly seeks to:

- Establish a 3 to 5 year educational outreach plan of action. This plan will employ scientific marketing and advertising methodologies to attract the hearts and minds of the people.
- Incorporate a broad cross section of organizations and individuals who best articulate the sincere ideological tendencies of Blacks (New Afrikans) born in the United States.
- Recognize first and foremost that the legitimacy of a plebiscite rests within the effectiveness of the education campaign. The people must know and understand the full profundity of the options they are voting on.

Conclusion

It is our belief that the data gathered throughout the NPECSD process will greatly advance the Black (New Afrikan) Liberation Movement towards National Independence. Moreover, a successful, well informed vote/plebiscite will legitimize, once and for all, before the eyes of the world that Africans born in the U.S. are a *nation* with certain inalienable rights. Based on international law, a distinguishable people have the right to self determination.

“We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.”

— *Tenth point of the Black Panther Party Ten Point Program, 1966*

“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.”

— *Eighth point of the New Afrikan Creed, 1969*

An Invitation To Join The NPECSD!

The NPECSD is open to organizations and individuals working for the spiritual, cultural, political and economic upliftment of the African* community in the United States. (**It is our belief that the question of what we call ourselves and our nation - New Afrikan, African, Black, African American, Nubian, Lost-Found Nation, Khemite, etc. etc. will be ultimately determined by a process such as our Plebiscite. We should look for language that is inclusive, rather than exclusive. Groups and individuals should be allowed to participate if they agree on the Mission Statement, Goals and Objectives, regardless of how they refer to themselves.*) Members of our Speakers Bureau are available for your next meeting or upcoming event. To involve your family, school, church, group, or business in this historic process, simply contact us at:

National Plebiscite Education Campaign For Self Determination (NPECSD)

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"Prosecutorial Misconduct"

This article is intended to bring public awareness to the many deficiencies in the u.s. "justice" system. On September 26 a blatant miscarriage of justice took place when five men were convicted in federal court. This was the second of two trials, necessitated due to prosecutorial misconduct in the first trial. The misconduct itself serves as clear evidence of the intention of the U.S. government to convict these men by "any means necessary." One of the five people on trial, Maumin Khabir, was initially offered a 30 year plea bargain, with a promise of no further indictments, if he would plead guilty to a charge of committing "terrorist" acts for the Libyan government. He refused because of his innocence. The U.S. attorney's office, in a retaliatory action responded with action on a second indictment.

These men were convicted based on their alleged association with an alleged "street gang" the El Rukns. Not because of any criminal activity. How absurd! The second trial was ordered because it was found that the U.S. attorney's office provided their "witnesses" (while in the Metropolitan Correctional Center) with drugs, sex, and other amenities in addition to reduced sentences for their well coached testimony.

Following the announcement of the guilty verdict, U.S. attorney Jim Burns described Judge Zagel as "one of the most *understanding*" judges in the federal building. This came as no surprise, because it is expected for team members to applaud and support one another whether right or wrong. Zagel, being a former head of the state police, all throughout the trial displayed obvious bias.

These men were indicted under a law (R.I.C.O.) enacted by the u.s. government that allows seizure of property and other assets, as well as imprisonment of any individual or group of individuals who are alleged to be part of any organized group being accused of any criminal activity. Originally designed to allegedly combat organized crime, R.I.C.O. has been and is now being used to attack individuals, movements, and organizations simply because they don't subscribe to or agree with the current structure of oppression. It was and continues to be used against revolutionary and progressive forces such as the Republic of New Afrika, Black Liberation Army, Puerto Rican Nationalists, other national liberation

movements within the U.S., and the White left. It was used and is now used with increasing frequency against street organizations such as the (former) El Rukns, Gangster Disciples, Latin Kings, and Vice Lords. R.I.C.O. allows the U.S. government to attack any person who knows or associates with any member of any group they decide to attack.

In future articles We will expose and detail with explicit evidence many gross miscarriages of justice. We will also show the connection of the cases that exemplify and show how covert oppression exists against minorities in the U.S. **COVERT GENOCIDE!** My question to the public is "what can and will We do to counter this unjust plan?" If not us, then who? If not now, then when?

Sister Adia

Sister Adia is the sister of Maumin and the wife of Imam Abdul Akuha Kabah, a former El Rukn now imprisoned in Illinois who is heavily involved in efforts to help educate and organize within our community.

Brother Maumin is accused by the u.s. government of being an El Rukn general and "terrorist." After about 9 years of travel, Bro. Maumin was captured by a large (50+), heavily armed body of FBI agents in the apartment of a New Afrikan citizen in Chicago. Bro. Maumin, who is a Muslim, spent some of his travel time in Islamic and other countries outside of U.S. borders. Before the trial began, Maumin petitioned the court, saying that he was a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika, and that the u.s. had no right to bring him to trial. Prior to and since his capture, Maumin has been working to develop ties among forces within the RNA.

CROSSROAD

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Won't you be one of them?

Thoughts On Organizing

By Bonnie Kerness

“What I want people to understand is that even if we don’t have anything, we have got our strength. We can organize ourselves.” - Achta Adakar, school teacher in habani, Chad

“Where do correct ideas come from? Social Practice.” - Mao Tse Tung

“Go to the people. Live among them. Learn from them. Love them. Serve them. Plan with them. Start with what they know. Build on what they have.” - Kwame Nkrumah

If one thinks about the above quotes, they are really full of all the wisdom that it takes to be a good organizer. To be an organizer takes an understanding about the protracted nature of our commitment. It takes years to build an organization and years to build the people that run an organization. I can remember being assigned to build a tenant group in an apartment house in Elizabeth, New Jersey. As I canvassed the building, I realized that the families who lived there were suffering too deeply to even consider becoming part of an organization, let alone providing leadership. The adage “you can’t organize a hungry belly” and the other of “start where the people are at” were my guidelines. It took a solid year of stabilizing each and every family individually before we called our first meeting. Starting “where people are at” takes a long time as well as patience if you are going to achieve any depth. This is the stage of organizing where you are the learner, the student, the seeker of knowledge. Part of the high level of organizing success of the Panthers was because of their awareness - and, most of their specific programmatic efforts at actually providing what people needed for their survival and growth. The providing of services (food pantries, clothing, political education for young people, tutoring, etc.) is one of the most successful ways to begin the process of working with a community around specific issues. Thus, to be an organizer is to understand, and have, the singular capacity for long term commitment. Just as it takes a long time to change the perceptions of people, it also takes a long time for an organizer to learn the issues from the people’s perspectives. There is no organizing without reading and studying the history of the issues, at the same time keeping current on what is impacting in the present. In order to be able to “represent”, the organizer has to do more than just feel deeply. That depth has to include a complete, solid and ever-growing knowledge base.

The social science of organizing has been well documented, written about, even taught in schools of social work. For the most part, though, much of the training of organizers is passed down from one generation of organizers to the next. For instance, I was trained in the South by a number of excellent organizers, and then in the North by a group of Black Marxists called *The Vanguard*, which grew out of the work of Jesse Gray, a compadre of Malcolm X. I have also had the good fortune of continuing in my learning with prisoner mentors from whom I have grown enormously as an organizer. My mentors were/are fine teachers and hard taskmasters. As a result of their teaching, I am aware that only a good student can make a good teacher/mentor. Finding yourselves a mentor to study with is important. That is the person you will evaluate each meeting/event, interaction with. That is the trusted person you can brainstorm with in the development of the group and the people you are helping to build. You aren’t only organizing a collective process, you are becoming one with that collective process.

It is also important to decide for yourself what level you will organize and work on. An organizer is equally as needed in building a community organization as s/he is in building a revolutionary cadre or political education group. It is important to set your own boundaries and decide what style of organizing you feel most comfortable with - i.e. in the South, non-violence was taught while in other parts of the country at the same time, more militant organizing was taking place. There is a place for all levels of struggle, and we can create and participate in movements on any level. Most of all, it is important that an organizer doesn’t spread themselves too thin. We are currently observing a resurgence of activism both on and off college campuses. It is not unusual to see people move from one “focus” to another, from one group to another, from one cause to another - all without having built a single lasting, functioning organization or program. This type of so-called “organizing” feels like “much ado about nothing” because there is little depth and protracted accomplishment. Constantly organizing events for instance, feels good in the short run - like cotton candy - but offers little of substance for people who are suffering various forms of oppression. Nor are most of those organizing events developed with those folks who are suffering - and who know better than any “professional” organizer what is needed. Check out your truly professional organizers. You’ll find that they have created situations where they can get paid, either in full or in part, for their organizing. You’ll also find that they are highly focused in their work.

One other adage that rings with clarity is that “communication is the first line of defense”. Each of us is

responsible for knowing who we are working with and for protecting the organization from provocateurs and other negative elements. It is through open, truthful, candid and principled communication that such protection is assured. None of us is beyond being questioned or taught. In the same spirit, the use of political propaganda - flyers, posters, written/oral and art works - can be an important element in this communication and is to be encouraged. Brainstorming about communication and other organizing issues is one way that an organizer encourages the use of the best minds available in the growing organization. The use of brainstorming itself is one art of communication that needs to be taught and used extensively. It is a remarkable process where one person builds and expands on the concepts of another. A great sense of sharing and accomplishment comes when this is done with skill. It is also a fine way to pass down some of the skills of organizing to those with less experience. "Each one, teach one" isn't just good societal sense, it is also the responsibility of every organizer. Passing along those skills expands the "village".

There are many wonderful books and pamphlets on organizing and facilitating. One of the best, most inexpensive contributions is *The War Resister's League Organizer's manual*. It is well worth the money to send for this manual which is a wealth of good ideas, techniques and practices. An organizers manual developed by Eli Rosenblatt of the **Prison Activist's Resource Center** is also good and inexpensive. I'm sure there are many other manuals that are equally as good.

This gathering today is very much about the work of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the focus of his writings over these past years. Mumia understands clearly the connectedness of the issues and the connectedness of each of us in our differing areas of work. Mumia organizes through his writings and calls to action. He, along with all organizers stands together in fighting the poison that drips from the American culture which is the culture of greed, and the culture-of-no-values, and the culture which fears the joy of diversity. It is hoped that this gathering will reflect and foment the activism that is so necessary for us to make the changes necessary for a humane, non-racist and equitable **society**.

(This presentation was developed for the Jamal Summit "Call To Action" Conference on Organizing - July 6, 1996)



CROSSROAD Support Network (3021 West 63rd Street, Chicago, IL 60629; voice/FAX (312)737-8679; e-mail: crsn@aol.com) **News, Announcements & Updates**

- New Afrikans in Chicago lost a warrior in November when **Brother Mandrake** was found drowned in the Chicago River. Mandrake had been a longtime crusader against tobacco & alcohol billboards plastered all over our community which promote death & destruction in the attractive guise of pretty models or cool cartoons, looking prosperous while sucking on cancer-sticks or guzzling liver-destroying booze. It is said that the brother would whitewash these eyesores from time to time, and he also taught us how genocide could be targeted & marketed under our noses... • **Sistah Akua Jitahadi**, a member of NAPO in Los Angeles and a worker with the New Afrikan Scouts, lost her mother recently. Akua had been on leave this year to care for her. • The director of the CIA (Cocaine Importation Agency) was forced to come to the ghetto to deny the charges that his agency is responsible for the cocaine and crack epidemic. He was jeered and hooted as he made his claims because the masses are hip to genocide! • **Yafeu Fula**, **Sekou Odinga's** son and a member of Tupac's group **Outlaw Immortalz**, was found shot to death in an Orange, New Jersey project in November. Please send condolences to Brother Sekou & his family.
- We also send condolences to comrad-brotha **Shaka Shakur** on the loss of his nephew. • **Schooling the Generations in the Politics of Prison** is a new book which is edited by Chinosole, an activist/scholar who holds a doctorate in comparative literature and publishes criticism on Black women's narratives and slave narratives. She teaches at San Francisco State University. The book includes essays by Mumia Abu-Jamal, Assata Shakur, Sanyika Shakur, Evelyn Williams (author of **Inadmissible Evidence**, in which she relates some of her experiences as a Black Liberation Army lawyer), Sundiata Acoli, Mutulu Shakur, Jalil Muntaqim, Ramona Africa, Erskine Johnson (artist on death row), and an all-too-brief excerpt from Atiba Shanna's "*Notes On the Promotion of Knowledge and Respect for the Laws of War...*". The book is available for \$11.95 plus tax and mailing. For copies write: New Earth Publications, 1921 Ashby Avenue, Berkeley, California 94703; Telephone: (510) 549-0176; Fax: (510) 549-1514. • Word has just come in from comrad-brotha **Sekou Kambui** that his parole bid has once again been denied after a long delay in passing down the decision. A petition/letter campaign is being mounted; write to the brotha for more information: Sekou Kambui (Wm. Turk, #113,058), P.O. Box 10 [6A-100] E.C.F., Clio, AL 36017-0010. ----- **RE-BUILD TO FREE THE LAND!!!** -----

**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.”

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 (1), 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 whose 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**.

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.

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. 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.”

‘And the pigs would say, “Well, the Breakfast for Children program is a socialistic program. It’s a communist 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...” (2)

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.

So, what do i mean by the “democratic element”? On one hand, it’s the domestic expression of the struggle for “human rights,” i.e., it’s a struggle for “demo-

cratic rights” taken out of the bourgeois context, and placed within a nationalist-revolutionary context. By “democratic element,” i mean that in the course of broadening and deepening the independence movement, all that promotes:

1) consistent and comprehensive struggles for economic, political, and socio-cultural “equality” of rights, opportunities and treatment for all of the people — and this to be based on the “normal standards of life” as made possible by the existing level of economic and technological development in the U.S. (By “equality” here, i mean an equality based upon public control of — and thus “equal access” to — the major means of production and distribution of wealth. In the U.S. today, a family of four needs a yearly income of **AT LEAST \$50,000** just to live “normally,” i.e., above a subsistence level and in line with the promoted image of the “high American standard of living.” If the society produces enough chickens to put one in every pot, then this is the way We want them distributed. Our slogan should be: From each according to ability, to each according to need.)

2) the unity of all progressive and patriotic forces in the struggle against the common enemy, and for national independence and socialism. The nationalist movement must address itself to each person that needs and desires the nation’s independence and a better life — no matter their class or strata, no matter their sexual or political orientation, no matter their religious beliefs. However, while winning over all those opposed to the common enemy, We must also isolate and neutralize all forces in league with the enemy and opposed to the nation’s independence and its socialist development.

3) the participation of the people, at all levels, in our organizations, and in the formation and execution of the policies, programs and institutions that are taken over and/or created, to facilitate the provision of our socio-economic needs. How can the people fully realize a concept of self-government if they get no experience in actually governing themselves — starting in their homes, and on the streets and in the neighborhoods where they live now? How can the people transform the idea of the nation into the reality, if they don’t consciously exercise their objective role and capacity as the creators of all social wealth, the makers of history, and the masters of society’s political and cultural development?

i, for one, believe that if you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they’ll create their own program; and when the people create a program, you get action.

El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X)

The task, however, is to get out among the people, to become active in the programs that exist, and to lend our “advanced ideas” to the existing peoples’ struggles. Part of this is simply for the nationalist movement to learn how to get involved with existing struggles and to help inspire the people to accept greater responsibility for their own nationalist and revolutionary leadership.

The nationalist movement must learn how to help the people learn to lead themselves, e.g., when We write stories for our newspapers, there should be more stories on the “petty” issues throughout the U.S. Our newspapers should have pictures on the front pages (and throughout) showing the “ordinary” people who are holding families together, who are mentoring our young people, who are leading all kinds of struggles to make the schools better, to serve the elders, to heal the sick and the infirm. Let’s help people take a different view of themselves, and place new and added value on the tasks that they perform on a daily basis, but get little or no praise for.

“To govern, one needs to know exactly the interests of the working masses, formulated and discussed with them and not merely on their behalf... To govern is always to be closely linked with the masses in order to sound out their preoccupations and discuss with them so as to come to a correct decision together... A decision taken in this way mobilizes people, and any difficulties or obstacles which crop up will be overcome because the people understand the decision and see it as their own.”

—*Samora Machel*

The primary purpose of the democratic element of the independence struggle is to provide the material basis for the generation of struggles — to create contradictions and to resolve them — to feed consciousness, and to help to turn ideas, beliefs, concepts and convictions into material forces to be used to secure national independence and to facilitate the revolutionary development of new social relations.

The day-to-day struggles that are based on a revolutionary-democratic program help to pull the covers off of imperialism and neo-colonialism, as the people struggle to satisfy their needs while subject to the rule of settler-imperialist capital. Such struggles help to open the people's eyes to the need to rule themselves, particularly as the authority of the U.S. and its internal allies is de-legitimized. The people gain confidence in themselves, they acquire experience in organizing themselves to both oppose the enemy and to create a new way of life for themselves. They learn to stand up, to speak up, to analyze social situations and to determine causes; to plan and execute actions and to sum up the actions and apply the lessons to future actions.

A mass-based, national revolutionary-democratic program would actually become the basis for the ideological and theoretical unity of the nationalist movement, and the foundation for its coordinated action, i.e., the unity would actually result from the practice of those involved, and not upon mere words. A program spells out the basic aims of the struggle and the concrete tasks that relate to the immediate needs of the masses.

Having a program is necessary, but in itself insufficient. The program must be put into practice. Most nationalist organizations have articulated programs which are, essentially, revolutionary-democratic, i.e., they indicate a goal of national independence and revolutionary social development — to be achieved in the process of struggling with the people to satisfy their daily needs.

For example, check out the programs of the African Blood Brotherhood (which believed that "A [people] without a program is like a ship at sea without a rudder."); the early Nation of Islam; the Organization of Afro-American Unity; the Black Panther Party.

In describing the fundamental purpose of the BPP's "survival programs," Huey Newton put it this way:

We recognize that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time We have had such programs not only for survival, but for organizational purposes. Now We not only have a breakfast program for school children, We have clothing programs, We have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, We have programs for prisoners and their families, and We are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently We have begun a testing and research program on sickle-cell anemia, and We know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are blacks. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All of these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. This is why We call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded in a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level, then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of the oppressors.

Now, in 1968, nationalists of all kinds and from all points, met in Detroit, and on Sunday, March 31st, 500 of them ended a two-day convention by signing a Declaration of Independence, for themselves, “and for those who look to us but are unable personally to affix their signatures...” We could realistically look upon this Declaration as an act of war, because it announced its adherents as “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 upon us.” Moreover, those who met in Detroit and signed the Declaration also: 1) formally proclaimed the existence of the New Afrikan nation on the North American continent; 2) identified the nation’s territory; 3) created a “Provisional Government” and basic law for the nation.

i want to emphasize here that the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence also articulates a program — one that We need to begin looking upon as a national revolutionary-democratic program. It’s a program that all nationalists can unite around, as ideo-theoretical foundation, and as a platform of basic aims and tasks to be taken up in Afrikan communities, on a day-to-day basis. Let’s take a look at what the Declaration says are “the aims of our revolution”:

- To free [New Afrikan] 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 We can make it;
- To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service;
- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and the pursuit of God and/or destiny, place and purpose of humankind in the Universe will be without hindrance;
- To build [an independent] nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the

New Society, the New State Government, or achievement of the aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;

- To end exploitation of human beings by each other or the 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 understanding among all people in the society;
- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his or her natural rights;
- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state to assure the benefits of this earth and our 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.

Now, We should remember that the Declaration of Independence should draw all “nationalists” to it, i.e., it should serve as the basis for the ideological and theoretical unity of the nationalist movement. And, the aims (program) should be recognized as an articulation of the basic tasks set before all nationalists, i.e., all of the people of the nation.

The immediate tasks for the nationalist movement are those related to making the aims of the movement known to all of the nation’s people. This is agitation and propaganda; information and communication; it’s ideological and theoretical struggle and development. Ideally, We should have something about the aims of our revolution in every issue of every newspaper read by Afrikan people in the U.S. Not a week should go by without having a nationalist speak on every radio station listened to by our people — and not a week should go by without a nationalist on one or more of the *BET* programs. All kinds of stores frequented by our people should have various forms of literature, audio and video tapes, covering, from various angles, all of the aims of the

New Afrikan Independence Movement. The aims of the movement can and should be talked about in relation to any and all topical issues (e.g., welfare reform; the U.S. attack on Iraq; the need for parental leave legislation and no-cost day care facilities for working parents; what an increase in the minimum wage means, and what it doesn't mean, etc.)

Next, We must begin to ask how, and when, the aims of our revolution are to be pursued. That is, should We look upon them as aims to be taken up only "after the flag is raised," or must We begin now in our fight to realize them? I suggest that We must engage in battles every day, in all areas of life, as We aim to free ourselves from U.S. oppression and to prepare ourselves for the New Society.

If We start with the aim of 'supporting and waging the world revolution,' exactly how do We do this, on a daily basis, starting now? Of course, the conduct of our own struggle is part of this process — but how do We support the struggles of others? How do We challenge the U.S. in its attempts to intervene in the affairs of other nations and liberation forces — in its attempts to maintain and increase its exploitation of much of the world? Do We organize actions in support of Cuba and against the U.S. blockade? Do We encourage our people to understand and align themselves with revolutionaries in Mexico? Do We oppose the regimes in Nigeria and in Sudan, and support those that struggle against them?

When, and how, do We begin to build the New Society?

When do We begin to realize the aim of assuring for all people in the nation maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum? In fact, what is "maximum opportunity," and what is "equal access" to it? Is it free, life-long education and public control of all public educational institutions? Is it full employment with a guaranteed minimum income above subsistence level? Is it free and comprehensive medical care for all, and public control of all pharmaceutical and insurance companies?

When, and how, do We begin to promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service? To begin with, how do We define "industriousness"? Is the conscious New Afrikan that buys a BMW "industrious," and is this what We promote. Much has been made lately of figures showing that Afrikans in the U.S. had a collective gross income in 1995 of over \$324 billion — but this is \$324 billion that remains part of the U.S. economy. We must begin to promote and reward the kind of "industriousness" that leads toward the creation of, first, a "dual" or "contending" economy, and then a fully independent and distinct economy, complete with a currency that won't be dependent upon the value of the U.S. dollar.

The issue is, however, that We must begin now to exercise our creativity and initiative in devising ways to promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service. Starting where We are, with what We have, We can devise programs to single out examples of that kind of industriousness which serves the interests of New Afrikan people and the national independence struggle. We must begin to define "responsibility" in relation to the needs of our people and the aims of our revolution — and then We single out and reward those that demonstrate this responsibility. Hold a monthly ceremony; give them a plaque; put their pictures and stories on the front pages of our newspapers — establish committees among the people that will have the task of selecting from among the people on the block or in the neighborhood, those persons that have proven to be most industrious, most responsible, and of greater service to the nation, over the previous month or the previous six months. The nationalist movement should now be engaged in creative ways to promote and reward scholarship among the young and the old, male and female. How can We say that We need scholars, scientists, engineers and technicians in all fields, and yet We not go to seek out people to acquire these skills or, to put their existing skills to the service of the nation? If the CIA can have recruiting stations on college campuses, why can't the New Afrikan Independence Movement?

What's the bottom line? That We must learn how — and that We must begin — now — to link the aims of the New Afrikan Independence Movement to the daily reality of the lives of our people. They are engaged in economic, political and socio-cultural struggles day in and day out — but too few nationalists are in their midst.

9-3-96

Owusu Yaki Yakubu
(aka Atiba Shanna)

Spear & Shield Collective

Notes

(1) See **CROSSROAD**, Vol. 7#3 (October/November 1996), Spear & Shield Publications, 1340 West Irving Park Road -Suite 108, Chicago, IL 60613.

(2) Paraphrase of Fred Hampton, from the speech, "Power Anywhere There Are People." Three Speeches by Fred Hampton, *Vita Wa Watu, Book Eleven* (August 1987), Spear & Shield Publications.



“Racism” & the Class Struggle

As We approach 1997 class struggle is raging in the u.s. The welfare state is being dismantled — but only for the working class! Police terror is escalating east west north & south. We’re living in a time when one of the fastest growing sectors of the economy is prison construction and operation. To make it worse, private corporations like Corrections Corporation of America are driving the incarceration binge.

In the midst of this, the left is struggling over the definition of the problem. While some see “racism,” others see that the u.s. is an *empire*. They see an **oppressor nation of settlers (u.s.)** fighting to hold **oppressed nations as colonies** (*New Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, Mexican, and other indigenous nations*). In response to the oppressed nations struggles for self-determination, the u.s. oppressor nation looks for neo-colonial solutions. When the left fights to end “racism”, but denies the struggle for national liberation, this is a manifestation of class division on the left, because “racism” is a problem for the national bourgeoisie, and the struggle against “racism” is a struggle for a neo-colonial solution. On the other hand, the working classes are waging a struggle against imperialism, and for national liberation & socialism.

Of all the oppressed nations, the New Afrikan nation is critical to the maintenance of imperialism. New Afrikans are the largest oppressed nation in the empire but they have the most distorted understanding of their nationality. Consequently, the theories of the bourgeoisie have the greatest hold on New Afrikans, and the revolutionary project stalls — even though conditions seem ripe.

All the other oppressed nations’ lands have been absorbed by the u.s. empire, so they can point to what was stolen from them and stand on it to fight for it. For these oppressed peoples their space has a *name* that is universally recognized by their nationals, patriots and all progressive forces. On the other hand, New Afrikans were transported from their lands where their nationalities were understood; they were stripped of their various national identities, and this process was made easier by their loss of connection to territories in Afrika. The New Afrikan nation developed on land in the southeastern portion of what is presently known as the u.s. of a. Many New Afrikans who live outside this *national territory* are

descendants of economic and political refugees from the territory, victims of kkkklan terror & kkkcapitalist super-exploitation. The formation of a New Afrikan nation has taken place objectively, but imperialists and neo-colonialists have hindered and constantly attacked any & all subjective understanding of this fact.

The New Afrikan masses have historically struggled for a nationality and a nationalist solution (FREEDOM!!!)*, but the nation has rarely produced formations & organizations which have consistently applied a scientific approach to freeing the nation. The New Afrikan working class is struggling to become a class for itself, and progress is being made in this direction.

Re-Build!

hondo t’chikwa

(11/16/96)

(this paper was read at the Midwest Radical Scholars & Activists Conference, where We noted a distinct chill in the air!)

* — UNIA, NOI, BPP, RNA, VICE LORD NATION, HEBREW NATION, BLACK P-STONE NATION, AFRIKAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD, RAM, OAAU, DEACONS FOR DEFENSE, BLA, S.T.A.C., INMATES FOR ACTION, AACM, NEW AFRIKAN PRISONERS ORGANIZATION, NEW AFRIKAN WOMEN’S ORGANIZATION, A.M.E. CHURCH, AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH, OBAC, NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE’S ORGANIZATION, ETC....

References

• **Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal, books 1-7**, Spear & Shield Publications (SSP), 1340 West Irving Park Rd, suite 108, Chicago IL 60613. • **Vita Wa Watu**, SSP • **CROSSROAD** (newsletter), SSP • **Racism & the Class Struggle**, James Boggs • **The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey** • **Two Nations**, Andrew Hacker • **Settlers**, J. Sakai

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Tupac

If the blues was born 'behind the mule', rap was born in the unemployment line. In post-industrial amerika, the New Afrikan proletariat finds itself, as a comrad puts it, "between a crack rock and a hard place". Many of them see the expanding service sector jobs for what they are: low wage & dead end. This is in the aftermath of our first revolutionary surge since the civil war, a surge which wasn't simply put down, but which was (and continues to be) bought off.(1)

In the midst of this, along comes Tupac Shakur, child of revolutionaries & a revolution which failed to build and sustain a revolutionary movement.(2) Now that he has died tragically, every jackleg settler-journalist around the empire is busily gloating with crap like "he lived the thug life, he died the thug life."(3) These settlers use the bourgeois tactic of isolating phenomena and ignoring context - the facts of Tupac's parentage and upbringing become footnotes to these people. But We know that the struggle for land, independence & socialism is no footnote! We're not trying to look at Tupac uncritically, but this emphasis on the context in which he lived, the relationships he had & the content of his art is important for a true understanding of what this life meant.

We see Tupac as not so much a "gangsta rapper", but as a blues rapper, and a balanced look at his music & lyrics bears this out. When he said, "Don't shed a tear for me nigga, i ain't happy here"(4), this is how a lot of our people feel and have felt for a long time. Remember when Malcolm told us how our enslaved foreparents - the "field negroes" - felt about the idea of running away from amerikkka: "Anyplace is better than here". Tupac reflected the reality of amerika meaning pain & prison for New Afrikans: "It ain't easy bein' me, will i see the penitentiary or will i stay free?"(5) His 'thug life' persona tended to descend into lumpen glorification and hedonism - just two aspects of capitalist culture which We need to rid ourselves of (eg. '2 of amerikkka's most wanted', 'what's ya phone #?')(6) - but at his best, Tupac challenged us to face the fact that We're at a Crossroad: "(i'm) shakin' the dice, finna roll 'em; if you can't stand pain, better hold 'em — ain't no tellin' what you might roll, (you) might fold, catch

AIDS from a slight cold; but even when they kill me, they can never take the game from a young 'g'..."(7) 'Game' in this context is the ability to make a lasting impression - to leave this world changed as a result of your existence. When was the last time a death of a New Afrikan meant so much to so many? A youngblood told us, "man, Tupac is outta here, but he ain't dead!"

ReBuild!

hondo t'chikwa

Notes

(1) See *Vita Wa Watu*, Bk 8, "On The Transition of the 'Black Liberation' Phrase, Concept and Movement".

(2), See *Vita Wa Watu*, Bk 12, "Notes On Cadre Policy & Cadre Development, *On What It Means To Re-Build*"

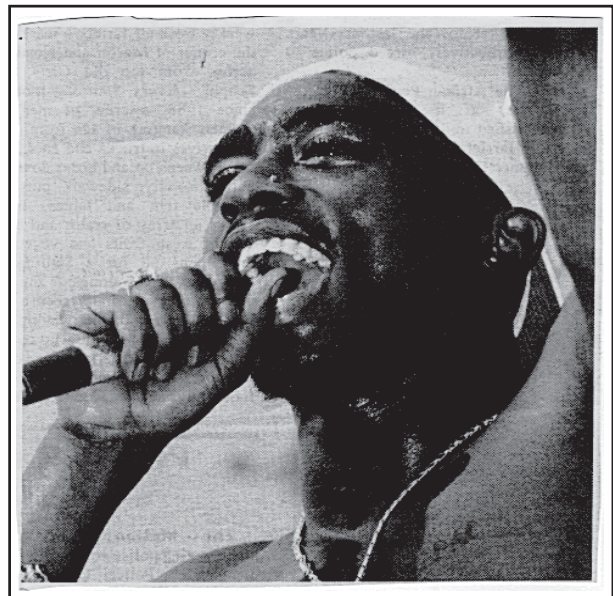
(3) Chicago Sun-Times, 9/15/96. Also, The Progressive Labor Party's headline was, "Tupac Was No Revolutionary", going on to say, "Why cry for Tupac Shakur? He was no hero." *Challenge*, September 25, 1996.

(4) *If i Die Tonight* from **Me Against the World** (1995).

(5) *It Ain't Easy (Being Me)*, *ibid.*

(6) from **All Eyez On Me** (1995/1996).

(7) *St8 Ballin'* from **Thug Life** (1994).



Tidbits From a New Afrikan Activists' Notebook

• Have you been car shopping lately? We took a comrad out recently and it was quite an eye-opener! When you see the newspaper ads, it looks so easy: "\$300 down, drive today!", "Bad Credit? We finance anyone!", "Buy a new car for only \$99 per month!*" The reality sinks in when you get to the carlot. If you're lucky & learn very quickly, you'll know that much of this advertising is more than simply misleading, it's criminal! We've talked to New Afrikans with 34% interest rates on \$7,000 car loans! People have driven cars away from these lots that have broken down in less than 2 days, with "as is" (no warranty) in their contract. We went to one lot where all the cars on the lot were "as is", but for a hefty fee, the dealer will sell the customer a service contract, but the car could then only be serviced at the dealer's in-house service department. Folks have been pressured into making purchases on terms that dealers know they cannot possibly maintain, and you can bet that the 'REPO Man' is definitely a reality! The funny thing is: as soon as you drive a new car off the lot, it "depreciates" drastically, meaning that you will have a hard time getting something close to what you paid for it, but if you see a relatively new car on a used car lot where the dealer is trying to sell it, then "depreciation" doesn't seem to be nearly as much of a factor!

• We had a chance to speak on "The Responsibilities of the New Afrikan Man" at the **Tranquility Marksman Community Center** in Cabrini Green recently to a group of young men in drug recovery. Our main emphasis was on this: "We have to be problem solvers!" For example, many of us know how to cause a wound, but how many can treat & heal a wound? We can tear stuff up, but how many can build in the face of ruin? Hammer a nail? Hang drywall? Put up insulation? Paint a house? Test an electrical circuit? How many of us strive to leave the community better than We found it? In this respect, We can learn something from the ruling class: when struggling to maintain power, it hates problems and moves posthaste to solve them — in one way or another — In Our struggle for power, DO WE HAVE THE SAME SENSE OF URGENCY???

• On October 17, We attended the monthly hearing of the Chicago Police Board in support of several victims of police murder/terror. Over a year ago, three members of the Chicago Police Department caused the death of **Jorge Guillen**, by asphyxiation - the officers beat him, then sat on him. His wife spoke to the board members about her continuing quest for justice, since none of the cops got more than a 20 day (later reduced to 3-5 days, then suspended!) suspension in the matter. On September 24, **Bilal Ashraf** was killed by members of the CPD when they accosted him at his home. According to the 10/1/96 edition of the Chicago Defender, "Kareem Muhammad, a friend of the deceased and a police officer, was on the scene at the time of the shooting and said witnesses told him that Ashraf never had a gun and that he was shot after surrendering." Finally, a member of the *Southside Black Panther Party* was victimized by police abuse when he, a Euro-American member of the *Revolutionary Communist Party*, and a neighborhood youth were standing in front of his home. Members of the CPD put the euro-american in the squad car while they stripsearched the New Afrikan, saying "so you're a militant, huh?" The board meets every third thursday at 7:30pm at the main police station at 11th & State Street; We strongly encourage members of the community to check out the proceedings from time to time. You'll see firsthand the

nonchalant manner of the board members as people tell gutwrenching stories of police terror and of their disillusion with those who are supposed to "serve and protect". • We also participated in the **National Day of Protest Against Police Brutality, Repression, and the Criminalization of a Generation**. We had a rally of 400 persons in downtown Chicago at the Daley Center/Plaza, where victims and family members of those who have died as a result of police terror told their stories. Then We marched to the main police station, stopping at the federal building and the INS (immigration & naturalization service) office along the way. Along the march route, We passed out a flyer with the following demands: **1) A government which will prosecute killer cops, 'repeater beaters', dope dealer cops and lying policepersons "to the fullest extent of the law!"**, **2) A minimum age of 18 (years) for adult prosecution!**, **3) An end to prison privatization!**, **4) No more random sweeps!**, **5) Equal sentences for crack & powder cocaine possession!**, **6) Shut down all control units!**, **7) Abolish the death penalty!**, **8) Free all Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War!**, **9) Jobs for ALL at a livable wage!**, **10) Affordable housing for ALL!**, **11) A maximum rate of 5% on ALL credit accounts!**, **12) Free education for ALL!**, **13) Free comprehensive health care for ALL!** (this last demand was inadvertently left off the flyer) • At the **Nkrumah-Washington Learning Center**, We had a chance to learn about concrete workings of the process of criminalization of today's youth. Youths spoke to us of how all their contact with police is documented, filed & subsequently listed as "criminal history," regardless of whether charged or convicted! Accusations (i.e., arrests) stay on file in the police computer. During routine checks (any random or traffic stops), this "information" then becomes an excuse for further harassment. Increasingly, young people are having a more difficult time when they attempt to get their juvenile records expunged (erased). On top of the obvious red tape and cost of legal assistance, "authorities" don't want to erase these records. Police also use a tactic known as a "secret indictment", where guilt by association is becoming institutionalized. Youth "on papers" can't register to vote either. It goes without saying that the moves to lower the age at which juveniles may be tried as adults is leading to the criminalization of a whole generation and people. • We were talking with a comrad recently, when he said, "For a glimpse of the concrete reality which the masses are faced with, look around your own home!" What kinds of struggles do We face 24-7? Utility Bills! Indentured Servitude (credit card bills with usury interest rates)! Check to check living! Drug dealing! Drug & alcohol addiction! Dangerous streets! Run-down housing! High-assed grocery bills! Laziness induced by watching too much TV watching! Bourgeois illusions & aspirations! • We attended part of the *National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement's* 5th annual convention recently, where African People's Socialist Party chairman **Omali Yeshitela** gave an interesting account of the recent events in St. Petersburg, Florida. In the aftermath, NPDUM has begun to work in coalition with other community organizations to push the following four demands: **1) Full prosecution of the 2 cops who murdered Tyron Lewis**, **2) Reparations to Lewis' family**, **3) Unconditional release of all arrested during the rebellion**, and **4) "Hands off the Uhuru Movement!"**. For more information, contact the NPDUM national office: 5409 S. Halsted, Chicago IL 60609; (773-924-7072). • Finally, We invite you to see Chicago; see Amerika! Take a two-mile drive (a walk is even better!) south on **Larrabee Street**, from Fullerton Avenue to Chicago Avenue.



Re-Build!

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**New Afrikan Social Development:
A Little Quiz**

- (1) Who was the first Minister of Culture in the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika?
- (2) Name three (3) of the Brothas who was rollin' with Denmark Vesey?
- (3) When & Where did the 'New Bethel Incident' take place? (Bonus: What were the circumstances of the incident?)

Answers next issue

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