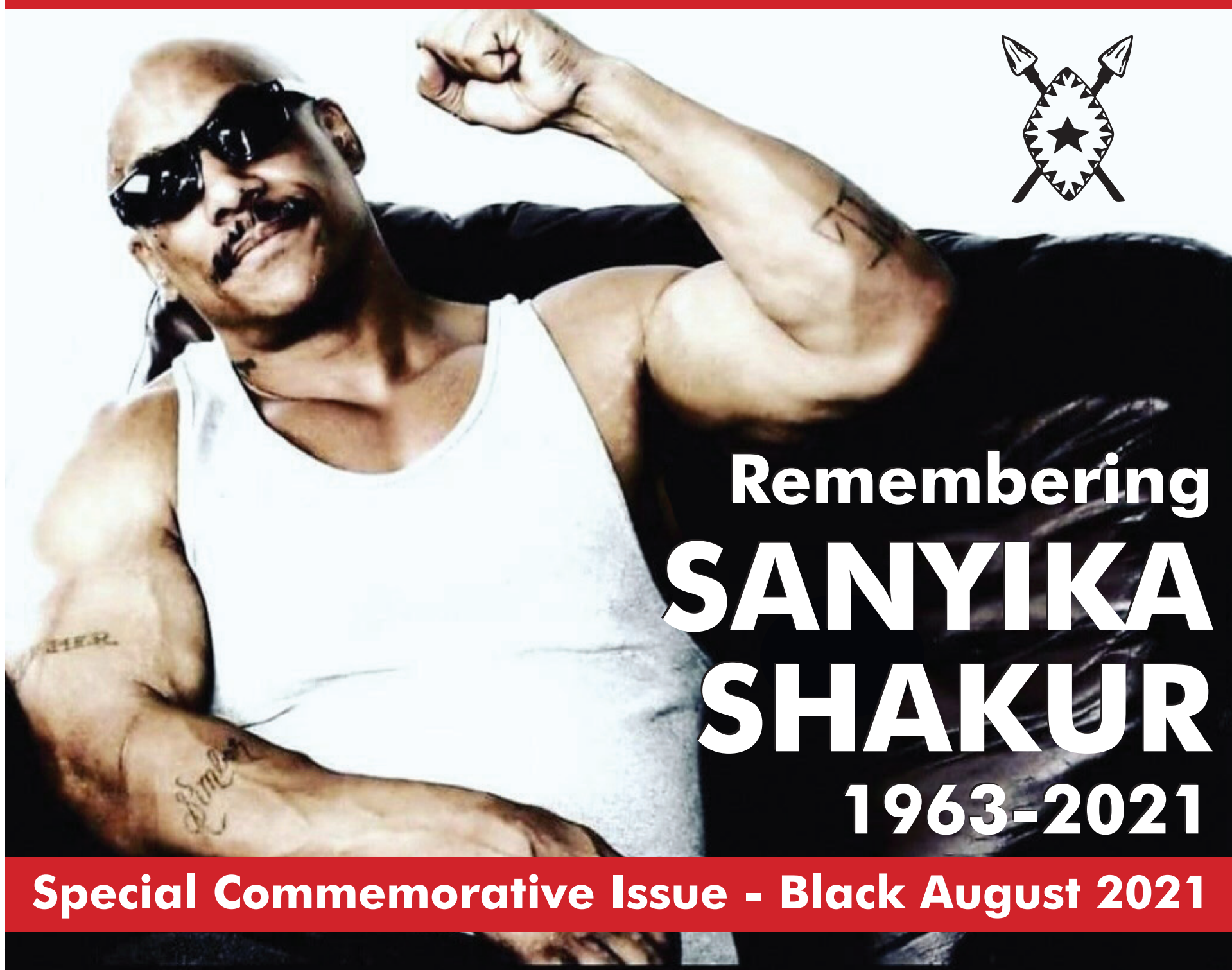


# Re-Build!



*A NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT* Periodical



Remembering  
**SANYIKA  
SHAKUR**  
1963-2021

**Special Commemorative Issue - Black August 2021**

# New Afrikan Creed

*i believe* in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black People, and in our renewed 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 for Us to use 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 the 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 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 the pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For i am, by the inspiration of our Ancestors and the grace of Our Creator a New Afrikan!*

## Re-Build Collective Points of Unity

1. We, the descendants of enslaved Afrikans under american rule, upon the mainland and in the Caribbean, are NOT americans but members of the New Afrikan Nation.
2. We recognize the ABSOLUTE EQUALITY of EVERY New Afrikan National, and OPPOSE ABSOLUTELY all forms of discrimination or oppression based upon sex, gender identity, sexual preference, or religion
3. We assert that the ONLY state that can claim, by right, the allegiance of ANY New Afrikan, is an Independent Republic of New Afrika
4. We are committed to building an Independent, Democratic, Socialist Republic of New Afrika upon our National Territory.
5. We recognize that the right of EVERY New Afrikan to live under the protection of a sovereign, independent New Afrikan government is ABSOLUTE, and cannot be extinguished by ANY duration of foreign rule, nor voted away by any majority of the moment.
6. We recognize, support and defend the RIGHT of New Afrikans to fight for the liberation of the National Territory by ANY MEANS NECESSARY.
7. We recognize that the american settler colonial project is illegitimate in its essence; and as such, the u.s. government has NO legitimate sovereign authority over any portion of OUR national territory nor ANYWHERE ELSE!
8. We recognize, support and defend 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 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.



## RE-BUILD COLLECTIVE STATEMENT

# On the Passing of Comrad Sanyika Shakur

We of the Re-Build Collective would like to express our sincere condolences to the family, friends, and comrades of Comrad Sanyika Shakur.

The news of your passing sent shockwaves of sorrow and grief through and beyond the New Afrikan Nationalist community.

Comrad Sanyika became a member of the Spear and Shield collective in the 1980s, after being introduced to the writings of New Afrikan Communist and theorist Atiba Shanna (Comrad Yaki).

As a member of the Spear and Shield Collective, Comrad Sanyika contributed significantly to the development and propagation of New Afrikan Communist thought, both inside and outside of the enemy's prison camps. Though best known outside of the movement for his best selling autobiography, San-

yika was also a contributing writer to *Crossroad: A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter*, which was put out by Spear and Shield Publications and was a forerunner to the New Afrikan Nationalist periodical *Re-Build!* Over the decades since becoming an active participant in the movement, he carried on correspondence with New Afrikan Nationalist activists and organizations throughout the empire, and fiercely defended the New Afrikan Independence Movement, against the slanders and the opportunism of those who, while coopting New Afrikan nationalist language, advanced arguments that would liquidate the struggle for land and independence.

He was never afraid of exposing ideological contradictions and confronting incorrect ideas head on. He was a champion of the pursuit of ideo-

logical clarity and the advancement of the correct political line. And though he could sometimes be more antagonistic in presenting an argument than We sometimes felt was necessary, the substance of his argument was always solid.

We encourage those who have become familiar with our Comrad from his autobiography, but are unfamiliar with his New Afrikan Independence Movement writings to take the time to get to know Sanyika Shakur the New Afrikan Communist. It is as a New Afrikan Communist that he made his greatest contribution to our Nation and it is as a New Afrikan Communist and Soldier that he would most like to be remembered.

The tragic passing of Comrad Sanyika reminds us of the urgency of taking the steps necessary to create a

movement with the capacity to fulfill the mandate bequeathed to us by the founders of New Afrikan Independence Movement in 1968: That We must Free the Land. That We must liquidate amerikan rule over our nation, before amerikan rule liquidates us.

Though he is no longer walking among us, long shall his memory live on within us, long shall his writings continue to inspire, and long may those of us who he left behind persist in the struggle to liberate our Nation from the grip of the Americans.

In Sanyika's memory, We rededicate ourselves to the slogan raised by Comrad Atiba Shanna to Re-Build to Win!

The Struggle is still for land and Independence and will remain so until freedom is achieved.

Free the Land! By Any Means Necessary!

## Transforming the Colonial Criminal Mentality: The Struggle Continues

*I met Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engels and Mao...and they redeemed me. For the first four years, I studied nothing but economics and military ideas. I met the black guerrillas, George "Big Jake" Lewis, and James Carr, W.C. Nolen, Bill Christmas, Tony Gibson and many others. We attempted to transform the black criminal mentality into a black revolutionary mentality.*

- George Jackson, Soledad Brother

Redemption.

The man We have come to know as The Dragon, the scourge of prison guards and the racist capitalist class, Comrade George Lester Jackson was not always that way. Petty thefts plagued his young life until he was sent to prison for his participation in an armed robbery that netted

less than \$100. At the time of his imprisonment, California had what was known as Indeterminate Sentencing. A person could be sentenced to from one year to life in prison. This was George's fate. He could have descended into the depths of madness and despair; or he could have continued his path as predator and parasite in a new location. But he was redeemed.

Sanyika Shakur, whose most recent book is *Stand Up. Struggle Forward: New Afrikan Revolutionary Writings on Nation, Class and Patriarchy*, was not always the "unifier of his people," or the "thankful one." Initiated into the gang life by partaking in a drive-by shooting at the age of 11, Shakur was recruited by the Eight Tray Gangsters, one of the more violent Crip "sets" in South Los Angeles. He took

on the name of "Monster" Kody Scott after "putting in work" – stomping a man and disfiguring his face during a robbery. For over 20 years "Monster" Kody put in work for his "set," wreaking havoc throughout South Los Angeles as a parasite and a predator – and inspiring copycats in the process.

"He had been in rebellion all his life; he just didn't know it."

Like George, Sanyika also found himself on the inside of prison cell. And, like George, Sanyika could have also descended into madness and despair; he could have also remained a parasite and a predator behind prison walls. But he chose redemption.

More correctly, redemption chose him.

Since our enslavement on these shores, the idea of redemption being

available to people of Afrikan descent, New Afrikans, has been consistently denied. Indeed, it has been posited that redemption for New Afrikan people is an impossibility, whether in a religious or social realm. Fortunately, New Afrikan people are not completely bound by white supremacist, capitalist patriarchal (il)logic. Ancestral memory of the quest for Kujichagulia – Self Determination – is available to each and every one of the descendants of Afrikans enslaved on these shores to those who choose to tap into it.

The path of Kujichagulia in its highest form has been blazed on these shores through the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM). This movement, which encompasses the Provisional Government of the Re-

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# Sanyika Shakur and the Importance of Self-Transformation in the Liberation Process

BY KWASI AKWAMU

*“A revolution is a phase in the long evolutionary process of man/woman. It initiates a new plateau, a new threshold on which human beings can continue to develop, but it is still situated on the continuous line between past and future. It is the result of both long preparation and a profoundly new, a profoundly original beginning. Without a long period of maturing, no profound change can take place. But every profound change is at the same time a sharp break with the past.”*

~Grace Lee Boggs, 2008

Like the vast majority of conscious New Afrikans, Sanyika Shakur was a revolutionary work-in-progress. He struggled for decades to transform himself into the New Afrikan he understood was essential to push our independence movement forward. For him, he knew that he had to overcome the entrenched criminal and colonial mentality that had characterized the bulk of his years. And despite his continued efforts at self-transformation, right up to the end of his days, he knew ‘class suicide’ wouldn’t come easy.

## BECOMING LUMPEN

To be born into the New Afrikan community is to be born as a member of the working class. Our people were captured and hauled into enslavement to fulfill the distinct role of a laboring class for settlers from Europe. After birth, our education and life experiences influence our individual development. Though we begin as proletarian (working class), our class loyalties and aspirations are prone to change, evolve, adapt.

After being bullied and beaten up, Sanyika joined a street organization

at age 11. For the next ten years, as he chronicled in his 1993 autobiography, *Monster: Autobiography of an L.A. Gang Member*, he’d “hear the sounds of clips being pushed in and weapons being cocked, screeching car tires, running feet, the hunted and the hunters, the sudden blasts of gunfire; to see the twisted, lifeless bodies, the wounded still trying to run or crawl, the yellow homicide tape being strung, the tears over a family’s lack of funds for a proper burial, the drugs, the alcohol, the angry faces—this process, the way of life for so many, repeated itself over and over. Two sides, each violently throwing itself against the other. These are the scenes that contributed to my awareness: a firsthand knowledge of life and death on the front lines of all-out war.”

But the dynamics weren’t merely limited to the self-destructive Los Angeles culture of street organizations (“gangs”). State oppression weighed heavily: “Add to this the fact that most of us grew up in an eighty percent New Afrikan community policed—or occupied—by an eighty-five percent American pig force that is clearly antagonistic to any male in the community, displaying this antagonism at every opportunity by any means necessary with all the brute force and sadistic imagination they can muster.”

Prior to his journey of transformation, Sanyika would evolve into a bonafide member of the lumpen-proletariat (“lumpen”), that individualistic and detached social non-class that operates outside legitimate society; they are neither employed nor seeking employment, rather they survive parasitically off the working class and each other.



***“Once i overstood the New Afrikan ideology and pledged my allegiance to the Republic of New Afrika’s independence, i began to see Crippling in a different light.”***

## CLASS SUICIDE

The words of slain prisoner and revolutionary George Jackson echoes throughout prisons across the empire, but more so in California where Sanyika was situated. He and countless others had heard the call from George “to transform the criminal mentality into a revolutionary mentality.”

Sanyika understood the need for transformation. Like Malcolm X, George Jackson and Martin Sostre before him, he was renewed in the struggle. From a leading member of the Crips, he would eventually begin to question and evaluate his behavior and his life’s mission.

“i learned [while in captivity] about how our situation in this country was that of an oppressed nation, colonized by capitalist-imperialists,” he wrote in

his autobiography. “The science was strong and precise. i saw then that all the talk of the C-Nation was actually an aspiration of our nationalistic reality. Once i overstood the New Afrikan ideology and pledged my allegiance to the Republic of New Afrika’s independence, i began to see Crippling in a different light. There was a faction in C.C.O. [Consolidated Crip Organization] at the time claiming to be revolutionary Crips, but this was contradictory and could not be attained without transforming the criminal ideology of Crip and its relation to the masses of people.”

It was through his correspondence with Owusu Yaki Yakubu, and continued study of revolutionary New Afrikan communism, that helped Sanyika make his intellectual breakthrough

and helped him understand that, as a lumpen, he had to overcome both a criminal and a colonial mentality. That in order to effect a revolution in society that his own transformation – from working class to lumpen to working class – was central to that process.

“My initial efforts,” Sanyika wrote in *Crossroad* in 2004, “...were driven by selfish motives. i wanted to be part of the destruction of the empire, but not a builder of the people. i wanted to transport my violent, criminal ways into the Movement to get back at the police for having locked me up all those years. i was angry, totally caught up in the riot stage of mental development...i wasn't trying, nor was i aware of having to commit class suicide. i didn't really overstand to what degree i'd been criminalized. Didn't have any class consciousness, thus wasn't aware of having to put one to death while birthing another.”

‘Class suicide’ is a concept introduced by Amilcar Cabral during the revolutionary armed struggle that won national independence for Guinea-Bissau in 1974. Cabral argued that it was necessary for the petit-bourgeois (which applies equally to the lumpen), “to truly fulfill the role in the national liberation struggle...must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong.”

### TRANSFORMATION IS A PROCESS

Transformation is dialectical and is subject to the two-line struggle. It can go either way, backwards or forward, it can be reactionary or revolutionary. Even in the pursuit of a revolutionary transformation there is always the risk of deviation from the path forward hence the constant need for revolutionary criticism and self-criticism.

Similar to many lumpen who choose

the revolutionary path, Sanyika never completed this stage in his revolutionary development.

The lumpen, like the petty bourgeois, who sincerely desire to effectively engage in the independence movement must commit class suicide, must undergo a thorough revolutionary transformation. In many ways, the lumpen can see oppression more intimately than other classes, but their lumpen orientation situates them *against* rather than *in alignment with* the interests of New Afrikan people. Like the petty-bourgeois, the lumpen class has higher aspirations, and these aspirations often conflict with the interests of the people. It is easy to romanticize this class, but its members have serious internal work to do before we can legitimately identify them as revolutionary.

While rarely discussed, Huey Newton was lumpen, too. He remained lumpen throughout his leadership of the BPP. He cultivated a rich understanding of revolutionary theory but never abandoned the street culture. Despite his correctly identifying the capitalist system as the primary source of New Afrikan oppression and exploitation, Huey incorrectly identified the lumpen as part of the proletariat, which, if true, would negate any need for class suicide, for an ongoing transformation. Unsurprisingly, he exploited his position to extract taxes from the streets (while tolerating their continued exploitation of the New Afrikan community), used hard drugs, pistol whipped Party members, and began operating in a very dictatorial manner.

At the helm of a major revolutionary organization, Huey didn't see the contradiction between established Party rules and his personal practice. Inside the community, the Panthers were widely respected but many elders – who were often deeply religious

– were alienated as they took offense to the loose profanity members used while condemning the oppressor pigs. As brilliant as he was, not overcoming his lumpen class orientation contributed to the Party's collapse. We often attribute the destruction of the Black Liberation Movement to COINTELPRO, but the government is always keen to exploit preexisting weaknesses in our armor. In the words of George Jackson, We often make it easy for the enemy to defeat us.

In September 2019, in a podcast interview at Solano State Prison before his final release from captivity, Sanyika admitted that he “never got the disease of addiction under control. From ‘84 to 88’ i'm in prison. i get out, i go right back to the ‘hood. Right back to what's popular, and at that time what was popular was cocaine. So i got on that just like before i had gotten on PCP”

One of the reasons Sanyika failed at class suicide was his inability to de-link himself from his lumpen roots. Yaki, in describing the transformation of Malcolm X, noted that “change would more likely occur if imprisoned New Afrikans are encouraged and assisted by individuals, groups, or a community seeking to make them part of a collective process of redemption and progressive social development.”

This leads us to another reason why Sanyika had problems completing his transformation. In prison he had begun his transformation within the C.C.O., and he broke from the set with the understanding that “to continue banging would be a betrayal first of my children, who now depend on me for guidance, morals and strength,” but also “betrayal... of all of those who have been killed in the past, who fought so hard for our freedom...”

Upon his release from prison, in both 1988 and 1994 there were no New Afrikan revolutionary organizations waiting to absorb the fighting spir-

it of neither Sanyika nor others like him. He had to start from scratch, attempting to organize the August Third Collective – whose name was a thinly disguised play on his former gang-affiliation, Eight Tray Crips. “[A]midst a sea of antagonists, skeptics, and obdurate onlookers,” he would soon get sidetracked in survival mode before he could successfully build it out.

Sanyika had additional challenges, such as the instance he was banned from Los Angeles and was sent to San Diego County to complete his parole. Having been organized since a pre-teen, in the absence of an activated revolutionary organization, he could never fully transition from his parasitic comfort zone.

### PERPETUAL TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER

It is common these days to refer to the devastating impact from the legacy of slavery on the mental state of New Afrikan people. Continuous experiences with oppression, exploitation and degradation fosters various levels of individual and collective trauma, disfiguring the personality.

The American Psychological Association refers to post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) as “a psychiatric disorder that may occur in people who have experienced or witnessed a traumatic event such as a natural disaster, a serious accident, a terrorist act, war/combat, or rape or who have been threatened with death, sexual violence or serious injury.” Taking that definition further, Dr. Joyce DeGruy, identified distinctive traits in New Afrikans that trace as far back as our colonial bondage (“slavery”), referring, instead of PTSD, to post-traumatic slave syndrome (PTSS) as “a condition that exists as a consequence of multigenerational oppression of Africans and their descendants resulting from centuries

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of chattel slavery. A form of slavery which was predicated on the belief that [New Afrikans] were inherently/genetically inferior to whites. This was then followed by institutionalized racism which continues to perpetuate injury.”

Our New Afrikan comrades Quincy and Cinque make a leap in noting that there is nothing ‘post’ about the stress or slavery disorder affecting New Afrikan people. They redefine PTSD as Perpetual Traumatic Stress Disorder.

It was this aspect of Sanyika’s journey that haunted his 57 years. Even as he pursued transformation, to abandon his lumpen identity, all the triggers to Sanyika’s perpetual trauma – intensified by his long-time immersion in extremely violent lumpen behavior – surrounded him. He couldn’t manage to escape it. And because he didn’t have a functional organization to offer him the necessary support to stay the course he started in prison, he constantly relapsed.

The drug addictions that he fell victim to were no different than the various forms of self-medication that takes place in oppressed populations around the globe. For Sanyika, his addictions began as a gang-banger, getting amped before a ‘job’ and calming one’s nerves afterwards. His conflicts were comparable to full-scale military excursions. And like countless New Afrikans who returned from combat in Vietnam with heroin addictions, Sanyika and others from the street culture immersed themselves in narcotics as a balm for the pain. “i was doing such terrible things,” he said in 2019, “that i had begun to not like me.”

Not to overplay the impact of life-long trauma, We must not forget that Sanyika was neither an ordinary civilian, nor an ordinary prisoner. He spent many years in the Pelican Bay

SHU (Special Housing Unit), a super-max prison facility allegedly designed for “worst of the worst” offenders. Sanyika was sent there following a parole violation. Prisoners held in isolation for lengths of time in these SHUs are usually there for political reasons and are known for suffering a range of social and sensory deprivation issues from that experience.

“Pelican Bay, over the years since ’89, has taken its toll on me,” Sanyika confided in an interview with Kerplebe Publishing following his 2012 parole. “And i didn’t really recognize it until this time when i got out, that i picked up a few OCDs – ‘Obsessive Compulsive Disorders.’ i’m meticulous about cleaning. i have anxiety issues. i can’t sleep a lot of times throughout the week; i sleep maybe two days in a row good, and the other five days, they’re up and down erratic sleeping patterns. i respond to loud sounds. i have a fear of crowds. Fast moving objects, bright colors tend to disorientate me.”

Not only was the conditions of his incarceration political, but so was his parole: “My conditions of parole, of course, are all political. i was kicked out of Los Angeles county and dropped off in San Diego. i got an ankle bracelet on, a GPS, they can see everywhere i go. i got forty four special conditions of parole: things as small as i can’t hitchhike, i can’t have a mask on Halloween, i can’t have surveillance equipment. It’s a myriad of forty four special conditions. Let me say this: when i was a criminal, i went to prison two times for shooting several people. Each time i got out for shooting several people, i had four conditions: no guns, no drugs, no gangs, can’t travel 50 miles from my parole agent. This time a carjacking, a piece of steel that was deprived from an idiot: forty four special conditions. Aside from the four i already have, so actually it’s forty eight, an ankle bracelet and kicked out

of the county of Los Angeles. L.A. was fine when i was shooting people, L.A. was fine when i was Monster Kody, L.A. was fine when i was selling drugs, using drugs. That was all good with L.A.. But when you become a revolutionary, you become a threat – and not to the institutional security of a prison but to the institution of capitalism.”

### NO CHANGE WITHOUT CHANGE

Despite any shortcomings attributed to him, Sanyika was a courageous warrior and a sharp theoretician, whose original contributions remain extremely relevant to the independence movement.

Unlike Huey before him, Sanyika understood the need for transformation of the lumpen to proletariat. In 2004, he wrote in CROSSROAD that “...class suicide is another one of those phrases evoking an image of the putting to death of an old way of life while simultaneously (dialectically) constructing a new way of living. That’s the image, almost as if it were an event. Something to do now & with immediate results. But class suicide is no event, it is a process. Itself a way of life.”

Hence the need to emphasize this ongoing, critical need for organized groups that can absorb released New Afrikans who began the transformation process behind the barbed wire, and serve as a source of support for broader efforts of individual and collective transformation within the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Many young people are awakening, some becoming activists around issues affecting New Afrikan quality of life. But there remains very little discussion around the need for overcoming the colonial mentality, or for identifying active traits of the Perpetual Traumatic Stress Disorder that must be overcome as We make our great leap

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## SANYIKA ON STUDY & STRUGGLE

**INTERVIEWER:** What were some of the books you studied?

**SANYIKA SHAKUR:** When i first came to the kamps in 1985, i couldn’t really read, perhaps on a fifth grade level. i had no real comprehension. And certainly i couldn’t write. See, i need to explain this: In the subculture of bangin’, it wasn’t about being literate or articulate, and it wasn’t about books or academia. It was about action—war—about being physical and macho, dig?

So once i found myself in the hole at San Quentin in 1986, i was stuck because here i was this OG dude, you know, with major street clout and a growing prison rep, but i couldn’t read, comprehend or write. So i had to face that, had to confront that, and either go around, you know, or deny it. Or challenge it and resolve it.

And luckily for me, i had cats around me who were interested in growth and development, on an intellectual level. Oh, don’t get me wrong, i tried to buffalo my way through at first. i tried to fake it, but the Brothas wasn’t letting me off the hook that easy.

So, once i got my reading and comprehension up to par, i started reading what was on the tier—books that were in circulation. i had no funds to order my own books, so i had to read what was available. This was the staple material—Soledad Brother, Blood in My Eye, Wretched of the Earth—and there was the Burning Spear newspaper of the African Socialist Party.

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## THE STRUGGLE, cont'd from page 3

public of New Afrika (PG-RNA), the New Afrikan Peoples' Organization, the Spear and Shield Collective and numerous other formations, exists to wrest control of land – the five states known as Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina known as New Afrika (the colonized nation of Afrikans) – from the imperialist control of the United States, an illegitimate, settler-colonial entity, and establish true political, economic and social self-determination for the more than 40 million NuAfrikans that reside within this empire. This movement intends to make its contribution to the worldwide struggle against imperialism and capitalism in a real and meaningful way.

This movement, this struggle, is where Sanyika Shakur found his purpose. Putting down his AK-47 and other assorted weaponry that he had become proficient in on the streets of South Los Angeles, it was through the picking up of books and pens, similar to Comrade George, which allowed Sanyika to experience his new-found redemption.

The gang and the prison have been Sanyika's secondary and undergraduate centers of education since, for all intents and purposes, his school days were over the night he went on that drive-by in 1974. Like countless others before him, Sanyika immersed himself in a variety of books and genres and educated himself, deepening his understanding of the world and the various forces at play in it and sharing that understanding, as well as his personal narrative of gang life, through writing.

Writing, similar to Comrade George, has allowed Sanyika to share his gift with the rest of us. And it is truly a unique gift.

His latest collection of writings is not a comprehensive collection; it does not contain much of Sanyika's older material. What it does contain are his most recent writings as well as an interview. Thus, what We have before us are his most advanced thoughts on the existence of the NuAfrikan Nation; the need for continuous study; socialism; and the need for NuAfrikans in particular to examine and combat patriarchy, homophobia and heterosexism as part of the NuAfrikan national liberation struggle.

Also included here is the transcript of an interview with Sanyika. He goes into as much detail as he can about the times that he has been captured – returned to prison – since he first wrote *Monster: The Autobiography of an L.A. Gang Member*. The

## 'Monster' No More: amerikkka's Nightmare

*"i think back to when i wuz robbin' my own kind/the police didn't pay it no mind/But when i started robbin' them white folks/now i'm in the pen with the soap-on-a-rope..."*

~ice Cube

Sanyika Shakur was a comrad. He embraced and bathed in the struggle for land, independence & socialism. The New Afrikan Independence Movement is a movement of the whole people 'from independence back to independence' – before We were captured & brought to these shores, our people were on their own independent historical path. European intervention & enslavement interrupted that path, & it is our historical mandate to get back to it. An independent Republic of New Afrika will have much to offer to the world, not to mention its own citizens! We all know the ills that are the direct result of us not having control over our own lives, because they are manifested in all aspects of our lives. They are plain for everyone to see.

Our historic struggle took a great leap forward in the past six decades when over 100 cities exploded in rebellion. As is to be expected, our oppressors adopted counter measures to stop our stride toward freedom. The explosion in the prison populations which took place in the 70s, 80s, 90s, & on into the new millenium tracks

with amerikkka's persistence in denying New Afrikan self-determination. Concentration kamps sprung up all over the empire, and the prison population typically reflects the colonial population of the surrounding area.

New Afrikans like Sanyika, Yaki, Malcolm & countless others came out of the kamps. They struggled to transform themselves in order to become productive change agents to assist us in getting out of this mess that We're in. The challenge that comrad George laid before us remains the same, and it will be so until New Afrikan people attain freedom. amerikkka may have made a monster, but when We build out our people's sense of identity, purpose & direction, We will have nightmares no more.

*"What prevents hood forces from systematic, i.e., organized & sustained combat, is the colonial mentality. This mentality sees the state and its operatives as legitimate & reflects upon itself as not. Thus, ultimately the lumpen submits to the legitimate authority" and allows the state to carry out its function -- which is to dominate, oppress & exploit."*

~Sanyika Shakur, "Class Contradictions Inside the Fundamental Contradiction of National Oppression" in *Stand Up Struggle Forward* (2013)

**Re-Build!**

record of his interactions with law enforcement shows the political nature of these captures, as Sanyika states "... i haven't committed a criminal act against a working-class person since i was a member of a street organization. Since i've been a member of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, a Conscious Citizen of the Republic of New Afrika, i've committed no transgressions against any proletariat, any working-class person, student or elder."

We are also given in this interview a glimpse into what it is like to live in a "torture chamber": the Secure Housing Unit (SHU) at Pelican Bay State Prison.

As of this writing, upwards of 30,000 men held in prisons across the state of California are engaged in a Hunger Strike, the second such one in two years,

to call attention to the torturous conditions of solitary confinement in these SHUs and the arbitrary and capricious ways that place prisoners in these torture chambers in the first place.

In this interview, Sanyika informs us of the types of prisoners that are routinely assigned to the SHUs and their alleged transgressions, which, he says, is intended for one thing – to break and mind-warp prisoners ... the members of our families, our communities.

The "Unifier of his People" speaks to us. His words admonish us to wake up and remove the crust of neo/colonialism from our eyes and see our reality as it truly is: an oppressed nation whose salvation lays not in the election of a Black emperor to sym-

**Cont'd on Pg. 8**

# STATEMENT FROM THE AUGUST THIRD COLLECTIVE

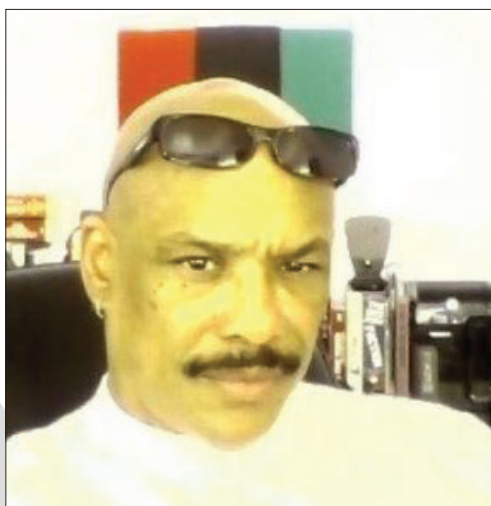
## On the Transition of Comrad-Brother Sanyika Shakur

On behalf of The August Third Collective Cadre & New Afrikan People's Liberation Army, we send our deepest heartfelt condolences and love to the Scott-Shakur family on the untimely passing of our comrade brother and founder Sanyika Shakur. Our brother Sanyika will be dearly missed.

A revolutionary thinker, writer, organizer, and visionary, Sanyika founded The August Third Collective Prison Chapter behind the prison walls in what we know as the gulag SHU (security housing unit) Pelican Bay State Prison which he would later re-organize outside the prison walls as The August Third Communist Organization in the 2010s. In the 2000s Brother Shakur would also Co-found The NAPLA Prison Chapter with other Comrades carrying on The Legacy of The BLA. Sanyika would also

carry on the work of his of Mentor Owusu Yaki Yakubu/Atiba Shanna as a New Afrikan Communist which is reflected in his book *Stand Up Struggle Forward: New Afrikan Revolutionary Writings on Nation, Class and Patriarchy*.

And Our brother comrade spent years in prison as a New Afrikan Political Prisoner but never giving up the struggle to organize and politicize brothers behind the walls and brothers and sisters outside the walls especially our younger brothers in street organizations. Example of this was in 1993



when brother Sanyika tried to organize a organization Called The Clandestine Revolutionary Internationalist Party of Soldiers (Crips) which was the predecessor of The August Third Collective.

Sanyika was also one of the first prisoners to receive an indeterminate SHU term in the newly opened supermax Pelican Bay state prison in 1989 for the claims of being a threat to institutional security and cited for having writings of George Jackson. In 2008, he was given six years in SHU in San Quentin for simply writing Black August in a letter. Just some

examples of state repression and his relentless struggles against the state.

Sanyika was a tireless long distance runner, a revolutionary nationalist thinker for the New Afrikan Independence Movement. His sacrifice and constant struggle of transformation should never be forgotten and used as inspiration for future revolutionaries. This is not a goodbye to our dear brother comrade but a see you later as We carry on your legacy and the work in this protracted struggle for Independence, Land and Freedom. As our Comrade Brother would say Stand Up, Struggle Forward is The Call!

*Long Live Sanyika Shakur!*

*Long Live the August Third Collective!*

*NAPLA! NAIM!*

**Haki Kweli Shakur**

National Spokesman,

August Third Collective

### THE STRUGGLE, cont'd from Pg. 7

bolically rule the empire, but in the breaking up of empire, the dismantling of it, and thereby not only freeing 40-plus million descendants of enslaved Afrikans, but also making a necessary and invaluable contribution to the re-building of a better people and a more just and better world.

But there is more.

Through his writings, Sanyika Shakur smashes the lie that redemption is unavailable to NuAfrikan people. Not only is it available to those of us who seek it out, it is waiting for us ... waiting for us to recognize that We have been chosen to be redeemed.

Asante Sana, Sanyika Shakur, for illuminating this truth for us.

**Re-Build! Free The Land!**

**THANDISIZWE CHIMURENGA**

Black August 2013

Los Angeles, CalifAztlan

### STUDY, cont'd from Pg. 6

But let me say this, i didn't really know how to study at that time. i was reading the material and emotionally attaching myself to what i could overstand. i hadn't yet fully overstood the extent to which i'd need to go in order to transform my criminal, colonial mentality into a revolutionary mentality, dig? That's a serious point there, because without knowing the extent to which you are contaminated by criminality and colonialism, one will not overstand the extent of struggle required to cleanse, dig?

At that stage, in '86 in San Quentin, i just thought

### Self-Transformation cont'd from page 6

towards New Afrikan independence.

In an interview published in his book, *Stand Up Struggle Forward* (2013), Sanyika, in a moment of self-reflection, noted that "...without knowing the

revolution was physical violence. i thought We'd only need to gather enough people together in order to get free. i had an ill notion about what We were trying to get free from, and, further, to get free to? That is, i didn't truly overstand capitalism, imperialism or colonialism. Nor did i overstand self-determination or socialism. i thought We were fighting against racism. i didn't begin to overstand what was really going on until i learned how to study and then attained the material that corresponded with my reality.

*(From 2011 interview published in STAND UP, STRUGGLE FORWARD, by Sanyika Shakur, 2013)*

extent to which you are contaminated by criminality and colonialism, one will not overstand the extent of struggle required to cleanse, dig?"

We got much work to do, in society, the Movement, and ourselves!

**Let's Re-Build!**