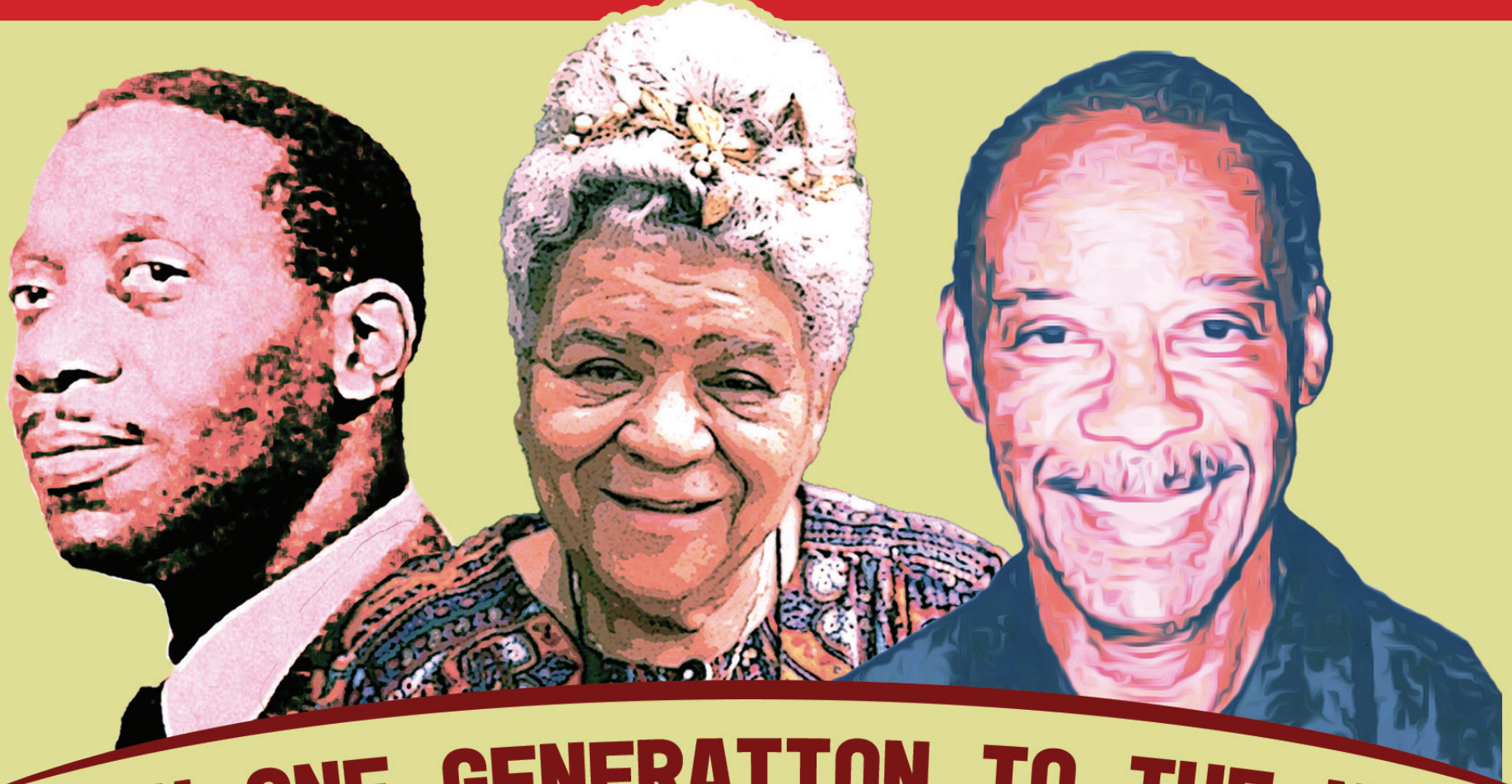


Re-Build!



A SPECIAL THEORETICAL & IDEOLOGICAL ISSUE



**FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT
UNTIL INDEPENDENCE IS WON!**

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NEW AFRIKAN CREED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

i will follow my chosen leaders and help them.

i will love my brothers and sisters as myself.

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

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

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

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

WHO WE ARE

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

POINTS OF UNITY

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

NEW AFRIKAN COMMUNISM

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Re-Build Collective is a New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist formation committed to securing land, independence, and socialism for our people. Since our inception in 2018, We have seen ourselves as part of the ongoing tradition of New Afrikan Communism; one of several ideological tendencies within the broader New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM). Given the relative obscurity of both the NAIM and our particular ideological orientation, this piece will serve as a brief introductory overview to provide historical context and clarity.

The New Afrikan quest for self-determination has existed since the genesis of our nation, born from the forced convergence of many distinct African peoples into one. Our ancestors, captured and forcibly transported to mainland North America for enslavement, refused to accept bondage as fate. Their desire for self-determination was expressed in countless acts of resistance, from everyday acts of defiance to large-scale insurrections that erupted throughout colonial and antebellum America.

The American Civil War of 1865 and its conclusion stand as a crucial turning point in the development of the New Afrikan nation. Contrary to the colonial historical narrative of this being a war that 'freed the slaves,' the war's significance lies in the fact that it represented a qualitative shift in the u.s.mode of production from chattel slavery to industrial capitalism.

Accompanying this change in

the u.s.economic structure was a change in the status of New Afrikans. Bourgeois history propagates that New Afrikans went from chattel slaves to citizens. However, We as New Afrikan nationalists understand that our status shifted from slaves to colonial subjects of the u.s.empire. This change is illustrated in the negation of Sherman's Special Field Order 15 and the 14th Amendment.

Sherman's Special Field Order 15, issued on January 16, 1865, resulted in part from a conversation between Union General William T. Sherman and leaders of the New Afrikan community in Savannah, Georgia, where they advocated for land upon which our people could build a future. The order called for the redistribution of confiscated Confederate land to "newly freed" New Afrikans. The land in question was a continuous strip along the Atlantic coast, stretching from Charleston, South Carolina, to the St. Johns River in Florida, including the coastal sea islands.

Importantly, the order not only called for land redistribution but also stated that "on the islands and in the territories hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress." Thus, New Afrikans would have had a level of autonomy they had not

known since enslavement.

The land, approximately 400,000 acres, was to be divided into 40-acre parcels, giving rise to the now-famous New Afrikan phrase of "40 acres and a mule." The land promised to New Afrikans under Sherman's Order totaled 625 square miles and would have only needed to accommodate the "freedmen" then present in the aforementioned region. No similar order was issued concerning our people in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, or Alabama. Nevertheless, while wholly insufficient for national liberation, the order represented a tangible opportunity for New Afrikans to begin building a national foundation on land We could ostensibly call our own.

However, months after the assassination of President Lincoln in April of 1865, President Andrew Johnson revoked Sherman's Order. Nearly a year afterwards, the u.s.government ratified the Reconstruction Amendments, of which the 14th is of primary importance. The first line of the amendment reads: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." Thereby, in direct opposition to the proto-nationalist desires for land and autonomy expressed by New Afrikans, We were unilaterally placed under the jurisdiction (i.e., colonial bondage) of the u.s.

The proto-nationalism expressed by the community leaders of Savannah was neither a new nor a rare sentiment among New Afrikans. It represented a popular tendency that began to intensify as the abolition of chattel slavery became more imminent.

History records that as early as 1852, Martin Delaney, in *The Condition and Destiny of Colored People of the U.S.*, had declared enslaved Afrikans to be a "nation within a nation" akin to the "Irish in British dominions."

Delaney even recognized the need for land, searching as far and wide as the Caribbean, South America, and West Africa for a place New Afrikans could call home. Delaney's nationalist foundation would be built upon in the first quarter of the 20th century by the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), the first "Black"(New Afrikan) nationalist communist organization.

In 1918, the ABB's founder, Cyril Briggs, published an article in *The Crusader* titled "The American Race Problem," asserting that the solution to Jim Crow was "nothing more or less than independent, separate existence—government of the (Negro) people, for the (Negro) people and by the (Negro) people." He further argued that ownership and control of large and resource-rich territories were essential to securing our people's survival, political equality, justice, and full development.

A decade later, this position would be developed further in the "Black Belt Thesis," a theory primarily authored by Harry Haywood, another ABB member. Its key contribution was identifying the "Black Belt" region of the u.s.as the homeland of New Afrikan people, of which We had the right to claim and struggle for. A primary inspiration for the thesis was Vladimir Lenin's 1915 work, "Draft Theses on the National Colonial Question," where he recognized the distinct nationality of "American Negroes" (New Afrikans) rooted in our shared yet unique relation to u.s.capitalism.

Lenin called upon the international socialist movement to support the liberation of our nation, amongst other oppressed nations. Consequently, in 1928, the Communist International officially adopted support for our right to self-determination and an independent republic in the 'Black Belt' as policy, following the Sixth Congress's approval of the 'Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States.' Though never genuinely supported by the majority of its Euro-American members, the u.s. Communist Party officially adopted this position until it was formally repudiated at its 17th National Convention in 1959.

The development of the ABB, as well as the New Negro Movement and the Harlem Renaissance, did not occur in a vacuum. All emanated from the massive relocation of New Afrikan people within the u.s. empire. During the First World War, New Afrikans began a mass exodus from the rural South to the burgeoning urban centers of the North; a process widely known as the "Great Migration." But from a New Afrikan nationalist's perspective, New Afrikans in northern cities should be understood not as migrants, but as refugees who fled their national territory due to the persecution, massive land theft, and naked terrorism, sanctioned by the colonial governments of the southern states.

New material conditions in the north ushered in a new epoch of struggle marked by growing transformation in the national consciousness of New Afrikans. By the 1960s, as the limitations of the Civil Rights Movement became increasingly apparent, the so-called "Black Power Movement" began to take center stage, reflecting the

resurgence of nationalist aspirations as the dominant tendency amongst New Afrikan people. Perhaps the person most pivotal to, and symbolic of, this shift was Malcolm X.

An ideological forefather of the NAIM, Malcolm had spread the gospel of land and independence for New Afrikans far and wide. Moreover, his espousal of self-defense and militancy inspired several organizations that would take a nationalist line; the most notable being the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP), and the Black Liberation Army (BLA). Each of these organizations, to varying degrees, espoused both socialist and nationalist politics that furthered the liberation struggle of New Afrikans.

The RAM leadership in particular was heavily influenced by the legendary New Afrikan Communist Queen Mother Moore, who served as a mentor to its National Field Chairman Muhammad Ahmed (then known as Max Stanford). Harry Haywood, who was expelled from the u.s. Communist Party in 1959 (the same year it repudiated its position on self-determination for the "Black Belt"), also had a relationship with members of RAM and RAM-affiliated organizations and publications in California.

Nonetheless, We believe the most significant development of the 1960s was the birth of the NAIM. In March of 1968, at the "Black Government Conference" held in Detroit, roughly 500 activists and organizers met to discuss the fate of the "captive Black nation." Out of this convention came the naming of our nation as the Republic of New Afrika, a formal declaration of national independence, and the establishment

of a provisional government. This marked a pivotal moment of self-actualization, giving concrete form to a long-standing nationalist tendency that, until then, had existed without a clearly defined political objective.

The NAIM would give birth to a range of organizations committed to national liberation, including the New Afrikan Prisoners' Organization, the New Afrikan People's Organization, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, the Spear and Shield Collective, and the Re-Build Collective. These organizations, among others, would carry the NAIM into the 21st century, keeping the struggle for land and independence alive.

Of the above-mentioned organizations, the Spear and Shield Collective would assume the task of advancing the struggle for land and independence from an overtly communist perspective. Though other organizations in the NAIM identify as communist today, the Spear and Shield Collective has played the most historically significant role in raising the banner of New Afrikan Communism.

An outgrowth of the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization, Spear and Shield would attempt to fill the void left by the ABB, after its tragic decision to collapse itself into the Communist Party USA. They first emerged publicly in 1986 with its publication of Vita Wa Watu (More Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal) Book 8 (The previous seven "books" were published between the years 1977 and 1980 by the New Afrikan Prisoners Organization). Led by its main theoretician, Comrad Atiba Shanna (also known as James "Yaki" Sayles; members dropped the "e" in "Comrade" when referring to each

other), argued for the need to "Re-Build" the NAIM and BLA through a process of "Re-Orientation" and "Re-Organization."

The slogan "Re-Build" was adapted from the slogan "Build To Win" because, according to Atiba, "the momentum that had been generated by our practice under the slogan 'Build To Win' was interrupted in a QUALITATIVE way. Regenerating our momentum, therefore, has to be done on entirely new philosophical, ideological, and organizational foundations."

Comrad Atiba advocated for the construction of a new, armed, communist organization, with an unwavering commitment to the struggle for both national independence AND socialist construction. This new communist organization was also to be unapologetically committed to supporting and defending the armed struggle (through words and deeds) in pursuit of these objectives.

Spear and Shield supported the consolidation of New Afrikan nationalist elements within the BLA as a step toward laying the foundation for waging a protracted people's war to "free the land." This aspiration was reflected in the new title of their journals, beginning with "Book 8." Vita Wa Watu—Swahili for "People's War"—captured the spirit and direction of this shift.

Unfortunately, due to many factors, including the inability of the leading members of Spear and Shield to get and remain out of prison, the aspirations of the organization never fully manifested. The organization's most lasting and consequential contribution to the NAIM has been theoretical. Books 1-12 of the New Afrikan P.O.W. Journals, and

later Crossroad: A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter (published between 1988 and 2006), remain influential and inspirational periodicals among New Afrikan Nationalists today.

In addition to publishing periodicals, members of Spear and Shield also produced or inspired several other notable New Afrikan communist literary works. Among these are Meditations on Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth: New Afrikan Revolutionary Writings by James Yaki Sayles, False Nationalism and False Internationalism by E. Tani and Kae Sera, and Stand Up, Struggle Forward by Sanyika Shakur.

Comrad Sanyika Shakur, though best known for his best-selling autobiography *Monster: The Autobiography of an L.A. Gang*

Member, was a member of Spear and Shield. Comrad Sanyika played a major role as a New Afrikan Communist theoretician. Before his last release from prison, Comrad Sanyika wrote a letter to his former comrades (Sanyika was not a member of Spear and Shield during the last years of his life) giving us his permission to use any of his writings in our newspaper (Re-Build!: A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical).

The Re-Build Collective and our paper began as an initiative by a small number of members of Spear and Shield, who were determined not to allow the legacy of Comrad Atiba, Comrad Masai Eehosi, Comrad Sanyika, and the numerous other "seeds beneath the snow" whose names will never be known, fade

into greater obscurity, and ultimately, completely out of memory. More importantly, those comrades felt that the NAIM needed an organization led by New Afrikan Communists and rooted in the politics of the New Afrikan working class.

Since our inception in 2018, We have sought to do our part to introduce an ever-growing number of our people to the New Afrikan Communist ideas that inspired us to commit our lives to this cause, as well as to the histories and contributions of non-communist, advanced elements within the NAIM. We have also sought to use this paper as a connective tissue among New Afrikan nationalists across ideological lines.

This is our first stab at introducing the readers of our paper to the historical development of New

Afrikan Communism. By no means is this historical overview extensive. The purpose of this piece is simply to trace the enduring lineage of ideas and struggle that the Re-Build Collective seeks to carry on and advance. It is due to the sacrifices, failures, and triumphs of our predecessors that We find the strength and clarity to reflect, organize, and rebuild our movement in pursuit of national liberation. We encourage all readers to continue to study and struggle until victory is won.

FREE THE LAND!

RE-BUILD TO WIN!

FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT!

~The Re-Build Collective

THE EFFECT OF PRACTICING SOCIALISM MORE THAN MERELY PREACHING IT

CHAIRMAN FRED HAMPTON

We want people who want to run on the People's Party, because the people are gonna run it whether they like it or not. The people have proved that they can run it. They run it in China, they're gonna run it right here. They can call it what they want to, they can talk about it. They can call it communism, and think that that's gonna scare somebody, but it ain't gonna scare nobody.

We had the same thing happen out on 37th Road. They came out to 37th Road where our Breakfast for Children program is, and started gettin' those women who were kind of older, around 58--that's, you know, I call that older cause

I'm young. I ain't 20--right, right, right! But you see, they're gonna get them and brainwash them. And you ain't seen nothin' till you see one of them beautiful Sisters with their hair kinda startin' gettin' grey, and they ain't got many teeth, and they were tearin' them policemen up! They were tearin' 'em up!

The pigs would come up to them and say, "*You like communism?*" The pigs would say, "*You scared of communism?*"

And the Sisters would say, "No--scared of it, I ain't never heard of it."

"*You like socialism?*"

"No, I ain't never heard of it."

The pigs, they be crackin' up, because they enjoyed seeing these peo-

ple frightened of these words.

"*You like capitalism?*"

"Yeah, well, that's what I live with--I like it."

"*You like the Breakfast for Children program, nigger?*"

"Yeah, I like it."

And the pigs say "Oh-oh." The pigs say, "Well, the Breakfast for Children program is a socialistic program. It's a communistic program."

And the women said, "Well, I tell you what, boy. I've been knowing you since you were knee-high to a grasshopper, nigger. And 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 I'm gonna beat your ass like a "

That's what they be saying. That's what they be saying, and it's a beautiful thing. And that's what the Break-

fast for children program is. A lot of people think it's charity, but what does it do? It takes the people from a stage to another stage. Any program that's revolutionary is an advancing program. Revolution is change. Honey, if you just keep on changing, before you know it--in fact, not even knowing what socialism is--you don't have to know what it is--they're endorsing it, they're participating in it, and they're supporting socialism.

EXCERPTED FROM SPEECH DELIVERED BY FRED HAMPTON IN OLIVET CHURCH IN 1969. SCAN CODE TO DOWNLOAD AND READ FULL SPEECH IN **VITA WA WATU: BOOK 11**



NEW AFRIKAN LAND CLAIMS IN THE NATIONAL TERRITORY

In recent years (and not so recent years), much has been said by opponents to the New Afrikan Independence Movement about the nature of our claims to the “5 states.” As a collective, We have yet to “go on the record” in this paper concerning our position on the non-exclusive nature of our claim to land in the south eastern portion of the current u.s. empire. In this brief article We shall do just that.

This is a serious matter and one that can not be done justice by a brief article. We will therefore be addressing this matter more thoroughly in future issues of the paper.

It is our contention that We, the descendants of enslaved Afrikans under american rule, are NOT americans, have NEVER been americans, and should not aspire to become americans.

We ARE members of the New Afrikan nation; a nation forged from the many tribes and nations of Afrika from which our ancestors were stolen. As a NATION, We have an absolute right to self-determination and political independence upon the land that gave birth to us as a people. We have an absolute right to join the community of nations on an equal footing.

On March 31, 1968, at the Black Government Conference held in De-

troit, Michigan, the reality of our existence as a NATION was reaffirmed with the defining of our National Territory, and the establishment of a Provisional Government with a mandate to liberate that territory and to establish an independent Republic of New Afrika.

The National Territory was defined at that time as consisting generally of the lands currently incorporated into the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. This is the land We are referring to when We say Free the Land!

While there is debate within the New Afrikan Independence Movement about the role of the Provisional Government (the Re-Build Collective does not participate in the elections or structures of the PG-RNA), there remains movement consensus concerning our right to struggle for the liberation of our National Territory and to establish an independent Republic of New Afrika within it.

We, members of the Re-Build Collective, recognize that the New Afrikan nation does not have an exclusive claim to the lands of the “5 states.” We know that several First Nations peoples have legitimate historical and contemporary connections and claims to the land as well. We respect these claims and assert that they are in no way irreconcilable with our

own. On the contrary, rather than subverting the claims of First Nations peoples, our struggle to eject the colonial power from the southeast advances the cause of our mutual liberation.

In order to shed light on this situation it is important to move from the general to the specific. The territory consisting of the “5 states” is a particular land mass that has particular relationships with particular groups of people. This reality is often lost on those who mouth platitudes such as “America is the Red Man's land.” This approach negates the fact that there is not one nation of “red men,” but hundreds of separate and distinct First Nations peoples (the u.s. government recognizes 574).

These First Nations peoples have their own histories, languages, cultures, connections to land, and historical relationships with one another and with the u.s. empire. Referring to them only in the general, as our opponents often do, contributes to the u.s. colonial attempts to erase these nations from the popular consciousness of the non-First Nations people who currently live under the jurisdiction of the u.s. government.

We take a different approach. Our insistence on addressing the matter more precisely is rooted in the fact that, unlike some of our opponents, We are engaging in an actual revolutionary struggle, against a defined enemy (the u.s. settler state), to liberate actual land, and We actually intend to accomplish this objective within the course of the natural lives of New Afrikan people currently living.

This is not an academic or philosophical question for us, but a practical matter that We must address in concrete rather than abstract terms. Our approach to this issue impacts not only the policy of a future Republic of New Afrika, but our current

practice in the struggle to achieve the Republic.

Firstly, though our struggle is against the u.s. empire, our claims to land involve only 6.34% of the “american” land mass. Given that our people currently constitute over 14% of the “american” population We do not consider our claims to be excessive or unjust. Secondly, our claims concern not the “red man” (a term We would never use to describe any people) in general, but specific nations; primarily the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Cherokee. Thirdly, our claims are not against these nations, but against the u.s. settler colonial state.

Not only do we have no designs on the lands which the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee (Creek) and Cherokee (or any other First Nations people) currently hold within the “5 states,” We are committed to working in concert with these and others First Nations peoples throughout the empire in their struggles for land and independence.

Additionally, We support the right of the citizens of these nations to return en masse and to establish genuinely independent nation-states in their respective ancestral homelands and are committed to utilizing New Afrikan state power (once achieved) to facilitate this process.

Furthermore, our recognition of their right to return and be truly free and independent is not contingent upon their waiving any rights to lands which they currently hold outside of their ancestral homelands (in Oklahoma for example).

There is plenty of land for an independent Republic of New Afrika and independent Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee (Creek), and Cherokee nation-states within the landmass of the “5 states.”

To illustrate the fact the land mass in question is more than adequate to

accommodate the legitimate aspirations of all of the concerned parties, it is important that We examine the size of the land mass We are dealing with as well as the size of the populations of the New Afrikan and First Nations peoples who have claims to the land.

The land area of the “5 states” taken together is approximately 228,346 square miles. We are using the land area as opposed to the total area here because people tend to live on land and not on water.

For the sake of comparison, Palestine, from the river to the sea, has a total area of approximately 10,790 square miles, and currently has a population estimated to be around 15.1 million. Roughly 46% of the total land of Palestine is desert and sparsely inhabited.

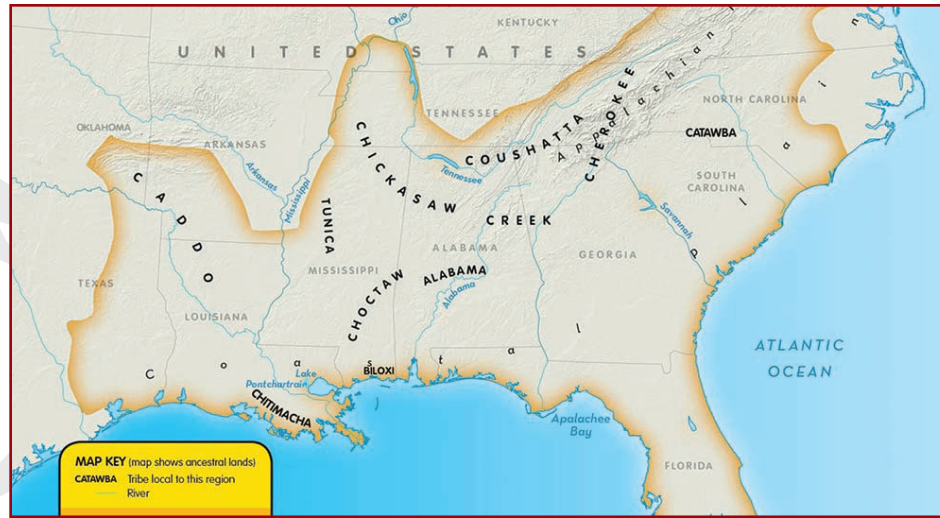
The land area of the five states is more than twenty times the size of Palestine from the river to the sea, and contains no desert areas.

Mississippi alone has a land area of 46,932 square miles. That is more than four times the area of Palestine. Assuming that the current population of Palestine is the maximum population that a land mass of that size could possibly hold, Mississippi alone could accommodate a population of over 60 million people.

According to the 2020 u.s. Census, approximately 9.7 million people self-identified as “American Indian and Alaskan Native alone or in combination with another race.” This figure represents a dramatic increase from the 5.2 million who similarly self-identified in the 2010 Census.

The same census marked the population of those who identified as “Black alone” at approximately 47 million.

The combined population of both groups, taken as a whole is less than 58 million people. That means that



every single living self-identified “Black alone” person and every single living self-identified American Indian or Alaskan Native person could live in Mississippi alone, and Mississippi would still not have the population density of Palestine today.

However, We are not dealing with every self-identified “American Indian” but with those with particular ties to the 5 states; again, primarily the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee (Creek), and Cherokee nations.

According to their official websites, the Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma has a population of over 225,000; the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians has a population of over 12,000; the Jena band of Choctaw Indians has a population of over 400; the Muskogee (Creek) Nation has a population of 102,015; and the Cherokee have a population of 466,181. We were unable to locate population figures for the Chickasaw Nation on their website, but according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in 2010 that number was 52,000. However, since We have seen estimates of members of the Chickasaw Nation

that go up to 80,000, for the sake of this article We will work on the assumption that the larger number is more correct (again, a more detailed and scientific analysis will be presented in future publications).

The combined living members of the first nations peoples of the above mentioned nations, rounding up, is approximately 900,000.

There are other smaller nations that still exist and have claims to the land. The Caddo, Tunica-Biloxi, Alabama-Coushatta are also linked to the land. These nations have a combined population of approximately 11,000 people (over 6,000 of whom are Caddo). We will explore their claims, and those of even smaller First Nations peoples, in more comprehensive future articles.

Recognizing that there are other Nations that have not been included in the above figures, We will assume, for the sake of argument, that 1,000,000 living members of First Nations peoples have claims to land in the 5 states.

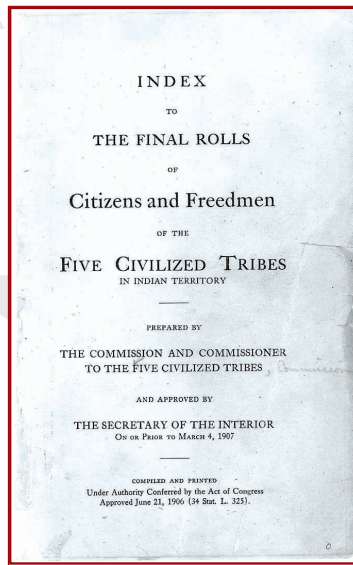
Now let us examine the current New Afrikan population living in

the 5 states. According to the 2020 u.s. Census, Louisiana has a black population of 1,464,023; Mississippi has a Black population of 1,084,481; Alabama has a black population of 1,296,162; Georgia has a black population of 3,320,513; and South Carolina has a black population of 1,280,531. A total of 8,445,710 New Afrikans living in the 5 states, and arguably a population of up to 47 million with a claim to the land.

If, through discussions with the First Nations claimants to land within the 5 states, a settlement was arrived at that recognized the right to the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee (Creek), and Cherokee each to a land mass equivalent to that of Palestine, that would still leave plenty of land to accommodate every single living New Afrikan and every other non-First Nations and non-New Afrikan person currently living in the territory.

At this point in the article, it is important that We speak on a generally unknown, unfortunate and uncomfortable aspect of the historical relationship between our people and the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee (Creek) and Cherokee nations. These nations were all members of the so-called “Five Civilized Tribes,” a descriptor given to the First Nations peoples of the Southeast that were considered by the settler state to have more advanced societies than other First Nations peoples. A driving factor in the considering of these nations “civilized,” was the level of their adoption of the customs of the settlers. Among the settler customs that these nations adopted was the practice of slavery.

The Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee (Creek) and Cherokee were all slave holding nations. Enslaved New Afrikan people constituted significant portions of the populations of all



of these nations; both before and after their removal from the Southeast to “Indian Country” in Oklahoma. In fact, when they were marched out of the Southeast to Oklahoma along the Trail of Tears, they took those whom they had enslaved with them.

The proportion of these First Nations populations made up by the enslaved prior to their removal from their ancestral homelands is debated. However, after these nations were forced into Oklahoma, the u.s. government compiled lists of every member of these nations. These lists, which were mandated by the Dawes Act of 1887, were compiled for the purpose of the allocation of land in the territory, and identified each member of these nations by name, sex, and affiliation to the nation.

Members were catalogued as belonging to the nation by blood, or marriage, or as “freedmen.” The freedmen were those who were previously enslaved, descendants of those enslaved, or those whom the compilers of the lists deemed Black. These rolls, officially entitled “The Final Rolls of Citizens and Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Country,” can be found on the National Archives Catalog website at <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/608958>. The rolls are most commonly known as the Dawes Rolls, after the 1887 Act which led to their creation.

These lists were printed in 1907, and though they only contain the names of those “freedmen” who made the journey to Oklahoma and were present there more than 50 years after the Trail of Tears (and 40 years after the Civil War), they do shed light on the extent to which New Afrikan people were a part of these societies.

An examination of the rolls reveals that, as of 1907, “freedmen” comprised approximately 25% of the

Choctaw population, approximately 43% of the Chickasaw population, approximately 13% of the Cherokee population, and approximately 36% of the Creek population (these figures exclude those who were members of these nations by marriage, as they have no ancestral connection to the lands from which these nations were removed).

According to Marilyn Vann, President of the Descendants of Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes, there are over 200,000 living descendants of the freedmen whose names appeared on the Dawes Rolls. If these numbers are correct, that would mean that there are more descendants of the “freedmen” than there are members of all but 5 First Nations peoples.

Our people were not only a significant presence among the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee (Creek) and Cherokee nations, our people’s labor contributed greatly to the wealth of these nations; both prior to and after their displacement from the southeast.

Despite the fact that these nations were significantly involved in the greatest crime ever perpetrated upon our people, We make no reparations claim against any of these nations (though We recognize the right of freedmen descendants to pursue claims that they believe to be just). All We ask is this: that they recognize our legitimate rights, as We recognize theirs.

The idea of recognizing that there are other legitimate claimants to land is not new within the New Afrikan Independence Movement. We do not seek here to give the impression that We are somehow charting a new course.

The Code of Umoja, which is the constitution of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, speaks to this question in the

following manner:

Section 3: POLICY WITH REGARD TO NEW AFRIKAN LAND CLAIMS. It shall be the policy of the Provisional Government to recognize the just calls of the American Indian nations and other oppressed nations for land in North America. It shall be the policy of the Provisional Government to negotiate with the American Indian Nations the claims which conflict with the claims of the New African nation and to resolve these claims in the spirit of justice, brotherhood, and mutual revolutionary commitment to the human and natural rights of all oppressed nations in North America.

Members of the Re-Build Collective do not consider the Code of Umoja to be a binding document, yet We do recognize its historical significance to the Independence Movement, and quote it here as an example of the approach of New Afrikan nationalists towards this issue.

The late Honorable Chokwe Lumumba, who was a founding member and Chairman of the New Afrikan People’s Organization (NAPO) also addressed this question in a document- which We hope to work with NAPO to republish- entitled “Roots of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.” This document, which can be found on the resources page on our website (rebuildcollective.org), was written in response to mischaracterizations of the New Afrikan Independence Movement by the African People’s Socialist Party and its leader Omali Yeshitela.

In “Roots” Chokwe Lumumba discusses the historical relationship between New Afrikans and First Nations peoples as well as the relationship between New Afrikan Independence Movement activists and activists in the American Indian Movement.

Indeed, We know of no organiza-

tion within the New Afrikan Independence Movement that doesn’t recognize the legitimacy of First Nations land claims and that isn’t in support of arriving at a just settlement of those claims in a manner that is non-antagonistic and mutually advantageous.

Points 7-9 of the Re-Build Collective Points of Unity assert that:

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.*

We intend to wage our struggle for liberation in concert not only with the First Nations people, but also with the people of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and every other place whose people the u.s. empire currently holds in bondage.

Our struggle for Land, Independence, and Socialism for New Afrika is not divorced from, or antagonistic to, the struggle of any other people for liberation. Indeed, the greatest support that We can give to the struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world is to seriously wage and successfully conclude our struggle against u.s. imperialism here. This is revolutionary internationalism in practice.

Free the Land!

Re-Build to Win!

Native Americans Call for Alliance with the Republic of New Afrika

We extend our hand and embrace you in solidarity. Over the last two decades we have seen and taken part in the development of movements of RED, BLACK, AND BROWN comrades to organize and defend our people against the terrorism of United States Government and State Governments. These organizations all developed similar programs of struggle and resistance within their respective communities.

We continue to be the most oppressed people in the Western Hemisphere. We have all felt the brunt of police brutality. We all continue to experience racist attacks, poor housing, education and unemployment—all of these conditions were born almost 500 years ago when the first European set foot upon this sacred land we call Mother Earth. It was at that point our sacred lands began to fall into the hands of a rapist whom used and abused her for rapid accumulation of material power that in turn is the source of our oppression and the motivation of their continued oppression of us.

We respect and fully support the historical right of the **Republic of New Afrika**, and the absolute right of Black People to self-determination.

Historically, Indian and Black people have taken up the struggle and fought side by side as allies—we seek to renew this alliance for the same reasons they were made in the past.

The time has come for all national liberation Struggles to create a solid platform of unity. We must identify ourselves with freedom fighters here and Central America, and support armed struggle in solidarity with the wars of national liberation which are raging here and in Central America.

Many of us have already committed our lives and freedom to the goal of total liberation for our people as well as all oppressed people. We have come to realize that our people



Bro. Leonard is a Native Amerikan prisoner of War incarcerated for the 1975 shoot-out in Oglala, S.D. in which 2 FBI agents were killed after opening fire.

cannot be victorious, unless we unite together with all oppressed people. We ask our comrades, the RNA TO CLASP HANDS WITH US SO THAT WE MAY ALL RAISE OUR CLINCHED FISTS IN SALUTE TO THE DEFEAT OF OUR COMMON ENEMY.

Out of this continued resistance, many of our comrades and friends have been murdered by the State, others have been captured and still others are struggling in the judicial system of our enemy to free themselves from trumped-up charges that could keep them locked down well into the next century!

We, along with many thousands of our Black sisters and brothers here have felt the grinding impact of the oppressive machinery of the so-called system of "JUSTICE". We know that our enemies violence knows no bounds and will spare no efforts when it comes to crushing National Liberation movements in the Western Hemisphere. Their

terrorist activities will increase as our strength grows. Just recently the United States Government legalized FBI COINTELPRO tactics. These tactics our enemy uses to legitimize the murders they will continue to commit and also to legitimize the courtroom as the arena where political activists will be eliminated. Judicial persecution has become an accepted tactic in neutralizing the effectiveness of freedom fighters.

The enemy almost always wins a political trial, even when the verdict of the jury goes in favor of the "defendant" or victim. Trying freedom fighters on "criminal" charges for political reasons offers the forces of injustice an opportunity to drain the movements of valuable energy and financial resources. The enemy knows that the hours and dollars devoted to legal defense cannot be invested in educating and organizing the people and moving them to action.

The continued resistance of RED, BLACK and BROWN people in the Western Hemisphere to the United States governments' war programs of oppression and genocide has taken its toll. Thousands of our people have died in struggle within the last 10 years and thousands more have become prisoners of this war.

It is clear that given the increasing oppression in the Western Hemisphere of RED, BLACK and BROWN people that there will be increased resistance which means more of us will face death, capture and imprisonment, whether they be freeing the land, expropriations from our enemy or as in some cases non-violent protest. Because of this reality we have to understand the need for movements to develop a shared understanding and responsibility to actively support each other in struggle. We must support our brothers and sisters in the cages of the enemy!

Many names of political prisoners and prisoners of war can be recited, but it is not about naming our comrades in chains, it is about the promotion of ALL struggling people to unity. We honor their unselfish sacrifice and share in their strength to grow stronger through a united struggle.

Our comrades are strong enough to challenge the enemy all the way to the steel cages. In the spirit of such sacrifice it is essential that we build solidarity amongst our movements to support our combatants. Those of us on the outside MUST organize an on going base for unity that will give material support to those locked down. We must also open up channels of communication between our organizations and develop a shared unity in a principle way to move the struggle forward!

Although the concern for unity has been an avowed moving force with movements engaged in struggle against a common enemy, movements have not overcome their individual interest. This reality has served to effectively keep our respective organizations apart and divided, further it has made us easy prey for the U.S. propaganda machine to wage their war against us through divide and conquer tactics.

There is a way to overcome this vicious cycle, it is up to us to unite as one fist with all the vigor at our command. Let us be a step in furthering a mighty coalition of the people that is undefeatable. I ask my comrades to unite with us, so that we can fight our enemy with one mind, in order to build a better world, a world that will be truly free for our future generations....

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse,
Protect the Earth,

Free the Land!

Bob Robideau

National Chairperson of the
Leonard Peltier Support Group

"The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements — which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform — constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all." —Amilcar Cabral, *Weapon of Theory* (1966)

"DECOLONIZE TO WHAT?"

THE MATERIAL NECESSITY OF NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE

BY COMRAD BUKASA

The question in the title—“decolonize to what?”—was posed to me during a dialogue with a prominent Pan-Afrikan scholar. It came in response to my raising of a contradiction in his position, one that is seemingly widespread amongst contemporary Pan-Afrikanists in the U.S. While many accept internal colonialism as the condition of “Black America,” they simultaneously reject national liberation—specifically the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM)—as the necessary path forward. He traced his skepticism back to Huey P. Newton’s stance on the matter, stated in Newton’s letter to New Afrika’s Provisional Government. But Newton’s position, encapsulated by his question, was as absurd in 1969 as it is today. Since Newton’s views formed the foundation of his, I intend to deconstruct the flawed logic behind this position by exposing its myopic, defeatist underpinnings.

Newton argued that New Afrikans’ pursuit of a national territory was “premature” as it would leave us “more isolated than we already are now.” In turn, New Afrikans would “suffer imperialism and colonialism even more so than the Third World is suffering it.” Instead, Newton proclaimed, “the only way that we’re going to be free is to (wipe) out once and for all the oppressive structure of America,” which he acknowledged would take a “popular [i.e., multi-ethnic] struggle.”

The Achilles’ heel of this position lies in its failure to grasp the dialectical nature of struggle. National liberation is not the end goal—it is a strategic and necessary advance toward the dismantling of imperialism. It is a process, a transitional stage, along the path to the complete destruction of empire. After all, if an empire is merely the sum of its colonies, then it stands to reason that an empire is dismantled through the liberation of those colonies. National liberation does not conclude the

struggle; it clears the terrain for anti-imperialist coordination and solidarity on an international level. The conditions for imperial collapse cannot emerge so long as the metropole retains its grip on its colonized nations. To believe that the empire can be brought down before its colonies are freed is not only ahistorical—it is idealistic as it puts the cart before the horse.

Newton also failed to recognize that the U.S. empire would not remain unscathed in the wake of an independent New Afrika—it would be fundamentally weakened. The nature of our struggle is inherently antagonistic to U.S. imperialism: every advance made by New Afrika is, by its essence, a blow to the empire.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the fight for control of the five states (more or less), which would require the forcible liberation of land, resources, and population from U.S. rule. This quantitative loss would produce a qualitative shift, undermining the capacity and integrity of U.S. hegemony. In this light, New Afrikan independence is not merely a defensive project of self-determination; it is an offensive strike against the heart of empire. It changes the terrain, making the defeat of imperialism materially more possible for all oppressed nations across the globe.

To reject national liberation because it may be imperfect or constrained is to accept something far worse: the continued condition of internal colonization—being landless, stateless, and trapped in the mentacidal identity of African-American.

Herein lies perhaps the most profound flaw in the anti-national liberation position: it effectively surrenders state power as a weapon of struggle, treating it as something to be wielded solely by the

bourgeoisie. Refusing to pursue it is capitulation to the colonial order.

By any measure, it would be a revolutionary advance to move from a condition of fragmentation and colonization to one of “flag independence”—where We control territory and exercise state power, however contested our sovereignty may be. To dismiss national liberation as impractical is a counter-revolutionary retreat into continued subjugation. How can one accept the enforced isolation of the ghetto, yet fear the imagined isolation of an independent nation? In doing so, they abandon the very terrain on which

To reject national liberation because it may be imperfect or constrained is to accept something far worse: the continued condition of internal colonization – being landless, stateless, and trapped in the mentacidal identity of African-American.

the oppressed have historically fought and won advances towards their self-determination.

The absurdity of this position is also apparent in its hypocrisy. Would anyone ask Palestinians, “decolonize to what?” Would We question the legitimacy and value of Haitian, Cuban, or Algerian national liberation simply because imperialism still exists? Of course not. These movements are praised precisely because they weakened imperialism and created more fertile grounds for its eventual defeat.

Their national liberation gave them state power—a weapon they used not only for self-defense but to materially support other third-world struggles. They did not win total freedom, but they gained a foothold from which they could advance the global fight against imperialism.

Likewise, a liberated New Afrika, even under siege, would have far greater capacity to resist, organize, and contribute to global revolution than a people trapped in ghettos, prisons, and cycles of symbolic protest within the settler colony. That would be a decisive leap beyond the current landscape of U.S. Pan-Afrikanism, which too often amounts to political cheerleading. Thus, the best way for us to support our comrades abroad is

by accelerating our struggle here, not by waving pom-poms against the flames of fascism.

Lastly, We must address Newton's proposed alternative, which continues to be championed by many contemporary Pan-Afrikanists. We have already shown that this position is defeatist in surrendering state power and idealist in rejecting necessary transitional stages. But beyond that, it is fundamentally contradictory.

Newton defines power as “the ability to define phenomena and make it act in a desired manner.” Yet such power is not abstract—it is materially rooted in control over the productive forces within a given territory. Control over a society's economic base shapes its entire superstructure, granting supreme power to the class that commands it. And since land is the foundation of all production, Malcolm X was correct in asserting that “land is the basis of independence.”

Accepting this premise demands a commitment to the struggle for land and sovereignty over it (i.e., state power). New Afrikans remain colonized because We are landless and stateless; therefore, lacking control over our national productive forces. Establishing an independent Republic of New Afrika is the only means by which We can acquire control over land, thus making it essential to our liberation.

New Afrika's identified national territory is the only viable terrain for this struggle, not only because of its historical significance as the birthplace of the nation, but also because it is still home to the largest concentration of New Afrikans. Furthermore, the contradictions of capitalism are already pushing our people to return to this region, as rising costs in northern cities fuel a reverse migration to the South. These converging dynamics—historical rootedness, demographic concentration, and economic displacement—make the national territory the only site where liberation can be materially realized. Nowhere else offers these conditions.

There is also a growing tendency to substitute “nationalism” with “self-determination.” While We, as New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalists, affirm the principle of self-determination,

We recognize it as a consequence of national liberation, not a substitute for it. It cannot be conceived abstractly as something achievable without sovereign control over land. This idealist view obscures the necessity of fighting for land and state power, whilst feeding defeatist illusions, such as the belief that New Afrikans in cities like Chicago can achieve liberation through “community control” or other reformist compromises.

But cities like Chicago are not the national territory; they are imperial metropolises where New Afrikans are permanently landless and structurally trapped within the settler state, without any material pathway towards sovereignty. “Community control” is merely the management of colonial poverty, not freedom from it. Thus, self-determination divorced from land and state power is no self-determination at all. At best, it is a compromise; at worst, it is an abandonment of the NAIM. National liberation is not simply preferable to urban reformism—it is the only material path to freedom.

Thus, to accept the existence of a New Afrikan nation, yet reject the NAIM in favor of a multi-ethnic class struggle—or for any other reason—is to negate New Afrikans' right to self-determination. It reveals a defeatist mindset and a deeper faith in the settler nation than in one's own. And perhaps, as I suspect, many still subconsciously see themselves as Americans and believe they are struggling within their nation. But in either case, this orientation cannot and will not lead to the liberation of New Afrikans.

Hence, the answer to the question “decolonize to what?” is abundantly clear: We decolonize to reach the next stage of struggle. New Afrikan national liberation represents not a final destination, but a qualitative leap forward in the global fight for socialism. We decolonize to reclaim our productive forces, no longer appropriated for the enrichment of our oppressors, but directed toward the development of our people. We decolonize to offer material support to other oppressed nations locked in battle with the remnants of empire. We decolonize to build, to advance, and to keep

pushing until We reach total liberation—until We reach communism.

To ignore or skip these necessary phases of struggle in favor of some imagined, immediate abolition of imperialism is not revolutionary clarity—it is fantasy. It is the hallmark of ultra-leftism and reveals a deep disconnect from the material realities of liberation. This all-or-nothing approach paralyzes the struggle rather than advancing it. And so, the path forward could not be clearer: it is the path of the New Afrikan national struggle for land, independence, and socialism.

FREE THE LAND!

RE-BUILD!

Get Your Revolutionary Merch!

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

Shop the
Re-Build
Online Store

YAKI ON DECONSTRUCTING 'RACE'

A leading theoretician in the realm of New Afrikan Nationalist Thought, Owusu Yaki Yakubu, formerly known as James Sayles, died in 2008 from complications of cancer only a few short years following his release after 33 years as a New Afrikan Prisoner of War. During his captivity he devoted himself to study and organizing around prisoner concerns. He reviewed the Black Liberation Movement and its collapse through the lens of self-criticism, always seeking a deeper understanding of internal weaknesses and potential strengths.

Yaki, sometimes using the non-de-plume Atiba Shanna, was a prolific writer, always emphasizing the importance of engaging and organizing the people: ordinary working people, students, young brothas on the block, single mothers, any and all who felt the sting of oppression in its various manifestations.

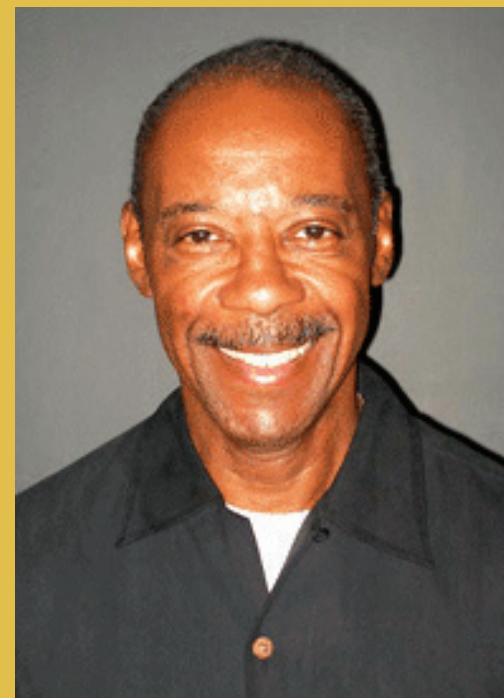
Prior to his release from prison, Yaki devoted himself to reviewing Frantz Fanon's classic text *The Wretched of the Earth*, first published in 1962. *Wretched* was 'furiously' written while Fanon laid upon his hospital deathbed as he battled leukemia. Having been involved in the armed liberation struggle in Algeria against French colonialism, and a keen observer of anti-colonial struggles around the globe, Fanon, a psychiatrist by profession, introduced an entirely new (if controversial) understanding to revolutionary struggle. *Wretched* became a major influence on revolutionary struggles on every continent, yet seemed to be a difficult read for many in the New Afrikan struggle.

As Yaki fought cancer, he attempted a paragraph by paragraph breakdown and interpretation of *Wretched* to aid a new generation in rediscovering and understanding that important work. He did not complete it, however he managed to leave a major contribution towards dissecting Fanon's master work of anti-colonial revolutionary struggle. What follows is an excerpt from Yaki's *MEDITATIONS ON FRANTZ FANON'S WRETCHED OF THE EARTH*, published in 2010, addressing the deconstruction of race.

WE NEED TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THE DE-CONSTRUCTION OF "RACE" (i.e., to disprove the authenticity of the concept) and We should begin the process of eliminating the word (and all racial language) from the vocabulary and consciousness of the world's peoples all as part of the process of eliminating racism, and transforming the material reality that "race" serves. This has to be done because of the probability that no effective revolutionary movement (no meaningful transformation of the world) will be generated without incorporating the deconstruction of "race" process into our theory and practice. The probability exists because "race" and racism have been the shadows that have historically diverted people's energies and diffused their revolutionary thrusts. This applies particularly to the motion of peoples within what are now U.S. borders, but it is clearly a worldwide phenomenon.

None of us are free of the responsibility to uproot racialized thought and practice—within ourselves, and wherever We encounter it. As i see it, a "racist" is anyone holding the belief that the human species is divided into a plurality of "races," some of which are superior to others. If you employ a racial binary (e.g., "black" and "white," or "sun people" and "snow people") to categorize people, then you're a "racist" and you practice racism—at a minimum, you confuse the shadow for the body, and you're wasting energy.

As i read the third chapter of *Wretched*, i began to meditate upon Fanon's discussion of the racism practiced by the (neo)colonial bourgeois forces (i.e., those "blacks" or Africans who took the places of the European colonial powers at the state level)—a "racism of defense, based on fear," as he called it. Their racism was adopted and practiced to defend their class interests, to "corner the positions formerly kept for foreigners," and to become the new ruling class. Their fear was/ is that the people will act in their own interests, topple the bourgeois forces, and pursue the



Owusu Yaki Yakubu
(s/n James Sayles)

development of revolutionary socialist societies.

At the same time, Fanon continues, other sectors of the nation "follow in the steps of their bourgeoisie," and begin to practice racism against non-nationals: "In the Ivory Coast, the anti-Dahoman and anti-Voltaic troubles are in fact racial riots. The Dahoman and Voltaic peoples, who control the greater part of the petty trade, are, once independence is declared, the object of hostile manifestations on the part of the people of the Ivory Coast. From nationalism we have passed to ultra-nationalism, to chauvinism, and finally to racism."

It occurred to me that We, too, engage in racist behavior, largely as a result of following the lead of our bourgeois forces (and i know that too many of you can't readily identify these forces). And, as i think about it: How naive We all were to believe, back in the day, that just because folks were "black," that alone made them authentic representatives of truth and justice, and signified that they were true servants of the people. The pity is, tho, that even today far too many of us still think that way. It ain't the color of the skin but rather the content of the character, as Bro. M.

L. King, Jr. reminded us.

It's in the third chapter of *Wretched* that Fanon tells us that racialized thought and practice is one of the pitfalls of narrow, bourgeois nationalist consciousness. It causes the bourgeois forces at the head of the people's struggle to develop a neo-colonial "shell" (game) whereby "the nation is passed over for the race, and the tribe is preferred to the state." Later, Fanon describes it very succinctly as "a narrow nationalism, and representing a race."

Fanon proposes, instead, a "revolutionary nationalist" (socialist) consciousness and program, incorporating attention to the elimination of racism, consciously avoiding all forms of racialism (the categorization of peoples in "racial" terms), while also defeating the bourgeois forces that stand in the way of the people's struggle for genuine independence and socialist development.

Wretched addresses the deconstruction of "race" because Fanon clearly urges the abandonment of "racial" identities, and he proposes the adoption of identities based on "class," and/or "nationality"-he encourages us to begin to identify ourselves as "human."

Wretched is about the deconstruction of "race" because Fanon calls for the elimination of racism as part of the process of transforming oppressed peoples into "new people," as they build new, socialist nations, and as they help to build a socialist world.

* * * *

The de-construction of "race" (and successful revolutionary struggle)

requires that We deal with the role of bourgeois forces, especially those who feign a progressive, radical, or "nationalist" stand. It requires that all forms of national-class struggle (ideological, political, economic) be engaged with these allies of capitalism, whose fear of socialism causes them to use the shadow of "race" in defense of their class interests, while diverting the people from anti-capitalist struggle.

Recall: We're talking about the same bourgeois forces who, under a confused and militant guise, clouded the issue with "skin analysis" at the height of the last upsurge:

The only reason we have to get together is the color of our skin. They oppress us because we are black, and we are going to use that blackness to get out of the trick bag they put us in ... We are going to build a movement in this country based on the color of our skin ... 3

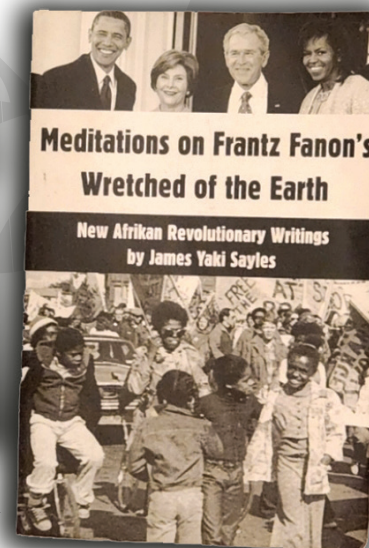
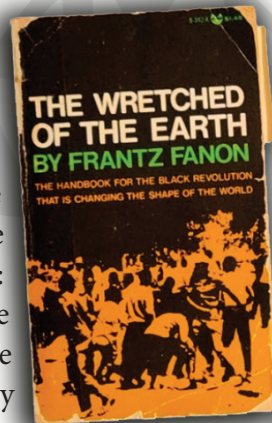
Black people do not want to "take over" this country ... They want to be in [the whites'] place because that is where a decent life can be had.4

What does Fanon say-" there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself up in the settler's place."

That is: The "native" that Fanon describes as wanting to "take the place of" the settler, is not yet the "ex-native"-the person who comes to realize that it's not his skin or the settler's skin that matters, and that merely being in the settler's place will not change the inherent exploitative character of the system

of colonialism, i.e., capitalism. Let's be clear: To merely want to be "in the settler's place" means that you really like the system-you support the system-and you just complain because you think you're not getting your "piece of the pie"!

There's a direct link between, say, the "skin analysis" of the mid- 1960s, and the reasons that "black power" w e n t



from a revolutionary slogan to an accomodationist one, taken up even by the rulers of capital, and reshaped as "green power" and "black capitalism" and what We today know as "empowerment" or as a call for "a piece of the action." It's no accident that the mass consciousness today is heavily "racialized," and not revolutionary, just as "black nationalism" became "ethnic pluralism" and "cultural equality" in the form pushed by the rightist tendency of Afrocentricity. The real revolutionaries were disrupted and fell by the wayside; the bourgeois forces filled the vacuum, and today the people think that "racial feeling" is the same as revolutionary thought and practice.

* * * *

People need to know that "class" -like "race"- is a socially constructed concept. But, unlike "race," the concept of "class" arises from an observation of the actual contradiction resulting from the unequal appropriation of the social wealth by one group, at the expense of others. We use the concept to help us understand the processes and mechanisms of social divisions, and social (revolutionary) change.

People need to know that "class struggle" is taking place every minute, in every sphere of their lives, and that it can be understood as struggle between regression (capitalism) and progress (socialism), no matter what terms We use to identify the opposing forces, e.g., "Decolonization is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature." That is, terms such as "settler" or "bourgeois" can be used to identify the regressive, pro-capitalist forces, and terms such as "native" or "proletarian" can be used to identify the progressive, revolutionary forces -- those most representative of the struggle for socialism.

i don't doubt that We may need new terms (i.e., other than "bourgeois" and "proletarian"), but it won't matter what terms We use if We don't know what it is that We struggle against and what it is that We struggle for -- if We can't relate the terms to the concrete ways that We live, and to the ways that We want to live.



FREEDOM FIGHTER CENTENNIAL



**ROBERT F.
WILLIAMS**

born
Feb 26, 1925
died
Oct 15, 1996
Age 71

**MEDGER
EVERS**

born
July 2, 1925
assassinated
June 12, 1963
Age 37

**EL HAJJ
MALIK
EL SHABAZZ**

born
May 19, 1925
assassinated
Feb 21, 1965
Age 39

**FRANTZ
FANON**

born
July 20, 1925
assassinated
Dec 6, 1961
Age 36

**PATRICE
LUMUMBA**

born
July 2, 1926
assassinated
Jan 17, 1961
Age 36

1925-2025

ARE NEW AFRIKANS SETTLERS?

As a New Afrikan, i have encountered many questions and criticisms regarding the objectives of the Independence Movement. In one instance, i was asked earnestly about the nature of New Afrikan land claims by someone who was concerned that it mirrored settler logic. Conversely, i have read scholarship published in 2022 by willy intellectuals, Kyle Mayes, who in “Black Power and Red Power” claim that the PG-RNA “omitted the original people of this land for the development of their own political ideas.” One would think that such silly talking points were put to rest by Chokwe Lumumba’s response to Omali Yeshitela, yet here we are decades later still dealing with them. On one hand, it means that the movement is alive and relevant. On the other, it means that this generation of New Afrikans will have to (re)address these claims. This piece aims to do just that.

The absurd claim that New Afrikans are settlers stems from an anti-materialist analysis of settler colonialism, which emanates from frameworks rooted in settler/Indigenous binarism or Native exceptionalism. Such frameworks were popularized by bourgeois intellectuals like Patrick Wolfe, who, in “Recuperating Binarism,” claimed, “The opposition between Native and settler is a structural relationship rather than an effect of the will.” Consequently, Wolfe

asserts that:

The fact that enslaved people immigrated against their will—to cite the most compelling case for voluntarism—does not alter the structural fact that their presence, however involuntary, was part of the process of Native dispossession. White convicts [in Australia] also came against their will. Does this mean their descendants are not settlers?

Wolfe’s comparison of New Afrikans to European Australians, at minimum, implies that we positively contributed to the u.s. settler colonial project and, at worst, deems us settlers. Worthy of note, however, is that, unlike Mayes, Wolfe’s claims make no mention of our land aspirations; rather, our presence in North America as non-natives alone is sufficient for our designation as settlers. We’ll return to this point later.

Nonetheless, Wolfe’s claims are based on his definition of settler colonialism, which he views as “a system rather than a historical event, that perpetuates the erasure and destruction of native people as a precondition for settler colonialism and expropriation of lands and resources.” There is nothing inherently wrong with this definition, as I largely agree with it. Still, it is insufficient as it fails to address the particularities of u.s. settler colonialism and its development.

As demonstrated by Wolfe’s claim, such definitions, in their pursuit of universality, overlook the particular (historical and contemporary) realities that make each settler colonial context distinct. They also collapse differences between antagonistic groups within settler colonial societies (most often the u.s.). As a result, these frameworks serve more to obscure our analysis rather than sharpen it. To correct such pitfalls, I will identify the elements that characterize settler colonialism in the context of the (mainland) u.s. by tracing its development.

To ground my analysis, I will begin with two quotes from James ‘Yaki’ Sayles (aka Attiba Shana) dealing with the nature of (settler) colonialism in *Meditations on Frantz Fanon’s Wretched of the Earth*. First, “Colonialism is a form of imperialism, and imperialism is an international expression of capitalism.” Secondly, “under imperialism, the fundamental contradiction, as expressed by ‘class’ relations, is that between the colonized and the colonizer or, that between the oppressed nation and the oppressor nation.”

Combined, these two quotes inform us that settler colonialism’s primary contradiction is the struggle between the settler nation and the domestically colonized nation(s). Normally, the domestically colonized is synonymous with “native,” but this is not true for the u.s. See, one can not accurately articulate the development of u.s. settler colonialism without properly accounting for the centrality of New Afrikan (national) subjugation. u.s. settler colonialism was built on two processes: Native land dispossession and the exploitation of New Afrikan

labor (i.e., chattel slavery).

Both resources (Native land and New Afrikan labor) were acquired through imperial violence and served as the primary productive forces upon which capitalism in colonial America was built. Both processes’ quantitative expansion and intensification laid the groundwork for colonial America’s independence from Britain in 1776. This independence marked a new qualitative stage where the u.s. settler colonial nation had fully blossomed into an empire unto itself, paving the way for its tentacles to spread further west and then beyond mainland North America.

The domestic colonization of New Afrika and the various First Nations remain the foundational components of the u.s.’s ongoing imperial project. Thus, neither New Afrikans nor Native Americans can be considered settlers, given that the colonial base and superstructure are built upon our (sustained) national subjugation. To drill this point down further, we can look at the fact that settler colonialism is a class society whereby “entire nations become classes.” The settler class (nation) is the one that has arrested the development of the national productive forces of the oppressed class (colonized nations) through colonial imposition.

In the u.s. context, Euro-Americans comprise the former while New Afrikans and the Natives make up the latter. Therefore, New Afrikans cannot be settlers, as we do not have ownership over the productive forces of First Nations, just as those who do not own the means of production cannot be considered capitalists by any objective measure.

In fact, New Afrikans have never owned any national productive

forces (even our own) because our genesis as a nation was rooted in enslavement. We were reduced to subhumans, whereby the settlers owned not merely our labor, but our very being. I am sure we are all familiar with the Slave Codes and the Three-Fifths Compromise. The mark of inhumanity onto New Afrikans was an inheritable trait that, despite what bourgeois society will have you believe, still defines our socio-political disposition as a people on this land today.

Nonetheless, it should also be made clear that we do not seek such ownership, that is, over the national productive force of any other nation but ours. Rather, what New Afrikans Revolutionary Nationalists seek is the restoration of our humanity (sovereign nationhood). This will only result from decolonization, which is the process by which we construct a new humanism that negates the negation—Western-imposed humanism that has stripped us of our humanity. From this process we will emerge as a new people.

Some may retort by saying that the New Afrikan aspiration for land in the South is a settler colonial endeavor since we seek to gain control over a land mass that was first inhabited by Native (i.e., First Nations) people. For one, our slogan is “Free The Land,” not “Seize and Exploit The Land For Our Private Interests.” We only seek to gain “control” over the land insofar as we are trying to free it from the stranglehold of the omniscient u.s. empire and establish a socialist

state whereby we use our newfound power to wage war against capitalist imperialism.

For those wondering, “What about non-New Afrikans in the territory?”, the Re-Build Collective takes a position akin to Frantz Fanon's description of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN):

“For the F.L.N., in the new society being built, there are only Algerians. From the outset, therefore, every individual living in Algeria is an Algerian. In tomorrow's independent Algeria, it will be up to every Algerian to assume Algerian citizenship or to reject it in favor of another.”

Nonetheless, this false antagonism, among others, between New Afrikans and Native Americans is easily reconciled when one properly identifies the pillars of u.s. settler colonialism and then takes seriously their implications. Yes, many First Nations held New Afrikans as slaves. Yes, small numbers of New Afrikans were forced to participate in campaigns of Native land dispossession. Both groups engaged in the process of dehumanizing the other to varying degrees; however, their pillar of oppression negated any acquisition of a settler status. That is to say that neither group's participation in those activities resolved their colonized conditions by gaining them control over their own or the other's national productive forces.

Furthermore, their participation in these activities only occurred as a direct consequence of their subjugation under Euro-American colonialism, which violently coerced both groups into abusing the other. Yet, and still, none of these historical occurrences negate the reality that New Afrikans and Native Americans have a common interest (national liberation) and a common enemy

(u.s. settler colonialism).

Frameworks that decontextualize contradictions between both groups to put our liberation struggles in juxtaposition to one another only serve to maintain u.s. settler colonialism. There is no New Afrikan liberation without the liberation of First Nations, and vice versa. Given that the structure of u.s. settler colonialism is built on the subjugation of our nations, we, as a united class, possess the most revolutionary potential to overthrow it. However, this is lost when one operates using frameworks built on exceptionalism.

For instance, it is also popular to argue that the u.s. settler colonial project began upon the “discovery of the New World,” which means that the subsequent enslavement of (New) Afrikans on Native lands was an additive feature of the settler colonialism process. This is where we return to Wolfe's claims that the presence of (New) Afrikan slaves “was part of the process of Native dispossession.”

The implication of Wolfe's claim is that New Afrikans are settlers because our enslavement served the processes of Native Land dispossession. But if we look at history, we can likewise say that the European enslavement of Afrikans had commenced decades prior to the “discovery of the New World.” Europeans were taking Afrikans back home until the capturing of Native lands occurred, which sparked the demand for surplus labor to work the new (stolen) lands, ultimately leading to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Yet, it would be absurd to place blame on Native Americans and their inability to defend against European genocide for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Similarly, it then

should be just as absurd for Wolfe to place blame on New Afrikans and our inability to fend off slavery for the dispossession of Native lands. Both processes are interconnected; however, European colonialism is the impetus for both. One can point out that the enslavement of Afrikans in the u.s. bolstered Native land dispossession just as Native land dispossession intensified the enslavement of Afrikans.

But again, why frame this history in such a way that creates false antagonism between two oppressed groups, thereby forestalling our ability to identify and unite against a common oppressor? Such framings of settler colonialism are nothing short of counterinsurgent. Any proper analysis of the history of u.s. settler colonialism will identify the primary contradiction as the relationship Natives and New Afrikans have to Euro-American (settler) society, not one another.

In summary, the assertion that New Afrikans are settlers collapses under serious historical and material analysis. It ignores the foundational role of New Afrikan subjugation in the formation of u.s. settler colonialism and erases the fact that New Afrikans, like First Nations, are colonized peoples whose exploitation has sustained the empire, not benefited from it. Our liberation is not at odds with Native sovereignty; it is bound to it. Any framework that pits us against one another only serves the interests of the settler class. True decolonization demands solidarity between oppressed nations and a unified struggle against the u.s. settler colonial state. Only through collective resistance can we dismantle the structures that have dehumanized us and begin building a new world.

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EDUCATE TO GOVERN! NEW AFRIKANS AND OUR FIGHT FOR EDUCATION

As i write this, the U.S. Department of Education has halted all funds given through pandemic-era grants. For New Afrikans in Mississippi, this means the state's set to lose over \$137 million according to a Mississippi Today article. As state, school, and city leaders' worlds are being rocked, what's not being mentioned is the direct impact this will have on New Afrikan teachers and students. Back in 2023, the Jackson Public School district (predominantly New Afrikan) was allocated about \$12.5 Million, 99% of which was spent on paying teachers and getting learning services such as computers, math, literacy programs. In 2024, that same school district used most of the second dispersal (\$106 Million) to hire more teachers and increase access to after-school learning programs. With the current freeze, any funding currently in the pot is in limbo and unavailable for use.

Zooming out to the state level, according to local non-profit OneVoice MS, about 25% of funding for education comes from federal dollars. But this isn't even the most significant of what's happening in the education fight. Governor Reeves recently signed a bill that would eliminate the state income tax while increasing "the gas tax by nine cents per gallon, increases sales taxes on everyday goods, and cuts grocery taxes—while offering no stable source of replacement revenue" (OneVoice). A shift to a

flat, regressive tax will obviously harm most if not all New Afrikans seeing that the median income for a New Afrikan household is just under \$38,000 while the average income of a white household is about \$68,000. Why? Because those with lower income tend to spend more of their income in basic necessities. The best way to put it is that while New Afrikans are running to Walmart or Grocery Depot, whites are running to Sam's and Costco to buy in bulk, so who's gonna be at the store more often?

The money from income tax pays for important social services such as roads, hospitals, libraries, and most importantly, schools! That being said, i'm not writing this to ask you to beg your state leaders to consider your interests. We know that's not happening. What i'm trying to show is that situation is another phase in Our long-struggle for education and self-respect. The response is to turn towards community and tap into or RE-BUILD freedom schools! We are our own liberators, and to Free the Land, We also need to Free the School! So i say all this to say: "Look at the writing on the wall. The Neoconfederates are not interested in you, your family, or your friends. Only though rebuilding to win will shit change."

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DARE TO STRUGGLE!
FREE THE LAND!

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

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NEW AFRIKANS MUST OVERCOME OUR AVERSION TO COMMUNISM

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

~Christian Bible

It is encouraging to witness the increasing number of New Afrikans who are vocally anti-capitalist these days. Some are even calling for socialism. Others are organizing cooperatives and re-discovering ways to work together in mutual aid.

Indeed, for the great majority of our more than 400 years in amerika, New Afrikans have always relied on one another to survive and, in the best scenerios, thrive. That spirit is energizing and reassuring that independence in our lifetime is a real possibility!

Make no mistake about it, the crisis in capitalism is a agitating force that cannot avoid waking the sleeping giant. As the world's wealth is increasingly concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, the global

majority in general and the New Afrikan masses in particular are feeling the harsher impacts of the crisis. The broad and extremely anti-social policies of the settler u.s. oppresident are in reaction to the crisis and are in no way meant to ameliorate the pain but is guaranteed to intensify it.

For more than 100 years, proponents of capitalism have went to great lengths in their efforts to discredit communism which, in fact, has only existed as a theoretical vision – a vision they'd rather you not consider.

Despite the negative propaganda, there has never been a single communist country in the modern world. Every official attack on comunism has been largely an attack on the *ideas* that project a vision for a future that not only collides with the present but exposes those who benefit while the rest of us exist at, near or below the margin.

It is important to understand that capitalism is a recent historical development of the past 350 years. While there has long existed theft, usury and exploitation across human history, capitalism is a zero-sum scheme that is on the precipice of implosion threatening to destroy not only its most faithful adherents but all of us adjacent to it.

Communism, on other hand, is but the modern expression of the

most common way people organized themselves in the earliest of human societies. Hunting and gathering, for instance, was a practical division of labor that benefitted the group. Group survival was paramount because no individual could effectively confront the harshness of nature on his/her own. Even today, with all kinds of sophisticated tools at our disposal, nature remains a force that none of us can overcome alone.

While many attribute communist thought to the theories of Karl Marx, the fact is the idea and practice of communism is one of the oldest forms of social organization in human history. While historians and anthropologists have characterized cooperative living among early human groups as "communal," it has manifested among all peoples on all lands across time. Indeed, it has proven to be the most tried and true method for group survival among not only human beings but other living species as well.

Marx didn't invent communism, nor formulate from scratch the ideas (e.g., theories of value and surplus) or philosophical constructs (e.g. dialectical materialism) associated with him. But none can dispute that he provided the most enduring critique of capitalism to date. His critique carries such weight that it was outright criminalized in capitalist societies to identify as communist. The term is still used today as an epithet.

Trump characterizes all those who oppose him as either socialists or barbarians, which to him is one and the same. Anyone remember

the amerikan Red Scare during the early 20th century? Or the House Committe on Un-amerikan Activities that browbeat, intimidated blacklisted, and jailed men and women, both New Afrikans and amerikkkans, into disavowing communism and fomenting a fear of it?

What continues to be most frightening to the capitalists is the notion of "*from each according to their ability and to each according to their need.*" All hands on deck and a chicken in every pot suggests a sacrifice they are unwilling to make. Philanthropy is their deceitful way of placating the starving masses, hence the meteroic rise of the non-profit industrial complex in recent decades simultaneous to the ever-widening gap between those who got and those who do not. But even this contradiction, which deserves a dedicated unpacking, is collapsing in on the salaried do-gooder activists who are witnessing the end of an era. New Afrikan Communists understand that an authentic self-determination isn't externally funded.

As each of us seek a future rooted in freedom and human dignity We must have a vision (theory) to guide and instruct us. We must project (and begin practicing) the values that will govern the future We desire.

In future issues, it is the intent of the Re-Build Collective to further explore the vision of communism broadly speaking, and New Afrikan Communism in particular.

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CHANCE COMES TO THOSE WHO KNOW WHAT THEY WANT.
– AFRIKAN PROVERB

REMEMBERING THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

In 1919, Briggs, Grace Campbell, Richard Moore, and others, founded the African Blood Brotherhood (for African Liberation and Redemption). The ABB is noted for giving the nation's reality and the advocacy of national self-determination their first "coherent formulation and . . . organizational structure."

The ABB was, in another opinion, "in its day one of the most unusual Communist organizations in the world. It was nationalistic in an age in which Communists derided nationalism as a right-wing ideology. The Brotherhood developed independently from the worldwide Communist apparatus and remained independent for two years."

The ABB was essentially a clandestine organization, with a membership estimated between three and five thousand. The membership was composed of 'class-conscious workers, revolutionary intellectuals, disillusioned Garveyites, and free agents.' It had a 'strong base among black building-tradesmen, plumbers, electricians, bricklayers, stockyard workers, and among the service trades.' One of its Post Commanders, Edward Doty, was also founder and key figure in the American Consolidated Trades Council, a federation of independent New Afrikan unions

and groups in the building trades. (16)

The ABB Program – and much of its practice – emphasized higher wages for workers and their organization into independent unions; co-operatively-owned, socialist-oriented and mass-based businesses and industrial development; the creation of self-defense units and a Pan-African Army; the promotion of "race pride" and national consciousness; Pan-African solidarity and the creation of a "Universal Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth"; solidarity with oppressor nation anti-imperialist and revolutionary organizations; the organization of tenants associations, and struggles for cheaper rents; independent unionization of farmers and agricultural workers.

But again, the program was articulated shortly after the ABB was founded. Despite the degree of success they were having as they based their practice on it, other factors led them to abandon their own program, their own practice, and their own nation. By 1922, some ABB members had already joined the CPUSA, and the ABB had dropped much of its national revolutionary orientation:

The decline of the African Blood Brotherhood in the early twenties

and its eventual demise coincided with the growing participation of its leadership in the activities of the Communist Party. By 1923-24, the Brotherhood had ceased to exist as an autonomous, organized expression of the national revolutionary trend. Its leading members became [amerikkkan] communists or close sympathizers and its Posts served as one of the Party's recruiting grounds for blacks.

Harry Haywood talked to Cyril Briggs in the 1950s about the reasons for the ABB's decline, its absorption into the CPUSA, and its failure to continue the development of a program for the independence and socialist development of New Afrika. According to Haywood, Briggs looked back on the 1920s and concluded that, "The main reason for de-emphasizing the idea of black nationhood in the united states... was the unfavorable relationship of forces then existing."

Haywood listed these forces as:

a) *"Garvey...had preempted the leadership of the mass movement and corralled most of the militants."*

b) *(Garvey's) "hold over the masses was strengthened by the anti-Black violence of the Red Summer of 1919. This gave further credence to Garvey's contention that the u.s. was a white man's country where blacks could never achieve equality. Indeed, for these masses, his program for a black state in Africa to which american blacks could migrate seemed far less utopian than the idea of a black state on u.s. soil."*

c) *"As for the South, Briggs did not feel that such a region of entrenched racism could be projected*

realistically as a territorial focus of a black nationalist state. It would not have been so accepted by the masses who were in flight from the area. For himself, he reasoned, the very idea of self-determination in the United States presupposed the support of white revolutionaries. That meant a revolutionary crisis in the country as a whole, and in that day no such prospect was in sight. In fact, white revolutionary forces were then small and weak, the target of the vicious anti-red drives of the government and employees."

Haywood says that by the 1950s, Briggs had come to realize that the ABB had "underestimated the national element," been too impressed by oppressor nation leftists and their theory of socialism, and had been blinded by the belief in "multinational communist leadership."

We assume that most of our readers are familiar enough with the story of what happened to the ABB members and other New Afrikans who joined the CPUSA, not to need more details here. That story includes the development of the "Black Belt Nation Thesis," the activities of the CPUSA relative to the Nation, in the 1930s and 1940s. We definitely want to tell that story -- from our own perspective -- but it will have to be done in the near future.

EXCERPTED
FROM VITA WA
WATU: BOOK
8. SCAN CODE
TO READ FULL
ISSUE.



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

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

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

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

NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



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

and equal access to that maximum;

- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship and service;

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

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

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

- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;

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

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

natural rights;

- To assure justice for all;

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

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

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