

# Re-Build!

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In Memory of a New Afrikan  
Freedom Fighter

Nehanda Abiodun  
1950-2019



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# The New Afrikan Creed

1. i believe in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black People, and in Our new pursuit of these values.
2. i believe in the family and the community, and in the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live.
3. i believe in the community as more important than the individual.
4. i believe in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world. i believe in collective struggle; in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters.
5. i believe that the fundamental reason Our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control Our lives.
6. i believe that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign Black Nation.
7. i believe that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.
8. i believe in the Malcolm X Doctrine: that We must organize upon this land, and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote that We are free and Our land independent, and that after the vote, We must stand ready to defend Ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.

9. Therefore, i pledge to struggle without cease until We have won sovereignty. i pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a better condition than the world has yet known.
  10. i will give my life, if that is necessary. i will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this is necessary.
  11. i will follow my chosen leaders and help them.
  12. i will love my brothers and sisters as myself.
  13. i will steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister, and spread no gossip.
  14. i will keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that i am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.
  15. i will be patient and uplifting with my brothers and sisters\* and i will seek by word and by deed to heal the black family; to bring into the movement and into the community, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside.
- Now, freely and of my own will, i pledge this creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For i am, by the inspiration of Our ancestors and the Grace of Our Creator— a New Afrikan.

## Re-Build Collective Points of Unity

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

\*“deaf, dumb and blind” has been replaced by “my brothers and sisters” in point 15 and removed from the last paragraph. This reflects proposed amendments to the Creed made by members of the Rebuild Collective. These proposed amendments have also been forwarded to, but not voted on by the PCC-PGRNA.

# On The Passing of Sister Nehanda Isoke Abiodun

New Afrikan People's Organization



The New Afrikan Independence Movement and the world-wide anti-imperialist movement has lost a powerful soldier, comrade, and sister. Our comrade, Nehanda Isoke Abiodun, a founding cadre member of the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) and an Organizer for the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) died the early morning of January 30, 2019. She was living in exile in Havana, Cuba where she resided for over 30 years representing our struggle to the Cuban people and the international community.

Nehanda lived among the grassroots people in her small Havana community organizing, educating, and mentoring Cuban youth, as well as scores of young New Afrikans (African-Americans) who traveled to Cuba for educational purposes; to gain medical education; or simply learn more about the Cuban Revolution.

Nehanda became known as the 'Godmother' of Cuban Hip Hop because of her influence and encouragement of young Cuban rappers, and hip-hop artists who were creating a uniquely Cuban hip-hop culture. She connected young local artists, with the support of the New York Chapter of the MXGM, to young rising New Afrikan artists from the USA - such as Jay Z, Dead Prez, Common, Zayd Malik, and Mos Def.

They were introduced to the Cuban revolution through MXGM Black August Hip-Hop Conferences.

In the spirit of Frantz Fanon and Che Guevara, Nehanda was a true anti-imperialist and internationalist who steadfastly supported her adopted home Cuba, while whole heartedly defending the national liberation struggle of her own nation, New Afrika, against the settler colonial US Empire.

Mama Nehanda was also a New Afrikan Womanist. She was a co-founder of the New Afrikan Women's Organization which preceded the New Afrikan Women's Task Force of NAPO before exile. In Cuba she organized three international women's conferences co-sponsored by the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) and the New Afrikan Women's Task Force (NAWTF). This allowed Revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalist women to exchange ideas and discuss mutual support for the struggles of New Afrikan women and Cuban women. She facilitated the invitation of the New Afrikan Women's Task Force to be panelist at two International Women's conferences in Cuba to represent the New Afrikan Independence Movement and New Afrikan women.

Nehanda introduced New Afrikan revolutionary culture to the international community of young people who constantly flowed into Cuba. She initiated an annual "Anti-

Imperialist" Thanks-Giving Dinner, inviting expatriates, exiles, and community people. She conducted tours and taught political education classes, which encouraged scores of youth to stand in support of the New Afrikan Independence Movement and revolutionary internationalist struggles. She also organized an annual Kwanzaa celebration for the community and she continuously engaged international representatives, journalists, and scholars who visited Cuba.

Even before her exile, and before becoming a cadre of NAPO and an Organizer for MXGM, Mama Nehanda was a Government worker for the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PGRNA) and served as editor of its newspaper The New Afrikan. Comrade-Sister Nehanda also was a worker for the National Black Human Rights Coalition, a pre-formation for NAPO and she helped organize the NBHRC mobilization of 5,000 people to the United Nations in November 1979 three days after the Black Liberation Army liberated Sister Assata Shakur from prison.

Nehanda, was forced into exile from her home after being charged along with her friend and comrade Dr. Mutulu Shakur for their alleged involvement in the 1979 liberation of Assata Shakur as well as the 1981 expropriation of a Brinks truck in Nyack, New York. The US Government claims this was carried out in support of freedom schools, political organizing and developing revolutionary institutions. Despite being forced underground, she continued her revolutionary work and commitment to the New Afrikan people.

Despite being isolated from her family, she continued her revolutionary work, and commitment to New Afrikan people. She is the finest example of what Baba Chokwe Lumumba, the late Chairperson of NAPO, taught. She had a great love for the people because she understood, as Chokwe said, "If you don't love the people, sooner or later you're going to betray the people". Nehanda Isoke Abiodun loved New Afrikan people and served the New Afrikan Nation to her death.

Long Live the Revolutionary Spirit of Nehanda!

Still Standing!  
Asè!

# Killer Mike's *New Africa*: a Caricature of a Liberation Movement

by  
Asantewa Fulani Sunni-Ali



Credit: Netflix: Killer Mike's "Trigger Warning"

In mid-January 2019 Netflix released Killer Mike's six-episode series, "Trigger Warning." According to the self-proclaimed "Pan Africanist gangster rapper, civic leader and activist" the satirical documentary style series "examines cultural taboos and allows viewers to examine the "what ifs" and "why nots" that limit how people operate in the world. The show explores the human condition using nontraditional approaches, some of which not everyone will agree with." As the series title reveals Killer Mike anticipated that viewers would be disturbed and distressed upon watching the episodes. As a viewer and scholar of theatre, performance and Black Studies I was a bit of both as I attempted to make sense of it all.

As a New Afrikan and offspring of early citizens and leaders within the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika specifically, I was particularly disturbed by the "Kill Your Master" episode. It begins with Killer Mike describing a divided United States from which he has

chosen to secede and start his own republic. Juxtaposed to his voice and barbershop close-up were the written words of the following quote by Nina Simone, "you've got to learn to leave the table when love's no longer being served."

Images of Fela Kuti followed under Killer Mike's voice-over commentary, "Fela was a lot like me" he says, "he was a musician and an activist, he also shared my deep love for weed and women . . . he used music to speak truth to power and fight injustice." He then goes on to offer a superficial description of Fela Kuti's communal compound, Kalakuta, which Fela declared independent of the Nigerian state in 1970. Killer Mike continues, "Fela's dream will live on . . . and I will call my republic *New Africa*, where the citizens are valued more for their individuality than their blind allegiance to some bullshit political ideology."

As if the limiting portrayal of Fela Kuti and simplistic notions of sovereignty was not problematic enough Killer Mike proceeds to meet with a leader of the Nuwabian Nation of Moors for guidance on

how to start his "country." He jokes about having "a college kid" write the Declaration of Independence and displays a "New African" flag with his face in the middle surrounded by ads of various commercial enterprises. He laughs at his own jokes and delivers a few asides to the viewer. As "Citizens of New Africa" arrive on private land that Killer Mike purchased earlier in the episode they are given "starter kits" which contain tents and food. They are then directed to pledge allegiance on "the book of sleep," a reference to a previous episode where Killer Mike creates "The Church of Sleep" and holds its service in a strip club. "What is New Africa?" exclaims Sir Maejor, another character in the episode, "New Africa is an experiment in life and democracy."

While satire as a genre of film, literature and performing arts is widely used to critically examine individuals and society, it is most commonly employed for the purposes of exposing, criticizing and mocking. As a university professor I often use satirical content, comedy, art, and music as tools to spark healthy and insightful dialogue in the classroom. As a scholar and consumer I appreciate artistic, scholarly and/or performance texts that are non-traditional, abstract, and multi-dimensional. I welcome and seek opportunities to think about the human condition in ways that I had not before. As such, I viewed the Trigger Warning series with a hopeful and open mind that my fellow 'dirty south' Atlanta native would deliver on his promise to "examine cultural taboos" and limitations of people operating in the world. Although some of the conclusions drawn by Killer Mike in other episodes of the series needed to be sharpened by more in depth analysis, he is successful at offering alternative perspectives on issues, individuals and collectives that seek to disrupt the status quo

such as the notion of ‘Buying Black’ and destigmatizing Black gangs and brotherhoods. I had hope that some of this critical thought would be reflected in the “Kill Your Master” episode but instead it was predominantly satire.

It is no secret that since the advent of broadcast television the lived experiences of Black people have been reduced to marginal one-dimensional comic-relief caricatures. Media narratives of Black liberation movements and leaders in particular have historically been sensationalized, diluted extractions produced for mass media consumption. While presented as objective, the media’s ongoing use of these propaganda narratives has been strategically maintained to mystify and disempower movements and individuals that challenge the status quo. For a person who identifies as a social activist and raps about “beat[ing] a slave catcher snaggletooth” and “kill[ing] our masters and start[ing] again” it seems as if Killer Mike would have used a platform like Netflix, which has over 100 million international streaming subscribers, to illuminate truths, challenge dominant narratives and provoke critical thought based in fact rather than satire. Killer Mike sees himself as a truth teller with a “Garvey Mind.” I see a missed opportunity to offer a critical exploration of notions of independence, sovereignty, power and self-determination.

Created in 1968 at the Malcolm X Society’s Black Government Conference in Detroit Michigan, the purpose of The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PGRNA) was to bring about a revolution and ultimately liberation for African descendants living in the United States through the acquisition of land and sovereignty. The over five hundred conference attendees and signers of the Declaration of Independence felt that they were ‘paper citizens’ of the United States and not afforded the human and civil rights of their white counterparts. The PGRNA declared five states in the Black-belt south - Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama – as The Republic of New Afrika. In addition to struggling for

sovereign land as a source of economic and social power New Afrikan citizens also promoted the principles of collective work, self-determination and cooperative economics. They called for a cultural revolution and return to traditional African values as a way of combating white supremacist and capitalist oppression. While the PGRNA has not yet won the struggle for land and sovereignty The Republic of New Afrika persists as a cultural ideology of principles and practices that guide the ways in which many African descendants live.

Killer Mike’s assertion that “separatism on either side is bullshit” is a complete disregard of the nuances, function and purpose of Black liberation independence movements who continue to foster radical change across time, geographic space and imagination. Killer Mike’s use of the name “New Africa” absent of any factual context of the movement is an erasure of New Afrikan Independence Movement builders that radically re-routed the trajectory of Black lived experience in the United States and the world over. A caricatured “New Africa” is blatantly irresponsible and disrespectful to the movement’s former and current political prisoners, freedom fighters who live and die in political exile, elders still living, and ancestors who have passed.

At the end of the episode Killer Mike rigs the vote of the presidential election and the citizens party as the scene fades to black. “Anyone in the world is invited to become a New African” are the last words spoken. What does Killer Mike want the viewer to believe about “New Africa” and the idea of sovereignty? What message is he sending? I am not certain that he knows. What I am certain of is that mere satires and parodies of Black liberation and independence movements serve to further normalize white supremacist economic and social structures while further demonizing those who dare to oppose it and seek to create alternatives. As philosopher Laura Maguire posits “when satire targets society’s marginalized, it can have the power to confirm and strengthen people’s prejudices against the group in

question, which only marginalizes and disenfranchises them more.”

I believe that Killer Mike intended to be provocative in his depiction of “New Africa” and I am sure that he garnered the attention of many who had not imagined alternative social, political, economic and cultural realities. However, at the same time, his predominantly comedic and satirical approach is a dishonoring of past and current Black liberation movements. While I am not calling for a ‘cancellation’ of Killer Mike I am calling for an end of the mockery of Black liberation in all of its iterations. And yes, we can and should laugh along the way to liberation because carefully constructed representations of our lived experiences can humor, provoke critical thought and inspire people to action – all at the same time.



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# Addressing Patriarchy and Gender Nonconformity in the Struggle for New Afrika

## The Assata-Bukhari Collective



For many, Nationalism is currently associated with patriarchal gender practice. While individuals within the New Afrikan independence movement have made great contributions to anti-patriarchal thought & practice (think Assata), there is still a poor track record that must be corrected. Many of these practices are NOT liberatory & have isolated women/GNC/trans folx/non men from feeling a part of the movement and from identifying with the aims of Land, Independence, and Socialism. Patriarchy, in our thought and practice, not only continues the vicious cycle of harm against some of our most vulnerable, it also undermines the fundamental goals of the National Liberation movement. As a result, We must encourage the development and the growth of collectives/cadres of Trans, Gender Non Conforming, or otherwise queer and femme New Afrikans. In this way, collectives will form the material basis for New Afrikan women and non men to shift the broader NAIM's (and the whole of the New Afrikan nation's) analysis and practice in regards to the social liberation of queer and femme New Afrikans. The recently formed Assata-Bukhari Collective (of which the authors are members of) is an example of one of these collectives.

As a whole movement, we need to develop a New Afrikan analysis of patriarchy and that can be reflected in our language and practices as well. The National form of struggle, while

necessary, is not the only form of struggle that needs attention and analysis. If our nationalism and our politics is to be truly revolutionary or transformative, then it must take into account the whole of New Afrikan suffering and oppression, as well as the particulars. James Yaki Sayles reminds us, "As We develop our new concept and practice of humanism, We'll need to keep the struggle against patriarchy and all forms of gender oppression also up front. How can We claim to seek to create a social environment that will allow the full and free development of each person, and not pull out all pillars of oppressive social relations?" (1)

We cannot use the current forms of social relations that have been used to oppress us as a means to isolate certain groups in our own struggle towards liberation. We cannot call oppression of any kind with a New Afrikan face revolutionary, which means it is imperative we struggle against patriarchy, homophobia, and transphobia of any kind. To paraphrase Sanyika Shakur, "Patriarchy creates categories for people to fit into in order to facilitate their exploitation and oppression." (2) We understand that fundamental to Western (particularly US) capitalist formations is the division of & distinction made between so called "productive" & "reproductive" labor. This forms the basis of

how patriarchy is expressed under this particular mode of production. Those labeled "men" go out and perform "productive labor" -- whether by creating value in the form of commodities through physical labor or by exploiting someone else's labor; those labeled "women" stay at home, birth, and raise children who will become future laborers (or capitalists), and nourish the "man," thus reproducing or replenishing his ability to work. Consequently, this also forms a basis for the systemic disposability of Trans and other Queer folks who do not fit into this binary model. We see that the capitalist system is ultimately reproduced through the oppression of women and its necessary disposability of Trans and Queer folks. The disempowerment of women as anything but homemaker and the disposability of Trans and Queer New Afrikans is often subconsciously (and sometimes consciously) repeated within the logics of our rhetoric and practice.

As revolutionary New Afrikans and New Afrikan Communists who are against genocidal settler violence, why do many of us not uphold for example the actions of Cece McDonald.? Why was this recent case of an Afrikan woman SUCCESSFULLY defending herself against a settler Nazi NOT consciously uplifted by New Afrikan liberation formations? It appears as if the only reason is because she is an Afrikan Trans woman. When we refuse to uplift instances of militant self defense or revolutionary struggle by those who exist outside of Patriarchy's categories, we are in effect saying the contributions of trans, gender non conforming, queer, and/or non men are irrelevant in our fight towards liberation. When we do this, we send the message that the lives of these vulnerable groups within our nation are not valuable.

That being said, it is of utmost importance we continue to study as well as transform our language and practices as we move towards creating the world we wish to see. We must consider how many people we are losing and excluding when we solely say something as simple as, "brothers and sisters" when addressing each other. We must consider the ways in which we "gender" labor in our own formations. For example, the idea that (whether



Note: Cece McDonald was released January 13, 2014 after 14 months in prison

explicit or implicit) that it is the duty of men to pick up arms or the idea that the job of the revolutionary woman is to raise revolutionary kids.

Where does that leave women without kids? And who don't intend to have kids? Or women who wish to pick up arms? Or men who wish to raise revolutionary kids? Where does that leave folx who exist outside of this narrow idea of man and woman? This is how we lose those who are or who can be developed into committed militants. This is how we lose those who have

valuable contributions to our National Liberation struggle otherwise.

Rather than saying something like, "We have to protect OUR women," We must ask ourselves: how do We frame the concept of loving and protecting each other without: being biologically essentialist (reducing people to solely their anatomy), disempowering non men as conscious actors in our militant struggle and instead

understand that, rather than saying We need to protect our women (and non men), We need to be saying that we need to ARM New Afrikan women and non men with the tools to protect THEMSELVES and to fight for THEIR/OUR own liberation.

Our community has an incredible diversity in terms of how folx live and express themselves and our politics need to reflect that. To echo Yaki's sentiment, We need to truly create a social environment that will allow the full and free development of ALL New Afrikans. Liberation is not a utopia for only some New Afrikans who are specifically men and women

and in a heterosexual relationship, liberation is for ALL oppressed New Afrikans.

The movement needs to encourage the development of New Afrikan non-men/ GNC/ trans folx to organize themselves into collectives. We say this because it's important to ensure that even within the broad struggle for land, independence, and socialism, there is a concrete organized basis for New Afrikan women and non men to be able to push for political and social relations that are truly liberating for them/us. An example of such is the Assata-Bukhari Collective in South Central Los Angeles. We are a collective of New Afrikans under the age of 25 and a majority of our members are femme/gender non conforming.

We have encouraged community dialogue in spaces like Spit Justice, which we facilitate weekly as an open mic and popular education space. Our topics include: patriarchy, colonialism, police brutality, gentrification, and more. In addition, we host weekly healing circles, weekly work studies, monthly food distributions, and are in the process of developing a rapid response/transformational justice team to combat the surge of intercommunal patriarchal violence. This violence faced by so many of our most vulnerable community members has set the stage for folx to embrace the Settler state as a solution. As a result, one of the things we are challenging in our organizing is the implicit Amerikkkan nationalism that exists within the mainstream, queer, feminist (white) movements. In challenging this through our organizing, we are giving femme, trans, and queer New Afrikans a new liberatory politic to embrace. A politic that is rooted in the understanding that full decolonization means freedom for ALL oppressed New Afrikans.

Free The Land!

- (1) James Yaki Sayles, **Meditations**, pg 161
- (2) Sanyika Shakur, **Stand Up Struggle Forward!**, pg 113



# Looking Back-Looking Forward

by  
Kali Akuno  
Cooperation Jackson



2018 was a watershed moment in our struggle for national liberation and sovereignty. We are now more than 50 years past the formal declaration of our independence from the empire that is the United States of America. That we have yet to attain our freedom should not be viewed with trepidation. As we study the annals of history, we take note of the fact that it often takes centuries for oppressed peoples and colonized nations to develop the capacities and varied forms of organization needed to emancipate themselves from the grip of their colonizers and oppressors. Like it or not, our case is no different. Our declaration of independence was only a starting point. We have many capacities yet to learn and many self-sustaining and self-sufficient organizations yet to build to be able to successfully win our freedom.

Given how and where our people started on Great Turtle Island and where we're presently at, it should be crystal clear that we still have a long way to go. But, to move forward, it is critical that we take stock of the past and present and make an honest and critical assessment of where we're at in terms of: a) articulating and developing the national consciousness of our people on a mass level, b) developing the

necessary skills and capacities amongst the people that are needed to advance our cause, and c) building the necessary institutions and resources that will enable us to get there.

We have to start our assessment with the articulation and development of our national consciousness and identity. For starters, there are few Black people at present who describe themselves as conscious New Afrikan and citizens of the Republic of New Afrika, with New Afrikan meaning in broad, but simple terms, a person of Afrikan descent who recognizes the nationhood of the Afrikan people held captive and colonized within the US empire, and who fight for the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of this nation without compromise.

This author would wager that there are fewer than 20,000 Black people in this empire at present who define themselves as New Afrikan (and this is perhaps being generous). But, even if I'm wrong, and there are perhaps 1,000,000 Black people in this empire who define themselves as New Afrikan, we have to

recognize that this would be insufficient, grossly insufficient, towards accomplishing our mission. We have to develop the capacities, programs, and institutions that can reach millions of our people, convince them to join the independence movement, and democratically coordinate our actions to advance our mission.

If we acknowledge the above to be true, it is then incumbent upon those of us who are conscious citizens to be more strategic in our work and develop the skills and capacities necessary to organize millions of people over the long haul. That we are presently few in number should not be a deterrent.

Revolutions rarely start with masses of people. They start with small groups of people who lay the foundation with sound socio-cultural and material assessments of their context and new ideas around how society must be reorganized and why that are then backed up with programmatic action that compel people to reassess and reorganize their relations over time. To this end, some of the primary skills and capacities this generation of New Afrikan revolutionaries must develop specifically pertain to a) developing concrete "transitional" strategies that can programmatically be advanced to scale over the next 10 to 20 years, predominantly within the New Afrikan national territory, and b) developing effective means to politically engage millions of Black people in active ideological and political struggle.

It is imperative that we win the battle of ideas over the next 10 years, so we can make conscious interventions in the struggles ahead, particularly those around the climate change crisis.

Now, as it relates to the articulation and development of our national consciousness, the first thing that must be noted is that the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM), as a tendency within the larger Black Liberation Movement (BLM) in the United States, is, at present, in a secondary position relative to the tendency aiming to transform the whole of what



is now the United States settler colonial project into a socialist and/or communist society. The third major tendency of the Black Liberation Movement, the repatriation tendency, which aims to see us physically return in mass to the Afrikan continent, is by far and away the minority tendency at present. It should be noted however, that the most predominant political position held and articulated by the “organized majority” of Black people is not one centered on liberation, but rather deeper integration within the empire. And beyond that, the predominant political position held by the “unorganized majority” of Black people is one centered on survival, plain and simple.

I would argue that this latter group, the “unorganized majority” constitute between 25 - 30% of the entire Black population within the US empire. The vast majority of these individuals are drawn from the more precarious sectors of the working class, and are organized into organic formations, like street organizations and churches, mosques, etc. Beyond this, we have to recognize that the material and cultural impositions of neoliberalism over the past 30 years have eviscerated the formal organizations of the Black working class, like trade unions, social aid clubs, civic groups, etc. If the New Afrikan Independence Movement is going to grow within the next 10 years, it is predominantly going to have to come from this sector, as it is the one least attached to the spoils of empire, and the clearest in terms of understanding its own disposable status and reality.

If we are being honest with ourselves in answering why this dynamic presently exists, we have to start with the overall weakness of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The weaknesses of our movement come from an uneven combination of external threats and internal deficiencies. The primary external threat that we have and will continue to confront is the United States government. This threat confronts us on many levels: infiltration, observation, investigation, prosecution, imprisonment and outright liquidation. The secondary external threat that we confront, but only second by minor degrees, are the forces of capital. Capital has two aims relative to our movement. One is

to contain it when and where necessary to ensure that the vast majority of our people remain in position to be exploited.



The second aim of capital is to appropriate any and all of the material and cultural products we innovate to profit from them via their monopolization of the various production and distribution processes generally employed in any market exchange in this society. Profit is the dominant motive in this dynamic, but not the only one. The other motive is to use our labor and its fruits as weapons against us culturally and psychologically to ensure that we remain divided and in vulnerable positions.

Our internal deficiencies are of another quality. Again, the number of conscious citizens of the Republic of New Afrika are few. The number of people who consider themselves New Afrikans is relatively few. The number of partisan organizations within the New African Independence is declining, and the forces that we do have, like Provisional Government, the New Afrikan People’s Organization, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, and elements within the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) and the Jericho Amnesty Movement to free our political prisoners and prisoners of war, are by most measures, in retreat. As revolutionaries on the

quest to rebuild the New Afrikan Independence Movement, we have to interrogate why we are in this predicament, and to do so with ruthless candor and honesty if we are going to develop a concrete program and strategy to reverse our fortunes.

We have to start with our internal differences. After 50 years of struggle, and being witness to the many challenges and failures of the national and social liberation movements in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America over the course of time, we have yet to fully come to grips with the “pitfalls of national consciousness” as comrade Frantz Fanon put it, and synthesize the lessons from our own experiences and those of others and develop a coherent program to address them. To be clear, our movement doesn’t have a coherent and synthesized understanding of neocolonialism or neoliberalism in all their forms - ranging from electoralism to NGOism - and how to combat them. We do not have a shared understanding of the complexities of sex and gender in our movement, and how to deal with the power imbalances between women and men, or between heterosexuals and non-gender conforming peoples and communities within and amongst our people. Nor do we have a clear agreement regarding who we collectively think should be the primary motive force in our movement - the working class or the petit bourgeois - and what that therefore implies regarding the development of a coherent program and strategy.

Finally, in addressing our need to build effective institutions and resources that will enable us to make some serious advances over the course of the next 10 years, we have to make the time address the critical questions raised above. Without coming to some basic unity on these questions, we will continue to march around in circles and we can ill afford to do that. The stakes are too high. Without firmly resolving these questions, I want to outline a few positions to open the debate and get us moving on the struggle for clarity. Starting with the questions above, let me state the following:

1. Regarding addressing the challenges of neocolonialism and neoliberalism we must adopt a politics and set of principles that ensure that

our tactical decisions align with our strategic pursuits to ensure that politics always remain in command. This means that at every step the end goal must always be remembered as the driving force.

2. On the question of addressing sexism and heteropatriarchy in our movement we have to incorporate the most advanced thinking and practice being derived from the social liberation movements over the past 4 years (and beyond) and embrace the diversity of our people and fight to ensure that all our people are included, be they queer, trans, or gender non-conforming in any way. New Afrika must be socially as well as politically and economically liberated.

3. On the question of the motive forces we must firmly come to grips with the fact that if our movement is going to succeed, it is going to have to be a mass movement. And it must therefore embrace the position of the masses and utilize this as our primary strength. This means being clear that the New Afrikan working class is going to have to lead our movement to victory and that the petit bourgeois forces inside of it are going to have to consciously and willfully commit to a program of “class suicide” as comrade Amilcar Cabral outlined.

4. Finally, I submit that our movement must adopt a clear program to build ecosocialism from below over the course of the next ten years and beyond. On a transitional level this entails building a network of semi-autonomous municipalities and/or zones over this period of time. Give the existential threat to humanity posed by climate change, we have to ensure that our projects and the semi-autonomous or liberated zones that we construct take lead on innovating sustainable economies and regenerative solutions to restore ecological balance in our communities and throughout the world. We have to turn this crisis into opportunity for our people and our cause, particularly given how it could potentially weaken the grip of the US state and transnational capital in the years and decades to come.

I further offer this programmatic suggestion to add to the four points raised above. This quote is taken from “Until We Win”, which I wrote and released in September 2015 in Counterpunch magazine:

*“Autonomous projects are initiatives not supported or organized by the government (state) or some variant of monopoly capital (finance or corporate industrial or mercantile capital). These are initiatives that directly seek to create a democratic “economy of need” around organizing sustainable institutions that satisfy people’s basic needs around principles of social solidarity and participatory or direct democracy that intentionally put the needs of people before the needs of profit. These initiatives are built and sustained by people organizing themselves and collectivizing their resources through dues paying membership structures, income sharing, resource sharing, time banking, etc., to amass the initial resources needed to start and sustain our initiatives. These types of projects range from organizing community farms (focused on developing the capacity to feed thousands of people) to forming people’s self-defense networks to organizing non-market housing projects to building cooperatives to fulfill our material needs. To ensure that these are not mere Black capitalist enterprises, these initiatives must be built democratically from the ground up and must be owned, operated, and controlled by their workers and consumers. These are essentially “serve the people” or “survival programs” that help the people to sustain and attain a degree of autonomy and self-rule. Our challenge is marshaling enough resources and organizing these projects on a large enough scale to eventually meet the material needs of nearly 40 million people. And overcoming the various pressures that will be brought to bear on these institutions by the forces of capital to either criminalize and crush them during their development (via restrictions on access to finance, market access, legal security, etc.) or co-opt them and reincorporate them fully into the capitalist market if they survive and thrive. Our pressure exerting initiatives must be focused on creating enough democratic and social space*

*for us to organize ourselves in a self-determined manner. We should be under no illusion that the system can be reformed, it cannot. Capitalism and its bourgeois national-states, the US government being the most dominant amongst them, have demonstrated a tremendous ability to adapt to and absorb disruptive social forces and their demands – when it has ample surpluses. The capitalist system has essentially run out of surpluses, and therefore does not possess the flexibility that it once did.”*

To be sure, we are NOT where we should be, nor where need to be. We have enough to regroup and bounce back, of this I am sure. But, we have some major struggle to wage to address and overcome our own weaknesses and shortcomings to get there. We have to start now to make sure that our next 50 years are more fruitful than our last 50 years. Our ancestors demand no less.

Free the Land!



**Photo: Kali Akuna, Cooperation Jackson**

Cooperation Jackson is an organization with a long term vision to develop a cooperative network based in Jackson, Mississippi that will consist of four interconnected and interdependent institutions: a federation of local worker cooperatives, a cooperative incubator, a cooperative education and training center (the Kuwasi Balagoon Center for Economic Democracy and Development), and a cooperative bank or financial institution.

# From Captured Colonial to New Afrikan Freedom Fighter

by  
**Kwame Shakur**  
New Afrikan Liberation Collective



**Photo: Kwame Shakur**

## Revolutionary Greetings!

i have been asked to explain my transformation from captured colonial, to that of a freedom fighter and conscious citizen of the Republic of New Afrika (particularly, how it came about in the slave kkkamps of the IDOC), and the struggles of organizing the New Afrikan Independence Movement in Indiana. Even during the high tide of revolutionary activity in the u.s., Indiana has never been known to have a progressive social climate or to produce more than a handful of New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist cadre struggling in Our pursuit of Land and Independence.

During the 60s and 70s my grandfather Robert Joyner Sr. was one of the leading Revolutionary activists in my city of Terre Haute, IN. As vice chairman of his formation, he and his comrades founded the Hyte Center in 1970 (now known as the Booker T. Washington Community Center) to serve as a community liberation center and survival program. From a very young age my father made sure i knew who my grandfather was

and what he did for Our people, he made sure i knew the history of our local and National leaders. When my grandfather fell ill in the mid 90s i can recall going with my father to gather his guns, as he loaded cases of assault rifles, shotguns, handguns, boxes and bags of banana clips and ammunition into the car i was told they were "leftover" from the 60's. i grew up listening to stories of my grandfather having armed confrontations with the kkk when they had come after him for the things he was doing in the community. In 1999 i became a member of a street organization under the teachings of the Honorable Larry Hoover, who focused on an educational, economical, political and sound development concept for Growth and Development. i have been socially and culturally conscious for the majority of my life, however, like many individuals of my generation i was caught up in the lumpen/"criminal" mentality and with no Political Education or concept of Nation/Class struggle. My "revolutionary" mentality was based on outdated, backwards "race" politics and a misguided hatred for most white men.

i was captured in 2011 when over 3 dozen SWAT team, u.s. marshalls and Indiana State police surrounded my father's house with snipers and a battering ram tank. My father was put in handcuffs after confronting the pigs demanding they put their guns down before i would come out. After a brief standoff i came out, the house was raided on an illegal search and seizure with no warrant (the only things seized were all the weapons that had belonged to my grandfather). After being questioned about a double homicide of two euro-americans i was illegally held captive for 33 days before being charged with the murders. The case was never alleged to be gang related, yet the entire case was politicized surrounding my membership to Growth and Development.



**Photo: Kwame's Grandfather Robert Joyner Sr.**

Every witness statement and deposition became about my affiliation. Internal Affairs from the Indiana Dept. of Correction sent prosecutors a Security Threat Group file that was used against me at sentencing, in his closing argument the prosecutor slapped his own forehead and told the judge " your honor... he basically wrote the rule book on how to be a Gangster Disciple." This was all on the contrary, both on the street and behind the wall i was known for getting ones to make the positive transition from Gangster Disciple to Growth and Development.



**Photo: raid of Kwame's home**



Photo: "In the Spirit of Mandela" panel discussion

It wasn't until 2014 when comrad Shaka Shakur was sent back to Pendleton Corr. Facility that i was transformed into a New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist. The comrad saw the work i was doing and gave me a copy of Comrad Sanyika Shakur's book "Stand Up, Struggle Forward." The book changed my life, it changed the way i viewed the world, it made the very existence of being an oppressed Afrikan within this settler state and the struggles We face as a people come into sharp focus. Destroying the plurality of "race," it introduced me to dialectical materialism and the antagonistic class contradictions hidden by the capitalist social construct of "race" to strip peoples of their Nationality, turning them into subjugated neo-colonies. i was familiar with the Nation of Islam, the Five Percenters/Nation of Gods and Earths, and the Moorish Science Temple of America, but none of them focused on dialectical/historical materialism for a concrete scientific analysis of how to achieve self-determination/National Liberation like the Republic of New Afrika. This led to Shaka Shakur and i founding the New Afrikan Liberation Collective (N.A.L.C.).

As with all attempts to re-build the anti-racist-capitalist-imperialist movement in North amerikkka, the one to raise prisoners' consciousness has been an arduous struggle. We lost an entire generation to gangs and drugs, thus tribalism and chemical warfare allowed the pigs to assume and maintain complete control over the kkkamps. Many of those who were accused of leading the uprisings and military offensives against the

state in the late 80s and early 90s are just now making their way out of solitary confinement. The IDOC has mastered the science of slave psychology, at PCF there was zero resistance against the captors and i found it nearly impossible to mass organize around pressing issues and repressive policies that affected everyone. i learned through the teachings of comrade Ed Mead that when building a prison movement there are two ways that one can go about the task-mass organizing or individual cadre development. Focusing on the latter, in particular individuals who were already leaders within their group or organization, i began to see success in transforming the kkkamp into what could be a revolutionary university through great study and struggle.

i began speaking and writing about using N.A.L.C. to create a front to rebuild the NAIM by unifying the leading cadre individuals and organizations within the New Afrikan Nation. This is when Shaka introduced me to the brilliant works of comrad Jalil Muntaqim, explaining that what i was calling for had already been proposed by Jalil through FROLINAN (Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation).

After getting my hands on the National Strategy for FROLINAN and the FROLINAN Handbook i couldn't believe that this calling hadn't been formulated into our program for Decolonization. For a year and a half i have been planting seeds to grow FROLINAN, networking with comrades all over the kkkcountry both inside and out of the kkkamps to bring individuals and formations into the front.

It is clear that We need to evolve a unified strategy for direction moving forward if We are serious about re-building to win.

During this same time (April 2017) We launched the Prison Lives Matter (PLM) campaign; a united front for PPs/POWs and their organizations within the prison movement. PLM became the perfect vehicle for us to connect the dots between National Liberation and the prisoner support group "IDOC Watch" active throughout the state. helping with the first Prison Lives Matter

demonstration in Aug. 2017, and when i answered the clarion call from Comrad Jalil Muntaqim to establish the "In the Spirit of Nelson Mandela Campaign" comrades from IDOC Watch played a fundamental role in helping me organize the demo and bring some of our National leaders from the NAIM and prison movement to this state for a panel discussion. In building this working relationship, several comrades from IDOC Watch have become staunch supporters of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. They are also assisting Shaka in his recent kkkourt battle against the state for the assault against his captors.

My main objective with the prison movement right now is to get outside supporters to view the prison industrial slave complex through a broader scope in order to see its role in colonizing the New Afrikan Nation. At the same time, when We are trying to raise consciousness about the u.s. violating international laws on the Treatment of Prisoners of War who were members of a colonized nation fighting for independence, there needs to be an active National Liberation Struggle from our people in order to gain momentum and international support. The liberation of these freedom fighters, the future of our Nation, and any hope of *freeing the land* rests upon what We do right now!

The struggle is still for Land and Independence!

Re-Build To Win!



# Fundamental Nationalism: a Necessary Conversation

Thandisizwe Chimurenga  
Re-Build Collective

In my little old humble opinion, the presidency of Donald Trump has exposed the United States government – more so than at any other time in its history and to far, far more people than at any other time in its history – for the illegitimacy that it is. Not Trump's election that is illegitimate, but this entire project known as the United States empire. The questions for me are how do we best take advantage of this opportunity Trump and his ilk have given us to more widely expose this sham of a project? More and more of our people – New Afrikans – are feeling alienated from this project of forced Americanism; how do we increase that, deepen it, and win them over to not just a clear and purposeful consciousness of nationhood, but clear and purposeful action on behalf of independence? How to best move forward in terms of actual movement in a movement that has been stagnant for most of its entire 50-year existence?

It is in this spirit of seeking answers that I found myself in conversation with James Simmons. James Simmons is a lot of things: a writer; an organizer; a martial artist having trained in a variety of disciplines including Kupigana Ngumi, Kali, and Kung Fu; and currently an instructor of Capoeira Angola in the community. He's been a New Afrikan since 1975 and a New Afrikan attorney since 1992, serving in the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Human Rights Advocacy and Justice Warriors for Black Lives. But it is in his current role as a lecturer in Pan African Studies on the community college level that we had a conversation about *Fundamental Nationalism*.

According to Simmons, *fundamental nationalism* is “cultural. And it's a way of thinking and acting that is nationalist in fact, but is *not* based on ideology. It's [Black] people acting out their nationalism in an unconscious form.”

Unconscious ... meaning ... not always consciously aware of it *or* its implications.

Of course, this brings up the obvious questions of “what is nationalism?” and “what is a nation?” For the purposes of this essay, we'll say that nationalism is “a way of thinking and acting to support your nation, being loyal to your nation, and putting your nation's interest to the fore.”

As for nation, we'll say that “a nation is a group of people bound together by history, culture, language and interest.” With regards to the land question, for the purposes of this essay the question of association is utilized: association with land as opposed to actually occupying it.

According to Simmons, “At some point, there has to be some kind of association; there are nations that at present have no land. Originally they would have been or were together; this is where diaspora comes in. You can find many nations that are going through some kind of dispersal through war or genocide or some other factor where they are no longer together but are still a nation in fact.”

As readers are well aware, the land base of the New Afrikan nation has been identified, since 1968, as the Southern “Black Belt” states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. New Afrikan people living in Detroit, Chicago, Oakland and Los Angeles should be seen as members of that diaspora that Simmons referred to.

The concept of fundamental nationalism is actually not a new one, but for me, it's exciting in this age of Trump that we currently find ourselves in.

Perhaps I'm getting a bit ahead of myself. I still haven't gotten into what fundamental nationalism actually is.

In Simmons' words, “Even if [Black people] are not ideologically inclined to be a nationalist or to nationalism, [Black people] still act out in nationalist ways, putting the interest of their nation or people out there.” Some examples of this are the following:

Historically, the creation of Black churches such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church stands as a prominent example. Those folks didn't describe themselves as nationalists, as seeking an independent Black nation. They probably wouldn't have either, but they created something of their own for their own.

Simmons cites a contemporary example that is concomitant with that: “Here in Los Angeles, many Black people moved to Lancaster or Palmdale or Riverside, areas far north or far east of Los Angeles, and on the weekends would return to the city to attend their churches. The Black church has always been not just a church but it has also met a crucial need as a meeting space and a place for relationships and fellowship that make community thrive.”

Another historical example according to Simmons is Jet Magazine. In the early years and for much of its history, in the back of Jet Magazine you would find the radio and television section. [Of course, this example is concomitant with the founding of independent Black media in general.]

“You could find whatever Black person or Black group was going to be on television

nationally. At this time [roughly the mid 1950s through the 1970s], there were few appearances of Black talent on television but if you wanted to find out, you'd look at the back of the book and you'd see who was going to appear where. This wasn't TV guide, but it was an easy way to find out where the Black people were going to be.”

The closest modern day example of this would be Shadow and Act's “What's Coming To Netflix” feature. A digital platform related to all things Black and entertainment, Shadow and Act lists all original or previously released films and television series that will be premiering on Netflix's streaming service during the month. As part of their commentary, they give special note to the productions that feature Black talent.

Another historical example Simmons cited was, “whenever a boxer [or another athlete] was competing against a white person or others, Black folks generally cheered for them or supported them. Joe Louis vs. Max Schmeling for example, is the most historic example of this.”

A more modern example of this can be found in the comment by Issa Rae, co-creator and star of the HBO comedy series *Insecure*. When approached by a reporter at the 2017 Emmy awards, Rae replied, “I'm rooting for everybody Black.” To our knowledge, Rae is not a known supporter of any political entities that aspire to independent nationhood (*the fact that we don't know might actually be cool*) but this is an example of what is meant by unconscious nationalism. Rae was/is publicly (and proudly) supporting the members of her group.



Week's Radio-TV Preview  
Joe Louis-Rocky Marciano fight (Friday, Oct. 26 at 10 p.m. EST) on NBC television and radio from New York's Madison Square Garden.  
Pearl Bailey on Clifton Fadiman's "This Is Show Business" (Sunday, Oct. 28 at 7:30 EST) on CBS television.  
The Ink Spots on Tallulah Bankhead's The Big Show (Sunday, Oct. 28 at 6:30 p.m. EST) on NBC radio.  
Howell and Bowers on Ed Sullivan's Toast of the Town (Sunday, Oct. 28 at 8 p.m. EST) on CBS television.

In terms of language and culture, Black people's creativity has led to new words, new dances, new forms of music, in society at large and solely within the Black community itself. An example of this would be language and naming practices.

All Afrikan peoples, regardless of where they are on the mother continent of Afrika, believe in or practice some form of the "the power of the word." The naming of a child is a sacred undertaking done via ritual precisely because words are so powerful – implanting upon a child a spirit or power via the name. Afrikan people are a tonal people and as such, depending on the tone, the meaning of a name or word can be changed entirely. Yet, for a people who have largely lost the memory of exact rituals, the importance of tonality is as important as the uniqueness of the individual.

This is why, in addition to Black parents sometimes choosing Afrikan names or Islamic/Arabic names for their children, some parents also simply create names. They hear a name or a sound they like and they spell the name the way they like.

That is the reason why such a thing as "Black names" exist. Without even giving an example of a "Black name," I am more than sure you are thinking about what some of those names could be at this very moment. And you would be correct.

In an exercise Simmons does with his students, he asks them to list the various ways that the name Chante' is spelled. The pronunciation is the same but the myriad ways in which it can be spelled attest to the desire on the part of the parent to be unique.

To be clear, the actual word "Chante'" comes from the French, meaning "[to] dance," however Simmons says we can still see some aspect of what can be called "black defiance" in this naming practice.

"They're not always spelled like French words," says Simmons, "they're going to spell it like they feel like spelling it, and it's a bit of rebellion. Most Black folk in the U.S. don't associate the French with oppression like the British or Anglo-Saxons. They don't look at the French as oppressors. You'll hear Black people say 'Ooh I have French in my background,' or 'I'm Creole.' You never hear Black people saying 'I have English in my background.' Nobody wants to say that. The French are apparently perceived as being more liberal than the oppressive British, Irish and Scottish owners during enslavement. In my experience nobody is trying to claim those nationalities."

As another example of uniqueness of sound (and action), we can confidently place Stevie Wonder's "Happy Birthday To Ya" on this list. The song was originally written in support of efforts to make Dr. Martin Luther King Jr's birthday a national holiday.

Since that time, the "Stevie Version" of the "Happy Birthday" song is pretty much the "go-to" choice for friends and families. I even heard it sung at a Sizzler Restaurant once by the waitresses to a patron.

Yes ... they were all Black and it was in the 'hood.

It is precisely because fundamental nationalism is unconscious, you can find it in almost every person of Afrikan descent living within the United States; folks who have shared a common history and experience. Fundamental nationalism can even be found in a Black conservative Republican presidential contender.

During the 2012 presidential election season, Texas Governor Rick Perry came under scrutiny over his family's long-term lease of a ranch named Niggerhead. Perry blamed the name on the white folks who came before his white folks, and stated the name had actually been painted over years before. It is because the painting over was poorly done that people were able to still see the original name and raise a stink about it. An unfortunately common name throughout the United States, the controversy was one the Republican party didn't want to focus on. Enter Herman Cain.

A Black businessman and contender for the Republican party's nomination, Cain stated on a Sunday, October 2, 2011, Fox News broadcast that "there isn't a more vile, negative word than the nigger word and for Mr. Perry's family to leave it on a rock at the entrance of their leased space as long as they did is just plain insensitive to a lot of Black people in this country."

Being a Republican and being on Fox News held no sway. *Even* Herman Cain had to pop off about white folks' use of the N-word.

#### *Fundamental. Nationalism.*

The Lancet, one of the oldest medical research journals in the world, published a study last year that spoke to the issue of fundamental nationalism, but not like the examples shown above. According to the study published in July 2018 New Afrikan people as a whole, within the United States, suffer from trauma and mental health harm after incidents of police terrorism, specifically shootings.

"Police killings of unarmed Black Americans," says Yes! Magazine, are having a population-level

impact on the mental health of Black Americans."

Population level. Black Americans. It affects every one of us.

Of course, neither the study nor most media coverage of the study talk about the exact reasons *why* it would affect every one of us. We know it is because the victims of police terror were targeted by the police; not because of who they were as individuals, but because of who they were as representatives of the oppressed New Afrikan nation. Under an anti-Black, white supremacist state such as the United Snakes of Amerikkka, a Black man woman or child – a New Afrikan – will *always* be armed. They will always be a threat and thus, there will always be a need for control and neutralization. New Afrikan people know this. We all know that it could have been any one of us or our loved ones. It could be any one of us or our loved ones in the future. It is this knowledge that causes the anxiety and the fear that impacts our mental health.

Could that be why Black rebels and heroes are celebrated by the masses of New Afrikan people? Regardless if society at large celebrates them? Not the buffer or middle or Black mis-leadership class, but the grassroots masses? When Black people take sick days or vacation days or goof off at work on Malcolm X's or Nat Turner's birthday?

Simmons cites the reactions to Christopher Dorner in Los Angeles and Mark Essex in New Orleans as history to study.

Dorner was a former LAPD officer who alleged racism and other acts of ill treatment at the hands of the department and targeted several officials within the department for assassination back in 2013. Mark Essex, radicalized after his experiences of racism in the U.S. Navy and his interactions with New Afrikan revolutionaries like Safiya Bukhari, trained his sights on police officers in 1973.

### Friends of New Orleans Sniper Recall Bullying by Whites at Coast Navy Base

**By EVERETT R. HOLLES**  
Special to The New York Times

SAN DIEGO, Jan. 19—Two years in the Navy, where he experienced racial bullying and harassment such as he had never known back home in Emporia, Kan., produced in Mark James Robert Essex a deep and festering hatred of white society.

That, at least, is the recollection of several blacks who were his friends at the Imperial Beach Naval Air Station here.

They believe resentment over his treatment by white enlisted men and petty officers became such an obsession that it finally drove him to seemingly senseless murder and death at the age of 23 on the roof of a New Orleans hotel two weeks ago.

During the last six or eight months of his enlistment, before the Navy court-martialed

with some bad companions on the base, Mr. Wilson said: "That's a damned lie, the usual Navy cop-out. All the young blacks around the base were being hassled, and Essex felt that he was getting a particularly rough deal and that he wasn't going to take it lying down."

**Seemed a Favorite Target**

Both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Allen said Essex had seemed to be a favorite target of gibes by white sailors in the enlisted men's club, some of whom regarded him as a "cocky nigger" because he was always laughing and telling jokes.

"They would sit, a group of Negroes at one table, Filipinos or Chicanos at another and the whites by themselves," Mr. Wilson related. "Then before you know it, some white boy

meant another captain's mast." Mr. Wilson said that Essex, during the last two or three months he was at the station, tried to organize a movement to "get the black brothers together" and insist on equal treatment with whites.

"That didn't make him very popular with the brass," he added.

**'An Explosion Was Coming'**

Fred Allen, who remained in the Navy a year after Essex and who pleaded family hardship to get an honorable discharge on Jan. 18, 1972, was an airman third-grade and said he was "probably as close as anyone to Jimmy Essex while he was on the station here."

"I could see that an explosion was coming," Mr. Allen said, "and I warned him about it but in late 1970 and early 1971 he was all churned up



Associated Press  
**Mark James Robert Essex in the Navy in 1969.**

the blacks who were punished," Mr. Allen related.

Mr. Allen said he believed some of the attacks on Essex

Says Simmons, Black people he encountered in the streets of Los Angeles weren't upset with Dorner because he targeted police; they were upset with him because he killed two unarmed civilians – a young Black man and a young Asian woman. The Asian woman happened to be the daughter of a retired LAPD captain on Dorner's assassination list, and the young man was her fiancé.

Immortalized in Gil Scott-Heron's song "Inner City Blues," Mark Essex was atop a Howard Johnson hotel across the street from a court house. At the time of his attack, according to Simmons, a group of teenagers gathered at the site in full view of Essex was actually cheering him on. The police tried to get the youth move; they refused, since they didn't believe they had a reason to fear Essex. They were correct. The police who attempted to intervene and get the youth out of the way were subsequently shot by Essex.

While far – very far, extremely far, solar galaxy far – from being considered a hero or a rebel, O.J. Simpson's acquittal for murder in the deaths of his wife and an acquaintance may have been the most vivid and widespread example of fundamental, unconscious nationalism in terms of black and white reactions in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. New Afrikan communities across the country cheered and laughed en masse when Simpson was acquitted. From those in the Black community who honestly

believed Simpson didn't do it to those who believed that evidence was tampered with and the prosecution did not prove its case, the Black reaction to Simpson's acquittal represented a kind of catharsis for centuries of mistreatment and railroading through a racist criminal justice system. Nothing more, nothing less.

White communities were traumatized and horrified, and according to Simmons, "in true historic white nationalist fashion, [they] turned their anger towards policy, establishing new rules for evidence, jury selection, etc. after the trial."

Reactions to the Simpson verdict may have only been eclipsed by the jubilation felt by Barack Obama's 2008 presidential win.

For many of us – certainly not all but many – at some point in time, whenever we have been in spaces where there were a majority of white people and few other Black people, we have sought out and greeted those other Black people or that person, whether we knew them or not. A nod or a smile or a very public "Hi" to establish that we recognize them and that they/we are not alone. It's obvious what we're doing. It's clear. We are conscious of it. We do it deliberately.

How do we act more deliberately, every day and in every way, to free

ourselves? To become independent and build a better people and a better world? Where is the political program that goes along with and builds upon the fundamental nationalism that Black people – New Afrikans – innately possess?

That is what I am looking for.

That is what I am committed to helping build.

Free The Land – Re-Build!



Photo: Black vs white reaction to the O.J. verdict!

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**Editorial Note:**

Our last issue included an article on the life & work of Owusu Yaki Yakubu. In our haste, We neglected to inform our readers of a very important website which has a good deal of his major works, as well as a video of his memorial service which was held in Chicago in 2008. The website was put together by comrade-brother Abdul Alkalimat & his team. It can be found at:

<http://brothermalcolm.net/TRANSFORMED/YAKI.htm>

Also, We welcome any questions, comments or criticisms that our readers may have. Please feel free to write us at [info@rebuildcollective.org](mailto:info@rebuildcollective.org) . Letters by mail should be sent to: Re-Build! c/o Spear and Shield Publications, 1321 N. Milwaukee Ave. Suite 441, Chicago, IL 60642.

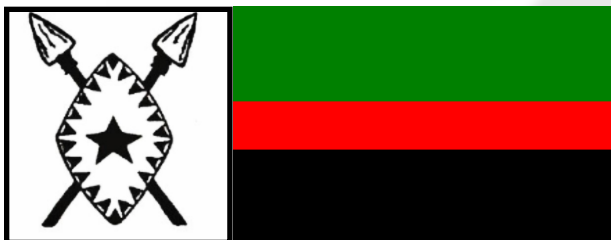
# To Comrad Sister Nehanda Abiodun

From  
The Re-Build Collective



Comrad Sister Nehanda Abiodun,

Like many others, We of the Re-build Collective were shocked to hear of your passing. We extend our sincerest condolences to your family and friends, to the New Afrikan People's Organization and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, to all those who loved you, to those who you loved, and to the countless others who you have inspired.



[www.rebuildcollective.org](http://www.rebuildcollective.org)

Frantz Fanon famously stated, "Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it." You discovered your mission at the early age of 10 and stayed true to it to the last.

When faced with the choice to "do nothing, or to fight," you chose to defy the most powerful empire in the history of the world, in defense of the New Afrikan Nation. You did this knowing full well the consequences that could await anyone bold enough to take such a stand. For that decision, and all that you endured on Our behalf as a result of it, we are eternally grateful.

We are saddened by your transition, but strengthened by your example.

And in your spirit, We vow to carry on and intensify the struggle for LAND and INDEPENDENCE; from one generation to the next, until freedom is won.

We shall yet achieve the Independent, Democratic, Socialist Republic of New Afrika; for which you, and so many other comrades, have struggled, sacrificed, fought, and died.

We have committed ourselves to this struggle. We too choose to fight. And if We stay true to your example, We will win.

Go well comrad. You are truly a spear of the Nation.

Re-Build!  
Free the Land!



**WHO WE ARE**  
The Re-Build Collective is a New Afrikan Independence Movement formation inspired by the thought of Movement theoretician Atiba Shanna.