

# Re-Build!

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## A New Afrikan Independence Movement Periodical

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### Table of Contents:

Queen Mother Moore: Mother of the New Afrikan Nation p.3

Proposal p.5

Yaki: Theoretician of the New Afrikan Independence Movement p.6

America's Many Mandelas p.8

400 Years On: The War in America Continues p.12



**Free the Land!**

# 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.

# Queen Mother Moore:

by  
Akinyele Umoja

*I attended a 1973 meeting of the Muhammad Ahmad (a.k.a. Max Stanford) Defense Committee (MADC). Police had captured Ahmad, a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and a principal target of the COINTELPRO program. I was asked at the meeting, “you ever heard of Queen Mother Moore?” I was a college freshman. After receiving a brief explanation, I was assigned to escort Queen Mother to a speaking engagement. The proceeds of her California talks went to the MADC.*

*As her driver and security, I accompanied Queen Mother on several speaking engagements in the 1970s. I was later recruited into RAM’s successor organization, the African Peoples Party (APP). Queen Mother was mentor to the APP. As the principal female elder in APP, she was commonly referred to as “Mother.” Queen Mother’s speech that 1973 winter day expressed themes that recurred throughout her addresses. I will briefly share some core themes that appeared in Queen Mother’s oratory and reconstruct some of my experiences with her.*

## **“We are Africans”: The Core Themes of Mother’s message**

Queen Mother always emphasized Blacks in the United States were “Africans.” She believed “Black”, “Negro”, and “Colored” were not appropriate designations. Mother argued your identity must be tied to a homeland; Chinese from China, Germans from Germany, Japanese from Japan, and Mexicans from Mexico. “Where is Colored Land? Where is Negro or Black Land? You can only be Africans!” The sojourn of “Africans” in the U.S. did not transform them into “Americans.” She consistently queried, “cats having kittens in an oven, doesn’t make them biscuits?” Mother asserted Africans in the U.S. were a “captive nation.”

Mother asserted that our oppression had Black people in a mental condition she labeled “oppression-psycho neurosis.” This “psychosis”



Photo: Queen Mother Moore

led Blacks to act against our interests and engendered fidelity to our oppressors. This psychological condition was reflected in our being “denaturalized” into “negroes.” She described a tamed lion in a circus to make her point. Mother stated the lion opened his mouth and allowed his white female tamer to put her head in it. If the lion had been in “his right mind, he would have torn that white girl’s head off.”

Queen Mother advocated reparations for enslavement and our colonized psychological condition or “slave mentality”. Reparations were also due for changing our culture and physical makeup. Being light-skinned, she proclaimed her “beautiful dark skin” was lost due to white rapists violating her female ancestors.

Queen Mother represented the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women (UAEW), an organization that she founded in 1955. The UAEW challenged capital punishment of Black men. They asserted large numbers of Black men

were on death row in southern prisons primarily due to “legal lynching” due to false charges of rape of white women. Queen Mother and the UAEW were also the primary reparations advocates for “African slave descendants.” Mother’s lobbying for reparations made an impact on the Black Power movement and influenced the political programs of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), Nation of Islam, RAM, Yoruba Temple, and ultimately the Black Panther Party.

## **Queen Mother and Gender in the Nationalist movement**

I do not characterize Queen Mother’s message as feminist. Her concept of “nation-building” included the practice of polygyny, men having multiple wives to increase the Black population. My male ego swelled after she pointed to me during a speech and said: “Look at this beautiful, young brother! He should have at least three wives!” She also promoted the need for male leadership. One

example of her support for patriarchy occurred after an accidental fire destroyed her home in New York while she was visiting Los Angeles. At a meeting to create a committee to provide support for Queen Mother, the question came up of who would lead the group. Mother exhorted, “we need a man for this job... a strong man.”

While she did not challenge patriarchy in her addresses, her strong presence and authority encouraged space for women’s power in the revolutionary nationalist movement. Queen Mother was a powerful example of a “strong woman” in the movement. Her presence and voice could not be silenced. Women seeking a vehicle to express their interests in the APP utilized the UAEW as a mass women’s organization.[1] By the 1977 APP Congress, sister-comrades demanded “full participation.” These sisters called for elimination of barriers that blocked women from playing any role in the organization or the movement. This demand preceded the conscious fight against sexism and patriarchy in the New African movement.

## Old Left and Revolutionary Nationalist Politics

Queen Mother would also use her position and reputation to advance the agenda of the APP in ideological struggle in the Black Nationalist/ Pan-Africanist movement and the broader Black liberation struggle. She was particularly effective in advocating APP positions at national conferences. One example was the State of the Race (SOR) conference, where in 1977 we believed our revolutionary nationalist positions were suppressed. The era's Pan Africanist and Black Nationalist organizations and their constituencies were invited to the conference. The APP and other New African independence formations were not represented in plenary sessions and workshops.

The 1978 conference organizers invited Queen Mother as a keynote speaker and also to speak to a meeting of its planning committee. We informed Queen Mother that the APP and the RNA had been excluded from presenting at the 1977 gathering. During her address to the conference planning committee, Mother posed a series of questions, "I know you are going to deal with the question of our people being a captive nation... My children, I know you are going to deal with the question of reparations.... Oh my children, I know you are going to address the issue of our political prisoners and prisoners of war." Her questions reflected the issues the APP was known to address. Subsequently, the APP was invited to participate in the 1978 SOR conference. I am certain her intervention was critical in securing the invitation. Queen Mother also promoted our positions on reparations and freedom for



Photo: Muhammad Ahmad

political prisoners in the process toward the 1974 Sixth Pan-African Congress.

Queen Mother's experience in the Communist Party (C.P) also contributed to the ideology and practice of the APP. While the APP ideology was revolutionary nationalism and Pan-Africanism, it was also a democratic-centralist organization in the Leninist tradition. The organization grounded itself in dialectical materialism modeled after communist parties in China, Vietnam, and Cuba. Mother often clarified democratic-centralist practices and dialectical/ historical materialism theory at APP Congresses and internal sessions. Mother sat on the APP Central Committee and advised the leadership.

On one visit to Los Angeles, a friend and colleague of Mother criticized our local group for not having a position on a California ballot initiative, to make significant decreases in property taxes, and major cuts in public services. Mother inquired, "what's the Party's (APP) position on this?" She said, "The Party must have a position on every major question that effects our people." Mother counseled we needed to internally debate our position on different issues and as a democratic centralist organization "move as one" on the position after voting on the question. She argued we needed to use our revolutionary nationalist/ scientific socialist analysis to assess how certain issues could organize our people towards national liberation.

Her experiences in the C.P. informed her practice of concealing her revolutionary ideology and APP membership. Mother argued we needed a "party line" and a "mass line." The party line was an internal position reflecting our revolutionary objectives and the mass line a public position used to educate and organize our people. While she believed in a socialist Republic of New Africa as the political objective, Mother did not openly advocate it. I remember her telling a small, informal gathering the vision of New Africa was "something we should teach our children" but not publicly promote. She believed much more was needed to heighten our people's consciousness before promoting socialism and an independent Black nationhood.

### The Contemporary Political Legacy of Queen Mother Moore

Chokwe Lumumba asserted in a 1998 speech, "we are the sons and daughters of Queen



Photo: Queen Mother standing behind Robert F. Williams

Mother Moore and Malcolm X." Prior to his 2013 election to Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi, Lumumba co-founded the New Afrikan People's Organization (1984) and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (1990) with former members of the PGRNA and APP, both organizations that Queen Mother provided direction and mentoring for a new generation of Black Liberation activists. She is obscured in the memory of the contemporary Black nation. For Queen Mother Moore to be resurrected in the consciousness of U.S. African descendants, the movement for African identity, reparations, freedom for political prisoners, and self-determination must be in the center of the conversation of our fight for human rights and social justice.



Photo: Dr. Akinyele Umoja

# A Campaign to Smash the Neo-confederacy

by  
N.A. Freeman

*What follows is a slightly abbreviated version of some “discussion points” sent out to some elements of the New Afrikan Independence Movement in the Summer and Fall of 2018. The text concerned the initiation of a mass based campaign to break Neo-confederate power in the South. In response to a valid criticism received about the fact that not enough people had been invited to participate in the “discussion,” We have decided to print the text in this issue of Re-Build. Feedback upon these points of discussion would be greatly appreciated*

## Purpose

To propose the initiation of a campaign to “Smash the Neo-confederacy” to New Afrikan Independence Movement forces operating in and around the National Territory.

## Rationale

Over the past several years there have been several mobilizations and actions across the National Territory targeting symbols honoring the Confederate legacy.

From Bree Newsome physically taking down the confederate flag flying outside the South Carolina state house building, to the protests in Louisiana that have led to the toppling of Confederate statues, to the defacing of confederate monuments across the region; it is clear that there is an increased willingness among New Afrikans throughout the Territory to bring down these symbols of their past and current subjugation.

There has been among some movement activists, a hesitancy to place particular significance on these actions. This position argues that fighting to bring down the symbols of the Confederacy consumes scarce movement resources, provides only the potential for a few symbolic victories, and does nothing to address the material conditions of the New Afrikans residing within the National Territory.

This position is mistaken. Firstly, symbols matter; and to the neo-confederates they are

of extreme importance. The continued occupancy of Confederate flags, monuments and statues of places of prominence reflects not only white reverence for “southern heritage,” but the reality of the sustained neo-confederate dominance of the political and economic life of our subjugated National Territory. Challenging the legitimacy of these symbols challenges the legitimacy of that dominance.

Moreover, such efforts, if regionalized, popularized, and properly politicized, can lead to a mass movement which directly challenges the political power of the neo-confederate establishment. An establishment which will be obliged to defend these symbols or risk splitting its own political base.

Importantly, these efforts have the potential of refocusing the attention of the conscious and unconscious New Afrikan citizenry to the National Territory. Under the influence and leadership of NAIM forces, there will also be the potential to exponentially increase the exposure, influence and membership of NAIM entities.

## Objectives (not in order of importance)

**1. To provide an opportunity for NAIM forces to lead both conscious and unconscious New Afrikans in a mass movement that spans the entirety of the National Territory and which has an aim that will resonate with almost**

**every New Afrikan and “progressive,” both on and off of the National Territory.**

- 2. To provide an opportunity to challenge conscious New Afrikans (on and off of the National Territory) to actively support and engage in a struggle with concrete political objectives on the National Territory**
- 3. To escalate existing struggles around Confederate symbols, e.g. the Mississippi state flag, other monuments**
- 4. Use momentum generated from “symbolic” victories to push for policy victories**
- 5. To radicalize the New Afrikan masses on the National Territory through their participation in a confrontational mass movement, under the leadership of NAIM forces**
- 6. To establish new NAIM structures, e.g. New Afrikan student organizations**
- 7. To introduce broader segments of the unconscious citizenry to the NAIM**
- 8. To heighten the polarization of the politics of the South**
- 9. “Nationalize” state-wide elections on the territory**
- 10. Brand southern reactionaries as neo-confederates and make it stick.**

# Yaki: Theoretician of the New Afrikan Independence Movement

by  
Hondo T'Chikwa  
Re-Build Collective

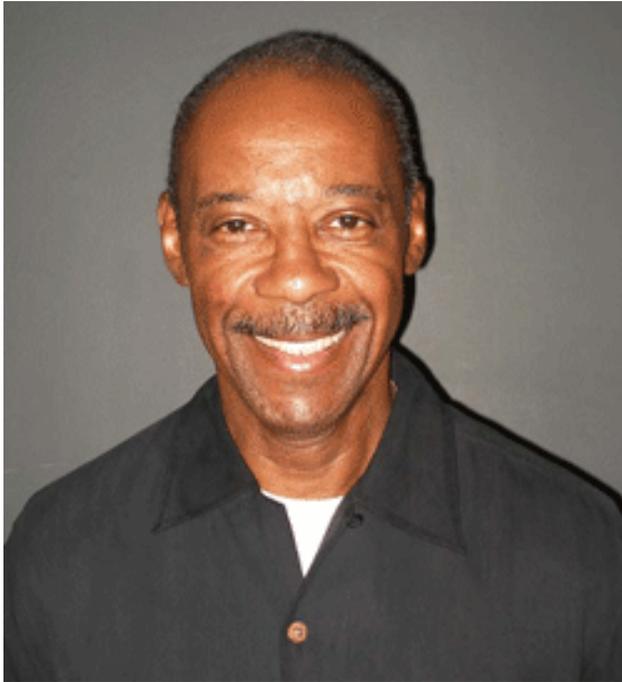


Photo: Owusu Yaki Yakubu aka Atiba Shanna

Owusu Yaki Yakubu was born in Chicago in 1948. His parents were refugees from the brutal repression (i.e., lynching, jim crow, sharecropping, convict leasing, etc.) that was still going strong throughout the south in the 1940s & 1950s. He came to understand the oppression of the New Afrikan nation in Chicago's southside ghetto. He saw some family & friends succumb to chemical warfare, while others struggled in back breaking jobs in the meat-packing industry and the neighborhood laundry. He had an early memory of refusing to pledge allegiance to the U.S. flag.

Yaki was only 13 when he was confined in the juvenile system for the first time. George Jackson reminds us that: "for Black youth, the first act of rebellion is always crime". For the next ten years, he went in and out of the Illinois criminal justice system until he caught a double murder case in 1971. His New Afrikan nationalist consciousness was growing the whole time, but he admits that "the "criminal mentality" was still dominant." During that ten years, he was politically active on both sides of the wall.

It wasn't long after he got into the state system that he found some like-minded comrades and together they formed the Stateville Prisoner Organization (S.P.O.), which evolved into the New Afrikan Prisoner Organization (N.A.P.O.), which was a forerunner to the Spear & Shield Collective (S.S.C.). In 1977, NAPO published Book One of their "Notes from An Afrikan P.O.W. Journal", most of which was written by Yaki under the pen name, "Atiba Shanna". Book 12, *Vita Wa Watu: A New Afrikan Theoretical Journal*, was published in April 1988. It was in Book 12 that Yaki laid out the slogan, "Re-Build!", where he encouraged New Afrikans to "re-orient, rectify, & re-organize" in our struggle for land, independence, & socialism. *CROSSROAD: A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter*, was published from 1987 to 2006.

When i discovered these Journals in the early nineties, i learned that the New Afrikan Independence Movement had produced our own theoretician who was on par with Cabral, Mao & Lenin. i was familiar with these people and their national liberation struggles, but i didn't know that We had someone writing & thinking like that for us! Throughout all of these years of publishing & writing, Yaki always reminded us that We want to get the people on a "how to think" program, as opposed to a "what to think" program....

In 1978, there was a rebellion at Pontiac Prison in Illinois. Three guards were killed and the state of Illinois charged seventeen (17) New Afrikans with murder. The state wanted to have a trial and kill 17 people. At this time, NAPO had one comrad on the street who was given the task of working with the Pontiac Brothers' family and friends. They needed to build outside support to help prevent the brothers from being sent to the electric chair. They built the Concerned Family & Friends of Prisoners (CFFP) to coordinate with the brothers inside and their lawyers. The aim was to "put the state on trial". Yaki was at the center of these efforts; he strategized closely with the brothers, the lawyers & the CFFP at every step of the ordeal. When the first 10 defendants were finally brought to trial, the jury deliberated just 4 hours before returning a 'not guilty' verdict on all 57 counts. The state then dropped all the

charges for those who had yet to be brought to trial.

Through the years, Yaki wrote many seminal articles - he even indulged his perfectionist tendencies by re-writing a few of them. Though he was a Political Prisoner and a Prisoner of War, he never viewed himself or his situation as unique or exceptional. In fact, on at least one occasion, he encouraged me to think of him as "just another nigger in jail"! Yaki was a "conscious fighter struggling against colonialism and for national self-determination and independent state power..." ("Who Are New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War?", *CROSSROAD* 4#3, Winter 1992)

In what i believe was an early attempt to understand his reality & correct his understanding of Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, he started Book One with "*On Transforming the Colonial and "Criminal" Mentality*". He would revise it for Book Seven, and greatly expand on the article & ideas for his last great work, *Meditations*. He extrapolated from his personal experiences and observations of "fellow travelers" to give us a profound critique of our "revolutionary" theory and practice. He writes, "We can rebel against something, without necessarily "rebellious" or making revolution for something. Rebellions bring into question the *methods* of those who rule, but stop short of actually calling into question their very right to rule...". He began to emphasize that We need to become "new people" who no longer continue to recognize and accept the legitimacy of colonial rule --- and who do not "feel that the colonial state has a right to rule over the colonized."

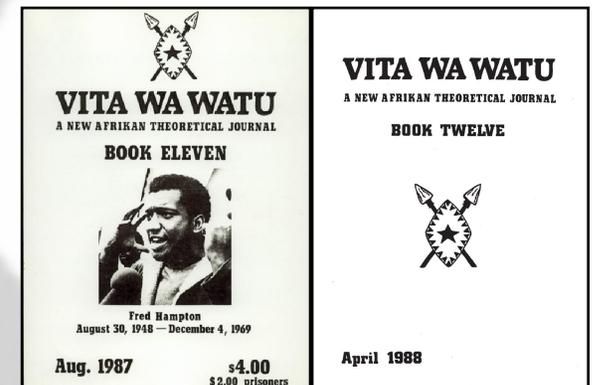




Photo: Yaki speaking at an event in support of C Number Prisoners in Chicago

He also wrote an essay on the Thirteenth Amendment in Book 2. This was published in 1977, long before the documentary "13". It is easy to say that the thirteenth amendment paved the way for the modern prison industrial complex (PIC), but he laid out the more important outcome & purpose in the full title of his essay: "*The Thirteenth Amendment: Instrument of Legalized Slavery and the Re-Subjugation of New Afrika*". For us, the period of enslavement which ended in 1865 was our **colonial period**. The so-called 'freedom' which was conferred on us after the u.s. war against the confederacy by making our ancestors 'paper-citizens' was really the beginning of the **neo-colonial period** for the New Afrikan nation. Of course, the culmination of this period was the selection of "#44" - Barack Obama.

The book, *Meditations on Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth: New Afrikan Revolutionary Writings*, by James Yaki Sayles, is a *Selected Works* collection. It is essential

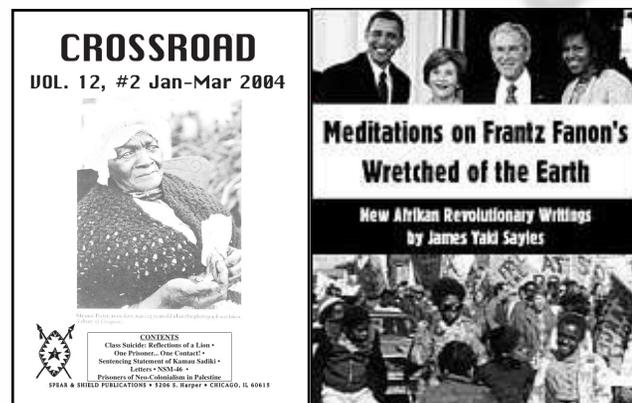


Photo: An image of Crossroads and "Meditations"

reading, especially "*For NAC's and Other Activists Who Struggle Against Racism and Neo-Colonialism (Capitalism) and for the "Setting Afoot" of New People (Socialist/ Communist Humanism)*". His title is a mouthful, but you can believe each word was carefully chosen - that's just the kind of person he was.

As i'm writing this, it occurs to me that much of Yaki's work deals with two aspects of our reality: 1) the objective conditions and situation of New Afrikan people, and 2) our subjective response to those conditions & situation. i'll break it down like this: some writings deal with the subjective: New Afrikan cadre development & praxis.

This can be seen in essays such as "On Transforming..." (Book One), "On Becoming..." (CR 9#2 & 10#1), "Principles & Methods of Community Organizing: An Outline", "Thoughts on Consolidation, Ideology & Organization" (Book 7), & others.

On the other hand, writings like, "Who Are New Afrikan Political Prisoners & New Afrikan Prisoners of War?" (CR, v4#3), "We Still Charge Genocide!" (Book 2), & "Afterwords: Notes on the Transition of the "Black Liberation" Phrase, Concept, & Movement" (Book 8) put forth explanations of our objective reality.

Of course, there are times when the subjective and the objective overlap - he then clearly addresses both aspects in style. Occasionally, he writes with dry wit and humor, like when he says in Book 8: "As in the 60s, when folks used "race" to characterize the struggle and avoided the word "Nation," so today they use "black" liberation instead of National or New Afrikan liberation, because genuine national liberation ain't what they're about."

Yaki was released from prison in 2004, after 33 1/3 years. After getting settled and acclimated to his new condition, he married the mother of his two children, who were both grown by the time he came home. She had worked with dignity & fortitude to bring the children on visits for many years. He also continued his activism back on the streets. He became a leading figure in the *Campaign In Support of C-Number Prisoners*,

which he had helped to put together while he was still inside. The group held steppers sets & dinners as fundraisers, as well as town hall meetings & other community outreach efforts. The "C-Number Campaign" served as an advocacy group, monitoring the Illinois Prisoner Review Board as it considered parole petitions of C-Number prisoners & encouraging their release from prison after decades. Yaki worked on *Meditations* until he succumbed to brain cancer in 2008. He wanted to address each of the four parts of Fanon's masterpiece, but he never completed the fourth part. The editors note at the end says, "here the rough first draft and notes to himself for part 4 end, although yaki's work was far from finished. In his conversations he would mention seeing the need for a future part 5 and 6 to apply fanon's vision even further, now that a "post-civil rights" neocolonial U.S. empire had emerged. But Yaki's life was cut off too soon. Others will have to carry on the fire he carefully fed." Nonetheless, he left us with more than enough to study, reflect & act upon.

Re-Build!



Yaki and friends in the visiting room at Dixon Correctional

# America's Many Mandelas

by  
N.A. Freeman  
Re-Build Collective



Images of New Afrikan PPs and POWs who can be found on [thejerichomovement.com](http://thejerichomovement.com). This image is not a representation of ALL PPs or POWs.



Photo: Nelson Mandela making his first public appearance after 27 years in prison

On February 11, 1990, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela emerged triumphantly from prison after more than 27 long years of incarceration by the South African Apartheid regime.

Upon exiting the gates of the prison at which he was being held at that time (having been released from notorious Robban Island about a year before), he was greeted by his wife and heroine of the anti-apartheid struggle, Winnie Mandela, hundreds of comrades and supporters, and representatives of practically every major media outlet in the world. Hundreds of thousands of his fellow South Africans waited with baited breathe for his arrival at a Cape Town rally, where he would deliver his first public speech as a “free” man.

His release was enthusiastically celebrated by the Afrikan masses who suffered bitterly under the system of Apartheid and who saw his release as an indicator that the regime itself was on the verge of collapse and freedom near.

The celebrations, however, were not limited to South Africa. Movement exiles and millions of sympathizers the world over were in a state of utter jubilation. Among New Afrikans, the sense of excitement joy and anticipation was palpable.

The anti-apartheid movement had captured the hearts and minds of our people; and rightly so. Every New Afrikan could sympathize with the struggle of the Afrikans of that country to rid themselves of an inhuman, despotic, settler regime. A regime that, with no democratic mandate whatsoever from the Afrikan people, exercised absolute, tyrannical and murderous authority over every aspect of Afrikan life.

It was easy for our people to sympathize with such a struggle. Not only were the victims of

the South Afrikan regime “black, like us,” our people had only recently emerged from living under the *exact* same type of regime “down home,” as the elders say. Indeed, We were, at the time of Mandela’s release, and are still today, living under the absolute tyranny of the Americans. A tyranny of which reminds us with every new police beating or murder, that We still have “no rights which the white man is bound to respect.”

Indeed, the architects of the apartheid regime not only drew upon the American *example* in crafting that system, they used the fact that a nearly identical system existed under the American flag as a defense against domestic opposition and international condemnation.

The fact that the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement so often communicated their messages in english also contributed to making the struggle of South Africa more “accessible” to New Afrikans than were the struggles of Afrikans in the non-english speaking Afrikan colonies.

New Afrikan anti-apartheid activists organized political education events and rallies, exposing the evils of apartheid. They also worked with student organizations and others to successfully push boycott and divest campaigns on college campuses. Eventually, largely due to the efforts of New Afrikan activists, the racist U.S. regime was *forced* to impose economic sanctions on racist South African regime. Increasing international economic and political isolation supplemented the mass struggle of the Afrikan people and made it impossible for the apartheid regime to continue to remain obstinate in the face of the people’s legitimate democratic demands.

**Names and lengths of incarceration for the Political Prisoners/POWs featured on previous page (from left to right)**

**Chip Fitzgerald- 49 years**

**Ruchell Magee- 48 years**

**Russell Maroon Shoats 48 years**

**Jalil Muntaquim- 47 years**

**Ed Pointdexter- 47 years**

**Abdul Azeez- 46 years**

**Hanif Shabazz Bey - 46 years**

**Sundiata Acoli- 45 years**

**Veronza Bowers 45 years**

**Larry Hoover- 45 years**

**Kojo Bomani Sababu- 43 years**

**Delber Orr Africa- 40 years**

**Charles Sims Africa- 40 years**

**Janet Africa- 40 years**

**Janine Phillips Africa- 40 years**

**Michael Davis Africa- 40 years**

**Edward Goodman Africa- 40 years**

**Dr. Mutulu Shakur- 38 years**

**Mumia Abu Jamal- 36 years**

**Abdullah Malik Ka’bah- 31 years**

**Maumin Khabir- 23 years**

**Imam Jamil Al-Amin- 18 years**

**Kamau Sadiki- 16 years**

**Rev. Joy Powell- 10 years**



Photo: 70th birthday tribute concert; 1988, London

At the forefront of the democratic demands of the Afrikan people was the demand for the *unconditional* release of the political prisoners. This demand was popularized internationally by the cry "Free Nelson Mandela!"

"Free Nelson Mandela" was chanted and sung in every corner of the globe. Nelson Rolihlala Mandela became an international icon. People thousands of miles removed, who were not born when he was imprisoned, who had never heard his voice, and had seen his image only in print, came to adore (and practically worship) this captured leader of the Afrikan peoples struggle.

But who was this Nelson Mandela that the world and millions of New Afrikans had fallen in love with?

He was undoubtedly a leader with a mass following among his people. He was a man of tremendous courage, charisma and ability. He was a man of principle, who had refused to seek his own freedom at the expense of the freedom of Afrikan masses and the movement leaders on the outside to wage a vigorous struggle against the regime that held him captive.

Today, especially in America, he is often held up as something akin to South Africa's Ghandi, or Martin Luther King Jr.. If by that one means that he was the most popular, and one of the most effective leaders and mobilizers of his people, then he certainly was that. If one means that he worked to bring about a democratic and free South Africa by exclusively peaceful and nonviolent means, well, he certainly was not.

Mandela never was, and never claimed to be, a pacifist. He not only supported the right of oppressed people to resist oppression "by any means necessary," including armed struggle, he was instrumental in introducing organized, systematic and protracted armed struggle into the South African freedom movement.

Mandela was a founding member of Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Umkhonto We Sizwe, often referred to as MK, was a military wing of the anti-apartheid movement. It's members and leadership were drawn from the members and supporters of the ANC and South African Communist Party

(SACP), but it was known as the armed wing of the ANC.

In the face of increasingly brutal repression from the apartheid regime, Mandela reached the conclusion that it was time to escalate the campaign against the South Africa's settler government. In a recorded interview he expressed his position clearly stating "it is useless and very futile for us to continue talking peace and nonviolence against a government whose reply is only savage attacks, on an unarmed and defenseless people." He also stated "in my mind we are closing a chapter on this question of a non-violent policy."

Mandela went on to train, both at home and abroad, to lead his people in a protracted armed struggle, a "People's War." By his own admission he personally executed bombing operations during a sabotage campaign and became "quite expert at making bombs."

He was a notorious underground leader, who earned a reputation for his aggressiveness and elusiveness. And though the attacks that were being carried out in those early days of the MK were not intended to cause loss of life, Mandela and the other leaders of the MK were clear about the insufficiency even of those actions. The sabotage campaign was seen merely as the opening salvo of the People's War to come.

When Mandela was arrested he was considered a "terrorist," and was tried for "terrorist offenses." He wasn't tried for being morally opposed to the racist regime, but for orchestrating a bombing campaign, and planning a People's War.

Nor did he change his mind concerning armed struggle as the MK moved on to the People's War phase of the conflict. During the People's War the MK killed police, killed soldiers, and continued its bombing campaign. The bombing campaign was expanded outside of mere sabotage and struck military and even civilian targets. Informers against the ANC or MK were punished with death, often by being publicly beaten, doused in gasoline and burned alive.

Still, throughout his incarceration, Mandela continued to support the armed struggle. He refused to call on the movement to abandon or even to pause the armed campaign at any point. On the very day of his release he said, in a public speech that "the factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue."

In spite of his unwavering support for the armed struggle, and his refusal to renounce "violence," millions of New Afrikans advocated for his freedom and celebrated when he obtained it.

When later, after he was released from prison, but prior to the dismantling of the apartheid regime, he visited New York City, where he received a hero's welcome; both a mass rally, and a town hall meeting as part of the *Nightline* news show. Even then, when pressured about his refusal to renounce "violence" he refused.

His refusal prompted an eruption of applause from the New Afrikans in the audience. Even Jesse Jackson seemed to approve.

And yet in that same state, at that very moment, there were dozens of New Afrikans languishing in prison for doing the exact same thing that Mandela had done, for the exact same reasons that Mandela had given; not in South Africa, but in the very city, state and country that those who so enthusiastically applauded armed struggle, *elsewhere*, were sitting. Sadly, there were but few in the audience that day that had the intellectual integrity to apply the same logic at home. There were but few who were willing to extend their support for the right of an oppressed people to resist racist and colonial oppression to their own condition. There are not nearly enough today.

Today there are dozens of political prisoners and Prisoners of War in u.s. custody for having the courage to take a stand on behalf of our people. Some are known and publicly expressed at the time of their capture, or subsequently, their commitment to the struggle to *free* the New Afrikan Nation. Many more are perhaps unknown, and wish to remain so.

Among those that *are* "known," most have spent more than 40 years behind the wall. Nelson Mandela received the sympathy of he world for having lost 27 years of his life because he could not acquiesce to the continued subjugation and degradation of his people. And indeed he should have. But so should those who have given 49, 48, 47, 45, 43, 40, 38, 36, 31, 23, 18, 16, and 10 years of their lives *FOR US!*



Photo: Dhoruba Bin Wahad speaks at New York rally for Mandela

We owe a debt of gratitude to every single person, who has ever spent a single second in prison, in jail, in exile, underground, or on the run for standing up against injustice. How much more do We owe to those who have gone to prison as teenagers and young men and women, and are now grandfathers and great grandfathers; grandmothers, and great grandmothers. What do We owe to those who were healthy, and risked their health and their young lives, and are now aged, and infirm. Who braved death and *answered* the call when *OUR NATION* called (and it did call!) for *JUSTICE* and *CONSEQUENCES!* For *LAND* and *INDEPENDENCE!*

We owe those who have consciously chosen to risk death, suffer imprisonment and the pain of isolation from ones people that invariably comes with exile, at least that which We so freely give to those who have done the same on behalf of others. We owe them at least the level of respect and support that so many of us have given to Nelson Mandela. This is especially the case for those of us who are conscious New

Afrikan and have committed ourselves to liberating the New African National Territory. They have fought for us, We have an obligation to fight for them.

We also have an obligation to ourselves, our people, and those who will come after us, to see to it that those who take risks to advance our struggle receive our support.

To those New Afrikan who are not New Afrikan Nationalists or revolutionists of any stripe, but who may read this article, i implore you to give our political prisoners and POWs who fought in the name of National Liberation, or against other injustices, at least the same regard that you give the forces of the American empire that has enslaved, degraded, and oppressed our people for four hundred years. It is quite common to hear (especially around the time that Americans celebrate "Veterans Day") New Afrikan saying things like, "thank you for your service," in reference to the service rendered by a New Afrikan to the forces of empire. Or "I don't support the war, but i support the troops," in reference to the participation of the empire's soldiers in acts of

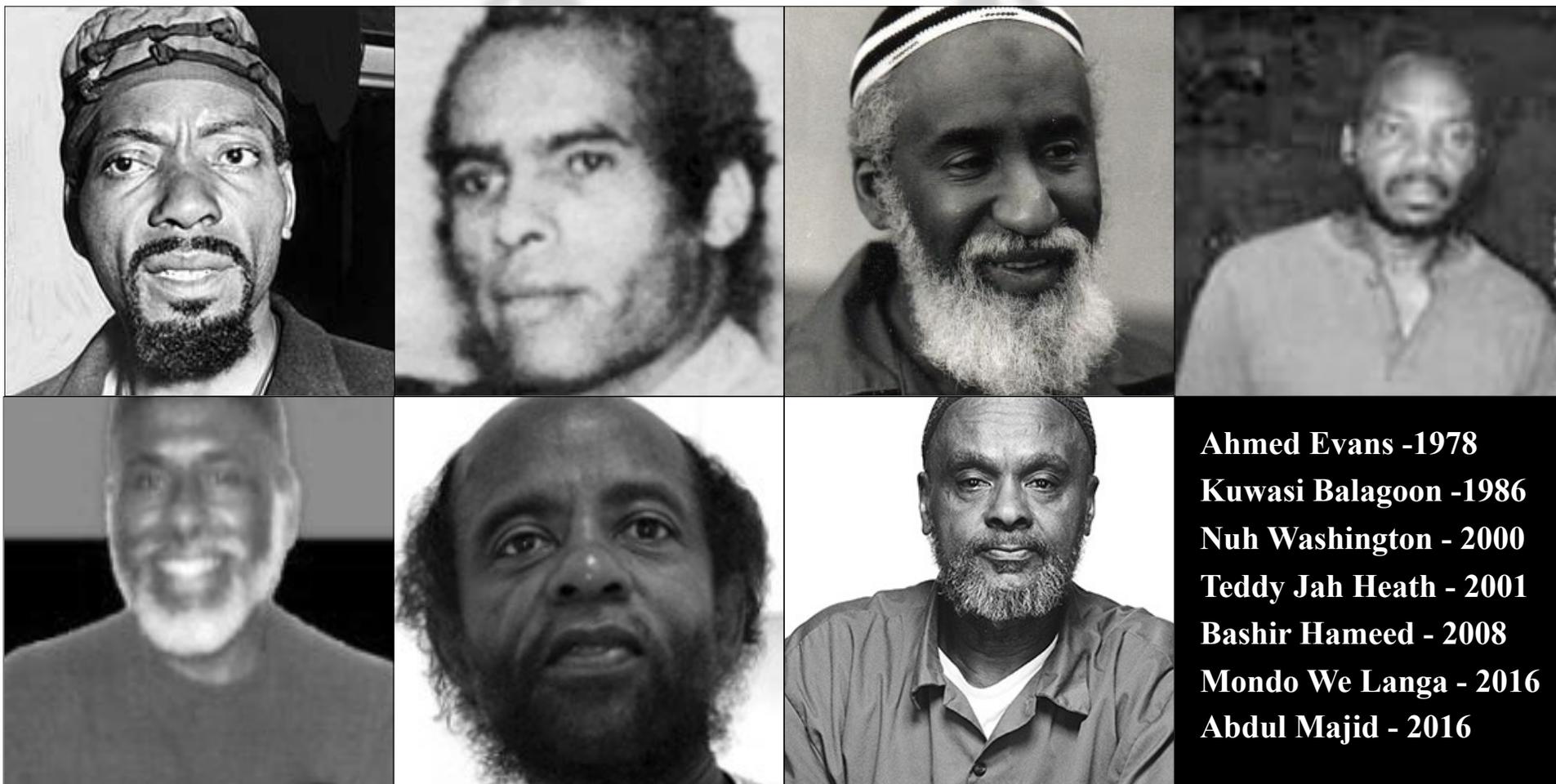
imperialist aggression. If you can't support the cause of National Liberation and Independence, or even social justice, at least support the right of those who "served" OUR cause; honestly, and honorably. Who have in many cases served more than their time, and who would have been released long ago, but for their political beliefs.

These men and women are not criminals, were never criminals, and pose no threat to the safety and security of any community. Indeed any community would be made better by the presence of any of our political prisoners, or POWs; any of OUR Mandelas.

Re-Build!



Free the Land!



Ahmed Evans -1978  
 Kuwasi Balagoon -1986  
 Nuh Washington - 2000  
 Teddy Jah Heath - 2001  
 Bashir Hameed - 2008  
 Mondo We Langa - 2016  
 Abdul Majid - 2016

\*This image in not a representation of ALL PPs or POWs who have died behind the wall

# 400 years on: The War in America Continues

Kwasi Akwamu  
Obadele Society

Dr. Imari Abubakari Obadele was a true statesman. A nationalist of unquestioned integrity and commitment to New Afrikan independence, *War in America: The Malcolm X Doctrine* was but his opening salvo. Originally written in 1966, and first published in 1967, *War in America* was the foundation, upon which Bro. Imari, as he was affectionately referred for many years, would continue to build for the next 44 years of his life.

It was *War in America* that brought some of the most well known leaders in the black liberation movement to Detroit in 1968 for the Black Government Conference. Queen Mother Moore, Betty Shabazz, Amiri Baraka, Maulana Karenga, Dara Abubakari (Virginia Collins), Obabos Alowo, Henry “Papa” Wells, Baba Adefunmi, Gaidi Obadele (Atty. Milton Henry) were but a few in attendance when conferees gave concrete expression to an identity that could harness a national independence movement: New Afrikan. Rooted in the social, cultural and political life of the descendants of enslaved Afrikans, New Afrikan embodied the potential and aspirations of a people who had long struggled over its self-identity. We had long identified as a nation, declaring ourselves alternatively a Negro Nation and Black Nation across several generations, but We had made a major leap by abandoning the long-held practice of using skin color to identify ourselves.

The Black Government Conference was a serious endeavor, drawing about 200 people from across the u.s. Not everyone who attended was ready for separating into our own nation, but they were surely interested in learning more. Attendees, therefore, were divided into groups: Delegates, Technical Advisers, and Observers. A razor-sharp focus was on establishing a clear understanding of nationhood and the steps required towards achieving full sovereignty. Indeed, one of the concepts that Bro. Imari had distilled from the Malcolm X Doctrine was that



there could be no discussion of nationhood without a land base upon which to establish it. The delegates, consistent with the history of black nationalist struggle dating back to the 19th century, selected the territory “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.” That is, the black belt south, specifically identifying the contiguous states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana as the minimum demands for the newly christened Republic of New Afrika. The *War* that Bro. Imari wrote about was the sporadic but widespread rebellion that had overtaken urban areas of the u.s. settler state. Urban rebels had yet to become formalized as an organized armed liberation force, and even the R.N.A. had only organized the Black Legionnaires as a security detachment to the newly organized Provisional Government. Tested in combat, the Legionnaires were skillful in deflecting the settler colonial government attacks against New Afrikans in Detroit in 1969

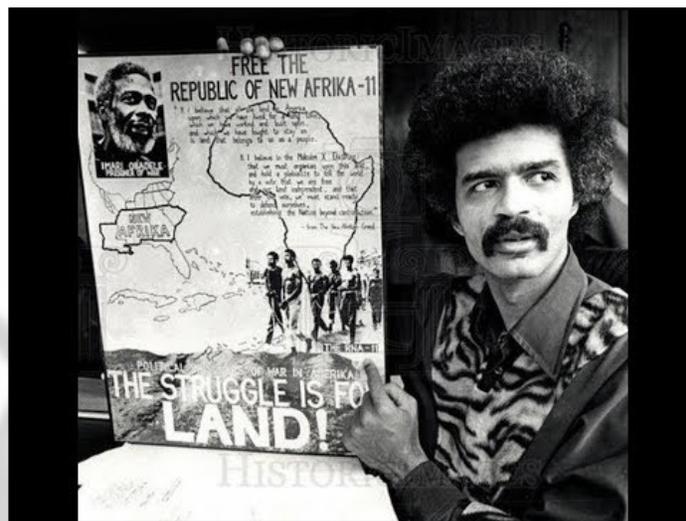
during the armed police attack upon the first Black Nation Day gathering at New Bethel Baptist Church. In 1971, the Legionnaires again staved off New Afrikan casualties when a joint task force of local law enforcement and the F.B.I. launched pre-dawn attacks, replete with a tank, on R.N.A. residences in Jackson, MS. The War for independence was still in its infancy. Government attacks on the black liberation movement through its counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO), most notably against the Black Panther Party, led many freedom fighters to go underground to form the Black Liberation Army. This initiative, while premature — they lacked a solid base of support among the masses, many of whom had begun to support a neo-colonial regime that hijacked militant talk but only wanted a “piece of the pie” — led to many skirmishes with settler colonial forces, casualties on both sides, and many BLA fighters captured and sentenced to decades in prison under “criminal” charges (as opposed to recognizing the political motivations that afforded these fighters the protections of international law, particularly the Geneva Conventions and Protocols). The majority of the BLA fighters identified with the New Afrikan Independence Movement. In 2018, dozens of freedom fighters remain in captivity, many have died in captivity, and only a handful managed to secure their release through pain-staking discovery of vindicating evidence. Scores of New Afrikan activists from today’s generation have been detained following urban rebellions in Ferguson, Missouri, and Baltimore, Maryland, under updated counterinsurgency protocols. It isn't within the scope of this writing to provide a complete summation of the last five decades, but it is critical that We understand the social, economic and political dynamics and contradictions that have impacted and, in many ways, stymied our struggle for independence. This understanding is essential towards rebuilding a viable movement for national independence.

**Only one month before the 1968 Black Government Convention, the Kerner Commission released its findings on the war (referred to variously as urban uprisings, riots, and rebellions) that was erupting in urban centers across the land. It was the same war Bro. Imari wrote about. Both were concerned with understanding what was happening, and why. Both also saw the deepening of an already polarized society. The Kerner report concluded that: “Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal.” Bro. Imari simply saw the urban eruptions as the spontaneous and righteous response to over 300 years of unrelenting colonial oppression by avaricious white power. The divergence in conclusions from the very same War is but another exhibit bearing out the distinctly diverging realities and aspirations of New Afrikans and Americans.**

We must keep in mind that the conclusions reached on the war serve as useful guideposts towards how solutions would be framed. The Kerner report was concerned with preserving peaceful oppression and the colonial relationship: “Reaction to last summer’s disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American. This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution.”

Bro. Imari wanted peace, too. Of course, he knew that New Afrikans could never experience peace while remaining subjugated, that the principal condition for peace was national self-determination. He was clear: *“Black warfare would continue for no other reason than that the white man will have it no other way.”*

The global community of nations has experienced many shifts and changes over the past five decades. Continuing the anti-colonial struggles on the Continent that began achieving momentum in the 1950s with nine Afrikan nations achieving



Photos: Hon. Chokwe Lumumba with RNA 11 poster; chained members of the RNA 11

independence, some 35 nations hung flags of independence in the decade of 1960s. Twelve more Afrikan nations achieved their independence from European colonialism in the 70s, 80s and 90s; some achieving decisive victories only after waging protracted armed struggle. South Afrika was pressured to abolish apartheid in mid-1990s, soon followed by the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The Cold War between USSR/US ended in the same period, shifting the focus of capitalist-imperialism to discover and scapegoat new “villains” to justify ongoing War in the international community. New Afrikan students successfully waged struggles to establish Black Studies programs in universities and colleges; college graduation rates increased from which emerged a new class of black professionals.

New Afrikan masses also engaged in electoral politics, with black politicians assuming office on practically every level in

urban centers across the empire; including an appointment as Joint Chief of Staff over all branches of the u.s. imperialist military and even occupying the Oval Office for two consecutive terms.

Despite so much change, the fundamental relationship of New Afrikan people to the United States of America — as a dependent, degraded and dominated nation — remain unaltered. In that same time period, the Afrikan world suffered major blows to political leadership. Only a few days after the founding conference that launched the New Afrikan Independence Movement, civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. Assassinations continued on the Continent and throughout the diaspora, creating a major vacuum of clear-minded revolutionary Afrikan leadership — some of the most notable including Amilcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane, Stephen Biko, Walter Rodney, Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, & Chris Hani.



Photos: (from left) Martin Luther King Jr, Amilcar Cabral, Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, Chris Hani.

The War for dignity and independence for New Afrikans continued. As neo-colonialism disguised as “black power” emerged, once proud Afros were tamed with chemicals while dashikis were exchanged for silk shirts with fly collars. New Afrikans returned from Vietnam damaged from the use of Agent Orange and many returned addicted to heroin. At unprecedented levels drugs began to flood New Afrikan communities as a form of chemical warfare. Militant organizations that took the neo-colonial bait began chasing grants and foundation dollars to the abandonment of the grassroots. This rapidly gave way to the emergence of street gangs (urban warlords), who indirectly collaborated in the destabilization of New Afrikan families and communities.

Black resistance to white oppression has never been fully suppressed despite an aggressive settler colonial campaign against organized black liberation efforts. New generations of activists are in the streets in 2018 reacting to the unrelenting violence inflicted upon innocent New Afrikan life by agents of the settler state and a rise in overt fascist attitudes. Yet simultaneous to the renewed growth in militant grassroots organizing, settler government agencies have redoubled efforts on low intensity warfare with its new repressive “black identity extremist” initiative (COINTELPRO 2.0). Ostensibly focused on vengeful black militants targeting law enforcement, the leaked August 2017 memo emanating from the F.B.I. could only identify four isolated instances of armed attack against police since 2015 while a gruesome 796 New Afrikans were shot and killed by police with impunity in the same time period.

Yet, New Afrikan neo-colonial leadership seeks to preserve its ready role as intermediary, ignoring the War in America for what it really is. This privileged stratum of self-identified African-Americans, even in the face of an overtly fascist settler administration, seeks to keep the black struggle aligned with the solutions proposed in the Kerner report: the preservation of America through patient, nonviolent struggle, legislative solutions, and the establishment of black businesses. The notion of black power, therefore, becomes a diluted and empty pursuit that does more to preserve the status quo than to challenge it.

Richard Nixon, in his April 25, 1968, radio broadcast to America — occurring less than a month after formalization of the PG-RNA —

understood these petty-bourgeois aspirations and responded affirmatively in support: “Black extremists are guaranteed headlines when they shout “burn” or “get a gun.” But much of the black militant talk these days is actually in terms far closer to the doctrines of free enterprise than to those of the welfarist 30’s — terms of “pride,” “ownership,” “private enterprise,” “capital,” “self-assurance,” “self-respect” — the same qualities, the same characteristics, the same ideals, the same methods, that for two centuries have been at the heart of American success, and that America has been exporting to the world. What most of the militants are asking is not separation, but to be included in — not as supplicants, but as owners, as entrepreneurs — to have a share of the wealth and a piece of the action.”

As the New Afrikan Independence Movement pushes forward to Free the Land! it is critical that We undergo what New Afrikan theoretician Owusu Yaki Yakubu referred to as a period of “rectification and reorientation.” We must diligently and self-critically reevaluate Our most recent past and extract the lessons. COINTELPRO happened, but Our internal weaknesses enabled its success. Our weaknesses must be transformed into strengths.

We must deepen Our knowledge and understanding of the rich legacy of land-based struggles that preceded the founding of the Republic of New Afrika: the Exoduster movement; Black Town movement in the early Oklahoma Territory; Tunis Campbell and self-determination in the St. Catherine Sea Coast isles; black belt land-oriented organizing by the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood in the 1920s; Harry Haywood’s successful lobbying of the newly formed Soviet Union to support proposals of an independent Black Nation in black belt south; the Nation of Islam’s advocacy for separation and self-government; and the Black Panther Party’s early platform which advocated for “land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice

and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial



Photos: Harry Haywood and Cyril Briggs of the African Blood Brotherhood; later the Communist Party.

subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.”

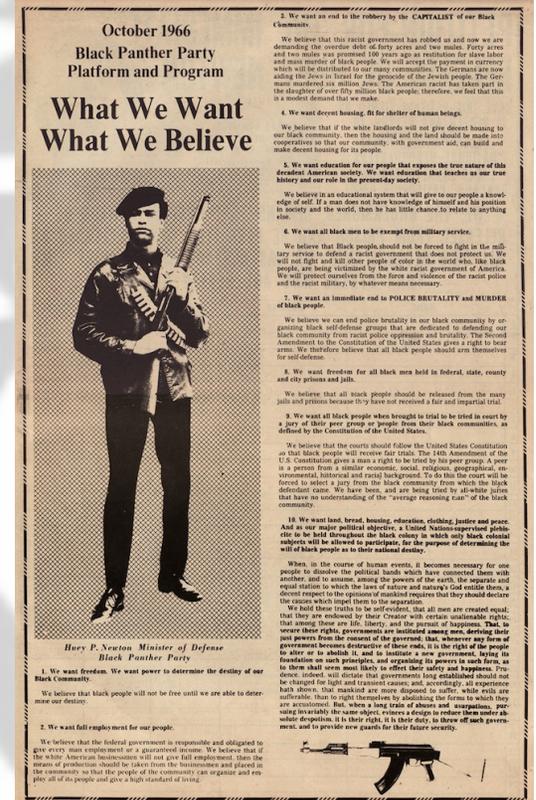


Photo: Panther Party Platform (1966)

We must organize using clearly-defined discourse that cannot be so easily co-opted by reactionary forces. Our primary struggle is not against racism but against colonialism, that is, national subjugation. We seek national independence (self-determination) not merely due to bad treatment from Amerika — as bad as it is — but because it is our internationally-recognized human right as a distinct nation. In Our political education work, We must help New Afrikans residing outside the national territory understand that We are refugees not migrants, that We fled to the north and southwest to escape brutal forms of social degradation, economic exploitation and political terrorism. Returning to our national homeland in the black belt south in larger numbers, building model communities, helping advance the Jackson-Kush Plan, is critical to the struggle to Free the Land!

We must never tire of pointing out that freedom was our human right before the Emancipation Proclamation and the passing of the 13th Amendment to the settler constitution. Nor of exposing and rejecting the paper-citizenship described in the 14th Amendment which dismisses the “freedom” allegedly granted by the 13th Amendment and oversteps its “legal” jurisdiction in imposing a law upon a people who are not allegedly its subjects. Even more, the 14th Amendment ignores the 57 years of “illegal” slave trade in determining which Afrikans were born here and those who



Photo: Rakem Balogun, targeted as a “Black Identity Extremist”

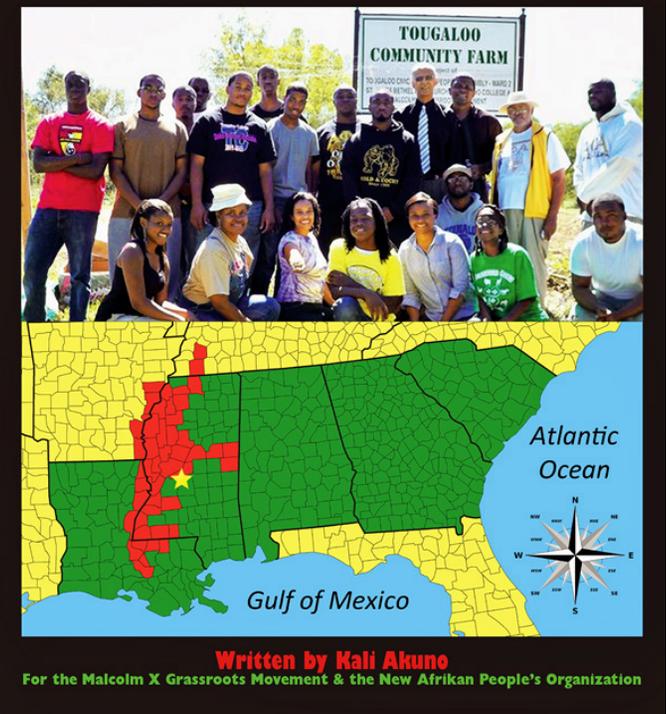
— such as teenager Cudjo Lewis, who arrived with 110 other Afrikans on the slave vessel *Clotilde* in 1860 as the u.s. civil war was starting — arrived “off the record” after 1808. Important to fortifying Our position of paper-citizenship, Our historians and scholars must tackle the issue of exactly how many of the 4.4 million Afrikans recorded on the 1860 u.s. census arrived between 1808 and 1860?

Even as We reference u.s. law and identify loopholes and inconsistencies, We must ultimately de-legitimize the authority of u.s. law in the course of New Afrikan independence organizing. As New Afrikan feminist Audre Lorde once declared in a different context: “...the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.” We must challenge and reject all arguments that insist that national liberation can be strategically achieved through lobbying and legislation within the settler colonial state apparatus. National liberation revolution is not a legal enterprise, even when one is merely participating in a demonstration, as grassroots Dallas organizer Rakem Balogun discovered after his involvement in anti-police terrorism. Tracked by the FBI since 2015, Balogun was captured at home in late 2017 in a pre-dawn raid. In two years of FBI surveillance — tracking his daily travels and social media, even following him to a training event in Detroit prior to arrest — the settler agents couldn’t find Balogun involved in any conspiratorial activity, nor anything illegal. Instead, they reached back in his government files to find a domestic abuse charge from 2007 in Tennessee, which the state argues prohibits him from legally owning firearms in Texas. Like Robert F. Williams before him, Balogun’s real “crime” was organizing and training New Afrikans for self-defense through the Huey P. Newton Gun Club. Likely due to the leak of the “black identity extremist” memo from the FBI and public backlash to such tactics, Balogun was vindicated of the trumped up charges.

Critical to our “rectification and reorientation” is acknowledging and organizing to minimize the success of settler government track and destroy campaigns against revolutionary nationalist forces. We must seriously prepare to elude their surveillance and develop lines of secure communications. We must keep it foremost in Our minds that it

## The Jackson-Kush Plan:

The Struggle for Black Self-Determination and Economic Democracy



Written by Kali Akuno

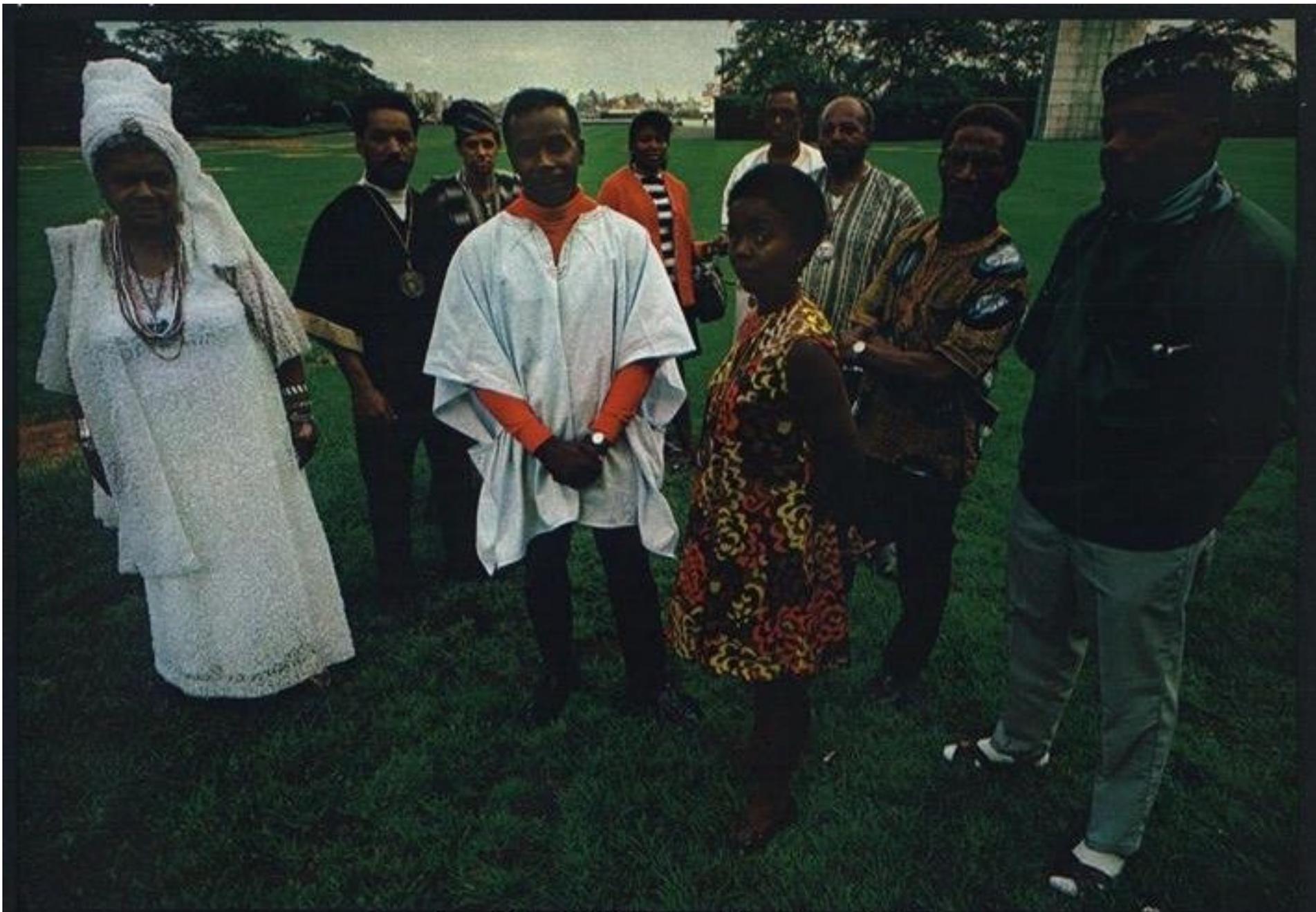
For the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement & the New Afrikan People's Organization

is during the start of organizing that disrupting campaigns are launched. Grandstanding and empty rhetoric must be abandoned in exchange for long-term organizing that is deeply rooted among the New Afrikan masses, without whom We will never FREE THE LAND!

**ReBuild to Win!**



Photo: Kwasi Akwamu



Baba Osejeman Adefunmi Betty Shabazz Milton R. Henry Obaboa Alowo  
 Raymond E. Willis Brother Imari Joan Franklin Wilbur Grattan Sr.  
 Queen Mother Moore Mwesi Chui

Photographed at the United Nations by Adger Cowans

*Our sufferings will come to an end, in spite  
 of all the Americans this side of eternity.  
 Then we will want all the learning and  
 talents among ourselves, and perhaps more,  
 to govern ourselves. "Every dog must have  
 its day," the American's is coming to an end.*

*David Walker's Appeal -1829*



**Free the Land!**