

◆ Black Reparations Times ◆

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SPECIAL CONFERENCE EDITION
N'COBRA 15TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2004
HOWARD UNIVERSITY - WASHINGTON DC



Deadria Farmer-Paellman, Dr. Carol Swain, Johnnie Cochran, Dorothy B. Lewis, and Armstrong Williams
“Slavery Reparations Town Hall meeting” premiere in January on TV One (a new national cable network)

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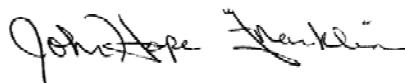
April 26, 2004

Ms. Kibibi Tyehimba
NCOBRA Legislative Committee
P.O. Box 716
Washington, D.C. 29944-0716

Dear Ms. Tyehimba:

I am certain that I speak for my colleagues and fellow-sufferers of the Tulsa Riot when I say that the recent decision of the federal court merely emboldens us to render our fight for justice. The Tulsa Terrorists of 1921 have no right to be relieved of their guilt by the passage of time. A vulgar offense such as the one they perpetrated is timeless; and since time cannot heal the offense, we will not rest until they have paid for their crimes.

Sincerely,



John Hope Franklin



Black Reparations Times®

A Quarterly N'COBRA Publication of the Information & Media Commission

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MISSION

The Commission will serve as the official organizational link for the dissemination and exchange of information on N'COBRA policies, Reparations issues, strategies and actions important to winning Reparations for African descendants in the U.S. and the Diaspora; assist in educating N'COBRA members and the general public about our just demands; and assist in the development of mass based support for Reparations.

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{Quarterly Membership Newsletter}
BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES
{Quarterly news publication}

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We encourage public discussions, led by the injured, to determine an equitable remedy for the African Holocaust of Enslavement. All African descendants have a right and responsibility to work towards defining and achieving Reparations. *The opinions and actions reported in Black Reparations Times are those of the person(s) representing them and in no way should be viewed as N'COBRA's unless clearly stated.* © 2003 all rights reserved

Unjust Laws: Another Reparations Issue

Dorothy Benton Lewis,
N'COBRA National Co-Chair
North American Representative, Global Afrikan Congress

How do agreements crafted by criminals and for the sole benefit of criminals get accepted, codified, and defended as “the law?”

This question weighed heavily on my mind during my recent trip to Brussels, Belgium, and the Netherlands, also known as Holland, the land of the Dutch people. I visited historical sites on the slave route, and a number of museums. For I knew that along with the gold, diamonds, rubber, etc., many of Africa’s artifacts had been looted by European colonizers and could be found in museums throughout Europe. Whether in the US or some other country, I use my travels to find other pieces of the puzzle, called my story (still a mystery) and his story (history).

Two other areas of interest for me are the issues of drugs and AIDS. While in Amsterdam, I visited the red light district in the heart of the city. I wanted to see for myself how legalized drugs, prostitution, and porn were actually integrated into the city and the culture.

I saw, for example a MacDonalds (which I associate with children and adolescents) right next door to a store with a huge sign on it that said “SEXSHOP,” next door to a souvenir shop, around the corner from live sex shows on stage, next to a shop with MJ plants displayed in the window, near an alley where nearly naked women stand in windows and market themselves as merchandise for hire. It seemed to me like ancient Babylon, and prompted me to reflect on the nature and purpose of Laws. While non-prescription drugs, including marijuana, and prostitution are illegal in the US, it would be rather unseemly for agents of the US government to fly seven hours, thousands of miles, overseas to impose US laws on the citizens of Amsterdam, rounding up men and women in the red light district and hauling them off to prison, night after night. It would be equally unseemly for agents of the Netherlands government to travel thousands of miles to overthrow the US government for rounding up and enslaving millions of its own citizens for doing what is perfectly legal in Amsterdam, by their *LAW*.

Under normal circumstances, most of us would agree that each Tribe has its own laws to govern its own citizens. The laws of the Netherlands’s Tribe are for the citizens of the Netherlands. Similarly, the Tribes of

Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, etc. each have laws to govern their citizens. Such laws are deemed legitimate, if the people make the laws in the best interest of the people who must abide by them.

It is one thing for Tribes to make laws for themselves. It is quite another when they impose their laws upon others, outside of their territory. It is likely that citizens of the USA traveling to the Netherlands could get away with behaviors there that would be illegal here. If the citizens of the Netherlands visited the USA, they had best leave certain aspects of their culture at home because it would cause them a lot of grief here.

It isn’t unusual for Tribes to impose their laws and customs on each other; it is just unacceptable, as reflected in the number of Tribal wars we have had from antiquity to the present. Not only have Tribes sought to dominate each other; they have warred with each other while vying to assert their dominance over other Tribes’ land, labor, and resources. You might call it highly organized crime committed by individual entrepreneurs and corporations (backed by their government’s military force), vying for riches, recognition, and superior status.

We see the European Tribes throughout the world each stealing from and selling to the other what belonged to neither; and taking by force or fraud countries, continents, people and resources...leaving a bloody trail of death, destruction, and misery from one continent to another.

Some Tribes even signed agreements with each other to minimize the fighting over territory and people targeted for stealing. One early agreement came in 1494 between Spain and Portugal. The Kingpins there decided that they were not going to war with each other over the new Real estate that Columbus had staked out for the taking; so they drew up an agreement called the Treaty of Tordesillas. The deal was that Spain would take one half and Portugal would take the other half. Even though the agreement was inspired and blessed by the Catholic Pope, it only lasted a while. Other European Tribes moved in and warred with each other, at different times, over various countries in the world that was new to them.

(Continued on page 6)

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If Indigenous Tribes succeeded in repelling the invaders, another European Tribe would take up where the other had left off. Like a chain of international gang-bangers, pimps, and drug pushers, they fought for control over land, people, and resources belonging to African, North American, South American, Central American, Asian, and Australian Tribes who had their own laws, customs, language, culture, and worldview.

We see European Tribes in North America slaughtering indigenous peoples, warring with each other over the stolen land, cutting deals to minimize the warring, taking, then selling land in the name of the King, Queen, or Pope who had absolutely no rights that they could claim or laws that they could legitimately impose on others.

We see the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish Tribes in Brazil; the British, Dutch, and French in South Africa. The Tribes of France, Spain, and Britain in North America and the Caribbean; Spain in the Dominican, Cuba, Puerto Rico; France in Haiti and Vietnam; Britain in India, China, Australia; the USA in Mexico, Hawaii, and Vietnam; Russia selling Alaska to the USA.

After four centuries of raping and plundering the world and Africa of its human and material wealth, all but a few European Tribes united long enough to attend a conference in Berlin, Germany in 1894 (just 29 years after chattel slavery had ended in the USA). The purpose of the meeting was to develop an agreement on how they would divide African continent (with the African Tribes still on it) among themselves without fighting each other over it. Not a single African was invited to that Berlin conference.

It should be clear that neither slavery nor colonialism are domestic issues. When you have Tribes from one continent, kidnapping Tribal members from a second continent to transport them to a third, stolen, continent, we have international crimes of the highest order: 1) genocide, 2) war crimes, and 3) crimes against humanity.

Sponsors of a criminal enterprise usually mark their stolen goods with their Tribal names: Dutch Guyana, Dutch Antilles. French Guyana, French Surinam, British Guyana. The Belgium Congo, French Morocco, French Canada, British Canada, British West Indies, British West Africa, British East Africa, Francophone Africa. Some Tribes have come and gone, but have left incriminating evidence, such Tribal markings as their language, mixed-tribe offspring, and in most cases, a puppet or proxy government to serve their financial interests.

In effect, the world we live in today, and for the past several centuries, has been shaped by organized crime, international gangs of highly organized, highly paid criminals, superior thugs, supported and protected by governments that invade countries under noble pretexts, committing murder and mayhem, destroying everything in their path for glory and greed. Their terror tactics to control, subdue, and hold in bondage their prey, would shame a nation of demons, not to mention one that purports to be civilized, Christian, and democratic.

It is interesting to note that after the United Nations World Conference against Racism, the world was pretty much denied the information that slavery, especially the transatlantic slave trade was finally declared a crime against humanity, and should always have been so. It was surreal. Imagine criminals being able to vote on whether or not their raping, plundering, genocidal deeds were in fact crimes against humanity.

Again, I ask: How do agreements crafted by and for the sole benefit of criminals get accepted, codified, and defended as “the law?”

Imagine our local thugs, gang-bangers, traffickers in people, rapist, drug pushers, pedophiles, dead beat dads, making agreements among themselves, for the benefit of themselves and have the recipients of their criminal behavior, and other people, ostensibly without such criminal tendencies, abide by those agreements and accept them as legitimate, as “the law?”

Such laws as:

“Whatever I do is right and acceptable, I am God.” Sovereignty

“Even if I am wrong, I know I’m wrong and you know I’m wrong, and the whole world knows that I am wrong, you can’t sue me unless I allow you to sue me.” Sovereign Immunity

“If I am forced by public or world opinion, or some other compelling interest, you may sue me in my court, with judges I appoint, under rules that I make, and you must do it in a certain amount of time. I will decide what amount of time is sufficient.” Statute of Limitations

Even so, this isn’t done even handedly. We also know that law in the hands of criminals, either in domestic or international law, will attempt to twist it to meet their purpose.

For example, when it comes to the issue of “time” for African people 138 years is too long ago. However, when it comes to European people, 2500 years ago is a reparational issue. The Bible is dragged in to justify the disparate treatment.

But, we wouldn’t stop there, we would build huge monuments with our tax dollars, write about these criminals in glowing terms in our text books, make up interesting stories to tell our children about them, create holidays and even induce our children to admire and celebrate them.

We have moved from plantation slavery to prison and wage slavery.

We have moved from colonialism to neo-colonialism: A black face to carry out the will of the colonial masters who occupy the stolen land and maintain a death grip on the resources, while still grabbing for more.

We have moved from can’t read to can’t think: The textbooks are full of lies. Scientists, researchers, academics for hire serve the colonial masters in their attempt to cover-up and promote lies to hide the truth.

We have moved from White Criminal Supremacy with-



Photo by Greg Blakey

Deadria Farmer-Paellman, Dr. Carol Swain, Johnnie Cochran, Dorothy B. Lewis, and Armstrong Williams
TV One’s Town Hall meeting on Slavery Reparations, at the George Washington University’s Jack Morton Auditorium in Washington, DC

So today, we continue to struggle out from under the burden of White Criminal Supremacy, of which slavery and colonialism reflect only two its many tentacles. The Reparations demand is just one step in our effort to take control of our lives, of our future and our sanity. As we try to make sense out of the insane, we find that the more things look like they have changed the more they are really the same:

out the sheets to White Criminal Supremacy all dressed up in three-piece suits, black robes, and governmental uniforms, with a license to kill.

In the name of Democracy and Manifest Destiny, we have moved from genocide and an agricultural slaveocracy to genocide and a military and prison slaveocracy: Our husbands, wives, daughters, and sons still give their lives to liberate countries and resources for corporate

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(Continued from page 7)

gain under the pretext of liberating people.

These Transnational corporations move millions of jobs out of this country in search of new slaves. They have no allegiance to any flag until they need the services of our youthful military to assist them in an international hijacking of another nation for slaves, markets, and resources. It is a wonder that our child soldiers don't demand their fair share of the loot directly from the corporations. Instead, we subsidize the robbery with our tax dollars and the lives of our loved ones, in the name of freedom and democracy that we don't enjoy.

In the name of Freedom, we have given up the Freedoms we said we had, even though a good number of us were afraid to exercise those freedoms in the first place, before the Patriot Act.

Some often say that we are a nation of Laws not men. I say that a nation built on injustice and inhumanity, and a foundation of agreements made by criminals to regulate their criminal behavior. Some of what we call "laws," are a legacy of our Holocaust of Enslavement and remain tools of oppression and the continuing war against us. These tools/"laws" must join the long list of harms and damage in need of repair.

We live with a White Criminal Supremacy mind-set that project onto others, its own criminal tendencies: The stolen are projected as the thieves. The terrorized are projected as the terrorist. The survivors are projected as the murderers and must be jailed and/or killed. The resource rich countries are projected as the impoverished as their gold, diamonds, oil, rubber, and other wealth are airlifted to pad the coffers of European countries. These thieves are projected as the saviors.

The criminal attempts to justify slavery and the inhuman treatment of African people, have left us a legacy of lies and omissions in our textbooks that still render the majority of Americans ignorant of US history.

We have a US congress that has for the past 138 years suppressed an honest discussion on America's history and the impact of slavery on subsequent generations. This too is a criminal cover up and a legacy of slavery.

Not only is it time for reparations, it is time to end the African Holocaust, the Maafa. We know the war isn't over, that we are still in danger because the criminals' descendants still have a criminal mind-set. They don't want to confess, apologize, or repair the damage. They seem to want to pretend that It Never Happened. We know that reparations alone, isn't the issue because repa-

lations have been paid to and demanded for others.

What do criminals, who pretend to be paragons of virtue, do with prisoners of unjust wars, and laws made, by criminals for criminals? What do criminals do with, kidnap victims, people held in bondage?

Do they try to kill them off, and institute laws to silence them until they die off? Do they convince the captives that they are now a part of the family and entitled to all of the responsibilities of family members, but none of the wealth? Ask not what your family can do for you, but what you can do for your family/country.

Do they teach them the same lies that they have taught their own Tribal members when they were trying to convince the Tribe that the captive Africans were inferior, less than human and had no human rights that the White Tribe was bound to respect?

When the gig is up, why don't they just come clean, tell the truth, pay reparations, and move on? Why do they continue to lie, make excuses, blame the victim, try to convince them that they did them a favor, their captivity was really a rescue mission, forgive and forget, let bygones be bygones, while they continue to shackle, reenslave, and destroy them in so many other ways?

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REPARATIONS AND RESTITUTION

Broadening the Discussion, Self Transformation And Compensation

By Wautella ibn Yusuf

How do we, the victims of human history's most diabolic tragedy, shape the discussion about Black Reparations and Restitution in a way that captures the hearts and minds of African peoples at home and abroad? First and foremost there must be an understanding and acceptance that our demand for Reparations is a sacred and moral issue, and the African Holocaust of Enslavement was a crime against Africans, humanity and God. Many sacred texts teach us that the human person is sacred, therefore to injure or murder one human being is a violation of the sacred. We should not forget, nor should we let others forget that ten to one hundred million innocent souls were tortured and destroyed during the Trans-Atlantic enslavement of Africans. Our quest to gain Reparations must be viewed as a duty, placed upon us by the Creator, our Ancestors, our children and ourselves, to repair, heal and restore our People (minds, culture, history, families, communities, nationhood, etc.).

Our approach to the issue of "Reparations" should never be viewed as something "White folks" must "do" for us, or "approve" for us. Rather, it is our demand for justice, and what is rightfully ours, and a necessary step to acquire the resources necessary to heal, repair and restore us as a people. Ultimately Reparations is a process that only "Black folks" can and must do for ourselves. Only we can address the spiritual and psychological effects of 300 years of slavery, 100 years of lynching and segregation, and more than 35 years of racism and discrimination that is clearly evident in our families and communities.

As activists and liberation theorists speaking on behalf of our people's needs, we must struggle to use language and a system of logic that enables us to reach all our people in a manner that encourages their involvement in the healing and repair process whether they acknowledge it or not. If we can help our people to see that the crimes that we've suffered and the duration of those crimes are unlike any experiences of other peoples, then they will understand our approach to the issue of Reparations must also be different from those of other peoples. The way that "reparations" is understood in national and international law does not and cannot carry the same weight for us. Malcolm X.

taught us that the language and logic of the oppressor cannot be the language and logic of the oppressed. Lawyers, politicians, and international representatives may feel obligated to use the definitions that are commonly accepted in the arenas in which they fight, but the Reparations activists must never be confined to those narrow parameters. It is our job to name and define our reality and cause others to accept our definitions. This is an expression of power and self-determination.

The Reparations Movement has the potential to address all our problems, if we define it as a movement to develop and liberate African people, rather than a quest to receive a paycheck. Today the issue of restitution (compensation) raises the most questions for African descendants and European descendants (the perpetrators). However, considering the scope of the damages, perhaps the issue of reparations should receive more of our attention rather than restitution at this time. African People must first clearly define the injury, and then understand and accept that there is a need for healing, repairing and restoring our people before getting bogged down in discussions about who should pay (individuals, companies, churches, or governments); what we want (money, land, health-care, education, political power, repatriation, etc); how much and how long various forms of compensation should be provided; who should receive it (individuals, organizations or governments acting in our behalf), and how the compensation should be used. This is required for at least two reasons: a) we can't change (repair) our condition if we don't understand the cause (injury) and b) if our people don't fully comprehend the full extent of the injuries they can be tricked into settling for token reparations.

Every Black person is a potential member of the growing International African Reparations Movement. We must create and sustain a mass Reparations Movement that enable the worldwide struggles of African peoples to be linked in ways not witnessed since the era of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association.

STRATEGIES FOR WINNING REPARATIONS

Grassroots and Popular Support :

Methods – creating and distributing brochures, flyers, and books; public forums e.g. town hall meetings, conference and conventions; accessing popular media with our message; marches, demonstrations and boycotts.

Rationale - Winning the hearts and minds of the people is most important and makes the other three fronts possible. There is cross-fertilization between all four, but educating the people to support the movement is the corner stone of the movement.

Legislative Strategies:

Methods – lobbying and passing Reparations proclamations, resolutions, bills and laws on all levels (organizations, city, county, state, US Congress, etc.).

Rationale – legislative actions elevate the discussion and create a national dialog that educates African descendants (and others) about their injury and rights to redress, and broadens the discussion and support base. When all is said and done, it will be the US Government (US Congress) and other European governments that will pass laws to support an equitable Reparation remedy.

Legal Strategies:

Methods – filing Reparations lawsuits of all types for the African Holocaust of Enslavement and its vestiges, e.g. filing against individuals, families, corporations, US and other governments, etc

Rationale – lawsuits from the bottom up help to create the domino effect that leads to governments' acknowledging their responsibility and liability for the Holocaust of Enslavement. Also testimonies during court hearings educate the public and build support. The injured party is strengthened by confronting the criminal face to face and forcing him to answer for the crime regardless of the outcome.

International Strategies:

Methods – lobbying and petitioning international governing bodies (United Nations, World Court, African Union, etc.) for support and redress; keep the issue on the agenda of international conferences and conventions; create and sustain international boycotts for Reparations; and link up with

other African and African descendants Reparations organizations and allies for support (e.g. the International Front of Afrikans for Reparations [IFAR] formed during the Afrikan and Afrikan Descendants Conference in Barbados)

Rationale – Reparations for Africans is a global issue for Africans and African descendants that must be pursued locally and internationally. During forum such as The World Conference Against Racism which declared the “Trans-Atlantic Slavery Trade” was a crime against humanity. In light of the U.S. dominance over countries around the world, African descendants in America are in a position to give voice and support to the International African Reparations Movement. Therefore African descendants residing in the U.S. must not betray our duty to our ancestors and people.

FOUR MAJOR STAGES OF WINNING REPARATIONS FOR AFRICAN DESCENDANTS IN AMERICA

Reparations Organization: Recruit and retain a committed, capable, well informed and disciplined core membership, i.e. N'COBRA and other community based organizations.

Mass Black Support: If Reparations are due for slavery and present day injustices against Black People, Africans in America, and around the world should first recognize the injustices, the worthiness of our demand for Reparations, and be willing to give our support before expecting others to.

Gain Significant National and Global Support: America is concerned with maintaining its false, noble international image; we should challenge it, e.g. Civil Rights Movement. We should create and sustain strategic alliances.

Win Reparations!: Through the application of massive internal and external pressure, followed by well-planned attacks using litigation, legislation, and international pressure, we will win Reparations.



A NATIONALIST LIBATION RITUAL

Submitted by

BABA HANNIBAL AFRIK

*(Originally recited in February 1972,
SHULE TA WATOTO)*

Opening:

“Because we are an Afrikan people, whenever we come together on no matter how large or small the occasion, it is imperative that we ask our Ancestors for their blessings. For our Ancestors are a fundamental part of everything that we do. They are in this room, in the air, in the earth and we believe that if we call upon them and ask for their blessings, they will hear our request and grant us success.

A libation is a liquid poured into the earth as the name of the Ancestor is called. We would ask you to acknowledge this request in your own personal way. The libation will be spoken in Kiswahili and English”

TAMBIKO (Libation)

SIFA OTE INA MUUMBA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Creator)

SIFA OTE INA MABABA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Ancestors)

SIFA OTE INA WOTE WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan people)

SIFA OTE INA MAISHA WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan life)

To the spiritual memory of the Honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, who
taught us ‘One God, One Aim and One Destiny’ and who believed that we
are Afrikans, ‘those at home and those abroad’;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Queen Nzingha, who led our people in Angola
and never allowed the Portugese to dominate us;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who gave us
an example of economic self-determination;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Sister Harriet Tubman, who led our people
towards the North Star and never lost a passenger on the Underground
Railroad;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Brother Minister Malcolm X. El Hajj Malik,
our Black Shining Prince, for his example of manhood, husbandhood,
fatherhood and servant to our people;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of Queen Mother Moore, who gave nearly one

hundred years of her life to the cause of sovereignty, Reparations, independence and empowerment for our people;
—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of the five hundred million Afrikans taken from the continent during the four hundred years of the European Trans-Atlantic slave trade and the fifty million and more who were casualties and perished during the Middle Passage and whose bones lie at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean and whose blood fertilized the soil, in the plantations of North, Central and South America. To all who suffered, bled and died in our MAAFA, Afrikan Holocaust of Enslavement;

—We say and pour Libation.

To the spiritual memory of the Ancestors of all of us here assembled, our great grandparents, grandparents, fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins, those whose names we can call, those whose shoulders we now stand on, those who have built the bridge over which we are crossing today;

—We say and pour Libation.

And to the spiritual memory of those not yet born, those who will come behind us, those who will inherit our legacy of struggle, those who will ensure our goal of sovereignty, self-governance, prosperity and peace;

—We say and pour Libation.

SIFA OTE INA MUUMBA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Creator)

SIFA OTE INA MABABA WEUSI (All praises due to our Afrikan Ancestors)

SIFA OTE INA WOTE WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan people)

SIFA OTE INA MAISHA WEUSI (All praises due to Afrikan life)

And so, if we are serious in believing with our heart that our Ancestors are right here with us today, then they will have heard our request, they will give us their blessings for a successful occasion. And we will go forward from this day as New Afrikan men, New Afrikan women, New Afrikan children, ‘for as long as the sun shines and the water flows.’ HOTEP!“



**THE AYARE'SA SOCIETY
(THE HEALING)
GIVES THANKS FOR N'COBRA'S DEDICATION TO THE
AFRICAN COMMUNITY
REMEMER TO BE AFRICAN IN EVERTHING THAT YOU DO
TO SCHEDULE A HEALING CIRCLE CALL IVY SHADIAH HYLTON
301-702-0940**

Cotton

By Kahlil Almustafa

Cotton/is it that they think that we've forgotten,
living up in this country that's rotten,
I stay/fighting for my mule, for my plot,
they want to start/let 'em start off with the cotton.

There ain't no more hot fields,
no more chains, no whips,
but my people, we still walk crooked
from this ordeal, we still feel,
we still hurtin'.
Some try to raise the Blk nation
but it seems like it ain't working.
They portray us like we hate working,
we built this right here.

That flag full with our blood, our sweat, our tears,
it's they crime
that got us acting outta order,
Blk men, decorating the street corner.
The U.S. worries about the welfare of the Israel state,
while Afrikans here in America in a welfare state
and a welfare state of mind,
blinded by BET and the news,
all my little ghetto children confused.
We don't want a check sent to the projects,
but if we left it to them,
they wouldn't check the projects.

Check this project,
we need less housing
and more building
like more building our people up.

They try to fix the ghetto
so they open up a Starbuck!!!
Yo! What about our bucks!!!
Chips, clams, shells, cheddar, whatever,
we take it mils or dirty, one dollar bills.
Reparations is Justice
for the problems they brought to us,
we ain't bring these problems to you.
You brought us here for the nation building
and the same situation we still in,
the Blk nation is still feeling
the pain from they campaign.
Let me make it quite plain,
them sorrys don't mean a damn thang,
we seen Martin, seen Malcolm,
and everythang seem the damn same,
so get up off them damn thangs

and maybe we could see some damn change.

Cotton/is it that they think that we've forgotten,
living up in this country that's rotten,
I stay/fighting for my mule, for my plot,
they want to start/let 'em start off with the cotton.

I'm talking 'bout

cotton shirts & cotton socks,
cotton pants & cotton cots,
cotton bandanas,
cotton swabs & cotton Q-Tips,
cotton hats & cotton to lace ya' shoes
with.

Everything, cotton drawers to cotton panties,
all the cotton in this world,
even cotton candy.

Half off on cotton-polyester blends,
my people,
we should never have to pay for cotton again.
We need more than reactions,

them affirmative actions a distraction.

We need pro-action.

We need better interaction
between Blk women and the Blk men.

We need community.

We need stability.

Keep the apologies.

We'll take the property.

Your propaganda
don't bother me.

Cause we've seen
enough tokens,
enough hopin', enough prayin', enough singin',
enough beggin' you for our freedom,
seen enough Assatas, enough Mumias,

Keep the apologies.

We'll take the property

enough marchin',
enough arrests and protests
without the progress,
enough strugglin',
we've had enough hustlin' crack,
enough of you saying this, but doing that.
We've had enough racial attacks.
It's time for them to give back.
It's time for us to take Black.

(Continued from page 14)

If you feelin' this, if you with this
pump them Blk fists,
clinched tight like cousins sleeping on a mattress,
we don't ask for this, we demand it.
But if they don't give us our cheddar,
we still gotta come together,
grow better, make our own cheddar,
show the world what could have been
of this America.

Cotton/is it that they think that we've forgotten,
living up in this country that's rotten,
I stay/fighting for my mule, for my plot,
they want to start/let 'em start off with the cotton.

Performed at the Millions for Reparations Rally at the United Nations in September 2003. kahlil almustafa is a founding member of Youth4Reparations and the 2002 Nuyorican Grand Slam Champion and a Reparations activist in Queens, New York. He is the author of two collections of poems, "Grandma's Soup," and "I'm Crying Everyone's Tears."

Free the land! Free the people! Free all political prisoners! Reparations Now!

Youth4Reparations (YFR)

<youth4reparations@yahoo.com> -is an organization that seeks to educate young people about Reparations and to engender the future leaders of the Reparations movement.

YFR believes Reparations offers a unique and timely response to the multitude of challenges facing our communities, including: bridging the divide between groups of Afrikan people internationally, lack of infrastructure, criminalization of our youth, prison industrial complex, assassination of our leaders, poorly funded public education, gentrification, inadequate healthcare and housing, AIDS, unemployment, etc. It is a youth organization that trains young people in community organizing and advocacy, and creates tangible Reparations solutions.

Youth4Reparations understands that the question of Reparations for Blacks in America short-circuits this system. Since it was the black bodies of our ancestors that served as the start-up capital in this capitalistic system, and the maintenance of that system has depended heavily on the continued oppression of our people, to

demand that this nation redress their crime against humanity would require eliminating national holidays, renaming landmarks, bankrupting institutions, and revealing the so-called "founding fathers" and their successors to be tyrants and worse.

Reparations is not: A check in the mail. Based on black & white. An extension of welfare or affirmative action. An attempt by lawyers to make money. An impossible notion.

If you would like to get materials from Youth4Reparations, please e-mail us at youth4reparations@yahoo.com, write at Post Office Box 569, Jamaica, NY, 1411, or call 917-517-9006.



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THE N'COBRA NE REGION HONORS ROB PENNY

By Ajamu Sankofa
N'COBRA NE Regional Representative

On November 25, 2003, the N'COBRA NE Region held its winter meeting. The ambitious focus of the meeting



Gilda Sherrod-Ali and Mama Timamu Penny

was not only to celebrate the life and work of our esteemed ancestor and seven year active member of the N'COBRA Pittsburgh Chapter, the poet, novelist, playwright, scholar, and African liberation activist, Rob Penny; but also to strengthen the N'COBRA chapters and their organizing strategies such that Brother Penny's bright ancestral light would shine throughout our deliberations, giving us guidance for the reparations road that lies ahead. We met the challenge.

The N'COBRA NE Regional meeting was co-sponsored by the Black students of the University of Pittsburgh Africana Studies Department and held in an impressive room at the University of Pittsburgh. Over 40 people registered for the meeting and throughout the day over 70 people participated in the rich organizing sessions.

Adjoa Aiyetoro, chair of N'COBRA's Legal Strategies Commission, moderated a solid workshop on sustaining and growing N'COBRA chapters through enhanced programmatic and administrative activities and procedures. Six NE region chapters were represented as panelists on this very needed workshop. Among the key recommendations were, 1. Chapters must recognize that the timely completion of chapter level administrative tasks is absolutely vital to ensuring the institutional integrity of both the local chapter and the national organization; 2. The region recommends that the national office develop a system of reminders to ensure chapter compliance with

its administrative responsibilities such as chapter recertification, quarterly budget reports, and annual financial pledges; 3. Each chapter must maintain a visible political presence in the Black community and place reparations community education efforts as a central thrust in all of its work; 4. The Region recommends that each chapter creates a 3-year calendar that will chart its programmatic target dates and administrative task target dates and commits to keeping these dates; and 5. The Region committed to a plan of action to assist the N'COBRA Rochdale Village Chapter to bounce back from the demoralization that set in due to its inability to attend the historic Reparations Rally of 2002 in Washington, DC.

Nellie Hester Bailey, N'COBRA member and Executive Director of the Harlem Tenant's Council (HTC), led a spirited interactive discussion on the art and practice of grassroots organizing and coalition building to expand the reparations movement. She used the example of the HTC joining the N'COBRA Metro Area Chapter in a



Ajamu Sankofa, N'COBRA NE Regional Representative

coalition building effort that put on a successful community Teach-in that explained the housing crisis in the Black community as a vestige of chattel slavery. Sister Bailey stressed the need of reparations activists not to be

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N'COBRA SOUTHWEST REGION ON THE MOVE

By James Rodgers III
N'COBRA Southwest Regional Representative

Here is a synopsis of the recent activities of the Dallas Chapter of NCOBRA.

Starting with the events of Kwanzaa:

December 26, 2003 elder chapter member Irene Moorhead (NANA) and Bro James Rodgers III (SWR REP) participated in the annual community Kwanzaa parade and rally. During the parade Bro James drove his truck while queen Mother Moorhead, from the window, passed out NCOBRA membership applications and other community news articles. During the rally, separately they addressed the rally on the principle of umoja, reparations, and the mission of NCOBRA.

December 29, 2003 the chapter hosted an open public discussion on the principle of ujamma, and Reparations vs. Pan Africanism at the Pan African Connection Books and Resource Center in Dallas (Oak Cliff), TX. Bro James Rodgers III (SWR REP. NCOBRA) and Bro. Tige of the United States of Africa group spoke on the merits of each approach to liberation for Africa and the Africans. We also discussed the need for Africans to gain self - determination and control of economic resources. The Dallas Chapter presented the NCOBRA campaign of Black Friday, which is based on the principle of ujamma.

January 1, 2004 chapter co chair Diana Kimble presented the demand for reparations and the mission of NCOBRA in a PUBLIC discussion, covered by the local media, at the Pan African Connection Books and Resources Center. The subject of the discussion was the Kwanzaa principle of IMAMI (Faith).

January 3, 2004 Brother Odinga Kambui represented NCOBRA, in a rally for reparations, in Fort Worth, Texas hosted by the local Nation of Islam (NOI). Brother Odinga was one of many politician and community activist/speakers rallying the cities African America. Community. The rally was held in support of a state resolution introduced by Representative Glenn Lewis of Forth Worth, TX, in support U. S Congress bill - HR 40. Bro. Odinga talked about the mission of NCOBRA and its leadership role in the movement for a legal remedy to reparations. He also so spoke on the status of political prisoners and the need for support of legal action for release of all po-

litical prisoners.

January 4, 2004 chapter member meet at the home of queen mother Irene Moorhead for the weekly political education session host by former member of the Black Panther Party member and chapter treasurer Bro. Odinga Kambui.

January 5, 2004 chapter co- chairs Bro. Cranston Alkebulan and Diana Kimble meet with the Dallas Chapter of the NOI, and others community activist to plan the Saviors Day event for NOI, and the Reparations Awareness Day event for the chapter.

January 7, 2004 the chapter youth commission held a planning meeting for hosting a conference and rally, to be held in March 2004; aimed at bringing more youth into the movement for reparations, and in observance of March 21, 2004, the U N International Day Against Racism

January 7, 2004 the Regional Rep. Bro. James Rodgers III, meet with regional conference coordinator Sis. Helene Reese of the Dallas Chapter to begin the dissemination of a notice to the region of the upcoming SWR regional conference to be held on May 29-30 2004 in Tulsa, OK. For more information contact SWR Rep. James Rodgers III at 972 231 9114 or e-mail brorodgers3@ ev1.net.

TEXAS REPARATIONS LEADERS SPEAK ON CHURCH RESOLUTION

By Omowale <exodusn@hotpop.com>

“Slavery Reparation activists call for more than an apology to heal Texas past”

On Wednesday, January 14, 2004 @ 10:30 am at Greater St. Stephen First Church located at 3728 E. Berry Street. A statewide coalition of black reparation activists will host a press conference to respond to the Texas Baptist Association’s call of an apology for Texas role in black slavery. Over 50 members of the Baptist group unanimously approved the apology resolution at a meeting held recently in Fort Worth. The group requested State Representative Glenn O. Lewis

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For more information on the NPVM or to obtain a copy of this booklet call (323) 296-4383 or go to our Website at: NPVM@globalpanther.com

THE NEW PANTHER VANGUARD MOVEMENT SALUTES N'COBRA'S 15TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

"The unforgivable sin of the Slave Trade in Afrikan people, and the Anglo-American enslavement of Afrikans, is not that it simply denied Afrikans any real chance of becoming economically productive; its major evil was the social and economic system it fueled and originated.

This so-called Capitalistic System has caused the untold suffering of Afrikans in America, and today it has left a living legacy of deformed and inherently unfair, and racist, governmental and economic institutions. It has also left a living legacy in the form of 'racism' or 'social prejudice' of White people against Afrikans and other people of color.

To justify their highly profitable, but inhuman, exploitation of Afrikan peoples, the promoters and defenders of Capitalism, systematically and historically imbued White people, primarily but not exclusively, with the racist belief that Afrikan people, and other people of color were inferior, physically and culturally.

Who can deny that historically the majority of Afrikans living in America have been, and still are, socially ostracized and segregated from the wealth of American society? Who can deny that our Afrikan ancestors were murdered with impunity, systematically exploited economically, and treated customarily less than human, not for a day, not for a week, or a few months, but for hundreds of years."

B. Kwaku Duren, Esq., Chair, NPVM

LET US MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER! BACKWARD NEVER!

Hear This Powerful Message By The Minister Of Washington DC & East Coast Representative Of The **Honorable Minister Louis FARRAKHAN**

Minister Abdul Khadir Muhammad

at

**Muhammad Mosque No. 4
1615 Kenilworth Ave, N.E.
Washington,DC
(Near Deanwood Metro Station)**



The Honorable
Minister Louis Farrakhan

**This Sunday
10:00am**
Doors Open 9:30am

Come visit with us

Minister Abdul
Khadir Muhammad

For More Information Call 202-399-1010



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Mission Statement

To obtain justice and equality for the emancipation and economic development of Afrika, Afrikans, and Afrikan descendants. To eliminate all forms of exploitation, servitude, degradation, discrimination and all its ramifications.

Thanks to the government and people of Suriname for supporting the GAC conference.
Art & Design by Hans Poppe | portfolios.com/hanspoppe

Uhuru Tribunal on Reparations

November 14-15, 2003 Testimony

by Bonnie Kerness

Since 1975, I have been a human rights advocate on behalf of prisoners throughout the country. I coordinate the Prison Watch Project for the American Friends Service Committee. Having been an activist, community organizer and human rights advocate for over 40 years, I see a glaring connection between the broken promise of reparations and prison cages filled to bursting with young oppressed people who are denied the kind of start in life that youngsters of other nationalities have.

I work with Black and Puerto Rican youth in Newark who tell me that the police feel like an occupation army as if inner cities were militarized zones. They speak about the school system being the feeder to filter young people of oppressed nationalities into youth detention, jails and prisons where those bodies are suddenly worth a fortune. People say that the criminal justice system doesn't work. I've come to believe exactly the opposite – that it works perfectly, just as slavery did, as a matter of economic and political policy.

I don't believe that it is an accident that people who are perceived of as economic liabilities have suddenly been turned into a major economic asset. That young oppressed child who this country labels worthless to the economy suddenly generates 30 thousand dollars a year once trapped in the criminal justice system. The expansion of prisons, parole, probation, the court and police systems has resulted in an enormous bureaucracy which has been a boon to everyone from architects, plumbers, and electricians to food and medical vendors – all with one thing in common – a pay check earned by keeping human beings in cages. The criminal justice system is a lucrative business with a large and growing middle class of all nationalities being paid a lot of money for containing mostly poor people in cages in human warehouses. Not unlike the era of chattel slavery, there is a class of people dependent on bodies of color as a source for income.

In the US criminal justice system, the politics of the police, the politics of the courts, the politics of the prison system and the politics of the death penalty are a manifestation of the racism and classism which governs the lives of all of us. Every part of the criminal justice system falls most heavily on the poor and people of op-

pressed nationalities, including the fact that slavery is mandated in prisons by the 13th Amendment of the US constitution. Prison slavery in the form of involuntary labor is real. Any discussion of reparations has to include revision of that Amendment.

I'd like to share with you some of the voices that I hear during my day. The first two are from youngsters who have spent time in juvenile detention. These babies describe a system in which parents have no say so over what happens to their children and a system which prepares them for a future of imprisonment.

"I went in when I was 14. They have what they call an MCU there, and it's like the "hole" in a regular prison. Kids that fight go in there. If you refuse they come and get you. You get a shower once a week and they even bring the food to you. It was so cold."

"I heard people scream, yell and holler. I saw boys get strung out on meds. The food is mostly Sloppy Joe's and one cup of water. They make you take sleeping stuff in the needles. They used pepper spray on this girl who was fighting one time. They sprayed her directly in her mouth and she couldn't breathe. They kept hitting her. We kept telling them that she had asthma, but they wouldn't listen".

On Mothers Day in Elizabeth, NJ, Eddie Sinclair, Jr. hung himself in the Union County Youth detention facility; Eddie was 17 and had stolen a bicycle. He had missed an appointment with his parole officer, was picked up and locked in isolation. It is not irrelevant that Eddie's father is African and his mother is Puerto Rican.

The treatment of imprisoned juveniles in this country violates international human rights law. The US has been cited by the World Organization Against Torture as violating UN Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the UN Convention Against Torture. Any discussion of reparations has to include the reversal of youth being tried and punished as adults. We must also reverse "zero tolerance" policies where children are concerned. Children often learn by making mistakes. If their mistakes are punished with permanent sanctions – no room is left for them to change or grow. We can't escape the similarities with chattel slavery here as well. Not only are these children taken from their families,

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they loose their chance at an equitable future.

I also want to share the voices of adult prisoners, which are haunting testimonies of torture being committed in US prisons:

From Utah State Prison: "John was directed to leave the strip cell and a urine soaked pillow case was placed over his head like a hood. He was walked, shackled and hooded to a different cell where he was placed in a device called "the chair"....he was kept in the chair for over 30 hours resulting in extreme physical and emotional suffering."

From Florida, "during the struggle jailers shocked the prisoner multiple times with stun guns. Inmates who witnessed his death estimate that he was shocked between eight and twenty times. The medical examiner put it at 22 times...."

A woman in Texas writes "the guard sprayed me with pepper spray because I wouldn't take my clothes off in front of five male guards. Then they carried me to a cell, laid me down on a steel bed and took my clothes off. They left me in that cell with that pepper spray in my face and nothing to wash my face with. I didn't give them any reason to do that. I just didn't want to take my clothes off.

Some of the most poignant letters I get are from prisoners writing on behalf of the mentally ill – like the man in California who spread feces over his body. The guards' response to this was to put him in a bath so hot it boiled 30% of the skin off him. Practices such as the indefinite use of shackles and other mechanical restraints, and the administration of dangerous chemical treatments, or the practice of extended isolation puts the US in violation of United Nations Treaties and Covenants. These past years have been full of thousands of calls and complaints from prisoners and their families, describing inhumane conditions including cold, filth, callous medical care, extended isolation sometimes lasting over a decade, use of devices of torture, harassment, brutality and racism. I have received vivid descriptions of four point restraints, restraint hoods, restraint belts, restraint beds, stun grenades, stun guns, stun belts, tethers, waist and leg chains.

The use of extended isolation has been a growing concern for many prison activists, on both sides of the walls. The reports coming in about the use of devices of torture have largely been from isolation units, which are called control units or supermax prisons, where there are few witnesses. In New Jersey, New Afrikan prisoner Ojore Lutalo was

held in the Management Control Unit at New Jersey State Prison in total isolation from February 1986 through January 2000. One of the first people placed in that Unit in the 1970's was Sundiata Acoli. Ruchel Magee has lived under these conditions in California for more than 30 years. Both Russell Shoats and Mumia have been living in Pennsylvania isolation units for over 20 years. There are thousands of others as well.

Many of us trace the development of control units to the tumultuous years of the civil rights movement when many activists found themselves in US prisons. Sensory deprivation was used extensively with imprisoned members of the Black Panther Party, Black Liberation Army formations, Puerto Rican independentistas, member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and white radicals. In later years we found jailhouse lawyers, Islamic militants and prisoner activists placed in extended isolation. In 1978, Andrew Young who was the US Ambassador to the United Nations noted the existence of US political prisoners. Too many of those elders are still in prisons throughout the country over 25 years later and their release is imperative as part of reparations.

Right now, the latest explosion filling the isolation cages include youth of oppressed nationalities imprisoned as a result of the racist crack-cocaine laws. Current efforts to expand the solitary confinement population involve the alleged spread of gang problems in US prisons. This trend is being repeated throughout the country, resulting in the increased building of supermax prisons. In these gang prisons called Security Threat Group Management Units, prisoners are called upon to renounce their "gang" membership – which is reminiscent of the witch-hunts during the McCarthy investigations in the 1950's and FBI Counter Intelligence Program.

If you are a youngster of an oppressed nationality in this country, and you are poor, should you get arrested which is a likely occurrence, bail will be set so high you become an economic hostage and the "phrase innocent until proven guilty" has no meaning. You will certainly not get a trial by a jury of your peers. You will be defended by a public defender who has a caseload so vast you cannot be a priority. You will serve a sentence which is 30 per cent longer than a Caucasian would receive for the same crime. If you have seen the same thing happen to your father, your uncles, your cousins – if you look around at the broader picture of what is happening to men, women, youth and children of your nationality, it is not hard to conclude that an economic and physical genocide is being committed.

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The Honorable Silis Muhammad & The Lost-Found Nation Of Islam

Pharoah Bush uses enchanters to block reparations for Blacks

by Minister Malik Al-Arkam

A few prominent African-Americans have indeed sold their souls to the oppressive Caucasian government and power structure. The most influential and visible of these at this time are Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. When these misguided Blacks oppose Reparations for Afro-Descendants and justify U.S. imperialism worldwide, they are fulfilling the role of Pharoah's enchanters in the Scriptures.

When Moses demanded that Pharoah let the long-enslaved Seed of Abraham go, after four centuries of bitter bondage, Pharoah counter-attacked on several levels. He contemptuously denied the slaves' demand for freedom and justice, saying in effect that there was no power on Earth or in Heaven that could force him to release them. After all, he viewed them as his property and he and his forefathers had dictated the terms of their existence for centuries.

He also increased the burden upon the slaves, ordering them to "make bricks without straw." In addition, he called for "enchanters" from the ranks of the enslaved, and offered them great riches and nearness to him - provided they would mislead their own people into remaining under Pharoah's control instead of following Moses' advice to separate and return to their original homeland.

We, the Muslims who follow the Honorable Silis Muhammad, the consistent champion of Reparations for all Afro-Descendants in the Western Hemisphere, have been blessed by Master Fard Muhammad, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and their Spiritual Son to grow into the knowledge that the Biblical and Quranic stories about Moses vs. Pharoah are not historical accounts, but prophecies which have come to pass and are still being actualized in the 20th and early 21st century right here in the United States of America.

It is an actual historical fact that Black people in America are the only people in history who have been in bondage for 400 years in a land which is not ours and who have been robbed of our own language, religion and culture. It is also well documented that, like Moses in the Bible and Quran, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad demanded for 40 years that Pharoah's government "let my people go." He also repeatedly said that Allah God would plague America with terrible weather events

to force Pharoah to release us.

In recent years we have seen some of the worst floods, droughts, tornadoes and insect plagues manifested in the USA. Since 1998, the Honorable Silis Muhammad, whom we revere as the Prophet like Moses, has repeatedly testified before diverse U.N. bodies, including the Human Rights Commission, concerning the fact that the U.S. government has been blatantly violating U.N. covenants ever since it joined the U.N. by practicing imposing ethnocide and forced assimilation upon African-Americans as a people.

In March of 2002, Mr. Muhammad and his wife, the Honorable Misshaki Muhammad, the attorney general of the Lost-Found Nation of Islam, participated in a U.N. sponsored conference in La Ceiba, Honduras, in which Black delegates from North, Central and South America and the Caribbean chose the name "Afro-Descendants" to identify ourselves in our quest for Reparations in the international legal arena. And the U.N. accepted that designation.

However, there was no mention whatsoever of this historic event in the white mass media, including NBC, CBS, ABC, CNN, BBC, the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Boston Globe and others which do Pharoah's bidding. That should not surprise us in the least. Moses taught us that our open adversaries can only exist by making true appear false and false appear true.

In one of history's supreme ironies, Mr. George W. Bush stole the presidency of the white world's greatest bastion of power by denying the descendants of slaves their right to vote in a state controlled by his crooked brother. After ascending to Pharoah's throne, he then appointed the first Blacks in U.S. history to serve in the lofty positions of secretary of state and national security advisor.

Pharoah Bush's goal was to trick Blacks both inside and outside of the country into thinking that he is fair and wants to see our people elevated. However, the trick is doomed to fail.

When Blacks in South Africa denounced Mr. Powell as an Uncle Tom, when Mr. Harry Belafonte correctly identified him as a house Negro, and when Dr. Condoleezza

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**New Panther Vanguard Movement's Intercommunal Reparations Campaign
and
THE QUESTION OF A BLACK PLEBISCITE**

By Kwaku Duren
<http://www.globalpanther.com/>

In the tradition of the BPP we have actually defined this "USA Imperialist State" as a "reactionary inter-communalist" new-World -Order. Whereas the concept of a "world order" is acceptable as an appropriate term referring to the "new" socio-economic, political and cultural state of the world, and is often popularly applied without much difficulty to the practical reach of the entirely negative impacts of the daily operations of the major multi-national corporations, the concept of Intercommunalism was created as a way to begin developing a more exact definition, and analysis, of this "new world order," in which the USA happens, not by chance, to play an all encompassing and the predominant role; the beginnings of this "new world order" can be traced directly to the widespread destruction of most of Western and Eastern Europe, and the continued "looting" of the labor and wealth of the "indigenous populations" following the ending of World II. Walter Rodney, in his book, How Europe Undeveloped Africa, gives a brilliant analysis of this process.

In any event, after this second "world war," the "nation" that was born in 1776, in particular, ceased to exist! One can say, and recognize, that the American "nation" only continues to exist in the minds of those who do not really see, or who choose not to see the reality, that we do really live in a "world order" that has been fundamentally altered [i.e., "qualitatively" changed]. And when "things" change qualitatively, the "scientific method" [which is not exactly foreign to our ancestral roots] dictates that they be distinguished, or, in other words, we should recognize the necessity of the requirement for "redefinition," or the formulation of a "new name." Like all things, "Intercommunalism," has its basic characteristics, and its positive and negative manifestations. However, it was never intended to define a "people." It is simply a effort to properly define the "world order," so as to be better prepared to change it. "New Afrikans" is a term that i respect, but i doubt that more than a few percent of "Africans living in the USA" would consciously apply the term to themselves, individually or collectively. As had been discussed previously, Africans residing in the USA [i.e., in its contiguous 48 states or within its "territorial boundaries," which literally cover no less than a "global" geography] have "ancestral roots" among nu-

merous [perhaps considerably more than a hundred separate] "tribes" and/or "nations" of peoples who have resided on the African continent for thousands, if not millions, of years. However, over the past 400 years we have, i think, been transformed also as a "people." i don't have a problem with identifying myself, or "us," as "indigenous" or "autochthonous" peoples; but are the "majority" of "us" conscious enough right now to do likewise? Clearly, one of the characteristics we lost between "slavery" and so-called "freedom in the USA" is our very "tribal" or "nationalist" identities or consciousness. In other words, we lost our cultural, historical, and "indigenous roots."

Unfortunately, at this particular time in history, collectively we don't even know, or claim, these roots. This reality [or "state of mind"] poses a real challenge to "reparationists" among Africans living in the USA. As a long-time "reparationist," and a scientifically-oriented revolutionist, I think that if we "wily-nilly" held a "plebiscite" tomorrow, nearly 85% of, "us" would "choose" to be just "good-ole Black Americans."

Nonetheless, we believe that the demand for "reparations" by "Africans living in the USA" and by the world's dispossessed peoples ["indigenous peoples" and "neo-colonized nations"] is entirely just, righteous, and, many would add, "divine." But while those qualities are absolutely necessary for waging a protracted struggle, to achieve ultimately a political "demand," they are not sufficient in themselves for achieving reparations. In the NPVM we think that our challenge as "reparationists" and/or "revolutionists" [I don't believe the roles are mutually exclusive] is to both provide "liberatory" education, mass advocacy [and other tactics designed to promote the participation of the people], combined with lots of "revolutionary inspiration." Our primary objective is to develop, and promote, a sufficient majority of those "New Afrikans" [or "Black Americans"] to carry out their historical destiny [which we believe is to "lead" a global assault or "revolution" on the existing "world order"]. I might add, in such a manner that will result in minimal loss of life, the actual transfer, or "redistribution," of the wealth of the world, and ultimately, the conditions for "all power to the people" to become the reality.

Lenin pointed out, and correctly so, that without a
(Continued on page 38)

Voices From The Past

Support For Reparations

Sojourner Truth

"We have been a source of wealth to this republic. Our labor supplied the country with cotton, until villages and cities dotted the enterprising north for its manufacture, and furnished employment and support for a multitude, thereby bringing a revenue to the government. Beneath a burning southern sun have we toiled, in the canebrake and the rice swamp; urged on by the merciless driver's lash, earning millions; and so highly we were valued there, that should one poor wretch venture to escape from this hell of slavery, no exertion of man or trained bloodhound was spared to seize and return him to his field of unrequited labor.

The overseer's horn awoke us at the dawning of day from our half-finished slumbers to pick the disgusting worm from the tobacco plant, which was an added source of wealth. Our tears and blood have been sacrificed on the altar of this nation's avarice. Our unpaid labor has been a stepping stone to its financial success. Some of its dividends must surely be ours.

Our nation will yet be obliged to pay; sigh for sigh, groan for groan, and dollar for dollar, to this wronged and outraged race. What an awful debt when we consider that interest will surely be added. Does this nation not realise that the debt is still unpaid, the note not taken up yet?"

quotation from 'The Book of Life' by Sojourner Truth, written in around 1850

President Taft

"(The) government and the people of the United States are eternally indebted (to Black People)... They brought that race into this country against its will. They planted it here irretrievably. They first put it in bondage, and then they kept it in the ignorance that that bondage seemed to make necessary, under the system then in vogue. Then they freed it, and put upon it the responsibilities of citizenship. Now some sort of obligation follows that chain of facts with reference to the people who are responsible for what that government did."

Howard University, Washington, D.C., May 1909

Malcolm X.

"If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate, you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before he died.

The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in a position of economic strength... is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay... We were sold from plantation to plantation like you sell a horse, or a cow, or a chicken, or a bushel of wheat... All that money... is what gives the present generation of American whites the ability to walk around the earth with their chest out... like they have some kind of economic ingenuity.

Your father isn't here to pay. My father isn't here to collect

But I'm here to collect and you're here to pay."

November 23, 1964, Paris, France

President Lyndon Johnson

"Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences -- deep, corrosive, obstinate differences -- radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

"These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of oppression."

1965 Howard University

Martin Luther King, Jr.

"It is impossible to create a formula for the future which does not take into account that our society has been doing something special *against* the Negro for hundreds of years. How then can he be absorbed into the mainstream of American life if we do not do something special *for* him now, in order to balance the equation and

(Continued from page 23)

equip him to compete on a just and equal basis? What will it profit him to be able to send his children to an integrated school if the family income is insufficient to buy them school clothes? What will he gain by being permitted to move into an integrated neighborhood if he cannot afford to do so because he is unemployed or has a low-paying job with no future? In asking for something special, the Negro is not seeking charity. He does not want to languish on welfare rolls any more than the next man. He does not want to be given a job he cannot handle. Neither, however, does he want to be told that there is no place where he can be trained to handle it. Few people consider the fact that, in addition to being enslaved for two centuries, the Negro was, during all those years, robbed of the wages of his toil. No amount of gold could provide an adequate compensation for the exploitation and humiliation of the Negro in America down through the centuries. Not all the wealth of this affluent society could meet the bill. Yet a price can be placed on unpaid wages." (pp. 30 - 31)

"Justice for black people will not flow into society merely from court decisions nor from fountains of political oratory. Nor will a few token change quell all the tempestuous yearning of millions of disadvantaged black people. White America must recognize that justice for black people cannot be achieved without radical changes in the structure of our society. The comfortable, the entrenched, the privileged cannot continue to tremble at the prospect of change in the status quo. When millions of people have been cheated for centuries, restitution is a costly process. Inferior education, poor housing, unemployment, inadequate health care--each is a bitter component of the oppression that has been our heritage. Each will require billions of dollars to correct. Justice so long deferred has accumulated interest and its cost for this society will be substantial in financial as well as human terms. This fact has not been fully grasped, because most of the gains of the past decade were obtained at bargain rates. The desegregation of public facilities cost nothing; neither did the election and appointment of a few black public officials." (p. 41)

King, Coretta Scott and Jean Highland (1987) The Words of Martin Luther King, Jr

I CAN'T HEAR YOU

By Turban A. Shabazz

You can talk about Legislation talk about Education.
 You can talk about Grade School, High School and College.
 You can talk about degrees; B.As., Masters, P.H.Ds.
 About people who have mountains full of knowledge.
 You can talk about Integration, talk about Desegregation.
 You can even talk about Democracy.
 But, If your conversation doesn't mention Reparations,
 you ain't talkin about a doggone thing to me.
 I've been here, I've been through that American bull-crap too.
 I've been "educated", I've been well-bred and well-read.
 They did not give me the tools in these classrooms, or these schools,
 to keep me from utterly goin out of my head.
 The things that I have learned only helped to get me burned.
 They didn't help me when I got out of school.
 That is why I want to say that this system has to pay.
 I want my forty acres and my mule.
 For over three hundred years, of pain, blood, sweat and tears,
 they worked my folks and never gave them one thin dime.
 Yet, I have always paid for every mistake that I have made.
 Either by paying fines, or by serving out my time.
 My people struggled, worked and died; stripped of dignity and pride.
 While pickin tobacco, soy beans, rice, sugar cane and cotton.
 What makes me mad today, is since they've passed away,
 all of their work and labor seems to be forgotten.
 They were brought here on sad trips; on galleons and slave ships.
 How many who died has not been summed up yet.
 I want you all to know that there's a debt that these folks owe.
 And, I'm gonna make sure that they do not forget.
 You can keep on telling me that I'm American and I'm free;
 that all of my troubles very soon will pass.
 How can that ever be when you keep provin unto me
 that all I'll ever be is Second-class?
 Now, I don't care about Integration. What I want is Compensation.
 I don't care if you don't want me to live near you.
 I will say this loud and strong. You can keep talkin all day long.
 But, If you ain't talkin about Reparations....,I can't hear you.

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Asante Sana N'COBRA

for pushing the important issue of REPARATIONS into the light



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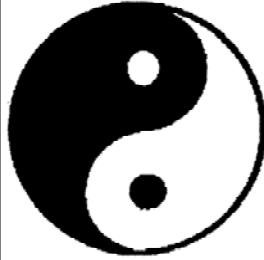
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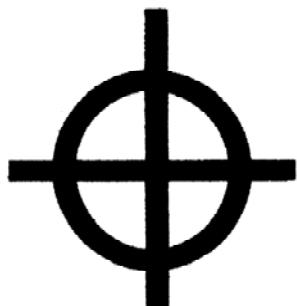
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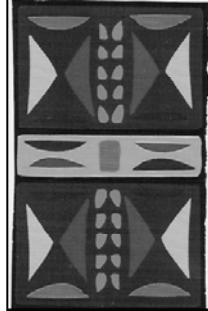


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the years

(Continued from page 20)

The United Nations definition of genocide is a) the killing of members of a racial or religious group b) the causing of serious bodily harm to members of a particular group c) deliberately inflicting on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within that group and e) forcibly transferring children of that group to another group.

If we use this definition, it isn't hard to see how the mass imprisonment that is occurring fits that definition. Coupled with data on high infant mortality, early death of the elderly, lack of the same medical treatment, opportunities and education that is afforded to whites, and the realization becomes even more compelling.

Oppression is a condition common to all of us who are without the power to make the decisions that govern the political, economic and social life of this country. We are victims of an ideology of inhumanity on which this country was built. If we dig deeper into the US practices that I've talked about, the political function that they serve is inescapable. Police, the courts, the prison system and the death penalty all serve as social control mechanisms. The economic function they serve is equally as chilling. Many people with whom I work believe that prisons are a form of neo-slavery and economic slavery. The US prison system echoes the dynamics of chattel slavery with economic gain and social control being a priority.

There is no question in my mind that reparations are due to peoples of Native and African decent. Our move forward with reparations will take many forms and address many levels of what is due African people, and how this should be delivered. As we succeed in gaining money and land reparations, there remains a need for social change that is revolutionary in nature. We have to alter the core of every system that slavery, racism and poverty

(Continued on page 39)

N'COBRA

National Coalition Of Blacks For Reparations In America
National Office

CO-CHAIRPERSONS:

Dorothy B. Lewis
Baba Hannibal T. Afrik

December 2, 2003

Sister Mashariki N. Jywanza, Co-Chair
N'COBRA International Affairs
Indianapolis, Indiana 46205

Jambo (hello) Sister Mashariki,

It is with great pleasure and pride that we congratulate you on being installed as Queen Mother of Fiare-Kpotame, Tefle, Volta Region, Ghana on December 17, 2003.

Your dedication and service to Pan Africanism over the years has made an indelible impression on African people, those at home and abroad.

As co-chairperson of NCOBRA's International Affairs Commission, you have demonstrated organizational solidarity with Reparations advocates in the Motherland and throughout the diaspora.

We look forward to joining your extended family in a dynamic and righteous celebration upon your return to Indianapolis. May the ancestors continue to guide and bless your noble mission for our birth-right of African Redemption and economic justice.

In unity,

Baba Hannibal Afrik

Sister Dorothy . Lewis

N'COBRA National Co chairpersons

Some News From Around The Reparations Movement

N'COBRA New Officer Reception and Open House - Atlanta

Atlanta Chapter of N'COBRA; 906 Ralph D. Abernathy Blvd. S.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30310; (866) 225-7351; email: ncobraatlanta@onebox.com

The Atlanta Local Reparations Organization hosted a Community Open House and New Officer's Reception on Friday, January 16, 2004 from 6:00 pm to 9:00 pm at N'COBRA's local office located at 906 Ralph David Abernathy Blvd, 2nd Floor Office Suite.

The N'COBRA local office is housed in "Our House", the home of Aid to Children of Imprisoned Mothers (AIM) founded by attorney Sandra Barnhill. Our house also houses SistaSpace Inc., a non-profit created to help African American girls mature into confident African American women. "AIM has a history of service to our people in general, and to our children in particular. So to be welcomed into a space that has been created to help heal our community further reinforces our resolve to obtain the resources needed in our community for repair, reparations," stated N'COBRA-Atlanta's newly elected co-chair, Attorney Mawuli Mel Davis.

The Community Open House and New Officer Reception was hosted by the Chris Askew of WAOK 1380's morning show, Unwrapped. The event included a number of community activists, artists, business people, political and civic leaders. Invited guests included Dr. Reverend Aaron Parker of Zion Hill Baptist Church, Minister Ray Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, Cathy Harris of CEADA, Dr. Akinyele Umoja of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement Atlanta Chapter, Minister Ishmael Abdul-Salaam of Lost Found Nation of Islam, spoken word artist Tommy Bottoms, vocalist Katina Barnes, N'COBRA's Southeast Regional Representative Njere Alghanee and many others. Food was prepared by culinary artist Sundiata and music by Mausiki Scales and the Common Ground Collective. The events activities included a Silent Auction of donated items and services provided by businesses and individuals. Members of N'COBRA's new executive committee shared the meaning and vision of the chapter's message:

"Reparations: Resources for Repair. Our work is to repair our community by connecting our community organizations, grassroots groups, and businesses into a collective and organized voice for the Reparations

Movement. Let us make no mistake, we will get reparations in our lifetime" states N'COBRA-Atlanta's secretary, Warren Green.

"From sharing space with AIM and SistaSpace to being based in the West End, we want to be a part of the day-to-day 'repair work' in our community. We want people to understand that our current struggles are directly related to our historic and continued oppression, which reparations seeks to address," added N'COBRA- Atlanta's other co-chair, Librarian Akilah Nosakhere.

"We want to not only work with community organizations in the West End, we also want to continue to be involved with organizing students in the Atlanta University Center around the issue of reparations. For me the fight for reparations is about continuing the legacy of struggle that I was exposed to as a student at Morehouse and by grandmother who was involved in the Civil Rights Movement. It's our time, it's our turn," concluded one of N'COBRA's youth commission organizers, Shaka T. Barrett.

For more information on N'COBRA and the Atlanta Chapter call 1(866) 225-7351 or send an email to ncobraatlanta@onebox.com.

BOB BROWN FILE REPARATIONS LAWSUIT

Landmark Reparations Lawsuit Filed in Chicago at the U.S. Northern District Court of Illinois, 219 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., on Wed., Jan. 7, 2004

Vatican, Governments, Industries, Colleges Are Charged with Conspiracy and Crimes Against Humanity

(Chicago --- Jan. 5, 2004) Bob Brown, co-director of Pan-African Roots, filed a private attorney general class action lawsuit on behalf of all descendants of enslaved Africans in Africa and the African Diaspora, who were and are victims of the MAAFA (from 1435 to 2003) i.e. the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, slavery, slave-like practices and conditions, colonialism, segregation and apartheid. Chicago-based and other entities that have not complied with the Chicago Slavery Era Disclosure Act passed by the Chicago City Council in October 2002 were named in the lawsuit. The media was invited to attend Mr. Brown's press conference after he filed his federal lawsuit. According to Mr. Brown, "This lawsuit is only the tip of a

massive storm that is yet to come! African People worldwide, demand remedy, relief, reparations and repatriation. Victory is inevitable!" Bob Brown, Plaintiff, is an organizer and researcher for 40 years in the student, human rights, Black Power, national liberation, Pan African, and peace movements.

Defendants include: The Vatican, the Society of Jesus and the Catholic Church worldwide; the United States, British, French and Spanish Governments; the Shipping, Gun, Sugar, Tobacco, Cotton and Textile, Mining; Banking, Insurance, and other Industries and Companies; and several Colleges and Universities.

For more information, please contact:
Maurice Weaver

773.750.0817 or paroots02@yahoo.com

Pan-African Roots
1019 O Street NW
Washington, DC 20001

THE BIG SIT-DOWN – REPARATIONS

NDABA III Comes To Houston

On Saturday, March 20, 2004 the Local Action Committee for Reparations (LAC) and the Society for the Study, Preservation and Dissemination of the History of Texas Southern University will host the BIG SIT-DOWN (NDABA III) for REPARATIONS at Texas Southern University Health and Physical Education Arena (corner of Wheeler & Ennis, Houston, Texas) at 7:00pm (Doors Open 5:00pm). The National Town Hall Meeting and Report to the People is FREE and open to the public. The NDABA or Big Sit-Down is a process designed to bring people of African descent together in unity around the demand for full and complete reparations. A series of NDABA gatherings in other cities have focused on unification and information sharing of many formations pushing the reparations demand. People will get a full understanding of reparations and the many different tactics being employed to press this righteous call.

For More Information Contact: NBUF (713) 942-0365

MEMORIAL COMMEMORATION FOR THE COLFAX MASSACRE VICTIMS

On Easter Sunday April 13, 1873 in Colfax, Louisiana, hundreds of Black People (Afrikans) were slain on the Grant Parish courthouse grounds and surrounding area by various elements of the Ku Klux Klan and Confederate veterans in order to maintain "white supremacy", according to an inscription on an obelisk in the cemetery a few blocks from the courthouse which honors three of the culprits.

THE COMMITTEE TO COMMEMORATE THE COLFAX MASSACRE VICTIMS

are sponsoring a weekend of activity to honor the memory of these ancestors on the 131st anniversary of this most tragic event.

Saturday April 10, 2004

Community Awareness Day & Celebration!

3:30-7pm@ Venue to be announced

Sunday April 11, 2004

Special Memorial Tribute

1:30pm@Grant Parish Courthouse....main st. & hwy 8.

For more information:

Contact: Ms. Diana Kimble..318-627-2759 or Odinga Kambui..214-421-9828.

Email: dianamae11@netzero.com odinga@juno.com



African Diaspora Ancestor Commemoration Institute (ADACI) sponsored N'COBRA Sunrise Spiritual Service. Thanks

Some News From Around The Reparations Movement

REPARATIONS AND EMPOWERMENT FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS

By Jihad Abdul-Mumit

The "Reparations and Empowerment for African Americans" program held on Saturday, December 6, 2003 at the Virginia Commonwealth University was sponsored by FOR OUR CHILDREN PRODUCTIONS (a Muslim owned and operated production company that sponsors such events, and also plays and film/documentary on the condition and lives of Africans, Muslims and African Americans) and the MSA of VCU. The program was directed toward the African American community of Richmond, Virginia to courageously break ground in introducing and explaining the need for reparations. Guest speakers included Brother Hodari Abdul-Ali (Owner of Dar Es Salaam Bookstore in Hyattsville, Maryland and Executive Director of the Imam Jamil Al-Amin Action Network, Washington, DC), Muhammad Sharif (historian, author and Amir of the Sankore Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa.), and Jihad Abdul-Mumit (playwright, author and former Black Panther/BLA political prisoner).

Although the attendance in the home of the Confederacy was small the program had tremendous ground breaking repercussion, opening the door for dialogue, more programs and organizing and mobilizing around this most serious issue. Count Richmond in!

Quiet as it may be kept, Richmond already holds an esteemed mark in the struggle reparations for African Americans made by Richmond's Randall Robinson's best-selling book, "The Debt: What America Owes To Blacks," released in January 2000. The Muslims and concerned sisters and brothers from Richmond now open their arms in solidarity with all other sisters and brothers working in this righteous endeavor.

SLAVERY LAWSUIT DISMISSED: DESCENDANTS PROMISE IT'S ONLY ROUND ONE

Greetings All,

By now you may have heard that our reparations lawsuit was dismissed in court this Monday "without prejudice". What this means is that this battle is not

over --the court will allow us to file an amended complaint. Below is an article that gives a great status update.

In spite of the Court's miscarriage of justice, our team -- plaintiffs, lawyers, and the grassroots community -- are all in good spirits and remain optimistic about our chances of winning this battle against tainted corporations.

Thank you to those of you who have been showing your support for this effort, and those of you who are keeping the public educated about the case. You are truly appreciated!

Be well,
Deadria Farmer-Paellman
917-365-3007

Please visit the Reparations Now! petition at: <http://www.ipetitions.com/campaigns/ReparationsNow/>

THE NATIONAL REPARATIONS CONGRESS

WHEN: May 28-30, 2004

WHAT: A gathering of reparations activists—those doing the work and getting the reparations work done

WHY: To meet and debate, discuss, and dialogue among and between ourselves about what is and is not working in our active pursuit of reparations for Blacks in the U.S.A.; to share successful strategies; to agree on accepted guidelines and principles for the Reparations Movement; to establish a communications network for accurate, up-to-date information on the progress of the Movement; and to join forces nationwide to win this struggle.

WHERE: Compton College, 11111 East Artesia Boulevard, Los Angeles/Compton, California

WHO: African and African descendant delegates of reparations oriented organizations, and individual reparations activists

(Continued on page 38)

Caucasians United for Reparations and Emancipation

by Rachel Naba

Caucasians United for Reparations and Emancipation (CURE), founded and incorporated in 1992, gives a voice to white activists for reparations. Founded by Ida Hakim, CURE was formed largely on the recommendation from Black reparations leader Mr. Silis Muhammad. Ms. Hakim had written to Mr. Muhammad asking what white people could do to make amends for the unspeakable acts that were forced upon enslaved Africans. Mr. Muhammad responded that white people could support the movement for reparations for slavery and its lingering effects, and support him in his work to bring the arguments for reparations to the United Nations. After receiving Mr. Muhammad's instruction, Ms. Hakim began to locate white people who were connected in some way with the Black community, and soon CURE was formed.

One of its primary goals is to back Black-led initiatives for reparations and to work within white communities to win support for the movement. "CURE is comprised of white Americans who have a passionate conviction that during the enslavement - and afterwards - our people committed a horrendous crime against people of African descent, and that we owe reparations. We also know that slavery and the lingering effects of slavery are so far reaching that there will never be a way we can fully make up for it. As Whites, we do not see ourselves as deciding in any way what justice would look like," writes Donna Lamb, CURE member.

Many CURE members see themselves as continuing the work of the Abolitionists and are fighting not only to change how this society feels about reparations, but the very basis on which society is functioning. Members recognize that the Black Holocaust has not yet ended and that they have a duty and obligation to do whatever they can to ensure its death. CURE members are of different ages, from different backgrounds, and hold varied political and religious views, but they have all come together to call for both reparations and emancipation.

At a reparations rally in Washington DC, CURE founder Ida Hakim led the organization and encouraged members to voice their remorse about what Whites did. "The reparations movement is creating a spiritual revolution. Our race of people, especially here in America, seems to have a very peculiar illness. Whites committed unspeakably savage and inhumane acts against Black people during slavery, and these acts were justified with a belief in white superiority. Reparations forces us to

examine whether we still feel this way deep within, and it offers us an opportunity to right ourselves while we work to right the wrong," she told another activist during the rally.

Why Reparations?

Because it is just. Because it is right. Because this country was built on the labor, sweat and blood of slaves who were forced into a land, religion, culture and system that was not theirs. Perhaps these people say it best:

"How unified and elevated can a people be when they have been thoroughly alienated from their own natural language and culture? Today, although 40 million African-Americans earn \$400 billion or more per year, millions of us live in slums, millions of us are addicted to drugs, millions of us are mal-educated and depressed, and, as a people we do not own one major airline, one major automobile producer or one major grocery chain. Sometimes our people wonder about why it is that relatively newly arrived brown and yellow immigrant groups have been able to make much more progress than Blacks in certain areas of business (even though we have been here for centuries and even though we were allegedly freed in 1865). One of the pivotal reasons is that these groups (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabs) are still in possession of their mother tongues and still see their primary allegiance as something that is due not to America, but to their own nations and cultures. How can we as a people regain true freedom, justice and equality? How can we once again become a powerful and independent people? The Honorable Elijah Muhammad said: Accept your own and be yourself! Today Mr. Silis Muhammad is spearheading the legal battle for Reparations for all Black descendants of slaves in America. Inside of that he has emphasized that the focus of Reparations is our restoration as a people. We will only achieve enduring progress when everything which was unjustly stolen from us is regained: our land, our government, our religion, our language and our culture. Hence, Reparations means much more than just money." Malik Al-Arkam, Boston

"For 250 years we robbed millions of enslaved Africans of the wealth their labor created. The wealth that was rightfully theirs, which they should have been able to pass down to their descendants, went instead into our pockets to be passed down generation after generation to our heirs, doubling and tripling in value all the way. That

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(Continued from page 31)

is the root cause of the huge economic disparity between Blacks and whites that exists in this nation today. We also committed indescribable mental, physical, and spiritual brutality against these enslaved Africans in order to coerce them into submitting to our exploitation. We robbed them of their identity as a people as we stripped from them their mother tongues, their traditional religions and original cultures, and forced upon them instead European language, religion and culture. We destabilized their social structures, relations between men and women, the family, and did everything we could to break their spirit, set one against another, and demoralize them as human beings. The heart-wrenching, far-reaching results of this, too, are very much with us now. What we did was truly a crime against humanity, and the massive damage it caused has to be repaired. In other words, reparations must be made!" Donna Lamb, New York City

We were able to connect with CURE's founder, Ida Hakim, and she graciously granted us a moment of her time and energy to answer a few questions.

TRF: What has been the response from the Black community to CURE?

Hakim: Almost unanimously positive. There was disbelief sometimes that CURE was intending to do good, as whites have a long history of interfering with Black movements. One of the reasons that we were looked upon favorably is that the leader who inspired the formation of CURE is highly regarded, and not known as being a sell-out to whites.

TRF: What has been the response from the white community to CURE?

Hakim: Initially there was very little positive response from the white community. Today we have much more of a positive, receptive response. Yet a large number of responses have been laced with anger and arguments against reparations.

TRF: How successful has CURE been in opening the eyes of white people?

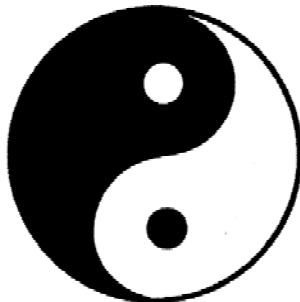
Hakim: CURE has been a very keen and clear voice. We allow white people to speak their mind, and we respond truthfully and with consideration. If it is

The Holistic Health Practitioners' Alliance

Dr. Cleeretta Henderson Smiley, Founder and President, HHPA

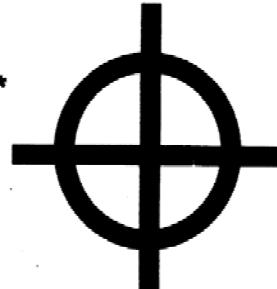
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INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

Haiti Makes Its Case for Reparations -

The meter is running at \$34 per second.

By J.Damu

You've got to hand it to Haiti. Not only was it the world's first country of enslaved workers to stand up and demand their freedom and independence; now they are the world's first country to stand up to their former slavery-era master, France and demand the return of its stolen wealth. Everyone say "Amen."

Haiti's president and other government officials claim their country was held-up at gunpoint in broad daylight in 1825 and now they want the admitted thief, France, to replace the stolen wealth to the tune of \$21.7 billion. This, despite massive attempts, well documented elsewhere, by the United States and world lending institutions to destabilize and overthrow the democratically elected government of Jean Bertrand Aristide.

Government officials also say due to forced efforts to hand over its wealth in a timely manner to France, the coerced payments so distorted and stunted the economy Haiti feels the effects this day. They also say due to those efforts, Haiti became saddled with a form of class oppression that resembles racism.

In a soon to be published booklet provided to a U.S. reporter by the foreign press liaison to President Jean Bertrand Aristide, Haitian government officials dissect the 1825 "agreement" that initially forced Haiti to pay to France 150 million francs in exchange for liberty.

The booklet, as is Haiti's restitution claim, is based largely on the research of Dr. Francis St. Hubert, a member of the government's Haiti Restitution Commission.

"I did most of my research in New York at the Columbia University Library and the Schomburg Center," Dr. Hubert said by phone from Port au Prince.

"We are pursuing this case from three different angles. We are doing publicity and educational campaigns. We are pursuing our claims through the diplomatic community and we are preparing a legal case," he said.

"Haiti's claim is not really for reparations for slavery," said Ira Kurzban, Miami immigration attorney and Haiti's chief counsel in the U.S "but for restitution specifically that happened in 1825. It is based on the

French government's efforts to extract 150 million French francs (which is equal to \$21 billion today) from an economy the French knew couldn't afford it, through the use of force. This is impermissible under international law."

"I can't tell you how we plan to proceed legally," he said by telephone. The Haitians will make their own announcement when they are ready he said.

According to the booklet, which will soon be published under the name of the Haiti Restitution Commission, following the 1804 revolution that expelled France, Haiti was divided into two districts, northern and southern, but was re-united following the death of Henri Christophe in 1820. Under the new president, Jean Pierre Boyer, diplomatic notes began to be exchanged with various French functionaries on the diplomatic recognition of Haiti.

Finally in 1825, France, which was being encouraged by former plantation owners to invade Haiti and re-enslave the Blacks, issued the Royal Ordinance of 1825, which called for the massive indemnity payments. In addition to the 150 million franc payment, France decreed that French ships and commercial goods entering and leaving Haiti would be discounted at 50 percent, thereby further weakening Haiti's ability to pay.

According to French officials at the time, the terms of the edict were non-negotiable and to impress the seriousness of the situation upon the Haitians France delivered the demands by 12 warships armed with 500 canons.

The 150 million franc indemnity was based on profits earned by the colonists, according to a memorandum prepared by their lawyers. In 1789, Saint Domingue (all of Haiti and Santo Domingo) exported 150 million francs worth of products to France. In 1823 Haitian exports to France totaled 8.5 million francs, exports to England totaled 8.4 million francs, and exports to the United States totaled 13.1 million francs, for a total of 30 million francs.

The lawyers then claimed that one half of the 30 million francs went toward the costs of production, leaving 15 million francs as profit. The 15 million franc balance

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was multiplied by ten (ten years of lost revenues for the French colonists due to the war for liberation) which coincidentally totals 150 million francs, the value of exports in 1789.

To make matters worse for Haiti the French anticipated and planned for Haiti to secure a loan to pay the first installment on the indemnity. Haiti was forced to borrow the 30 million francs from a French bank that then deducted the management fees from the face value of the loan and charged interest rates so exorbitant that after the payment was completed, Haiti was still 6 million francs short.

The 150 million franc indemnity represented France's annual budget and ten years of revenue for Haiti. One study estimates the indemnity was 55 million more francs than was needed to restore the 793 sugar plantations, 3117 coffee estates and 3,906 indigo, cotton and other crop plantations destroyed during the war for independence.

By contrast, when it became clear France would no longer be in a position to capitalize on further westward expansion in the Western hemisphere, they agreed to sell the Louisiana Territory, an area 74 times the surface area of Haiti, to the U.S. for just 60 million francs, less than half the Haitian indemnity.

Even though France later lowered the indemnity payment to 90 million francs, the cycle of forcing Haiti to borrow from French banks to make the payments, chained the Black nation to perpetual poverty. Haiti did not finish paying her indemnity debt until 1947!

According to the Haitian government's reparations booklet the immediate consequence of the debt payment on the Haitian population was greater misery. The first thing President Boyer did to help pay the debt was to increase from 12 to 16 percent all tariffs on imports to offset the French discount.

The next step Boyer took was to declare the indemnity to be a national debt to be paid by all the citizens of Haiti. Then he immediately brought into being the Rural Code.

By Haitian First Lady Mildred Aristede's account in her book "Child Domestic Service in Haiti and its His-

torical Underpinnings," the Rural Code laid the basis for the legal apartheid between rural and urban society in Haiti. With the Rural Code, the economically dominant class of merchants, government officials and military officers who lived in the cities legally established themselves as Haiti's ruling class.

Under the Rural Code agricultural workers were chained to the land and allowed little or no opportunity to move from place to place. Socializing was made illegal after midnight and the Haitian farmer who did not own property was obligated to sign a 3, 6 or 9 year labor contract with a large property owner. The Code also banned small-scale commerce so that agricultural workers would produce crops strictly for export.

The Haitian Rural Code was all embracing, governing the lives not only of farmers but of children as well.

The Rural Code was specifically designed to regulate rural life in order to more efficiently produce export crops with which to pay the indemnity. The taxes levied on production were also used predominantly to pay the indemnity and not to build schools nor to provide other social services to the generators of this great wealth, the peasants.

Leading Haitian activists in the U.S. claim between 1804 and 1990, when President Aristide was first elected, a grand total of 32 high schools were built in Haiti, all within urban settings. Since then more than 200 have been built, they say, most in the countryside.

To this day the discrimination between rural and urban areas takes the form of color discrimination by light skinned blacks toward darker skinned blacks and it remains intense.

St. Hubert and the national bank compute the exact amount Haiti is demanding from France as \$21,685,135,571.48 at 5 percent annual interest.

"France is getting off easy," St Hubert told a U.S. newspaper. If Haiti charged 7.5 percent interest on the money, "France would owe \$4 trillion today and much more tomorrow.

"The French can debate whether they want to pay as long as they like," he said, "but at 5 percent interest it will cost them \$34 per second."

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

Reparations In Repairing The Damage

By Ras Tyehimba December 25, 2003

All across the world, from Latin America, to the US, to Europe, to the Caribbean, to Africa and Asia, the roll call of Globalisation echoes, heralding the growing wealth of developed countries and the increasing economic strain and exploitation faced by developing and underdeveloped countries. The overwhelming debt faced by a lot of developing places them deeper in servitude to the IMF, the World Bank, and imperialistic 'developed countries'. Big Multi-national Corporations are the order of the day, siphoning resources including raw materials and cheap labour from the cash-strapped developing countries. It has been a little more than 500 years since the first slave ship sailed from Afrika, and now Afrikans all across the globe are becoming more explicit and proactive in their struggle to obtain reparations for the past injustices that have been meted out to Afrikan people

Reactionary elements even within the black community often jeer and scathingly ask: why should reparations be paid. To those that choose to overlook and ignore the Afrikan Holocaust, I have this to say: the enslavement of Afrikans was a crime against humanity and international law recognizes the moral and legal obligations of those who commit crimes against humanity to pay reparations. Slavery and colonialism has wreaked havoc across the globe especially in Afrika which is the richest continent in the world. This twin force has been responsible for the mass material wealth of Europe and America. Their wealth and Industrialization has been gotten from the inhumane exploitation of Afrika's resources, both natural and human; it has been gotten from the blood, sweat and tears of millions and millions of Afrikans. Colonialism has wreaked havoc on the social structure of continental Afrika, stealing and killing skilled craftsmen, leaders, farmers, healers, making Afrikan villages unable to cope with the challenges of day to day life. Precious Minerals, mines, fabulous treasures, breathtaking artifacts, rich land has all been dispossessed from the indigenous Afrikans who have been existing in their high cultures for thousands and thousands of years before the coming of the Europeans

The process of colonialism which included chattel slavery and the slave trade, uprooted indigenous Afrikans from their homes and transplanted them in the

new world, forcing them to undergo deliberate and brutal processes of dehumanisation and brainwashing. As a result, Afrikans both on the Continent and in the Diaspora have become disconnected from their true self, forced to function in systems rampant with racism, gender discrimination, poverty, self-hate, drugs, crime, mis-education and white supremacy. Bombarded by a conglomeration of the aforementioned forces, many have grabbed (or in many cases forced to grab) onto a very Eurocentric form of Christianity, and indeed a very Eurocentric way of life that has transformed many individuals into ignorant house-slaves, burying their heads in the dregs of Western civilization. It is a fact that Afrikan enslavement was sanctioned in the name of 'converting the heathens to Christ' and the very first slave ship was even named the S.S. Jesus Christ.

Reparation is not solely about money, not at all, it's about transferring technological resources and expertise to those that have been downtrodden by the technologically minded countries that have sought to rule the world with their superior armaments. Reparation is about putting mechanisms in place to provide equal opportunities to those that have laboured long and hard (without just reward) to build up what is known today as Western Civilization. In recent times, the Maori people, survivors of the Jewish Holocaust Native Americans, Aboriginal peoples, Japanese Americans, Korean sex-slaves, have all received some sort of Reparation for grave injustices that have been meted out to them. The Afrikan Holocaust on the other hand, despite being far more damaging, brutal and long lasting has yet to receive any favorable redress from the countries that are responsible for these atrocities against humanity. In fact most countries haven't even recognized the Afrikan Holocaust as being a crime against humanity. Is it because Afrikan people are not seen as being part of humanity?

No amount of money could ever quantify the damage that was done, and no amount of compensation will be able to fully repair the trauma that has resulted. However, Reparations will help to provide new opportunities for growth and help bridge the disparate gap between rich developed countries and poor Afrikan countries that have suffered immensely because of the underdevelopment forced upon them by European power. If for

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

DO WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN GHANA?

By Garadina Gamba
Afrikan United Action Front – Reparation Committee

The concept of reparations is one much misunderstood, most people think of money or some form of making good of the wrongs done to us. On the continent of Africa the main thought is of debt cancellation.

The real question is how do we put right that which was broken. In the crime that is called the “Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade,” the first crime was murder and the second was the theft of people. As we cannot bring back the dead, the people who were stolen and displaced should be allowed to reconstruct their lives, this would mean the right to choose whether or not they wanted to be citizens of the country they found themselves in. In effect this means no reparations without the right of repatriation. Repatriation is the right of every Diasporan African who has not chosen to give up their right of citizenship of an African country. To deny this is to continue the crime and to become an accessory to the crime.

For me the question has always been do those in the motherland understand our wish to return home. Before I arrived in Ghana I like so many others had been led to believe that we had the right of dual nationality. It seems that it has been under consideration from the first day of Ghana’s independence. It is sad to see that no African leader has had the courage to truly abolish slavery in all its forms, and to once again practice the culture that lead us to create the first civilisations of the world. To once again see our self as God, to see that all things are done by our will. To be able to see beyond the short term, beyond self, beyond a bank account, beyond the dictates of the IMF, World Bank, UN, US or EU. To be able to see its people and the wealth of knowledge and experience we have gained in a five hundred year war of survival in the west. To welcome home the children of the stolen to understand that our futures are tied together by bonds of blood that can never be broken.

Or should African leaders just be selfish and do what is in the best interest of African nations and their people as the return of African from the Diaspora would boost the knowledge base and also solve the financial problems of the first country to make the move.

I don’t wish to sound as if there is no hope as there are signs that the so-called educated classes are beginning to see the writing on the wall. I have added an article from the Daily Graphic to show that while the children of the stolen are fighting the never ending war there are those who hear the call of the drums. Nana Kwadwo O Akpan we hope Ghana listens. The article is quoted here in full.

“In 2001 following the successful conclusion of the marking the fifth anniversary of the fourth republic, parliament, the legislative arm of government, was faced with a number of contentious, yet crucial issues.

Among these were whether to propose an amendment to the earlier enacted law on citizenship to include Africans of the Diaspora, thereby enabling them to acquire citizenship of Ghana in addition to maintaining the nationality of the country of their birth.

Dual nationality, for descendants of Africans born in the Diaspora as the direct result of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, is an issue, which has long consumed the attention of many persons from this historically unique group.

The issue of African citizenship comprised part of the complex set of motivating factors, which led Henry Sylvester Williams, W.E.B Du-Bois and George Padmore to the worldwide pan-African movement. Indeed, dual nationality was at the base of the dreams of many Africans in Diaspora as they lend their human and financial resources to help defeat colonialism throughout Africa, for they felt their citizenship had never been legally revoked.

It must also be stated that during the period immediately prior to the year 2000, many statements by African government officials had given encouragement to Diasporan who believed that such statements demonstrated that at long last African leaders had recognised the cultural and economic benefits to be derived from granting citizenship to Africans of the Diaspora.

Despite the foregoing, to fully understand the plea of African of the Diaspora to once again be recognised as citizens of Africa and of Ghana, and consequently to be extended the status of dual citizenship, one must first under-

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stand the significance and impact of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Therefore in part II of this paper provides a working summary of experiences and insight that lead to and result from that most unholy trade.

It is a rarely disputed fact, that over a period of three and a half centuries, millions of Africans were captured, enslaved and forcibly expatriated from the shores of West Africa to countries in the north and western hemispheres.

Historians have conservatively put the number of Africans victimised by this slave trade at between 100 million and 150 million. This forced expatriation is the largest ever recorded and began around the year 1500 and was not officially abolished in Europe until 1815. Although this trans Atlantic traffic in human beings was originally conceived and promoted as an economic venture by various European governments and their agents, the potential profit from this trade attracted participation of American settler business interest and eventually gained the full support of its political establishment as well.

By the first half of the 18th century, the evolution of liberal philosophy in Europe persuaded countries on that continent to abolish the slave trade. Notwithstanding this belated European awakening to the horrors of chattel slavery, the countries of North and Central America as well as the white ruled island nations of the Caribbean and Antilles maintained their commitment to the slave trade well into the later half of the century.

The land now known as Ghana, played a pivotal role during this period this fact has caused some historians to conclude that a sizable percentage of the Africans enslaved during this period were either Ghanaian or were transited through Ghana.

In summary therefore, the principal lesson to be gained from this historical brief are:

- * That centuries ago countless Africans were denied their freedom, were forcibly enslaved and then expatriated from the land of their birth and;

- * That profits gained from this trade were used by the Europeans and Americans to strengthen their economies and expand their power, to the extent that they now dictate the terms of world trade and are increasingly defin-

ing the conditions of culture for the majority of the people of the world, including those of Africa. Observe the effects of the promotion of globalization, and;

- * Since being freed of colonial rule, the economies of African countries, with only a few exceptions, have declined in terms of real growth in virtually all sectors relative to other economic regions of the world.

Though the reasons for this decline are varied and numerous, it is primarily a result of the colonial “self-limiting vision” which Africans inherited and have not yet agreed to reject. It is an unflattering vision, which portrays Africa as follower rather than leader and as beggar instead of provider.”

In this vision Africa is seen meekly accepting the definitions and development priorities given to it by international funding agencies while refusing to question whether such pre-packaged images are indeed in Africa’s long-term development interest. It is vision of Africa estranged from itself, its people scattered throughout the world, and superficially divided into antagonistic, ethnic, geographic, linguist and historical groups. This vision is manufactured, packaged and marketed from outside Africa. Far too many of Africa’s leaders have both enticed and then consumed by this vision, so much so that Africa’s development policies have become as indistinguishable from this vision as their economies have become indistinguishable from the many “white papers” promoted by foreign governments that seek to ensure Africa’s continued dependency.

The Garveytown project

The Garveytown project is in the process of setting up a living shrine to all the Africans who died during the Maafa and those who survived.

We are appealing to all of the sons and daughters of the stolen Afrikans to send any item that represent the survivals of the Afrikan family. The calls for memorialising have now been answered. Now do your part.

Garveytown can be contacted on 00233 (0) 27 7446596 or 00233 (0) 24 851 427
 Email garadina@garveytown.com or niikojo@garveytown.com
 Address P.O. Box ml 359
 Mallam, Accra, Ghana West Africa

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Rice rejected the concept of Reparations for her people on national television, it became more apparent that President Bush is only interested in elevating a few descendants of slaves if they are willing to help keep the masses of their brothers and sisters in a state of subjugation. While Mr. Bush spends \$1 billion per month on the war against terrorism, millions of Blacks are unemployed and, with deep cuts in social services, are being told in effect to "make bricks without straw."

In conclusion, let me emphasize this: Pharoah Bush's greatest fear is not the forces who are supporting Osama bin Laden or President Saddam Hussein. What he dreads most is the masses of Black people in the United States of America and throughout the Western Hemisphere mobilizing politically, spiritually and financially to legally and peacefully obtain massive Reparations inside the United Nations.

Email Minister Malik Al-Arkam at alarkam@webtv.net.

Black Law Students files brief: TULSA REPARATIONS LAWSUIT

Hotep,

I am proud to announce that the National Black Law Student Association and the University of Oklahoma Ada Lois Sipeul-Fisher Chapter of the Black Law Student Association filed a brief today (12/14/03) in support of the lawsuit.

Our time is coming!!!!

Damario Solomon-Simmons, National Reparations Director

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The National Reparations Congress

CONTACT: www.reparationunitedfront.org
info@reparationunitedfront
(310) 967-5871

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"revolutionary theory," there would, and could, not be a successful revolution. How many present day reparationsists recognize that without a "political theory" for causing the radical transformation of the "world order," i.e., the "actual redistribution" of the wealth of the world, the attainment of reparations in the trillions of dollars required for "meaningful" reparations for the wrongs perpetrated, without the inevitably bankruptcy of the USA Empire, and its multinational corporations, and that without the development of new, truly global financial institutions, and, i might add, the demise of the USA as we know it, "genuine reparations" cannot, and will not, become a "reality."

As we have stated in numerous forums, the NPVM predicates its "theory of revolution" on both the existence of this global movement "demanding" reparations, in conjunction with a consciously determined process for achieving "genuine reconciliation" among and between the world's peoples. As a certainly "distinct" people, Africans [Afrikans] living in the USA, who are in reality resident and "citizens" of this "make-believe nation," we, among all of the world's peoples, have the virtually unique distinction of not really having a real consciousness of "nationhood," or for that matter "tribal consciousness." But what better quality to lead a global movement based on the obsolescence of "nation-building" and even "nationalist sentiments."

Whether we refer to this new world order as "reactionary intercommunalism," or "global USA dominance," the fact of the matter is that we don't even know [or have agreed upon collectively] how to even "identify" ourselves [i.e., or we "Maroons," "Afrikans," "African Americans," "Blacks," "Black Israelites," "Bilalian," etc.]. But, this too, is not a new debate.

We say whatever we decide to do, let's not just, right now, "call for a vote" until we are absolutely, or at best reasonably, certain that a majority of "us" still have our "wits about us," and, most importantly, are crystal clear in our vision of the destiny of those whom we prefer to refer to as "Africans living in the USA."

Also, let us all remember; however defined, the "powers that be" are not prepared now, and do not even want, to discuss the possibility that the various reparations demands by African-descended peoples, and other Indigenous Peoples, are just and proper. The Third Decade UN World Conference Against Racism, etc., showed that to be, in fact, the situation we face. That is why "they" are very much aware of the "revolutionary" significance of

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the "demand for reparations," which they, in the hardest of their hearts, know all to well that it actually symbolizes that which they fear most, but have nevertheless been forced to consider its ramifications. When the people of the world finally achieve reparations, and they will, on that day the obsolescence of "national boundaries" will be popularly acknowledged, and widely practiced, along with the formal and equally widespread recognition of "new forms" of organizing "diverse communities" of the world's people.

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(D-FW) to carry the resolution in Austin.

Months before the Baptist group made their request the coalition of black reparation leaders under the leadership of Africans & African Americans for Enslavement Reparations had requested that Rep. Lewis sponsor a reparation bill on their behalf.

That bill, House Resolution HCR-28, is currently awaiting passage before the State Affairs Committee where Rep. Lewis is a member. The bill calls on the Texas Legislature to support US Congressional Bill HR-40 sponsored by Congressman John Conyers, Jr. (D-Mich) in Washington, DC.

HR-40 calls on the US government to create a commission to study slavery and its affects on today's blacks in America and to compensate blacks for centuries of suffering.

Last year in Austin at the State Capital about 15 members of thereparation coalition spoke in support of HCR-28 before the State Affairs Committee chaired by Rep. Kenny Merchant (R-Coppell).

Representative Glenn Lewis is carrying both bills and will be available during the press conference to explain his support of both resolutions.

Cities of Fort Worth, Houston, Dallas, Waco, Austin and San Antonio will have representatives attending the press meeting.

Including Rev. S. C. Nash, President of the Statewide Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance (IMA) . Rev. Nash and his organization have been long time supporters of black slavery compensation and the reparation movement on behalf of the church community. The IMA represents over 3500 churches in the state of Texas.

For more information please call Dr. Michael Bell, Senior Pastor of Greater St. Stephens First Church at 817-929-6111 or Thomas Muhammad, Founder of Africans & African Americans for Enslavement Reparations (A-AAER).

Statement From National Black United Front (NBUF) and the Local Action Committee for Reparations (LAC) Houston, Texas Tuesday, January 13, 2004

"As we in Houston prepare for a national gathering on the issue of reparations in March of 2004, it appears that the Texas Baptist Association has failed to fully grasp the scope and magnitude of the great and mighty demand for full and complete reparations. It is clear that resolution HCR-28 captures accurately what the Texas State Legislature should pass at this stage. NOTHING less with do! We remain steadfast in our resolve to force the State of Texas to face truthfully it's past and present. THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES"

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gave birth to, particularly the criminal justice system.

We must stop violating the human rights of children. We must alter the 13th Amendment. We have to place a moratorium on prison construction and change the racial and economic profiling of arrest and sentencing practices. Reparations have to include a focus on penal abolition, which challenges the violence of the entire legal apparatus. We need to decriminalize poverty and mental illness. We must eliminate solitary confinement, torture and the use of devices of torture. We must support a vigorous monitoring of the police, court and prison systems with a citizen review process. We need to ensure voting rights for prisoners and ex-prisoners, and enhanced use of international law. Part of the dialogue on reparations has to include opposition to all of this on a more serious level. Until this happens, neither prison administrators nor local, state or government officials has to respond. Each of us needs to understand deeply and speak loudly about the connections between slavery and the criminal justice system.

No real racial healing can take place until the US government takes responsibility for what it owes people of African decent. Reparations are not only about paying decedents of slaves for damage done but also a way for the country to humble itself before a great people whose sweat, blood, flesh and tears gave birth to so much of the wealth that exists in this country today.

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elitist, to learn to speak the language of the grassroots community, and to join the grassroots directly in their community struggles to improve education, health care, housing, employment, voting rights, the release of political prisoners...etc. Many in the audience gave additional examples of how this coalition building work can and must be done if we are to mobilize the masses for reparations.

Kibibi Tyehimba, co-chair of the N'COBRA Legislative Commission and Milt McGriff, N'COBRA National Coordinator of AYBP presented concrete plans for the further development of N'COBRA's impressive flagship effort to lobby the US Congress relentlessly for the passage of HR40, the Reparations Study Bill introduced by the Hon. John Conyers of Detroit, Michigan. Further, in response to the advocacy of N'COBRA at-large national Board member, Herman Ferguson, the NE Region unanimously recognized the need of N'COBRA to work harder and more strategically for the release of our political prisoners and the region firmly committed to making the work to release political prisoners a high priority of its programmatic work.

The regional meeting ended as it began with honor and praises to Rob Penny. Brother Penny came to the University of Pittsburgh as a direct result of the take over of the University of Pittsburgh by Black Students in the early 1970's who demanded Black Studies. When Brother Penny made his transition last year, he was a tenured Professor of Africana Studies at the University. He had co-founded with August Wilson, the Kuntu Repertoire Theater Workshop of Pittsburgh and was its artist in residence. In November 2003, he was inducted into the Gwendolyn Brooks National Literary Hall of Fame for Writers of African Descent. His last play *Difficult Days Ahead in Blaze* was directed by Dr. Lilly and played at Kuntu. His esteemed queen Timamu Penny, the noted poet and Univ. of Pitts. professor, Dennis Brutus, and a long list of faculty members as well as Prof. Penny's most beloved current and former students offered powerful words of honor and praise for Brother Penny's life of unconditional sacrifice to educate and liberate the African mind, body, and spirit.

Accordingly, Mama Timamu Penny, Dr. Brutus, the students of the Africana Studies Department, and the N'COBRA NE Region are committed to building on Brother Penny's legacy as we now start to create the first N'COBRA student chapter at the University of Pittsburgh.

(Continued from page 35)

example the digital divide is left to increase at the present alarming rate, then the force of globalisation will have an even worse disastrous impact on the Afrikan economies.

A proper understanding of history will reveal that Western countries will not pay Reparations to Afrikans unless their survival utterly depends upon it. In fact a lot of whites claim that since it was their ancestors that perpetuated the crimes against humanity, they (the present White population) cannot be held accountable for compensating those disadvantaged... In making this outrageous claim they ignore one fundamental fact; that



Dr. Dennis Brutus

Western countries and their white populations has and is still benefiting from the ill gotten gains of slavery and colonialism. Reparations is a moral issue related intimately with a wider movement for equal rights and justice, and Western countries have shown time and time again that

they are not motivated by morality, truth and justice, but rather by money and power.

The US, one of the most racist countries in the world walked out of the World Conference against Racism because they were not prepared to deal expeditiously with the issues at hand. With this in mind, the Reparations movement must not take place within a vacuum; it must not be the main thrust of the Pan Afrikan Movement. Allocation of scarce resources has to be a major concern of both Afrikans on the continent and those in the Diaspora. The main thrust of the movement and where the most resources should be allocated is in terms of the re-education of ourselves in the interest of reclaiming our divine identity. In reclaiming our identity and becoming more aware of ourselves, we will be

My 40 Acres & My Mule

There are some issues need addressing
some sins that need confessing
it seems I've been used like a tool
For all these years I've worked
yet I'm still being jerked
Where's my 40 acres and my mule

The Pope confessed his dirt
to the millions the Vatican hurt
To the Jews who lost their lives in the holocaust
but not once has he mentioned
it's slave-trading dimension
or the 100 million African souls were lost

Tell me how long can these nations
continue their starvation
of those on whose backs they were built
How long will white lies
flourish while a black dies
Tell me, how much more blood must be spilt

I'm tired of playing the fool.
What happened to the golden rule
Tell me, where are my 40 acres and my mule?
Where's my 40 acres and my mule?

Ty Gray-EL April 2000

(Continued from page 32)

C.U.R.E.

possible to open the eyes of white America, CURE is one of the best organizations to help bring it about.

TRF: What are some ways people can get involved?

Hakim: We invite participation through our website, and in other ways depending upon the person and the community in which they live. Persons should contact Ida Hakim at Hakimida@aol.com in order to get started.

For more information on this organization, visit their website at www.reparationsthecure.org. But don't stop there. Enlist your support. Become an activist and inspire real change within this society. Stand up to the powers that be and make sure that they know that we demand justice and change.

Black Reparations Times

In response to the growing momentum of the Reparations movement, the Information and Media Commission is committed to disseminating timely information on issues related to our struggle for Reparations. Our new publication, "BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES" © 2003 will report news and information not only about N'COBRA's work, but also the efforts of other Reparations advocates, nationally and internationally. Your comments and suggestions are always welcome.

You can also help by:

- 1) providing items for possible publication such as articles, photos, etc;
- 2) volunteering professional skills (graphic arts, managing subscriptions & distribution, fundraising, etc.);
- 3) donating generously to this project, and
- 4) identifying potential sponsors.

Email: InformationMedia@aol.com

Phone: 202.466.1622

(Continued from page 40)

in a better position to do what needs to be done in the interest of equal rights and justice. Where are the Afrikan schools teaching Afrikan history and the diverse range of culture that has been practiced on the continent for thousands of years? Re-educating ourselves will put us in a better position to utilize the vast resources that we have already at our disposal and also the face the global challenge of surviving as an Afrikan people in these perilous times. Reparations must not become an excuse to forget our spirituality that has kept us alive throughout challenging situations. We must remind the world that no peace will ever be possible unless the injustices that have been perpetuated have been addressed in a meaningful manner.

(Continued from page 34)

For more information about Haiti or to learn what you can do to support Haiti please contact the Haiti Action Committee (510) 483-7481, write them at HAC, P.O. Box 2218, Berkeley, CA, 94702 or visit their website at www.haitiaction.org.

J.Damu is the acting Western Regional Representative for N'COBRA-National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America. He can be contacted at jdamu@sbcglobal.net.

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

As a collective of various organizations and philosophies, we will respect each other's autonomy in organization and philosophy. The central principles we unify and agree upon are:

1. Our primary goal is to achieve Reparations for Africans in America;
2. The so-called Trans-Atlantic "slave trade" was not trade but was in fact a Holocaust of Enslavement. It was morally wrong and a crime against humanity;
3. We define Reparations as a process of repairing, healing and restoring our people; therefore we continue our ancestors efforts to liberate us by focusing on repairing, healing and restoring the personal, family, and community damages that we suffered during the Holocaust of African Enslavement;
4. Africans in America are due Restitution for the Holocaust of African Enslavement and its vestiges; and
5. We support and work for the passage of HR-40, sponsored by Congressman John Conyers and other state and local legislative initiatives.

Reparations United Front

1. Functioning as a "Reparations United Front," is critical to maintaining a unified public posture. Members of the Collective (organizations and individuals) agree not to attack each other, especially regarding Reparations.
2. In instances where there may be differences of opinion, members will emphasize their commitment to Reparations, to minimize attempts to divide and neutralize the effectiveness of the Collective.
3. The Collective may elect not to recognize those who fail to abide by the aforementioned principles of unity. Everyone is encouraged to support the work of the Collective in ways most suitable for them, whether inside or outside the Collective.

We Believe

We believe the Reparations Movement can empower African Americans to continue our task of gaining social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation for individuals, families and communities. The movement provides an opportunity to address all issues impacting the Black Community by:

1. Creating a path for self, family and community development and liberation;
2. Providing a cause strong enough to unite Black People across socio-economic, and education barriers;
3. Recognizing and assisting with restoring the dignity of over 100 million Africans lost and sacrificed during the Holocaust of Enslavement and one hundred years of lynching that followed;
4. Providing an opportunity to expose the perpetrator of the Holocaust and educate the victims by creating dialogue locally and nationally that thoroughly examines our collective oppression (and mistakes), and exposes the perpetrator's responsibility in creating our past and current social condition;
5. Providing compensation for Black People locally and nationally;
6. We believe our people are ultimately responsible for our collective achievement of social, economic, and cultural parity and liberation. Restitution will only assist in our recovery and building process. The struggle for Reparations is a sacred responsibility that must be assumed by African descendants in the Americas; and
7. We believe there can be no Reparations without mass participation. Mass participation is essential to achieving Reparations (repairing, healing and restoring Black People) and Restitution (receiving compensation for the Holocaust and its vestiges).

Issued by N"COBRA National Office June 29, 2002

BLACK FRIDAYS CAMPAIGN



CONGRATULATIONS to the TRAIL BLAZERS

HATS OFF to the forward thinking businesses that were the first to register with N'COBRA's commitment to support the black community, justice, and the Reparations movement. These are the first group of members supporting the BLACK FRIDAY MOVEMENT. Be sure to buy from them. Join the BUY BLACK on FRIDAY campaign. Get your Black Friday Palm Cards from one of these businesses and buy black every day.

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The African Violet, Inc.

P.O. Box 12627
Gainesville, FL 32604
Contact: Delphine Jackson
Ph. 352/ 335. 6161
Fax. 352/ 335. 3737

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Zawadi Gift Shop

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Brooklyn, NY 11217
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R & W Facility Care systems, Inc.

485 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, New York 11217
Wayne Miles

Indigo Cafe and Books

672 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Tel: 718-488-5934

Lewis Gallery

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Brooklyn, NY 11217
Gwen Lewis

Doe's Antiques

442 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
718-858-6903

4W Circle of Art & Enterprise

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Brooklyn, NY 11217
Contact: Selma Jackson
Ph. 718/ 875. 6500
Selma4W@Searthlink.net

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Contact: Tanya D. Claggett
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HeavenlyStitch3@aol.com

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Zimbabwe Enterprise

7874 Red Mill Dr.
Indianapolis, IN 46226

317/897-3626

Contact Person: Zimbabwe Sankofa

Sankofa Group

4150 N. Carrollton Ave.

Indianapolis, IN 46205

317/923-3452

Contact Person: Kamau Jywanza

E. E., Inc.

5341 Ashbourne Ln.

Indianapolis, IN 46226

317/545-5957

Contact Person: Joe Epps

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Indianapolis, IN 46222

317/281-4968

Contact Person: Shereeta Lacy

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Indianapolis, IN 46208

317/536-0444

Contact Person: Beverly Velasque

Warm Spirits

3539 N. Grant

Indianapolis, IN 46218

317/557-8990

Contact Person: Rochelle Webster

N'COBRA, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, has launched a nationwide campaign based on the Kwanzaa principle of "cooperative economics." N'COBRA's goal is to be a key mover in the powerful process of enabling the Black community to gain more economic control of our community.

Contact: BuyBlack4Friday@aol.com

202.291.8400

N'COBRA, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, has launched a nationwide campaign based on the Kwanzaa principle of "cooperative economics." Our goal is to be a key mover in the powerful process of enabling the Black community to gain more economic control of our community.

The Black Fridays Pledge

We shall build and maintain our own business-street vending, retailing, wholesaling, and distributing, and profit from them together;

We shall believe and act on the principle that our businesses are a service to the Black community;

We shall affirmatively support meaningful efforts to uplift the Black community-spiritually, socially, culturally, economically and politically;

We shall strive to offer the highest quality service and professionalism to our customers;

We shall dismantle the myth that their ice is colder;

We shall support Black people's demand for full Reparations for chattel enslavement, systemic racism/white supremacy, and the continuing present-day injuries to black people that have resulted.

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“REPARATIONS AIN’T FREE”

N’COBRA’s National Donation Drive

FROM: Dorothy Benton Lewis/Oravouche, National Co-Chair and
N’COBRA National Fund Development Committee

TO: All People Supporting Justice and Reparations

An Urgent Call for Support

The Reparations Movement needs you and your financial support. “Reparations Ain’t Free.” Our ancestors paid the ultimate price of suffering through 265 years of slavery, and now those who have benefited from their sacrifices must pay us reparations. We, the descendants of enslaved Africans, MUST now sacrifice our time, talent and money for the work that must be done to get complete and full Reparations for ourselves and future generations.

This year, at our 14th Annual Conference, the National Coalitions of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) unveil its 5-Year Action Plan, which outlines the various programs that have been implemented to achieve Reparations. We need your help with executing this Plan. There are so many critical requirements that must be funded: printing, postage, regular conference calls, travel, vehicle rental, advertising, Website development and expansion, e-group support, supplies and equipment, just to name a few.

N’COBRA also has a number of commissions that are tackling critical issues in each of the following areas: **Legislative** (HR 40 Lobbying, Reparations Resolution Campaign); **Legal** (legal injury research, filing briefs) **International** (WCAR, Global African Congress, UN Lobbying); **Economic Development** (Black Friday Buying Campaign, Congress of Economic Development); **Information & Media** (“Black Reparations Times,” “ENCOBRA magazine,” NCOBRA.org website, “REPARATIONS NOW!”); **Grassroots Organizing** (Town Hall Meetings, Direct Action, National Membership Drive), etc. Each of these areas supports the other. All are necessary to achieve Reparations, and all require people and money to make them work.

For the past 14 years, N’COBRA has been an organization of volunteers, who have funded the movement with their own resources, in order to supplement annual membership dues, which fall short of the Coalition’s actual needs. It is now time to take the Reparations movement to another level. It is now time for all of us to pool our resources, creativity, and our genius.

Please contribute generously to N’COBRA. The form on the next page establishes a number of different patron participation levels. Each level acknowledges Africans and African Descendants who have played an important role in our struggle for civil and human rights. While you’re selecting the patron level that’s most appropriate for you, be sure to tell us which commissions you’d most like to support. And remember, no amount is too great or too small!

The Reparations movement is not for N’COBRA members alone—it is for all African Descendants and our allies. Encourage your church, sorority, fraternity, family reunion, and other community based organizations to send a donation to N’COBRA to support this very spiritual work that we are doing in honor of the sacrifices of all our Ancestors.

In Unity,

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



Please send your contributions (check/money order only) payable to:

N'COBRA
P.O. Box 90604
Washington, DC 20090

Yes! I pledge my support for the Reparations Movement struggle for Justice, Restitution and Reparations for the African Holocaust of Enslavement and Its Vestiges.

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Patron Participation Levels

1. L'Ouverture	\$5000	____
2. Walker	\$3000	____
3. Tubman	\$1000	____
4. Garvey	\$700	____
5. DuBois	\$500	____
6. King	\$300	____
7. Moore	\$200	____

Payment Cycle

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I want my donation to support:

(please check mark one or more areas of N'COBRA work listed below)

Grassroots Organizing ____ Membership & Organizational Development Commission ____ Legislative Commission ____
 Information & Media Commission ____ Economic Development Commission ____ Legal Strategies Commission ____
 National Office & Administrative ____ International Commission ____ Human Resources Commission ____
 Youth Commission ____ Education Commission ____

PATRON PARTICIPATION LEVELS

Become a Reparations Patron today and have your (or your group) name added to N'COBRA's National Donation Drive. An ongoing list of patrons will be updated and published.

1. \$5000.00	Toussaint L'Ouverture	{1743 - 1803}
2. \$3000.00	David Walker	{1796 - 1830}
3. \$1000.00	Harriet Tubman	{1819 - 1913}
4. \$700.00	Marcus Garvey	{1887 - 1940}
5. \$500.00	W.E.B. DuBois	{1868 - 1963}
6. \$300.00	Martin Luther King, Jr.	{1929 - 1968}
7. \$200.00	Queen Mother Moore	{1898 - 1997}

These noble ancestors contributions to our liberation and development are priceless.
 We lift up their names in chronological order to honor them.

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America

N'COBRA

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

PURPOSE

We believe that the descendants of Africans, who were captured, taken from our homeland (Africa), enslaved, colonized and held captive for hundreds of years in the Americas and throughout the diaspora, believe that we should be compensated for the injustices, cruelties, brutalities, inhumanities and exploitations of racism, white supremacy, economic discrimination and oppression imposed upon our people past and present.

DEFINITION

REPARATIONS: Payment for a debt owed; the act of repairing a wrong or injury; to atone for wrongdoings; to make amends; to make one whole again; the payment of damages to repair a nation; compensation in money, land, or materials for damages. In the Ancient African, Kemetic sense, Reparations means to rise up. Repair and restore the ruined and damaged, develop the underdeveloped, and create a just society.

INVITATION

Please help continue the organizing and expansion efforts of N'COBRA in building our National & International Movements for Reparations. Reparations are obtainable in our lifetime. A committed people with a righteous cause is a force that cannot be denied.

**Mail this bottom portion to the National Office N'COBRA,
P.O. Box 90604, Washington, DC 20090-0604**

Tel: 202. 291. 8400 * Fax: 202. 291. 4600 * Website: <http://www.ncobra.org>

Tear off

N'COBRA National (Annual) Membership Application

Select appropriate categories. Make check/money order payable to NCOBRA.

There may be additional fees for local membership

Individual: \$10-one year; \$20-two years; \$30- three-years; for years; or \$500.00 Life Membership (can be made in two \$250 payments); \$25 Local Org; 50 National Org. and

I would like to support the Commissions (check one or more and enter \$ amount):

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Your Expertise and Participation Are Needed.

Join An N'COBRA Commission!

Washington DC Metro Chapter - N'COBRA

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Juneteenth 2004

Theme

“COALITION BUILDING AND OPERATIONAL UNITY”



CONFERENCE LOGO

Ghanaian Mythical Twin Crocodiles sharing one stomach expresses “Operational Unity.” Though both are complete with head, legs, and tail, they share the same destiny and must work together to survive.

JUNE 17 - 20, 2004

HOWARD UNIVERSITY - WASHINGTON DC