

◆ Black Reparations Times ◆

Volume 1, Issue 2

July 25, 2003

N'COBRA 14TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

N'COBRA ELECTIONS REPORT

The Annual Meeting included the election of two at large National Board Members, the National Board Secretary and the male National Co-Chair. N'COBRA members had the opportunity to submit nominations by completing forms circulated to chapter chairpersons, regional representatives and national board members prior to the annual conference. The forms were also circulated during the conference, to ensure all interested members were given an opportunity to participate in the process

The following people were elected to the National Board of Directors:

Hannibal Afrik –
National Board Co-Chair

Ajamu Sankofa –
National Board Secretary

Herman Ferguson –
National At Large Board Member

Lady Claudia Nelson – National
At Large Board Member

N'COBRA Holds 14th Annual Convention

By J.Damu

DALLAS—A Five year Plan has been adopted by the nation's principle reparations organization to bring the issue of black reparations before the people and Congress of the United States.

tives to build increased support for Congressman John Conyer's African-American Reparations Study Bill (H.R. 40), the launching of Black Fridays to support black businesses and a strengthened media approach to reparations

will take the reparations movement to a new level, said Ajamu Sankofa, the newly elected National Secretary of N'COBRA.

“Now N'COBRA members, let's seize this time and roll up our sleeves and get busy implementing this plan. Our plan will not work if we do not work the plan. We are moving to the next higher level of Reparations activism! The ancestors are pushing us. Can you feel it?”



Hannibal Afrik ▲ Lady Nelson ▲ Ajamu Sankofa

In addition to the legal work already being implemented by the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), new initia-

he said.

Dorothy Benton Lewis, N'COBRA's national co-chair said “Now we must go forth and multiply.”

Discussion and reports within the well attended convention seemed to indicate the two most significant accomplishments of N'COBRA during the past

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Black Reparations Times®

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

DEDICATED TO BRINGING YOU REPARATIONS INFORMATION IN ALL ITS VARIED FORMS AND APPROACHES

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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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Publications: REPARATIONS NOW!
{Quarterly Membership Newsletter}
ENCOBRA {Annual magazine/journal}
BLACK REPARATIONS TIMES
{Quarterly 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

LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION WORKSHOP

Saturday, June 21, 2003

Submitted by Keslie Spottsville

Attendees: Barbara Leonard (New Orleans), Ella Forbes (Philadelphia), Harold Hunter (DC Metro), Stephanie Patterson (Indianapolis), Akuyaa Addy (Houston), Keslie Spottsville (Kansas), Jamila Onyiah (Chicago), Joe Epps (Indianapolis), Al Pertilla (Metro NY), J. Damu (San Francisco), Obidike Kamau .

J. Damu and Milton McGriff co-chaired the workshop in the absence of co-chairs Nkechi Taifa and Kibibi Tyehimba.

An overview of A Year of Black Presence (AYBP) was provided which addressed several challenges ahead for AYBP. Milt McGriff spoke briefly about a campaign being developed in Philadelphia to remember approximately 5,000 Ancestors lynched between 1859 and the present. The Philly chapter has started placing their individual names on plaques. Several hundred paper plaques were developed for the AYBP visit to Capitol Hill on May 21 and presented to several congresspersons in asking for their support for HR40.

The participants agreed by consensus that there should be an action agenda after we return to our chapters. A contact list was created and Keslie Spottsville agreed to serve as the communications center for those in attendance. The participants agreed on five points to report back to the plenary session:

1. **FUNDRAISING.** Fundraising should be a top priority for N'COBRA generally and for the AYBP effort specifically. Approximately \$22,000 was spent on AYBP in 2003 and that much more will be needed for 2004. A fundraising plan will be developed by McGriff over the summer for Philly N'COBRA that will be available to all chapters, along with materials obtained from the Association of Fundraising Professionals. Chapters are urged to join AFP. (Note: There is also an organization called the Council of Fund Raising Executives (CFRE) that provides essentially the same kind of educational information to its members.) Also meetings are scheduled with the National Center for Black Philanthropy, Inc. As we develop a well-trained cadre, we may be able to train our own fundraisers within a few years.

“A companion bill to HR40 must be introduced in the Senate (which is all white)”

2. **DIVISE ACTIONS TO ATTRACT COMMUNITY SUPPORT.** Chapters should create actions in their community designed to get positive attention and garner community support. For instance, after meeting with a Congressional member or aide, a chapter may feel it beneficial to hold a demonstration, do informational picketing, or something else to let the community know about N'COBRA, AYBP, HR40, and the congressional member all at once. Philly N'COBRA found that creating forums with keynote speakers such as Rep. John Conyers, TransAfrica president Bill Fletcher and author C.J. Munford were helpful in attracting support. Any chapters taking this route should certainly feel free to contact them.

3. **LOCAL CONCRETE EFFORTS.** Increase membership. Get your Congressional representatives signed on to HR40 as a co-sponsors. The bill needs 218 votes, but we would like to end this year with between 60 and 70 co-sponsors. Schedule meetings with your Representatives and ask for their support. Simultaneously, have people in the Congress member's district call and write (by fax if you're sending it to the DC office; they are still having post-9/11 delivery problems). A companion bill to HR40 must be introduced in the Senate (which is all white). Start devising a similar strategy to get to your senator's support. It's harder to get someone to introduce a bill than to sign on as a co-sponsor, but it still has to get done.

4. **ORGANIZE AN AYBP COALITION IN YOUR CHAPTER.** Appoint or vote on an AYBP coordinator in your chapter (YOU are an excellent candidate!) and approach other organizations about joining the AYBP effort as we prepare for 2004. In 2004, we

(Continued on page 30)

ASANTE SANA N'COBRA Board, Members and Reparationists

From Brother Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at

Greetings of IMANI (FAITH) Esteemed Elders, Sister and Brother Leaders, Youthful Warriors, Wrong-fully-Imprisoned Soldiers, and Unjustly-Incarcerated Family Members:

May our magnificent Mother-Father Creator Of All and In All—and beloved Ancestors from yesteryear and yesterday—find you and (y)our Afrikan nations in the best of spirit and health. i feel so blessed to be with you this weekend in the capitalist prison state of texas, for our 14th Annual N'COBRA Convention. Likewise, i join with you in commemorating the 138th Anniversary of Juneteenth Emancipation Day (the result of another in a series of crimes against our humanity by this government, which did not inform and implement for *over two and a half years* its proclamation “freeing” Afrikans from chattel enslavement).

For almost a decade, i have had the opportunity to serve in the leadership of N'COBRA. Certainly, it has been challenging. WE have struggled extremely hard over the years to place Reparations deep in to the thoughts, hearts and daily lives and practices of Afrikan people and organizations. So much has been accomplished by our team of dedicated volunteer leaders, with minimal resources and, sometimes, it seems, unlimited energies. i am especially proud to have been one of several organizers and/or initiators of the N'COBRA effort in four major metropolitan areas: Chicago, New York, Oakland/San Francisco Bay Area, and Los Angeles; and to visit and share with members and chapters from coast-to-coast, border-to-border. Indeed, it has been a high honor to represent N'COBRA on numerous occasions throughout this confederacy called the united states (at churches, mosques, temples, housing projects, schools, universities, jails, union halls, in congress and state capitols and city halls, at mass rallies and town hall meetings, on street corners, in the community press and corporate media, and even while performing my music in front of thousands at a sold-out Madison Square Garden); as well as around our earth (in Afrika, canadian capitalist prison states, Europe, in so-called south america, Mexico, in the sovereign nations and current colonies of Puerto Rico/Vieques and Hawai'I).

Of course, i am especially grateful to have had a voice and a vote on the N'COBRA Board to propose my ideas and actions that I felt would help advance the Reparations movement and mass awareness. These include our 1997-98 “Stepping It Up For Reparations” Capitol Hill lobby days in support of H.R. 40 (which is now being taken to a much higher and consistent level with our “A Year of Black Presence” campaign, coordinated by Brother Milton McGriff of N'COBRA Philadelphia); our 2001-2002 initiation of “Unity Summits of Reparations Organizations” (which will now be addressed through the Institute of the Black World, led by Baba Dr. Ron Daniels and Baba Professor James Turner); a proposal for mass marches for Reparations at the United Nations in New York and/or in Washington, DC on 17 August 2002, Ancestor MARCUS GARVEY's birthday (which was shared with participants during the 2001 United Nations' “World Conference Against Racism,” including the Durban 400 which was then calling for a mass mobilization in October 2002); as Co-Chair with Sister Dr. JoAnn Watson of our Information & Media Commission (which has already been incredibly professionalized through the leadership of our dynamic Brother Wautella ibn Yusuf); and regular Board Retreats and Strategic Planning (which our Co-Chair Sister Aurevouche Dorothy Benton Lewis and other Board members have also long advocated for).

As i prepare to leave the N'COBRA Board of Directors, i/WE once again offer our utmost appreciation to the many bodacious Reparationists and Self-Determinationists from the past century who have inspired us in this wicked land of white supremacy, including (but certainly not limited to): ALL OF OUR ANCESTORS (particularly MAMA CALLIE HOUSE, REV. ISIAH DICKERSON and the extraordinary NATIONAL EX-SLAVE MUTUAL PENSION AND BOUNTY SOCIETY; CYRIC BRIGSS and the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD; GARVEY and the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION; MINISTER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the NATION OF ISLAM; WILLIAM PATTERSON, HARRY HAYWOOD, JOHN PITTMAN, et al and the COMMUNIST PARTY USA; QUEEN MOTHER AUDLEY MOORE; EL HAJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ (BROTHER MINISTER MALCOLM X) and the ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY; REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.; DEACONS FOR DEFENSE; HUEY P. NEW-

TON, FRED HAMPTON, BOBBY HUTTON, et al and the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE; KWAME TURE, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE and ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY; etc, etc. Much love and respect as well to our many contemporary organizations and individuals who are offering their unique Gifts of insightful analyses, reparations proposals, and dynamic activism (such as the warriors of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and National Conference of Black Lawyers, which were the two principal organizers of N'COBRA; New Afrikan People's Organization; African People's Socialist Party; Baba Dr. Maulana Karenga and US; National Black United Front; December 12th Movement; Malcolm X Grassroots Movement; Congressman John Conyers; Minister Louis Farrakhan; National Black Farmer's Association; Black Agriculturalists Association; Jericho Amnesty Movement; Black Radical Congress; National Action Network; current Councilman and next New York City Mayor Brother Charles Barron; Brother Randall Robinson; my former councilperson in Chicago's southside Third Ward, Sister Dorothy Tillman; and so many, many others). When WE fully OVERstand and come together in a true spirit and power of UMOJA (UNITY without "uniformity"), there will be no stopping our complete victory and liberation.

So, while i will no longer be serving on the N'COBRA Board, i am a lifetime member and do plan to remain active and closely connected to our righteous Reparations movements. In addition to addressing some critical personal/family issues, my intention is to focus my energies and efforts in the following ways. First, i pledge to contribute and fun(d)raise a minimum of \$10,000 over the next five years (at least \$2,000 per year) to support our N'COBRA capacity-building efforts. Second, to help expand our movements to win the long overdue release, amnesty and restitution for our hundreds of long-suffering political prisoners, prisoners-of-war and political exiles. Third, to work with others to completely eliminate the immoral and criminal "debt" that Europe and the u.s. are using to continue enslaving continental and diasporan Afrikan nations; and organize for a return of a portion of the stolen wealth to the real owners. Fourth, to offer some support to the efforts of our Afrikan farmers and communities in our just struggles to free some of our Creator's land for us to grow, build and prosper on. And, finally, i will re-issue past works and music, much of which is centered around our movements for self-determination and Reparations.

Elders and Sisters and Brothers, let me say from the depths of my heart, ASANTE SANA (Many, Many Thanks) to all of you, our brilliant and beautiful N'COBRA family. i/WE am forever indebted to our outstanding leaders and workers—like our founder, Baba Imari Obadele, Sister Aurevouche, Sister Adjoa Aiyetoro, Baba Hannibal Afrik, Baba Kolonji Olusegun, Sister Kupenda "A Love Supreme" Olusegun, Mama Erline Arikpo, Sister Johnita Scott, Baba Chowke Lumumba, General Rashid, Sister Nkechi Taifa, General Mwesi Chui, Sister Njere Alghanee, Baba Omowale Satterwhite, Ancestors DR. JOHNNY YOUNG, CHARSHIE MACINTYRE, and COLONEL H.L. MAXWELL, Brother Alvin Brown, Brother Carlton "Bashiri" White, Sister JoAnn Watson, Elder Raymond "Reparations Ray" Jenkins, Brother Khalif Khalifah, Brother Cicero Love, Brother Onjae Mu'id, and so many others—for their inspiration and tremendous contributions to this mighty cause. And, BIG, BIG UPS and great appreciation to our new generation of N'COBRA Board leadership that is already advancing us to new and greater heights, including Brothers Wautella, James Rodgers III, Ajamu Sankofa, Kamau Jywanza and Sisters Lady C. Nelson, Mashiriki Jywanza, Taiwo Kugichagulia-Seitu, Kibibi Tyehimba... and the list is growing and growing. It has been a pleasure to be one *of*, and one *with*, you.

Allow me to close by simply saying: i'll see you on the battlefields for truth, justice, self-determination and healing for Afrikan people... through Reparations. With our Creator and Ancestors on our side, Victory is certain. Ase`. Amen.

Hetep (Peace, Love and Continued Blessings),

Brother Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at
Outgoing N'COBRA National Co-Chair and Lifetime Member
Juneteenth Emancipation Day: 19 June 6243 (2003)

c/o Foundations For Our Nu Afrikan Millennium (FONAMI)

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BUILDING THE NATIONAL REPARATIONS UNITED FRONT

Baba Hannibal Afrik,
National Co-chair, N'COBRA

In the spirit of the Honorable Marcus Garvey, Queen Mother Moore and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, a historic meeting was convened in Chicago, IL on July 26, 2003. At the request of Dr. Conrad Worrill, Chair, National Black United Front, a call was sent by Nation of Islam leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan to Reparations group leaders and activists. The meeting was held at the Salaam Restaurant.

N'COBRA's leadership was well represented by National Co-chairs Dorothy Benton-Lewis and Baba Hannibal Afrik, National Secretary Ajamu Sankofa, Esq., Board members, Dr. Imari Obadele and Mother Erline Arikpo, Congress of Economic Development Commissioner Rev. Albert Sampson, and Dr. Worrill, of the Chicago Chapter.

A diverse group of scholars, religious figures, elected officials, youth leaders, legal strategists, grass-roots and national organizational representatives dialogued freely about the viability and broad, comprehensive scope of the current Reparations Movement for social and economic justice.

Dr. Ronald Walters submitted a profound proposal on Operational Unity which established the foundation for a national, coordinated mobilization of the descendants of enslaved Africans in America.

The success of this meeting is characterized by the collective decision to regroup and participate in a national work session and public Town Hall Rally on October 4, 2003 in Jackson, MS. This event will be hosted by the Mississippi Reparations Committee and supported by the newly-forming Jackson Chapter of N'COBRA.

Minister Farrakhan also committed to devote a special section in each issue of the Final Call newspaper to provide an update on the progress of the Reparations Movement. This provides a weekly forum for critical information on scholarly research, projects and direct-action programs across the country. It will also serve as a communications network and clearinghouse for the international Reparations Movement, on the continent and throughout the diaspora.

This historic gathering of collective wisdom and commitment has introduced a new chapter of accomplishment in building a National Reparations United Front. In the name of our sacred ancestors, let us go forward with renewed vitality and spiritual direction to achieve Reparations, in our lifetime!

PAMOJA TUTASHINDE (Together, we will win)

July 27, 2003



The Reparations

Movement is Growing

- ♦ *WHEN— the media reports 80% of Blacks support Reparations*
- ♦ *WHEN— Brooklyn NY has a billboard using the word Reparations at one of the busiest intersections*
- ♦ *WHEN— the UN confirms our ancestors' enslavement was a "crime against humanity"*
- ♦ *WHEN— Bush admits "slavery was one of the greatest crimes in history"*

UNITY IN THE MOVEMENT FOR AFRICAN REPARATIONS IN AMERICA

Preamble

African Unity

Unity is defined as a state of being one, being one in spirit, the quality or fact of being a totality or whole, especially a complex that is a union of its parts.

This is an objective definition, but unity is more often set in a context of one culture or another, defining what a group of people are trying to achieve by forging a situation in which they pool their resources.

Our unity is old: before Europe and before America were born. The foundation of our political systems was rooted in the concept of consensus. For example, when important issues were called for in the Ashanti culture, the chief called a meeting known as the *asetena kese*, which means “the big sitting-down.” In South Africa, among the Nguni, the practice is known as the “**Indaba**.”

The principle of consensus was strongest when it was voluntary. When it was coerced by the use of violent authority, it often promoted alienation, counter-violence or breakaway tribal formations. So, for the consensus to be strong, it had to serve the broadest needs.

Our historical project of attempting to use our unity begins, as Kwame Nkrumah said: beyond the fact that we have been divided by the oppressive force of European imperialism, or that we have a common purpose, “it is something that goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a oneness, in that we are all Africans.” So, in spite of our differences, he said: “I am convinced that the forces making for unity far outweigh those that divide us.” It is the basis of what we call Pan Africanism.

In the revolutionary period of African history, Samora Machel said that the achievement of unity followed three phases, unity - criticism - unity, which would lead to a higher stage of solidarity. He felt that inasmuch as the goal of the revolution was to liberate the masses, that the objective of unity was to defend the interests of the masses. Then he said: “Unity is then, not something static, a supernatural, an absolute value that we place on a pedestal to worship. [Rather] in the process of struggling for unity we have always said: we must know with whom we are uniting and why.”

Therefore, in the situation of attempting to achieve Reparations, we have the responsibility to search for the correct principles of consensus rooted in the history and culture of our people as the key to unity. And in this situation, “operational unity” is a necessary precondition, but political unity on key issues when necessary is the strongest posture that we can attain to reach this goal.

Unity in the Movement for Reparations

The quest for African Reparations is a sacred undertaking that began with the demands of our ancestors as a cry for justice from the pain and exploitation of their enslavement in America. Those of us who carry this sacred burden have moved from the stage of the demand of Callie House, Queen Mother Moore and N’COBRA labored without notice, often to criticism from our own people, to a period in history where the demand has taken on a shout in a strong new voice, that now includes and invites millions of peoples and hundreds of organizations into a new movement. As participants and therefore, stewards of this new movement, we should carry the sacred burden as a gift and a covenant of the past which has the power to transform us into a new people. This requires profoundly that in the search for dignity with the weapon of Reparations that we honor the dignity of those who passed this mandate on to us.

The task of maintaining the dignity and purpose of our movement for African Reparations in America must recog-

nize that any movement of peoples for justice is chaotic in that the cause that motivates them often does not allow for invitation, but conjures up an uncontrollable spirit that stirs emotion which acts as a catalyst to act. This feature of the movement has brought many into the pursuit of Reparations and we who are the carriers of the sacred trust of those who were enslaved should be accepting and wise in the leadership of this project. To this end, we create some principles of unity that may guide our quest for Reparations in this era of history.

1. Mutual Respect

We must begin with a mutual respect for the organizations and individuals who lend themselves to this movement and refrain from public criticism of the tactics of various organizations, recognizing that our strategies and goals are the same. Although there were often internal problems, that kind of civility was the core of the way in which other movement organizations behaved that were involved in successful movements such as the 1943 March on Washington, the 1960s Civil Rights movement and others. Civility is important not only because it dignifies the movement and gives to others the perspective that the participants believe that it is a serious cause. It is also important because it is the key to the mobilization of people and organizations who want to be associated with something positive, an act which enhances the potential to develop movement resources necessary to achieve the eventual goal.

2. Law Suits

Law suits have become a major spear of the movement for Reparations and it is important that we recognize the different venues in which various groups are working and adopt an attitude that what may be gained in one suit may advance the cause of Reparations in another. There should not be any pressure to combine efforts because of the distinct clients, approaches and other elements that different organizations pursue. But there should be an ethic which suggests that rejection of the demand or the acceptance of the demand for Reparations in one legal venue may have an impact on the entire legal project. Thus, the sharing of briefs and even prior consultation where necessary should be encouraged.

3. Popular Mobilization

There are many other avenues where the movement for African Reparations has become important and where activity is germinated on a consistent basis and where the movement could benefit from the sharing of effort in such areas as:

- public programs
- political actions – lobbying legislative bodies, etc.
- media events
- research and information

These are some of the fields of action where interaction among segments of the movement across the borders of organization or ideology could advance the entire project. Thus, if a program is envisioned, selecting individuals from different organizations to participate is an act of unity; calling upon all organizations to support big events that are planned by one organization or another is an act of unity; referring people from different organizations to be guest on various media events is an act of unity, and sharing either old or newly breaking research and information widely through available media of dissemination is an act of unity. All are acts of unity and unity in any movement is important in the success of achieving the goals to which all of us aspire.

If political unity can be used at times: on the same project, with the same tactics, and strategies with the same resources, that is the most powerful form. But wisdom must decide when operational unity or political unity is best. This is the reason for an occasional Summit, Ndaba, or a Great Sitting Down.

Dr. Ronald Walters

Distinguished Leadership Scholar
University of Maryland

Note: Submitted by Dr. Walters, a veteran Board member of N'COBRA, to the Chicago Reparations Summit hosted by Minister Louis Farrakhan on July 26, 2003.

National Coalition Of Black 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

ACHIEVING REPARATIONS: The Significance of H.R. 40

By Kibibi Tyehimba, Co-Chair NCOBRA Legislative Commission

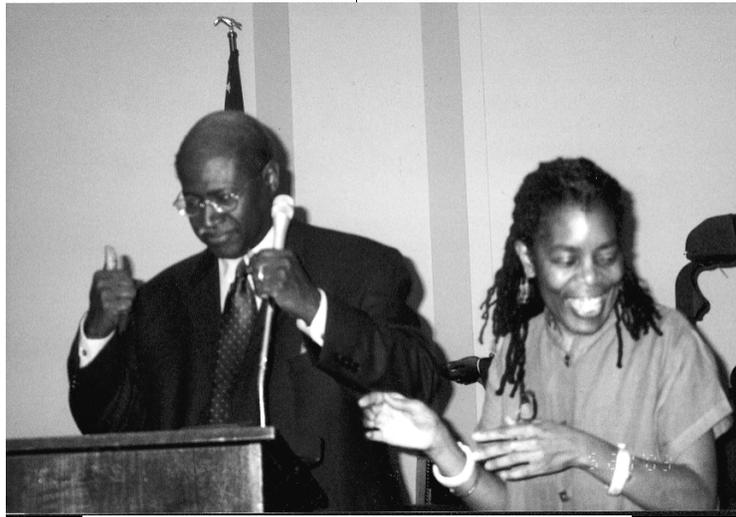
N'COBRA's work to bring about the passage of H. R.40 is an important organizing tool as this bill provides "a least common denominator", that can be used to educate, organize, and mobilize African descendants without getting bogged down in specifics about what should or should not be included in an equitable remedy, before we are able to first convince our people that we suffered a holocaust that the U.S. government supported and participated in for 265 years. H. R. 40 only seeks to establish a commission to study the era of enslavement. Once the Commission is established it is incumbent upon all of us to ensure that the issues are sufficiently addressed and no "penny-annny" settlement is offered or accepted, in light of the destruction that our people have suffered in this country.

The legislative approach to achieving Reparations is critical as it focuses on the U.S. government and forces a national public dialog about this country's past and present injustices against African people; it forces the government to admit to its citizens and the world that it condoned and committed crimes against humanity, and demands an apology; it forces the country to publicly acknowledge this era of enslavement and the tremendous contributions of African people through the development of truthful, thorough school curricula, national monuments, and museums; it forces the government to compensate the descendants of formerly enslaved Africans in order to restore, and repair our people; and finally it forces changes to present day systems and institutions that supported slavery in the past, and that are engaged in the exploitation of other peoples, even today, in ways that could encourage the enslavement of our people and other peoples around the world.

Bringing about the passage of H.R. 40 will be determined by how effectively we lobby our Congressional Representatives for their support of the

bill. An important strategy at the State and local level is the adoption of resolutions and bills that endorse the passage of H.R. 40 and/or that directly support the African Descendant demand for Reparations.

To date three states have already adopted Reparations resolutions---Louisiana, Florida, and California; and three other State resolutions are pending in Texas, New York and New Jersey. In addition, there are 21 cities that have adopted resolutions (Atlanta, Georgia; Baltimore, Maryland; Burlington, Vermont; Camden, Patterson, and Newark New Jersey; Philadelphia, PA; The District of Columbia; Chicago and Evanston, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas, Texas; Detroit, Michigan; Alameda County, Berkeley, Compton, Inglewood, Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, and San Francisco, California.



Dr. Ron Walters & Kibibi Tyehimba on Captiol Hill

We must bear in mind some important history---it took 12 years to get the MLK Holiday bill passed, and following the introduction of the first anti-apartheid bill by Berkley Congressman Ron Dellums, it took 19 years before Nelson Mandella was released from prison, and elections took place in South Africa. No one said it was going to be easy getting H.R. 40 or any other Reparations legislation passed. A tremendous amount of time, energy, and resources have been sacrificed over the past 13 years to bring about the passage of H.R. 40. It is absolutely critical that we see this battle through to its fruition.

Our immediate focus must be on the Congressional Black Caucus Representatives who still have not signed on to H.R. 40. They are:

1. Rep. Julia Carson Indiana (D) - 10th Congressional District(Indianapolis)
2. Del. Donna Christian-Christensen Virgin Islands (D)

(Continued on page 23)

A Year of Black Presence (AYBP) Update

by Sister Lisa Davis of New Jersey People's Organization for Progress

On May 21st, 2003, The People's Organization for Progress of New Jersey (P.O.P.) joined the NY Metro, Philadelphia, and DC chapters of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), the Philadelphia Coalition for Reparations, and Patterson, New Jersey Reparations activists, to lobby Congress to support the passage of the Congressman John Conyers HR 40 Reparations Bill.

One of the major objectives of the day was to target those members of the Congressional Black Caucus that had not yet signed on as co-sponsors of H.R. 40 and to target the office of Congressman F. James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, the Chair of the House Judiciary Committee. According to Milton McGriff, creator of AYBP, and member of the Philadelphia Chapter of N'COBRA, Sensenbrenner steadfastly refuses to support Reparations and will not allow the bill to be brought up before the Judiciary Committee for a hearing. (The bill must first be voted out of this committee before it can go to the full House for a vote). On May 21, 2003 Sensenbrenner's legislative counsel, Chrystal Roberts, confirmed that Sensenbrenner does not support H.R. 40 and that he does not have to offer any reasons why.

Of the 38 Congressional Black Caucus members, there are 9 members that have yet to endorse the Reparations legislation. While it will ultimately be necessary to convince a majority of the House and the Senate to award Reparations for African Americans, it is even more important for African American elected representatives to be the most fervent supporters of the legislation. Their road to Congress was not paved with "freedom and opportunity," but rather with the blood and sweat of a people with an indomitable spirit determined to overcome the specious hands of oppression. African Americans are still confronted with that fight today, and if Black elected officials are not ready to fight for Black America, then they should not be in office.

Overall, May 21st was most eventful as it began with an assembly in which 250 lobbyists heard from many

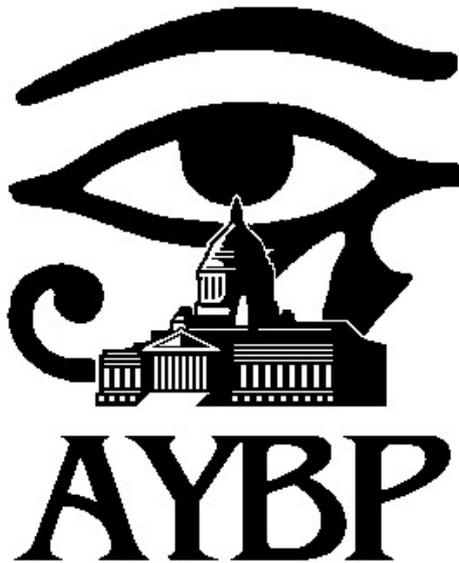
speakers offering their support for Reparations. Speakers included Nation of Islam East Coast Representative, Minister Khadir Mohammad, NAACP Washington Bureau chief, Mr. Hilary Shelton, N'COBRA Co-Chair Ms. Dorothy Benton-Lewis, Mr. Lawrence Hamm of P.O.P., Dr. Ron Walters who is also a N'COBRA Board member and Congressman John Conyers. And while all spoke magnificently, the most riveting speech came from Congressman Conyers himself. Many in his generation are the grandchildren of people who were born in captivity. He passionately spoke of how his generation has paid their dues and how they are entitled to see Reparations in their lifetime! The audience responded with thunderous applause and a standing ovation.

Another touching highlight of the assembly was the call for African Americans organizing for Reparations to adopt an ancestor. P.O.P. and northeast region chapters of N'COBRA have begun the task of memorializing the documented cases of those whose lives were stolen by the brutality of racism. "In Memoriam" certificates were distributed for each African descendant victim documented in the book, "100 Years of Lynchings" by Ralph Ginzburg. As each African American accepted a certificate, they promised to reconnect to their past, and made a vow to recommit to the struggle on behalf of each ancestor so that their lives would not have been sacrificed in vain.

While supporting the overall agenda that morning, the People's Organization for Progress did have the chance to target some of the NJ Representatives. POP visited Congressman Donald Payne's office to thank him for co-sponsoring the Bill and to get some tips for rallying additional congressional support.

POP was also able to have an impromptu meeting with Senator Lautenberg as he unexpectedly encountered our members outside his office. He was most cordial and instructed us to meet with his legislative counsel, an African American by the name of Rudy Brioche. We left extensive information as to why the

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BUILDING THE GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENT: OPERATIONAL UNITY

By Al Pertilla, Legislative Affairs Coordinator for NYC Chapter of N'COBRA

The African American struggle for Reparations has reached a critical juncture. As the Reparations movement grows nationally and internationally, the question looming overhead is 'where do we go from here?'

Most observers would agree that up to the present time the struggle for Reparations has been relegated essentially to the Black nationalists within our communities. However, several recent developments changed that dynamic. The proliferation of various Reparations related law suits emphasizing the historical antecedents of the struggle, and the publication and popularity of Randall Robinson's book "The Debt" along with other significant publications all served to give the movement for Reparations new visibility.

Since January 2003, N'COBRA has accelerated its efforts to secure the passage of HR 40 (the Reparations study bill introduced in Congress by Rep. John Conyers of Michigan) through its new legislative initiative, "A Year of Black Presence (AYBP)". AYBP mobilizes Reparations supporters at the city, state and federal levels to lobby for the passage of resolutions and bills in support of Reparations. While there may be some debate as to the relative merit of HR 40, the reality is that passage of HR40 would represent a significant milestone on the road to securing reparations.

Since no single piece of legislation, lawsuit or any singular event or occurrence will guarantee that African descendants achieve Reparations, we must wage a fierce and intense struggle that encompasses the legal, the legislative, and the most important element of all, the development of a strong grass roots movement. At this juncture, educating our own communities is of utmost importance before we venture out to persuade the rest of America.

We must create and activate an apparatus within African American communities that informs and endows them with the understanding and commitment to struggle for Reparations. We must dispel the myths, misconceptions, falsehoods and misunderstandings about Reparations. We must challenge the apologists within our communities who would challenge the legitimacy of Reparations for African Americans, on behalf of our oppressors. And we must face the reality that there are

many seemingly informed and intelligent brothers and sisters within our communities who, for whatever misguided and ill-informed reasons, will put forth spurious arguments against Reparations. There is no need to cite and document who these poor souls are but we know that they exist and that there will be more of them as our movement progresses.

How do we go about building a broad-based mass movement for Reparations? We must first look back at our history and examine successful mass movements from the past—(SANKOFA). One of our strongest examples took place during the so called struggle for Civil Rights in the 60's. There are many practical and ideological connections between that struggle and the one that we must wage in the short term to achieve

"We must now inject that sense of operational unity within the Reparations movement"

Reparations. No, we will not and must not attempt to resurrect and re-create the civil rights movement but we must examine that important period and its relevance to our present conditions and objectives.

At the top of the list must be the idea that one major contributor to the Civil Rights movement was the definitive "big tent" philosophy operating within the movement, under which, most of the issues that we faced could be addressed. Yes, there were many organizations, much internal tension and, sometimes hostile disagreements within the loosely defined Civil Rights movement, but there were also strong unifying themes and objectives that held the struggle together in a spiritual sense. While we may not have agreed on all of the specific objectives, tactics, and strategies, we did agree to allow individuals and organizations the right and privilege of struggling within their own arenas, and based on their unique circumstances and understanding in order to push the movement forward.

We must now inject that sense of operational unity within the Reparations movement. In order to succeed we must broaden the base of involvement and under-

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Dramatic Testimony for Reparations at the Texas State Capitol

Nine-year-old Talib Sterling Lands (Greater Calvary Baptist Church -Austin, Texas) received a loud round of applause in the State Affairs Committee hearing room after he testified, "I am nine years old, I don't want to have to come back when I am ninety still fighting for reparations". The hearing, which took place at the Texas State Capitol in Austin, Texas on Monday, March 31, 2003, was conducted to take testimony on the Ft. Worth State Representative Glenn Lewis HCR-28 Reparations resolution. Little Talib was flanked before and after his testimony with representatives from Houston, Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, Fort Worth and Tyler numbering approximately fifteen who all testified in favor of HCR-28. Thomas Muhammad (Africans and African-Americans for Enslavement Reparations - Dallas, Texas) a key organizer of state-wide reparations actions remarked, "I think with the variety of testimony coming from across the state we covered all bases on the demand for Reparations".

The nine-person committee was riveted by blown up graphic depictions of the African MAAFA A.K.A. The Transatlantic Slave Trade A.K.A. the worst crime against humanity known to the world. The laminated posters were displayed throughout the hearing chambers illustrating: life in Africa before the MAAFA, the Elmina Slave Dungeon, the Slave Ship named "SUFFER" and drawings of slave ships with Africans stacked and packed in every conceivable space. With the precision of a lawyer, the documentation of a scholar and the fire of a freedom fighter Kofi Taharka (National Black United Front - Houston Chapter and the Local Action Committee for Reparations (LAC)) started his testimony by reading the names of over twenty organizations, which comprise the LAC. He proceeded to make the demand for full and complete reparations with reference books, quotations, handouts of lynchings and the Associated Press story documenting the fact that the Capitol in Washington was built with enslaved African labor. "Putting this resolution on the floor of the Texas Legislature is the least you can do given the millions of our Holy African Ancestors who have died" he said.

Sister Mukumtagara Jendayi (All African Peoples Revolutionary Party, Ft. Worth) made the point "any

gains made by Africans in America have come with bloodshed, end of chattel slavery bloodshed, repeal of Jim Crowism bloodshed, right to vote bloodshed, the committee can take a step to possibly avert that reality with the passage of this resolution". Youth Director for Greater Calvary Baptist Church Richard

Lands told the committee "God's Judgment on this country will have a lot to do with its treatment of enslaved Africans". Brother Omowale Manu a native of Tyler, Texas laid out what he called "Continuity and Connectivity". He submitted his re-

search, which documents the State of Texas governmental and industry ties to slavery and white privilege, which began with Stephen F. Austin, continued through the Imperial Sugar Company and the Prison Lease System, which the state contracted with to build the Texas State Capitol in the late 1800's. The prison population then, coming directly out of chattel slavery was used as a labor force and was predominantly made up of Black people. Others testifying included: Oscar Vicks (San Antonio Reparations Committee), Lee Alcorn (Dallas Activist), and Members Greater Calvary Baptist Church. Letters of support were submitted to the committee from various organizations across the state. One person signed up to oppose the resolution but was a no show when the time came to speak. Throughout the presentations speakers made reference to the continuing vestiges of the enslavement including: racial profiling, police brutality, education, housing, prison system and health care.

The resolution HCR-28, which must be voted out of the committee in order to make it's way to the H o u s e

floor during this session is not the o n l y R e p a r a t i o n s l e g i s l a t i o n

in the Texas House. Representative Ron Wilson of Houston is the sponsor of HJR-25 a constitutional amendment that seeks redress for African-Americans and other parties that have been victims of historic injustices from the State of

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"I am nine years old, I don't want to have to come back when I am ninety still fighting for reparations"

"God's Judgment on this country will have a lot to do with its treatment of enslaved Africans"

YOUTH CORNER:

Working for Reparations

THE BATTLE FOR REPARATIONS CONTINUES!

BY: Rashad Drakeford a 16 year old, high school sophomore from Queens, New York

This year is the Year of Black Presence (AYBP), the year that we as a people take a big step in the battle for reparations. The fight for reparations started a long time ago and on Wednesday, April 9th it continued. New York Metro Area Chapter N'COBRA (National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America) and the Corona East Elmhurst Branch of the NAACP Youth Council, two of the many groups participating in AYBP, left for Washington, D.C. at 3 a.m. in the morning.

Our goals were to go down to Washington D.C. and talk to our nation's representatives; tell them about the bill proposed by Rep. John Conyers; find out where they stand on the issue of African Americans getting reparations; and to get them to co-sponsor the bill. The bill that Rep. Conyers has proposed since 1989 is called H.R. 40, named after the government's promise of 40 acres and a mule to freed slaves. The bill seeks to accomplish four things:

o Acknowledge the fundamental injustice and inhumanity of slavery.

***"we as young people need to take
the lead in this battle for
reparations"***

o Establish a commission to study slavery, its subsequent racial and economic discrimination against freed slaves.



Harmony (seated in the middle) with other Toronto students

Toronto Youth Organizes for Reparations

This past Black history month, young sister Harmony Hussey and a group of "enlightened" students of Toronto Canada conducted a petition drive in support of Reparations. Despite reluctance from school administrators and teachers, the students persevered, and although the Principal was not supportive in the beginning, she was eventually persuaded by the students' persistence. For the last week of Black History month, the students staffed a table during lunch at the front of the school. The students distributed several hundred flyers with information about Reparations--what it is, who its for, why its necessary, how it should be paid.

Harmony reports that they encountered extreme apathy on the part of students. Most students weren't even interested enough to find out what Reparations was all about. Although the project was somewhat depressing, Harmony arrived at some very important realizations:

1. Members of her generation are far to apolitical, especially in western societies.
2. Any Reparations literature developed to capture the attention of members of her generation must be short, catchy, and to the point. Maybe there can be two versions of a document, one short version and one that provides a lot more detail.

(Continued on page 25)

(Continued on page 25)

AYBP Update *(Continued from page 11)*

Senator should support this issue, in addition to asking him to sponsor a Senate version of the Bill. And while we were not able to meet with Senator Corzine or one of his counsels, contact was made with his office and he has been put on notice that Reparations is an issue that he will have to deal with. P.O.P will be following up with letters requesting to meet with both Senators to discuss the issue further. We will also be focusing on approaching other NJ Congressional representatives that have not yet endorsed the legislation.

The fight to pass H.R. 40 is a very revealing and scathing commentary of the depths of the racist pathology that continues to engulf this country. Of 435 members of the House, only 37 have endorsed this bill. Congressman John Conyers has been urging Congress to pass this bill for over 12 years, but to no avail! And yet the United States has passed many pieces of reparations legislation for other groups. Legislation was enacted in 1999 to set up a commission to study the harmful effects of WWII on Italian Americans. The US was instrumental in helping to negotiate billions of dollars in reparations for victims of the Nazi Holocaust and set up the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets which is dedicated to historical research and restitution. In 1998 Congress authorized this country to donate \$30,000,000 to the Holocaust Relief Fund. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 was passed officially apologizing to the Japanese Americans and paying them reparations for internment during WWII. Additionally, nominal concessions have even been offered to Native Americans in the form of land grants, monies, etc. These are just a few of the many ways the US has supported and paid reparations on behalf of others.

Slavery and its subsequent Jim Crow racism were some of the worst crimes ever committed against humanity. Long after slavery was officially over, this country embarked upon an anti-black agenda that was legislated in the courts and in the Congress to deny Blacks political, social and economic opportunities. And African Americans continue to suffer the effects of America's racist legacy. African Americans are entitled to Reparations and the time for Reparations is now!

1921 TULSA MASSACRE WORKSHOP N'COBRA 14TH CONVENTION

by Adjoa A Aiyetoro, Chair,
Legal Strategies Commission

Laquita Cooper, N'COBRA member from Tulsa, Oklahoma and Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, Chair, Legal Strategies Commission, led the workshop. A summary of the 1921 massacre that resulted in the destruction of the Greenwood District in Tulsa, commonly known as Black Wall Street, was presented. The massacre was preceded by a never proven allegation that a young Black man had "attempted to assault" a white woman in an elevator. Prominent Black male leaders of the Greenwood District went to the jail to protect this young Black male from the fate of lynching. Between 1911 and 1921, 11 men had been lynched in Oklahoma, and only one of them was white. A white mob of mostly drunken men gathered before the jail. A white man, apparently associated with the police, began to disarm the Black men and not the white men. When one Black man refused to be disarmed a struggle ensued resulting in the death of a Black man. The Black men then were forced to retreat to Greenwood District – being pursued by the police, and a the white mob, many of whom had been deputized. The National Guard was called in and instead of protecting Greenwood residents' homes and businesses, many of them joined the white mob and local police in the destruction.

On February 24, 2003, the Reparations Coordinating Committee (RCC), co-chaired by N'COBRA Legal Strategies Commission Chair Adjoa Aiyetoro, Charles Ogletree and Randall Robinson, filed a lawsuit for reparations on behalf of the survivors and the descendants of the Tulsa massacre. The lawsuit seeks to establish an education fund for the African American residents of Greenwood District.

The workshop participants agreed that N'COBRA members should publicize N'COBRA's role in this litigation so that the masses will know that the grassroots organizers for reparations are involved, not simply famous attorneys such as Charles Ogletree and Johnny Cochran. This lawsuit was seen as important because it focuses on a vestige of slavery and talks about the massacre as a vestige of slavery.

The fight to pass H.R. 40 is a very revealing and scathing commentary of the depths of the racist pathology that continues to engulf this country.

Reparations According To:

Ahati N. N. Toure
Houston, Texas

For Afrikans who want to remain in the United States as American citizens, there has to be a negotiated change in the power arrangements of the state. Without a change in the power arrangements, Afrikans will remain victims of the European settlers. They have to become a controlling and ruling element in a new form of the state. In this new arrangement there must be certain protections of Afrikan rights in the area of cultural, social, political, and economic rights, according to the international human rights standards expressed in various UN conventions, and consistent with arrangements made in multi-ethnic European states like Canada (French and English), Belgium, etc. These rights must be explicitly guaranteed to Afrikans as a group, an explicit constitutional recognition of group rights peculiar to Afrikans as a group, and provide a certain portion of representation in various levels of government, control of government schools, etc. Of course, reparations, except in the most insignificant form, cannot be expected from the European settlers, absent a significant shift in power arrangements between Afrikans and Europeans in both the United States and the world.

The major problem with some proposals for reparations is that they do not contemplate an alteration in the power arrangements between Afrikans and the European settlers in the United States. This must be seen as fundamental to any meaningful discussion, understanding, and approach to reparations.

Second, for Afrikans who want to return to Afrika, it must be recognized that the United States illegally incorporated us into the European settler republic and, therefore, stole our nationality in Afrika with the passage of its constitutional amendments after the Civil War. Thus, part of the reparations must be a declaration of Afrikan nationality as a continuing right for all Afrikans forcibly exiled from their homeland. The Americans must pay for our resettlement in countries of choice in Afrika, and they must also pay an indemnity to the Afrikan countries to which we will be settling under conditions that must be controlled by us in a negotiated settlement between us, the European settlers (Americans), and the officials of the countries in which we will be resettling. My concern is that we will ensure a smooth transition and assimilation into Afrikan society, and some protection of our rights from persecution by Afrikan governments. As part of this negotiation, it

must be recognized under law our inalienable right to resettle and become assimilated as nationals of the countries in which we will be resettling. I am not advocating a compromise to the sovereignty and integrity of the state, but a process by which Afrikans returning can be re-assimilated into Afrikan society without penalty to either side. We want to avoid the madness of Liberia and Sierra Leone and the Anglo-Afrikan chauvinism, a consequence of the Afrikan internalization of white supremacy, that caused such tragic disruption in the 19th and 20th centuries, and that continue to reverberate today in these countries. At the same time, we do not want to be subjected to state persecution by the security apparatus of the states to which we will be returning. These things must be negotiated and worked out in advance.

Since Afrikan presence (of those Afrikans not voluntary immigrants) in the United States is illegal and involuntary, and is the consequence of a protracted crime against humanity, the Americans must also pay for resettlement of those Afrikans who want to go to some society (whether Afrikan or not) other than Afrika. That is, they must pay for Afrikans to receive political asylum from persecution in the United States.

Further, reparations must entail some negotiations regarding the release, resettlement, and rehabilitation of Afrikan political prisoners currently in US prisons.

All of this presupposes that Afrikans in the United States, so-called Black or African Americans, have the cultural, historical, and political consciousness to understand and find these proposals reasonable elements in a comprehensive reparations package. My own suspicion is that most Afrikans in the United States believe they are Americans and believe the European settlers are susceptible to some sensitivity to moral suasion based on their alleged heritage surrounding principles of democracy, justice, freedom, etc. despite centuries of experience to the contrary. As long as we live under this illusion, our thinking, actions, and strategies will remain sentimental and unrealistic as to the true nature of what will be necessary to achieve human liberation.

In short, it is my view that the key to reparations is power. Unless Afrikans move toward a change in power arrangements, all else will remain idle talk.

N'COBRA Holds 14th Annual Convention

(Continued from page 1)

year were the filing of the Tulsa, Ok, lawsuit for damages from the 1921 white terrorism against blacks and the highly visible and successful A Year of Black Presence support campaign for H.R. 40 on Capitol hill.



Alvin Brown, Midwest Region Rep

Adjoa Aiyetoro, Co-Chair of the national Reparations Coordinating Committee and N'COBRA's leading attorney reported that the Tulsa lawsuit was filed in February.

"The media tries to marginalize us," Aiyetoro said and "we need to be more aggressive in uplifting our role so that others know we are active." Aiyetoro said the media likes to focus on established personalities like Johnny Cochran, and Ogletree because they have had extensive media exposure in the past. By trying to marginalize N'COBRA, she said, the media tries to isolate the reparations lawsuits from grassroots movements.

The other new development in the reparations movement was the support campaign, A Year of Black Presence. This campaign, hugely successful by all accounts, was designed to put N'COBRA members in the face of Congress members all year long, arguing, cajoling and pressuring them to sign on to H.R. 40.

The Reparations Study Bill, first introduced into Congress in 1989 has never even been voted out of subcommittee. Some within the reparations movement

have written the bill off as too mild. N'COBRA and some others take a different tact.

"Because H.R. 40 is so weak," said Milton McGriff, national coordinator for the AYBP Coalition, "it is at the bottom of the reparations food chain, so to speak. It is the point where we can engage the most number of people."

McGriff went on to say the reparations movement is dealing with a Congress that cares little or nothing about black people. He said N'COBRA needs to educate people that reparations are not only long overdue but necessary in order for the black community to grow and prosper.

"We intend to get 100 percent of the Congressional Black Caucus to sign onto this bill before the end of the year," McGriff said. "It's sad that those CBC members who have not signed on come from southern states where our ancestors suffered much of the horror of life in America," he said.

The other new initiative that generated excitement and enthusiasm among the audience was the proposal to promote a campaign to support black businesses that support reparations.

Black Fridays would educate the black owned and operated business community to understand the funda-

"The media tries to marginalize us, we need to be more aggressive in uplifting our role so that others know we are active."

mental necessity of winning reparations if black people are ever to gain control of the economy of the Black community. Sankofa said that Black businesses would be encouraged to display the Black Friday poster, hand out cards promoting reparations and to work together to promote the benefits to the black community.

Beyond the issues of current litigation, building political support for H.R. 40, and Black Fridays other questions attracted intensive discussion at the convention.

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N'COBRA 14TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

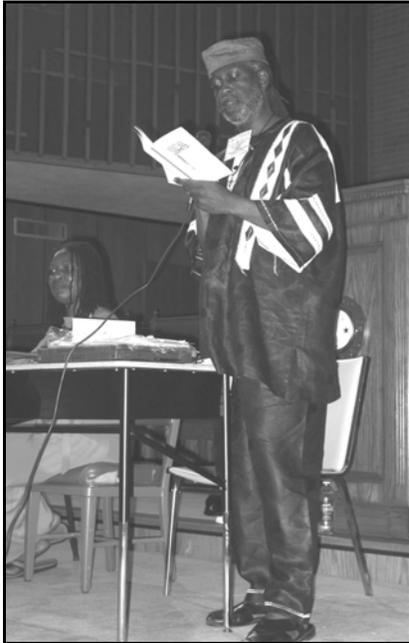


Seestah Imahkus & Kalonji Olusegun



Elder Vincent Roots Wilson and Seestah Imahkus
in step with the Reparations Movement

Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at



Johnita and Dr. Imari Obadele



Barbara and David Leonard received a Reparations Service Award

Dorothy Benton Lewis



N'COBRA 14TH NATIONAL CONVENTION



Omowale Satterwhite



Diane Ragsdale, Bobby Scott, Imahkus & Baba Afrik



Rashieda Smith

Erline Arikpo & Njere Alghanee



International Caucus: Ciki Thomas, Canda; Mashariki Jywanza, US; Seestah Imahkus, Ghana; Imhotep Alkebulan, US; Ester Stanford, UK; Kalonji Olusegun, US; Baba Hannibal Afrik, US and others

Black Legionary Security



D. Kimble, I. Alkebulan & Erline Arikpo

GEORGE W. BUSH, GOREE ISLAND AND REPARATIONS

Black Legal Scholar-Activists

We are lawyers and scholars who recognize the statement made by George W. Bush on July 8th at Goree Island as a factual and accurate acknowledgment of the legal basis for the US to pay reparations to the descendants of the Transatlantic slave trade, when he admitted that, "slavery was one of the greatest crimes in history", and also admitted that it was enslaved, unpaid labor that created the "prosperity" of the United States. Ironically, it was the US government's refusal to acknowledge this very fact that led the US delegation to walk out of the UN World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa in 2001.

Reparations and the Importance of the International Arena

Over the past several years a combination of events - the grassroots movement, scholarly contributions, lawsuits, legislative resolutions, international meetings and resolutions - have forced the issue of reparations for the descendants of enslaved Africans into the mainstream political agenda of the United States. But, of all these factors, those in the international arena have been key. It is in international fora, rather than in the domestic arena, where the US has chosen to wage its struggle opposing reparations.

In 1998, the US delegation successfully defeated an attempt by the African Group to have the UN Commission on Human Rights adopt a resolution declaring "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery A Crime Against Humanity."

In 2000, President Clinton, to avoid addressing the issues of slavery and reparations, refused to convene a national US conference to prepare for the 2001 UN World Conference against Racism.

In 2001, the US withdrew from the World Conference Against Racism rather than be associated with any final document that recognized slavery as a crime against humanity. The World Conference adopted the Durban Declaration and Program of Action which recognized that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery were crimes against humanity. The Durban Declaration was a tremendous victory for African people worldwide in the struggle for reparations. In 2003, at Goree Island, Mr. Bush finally uttered the truth. No matter how he phrased it, history is "human" history and thus a "greatest crime in history" is a crime against

humanity. He quoted President John Adams who referred to slavery as "an evil of colossal magnitude." Furthermore Mr. Bush admitted that it was enslaved, unpaid labor that created the "prosperity" of the United States.

George W. Bush's Goree admission firmly places the United States within the ambit of international law on the issue of reparations. Crimes against Humanity have no statute of limitations. Victims of such crimes are undeniably due compensation. The history of Black existence, oppression and resistance since the end of the Civil War should have taught US society this lesson - i.e. that there can be no real racial reconciliation without restitution: (i) for the damage done and wealth stolen during slavery and (ii) for the enforced disadvantage that the "vestiges of slavery" have continued to place on the descendants of the original victims. In its recent decision in *Lawrence v. Texas*, the US Supreme Court looks to the law of the European Court of Human Rights, thereby acknowledging that, in a globalized world, the US must recognize a role for international law within US domestic law.

Mr. Bush's pronouncements will mean nothing if they do not spur us to increased work in all spheres of activity - the legal, the legislative, the academic and the grassroots - in the movement for reparations.

List in Formation:

- * Wendy Brown, Esq., Professor of Law at Tulane Law School
- * Margaret Burnham, Associate Professor of Law, Northeastern University School of Law (for identification only)
- * Joan Gibbs, Esq., Chief Counsel, Center for Law and Social Justice of Medgar Evers College, CUNY
- * Lennox S Hinds, Esq., Vice-President; Permanent United Nations Representative; International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Professor Rutgers University
- * Lionel Jean Baptiste, Esq., Jean-Baptiste and Associates, Illinois
- * Gerald Lemelle, Esq., Deputy Executive Director, Advocacy, Amnesty International USA (for identification only)
- * Hope Lewis, Esq., Professor of Law, Northeastern University school of Law (for identification only)
- * National Conference of Black Lawyers
- * Ron Walters, Professor University of Maryland
- * Roger S. Wareham, Esq., International General Secretary International Association Against Torture; Partner in Thomas, Wareham & Richards, LLP
- * Robert Westley, Esq., Professor Tulane Law School
- * Jeanne Woods, Esq., Professor, Loyola University School of Law, NOLA (for identification only)

BLACK REPARATIONS & RESTITUTION

in America

CATEGORIES OF INVOLVEMENT CHART

By Wautella ibn Yusuf

| | Holocaust Period 1551-1865 | Post Holocaust Period 1865-present | Entitlement & Responsibility |
|----------------------|---|--|--|
| Victims | Enslaved Africans: 10 to 100 million enslaved, murdered, raped, robbed of their homeland, culture, language, family life, labor; endured dehumanizing enslavement for more than 300 years | Enslaved African descendants in the Diaspora: over 3000 lynched, jim crow-segregation, denied education, jobs, equal justice in court, access to housing, healthcare, etc | <i>Entitlement:</i> full and complete Reparations, i.e. equitable remedy for the injuries suffered in order to repair and heal ourselves |
| Collaborators | Some Africans amongst the victims, who betrayed and soldout their own people. All groups of people have sellouts and traitors. Africans had (and have) theirs also. Collaboration can be brought on by outside force and/or an immediate concern for one's own survival | Descendants of collaborating African families, ethnic groups & states that were in a position of power during era of enslavement; did not benefit from the enslavement of other Africans as did Europeans as evidenced by the level of poverty in Africa today | <i>Responsibility:</i> must amend for betraying their own people. However this is a family problem that must be addressed internally by the African Family and not influenced by outsiders |
| Perpetrators | European enslavers, slave companies, slave ship builders, European governments, the Church, etc. Those who initiated, controlled, sustained and truly benefited from the Trans-Atlantic enslavement of Africans. Those who actually carried out the holocaust. | The enslavers' descendants: individuals, families, companies, US government, the Church, etc Those who inherited the wealth and power derived from the holocaust, e.g. Aetna, FleetBoston, CSX, Thomas Jefferson Estate, George. Washington Estate, etc | <i>Responsibility:</i> make complete amends and pay full compensation as determined by the victim's descendants. Change the social and economic structure to ensure permanent parity for all Black People. |
| Beneficiaries | Slavery investors, Europeans, colonial governments & their citizens, that allowed and encouraged <i>perpetrators</i> with their tax money and votes. | All people living in the U.S. and benefiting from profits from the holocaust, whether they were born here or not- they access wealth and benefits. | <i>Responsibility:</i> acknowledge the Holocaust of African Enslavement, the benefits received and their obligation to support Restitution. |

Note: *Wautella 2.21.02 - The first three (victim, collaborator and perpetrator) are raised by Dr. Maulana Karenga, "The Ethics of Reparations: Engaging the Holocaust of Enslavement"*

Ask The Editor

"Ask The Editor" column was a suggestion from a young reader with questions. The questions below are from her list. Thanks for the good idea Harmony!

Is it true that America's laws disqualify Blacks for reparations? My teacher said, "Legally, reparations is only granted if the issue meets two criteria. One: there are people alive who suffered / are suffering the injustice. Two: the injustice was illegal at the time it was committed."

This is not true on either count. Native American/ Indian nations (First Nations) still participate in reparative processes even though the original victims have long been dead. I think you mean even though the injustice was "legal" at the time it was committed. If so, the Nuremburg precedent stated that even though Nazism was legal during the Third Reich, international law, outlawing Nazism, was made retroactive in order to prosecute leading Nazi Party members.

Slavery ended so long ago--all the victims are dead, do African Americans have a chance of winning reparations?

Yes, the victims are dead but the perpetrators and the victim's descendants are still alive: corporations are deemed to be living bodies and the U.S. in particular, has the same government that not only condoned and facilitated slavery but condones and facilitates the legacy of slavery. Repairing the legacy of slavery is the most compelling aspect of the Reparations movement, in my opinion.

There's reverse racism today so how are Blacks any different than Whites?

Reverse racism is a hollow meaningless term. For example, a white businessman who owns a 10,000 employee company can say, "I will not hire any black people." That is real racism as the businessman's decision impacts the lives of real black people. Whereas, a black person in idle chat standing around saying "I hate white people," while clearly an expression of prejudice, does not have the same affect because the black person does not have the means to affect the lives of white people. Prejudice cannot

possibly be compared to the racism of the white businessman.

{Answers provided by J. Damu and Vic Nickson}

Send your questions to: InformationMedia@aol.com or N'COBRA Information & Media Commission, P.O. Box 716, Washington, DC 20044-0716

"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.

**Subscription
rates are \$20 (U.S.) per year payable to
N'COBRA -IMC**

Information and Media Commission
P.O. Box 716
Washington, DC 20044-0716

Email: InformationMedia@aol.com
Phone: 202.466.1622

ACHIEVING REPARATIONS: The Significance of H.R. 40

(Continued from page 10)

3. Rep. Frank Ballance North Carolina (D)1st Congressional District
4. Rep. James Clyburn South Carolina (D) - 6th Congressional District (Columbia, Charleston, Orangeburg, Sumter)
5. Rep Artur Davis Alabama (D) 7th District
6. Rep. Denise Majette Georgia 9D) 4th District
7. Rep David Scott Georgia (D) 13th District
8. Rep. Robert Scott Virginia (D) - 3rd Congressional District(Richmond, Newport News)
9. Rep. Melvin Watt North Carolina (D) -- 12th Con. District(Charlotte, Greensboro)

The Progressive, and Hispanic Caucus members must also be challenged. The following are members of those caucuses and their districts:

Rep. Dennis Kucinich (Ohio-10); Rep. Lynn Woolsey (California-06) Rep. Peter DeFazio (Oregon-04); Rep. Bernie Sanders (Vermont); Rep. Hilda Solis (California-31); Rep. Neil Abercrombie (Hawaii-01) Rep. Tammy Baldwin (Wisconsin-02); Rep. Xavier Becerra California-30)Rep. Sherrod Brown (Ohio-13); Rep. Michael Capuano (Massachusetts-08); Rep. Rosa DeLauro (Connecticut-03); Rep. Lane Evans (Illinois-17); Rep. Eni Faleomavaega (American Samoa); Rep. Sam Farr (California-17) Rep. Bob Filner California-50); Rep. Barney Frank (Massachusetts-04); Rep. Raul Grijalva (Arizona-07); Rep. Luis Gutierrez (Illinois-04) Rep. Maurice Hinchey (New York-26); Rep. Marcy Kaptur Ohio-09); Rep. Tom Lantos (California-02); Rep. James P. McGovern (Massachusetts-03); Rep. George Miller (California-07); Rep. Ed Pastor (Arizona-02); Rep. Nancy Pelosi (California-08); Rep. Jose Serrano (New York-16); Rep. Pete Stark (California-13); Rep. John Tierney (Massachusetts-06); Rep. Tom Udall (New Mexico-03); Rep. Nydia Velazquez (New York-12); Rep. Henry Waxman (California-29)

August begins the month long recess for Congress, and it is also the time that Congressmen and Congresswomen return to their state offices to make themselves more accessible to their constituents. This is an opportune time to pay them a visit to lobby for their support of H.R. 40. If you have taken the time to get members of your communities to write letters asking for their support, now is the time to take the letters to them in person. If you want to get

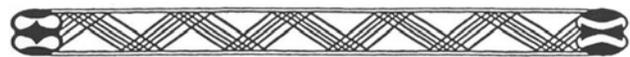
a large group together to pay them a friendly visit to discuss the issues surrounding the Reparations debate, now is the time to do so. When discussing the issues, remind them that the causes they profess to support for the poor and dispossessed are all elements that would be thoroughly addressed by The Reparations Study commission, once H.R. 40 is passed, in order to determine possible remedies to correct the injustices against African Descendants. If they say they are more interested in providing healthcare, education, housing, economic development, the right to vote, an end to disparate treatment under the justice system, changes to school curriculum to truthfully reflect the American era of enslavement and African descendants' contribution to the development of this country, and monuments that

“Remember now is a great time to visit your Congressman or Congresswoman's State office. ”

memorialize people and events in African Descendants' history, then they ought to be interested in the passage of H.R. 40, because the demand for Reparations includes all these issues. Congress and ultimately America must understand that the demand for Reparations is not, nor has it ever been about only a check to individuals. Remember now is a great time to visit your Congressman or Congresswoman's State office. Make your appointment early. Don't settle for just an aide. Don't Give up till you get what you want. Don't scare them! Persuade them! And don't ever forget they are in office to serve you.

Finally, in the words of Reparations Advocate Brother David L. Horne of California, "We should take a brief moment to smile, and then get right back to the unrelenting work ahead." We are on the right track Brothers and Sisters. Close your eyes and see the victory!

For lobbying information or assistance with State and local resolutions contact the Legislative Commission at 202.466.1622 or Legicom@aol.com



OPERATIONAL UNITY *(Continued from page 12)*

standing of what Reparations is all about to encourage cooperation and opportunities for collective work and unity. We must put aside our petty, parochial differences and recognize that there is more that unites us in struggle than divides us.

We must conduct a broad based outreach and dialogue within our communities if we are to reach a consensus and basic understanding of what our struggle is about and what we must do in order to achieve our goal. The principle block to our achieving that goal is internal and thus we must focus on and engage all elements of our communities in a serious dialogue, discussion and debate in order to arrive at a common point of understanding and commitment to moving this struggle forward.

Specifically we must focus on building a broad coalition with specific actions around getting HR40 passed in the House and also place some emphasis on getting a companion Senate bill introduced. The year 2004 is a national presidential year. Therefore, we have an opportunity to put Reparations at the top of the agenda and debate for both of the 'major' political parties. We must not allow the issue of reparations to be obscured and relegated to the back burner. Even within a context of heightened awareness and focus on "national security and the fight against terrorism" we must not allow Reparations to be placed on the back burner.

We must not lose sight of the fact that historically we as a people have been called upon to de-emphasize our demands in times of crisis and rally around the flag. We must not allow ourselves to become so draped in the American flag that we lose sight of what our ultimate goal is and will always be until Reparations is achieved. We must be diligent and become militant in our just demand for Reparations.

We cannot be sidetracked by the ill informed arguments and positions revolving around extreme misunderstandings such as "the civil rights movement accomplished all that needed to be done to achieve freedom and justice for our communities" and that "there is little need for any special focus or emphasis on the problems and

issues within our communities." Despite the fact that the "token achievers" and collaborators will put forth the argument that we have been taken care of, the reality of conditions in our communities should keep us focused and steadfast in our efforts to achieve true empowerment, liberation and justice, and to honor the spirit and legacy of our ancestors. We must struggle on behalf of our ancestors with a focus on leaving a different legacy for our future generations.

The passage of HR 40 will be a milestone in achieving those goals and we must not be sidetracked or hoodwinked into thinking that this is not a noble and worthy objective upon which to focus our attention at this time. Yes we realize very clearly that HR 40 is not the penultimate but we do remain steadfast in our belief that it is one of the most critical accomplishments that we can achieve within the present context.

The "legal" front is in pretty good hands. The missing element in this struggle is the building of the mass movement in support of Reparations, which is critical to achieving our goal. The struggle for passage of HR 40 represents a concrete tactical and strategic point around which we can and should rally.

N'COBRA CONVENTION

(Continued from page 17)

The issue of land was an issue of intense interest and importance. Dr. Imari Obadele and Baba Hannibal Afrik, the newly elected national co-chair of N'COBRA, both venerable leaders and founders of the Republic of New Afrika spoke of their more than thirty year quest to promote a black state within the U.S.

Afrik spoke at length on how he thought such a state could be effectively administered. Obadele continued by giving background information on legal tactics he had devised over the years to challenge the U.S. on the issue.

Obadele also outlined his vision of how land owned, controlled and administered by blacks could be used to rehabilitate blacks who are currently incarcerated and victims of alcohol and drug abuse. Echoing the Cuban revolutionary hero Che Guevarra, Obadele said, "A new Afrikan personality can be created within our own land,"

"If a place of peace and security can be fixed," he said, "people coming out of prison can be transformed

(Continued on page 31)

BATTLE FOR REPARATIONS *(Continued from page 14)*

o Study the impact of those forces on today's living African Americans.

o After the study, make recommendations to Congress on appropriate remedies to redress the harm inflicted on living African Americans.

"Congress studies everything else on earth, yet they say that we don't even want to study reparations for African Americans," said Rep. Conyers at a Reparations Forum at Penn Valley Community College. "When we gave the Japanese reparations there was a case study done. Now when you suggest a reparations case study for the group of people, who built America with no compensation, then there's a problem," he continued. I saw that with my own eyes. At every Congress man and woman's office that my group visited, the Congress men and women were either on the House floor, on a conference call, busy, in a session and a whole bunch of other excuses, but we still made sure we were heard.

I was in Group B, and my group was responsible for visiting Rep. Crowley's office; Rep. Hinchey's office; and Rep. Clyburn's office. My group had approximately 15 to 20 people in it, so when we went into every congressman's office, we filled their meeting area from front to back and side to side. We spoke to each of their Legislative Assistants and Directors, and every time they came out of their office they all said "Wow!" During the meetings with each individual staff member we all voiced our opinions and asked questions on reparations and what is being done about it in Congress. Then we gave their assistants a reparations package, which consisted of the H.R. 40 bill proposed by Rep. John Conyers and N'COBRA's reparations information. At the end of each meeting the assistant said they would definitely tell their bosses that we came by and they would give them the reparations packet.

During our morning orientation at the Cannon Building, we were addressed by Rep. Conyers' Judiciary Counsel, Mr. Keenan Keller. Mr Keller brought up a very important point. He said, "We as African Americans are known for our sprinting skills, but if we are going to win this battle for reparations we are going to have to be long distance runners." That is why we as young people need to really be involved in this A Year of Black Presence

initiative, because this is going to be a long uphill battle. Most of our leaders are up in age and have been in the Civil Rights fight for a long time and we as young people need to take the lead in this battle for reparations and get what African Americans deserve, JUSTICE!!

Toronto Youth Organizes

(Continued from page 14)

All total the students collected 254 signatures for the following Petition:

REPARATIONS NOW! STOP THE INJUSTICE!

WHEREAS, the descendants of African slaves and also indigenous people of colour have seen their cultures, and resources plundered and their development inhibited by the criminal origins of the capitalist system, and

WHEREAS, the demand for Reparations is a legitimate demand for justice for crimes against humanity,

WE the undersigned pledge our support to the organizing of a truly international campaign for Reparations with the ultimate objective of redressing the historical injustices perpetrated against Africans and other indigenous people of colour, and

Harmony has also made a number of suggestions to the N'COBRA Information and Media Commission, which have been incorporated in the Black Reparations Times.

WE the undersigned also pledge our support for the demand for "payment for Reparations" to the descendants of African slaves and indigenous people so as to rebuild humane communities that meet the

real needs of all people

Harmony has also made a number of suggestions to the N'COBRA Information and Media Commission, which have been incorporated in the Black Reparations Times. She has submitted artwork for the Youth Reparations Art project, and is visualizing the production of feature films that teach the public about this important cause. We believe we can expect great things from Sister Harmony in the future. The Reparations Movement is strengthened by her enthusiasm.

NANNY Of The MAROONS

NANNY --- a woman who knows the rightful treatment and dignity of women in Africa, was alarmed of the abuse African women on slavery plantations get —

NANNY --- a woman who knows the rightful honour of men in Africa was alarmed of the brutality African men receives on slavery plantations —

NANNY --- a trained warrior from West Africa now Ghana – as expected brought outrage on the enemies. She was a force to be reckon with between 1720 to 1739 —

NANNY --- a woman who sees to it that the British got their fair share of defeat in the hills those days – by her famous special version of ---

GORILLA ATTACK TECHNIQUE

She was **SOMEONE** the rest of the slaves could look forward to —

NANNY --- a woman who knows that she, her fellow brothers and sisters should not be forced into slavery in the first place allows no time to waste as she along with other warriors “ram sacks” the place – especially at nights, by setting cane fields **ON FIRE**~

“OOOH” NANNY?

A woman of fathomless leadership qualities ---

Jamaica’s first and only recognized heroine to this day -

WRITTEN: Antoinette “**RAS**” Anderson
(1997)



**Reparations for the Holocaust of Enslavement
and Its Vestiges**

Some News from Around Our Reparations Movement

REPARATIONS STUDY PROJECT FUND (RSPF)

The Drammeh Institute has recently announced the development of a Reparations Study Project Fund (RSPF), established to assist grassroots organizers seeking legislative passage and promotion of bills involving an official study of reparations at the national or local levels. These modest grants aim to meet challenges experienced in mobilization efforts. There is no application form available to date.

For more information write to:
The Drammeh Institute, Inc.
Attention: RSPF
P.O. Box 558
Bronx, New York 10475

DURBAN 400 DOCUMENTARY

The "Durban 400" documentary is now screening in US and South African cities, and will be available for distribution by early fall, 2003. Shot in cinema-verte style by filmmaker Alfred Santana, the feature follows a nearly 400 member delegation (of the same name) of grassroots Black political activists who were mobilized by the December 12th Movement and the National Black United Front as they participate at the UN World Conference Against Racism, in Durban, South Africa, August-September 2001.

"Durban 400" also incorporates sound bites, and interviews with N'COBRA members and other activists pointing to the shared frustration and anger around the West's refusal to have key language included in the final document of the World Conference, declaring the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, and colonialism as "crimes against humanity".

The documentary captures the cumulative work of grassroots activists keeping the pressure on governments, including countries that were directly involved in the slave trade, ensuring that someday soon reparations would be a reality. It also offers an historical snapshot of a significant turning point in history that took the issue of reparations to the international stage.

DIRECTED BY: Alfred Santana

PRODUCERS: Iman Drammeh and Alfred Santana

CONTENT: human rights, political, pan-Afrikan

SUGGESTED AUDIENCE: Those who aim to further their insights into current debates in the humanities and social sciences about reparations. Viewers should have some basic understanding of these issues. A supplemental publication accompanies this documentary for use in academic settings.

LENGTH: 57 minutes

"Durban 400 also incorporates sound bites, and interviews with N'COBRA members and other activists"

SOME VIEWS:

"It was wonderful to see in the Durban 400 video that people's hearts are never on the ground, no matter how long it takes to win justice!"

National Center for Human Rights Education

"A rare and educational chronicle of Black history."

Black View Collective

To purchase video for educational, grassroots and home use write to:

The Drammeh Institute, Inc.

Attention: Durban 400

P.O. Box 558

Bronx, New York 10475

By email: urban400doc@hotmail.com

REPARATIONS WORK IN PATERSON, NEW JERSEY

In 2001, New Jersey created the Amistad Commission to monitor educational and other programs to insure the history and contributions of African Americans are adequately reflected in its curriculum and textbooks.

The Paterson, New Jersey Board of Education is now

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Some News Updates

(Continued from page 27)

moving full speed ahead with the creation of the Amistad Commission on the local level. Elder Ron Gross, long time proponent of Reparations, and active supporter of the "A Year of Black Presence" lobbying initiative, is serving on that commission. His first meeting was July 8th. We look forward to periodic updates from Elder Gross on this important work.

REPARATIONS SUNDAY

MARCH 21, 2004

*Justice & Witness Ministries
United Church of Christ*

The Justice & Witness Ministries of the United Church of Christ is making a great contribution to the Reparations Movement. We are aware of three very important developments. 1. Reparations Resolution (developed from 2000 reparations discussion during their 23rd General Synod and the General Assembly of the Christian Church in Kansas City. 2. Designated March 21, 2004 as Reparations Sunday, and 3. Produced a professional and excellent faith base reparations resource entitled, "REPARATIONS: A Process For Repairing The Breach" subtitled, A Study and Discussion Guide For Local Congregations, Associations And Conferences. Anyone doing outreach to Christians should have this book. It is available for \$8.00 at: Justice & Witness Ministries, Racial Justice Team, 700 Prospect Ave—9th floor, Cleveland, OH 44115 or phone 216.736.3700

N'COBRA

AT-LARGE BOARD MEMBER ELECTED TO DETROIT CITY COUNCIL

Sister Joann Watson recently captured 52 percent of the vote topping veteran Councilman Gil Hill, for a seat on the Detroit City Council. Councilwoman Watson used a grassroots outreach campaign to bring the issues to the people. We congratulate her and wish her much success in serving the people of Detroit.

Councilwoman Watson, is currently serving in an At-Large position on the N'COBRA Board of Directors, and is a member of the Information and Media Commission. She has served as Co-Chair of the Detroit

Chapter of N'COBRA, and has played an instrumental role along with Reparations Ray Jenkins, in raising the most money for the N'COBRA Legal Commission. Councilwoman Watson has been an outspoken advocate for Reparations. We are certain she will continue to raise her voice in support of this noble cause

MISSISSIPPI MFR COALITION MOBILIZES THE FAITH COMMUNITY

The Mississippi Chapter of the Millions for Reparations Mobilization Movement (MFR) has instituted the Faith in Our Struggle Campaign to mobilize the Faith Community to commit themselves to a unified demand for economic justice for the atrocities perpetrated against African Descendant. The Faith in Our Struggle Campaign will eventually cover the entire state of Mississippi, and will recruit two thousand Black Churches and civic organizations to adopt Resolutions in support of Reparations. For more information or to set-up town hall meetings on Reparations, contact Baba Hannibal Afrik at (601) 535-7551 or Brother Lukata (601) 957-2969.

Education, Reparations and Bermuda A Report From the Field

By Melodye Micëre Stewart

Free the Mind! As an Africalogist, I am blessed to have my ideology and my livelihood intersect. For fifteen years, I conducted *Black History Workshops for Children*, exposing thousands of children to the lessons of empowerment that emanate from global African history and culture.

From the beginning of my involvement with N'COBRA, I have advocated for African-centered education as a necessary, critical, part of the equation in our pursuit for Reparations. In fact, my first exposure to N'COBRA and reparations came by meeting Johnita Scott Obedele on the Philadelphia stage of the *Million Woman March* in 1997. We were advocating - reparations and heritage education. A year later, I wrote and presented "*A Reparations Mission State-*

(Continued on page 33)

LONDON FESTIVAL TARGETS CAPITOL'S SLAVE TRADE PAST

The 23 August marks UNESCO's International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition. Anti-Slavery International, the world's oldest international human rights organisation, in partnership with African heritage community groups, is organising a four day programme of events in remembrance of Britain's role in the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

The Rendezvous of Victory will be held from 21-24 August in Greenwich and Brixton, areas of London connected with the slave trade and associated with freedom fighting and justice. Events for people of all ages, will take place at the National Maritime Museum, the University of Greenwich, Cutty Sark Gardens and on the Cutty Sark.

"The Transatlantic Slave Trade changed the fabric of societies worldwide. Enslavement and abolitionist resistance remain at the root not only of negative acts of racism, discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance, but also of positive action for human rights. The Rendezvous of Victory is an opportunity for Londoners to acknowledge and understand this rich legacy," Mary Cunneen Director of Anti-Slavery International says.

Organised in partnership with local community groups, the programme includes:

Rendezvous of Victory Convention, University of Greenwich (21-22 August)

Vigil of Remembrance, Cutty Sark Gardens, Greenwich (22 August)

Special screenings of international films, Ritzy Cinema, Brixton (21 & 24 August)

Talks, previews of National Maritime Museum's African Enslavement Collection and workshops at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (23 August)

Heritage and historical walks around Greenwich and Brixton (23 & 24 August)

Interfaith Ceremony, St Matthew's Church, Brixton (24 August)

The event culminates on the day the Notting Hill Carnival begins. The Caribbean Carnival dates back to the abolition of slavery when enslaved Africans took to the streets. The Carnival is the UK's (and one of

Europe's) largest multicultural event, and a powerful celebration of people's determination, against all odds, to keep their cultural heritage alive.

To arrange an interview or for further information contact Beth Herzfeld, Anti-Slavery International's Press Officer, on 020 7501 8934; b.herzfeld@antislavery.org or Martine Miel on 020 7501 8935; m.miel@antislavery.org

The Rendezvous of Victory is organised in connection with the initiative of the Forum of Africans and African Descendants Against Racism (FAADAR), by the Breaking the Silence Community Advisory Board of UNESCO's ASPnet Transatlantic Slave Trade Education Project, with the support of Anti-Slavery International, the Churches Commission for Racial Justice, the National Maritime Museum - Greenwich, Greenwich Council, the Pathbreakers International Network (PIN), Greenwich Racial Equality Council, the SIMBA/Mama Afrika Partnership, the Forum of African Human Rights Defenders in Europe (FAHRDE), the National Union of

By the end of the 18th century, Britain was the largest slaving nation in the world

Students - Black Students Campaign (NUS-BSC), the Black United Front, a number of partners in Greenwich and many others

Background:

The Transatlantic Slave Trade, probably the largest forced migration in human history, ripped communities apart, stripping Africa of tens of millions of its young and healthy work force. It forcibly grouped vastly different peoples together, creating new communities, identities and languages, changing the course of history forever.

By the end of the 18th century, Britain was the largest slaving nation in the world. Fortunes made by merchant families in London, Bristol and Liverpool brought immense wealth, largely fuelling the Industrial Revolution. The profits of enslavement transformed the lives of people living in Britain, changing their landscape as money was poured into building new houses, schools

(Continued on page 31)

LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP *(Continued from page 3)*

would like to have a national effort active for A Year of Black Presence. It will be a powerful statement for N'COBRA if simultaneous demonstrations are being held in Indianapolis or Chicago or Kansas City or Los Angeles or San Francisco at the same time New York or Philly or Newark or DC Metro are taking large numbers to Capitol Hill. We are also planning some kind of action for the Congressional Black Caucus' Annual Legislative Weekend September 25-28 in Washington D.C. If chapters outside the Northeast Region could send even a small delegation, it will make a statement to the CBC that this is a *national* effort. Information kits are available. Duplicate it to suit your needs. (The black and gold folders can be obtained from Khepera Ausar, the N'COBRA graphics genius, when you're ready. He can be contacted at khepera@datatone.com) Ask churches, student groups, labor groups, community groups, fraternities, sororities "anyone you can get interested" and find ways to work together to gain support for HR40.

“We are also planning some kind of action for the Congressional Black Caucus' Annual Legislative Weekend September 25-28 in Washington D.C.”

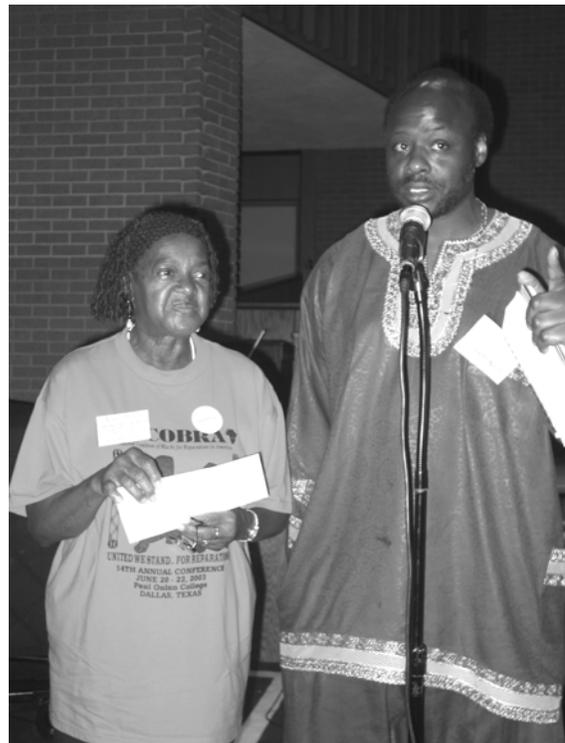
5. NATIONAL N'COBRA SHOULD INVESTIGATE THE ORGANIZING OF A POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC). Damu suggested that we, as a national organization, should know what's involved in organizing a PAC. The Board of directors could then determine if we should move to create a PAC.

After the workshop, Damu made suggestions for the Remembrance of Lynched Ancestors campaign. He recalled the NAACP's placement of a banner outside their national office in the 1940s as part of their anti-lynching campaign. They would place on the banner the name of a lynched Ancestor and the date as information became available. Damu suggested that we create a similar "On this day" banner as near Capitol Hill as possible and display the names of those on our list and the date and place they were lynched. Or instead of a banner, we could use a plaque large enough to be read by passing vehicles.

The name, date and place would be replaceable (Velcro strips, or bars, or electronically, depending on cost and creativity). It may well be possible to get a person or persons to underwrite this.

Milt McGriff committed to a) communicating with the group through Keshie Spottsville at least once a month., or calls to individuals as needed. (The Legislative Commission will also communicate with its members on a regular basis); b) developing a full fundraising proposal by the end of summer to be shared with other N'COBRA chapters. *We must prosper collectively if we're going to win this war*; and c) meeting with chapters to help organize AYBP if chapters are willing to cover expenses. He will assist other organizations "churches, campus or community groups, if they will provide expenses and an agreed upon honorarium to AYBP. We will not get reparations, or even a reparations commission, from Congress because they suddenly get religion. We must demonstrate power to them, power that says they may not get elected if they don't respond to us.

Milt McGriff can be reached at 215.465.4635, fax 215.465.4636, cell 215.370.9955, e-mail scribemcg@aol.com (place AYBP in the subject line)



James Rodgers III, Southwest Region Rep give an award to Elder Irene "Nanny" Moorehead - at convention

LONDON *(Continued from page 29)*

and universities, museums, libraries, etc. Sugar became more accessible as it flooded in from slave colonies in the West Indies. Banks grew rich from the profits made by some of Britain's most notorious slave traders, insuring and loaning them money to be ploughed into their investment in Africans.

The trade in enslaved Africans also gave rise to a new form of thought, which defined Africans as inferior beings, leading to Afriphobia and Apartheid. Racism in the form it is known today grew out of justifying the enslavement of African people for the benefit of Europe.

International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition, 23 August, commemorates the world's first successful uprising by enslaved Africans in Haiti (then St Domingue) which began on 22-23 August 1791. The revolt led to the establishment of the first black-led state in the Caribbean.

For more about the Transatlantic Slave Trade see *Breaking the Silence* at <www.antislavery.org/breakingthesilence>

N'COBRA CONVENTION

(Continued from page 24)

in to people of consciousness who desire to lead progressive lives and make contributions for the general good. People would be able to transform themselves into positive people, proud of their ancestors and themselves," he told the audience.

Other participants at the convention, held at Dallas's black Paul Quinn College, included Deadria Farmer-Paellman, of the Reparations Study Group, former Massachusetts State Senator Bill Owens, Dr. Maulana Karenga of the Organization Us, Esther Stanford and Cikiah Thomas, respectively of England and Canada of the Global Afrikan Congress and Dr. Conrad Worrill of the National Black United Front who said the key to building the reparations movement was to "Grassroots organize! Grassroots organize! Grassroots organize!"

Testimony for Reparations *(Continued from page 13)*

Texas. Representative Wilson has submitted this legislation for a number of years. The LAC acknowledges the difference between the two, however has no contradiction in supporting them both. One sends a message to Washington, the other addresses it's concerns directly to the State of Texas. From our vantage point it is not either or but and, and both. Reparations activists from around the state have held protest at the capitol and governor's mansion and a well attended forum during the state legislative Black caucus weekend. Representative Lewis closed out the ninety minute session recounting "My grandfather was lynched in Texas, the time is now to bring this open and frank discussion on the floor of the Texas legislature".

Noted references during the hearing: Books - Reparations Yes!; The Forty Acres and Mule Document; A Time of Terror; Should America Pay; The Debt; Chaos or Community; Handbook of Texas; History of the Imperial Sugar Company; Articles- Slave Labor Built Capitol, Lynching in Waco Texas, Psychological impact of enslavement work by Frances Cress-Welsing, Naim Akbar, Bobby Wright, and Wade Nobles. LAC: National Black United Front, New Black Panther Party, Sankofa Pan Afrikan Student Organization, S.H.A.P.E. Community Center, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations In America, Saint Saviour Church, Grace Ministries, Nation of Islam Muhammad Mosque #45, Citizens for Better Media, Brothers Healing Brothers, Afrikans United For Sanity Now, S.H.A.P.E. Center Harambee Council of Elders, Mt Ararat Baptist Church, Black United Fund of Texas, Progressive Amateur Boxing Association, Se-hah Youth Inc., Akoramante Society, Allen Parkway Village Residents Council In Exile, Fair Housing Coalition, Black Out Collective, Afrikans Committed to Liberation, Black Power Transformation Study Circle.

Mark you Calendar now!

JUNE 2004

**N'COBRA's 15TH
CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, DC**

You won't want to miss this one!

Slavery Was Unconstitutional

Leroy Pletten of Sterling Heights, Michigan hopes to educate the public, via Internet, on the little-known abolitionist view that slavery was ALWAYS unconstitutional, and for constitutional violations, the victims are entitled to damages. Pletten researches pertinent abolitionist legal writings that are readily available on the internet such as

Frederick Douglass, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/douglassuos.htm>

Benjamin Shaw, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/shawuos.htm>

Alvan Stewart, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/stewartuos.htm>

Joel Tiffany, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/tiffanyuos.htm>

Edward Rogers, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/rogersuos.htm>

Lysander Spooner, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/uos.htm>

Abraham Lincoln, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/lincolnpeoriauos.htm>

George Mellen, <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/mellenuos.htm>

The major English Supreme Court decision by Judge Mansfield at <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/somersetvstewart.htm> declares slavery was not allowed under English common law and the "rights of Englishmen." English law was the basis of law in America, and was not changed by the 1776 Revolution, which fought FOR the "rights of Englishmen."

To expose the outrageous contrary view of Roger Taney, in the Dred Scott case, Pletten has written a short summary of the abolitionist position, and exposes Taney's personal situation which lead to his grossly erroneous view at <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/mellenuos.htm> By educating on the little known "slavery is unconstitutional" abolitionist viewpoint, Pletten hopes that Reparations Advocates can overcome the bias that ASSUMES that slavery was always constitutional, which obstructs our efforts. Since most people have only heard the contrary view, education is critical to our efforts. We encourage Leroy Pletten to continue his research. And to all Reparations supporters, remember:

EDUCATING, ORGANIZING AND MOBILIZING is the path that leads to Reparations.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON 40TH ANNIVERSARY & REPARATIONS

On Saturday, August 23, 2003, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King III, and a coalition which includes the NAACP, the Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, NOW, the Arab-American Institute, the AFL-CIO, and United for Peace and Justice, will host the 40th anniversary celebration of the "March on Washington (MOW) for Jobs and Freedom." The theme is "Return, Repair and Renew", and the site is the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial. N'COBRA member, Brother Mark Thompson (Matsimela Mapfumo) has played a significant role in the planning of the event. Early on, Thompson sought to have the coalition adopt Reparations as the over arching theme for the event. However, for some, the issue of Reparations still appears too scary to raise up in "mixed" company. There was eventually agreement to identify Reparations and H.R. 40 as Social Action

and Legislative issues for which, event participants are encouraged to lobby and support. Although, it is too early to make predictions about how many people will attend, Reparations advocates should plan to participate, and use the event as an opportunity to distribute Reparations literature, register new voters who support Reparations, and engage participants in substantive discussions around the Issue. If you plan to attend, make a strong N'COBRA presence by wearing N'COBRA T-shirts and buttons, and carrying N'COBRA banners. For more information, contact the MOW coalition at 202.544.8026; 404.522.1420.

*“slavery was
ALWAYS
unconstitutional”*

and Legislative issues for which, event participants are encouraged to lobby and support. Although, it is too early to make predictions about how many people will attend, Reparations advocates should plan to participate, and use the event as an opportunity to distribute Reparations literature, register new voters who support Reparations, and engage participants in substantive discussions around the Issue. If you plan to attend, make a strong N'COBRA presence by wearing N'COBRA T-shirts and buttons, and carrying N'COBRA banners. For more information, contact the MOW coalition at 202.544.8026; 404.522.1420.



True Reparations Demands Mass Participation

Education, Reparations and Bermuda - A Report From the Field

(Continued from page 28)

ment” while attending my first N’COBRA conference in 1998. As the piece indicates, there are many things we must learn, internalize and act upon for our ultimate success.

My work has taken me many places. From 2001 to 2002, I served as an Education Officer/Consultant for Social Studies for the Ministry of Education for the government of Bermuda. In that capacity, I was responsible for the history, geography and civics/ethics curriculum for grades K-12. As a British Colony, the history that is taught in Bermuda’s schools is British, even as the majority of the people are of African descent. I spent the year inserting African people throughout the curriculum, but particularly focused on the high school level.

Feeling passionately about who African people are – our history, culture, struggles and achievements – it is my life’s work to perpetuate, extend and disseminate that knowledge through the lessons of empowerment. To that end, I created a number of teacher resource projects to provide information to teachers, including *Introduction to African Philosophy and Religion* teacher supplement and a teaching video and guide, *When Voices Rise...*, which tells the story of Civil Rights in Bermuda. In the introduction to one of the teacher supplements, I wrote,

“I am proud to offer you the binder that you are now holding. It is filled with information regarding what I believe is one of the most pressing issues facing the African world in the ongoing struggle for complete liberation in the 21st century – Reparations.”

I was privileged for the opportunity to add the issue of reparations to the social studies curriculum in five courses: American History, Twentieth Century in Revolution, The African American Experience, World History and Comparative Religion and Ethics. I also conducted teacher training on the reparations teacher supplement for all middle and high school social studies teachers.

A Reparations Reader is a compilation of numerous newspaper articles, position papers, essays and documentation that discusses, advocates and provides justification for reparations. It is divided into five categories - Background, The United States,

United Kingdom (England), Related Articles and Additional Resources - and includes study questions, discussion questions, vocabulary words and activities designed to fully engage students in the global discussion of reparations.

The Background section includes recommendations forwarded by Bermuda’s own Dr. Paulo Kamarakafego (Roosevelt Browns) that he presented to and were accepted by The United Nations. The section entitled, “Reparations in the United States” begins with information on N’COBRA followed by an article from chair emeritus, Dr. Imari Obedele.

My work in Bermuda has given me the unique opportunity to stay involved and connected to N’COBRA and Reparations’ righteous struggle. My recent participation in “A Year Of Black Presence” lobbying trip from Philadelphia to Washington, DC in May, brought back warm memories. It was a packed house with delegations from Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York and Washington, DC. For the Philadelphia contingent, the camaraderie led by Milt (McGriff) and Rob (Bell) set the tone for an empowering day. I was blessed for the privilege of giving the opening libation. Of course, hearing the great Dean, Congressman John Conyers, speak is always inspiring. Reconnecting in sisterhood with Dorothy (Benton-Lewis), Kupenda (Olusegun) and Nkechi (Taifa), all in attendance, was also energizing – indeed, generating this article!

So, I am pleased to offer my report. We are indeed going forward in a righteous cause to a victorious end. Free the Mind! Reparations Now!

“Reparations is a process and movement to:

- 1. Secure justice for a people;**
- 2. Achieve accountability from the oppressors; and**
- 3. Establish a model of the moral treatment of grievously injured peoples for the world”**

Dr. Maulana Karenga

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.

FLORIDA

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

NEW YORK

Southern Comforts
483 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Nettie Paisley

Zawadi Gift Shop
519 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Lora Brown

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
525 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Gwen Lewis

Doe's Antiques
442 Atlantic Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11217
718-858-6903

4W Circle of Art & Enterprise
794 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, NY 11217
Contact: Selma Jackson
Ph. 718/ 875. 6500
Selma4W@Searthlink.net

Big Deal Books
973 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, NY 11238
Phone# 718-622-4420
Owner: David D. Mcleod

Harriets Alter Ego
191 Flatbush Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11217

WASHINGTON DC METRO

YAWA Books & Gifts
2206 - 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009-1813
Contact: Jacqueline Hawkins
Ph. 202/ 483. 6805

Dar Es Salaam
4000 - 34th Street
Mt. Ranier, MD 20712
Contact: Hodari Abdul-Ali
Ph. 301/ 209. 0010
Hodari2@Juno.com
www.desbooks.com

Heavenly Stitches
512 - 24th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
Contact: Tanya D. Claggett
Ph. 202/ 390. 8806
HeavenlyStitch3@aol.com

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

“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.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP CODE _____

PHONE _____

Enclosed is my check or money order for \$ _____

I PLEDGE:

- \$25 _____
- \$50 _____
- \$75 _____
- \$100 _____
- Other Amount \$ _____

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

- Weekly _____ Monthly _____
- Quarterly _____ Annually _____

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):
___ Economic Development; ___ Education ___ Human Resources; ___ Information & Media;
___ International; Legal; ___ Legislative; ___ Youth

Total Amount Enclosed \$ _____

Name _____ Chpt/Org/Bus _____
(Please Print)

Street Address _____
(Please Print)

City/State/Zip Code _____

Home Phone () _____ Chapter/Org/Bus () _____

E-Mail _____ FAX () _____

Collected by (NCOBRA Member Name) _____

Chapter Name/Location _____

N'COBRA

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America

P.O. Box 90604 Washington, DC 20090-0604

PHONE: 202.291.8400 FAX: 202.291.4600

EMAIL: NationalNCOBRA@aol.com WEBSITE: www.ncobra.org

DISCUSSION: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Reparations_For_Africans

N'COBRA's Board of Directors

Dorothy Aurevouche Benton Lewis, Co-Chair
(Rockville, Maryland)

Baba Hannibal Afrik, Co-Chair
(Port Gibson, Mississippi)

Kupenda Olusegun, Treasurer
(Washington, DC)

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Herman Ferguson, At-Large
(Queens, NY)

JoAnn Watson, At-Large
(Detroit, Michigan)

*N'COBRA's Elder Advisory Board and Commissions also
have representation on our Board of Directors.*

Elder Advisory Board

Erline Arikpo, Elder Advisor
(Chicago, Illinois)

Raymond "Reparations Ray" Jenkins, Elder Advisor
(Detroit, Michigan)

General Ali X. Rashid, Elder Advisor
(Miami, Florida)

General Mwesi Chui, Elder Advisor
(Dayton, Ohio)

Nia Kuumba, Elder Advisor
(Washington, DC)

Dr. Ron Walters, Elder Advisor
(College Park, Maryland)

N'COBRA's Commission Leaders

Economic Development

Alvin Brown (St. Louis, MO)
Taiwo Kugichagulia (Oakland, CA)
Baba Dr. Imari Obadele (BR, LA)

Education

Dr. Mary Hoover (Washington, DC)

Human Resources

Njere Alghanee (Atlanta, GA)
H. Khalif Khalifah (Dreweryville, VA)

Information and Media

JoAnn Watson (Detroit, MI)
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Jahahara Alkebulan-Ma'at (Oakland, CA)

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Mashariki Jywanza (Indianapolis, IN)
Sababu Shabaka, Baltimore, MD

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Adjoa Aiyetoro (Washington, DC)

Legislative

Nkechi Taifa (Washington, DC)
Kibibi Tyehimba (Washington, DC)
Milton McGriff (Philadelphia, PA)

Membershi/Organizational Development

Kupenda Olusegun (Washington, DC)
Johnita Scott (Baton Rouge, LA)
Frank Omowale Satterwhite (E. PA, CA)

Youth

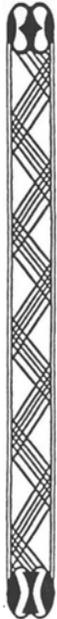
Shereeta Lacy (Indianapolis, IN)
Nuri Madina, (Chicago, IL)

Your Expertise and Participation Are Needed.

Join An N'COBRA Commission!

N'COBRA

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America
P.O. Box 90604
Washington, DC 20090-0604



Address

In This Issue...

*N'COBRA'S 14th NATIONAL ANNUAL CONVENTION &
BLACK FRIDAY CAMPAIGN*

We are especially grateful to founding member Baba Kalonji Tor Olusegun for designing the N'COBRA logo (above). It consists of three sacred Andinkra symbols: NKON-SONKONSON (link or chain); OWA FOR A ADOBE (snake climbing the palm tree); and, BIRIBI-WO-SORO (a symbol of Hope denoting there is something in the Heavens). Together, these symbols express our links in this, and the next life; that We share a common blood relation which will never break apart; and that We can perform the impossible.

ATTENTION REPARATIONS ADVOCATES

FACT: The Reparations Movement cannot be advanced without the support of African (Black) People.

FACT: African (Black) People cannot and should not expect anyone other than ourselves to provide the resources needed to win our Reparations.

FACT: If you do not keep your membership up to date you will no longer receive N'COBRA membership mailings.

Do your part to move us closer to achieving Reparations. Contribute generously to N'COBRA. Renew Your N'COBRA membership each year. Encourage other Reparations supporters to join N'COBRA. Host fundraisers for N'COBRA and contribute the funds to N'COBRA projects that you feel passionately about. And remember the Power to Win Reparations is In our Hands! Reparations: Conceive It...Achieve It!