

◆ Black Reparations Times ◆

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REPARATIONS: A HISTORY OF N'COBRA'S LEGISLATIVE FRONT

By Nkechi Taifa, Esq.
Co-Chair Legislative
Commission N'COBRA

Undisputably, the 21st century brings renewed vigor to the forward thrust for reparations for African Americans on many fronts – litigative, legislative, and grassroots. This brief history will focus on activities surrounding the legislative thrust for reparations, of which, to date, the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America has been in the forefront of shaping and molding.

The struggle for reparations for African descendants in the United States has proliferated since Rep. John Conyers' initial introduction on November 20, 1989 of House Resolution 3374, the "Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act." N'COBRA, founded earlier, was instrumental in the drafting of

this legislation, working very closely with then Conyers' staffer Gregory Moore in fashioning the bill. It was strategically decided that the bill would closely follow the model of the Japanese American Redress Act in calling for the creation of a federally chartered commission to study the impact of slavery and post-slavery discrimination and make recommendations to Congress on its findings and, if appropriate, redress. Despite some differences of opinion as to the efficacy of this more conservative methodology of calling first for a study commission, N'COBRA rallied its human resources in support of HR 40, as opposed to a demand for actual reparations.



Dorothy Lewis, Quincy Jones, Kibibi Tyehimba, and Min. Abdul Khadir Muhammad - May 21, 2003 following AYBP Lobbying for HR-40 on Capitol Hill

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In the first Congress of the legislation's introduction, the co-signers in order of signing, were: Rep. Dellums; Rep. Fauntroy; Rep. Mfume; Rep. Wheat; Rep. Savage; Rep. Matsui; Rep. Torres;
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Black Reparations Times®

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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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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

WE WANT MORE THAN JOBS!

On August 23, 2003, at Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Luther King III, and a coalition which included 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, hosted the 40th anniversary celebration of the "March on Washington (MOW) for Jobs and Freedom." The theme was "Return, Repair and Renew." NCOBRA member, Brother Mark Thompson (Matsimela Mapfumo) played a significant role in the planning of the event. Ms. Dorothy Benton-Lewis spoke on behalf of N'COBRA and the Reparations Movement. Ms. Lewis shared the podium with Congressman John Lewis of Georgia, presidential candidate Rev. Al Sharpton, Rev. Jesse Jackson of Rainbow/Push Coalition, Ms. Coretta King, Mr. Martin L. King III of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), former Congressman Walter Fauntroy, and national spokesperson for the Nation of Islam, Sister Minister Ava Muhammad.

"Greetings from the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) We are a diverse coalition of organizations and individuals organized for the sole purpose of obtaining reparations for descendants of enslaved Africans.

Brothers and Sisters If we are serious about returning, repairing and renewing the Dream, we must admit that there is a serious debt, a serious injustice looming overhead that happened long before 1963.

We must acknowledge the 200 Million Africans lost in the Holocaust of Enslavement from Africa, Europe, the Americas and the Caribbean...for whom there has been no day of mourning, no apology, no atonement or reparations for their survivors.

We must acknowledge the uncounted hundreds of millions of Africans who endured a life of suffering, torture, humiliation, and daily terror in hopes that future generations could have a life free of terror, oppression, and any form of enslavement. Without them, life would not be as we know it today.

We must acknowledge the Dr. Kings, Malcolm Xs, John Browns, Ida B. Wells, and Queen Mother Moores

of the world for giving their lives to continue the vision of our ancestors for a future worthy of their and our suffering.

N'COBRA also has a vision for a new and better world.

We know that every issue that we speak of today can and must be part of our demand for reparations. Housing, Health Care, Land, Education, Child Welfare, Family Stability, Economic Development and equal treatment under our justice system. You name it, comes under the banner of reparations. Because Reparations is more than a check, more than a job; 265 years of slavery was a job. And if the jobs today continue to pay Black people 60 cents on a dollar while Whites earn the whole dollar, we will remain wage-earning slaves.

We must face it, while we have been marching for jobs, jobs have been marching out of this country in search of new slaves in foreign countries. Jobs are marching into prisons where they can legally work 2 million racially profiled Black men and women to death again without pay.



Ms. Dorothy Benton-Lewis,
N'COBRA National Co-Chair

Photo by Wautella

In honor of Dr. King, we are the generation to demand that America make good on the check that has always been marked insufficient funds when it comes to Black/African people. We want more than jobs. We

(Continued on page 23)

Reparations Town Hall Rally

By Hannibal Afrik,
National Co-Chair, N'COBRA

A major Reparations Town Hall Rally was held October 4, 2003 at Tougaloo College Health & Wellness Center. Co-sponsored by the Mississippi Reparations Committee; Jackson, MS, N'COBRA chapter and the Tougaloo College Pre-Law Society, this event attracted veteran Reparations activists from across the country.

Earlier that day, the NDABA: The Great Sit-Down II met at Jackson State University Liberal Arts Building to analyze critical issues in eight work sessions, namely: Youth Organizing, Legislative Initiatives, Black Church, Legal Strategies, Research & Scholarship, Strategies for Organizational Collaboration, Internal Healing and Education as each relates to the Reparations Movement.

On July 26, 2003, Dr. Conrad Worrill, Chair, NBUF and Minister Louis Farrakhan, Nation of Islam convened the first NDABA meeting in Chicago, IL. Based on the volume of noteworthy work currently in progress, the conveners announced a follow-up meeting in Jackson, MS, which has a painful history of racial hostility and economic injustice against Black people. The Call for a Reparations Town Hall Rally attracted over 1,000 people, who eagerly responded to the electrified keynote address by Minister Louis Farrakhan.

The purpose of the NDABA work sessions is to create strategies for a mass-based mobilization campaign. This will become a National Reparations United Front that can educate and motivate all descendants of enslaved Africans in this country. Ultimately, every family, organization and individual person has a voice in determining the outcome of the inevitable Reparations settlement from the U.S. government.

During the afternoon, a Youth Leadership Forum was conducted at JSU Liberal Arts Building sponsored by the Pierian Literary Society. College students from the JSU Student Government Association and Tougaloo College were joined with collegians from Georgia State University, Clark-Atlanta and Savannah State College, GA. They dialogued with several national veteran Reparations scholars and activists. Planning has begun to organize campus Reparations study groups and N'COBRA student chapters.

In many cities and states, resolutions have been passed in support of HR-40, a bill introduced in Congress by Representative John Conyers (D-MI) every year since 1989. Patterned after the Japanese-American Reparations Act, Conyers' bill calls for a congressional study commission to conduct hearings across the country to ensure maximum community interaction. Councilman Kenneth Stokes was successful in sponsoring a Jackson City Council Resolution endorsing Reparations at the municipal level. Also, in 2003, Councilman Stokes sponsored a resolution declaring February as Reparations Awareness Month. Lobbying efforts have been initiated to now support a Mississippi state resolution for Reparations. All elected officials and candidates are

being challenged to declare their position on Reparations for descendants of enslaved African people in Mississippi.

Furthermore, the Jackson, MS N'COBRA chapter is scheduling a series of community events to provide update information on current Reparations lawsuits against national corporations. Additionally, there will



Photo by Ma'at

Baba Hannibal Afrik
Pouring libation for the Ancestors

be forums to address voter education, college student and youth leadership projects, the criminal justice system and economic development. Future events include the February 2004 state-wide Reparations Forum and organizing a chartered busload to the March 2004 NDABA III in Houston, TX.

There is a definite active role for Mississippians to play in promoting the Reparations Movement until it becomes a household word. Then, with our righteous demand for economic and social justice, the federal government must acknowledge this "crime against humanity" and make restitution a reality 'with all deliberate speed.'

For additional information, Contact Baba Hannibal Afrik, 601.535.7551, or Brother Lukata Chikuyu, 601.957.2969. Reparations, Now!!!

N'COBRA Representatives in Attendance

1. Baba Hannibal Afrik, N'COBRA National Co-chair
2. Ajamu Sankofa: National Secretary and Northeast Region Representative
3. Johnita Scott-Obadele, Co-chair, Membership & Organizational Development
4. Dr. Imari Obadele, Advisor, Economic Development Commission
5. Alvin Brown, Co-chair, Economic Development Commission; Co-chair of Midwest Region; Co-chair, St. Louis chapter
6. Sheereta Lacy, Co-chair, Youth Commission and Co-chair, Indianapolis Chapter
7. Nuri Medina, Co-chair, Youth Commission
8. Njere Alghanee, Co-chair, Human Resource Commission and Southeast Region Representative
9. Wautella Ibn Yusuf, Co-chair, Information & Media Commission and Co-chair, Washington, DC chapter
10. General Kuratibsha X Ali Rashid, Elder Advisory Board
11. Lukata Chikuyu, Co-chair, Jackson, MS Area Chapter
12. Vallena Greer; Co-chair, Jackson, MS Area Chapter
13. Atty. Imhotep Alkebulan; Secretary, Jackson, MS Area Chapter
14. Anana Nyaumu-wi; Treasurer,
along with several chapter members

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.

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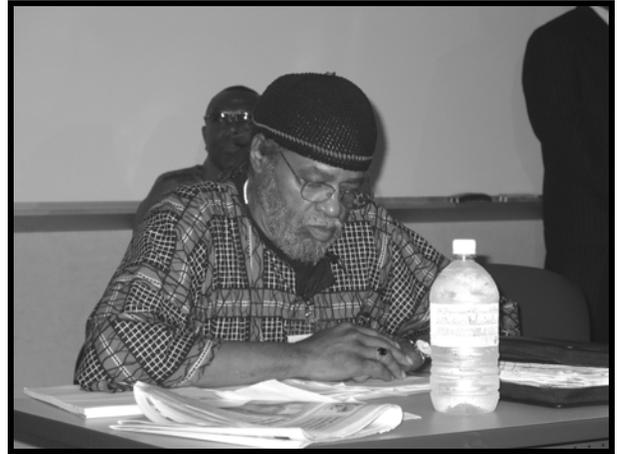
N D A B A II

Jackson, Mississippi



Minister Louis Farrakhan (standing - right)
&
Baba Hannibal Afrik (seated right)

Photo by Wautella



Dr. Conrad Worrill

Photo by Wautella

Vallena Greer, Co-chair,
Jackson, MS Area Chapter



Chokwe Lumumba, Esq.

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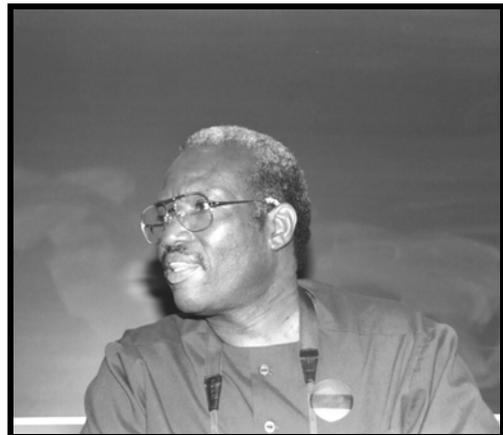
NDABA II

Jackson, Mississippi



**The Republic of New Afrika
Delegation**

Photo by Ma'at



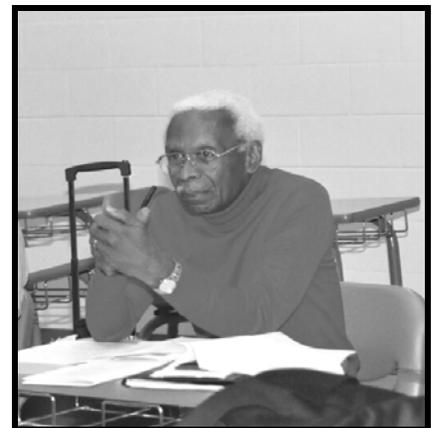
Ukali Mwendo,
President, Republic of New Afrika

Photo by Ma'at



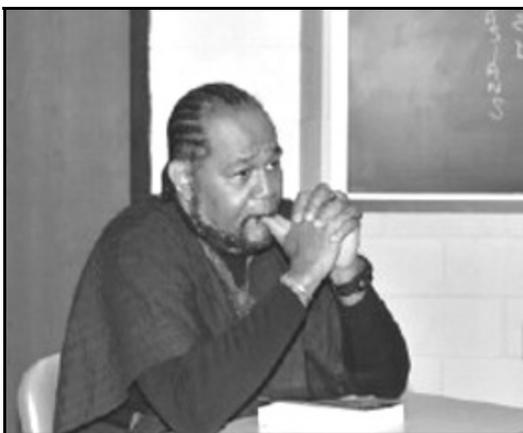
**The New Black Panther Party
Delegation**

Photo by Ma'at



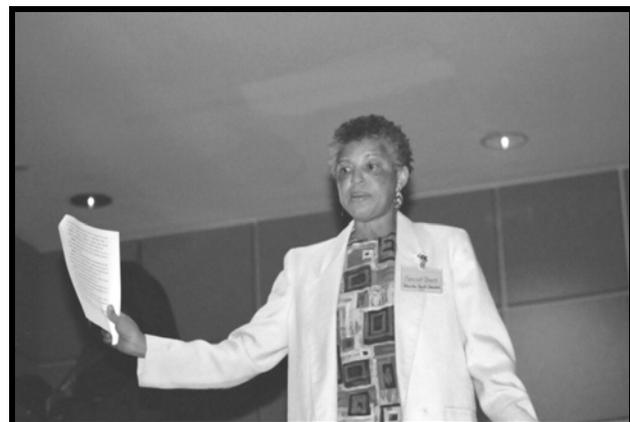
Dr. Imari Obadele

Photo by Ma'at



Dr. Raymond A. Winbush

Photo by Ma'at



Johnita Scott-Obadele
Pushes N'COBRA AYBP program from the floor

Photo by Ma'at

The Reparations United Front of Southern California

Brief History of A Reparations Activist Group

By David L. Horne, Los Angeles

The Reparations United Front in Los Angeles is an organization based on four discernible items: the success of N'COBRA and the National Black United Front across the country, a written agreement to jointly recognize a common definition and purpose for the reparations project that was signed by seven L.A. organizations in July, 2002 in connection with representation for the August 17, 2002 reparations rally in Washington, D. C.; the need for more focus and conceptual unity for reparations activities in Southern California; and the collected experience of a number of Black activists who had seen the success and failure of numerous organizations in the region.

In light of the above, in November, 2002, a group of organizational representatives, individual activists, and those looking for an effective outlet for their Black Nationalist interests, met at the Los Angeles Thomas Bradley Family and Youth Center to consider the formation of a new reparations activist organization that could push the movement forward in this region. For those who had paid attention to our recent history of quick start-quick death organizations in Southern California, it was clear that in order to spark and sustain the interest of the very substantial Black Nationalist community in Southern California, and to be effective in educating the public and increasing the momentum towards accomplishing the great goals of the national/international Reparations Movement, any new reparations organization would have to clearly demonstrate the lessons learned from previous attempts in Southern California, including the N'COBRA chapter in Los Angeles from 1997-1999. A new organization would also have to be able to transcend the currently debilitating and ego-driven schisms that were consistently producing the wildly disparate activities going on in Los Angeles in the name of reparations and that were creating a pattern of confusion and marginalization for reparations efforts in general. Black folk in L.A. were simply unused to winning the hearts and minds of the Black community regarding the reparations struggle. In fact in L.A. and Southern California, the fight for reparations had essentially become one of simply raising hell and making noise--a rally mentality--fed by the 'drum major' syndrome of grabbing the microphone and seeking out every available photo opportunity for personal glory, while a critical mass of Black folk were not getting the real messages of the reparations struggle in this area,

this country and this planet.

As such, when David L. Horne convened a group of fifty-odd activists in November, there were four foundational principles defined and discussed as the only basis upon which such a new reparations group could and should organize.

First, the group would have to be a coalition of organizations and individuals, which would not threaten or interfere with the existing autonomy and tactics of currently existing reparations groups.

Second, the group would have to be grounded on the principle and practice of mutual respect. No group member would be allowed to disrespect another or another's organization during meetings, and no one in the group would be allowed to publicly 'dis' another reparations group. This did not mean no criticism/self criticism. Clearly, without constructive criticism, little sustainable progress can be made in groups, while a barrage of negative criticism--a skill we had mastered--just as surely stopped any serious work and fractured most attempts at maintaining organizations. The principle here meant that all group members would practice discussion and debate--with all the usual passion and intensity we bring to such get-to-gathers-- without engaging in the personality destructiveness that had become characteristic of too many previous Black organizations in the area.

Third, the group would be held together by work--that is, there would be a list of commonly agreed upon reparations tasks that had to be accomplished. Once the tasks had been listed and approved, the group meetings would be about discussing strategy, tactics and resources necessary for getting each task done in the order listed, including when to call in large numbers from the community for support, and about reports on the progress of each work project once focused effort had begun on it.

The fourth principle was that each group member was there to get work accomplished--once it was assigned and accepted, there was a great group expectation that there would be follow-through and the work would get done. For those who only or mainly wanted to talk and debate, this would not be the organization for them. To

be a member of the Reparations United Front, one had to commit oneself to labor in honor and veneration of Black ancestors and the current Black community.

RUF TASKS ASSIGNED/TASKS ACCOMPLISHED 2002-2003

I. Based on the slavery business ordinance initiated by Chicago's Dorothy Tillman and passed by the Chicago City Council, the RUF sought out L.A. Councilman Nate Holden and convinced him to make a motion in the L.A. City Council for a similar slave business ordinance. Essentially, that ordinance would require businesses contracting with the city to sign an affidavit that they had searched their archives and those of their predecessor companies to determine whether they or those previous companies profited from the slave trade or American slavery.

PROGRESS: L.A. motion made in April, approved by L.A. City Council in June-July, signed by Mayor in August and became effective law October 16, 2003.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES UTILIZED: Strategic mobilization of the Black community to attend city council hearings; intense negotiations over language for the ordinance (working with the councilman's staff), engaging the mass media (radio coverage, local Black newspapers, L.A. Times, etc.) and relentlessness.

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTIVITIES: Establishment of an Oversight Committee within RUF to monitor compliance with the ordinance and to set up a research activity regarding those companies that sign the affidavit. Establishment of a Legislative/Political Action Committee within RUF to push the slavery business ordinance in two other Southern California cities, and to contact other state and national cities about the possibilities of such an ordinance in their area.

2. Working with the Political Action arm of the local NAACP branches to produce mass-based Town Hall meetings on reparations. The Black middle class and the old school portions of the community must be involved in order to move forward.

PROGRESS: In April, 2003, the Political Action Committee of the Los Angeles branch of the NAACP held the first Town Hall Meeting on reparations in its history, and the first for the NAACP west of the Mississippi River. Over 200 participants attended and the discussion was lively, including a political celebrity panel. A successful event was held at Ward A.M.E. Church.

In September, the Political Action Committee of the Hollywood/Beverly Hills branch of the NAACP held the second NAACP Reparations Town Hall in the Los Angeles Convention Center as part of the annual Black Business Expo. Board Chairman Julian Bond was the keynote speaker. Over 350 participants took part, and helped to spread the word of reparations to a much broader audience.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES UTILIZED: Members of RUF became part of the NAACP organizing and planning committees for both of the Town Halls. Working cooperatively with, rather than dictating to, well established community and civil rights groups is easily the best way to get work effectively done. Included were policy decisions, work on the program itinerary, panel presentations, attracting the media to the events, etc.

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTIVITIES: Encouraging the NAACP to continue its reparations efforts--RUF members attended the recent state NAACP convention in San Mateo (Northern California). There will be more NAACP reparations Town Halls in 2004. The NAACP Political Action Committee will help plan the National Reparations Congress for May, 2004.

3. Getting the Black Church seriously involved in the Reparations Movement. This is a very critical aspect of a winning strategy.

PROGRESS: In February, 2003, RUF members started meeting with Rev. Cecil Murray, pastor of First A.M.E. Church, the first Black Church in Los Angeles, and one of the largest and most politically active in Southern California. He allowed the formation of a joint RUF/FAME coordinating committee to put on the first major Black Church Symposium on Reparations (The Role of the Black Faith Community in the Reparations Movement) in L.A.'s history. Held on May 31, 2003 at First A.M.E., it brought together pastors from the Baptist church, the Nation of Islam, the C.M.E., the Church of God in Christ, and over 400 members of the Southern California public. It was an outstanding success.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES UTILIZED: Again, working collaboratively with organizations rather than dictating to them is an effective method for getting quality work done. RUF members attended all meetings called by Rev. Murray, handled the program itinerary, helped to get the mass media involved (radio, newspapers, etc.), coordinated video coverage, maintained the

(Continued on page 25)

Reparations and Peace NAACP's First Annual Conference

By Araceli Jacobs & Kristena Witherspoon

On October 3, 2003, the SU (Syracuse University) chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) hosted its first annual conference entitled, "Reparations and Peace Movement." The program, co-sponsored by the Office of Multicultural Affairs, featured several workshops on the debates pertaining to national and international reparations for African peoples.

on Reparations," is a detailed account of the historical facts and figures which support the reparations movement for African peoples internationally. According to Dr. Winbush, there can be no reconciliation without compensation.

"America wants us to reconcile, but reconciliation implies there was once a loving relationship between Blacks and whites," professed Winbush. He presented four steps to true reconciliation: an apology, investigation and accounting, compensation for the victims of the crimes and prosecution of the wrongdoers."

Winbush also led the "Restitution for Slavery: Making Tainted Corporations Pay" workshop. In his presentation, Winbush elucidated the fact that the low economic status of Black communities is from lasting effects of slavery and racism. He drew upon the pending 2002 Slavery Reparations Class-Action Lawsuit brought by

lawyer and reparations activist, Deidra Farmer-Paellmann to make the case that many American corporations played a critical role in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Oppositions to reparations are frequent across racial lines. The oppositional arguments have concluded that monetary reparations should not be a compensation for the systemic disempowerment of the Black people. In the "No reparations" workshop, Professor Arthur Flowers, author of "De Mojo Blues," shares such beliefs. He deems reparations unnecessary for empowerment. As Black people, Flowers believes the most effective strategy should be focusing on our own community; not on what the white man can give us. He sees reparations as a way of making us "better beggars." He believes that we should be self-determining and not let others determine our destiny.

During the workshop entitled, "Reparations for the Masses: The New Black Student Movement," professor S.E. Anderson, author of "Black Holocaust



Dr. Raymond Winbush
Facing center

The topic of reparations is controversial and therefore an imperative issue to explore. Many students on campus were uncertain about the facets of the movement. "I didn't know much about reparations. Now I realize how reparations extends globally," said Thor Ritz, sophomore geology major.

The conference was held in Schine Student Center from 10:00am to 5:30pm. The conference featured seven workshops, each divided into time segments. Each workshop was facilitated by NAACP members and a key presenter. The presenters were Dr. Raymond Winbush, Professor S.E. Anderson, Dr. William Wiecek and Professor Arthur Flowers.

The first workshop, "Introduction to Reparations 101: Everything You Wanted to Know," was presented by Dr. Raymond Winbush, the director of Urban Affairs at Morgan State University. Winbush's latest work, "Should America Pay? Slavery and The Raging Debate

for Beginners," discussed the need for the reparation movement to be a political force, rooted in the community and driven by the spirit of young Black scholars. Anderson asserts that, among other things, the reparations movement is about repair, when stating that, "apart of the repair is to reconnect young people to the revolution. The reparations movement has to be rooted in the community."

Anderson spoke on the need for reparations to be executed in the correct matter. "There is no compromise in reparations," said Anderson. Reparations, according to Anderson, would be put towards the health crisis in Africa and Latin America, the building of Black communities in the United States and to approach other issues created by the racist actions of international policies. Anderson discussed the reparations movement in an international context. In a national context, Anderson discussed educational genocide, the oppressive nature of the United States economic system and the need for young people to enter the movement.

Professor William Wiecek, presented a workshop focusing on "The Legitimacy of the Slave-Trade in and to the United States, 1770-1830." This presentation discussed the legality of slavery based on written law. Wiecek concluded in the workshop that slavery was illegal and therefore the reparations should be produced for sufferers of the system.

The issues coming out of the reparations are extremely important in the struggle for restoring, re-

pairing and healing African peoples. This is something that cannot be repaired by writing out a check and putting it in the mail. Whatever is done has to have a long-term effect, such as a free college education or paying fewer taxes. The reparations movement works towards empowering, offering hope and forcing America to acknowledge that slavery was indeed a crime against humanity. The U.S. has officially said that it will never apologize for slavery. This makes absolutely no sense considering that the United States has given reparations to other groups. In 1990, Japanese-Americans who were interred during World War II were given \$1.2 billion and received an apology from Reagan. In 1985, the Lakota Indians of South Dakota were given \$105 million. In 1971, Alaskan Natives were given \$1 billion and four million acres of land. Thus, the issue of reparations is not the United States' reluctance to give up monetary funds, but rather the United States refusal to acknowledge its history.

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Professor Sam Anderson with two students

A Trail of Blood: The Church and Reparations

by Dr. Iva E. Carruthers

The 19th century leader and scholar, Rev. Francis J. Grimke's 1898 sermon proclaimed:

If justice sleeps in this land, let it not be because we have helped to lull it to sleep by our silence, our indifference; let it not be from lack of effort on our part to arouse it from its slumbers....Justice in this land may go on slumbering, but let us see to it that it is due to no fault of ours....God gave Balaam's ass and (us) the power to cry out, endowed (us) miraculously with speech in which to voice our protest.

The Trans Atlantic Slave Trade was clearly a crime co-sponsored by the Church and the State. Scripture was used and church doctrine was mandated to justify it. Laws were instituted and economies and arms were organized to effect it. Both the Church and the State benefited.

The Catholic Papacy condoned and sanctified the slave trade. It was the Pope's orders – the papal bulls - that substantially framed the origins, evolution and sanctions of the early Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. In 1442, Pope Eugenius IV approved the bull Illius Qui that granted Portugal and Prince Henry's expeditions exclusive rights over their African discoveries. Pope Calixtus III established the Order of Christ in 1456 as the knightly association over Portuguese interest and dominions. The association, led by Prince Henry the Navigator, had oversight for the slave trade. In 1488, Pope Innocent VIII accepted the gift of 100 slaves from Ferdinand of Spain and distributed the slaves to the cardinals and nobles throughout the Christian world. By the time Christopher Columbus set sail in 1492, the Catholic Church had over a century of Blood on their hands relative to the establishment of the

Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. In 1637, the Portuguese surrendered their African headquarters, Elmina Castle and Fort in Cape Coast, Ghana, West Africa to the Dutch. The top floor of the west wing was transformed into a Dutch Reformed Church. Engraved above the entrance to the cleric's door was Psalm 132.13

**For the Lord has chosen Zion,
He has desired it for his dwelling.**

Over 2500 ships have been documented to have made repeated trips across the Atlantic. In a

survey of 93 Portuguese and Brazilian ships, 81 had religious names; many named after saints or virgins. *Jesus, Grace of God and Bom Jesus* are just three of the names of slave ships that demonstrate how this evil system was carried out under the name of God.

The Christian churches and denominations managed and dominated the daily operations of the slave ports throughout the triangle including Anglican, Catholics, Huguenots, Calvinists and Quakers.



Dr. Iva E. Carruthers

Photo by Wautella

In the early 17th century Philip III, King of Spain, ordered that all slave ships carry a priest on board. A catechism and ritual performed by the priest for such a baptism was:

“Consider that you are now children of Christ. You are going to set off for Portuguese territory, where you will learn matters of the Faith. Never think any more of your place of origin. Do not eat dogs, nor rats, nor horses. Be content.”

Then the “saved” would be given a Christian name, salt sprinkled on the tongue and a blessing by holy water.

(Continued on page 13)

Southeast Region Leaves No Stone Uturned!

Reported by
Njere Alghanee,

Southeast Region Representative

Using the radio airways is one way that Southeast Regional Representative, Sister Njeri Alghanee gets the word out about Reparations, and in Atlanta WAOK-AM, Talk Back Atlanta with Chris Askew, is one resource that she has carefully cultivated. As a result, Chris Askew is a supporter of N'COBRA and the Reparations movement. But nothing can ever take the place of getting out in the trenches and taking the word about Reparations to where the people are. That is why the Southeast Region is actively taking the message of Reparations for the African Holocaust of American Enslavement off the beaten path. Through the region's efforts, unions representing the National Culinary Artists, Black hospitality workers, chauffeurs, maids, butlers, cooks and master chefs, throughout the U. S., are getting on board the train that is carrying us all to victory.

there is strong acknowledgment of the interconnectedness of our struggles. Literature about Reparations is being taken to new and potentially fertile arenas such as the Southern International Working Women's Conference hosted by the Black Workers For Justice Union. Relationships with long time allies, such as the All African Revolutionary Peoples Party are also being strengthened as evidenced by the region's strong participation in the Party's recent tribute to Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah. And when opportunities arise such as the Black African Holocaust Conference held at Clark Atlanta University, you can rest assured that Sister Njeri Algany will be there actively engaged in the discussion about Reparations. If you live in the Southeast region which includes North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia and West Virginia and you want



Njere Alghanee *Photo by Ma'at*

to get involved in this important effort contact Sister Njere Alghanee at 404.696.8139.

N'COBRA's work is being taken to meetings with Rastas from the African Diaspora, including and not limited to the WI islands, and

to get involved in this important effort contact Sister Njere Alghanee at 404.696.8139.

Church And Reparations

(Continued from page 12)

The Church's silence, old and new must be broken!

What Churches Can Do.....

Activities

1. Engage in a congregational wide exploration of how members' personal or family saga substantiate some link to the Maafa or this breach of God's way, either as an indirect beneficiary or victim. Gather some evidences of the ways in which the breach is revealed in family histories, artifacts; still carried on by ideas, images or current events.

2. Initiate a church wide study of slavery or reparations by using a book review process, small group classes, outside lecturers etc.

3. Do research and create a Knowledge Board on life as a slave and on plantation

Congregational Actions

1. Host a community awareness event on HR. 40 and the current activities being undertaken on behalf of African American reparations.

2. E-Mail congressional representatives on behalf of HR 40 and encourage others to do the same.

Attorneys Discuss Reparations

at the 35th Annual Conference of the National Conference of Black Lawyers

By Ajamu Sankofa, esq.

The National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) held its 35th annual conference in Washington, DC, October 10, 11, and 12, 2003. The theme was "Recommitting To Purpose."

During the annual meeting segment of the Conference, a broad formal discussion was held on the current litigation strategies that are helping to build the movement to win reparations. The presenters represented the cutting edge legal work that has been mounted by Black lawyers to advocate for reparations in the courts of the United States:

Imhotep Alkebulan, Esq., male co-chair of NCBL and plaintiffs' counsel in *Imari Obadele and Kurattibisha X Ali Rashid v. US*, popularly known as the equal protection case, gave an update on this case that had been on application for a writ of certiorari before the United States Supreme Court. Roger Wareham, Esq., of the December 12th Movement and of NCBL and plaintiffs' counsel in the well known corporation reparations lawsuit in which Deadria Farmer-Paellmann is among the named plaintiffs; gave an update on this important case.

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, Esq., chair of N'COBRA's Legal Strategies (LS) Commission, former national director of NCBL, and N'COBRA's representative on the Reparations Coordinating Committee (RCC), is plaintiffs' counsel in *Alexander et al v. The Governor, State of Oklahoma et al*. She gave an update on this case in which N'COBRA and the RCC represent the survivors of the 1921 Tulsa, Oklahoma massacre. She also gave an update on N'COBRA's other litigation work that included the filing of an amicus curiae brief before the United States Supreme Court on behalf of the University of Michigan in the recently decided affirmative action case. She further explained N'COBRA's enormous step forward shown by the recent creation of the N'COBRA Legal, Education, Research and Defense Fund and the LS Commission's exploration of single plaintiff cases that involve land loss, racial profiling and possibly other single issues. Finally, she provided the status of N'COBRA's progress towards the filing of N'COBRA's series of mammoth class action law-

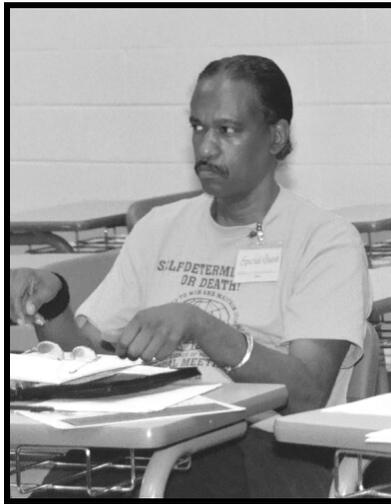


Photo by Ma'at

suits for reparations against the United States of America.

All of the speakers provided very informative presentations and each inspired great interest in this cutting edge legal work to win reparations for Black people. Each speaker spoke in the spirit of operational unity as discussed in Dr. Ron Walters' excellent essay on the subject as it pertains to the development of litigation strategies to win reparations.

A particular high point was the presence of so many NCBL legal warriors in the room who are also members of N'COBRA and who have been hard at work developing N'COBRA's litigation strategy that continues to originate uniquely from the enormous depths of the grassroots' movement of Black people for Reparations.

Among those present were Chokwe Lumumba, a member of N'COBRA's LS Commission and formerly co-chair of the criminal punishment sub-committee of the LS Commission; Gilda Sherrod-Ali, the newly elected female co-chair of NCBL and member of the LS Commission and formerly, female co-chair of the criminal punishment sub-committee of the LS Commission; Nkechi Taifa, a member of the LS Commission; Mark Fancher, former male co-chair of NCBL and current chair of the education sub-committee of the LS Commission; Ajamu Sankofa, male co-chair of the criminal punishment sub-committee of the LS Commission; and Efia Wangaza chair of the wealth and poverty sub-committee of the LS Commission.

It is certainly not a surprise that N'COBRA was in the house. NCBL was a founding organizational member of N'COBRA when N'COBRA was organized in late 1987 and early 1988 and, as such, continues its legacy since 1968 as the legal arm of the Black Liberation movement. NCBL's 35th "recommitting to purpose" conference magnificently displayed NCBL's total and effective commitment to win reparations for Black people.

Rules On African Leadership In The Movement To Win Reparations

By Ajamu K. Sankofa, N'COBRA National Secretary

Leadership is a skill and a talent that can be taught but that only improves with practice. Leadership must have both an individual and group aspect. Hence, African leadership is the capacity of an African to guide other Africans consciously and purposefully from a lowly state to an elevated state. African leadership also is the capacity of African people as a group to organize the power of African people such that we as a people actually move accordingly to that preconceived elevated state.

There has been a continuous crisis in the leadership of African people residing in this territory that we refer to as the United States for a long time. African scholars are showing us the features of this crisis in leadership as it arose out of our kidnapping from our Motherland, Africa.

One sign of the crises of leadership among our people today who reside in the US has still been that too many of our so-called "leaders" make decisions over the survival of Black people only after first seeking approval for that decision from white people.

If we wish to exercise effective leadership that elevates African people we must be prepared to exercise the spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and physical independence of thought and action such that we are not disoriented by white supremacy's shell games. We must end forever seeking validation from white people. Further, it matters not whether that white person calls him/herself a liberal, progressive, socialist, Marxist, revolutionary,...or in some cases your friend....etc.

This is a very significant and large issue. This tendency itself is a profound vestige of chattel slavery: Many terms are used to describe aspects of it: "slave mentality," post traumatic slavery syndrome, and many others.

So the first foundational African rule of African leadership is that we exercise full freedom and independence of thought and action in the interest of the full freedom of African people from all systems of power that act or seek to act to restrict or destroy our freedom.

The color Black is very important in this discussion as well.

It is precisely through the all pervasive symbolic content of color, propagandistically conveyed by white supremacists power centers, that creates and perpetuates negative and self-destructive images of African people that, in addition to sheer physical oppression, disorient us mentally. So the tendency to be deferential to white people shows up in our willingness to allow white people (or whiteness) to define what we fight for and how we fight for it. This is very often just below our conscious awareness but runs as deep as our most personal image of God.

I have three examples, of the effect of our present day injury of this deference to white people. It occurs in spite of an internal conflict of our people not to be that way. As leaders, we will face this challenge daily and our task is to overcome it daily:

1. Far too many of our people who, despite knowing that white racism has caused our present condition, do not understand that African people are due reparations, now. They do not understand this because they still do not experience their own human worthiness sufficiently to demand reparations Now. This effects *all* classes of our people.
2. Far too many of our people do not believe that we can actually win Reparations. This is a crisis of confidence!
3. And very sadly, far too many of our people are so consumed with fear and rage caused by the experience of their circumstances that they are more willing to destroy their brothers and their sisters rather than their real enemy.

Our specific deep leadership challenge as leaders in the reparations movement is to transform more and more of these folks (just described above) into courageous, self-confident, self-educated, and effective activists who then start building the reparations movement at their highest level of capacity; in that process we as leaders are transforming ourselves as well.

By going after this bottom layer of consciousness in

(Continued on page 32)

Formation of the National Reparations Congress

By Sam Anderson & David Horne

The Northeast Regional Working Group's first meeting was held on Sunday Sept 14, 2003. The overall sentiment was that it was a very good and productive meeting with full realization that we have a long way to go. The meeting was chaired by Sam Anderson.

The meeting began with a brief discussion of the state of the US Reparations Movement and the newly formed Global Afrikan Congress. Emphasis was placed on the need for coordinated actions on all Reparations fronts. The National Reparations Congress would be that body that would help in coordinating efforts around all the legal work, bills, petitions, resolutions, law suits, and mass education work. The Congress would be a complement to –not a replacement of– one organization.

The first National Prepcom meeting was held in New York in May 2003 and regions were created in the Northeast, MidWest, South and West. On October 18, 2003 at Kent State University, there will be a MidWest Regional PrepCom. October 31, 2003, the Southern Regional PrepCom meeting will be held in Birmingham, Alabama. On December 20, 2003 the second National PrepCom Meeting will be held in Atlanta, Georgia. Regional meetings are to be held leading up to the NRC. A National Reparations Conference is planned, possibly during Memorial Day Weekend, but this may be a bad time because of holiday traveling 2004 in either Atlanta or Compton, California. Organizers in Compton have already offered free space for all those attending the conference. There is a strong support network in Compton and having the conference there would be a good idea. However, in the past, having conferences in California has led to logistical issues. Traveling to the West Coast and then moving around once there has proven to be problematic. It was mentioned that the highest concentration of Afrikan-Americans are in the Northeast and surrounding areas. The possibility of delaying the conference to August of 2004, thus allowing more time for mobilization was also raised. Chicago, Philadelphia and Newark were also mentioned as potential locations. A proposal is being developed for a New

York-based Conference to be held in August 2004. A New York Conference would assist the Charles Barron Mayoral Campaign. There is also consideration for an August 2004 Conference in New York City. The securing of a venue seemed feasible and scheduling was not seen as a problem.

Who Are We Organizing?

We are going to focus our attention on those already organized but not forsake the inclusion of the masses that must be informed and included. We do not want people to lose energy and/or focus. We are often a crisis-oriented people who respond to the crunch of deadlines. If we stress the need for immediate action our people will respond. It was suggested that we follow the steps of those proposals developed prior to and at the 2001 Durban World Conference Against Racism.

For the US Reparations Movement to move forward effectively militancy must be re-injected into it. There was a consensus that we needed to move beyond radical lawyers and professors and take our struggle to a higher level of street/grassroots organizing. The concept of having the conference during the Republican National Convention in August of

“For the US Reparations Movement to move forward effectively militancy must be re-injected into it.”

2004 (to be held in NYC) was raised. This would sharply expose the contradictions between what the Republicans and the right in general represent and our Reparations Movement. We would hopefully revitalize the lost militancy and momentum of our struggle. A lot of energy has been given to the present anti-war movement in which we have participated. We have always had our issues put on the back burner for America's wars. We can no longer suppress our Reparations Movement to accommodate their imperial and racist wars.

Popularizing the Reparations Movement

We must make Reparations a household term and concept. The National Bar Association has taken into their Resolution the recent Goree Island statements of President Bush. The utilization of economic boycott must again be used as a tactic. The NRC must create

an infrastructure, which brings together groups across the country that are focused on Reparations. We must initiate an education campaign.

The West Coast National Reparations Congress PrepCom was held 9/13/03 at the L.A. Convention Center at 10:00 am. The welcome and invocation were given by Dr. David L. Horne. The group further clarified the focus of the NRC as follows:

1. Serve as a clearinghouse of Reparations materials and analysis
2. Coordinate information about Reparations activities
3. Develop mass education material regarding Reparations
4. Support the development of the international tribunal on Reparations
5. Encourage a comprehensive discussion about the possible forms that Reparations will take for African Americans.

Further Clarification of Who Will Be Invited / Who Will Attend the NRC

You must be Black (Afrikan or Black Afrikan Descendant). You must be able to demonstrate that you are doing work aimed at achieving reparations for African Americans (or Africans in the diaspora in order to come as observers). There was persistent discussion by two attendees from the Nigretians, who demanded to be called and to allow us all to be called Niggas, as a reportedly original name. They were eventually told to bring their argument, with substantial supporting data, and make their case, as long as the aim of the Nigretians (which was not self-evident) was to achieve reparations for Black folk, by whatever name they wanted to use.

Miscellaneous

Shabaka Heru requested, for purposes of clarity in the movement, a Mission and Declaration of three reasonable objectives at the NRC that communities could then work on diligently. Warren Williams has submitted a replacement Bill for HR40 to Rep. John Conyers. There was a recommendation that future planning meetings be limited to discussion relevant to planning and that we stay on point (They were not at all sure that the Nigretians belonged in this planning session--the Nigretians made their identification point clear, but Ernie and Alex said they heard nothing from those advocates about supporting reparations for African Americans).

Avenge the Ancestors

No more burning
camphor to protect our flesh
from the blinding dark
of all these years
pounding
our fists against the nothingness
of a debt they refuse to pay.
Our tears are without form
because the ocean carried us,
and the fields we worked sustained
us.

Our hands built empires
they did not lead,
but at night the moon showered
us

with kindnesses so we stole away.
Now the darkness we light
with the rich ore of our veins
speaks:

"Now, our Reparations now".
We have given too much
not to take what is ours.

by
Zumbi Soweto

History of N'COBRA's Legislative Front

(Continued from page 1)

Rep. Dymally; Rep. Ford, H.; Rep. Rangel; Rep. Collins; Rep. Bates; Rep. Crockett; Rep. Hayes C.; Rep. Owens M.; Rep. Towns; Rep. Dixon; Rep. Espy; Rep. Hawkins; Rep. Lewis, John; Rep. Jacobs; Rep. Mineta; Rep. Stokes; Rep. Payne, D. Since that original filing, in each Congress the bill has been reintroduced, and submitted to the House Committee on the Judiciary. Starting with its introduction on January 5, 1993, the bill has consistently carried the historically symbolic numeral, "HR 40," in remembrance of the "40 acres" of confiscated confederate land legislatively-passed (albeit by a slim margin) by both Houses of Congress in 1886, but executorially-vetoed by Andrew Johnson.

Rep. Conyers has stated that he receives more mail in support of his Reparations Commission Bill (HR 40), than just about any other legislative issue. Since the 1990's, the Congressman has insured a national legislative focus on the issue of reparations by convening a workshop, panel or braintrust on the issue of reparations each year at the Congressional Black Caucus' annual Legislative Weekend. At the September 16, 1993 Congressional Black Caucus panel on reparations, this author presented remarks entitled, "A Scientific Approach for a Preliminary Legislative Strategy in Support of HR 40." The challenge the remarks strove to answer was how to scientifically link the growing, positive grassroots sentiment in support of reparations to concrete legislative action in support of HR 40. The strategic approach outlined in the presentation was threefold: First, the gathering of legislative intelligence compiling the voting record of Members in the House and Senate with respect to the Japanese-American reparations legislation, and the compilation of a comprehensive list of organizations who supported that legislation. Second, using the legislative intelligence gathered, lobby each of the Members still in Congress who once co-sponsor of HR 40; encourage those Members who were not in Congress at the time of the Japanese-American bill to co-sponsor and vote in favor of HR 40; encourage the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights to schedule a formal hearing on HR 40; encourage specific Caucuses to endorse HR 40; and seek the introduction of a companion bill in the Senate. The third prong of the strategy was to provide model pieces of legislation and generate state, local and organizational resolutions supporting HR 40, particularly amongst groups which previously supported the Japanese-American reparations.

Since then, throughout the Congresses (103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, and now 107th), the above strategies have been part and parcel of the activities of N'COBRA's Legislative Commission. The requisite voting records, long since compiled, are now relatively obsolete, due to the transient nature of Congress. It may be instructive, however, to currently note the names of the organizations who supported the Civil Liberties Act Amendments of 1992, which represent the most recent action related to the issue of the Japanese-American internment.

They are, as reported by the Japanese-American Citizens League, as follows: A. Philip Randolph Institute; American Baptist Church, USA; American Federation of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organizations; American Friends Service Committee; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Americans for Democratic Action; Asian American Legal defense and Education Fund; Asian Americans for Equality; Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance; Anti-Defamation League; Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee; B'nai B'rith Women; Center for Women Policy Studies; Chinese American Citizens Alliance; Church of the Brethren Washington Office; Friends Committee on National Legislation; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Japanese American Citizens League; Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; National Asian Pacific American Bar Association; National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; National Congress of American Indians; National Council of Churches; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council of La Raza; National Education Association; Organization of Chinese Americans; Presbyterian Church USA; Project Equality; Service Employees International Union; Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations; United Church of Christ – Office for Church in Society; United Methodist Church, General Board of Church and Society; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The Legislative Commission of N'COBRA has sought endorsement for HR 40 and the general concept of reparations for African descendants in the United States from a wide variety of national organizations, ranging from social action and professional groups to religious and labor organizations. Some of these endorsements emanated specifically from direct appeals by N'COBRA members; some through the groups' own volition; and others as the result of the

growing preeminence of The Reparations Movement across the country. A sampling of these groups include: NAACP, National Baptist Convention, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Association of Black Psychologists, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, National Conference of Black Lawyers, National Bar Association, International Association of Black Firefighters, American Civil Liberties Union, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, AFL-CIO, National Association of Real Estate Brokers, National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc., Council of Independent Black Institutions, National Black United Front, Black Radical Congress, Universal Negro Improvement Association, TransAfrica Forum, among many others.

In addition to the ever-increasing organizational endorsements, state and local resolutions have also proliferated. Again, it is hard to distinguish and isolate how much of this mobilization is the product of N'COBRA's lobbying and educational efforts or the spontaneous result of socially conscious legislators and their staff. Suffice it to say, however, that each of these efforts have combined to result in growing numbers of state and local legislatures formally adopting resolutions in support of HR 40 or other reparations-type legislative initiatives. These jurisdictions include the states of Louisiana, Florida and California; and the city councils of Atlanta, Georgia; Baltimore, Maryland; Burlington, Vermont; Jackson, Mississippi; Camden, Patterson, and Newark, New Jersey; Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas, Texas; Detroit, Michigan; Evanston, Illinois; Alameda County, Berkeley, Compton, Inglewood, Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, and San Francisco, California; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Washington, DC. It is important to note that comprehensive reparations legislation is pending in the states of New Jersey, New York, and Texas.

Since its inception until the beginning of this century, the Legislative Commission was chaired by this author and subsumed under the auspices of N'COBRA's Legal Strategies Commission, chaired by Adjoa Aiyetoro. The beginning years were successful in rallying behind a concrete legislative target, elucidating a strategic blueprint to maximize success, and otherwise laying the groundwork which resulted in scores of municipalities passing supportive pieces of legislation. As a significant amount of the Legal Strategies Commission's attention became increasingly focused on the litigative front, the Legislative Committee was authorized as an independent Commission of N'CO-

BRA during the June 2000 N'COBRA National Convention in Washington, D.C.

Following that reorganization the Legislative Commission focused on the development of a core Mission statement; concrete objectives, and a specific plan of action for each Congress. The Commission's articulated mission is to "achieve passage of H.R. 40, The Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, introduced each year since 1989 by Congressman John Conyers, or passage of comparable federal legislation which leads to a comprehensive award of reparations for African Americans based on slavery and post-slavery discrimination. The Legislative Commission will also actively support reparations initiatives at the state and local levels." The Commission was formally structured to 1) maximize communication and coordination with all the different and rapidly growing segments of the national N'COBRA, 2) compile all the federal, state, local and organization resolutions in a centralized repository; and 3) formulate and distribute legislative packets for N'COBRA members and other interested parties to assist in lobbying Congress, and other activities.

The June 2000 N'COBRA Convention, held in Washington, D.C., can be heralded as a model for sophisticated lobby training and scientifically structured lobby visits. Conducted in the Rayburn House Office Building on the Wednesday preceding and Monday following the annual Convention, the training consisted of simulation, role play, and questions and answers on the lobbying tips discussed, accompanied with spirited dialogue. Targeted lobbying visits during that National Lobby Day resulted in the successful co-sponsorship of five of the targeted nine previously recalcitrant Congresspersons.

In 2002, Kibibi Tyehimba, co-chair of the DC Chapter of N'COBRA, brought her expertise to the Legislative Commission as co-chair, joining this author in seeking to move the legislative thrust for reparations forward. 2002 was also the inception of the Legislative Commission's first flagship project, "A Year of Black Presence," under the leadership of Milton McGriff of the N'COBRA Philadelphia Chapter. McGriff's vision, inspired by the words of Randall Robinson in his pivotal book, "The Debt – What America Owes to Blacks," has soared the work of the Legislative Commission to a heightened new level, putting into action the strategy first articulated ten years ago of how to link positive, grassroots activism to concrete legislative support for

(Continued on page 35)

Reparations Forum 2003: "Honoring The Debt"

Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference



A



B



C

All Photos by Wautella

- A. Congressman **John Conyers, Jr.**, Detroit, Michigan
- B. Senator (Retired) **Bill Owens** of Boston, Massachusetts
- C. Councilman **Charles Barron** of Brooklyn, New York
- D. Ms. **Sallome Halima**, Youth4Reparations Activists
- E. Ms. **Rasheida Smith**, New York NCOBRA Youth Activist
- F. Mr. **Kahlil Almustafa**, Youth4Reparations Activists

D



E



F



Reparations Forum 2003: "Honoring The Debt"

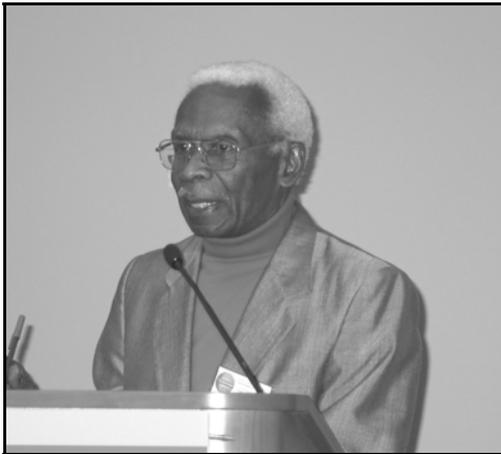
Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference



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D



E

All Photos by Wautella

- A. Ms. **Faye Rose Sanders**, Esq., Reparations Coordinating Committee
- B. Alderwoman **Dorothy Tillman** of Chicago, Illinois
- C. Dr. **Imari Obadele**, Min. of Foreign Affairs, Republic of New Afrika
- D. Mr. **Ken Fealing**, Director of Civil and Human Rights for the United Methodist Church
- E. Dr. **Iva Carruthers** and Ms. **DeBorah White**, United Church of Christ (UCC)

Legislative Commission Update

By Kibibi Tyehimba, Co-Chair
N'COBRA Legislative Commission

On September 25, 2003 Congressman John Conyers, Jr., hosted his annual Reparations Forum, during the recent Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Conference. This year the Legislative Commission played a significant role in the development of the forum, entitled "Honoring the Debt." The forum highlighted several elected officials who have been instrumental in introducing resolutions and bills in their municipalities, in support of H.R. 40 and Reparations, several Faith Community Activists, and two Reparations Activists fighting the battle on the legal front. Alderwoman Dorothy Tillman of Chicago, Illinois, Councilman Charles Barron of Brooklyn, New York, and Senator (Retired) Bill Owens of Boston, Massachusetts provided an overview of the resolutions and bills introduced in their areas, and why they committed themselves to the cause for Reparations for African Americans. Both the Massachusetts and New York bills are still pending. However, the Chicago Illinois Reparations Ordinance was adopted in April, 2000. Alderwoman Tillman provided extensive detail about her community's approach to the Chicago Reparations hearings, which included the testimony of renowned African American historians and social scientists, and personal testimony from the community. By the end of the testimony there was no doubt about the validity of the African American quest for Reparations. The success of the Chicago model is certainly one that should be duplicated in other cities and states seeking to adopt legislation in support of this important issue.

Dr. Iva Carruthers and Ms. DeBorah White represented the United Church of Christ (UCC), which has 1.4 Million members. They outlined their congregation's commitment to atoning and correcting the injustices committed against Africans and their descendants in the past and present. The UCC has

developed an excellent study guide that provides sound arguments for Reparations from a religious perspective. Mr. Ken Fealing, Director of Civil and Human Rights for the United Methodist Church also provided an overview of his congregation's commitment to Reparations. The United Methodist Church membership totals approximately 8 Million. Both the United Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ are national and international church communities with predominantly white congregations, an indication that support for the Reparations movement is growing. Ms. Faye Rose Sanders, Esq., an attorney with the Reparations Coordinating Committee, provided an update on the recently filed class action lawsuit on behalf of the survivors and descendants of the Tulsa Oklahoma Massacre of the Black township of Greenwood. Dr. Imari Obadele, Min. of Foreign Affairs, Republic of New Afrika was invited by Congressman Conyers to present background information on his "Equal Protection Reparations Law suit, which had recently, been submitted to the Supreme Court for a hearing. In addition, Youth4Reparations Activists, Mr. Kahlil Almustafa and Ms. Sallome Halima discussed their involvement in the Reparations Movement and their efforts to sensitize their communi-

ties to the connection between the Movement, and the various social, political, and economic issues they face.

In addition to the Reparations Forum, N'COBRA, Legislative Commission Co-Chair, Ms. Kibibi Tyehimba, and New York NCOBRA Youth Activist Ms. Rasheida Smith conducted an organizing workshop on Friday September 26. Workshop participation was good and even included a high school class of about 20 students. The exchange between all the participants was very rewarding.

N'COBRA Reparations Activists from New York, New Jersey, Washington, DC and Baltimore seized every opportunity to raise the issue of Repara-



Kibibi Tyehimba Photo by Wautella

tions in many of the other Issue Forums, and encouraged Congressional Black Caucus Representatives, who had not already done so, to co-sponsor H.R. 40. It is due to the efforts of these Reparations Activists that two additional CBC members have signed on to H. R. 40, bringing the total number of co-sponsors to 39. Congressman Melvin Watt of North Carolina is one of the two most recent co-sponsors. He had not signed on to H.R. 40 since the 105th Congress in 1997. Delegate Donna Christian-Christensen of the Virgin Islands also agreed to co-sponsor H.R. 40. Special thanks go out to Brother Ahmad Daniels of North Carolina, who had previously lobbied Congressman Watt on behalf of the Bill, and Brother Livingston Cummings who personally escorted Congressman Watt over to Congressman Conyers during the Thursday night Jazz concert to have a "little talk" about the bill. Thanks to Brother Milt McGriff and Brother Rob Bell, who helped to remind Delegate Christensen during her forum that she had signed on to the bill in the past. She admitted to the oversight and promised to rectify the error. Both of these cases are examples of the impact that even one or two people can make with a little persistence.

We encourage all Reparations Activists to follow the example of these brothers and take time to visit your Congressmen and Congresswomen at their state offices or at their offices here in Washington, DC to lobby on behalf of H.R. 40. There are now seven remaining CBC representative who have yet to sign on to the bill. Organize your community and call them up, harass them, send them letters and faxes. Write articles for your local newspapers and let your community know that they are not representing their interests. Include some history of your state's participation in the era of enslavement. Tell how many Black men and women were lynched in your state during the Jim Crow era. And if you happen to live in a state that was impacted by the riots and massacres during the Red Summer of 1919, remind your community of that. And of course tie all these facts to present day--- Racial profiling, disparate treatment under the so-called Justice system, lack of access to quality education, health care, and housing. And then ask your community if it is uninformed enough to believe that Affirmative Action, in just 30 years with no government appropriations to back it up, could ever erase the effects of 246 years of slavery and another 138 years of Jim Crow and systemic racism. Here are the members of the CBC that you should target:

Rep. Julia Carson Indiana (D) - 10th Congressional District(Indianapolis)Committees: Financial Services, Veterans' Affairs 1339 Longworth House Office

Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-4011

Rep. James Clyburn, South Carolina (D) - 6th Congressional District (Columbia, Charleston, Orangeburg, Sumter) Committees: Appropriations 319 Cannon House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-3315

Rep. Artur Davis, Alabama (D) - 7th District, 208 Cannon House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-2665

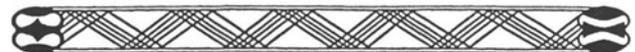
Rep. Denise Majette, Georgia 9D) - 4th District, 1517 Longworth House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-1605

Rep. David Scott, Georgia (D) 13th District 417 Cannon House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-2939

Rep. Robert Scott, Virginia (D) - 3rd Congressional District (Richmond, Newport News), Committees: Judiciary, Education and the Workforce 2464 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515 202-225-8351

Contact the N'COBRA Legislative Commission if you need help in your lobbying efforts at 202.466.1622 or LegiCom@AOL.com

Remember the power to win Reparations is in our hands!



More Than Jobs

(Continued from page 3)

want to own and control our own lives and livelihood.

We want Justice, a world of justice. We want freedom, including freedom of the mind and spirit, and we want equality between all peoples, and between men and women. We want the wealth that our ancestors built. We want the human rights that our fore parents fought and died for. We want power over our own lives. We want the Freedom to choose a new and better future than the one that looms before us, and we want Reparations NOW to make that future real."

Sunni Muslims Hold Reparations Conference

By Hodari Abdul-Ali

Let there be no doubt that the Reparations Movement is alive and growing and expanding to all segments of our community. Further evidence was offered Sunday, September 28, 2003 at Howard University in Washington, D.C., when a special daylong conference entitled "Muslims For Reparations" was held.

While Muslims under the leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan and Minister Silis Muhammad have long been active in the Reparations Movement, not as much has been heard from the Sunni or "orthodox" members of the African-American Muslim community. Some readers may be unaware of the fact that, the overwhelming majority of African-American Muslims are not affiliated with the Nation of Islam. So this conference was the first of its kind to get more of the general Muslim community involved in this crucial issue.

"Muslims for Reparations" was organized by Muslim Voices for Justice & Peace, a Washington, D.C. area coalition of activists and Imams that came together in April 2003 to oppose the U.S. invasion of Iraq. The co-sponsor was the Islamic Propagation Project headed by Imam Abdur-Rahman Muhammad.

In addition to educating the Muslim community and others about reparations, the conference also sought to facilitate greater interaction between it and reparation activists, and provide more information about Islam. Most attendees felt that these goals were accomplished, although more time was needed for comments, questions and answers.

Moderator Zarinah Shakir and eight panelists spoke to an audience of over 100 people in two sessions that covered topics such as the Islamic view of reparations, social justice, slavery, and the legacy of Muslims actively fighting for the liberation of our people. Several speakers emphasized the fact that Islam is fundamentally about justice, and that it is essential to the restoration of the soul of the human being, even more so than

our just quest for material compensation.

The audience was also encouraged to organize more programs in the masjids they attend, and to get more involved in the Reparations Movement by joining N'COBRA and other organizations fighting for the just demands of people of African descent who have suffered from the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and its aftermath.

Panelists such as Imam Muhammad Shareef, founder of the Sankore Institute of Islamic-African Studies in Pittsburgh, and historian Amir Muhammad, founder of Collections & Stories of American Muslims museum, spoke authoritatively on the Islamic heritage of West Africa and African-Americans.

The other panelists at this historic conference, which is already inspiring similar efforts, were "Black Reparations Times" Editor, Wautella ibn Yusuf; author and publisher H. Khalif Khalifah of Virginia; Imam Abdul-Alim Musa of Masjid Al-Islam in Washington, D.C.; Imam Aiyub Abdul-Baqi of the Tauhid Center in Queens, N.Y.; and this writer.

On December 13th 2003, there will be another "Muslims for Reparations From A Muslim Perspective" at the Masjidu-Nur's Islamic Learning Center in Camden, N.J., from 11am-6pm. It is our intention to pack our house. The media and other Non-Muslim groups and leaders will be invited.

Copies of the Washington, DC "Muslims for Reparations" conference are available on videotape for \$25 plus \$3 s/h from Dar Es Salaam Books, 4000 34th St., Mt. Rainier, Md. 20712. For more information call 301-728-8949 or 301-209-0010.

Hodari Abdul-Ali is the Convener of Muslim Voices for Justice & Peace, and a member of the D.C. chapter of N'COBRA. He can be reached at mvpj_dc@hotmail.com

Muslims under the leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan and Minister Silis Muhammad have long been active in the Reparations Movement

Reflections From A 2003 Mississippi Bus Ride

By Johnita Scott Obadele

Since I first embraced the Reparations Movement in 1989, I have tried to take advantage of every appropriate situation to advance the work. So I welcomed the opportunity to participate in the bus tour sponsored by Mississippi Congressman, Bennie Thompson. This tour through his state was one of his get-out-the-vote initiatives to encourage maximum turnout for the approaching fall statewide elections. This opportunity arose when my husband, Dr. Imari Obadele, having helped out in past Mississippi campaign work, was invited to come along for some neighborly support.

This trip turned out to be very interesting and inspiring for me in several ways. We boarded the bus in Bolton, Mississippi with some of the Congressman's aides and other out of state visitors that included the Reverend Doctor Joseph E. Lowery. Being in the prolonged presence of and having informal, captive access to this icon of the struggle, was an uplifting experience. This eighty-year-old man kept us conversely thoughtful and entertained on the bus and he electrified the gathering at every stop, which included Yazoo City, Rolling Fork, Belzoni, Greenville, and Tunica. He is a master of quick wit and humor that worked to perfection on this whirlwind tour.

This trip was full of possibilities. I passed out the N'COBRA information sheet and membership forms to the audience at each stop and I successfully solicited membership payments among those on the bus. I waited patiently for "the feeling" that it was a good time to attempt to engage Rev. Lowery in a Reparations discussion.

As we headed towards Tunica, Mississippi our final stop, I joined others in the back of the bus where Rev. Lowery sat in a comfortable captain's chair. I asked him for his thoughts on the issue and the movement. He jokingly said, "Don't you and your husband ever give it a rest?" I did not know that Imari had already held a conversation on the subject with him. I told him that he knew that we could not rest until victory. Turning serious, he said that it was obvious that we are due reparations and he believes that pursuing reparations is a worthy endeavor. He went on to say that he had no specific suggestions about best strategies or what all reparations should include, but he encouraged those



Photo by Ma'at

who have taken on this work to press forward. Others present, some that had just taken an N'COBRA membership, joined the discussion with questions and opinions. Dr. Lowery later wrote a letter to the Solicitor General on behalf of the lawsuit filed by Dr. Obadele and Gen. Ali Rashid.

The meeting in Tunica centered on organizing efforts aimed at Hollywood Casino lower level employees. Here I had the opportunity of collecting the membership renewal fee from Attorney Jaribu Hill. Atty. Hill devotes her law practice in Greenville, MS to workers' rights. The cases that she handles are some of the most vivid examples of continuing atrocities against our people.

I submitted this article in the hope that it will inspire increased vigilance in seizing every opportunity given by the Creator to teach and to learn about this great issue of our day.

Front of Southern California

(Continued from page 9)

consistency necessary to impress the church leadership that this was a serious endeavor, made sure the invited guests like Congresswoman Maxine Waters participated, etc. RUF members did everything necessary to insure the success of this event. The overall strategy was to stay on it, follow-through, cross check all assignments, and make sure things got done.

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTIVITIES: After the success of the May 31st event (one of the few times that no one had anything negative to say about an L.A. event. Everyone left seemingly happy and satisfied that they had participated, over 400 people stayed through a 3-hour presentation, we started and ended on time, etc.), the ad hoc committee that had pulled it off decided to become the more permanent Reparations Faith Community Coordinating Committee as another organizational affiliate of the RUF. A strategy was accepted by the RFCCC to produce and conduct workshops at over 25 Southern California churches of various sizes in order to inspire the congregations of those churches to spread the word of reparations as an obligation of Black Christians. These workshops are being scheduled and conducted currently.

YOUTH CORNER:

Working for Reparations

N'COBRA Youth Commission Report

by N'COBRA Youth Commission, Co-Chair Sister Shereeta Lacy and Brother Naphese Mugabe II

The Youth Commission is definitely on the move! We are two days away from our first meeting since Dallas. We will meet and develop ideas to form a strategic two-fold plan that organizes on a collegiate level and a community grass roots level. The first being to develop a work plan that fulfills the N'COBRA



Shereeta Lacy
Giving Youth Report at Ndaba II

Photo by Wautella

National Agenda to achieve reparations and the second to develop an action plan for the agenda of the Youth Commission to educate the Youth using whatever tools and strategies we feel will serve as a catalyst to organize Young people to achieve reparations.

Recently, Nuri and I, as co-chairs of the Youth Commission, attended the NDABA II in Jackson Mississippi hosted by the Jackson Mississippi Chapter of NCOBRA, and sponsored by the illustrious Baba Hannibal Afrik and the Millions for Reparations Coalition. We were part of the Youth working group. It was a powerful group of Young People that do student organizing at their respective college campuses. We provided models and examples of each other's work and developed ways to collaborate our efforts to organize the masses of youth to support the reparations movement. Our focus will be on the following:

- ❖ Enhancing communication through the use of the

- Internet and regular conference calls to provide updates and keep abreast of the progress of the group.
- ❖ Working with other student organizations at the collegiate level, including the SGA to encourage greater participation and influence at different campuses.
- ❖ Using strategic planning of events and programs to maximize participation and success. This would include utilizing all resources and personnel available, youth as well as elders, for information distribution, promotion and execution.
- ❖ Examining methods for encouraging and insuring accountability of those responsible for tasks without discouraging participation.

We also had a major discussion on the importance of a counter culture to fight the negative, self-destructive elements that exist in the culture of our people and particularly the culture of the youth. Another major element discussed is how to encourage more youth participation in conscious events and programs involving the issue of reparations. On a collegiate level one suggestion was the establishment and support of college societies that are based on African principles and consciousness. Many of our youth get bored with the traditional format and structure of our organizations, and meetings. We must take on the challenge of not only properly politically indoctrinating our youth with proper proactive concepts, but also keeping their atten-



Abini Elamin,
N'COBRA Youth Commission, Atlanta

Photo by Wautella

tion, and encouraging participation. Student societies must sponsor events and functions that all students can participate in, that are initiated by a core group who

(Continued on page 35)

Reparations Now: Finally Getting That 40 Acres & a Mule!



Damario Solomon-Simmons
National Reparations Director
National Black Law Student Association

"If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate, you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before he died. The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in a position of economic strength...is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay...We were sold from plantation to plantation like you sell a horse, or a cow, or a chicken, or a bushel of wheat...All that money...is what gives the present generation of American whites the ability to walk around the earth with their chest out...like they have some kind of economic ingenuity. Your father isn't here to pay. My father isn't here to collect. But I'm here to collect and you're here to pay." Malcolm X

October 14, 2003

RE: Reparations & Black Law Students...An Update

Dear Fellow Reparations Advocates,

As you know, the Reparations movement is quickly gaining momentum nationally and internationally, and it is my pleasure to serve National Black Law Student Association (NBLSA) as the National Reparations Director for the 2003-04 academic year. Make no mistake about it, NBLSA is committed to facilitating programs that will prompt emerging African-American attorneys to clearly understand and take our role in defining and fighting the noble legal battle to get Reparations. NBLSA recognizes that our members must lead because we are the so-called talented tenth that Dr. W.E.B. Dubois so passionately and articulately described. NBLSA understands it is OUR responsibility to provide leadership to the masses of our people and fight for reparations.

NBLSA understands that we must fight for Reparations with the same passion that Frederick Douglass fought against slavery. NBLSA understands

that we must fight for Reparations with the same commitment that compelled Charles Hamilton Houston, Thurgood Marshall, and many other African-American attorneys to fight to secure the most basic civil rights of our people through judicial advocacy. NBLSA understands we must fight for Reparations with the same dedication that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz fought for our basic human rights.

NBLSA clearly understands that we must fight to make Black Reparations a household word. We clearly understand that we must learn to spell, define, and defend reparations. We clearly understand that we must raise the issue every time someone talks about Affirmative Action, Welfare Reform, Jobs, Education, Housing, Health Care, the Growing Prison Industrial Complex, Police Brutality, and all of the other pertinent issues threatening the survival and empowerment of our communities because they all fall under the banner of Reparations. Lastly, we clearly understand that we must do more than talk about Reparations. That is why I am proud to announce the following recent accomplishments and future events of NBLSA in support of the Reparations movement:

- 1) Asking our members to join the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), which we feel, is the pre-eminent organization actively working on securing Reparations for our people. Organizing town hall meetings, workshops, and conferences at your schools about Reparations
- 2) Asking our NBLSA chapters at every school to invite Reparations advocates and speakers to present at your school, or to have regional seminars about Reparations. For example, the Rocky Mountain Region of NBLSA Regional Conference is Feb. 19-22, 2004, and there will be an entire session devoted exclusively to Reparations.
- 3) Encouraging our members to read at least one book or article about Reparations a semester.
- 4) Establishing and encouraging our members to visit the Reparations page on the NBLSA website at <http://www.nblsa.org/programs/reparations/> weekly for new information concerning the Reparations movement.
- 5) Publicly supporting H.R. 40 and asking all of our members to call or write their respective U.S. Senator or Congressman asking them to support H.R. 40.
- 6) Planning a Reparations Symposium at the NBLSA National Conference to be held in Boston, Mass on March 19th, 2003 from 10:00am to 12:00pm.
- 7) Encouraging the Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher Black Law Student Chapter at the University of Oklahoma to file an amicus brief in support of the case to get Reparations for the 1921 so-called Tulsa Race Riot.

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Ask The Editor

How would you respond to comments by Whites and Blacks, who believe that Black people perpetuate their own poverty, oppression, etc. through violence, drugs, etc.?

This is the most common of all misperceptions. The truth, however, is that violence and drugs are the direct result of the destruction of the economic base of the Black community. Industrial jobs in basic manufacturing industries such as steel production, auto manufacturing, etc. began moving overseas in the early 1960's and they continue to do so today. These industrial jobs were by and large what encouraged many Blacks to migrate out of the South to the North (at least those who weren't run out by the Klan.) In addition, immigrants from Latin America and Asia have displaced Blacks in areas of traditional service sector work. These combined factors have resulted in massive unemployment among Black youth, leading to poverty, drugs and violence.

Many believe that Blacks are already getting special privileges, yet are demanding equality. Is there proof that Blacks have received special privileges?

If you believe Blacks are getting special privileges, then you should be willing to trade places with Blacks in the ghetto, in order to get those special privileges, right? Here are the real statistics on White special privileges:

1. Whites receive preferential treatment and affirmative action everyday. According to Census data (1998), "The median income for Blacks in 1998 was \$25,351, but for non-Hispanic Whites it was \$42,439." Therefore, more of America's wealth flows back to White hands. Score one for white privilege.

2. According to the Commerce Department (1997), Whites, 69.1%, own their homes, while only 44.1% of Blacks own their homes; a difference of 25%. Therefore, more of the money from the home mortgage interest deduction, the largest welfare program ever invented goes back into White hands. Score two for white affirmative action

3. According to that same study, it costs Blacks more money, \$3,199, to go to college than Whites, \$2,922. Therefore, with respect to college, whites get a chance to retain more of their money than Blacks. Score three for White privilege.

4. Whites get more money, \$3,449, than Blacks,

\$2,863, from college aid, again, according to that Department of Commerce study. Therefore, Whites, with respect to college aid, get more help than Blacks, which allows them to save more of their own money, and accumulate wealth faster. Score four for White affirmative action.

5. According to the Department of Agriculture (2000), White headed-households, 3,624,000, or 43.9% of the 8.2 million households total, were getting food stamps in FY98. Black headed-households, 2,770,000, or 33.6%, were getting food stamps that same year, according to that same study. Therefore, with respect to food stamps, more public money goes back into White hands, than Black hands. Score five for White preferential treatment.

6. According to the USDA (2000) Women's Infants and Children's (WIC) program, there were 8,042,758, participants in the WIC program in 1998. Of those WIC participants, 3,155,604, or 39.2% were non-Hispanic Whites, and 1,842,107, or 22.9% were Blacks. Therefore, with respect to WIC, more public money goes back into White hands, than Black hands. Score six for White preferential treatment.

7. According to the Social Security Administration (SSA) (2000), there were 44,598,890 recipients of Old Age and Survivors Insurance and Disability Insurance, (OASDI), otherwise known as Social Security, as of December 1999. Of those 38,237,240, or 86% were White, and 4,538,570, or 10% were Black. The average monthly benefit for Whites was \$753.20 and the average monthly benefit for Blacks was \$604.30. Therefore, with respect to Social Security, more money goes back into White hands, than Black hands. Score seven for White privilege.

Again, according to the SSA, (1998), Aide For Dependant Children, AFDC, is now called TANF, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. There were 2,631,142 adults who received TANF as of September 1998. Of those, 35.6% were White and 37.1% were Black.

Statisticians call that 1.5% difference within the margin of error, and a statistical tie, therefore, with respect to TANF, nearly, just as much money goes back into White hands as Black hands.

*Answers provided by J. Damu and Vic Nickson
Send your questions to: InformationMedia@aol.com or
N'COBRA-IMC, P.O. Box 716, Washington, DC 20044-0716*

N' COBRA

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America

Invites your organization and you to the

N' COBRA 15th ANNUAL CONVENTION 2004

Washington DC
Junteenth 2004 (June 17th - 20th)

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Our Ancestors; Black Business Marketplace, and much more!*

Make Your Plans Now!

MAIN EVENTS

- Thursday - 17th Lobbying for Reparations on Capitol Hill
 Legislative Award Banquet/Fundraiser
- Friday - 18th N'COBRA Organizations Leadership Roundtable
 N'COBRA Youth Commission's "Youth Summit"
 National Reparations Unity Forum
- Saturday - 19th Reparations Run (5K): "Keepin' Up The Pace"
 Reparations Workshops
 Cultural Entertainment (Poetry Slam, Music & Dance Extravaganza)
- Sunday - 20th Sunrise Spiritual Service
 Conference Closing Activities

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

Online Information: www.NCOBRA.org or http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Reparations_For_Africans

Minister Louis Farrakhan *Offers His Life To The Reparations Movement*

*Dorothy Benton Lewis, N'COBRA National Co-Chair
N'COBRA National Unity Forum,
Washington, DC 8.16.02*

"I am excited about Minister Farrakhan because when I was with the Black Reparation Commission, when I was with the African National Reparations Organization we couldn't get anybody with the microphone to say the word "Reparations." He was the only man who stepped up to the plate and became our voice, the only national representative and I love him for that!"



*The Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan,
N'COBRA National Unity Forum, Washington, DC
8.16.02*

"We must always lift the Cause above ourselves, now, if we are Cause oriented more than personality oriented then we will submerge our personalities for the good of the Cause. The Cause for which we are gathered here tonight and tomorrow is bigger than all of us who are gathered. And therefore it is incumbent upon us to submerge our personalities even our differing methodologies, religious persuasions, or the lack thereof for the Cause that is bigger than us all. We are here tonight not because of ourselves. We are here tonight because of those went before us, to pave the way for us and we must not be untrue to them, and to those who struggled to make life what it is to us. Nor should we relegate what we can do today for our children to do tomorrow. We should complete our assignment today so that our children may work on the next phase of that assignment."

"We must not betray the Ancestors in our negotiation for what we feel is just and justly due to the children of the slaves. It's not about money; it is about what is requisite to repair the damage."

*"I am going to offer my life to
this Movement for Reparations,
national and internationally"*

"(T)he founders of this rally, tomorrow and tonight, who met in Durban and decided that there must be 'Millions For Reparations' they were not just talking, but there was a Spirit moving them, the Spirit of those who have gone on, who are not able to be here tonight but produced us that we might make an accounting of ourselves and our time period. This is our time period and (we) have to make an account for ourselves as to how we functioned in our time."

"Liberation is not a one day journey; neither is Reparations, for Reparations and Liberation really are synonymous. You won't be free without the damage being repaired. And in order to repair the damage you must make a proper assessment of the damage."

Photo by Ma'at

*The Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan
NDABA II, Jackson, MS 10.4.03*

"I have reached the age of 70, by the Grace of God."

"I still have some youth left, and some juice left. I think I am going to offer my life to this Movement for Reparations, national and internationally. I think we can design a national tour and just as we spoke in cities and had 10's of 1,000's of people come out that culminated into the Million Man March. I think we can do it again on the principle of Reparations. I think we can do it again on the international scene as well.

Africa is in need of Reparations, the indigenous people of the South Pacific, Australia, the Aborigines, the Maori, the Ainu People – all are in need of Reparations. And out of the valiance of those of us struggling inside America we can send up a light to all our people all over the world from this, the capitol of Neo-colonialism and slavery and create an International Movement that puts pressure on the enemy. We can unite the Hip Hop Nation around this thing and let everybody talk about "add it up" what you owe."

International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement 12th World Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S

On Tuesday, October 7th, at 10:00am, the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement held a press conference across from the United Nations to announce the upcoming 12th Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S.. Organizers of and participants in the Reparations Tribunal were available to talk to the press. As the U.S. comes under increasing international criticism for its invasion and occupation of Iraq, African people in the U.S. are escalating pressure for acknowledgement and compensation for slavery and other violations of international law.

On November 15th and 16th, 2003, the 12th Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. will convene in Philadelphia. In 1982, Black people, denied recourse through domestic courts, put the U.S. government on trial for violating international law in its treatment of the African community. An international panel of judges found the U.S. guilty and owing \$4.1 trillion dollars in stolen labor alone, with damages yet to be set for pain and suffering.

Subsequent sessions of the Tribunal have compiled further testimony and evidence that has been entered into the growing body of documentation supporting the demand of African people for reparations.

The 2003 Tribunal session takes place in the context of a growing movement for reparations for Black people. 11 sessions of this Tribunal, held in various cities since 1982, have popularized the reparations demand in Black communities throughout the U.S. In 1989, Michigan Congressman John Conyers introduce H. R.40, a bill that he has submitted every year since, in an effort to establish a "Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans". Beginning with Aetna in 2000, Deadria Farmer-Paellmann initiated lawsuits against numerous U.S. corporations demanding reparations for profits gained from slavery.

At the 2001 United Nations-sponsored World Conference Against Racism the great majority of the world's countries gave their support for the reparations demand, declaring the enslavement and colonization of African people by Europe and America was a crime against humanity.

The International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. is based upon international laws including the U.N. Human Rights Charter and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Chimurenga Waller is President of the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, and sponsor of the upcoming Tribunal. He says "400 years is too long to owe anybody anything! African people demand our human rights to self-determination and reparations under international law."

This year's session in Philadelphia will focus on the issues of police brutality and the prison and education systems. Scheduled witnesses include:

Dr. Leonard Jeffries, City College of New York, on the slave trade

Councilman Charles Barron, Brooklyn, New York

Attorney Michael Coard, Philadelphia lawyer on police brutality and unjust imprisonment

Ms. Bonnie Kerness, American Friends Service Committee, on the torture of African children in prisons

Ms. Pam Africa, on the case of African political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal

Lawrence Hamm, People's Organization for Progress, on police brutality in New Jersey

Professor Ella Forbes, Temple University African History whose son Erin was killed by Lower Merion, PA Police

Ms. Barbara Vance, whose nephew Kenneth Griffin was killed by Pennsylvania parole officers

Ms. Ramona Africa, survivor of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia

Mr. Leodus Jones, on the use of African prisoners in medical experiments

Ms. Ingrid Crew, whose brother, Stanton Crew was

(Continued on page 33)

African Leadership

(Continued from page 15)

our people, we automatically accelerate the movement of our people who are already more conscious.

Keep in mind that our people who have these injuries aspects may or may not have locked hair; may or may not have adopted an African name; may or may not wear kente cloth. Do not be fooled by appearance. And do not fail always to look for those same injuries in thyself. "Our most ancient people taught the world that the ultimate instruction for human growth and transformation was: 'Man, know thyself.'" (Akbar 1998)

We will not survive as leaders; and we certainly will not be effective leaders if we are not consciously and permanently doing this transformative organizing work with our people and ourselves on a daily basis. As leaders in the reparation's movement, we must face this dynamic within our own mental make-up, conscious and unconscious, and rip it out in the process of doing this work. Otherwise, we will never gain the capacity to be movers of our people to Reparations. This is continuous work. It does not matter how long we have been in the struggle. This work is easier spoken about than practiced. I believe that it is a profound love of our people that will ultimately sustain us in this process of doing the actual work.

The above is a foundational perspective on the work. We must be thorough with this foundation; otherwise, we will be frustrated and unable to apply successfully the following seven African leadership rules in our reparations work:

SEVEN AFRICAN LEADERSHIP RULES

One:

African reparations leaders must always seek to know and see the world as it is in its full reality and in the absolute interest of African people. We must vision African liberation from that perspective and always know the world through the eyes of white supremacy but never see the world through the eyes of white supremacy.

Two:

African reparations leaders must continually study the worldwide experiences of African freedom fighters

and African freedom movements of the past 500 years; study the history of the Reparations movement within the United States; and study current local events and worldwide current events. This must be part of lifelong work

Three:

African reparations leaders must strategically join and embrace local community struggles around housing, health care, education...etc. of the African community and combine the resolution of that specific struggle with the reparations demand.

This is very difficult and very essential work. It takes great skill and integrity of leadership, requiring the combination of tactics. It is not putting, for example, the housing or health crises ahead of the Reparations demand. Rather it is making reparations concrete and the essential part of addressing all of the ills of our community caused by chattel slavery and systemic racism/white supremacy. Hence our community's fight for adequate schools, health care, education is the fight for reparations.

But not all "community struggles" are reparations struggles. It really takes preparation to do this grassroots work. We must never use an authentic community struggle to push any organization or any issue outside of that authentic community struggle itself. We only get involved if a reparations' issue (however the community describes it) is a central issue of the community struggle itself. We may have to connect the dots for the community. One of the vestiges of chattel slavery is our inability to see clearly the full responsibility for and connection of our present day condition to the acts of the US and state governments to slavery. Our job as reparations leaders in our communities is to help our people to see the connection clearly. When this is accomplished, enormous opportunities arise to build the reparations movement in the local area and to strengthen the capacity of the community to make gains in its particular community struggle as well. They are mutually reinforcing. It is real movement forward.

Four:

African reparations leaders must work passionately for their perspective of what form(s) they think reparations should take. But we must always practice operational unity and political unity when appropriate around the following options of the possible forms reparations may take, placing full emphasis on building the capac-

ity of our people to design, articulate, and win the full range of options as we as a people design and desire them:

“...The material forms of reparations includes cash payments, land, economic development, and repatriation resources particularly to those who are descendants of enslaved Africans. Other forms of reparations for Black people of African descent include: funds for scholarships and community development; creation of multi-media depictions of the history of Black people of African descent and textbooks for educational institutions that tell the story from the African descendants’ perspective; development of historical monuments and museums; the return of artifacts and art to appropriate people or institutions; exoneration of political prisoners; and, the elimination of laws and practices that maintain dual systems in the major areas of life including the punishment system, health, education, and the financial/economic system. The forms of reparations received should improve the lives of African descendents in the United States for future generations to come; foster complete economic, social, and political parity; and allow for the full rights of self-determination.”

(N’COBRA, An Information Sheet, p.2, 2002)

Five:

African reparations leaders must consciously build leadership in other people. Appreciate the value of a charismatic leader but do not build the cult of the leader; rather build the capacity of African people as a whole to lead each other to victory.

Six:

African reparations leaders must on a consistent basis hold town hall meetings or community teach-ins where the community can come to learn what reparations is and why and how to build the movement for Reparations. It is also a place where a larger group of reparations leaders participate in teaching a larger number of community people at the same time. This is a place where we connect the dots between our present day circumstances and the necessity for the Reparations remedy to a mass audience.

Seven:

African reparations leaders must actively work to build consensus and to ensure a meaningful level of democratic and non-sexist decision making in all of the Reparations movement building work.

Conclusion:

The above seven rules are not written in any particular order because they are meant to be thought of holistically, each one fertilizing each and every other one at the same time as all are implemented together.

Also, the above seven rules must be applied within the context of an organization that exists or that is in formation and that has Reparations as a focus and that also has a viable structure and a capacity to stand on its own financial feet. If any of you are not a part of such an organization join one and/or start one. We encourage you to include N’COBRA among the organizations that you join. © 2003

12th World Tribunal

(Continued from page 31)

killed by New Jersey police

Family of Edward Shawn Pickens, killed by Philadelphia police

The International panel of judges listed below will hear the testimony and enter it into the record.

Thami Kaa Plaatjie, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa)

Dorothy Lewis, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA)

Luwezi Kinshasa, African Socialist International, London

Mohammad Chehab, Arab activist

Judy De Los Santos, Union Del Barrio, (Mexican national liberation organization)

Penny Hess, African People's Solidarity Committee

For more information, contact the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement at (727) 502-0575.

West Coast Community Organizing Continues

by Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at

On Saturday, November 1, 2003 the Oakland/Berkley community hosted a Reparations forum entitled: "NO LONGER CAN AFRICAN PEOPLE WAIT: A Critical Dialogue for Actions on Reparations," at the beautiful Black Repertory Group Theater (on the Oakland/Berkeley border). The event was co-sponsored by the African Initiative of the American Friends Service Committee and Foundations For Our Nu Alkebulan/Afrikan Millennium (FONAMI).

The goals throughout this continuing process are to deepen the outreach and discussions on Reparations among isolated Afrikan family members and supporters; to encourage a sharing of our varying perspectives and paths of direction; and to look at unique ways that our groups can unite and collaborate for necessary action.

The event has been described as superb!, with magnificent panelists representing a rich diversity of spiritual, grassroots and scholarly leadership and experiences from around our Afrikan Diaspora, and a rich response from the community at large. The presenters and the community should be applauded for offering their comments in a respectful and loving manner even when there were significant disagreements on strategies and priorities in building our movement. There are many roads to Kujichagulia (self-determination), and all are worthy of honor and respect. Unity does not mean uniformity in every aspect of our lives, thinking, or struggle.

What's up next? In the California Bay Area

- "Critical Dialogue for Action on Reparations," featuring California Central Valley groups and activists, at Wo'se Community Church of the Way, Sacramento, today, Sunday, 2 November, 3 pm
- "Walk, Run, Bike, Skate, Handstand... for Reparations (#1)" around Oakland's Lake Merritt, a fun(d) raiser for N'COBRA and our Global Afrikan Congress, on Saturday, 22 November.
- African Initiative of AFSC kicks-off regional "LIFE over "debt" and death" campaign calling for unconditional cancellation of the criminal "debt" on Africa, and Reparations in many other forms, on Inter-

national Human Rights Day, Wednesday, 10 December, at birthplace of United Nations in downtown San Francisco.

- "wRiters, Rhymers, Rappers, Radio/tv Personalities, Re-Creators... for Reparations" performances and fun(d)raiser for N'COBRA, GAC and others, on Saturday, 13 December.
- Celebration of Our Day of IMANI (FAITH) and 200th Anniversary of Afrikan-Haitian Revolution, 1 January 2004.
- National African Initiative of AFSC kicks-off U.S. "LIFE over debt" campaign on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC, on birthday of Ancestor Rev. Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Thursday, 15 January 2004.
- "Critical Dialogue for Action on Reparations" at San Francisco Public Library, in March 2004.

For information contact Brother Jahahara Amen-RA Alkebulan-Ma'at, African Initiative Coordinator, AFSC Pacific Mountain Region; nuafrikan777@msn.com or jalkebulan@afsc.org; 415.867.7120

Unity does not mean uniformity in every aspect of our lives, thinking, or struggle.

Reparations Now!

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8) Encouraging our members to not get discouraged with the Reparations movement, but to remember the immortal words of Frederick Douglass that "If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation...want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

History of N'COBRA's Legislative Front

(Continued from page 19)

HR 40. McGriff, through "A Year of Black Presence (AYBP)," is successfully providing a bridge for persons who wish a consistent structure through which they can come to Washington and, as constituents, lobby their Members to support this legislation.

On January 30, 2003, over 250 Reparations supporters from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania converged on Capitol Hill for the AYBP kickoff event. This event took place in Room 2237 of the Rayburn Building, which is the very room where the House Judiciary Committee will eventually determine whether H.R. 40 will be forwarded for debate on the House floor. In response to the efforts of Milton McGriff, Reparations lobbyists are now coming each month to lobby on behalf of H.R. 40. Lobbyists have included Mr. Hilary Shelton, Director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, Mr. Ken Fealing, Director of Civil and Human Rights for the United Methodist Church, Ms. DeBorah Gilbert White, Minister of Anti-Racism and Conflict Resolution for the United Church of Christ, Minister Khadir Abdul Muhammad, East Coast Representative for Nation of Islam Leader, Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan, and renowned scholar and political analyst, Dr. Ron Walters. Mr. Keenan Kellar, Judiciary Counsel to Congressman John Conyers, has worked closely with the AYBP initiative, providing invaluable support and counsel to more than 800 Reparations lobbyists who've come to the Hill in support of this effort. At AYBP's inception, there were 20 co-sponsors of the bill. To date, there are 39 co-sponsors, and while this is a far cry from the total number of votes needed to pass H.R. 40, the efforts of AYBP lobbyists are clearly bearing fruit.

In sum, just as the 21st century brings renewed vigor to N'COBRA's forward thrust for reparations on the legislative and other fronts, it also represents the solidification of what can only be characterized as the beginnings of a true reparations MOVEMENT. Thanks to the painstaking groundwork laid by reparations pioneers of the late 1980's and 1990's, reparations in this millennium is an idea whose time has come. We must all find our place within this Movement and work to make it a reality. If you feel your place is as part of the Legislative Front, you are invited to join the Legislative Commission and become an active part of achieving "Reparations in Our Lifetime."



Youth Commission

(Continued from page 26)

have chosen to make their participation in the society and struggle, a life long endeavor. These societies need to be the vehicle through which our youth can be properly educated, since we cannot depend on the public educational system to consistently and completely educate our youth about themselves. Since many college students are attracted to the allure of "greek" organizations, we can utilize our societies to reclaim our youth and return them back to the path of the African based consciousness, which is healthier for the black psyche. We should incorporate African principles, ceremonies, values, and Rights of Passage. We agreed we must not neglect any and every opportunity to organize and promote joint events between all organizations that represent our people.

If you would like to join that list serve please visit the msn.com website and go to groups. Look for the NDABA Youth Group and follow the steps to join. Look to hear from us with a strategic plan within the next month. If you have any suggestions or would like more information please contact 317-329-3552, madina@fwo360.com, or slacy@scarabys.com

Avenge the Ancestors II

Where are our bayonets,
our martial arts,
where are our Priests
who chant into the night the old rituals,
where are the ceremonial drummers
who know the ancient rhythms
that strike the call
to arms, to gather our minds, our hearts, our souls
to the greater oneness of our ancestors?
Where are the shrines we must certainly carry
to win the victory our people deserve,
that sets a new sun ablaze in the heavens
that ignites the hell *they* will live in forever?
Where are the millions
to stand for the millions
who stood for the millions
who died by the millions?
Avenge the Ancestors

by Zumbi Soweto

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

Jubilee South Africa Statement On Reparations

Issue date: 2003-07-24

Statement from reparations gathering of 18 and 19 July

Reparations Yes! Reparations Yes! Reparations Yes!

This gathering of Jubilee South Africa, together with partners of the popular movements and other organisations of civil society, meeting at Technikon SA from 18 to 19 July 2003, believes that the issue of reparations is rooted in the oppression, exploitation and systematic dispossession of our people. The TRC, because of its limited terms of reference, was not able to consider the nature and scope of reparations in a systematic and comprehensive way. It was thus unable to redress the legacy of Apartheid and racial oppression.

The TRC has unfinished business, especially in relation to big business, both foreign and national. We reaffirm the right and legitimacy of oppressed communities and their organisations to implement a range of initiatives to ensure more far-reaching forms of reparations, including legal claims in foreign and South African courts. In this respect, this gathering gives support to the current court cases being undertaken in the United States courts.

In order to secure reparations at a level able to redress the damage of Apartheid and racial oppression in all its manifestations, for all those affected, Jubilee, together with its partners in the popular movement, will initiate hearings where communities can express and define the scale and nature of reparations that satisfactorily address the past.

This process will culminate in a People's Tribunal that will determine the people, institutions and businesses that must make reparations and the forms that these should take.

In order to pressure big business into meeting their responsibility to make reparations, Jubilee, with its partners, will undertake a name and shame campaign against the monopolies that were fundamental to the apartheid system.

In addition, we will identify specific companies and products that symbolise the role these corporations played in facilitating the development of apartheid, which will be targeted in a consumer boycott.

The broader conference that has been called for later this year by the churches amongst others, must be based on clear principles, including the need for reparations to comprehensively address the damage done and the right of those struggling for reparations to use the courts of law to this end.

We see this conference as a step in the process towards a popular tribunal and the intensification of campaigning activity towards the realisation of reparations.

We believe that it is important that the demand for reparations must be integrated into the ongoing struggles and campaigns within popular civil society that will give the issue of reparations the necessary weight and importance and locate reparations within the increasing challenge to neoliberal policies.

Furthermore, we recognise that our struggle for reparations is part of a broader struggle of the people of Southern Africa for reparations for Apartheid destabilisation and other forms of racial and neoliberal damage. We stand fully in support of these struggles and demands.

The gathering included participants from the following organisations:

Alternative Information and Development Centre
Anti-Privatisation Forum
Ceasefire
Concerned Citizens Forum
Earthlife Africa Ethikwini
Ecopeace
Environmental Justice Networking Forum
Fairshare
Freedom of Expression Institute
Green Network
Inanda Dam affected communities
SACBC - Justice and Peace
Khanya College
Landless People's Movement
LCLT
PACSA
Popcru
RDSN

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Samancor Retrenched Workers Crisis Committee
Sangoco

Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee
Young Christian Workers
Youth for Work

For further details, contact Jubilee Chairperson MP
Giyose 082 350 0361/011 403 7624, or Jubilee
General Secretary George Dor 011 648 7000

Jamaica Reparations Movement

Greetings and Blessings!

The Jamaica Reparations Movement (JaRM) sends its felicitations and congratulations to the Millions For Reparations movement, on the occasion of its upcoming National Rally in New York, September 13, 2003.

Though our enslavers in Jamaica were English, not American, our history of exploitation, brutality, racism and impoverishment is the same and our need for Reparations identical and equally justified.

The JaRM has been in existence following the Durban WCAR and has recently completed a Jamaica Reparations Document that can be viewed at our website (http://www.geocities.com/i_makeda) outlining our Proposals and Plan of Action for the award of Reparations to the Jamaican descendants of enslaved Africans.

The JaRM is inspired by the strong and brave leadership of the USA Reparations Movement, acknowledging that our African-American Brothers and Sisters can, by their numbers and multiple sources of communication and litigation, give inspiration and guidance to I&I in Jamaica and the rest of the African Diaspora.

Though I cannot be physically present in New York, I and all members of the JaRM send you our extremely positive prayers and Blessings for a successful event that will focus more international attention on our fight for Justice and Human Rights.

May the spirits of our African Ancestors protect and guide you all!

ONE LOVE!
Makeda Blake Hannah
Co-Ordinating Secretary
Jamaica Reparations Movement.

The Situation in Zimbabwe: *Land and Reparations*



By Sabelo Sibanda

Zimbabwe, at the present, is going through one of the most challenging periods since the time of our independence. The thrust of our concerns is mainly related to self-determination with a focus on reparations and the goal of righting the wrongs of the past. We are reclaiming what is rightfully ours. What has progressively presented itself as a challenge is how we, as African people, deal with the situation without the interference of outsiders. As the indigenous people of Zimbabwe our position is, that this is part of our collective responsibility to ourselves, and to our ancestors. However, Westerners are intent on getting involved in what is essentially a domestic issue of a sovereign nation. Patriotism is very much under threat as many Zimbabweans weigh the prospects of the difficult work of bringing stability to the nation or just jumping ship and going to another man's land where life appears easier. To a great extent some of us view ourselves as necessary players in the development of our country and will

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do all it takes to procure a better future for African people, whereas there are some who are ready to abdicate their responsibility to others.

One of the major challenges is whether to go through with the process we have engaged upon relating to our reparations based on the land reform policies of the present government or to give in under the onslaught of international criticism that we are currently facing. The voices and opinions differ but the essential issue is that we as African people, both at home and in the Diaspora seem to be failing to dialogue with one another and to put a structure in place that will prevent all of us from being used by those who want to keep us all in bondage.

This is the summary on Zimbabwe that will be discussed in more depth in a public address or interview. You will note that politically, I do not take any party position, as I do not subscribe to party politics. I simply work on an agenda that is in keeping with the future well being of our people. The School of African Awareness is apolitical.

Global Afrikan Congress Haiti Resolution Cap Haitian August 21, 2003.

Reparations for the Nation State and People of Haiti

Whereas, for a period of almost 300 years, the people of Haiti were victims of the most extreme crime against humanity- the trade in enslaved Africans and the associated system of racialized chattel slavery- which was inflicted upon them by the nation of France and various other European powers;

And whereas the people of Haiti fought and won the only successful revolutionary war waged against the system of chattel slavery by the enslaved victims of that system;

And whereas the Haitian Revolution and the military defeats inflicted on the slavery sustaining regimes of France, Spain and England by the Haitian revolutionaries constituted a major blow to the entire European system of racialized chattel slavery, and proved to be an invaluable source of inspiration to all enslaved African people struggling for their freedom;

And whereas these major victories won by the Haitian people for themselves and all other African people were accomplished at the expense of tremendous human and material sacrifice on the part of the nation and people of Haiti;

And whereas in the years after the Revolution powerful and vindictive regimes in Europe and North America, including the governments of France and the United States, made every effort to inflict punitive damage on the nation and people of Haiti by imposing on Haiti a so-called compensation payment of 150 million gold francs to France, and by carrying out a number of blockades, embargoes, invasions and occupation of Haiti;

And whereas these long years of criminality and unlawful victimization have resulted in continuing and currently existing underdevelopment, poverty, human suffering and economic, social and cultural damage to the nation and people of Haiti;

And whereas, as a matter of international law and morality, the nation and people of Haiti are entitled to the payment of reparations and the implementation of reparative measures and programmes, to repair the damage that they have suffered and continue to suffer;

And whereas, at the African and African Descendants World Conference Against Racism which was held in Barbados in October 2002, the newly established Global Afrikan Congress committed itself and called upon African and Caribbean people and governments to make the achievement of reparations for Haiti one of the priority objectives of the international Reparations movement;

This 3rd Assembly of Caribbean People hereby resolves:-

To immediately launch a Caribbean and a wider international campaign, in collaboration with progressive forces in Haiti and in the Haitian Diaspora, to advance, demand and achieve reparation payments and reparative measures and programmes for the nation and people of Haiti, and in so doing, to identify and target the government of France as one of the major guilty parties from which reparations are due and owing; and

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To observe and celebrate every 23rd of August as an international day in support of reparations for the nation and people of Haiti.

CARRIED: By Majority of Delegates
Dated August 24/2003, Cap Haitian, Haiti.

Representing the Global Afrikan Congress at the 3rd Assembly of Caribbean People in Cap Haitian, Haiti Are:

Cikiah Thomas; GAC Chairperson (Canada)
David Comissiong; Director of the Commission For Pan-African Affairs (Barbados)
Attorney Bobby Clarke; (Barbados)

Nekesha Holdipp; York University Toronto (Canada)
Akins Vidale, University of West Indies, (Trinidad & Tobago)

Global Afrikan Congress European Regional Meeting

On Friday October 3RD, 2003 the Global Afrikan Congress Europe (GAC) commenced its first regional family gathering. This historical event, the first of this kind in Europe, was a three-day intensive multi-pronged critical analysis of the diverse challenges faced by Afrikans and Afrikan descendants in Europe to improve their fortunes and present social conditions. The gathering achieved its aims and objectives to increase the levels of organisation, and implement decisions reached in gatherings held in Durban (2001) and Bridgetown (Barbados) (2002). Another accomplishment was the fulfilment of the aim to devise new, and improve existing strategies, as well as deepen the commitment of GAC members and delegates.

Held in Rotterdam (Netherlands), the conference was well attended with over 100 attendees. The organisers were very pleased with the overall turnout and support received, especially with the significant youth presence. There were representatives from GAC chapters, regions and country delegates from Europe, specifically Belgium, Norway, France, Netherlands and the United Kingdom. There were representatives from GAC structures in Canada, United States of America, Barbados, Bermuda, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts & Nevis,

Jamaica, St. Maarten, Guyana, Surinam, (Dutch) Antilles, Uganda, Angola, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Somalia, Southern Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Congo and Nigeria.

With the focus of the Global Afrikan Congress on the discourse on Reparations, plenaries explored the history of GAC and the importance of the European region in this discourse. Whilst numerous resolutions presented helped shape the future of the GAC Europe region, the Haitian resolution (recently accepted at the assembly of Caribbean people in Haiti) was revisited. Several working groups ran concurrently to deal with a number of historical and contemporary themes within the Afrikan & Afrikan descendants' community: the effects of enslavement and colonisation, youth development, research methodology and documentation, education.

The delegates actively participate in all aspects of the event. From resolutions proposed to continuous updates and debates within working groups and during report back sessions, delegates were instrumental in the success achieved in this event.

The gathering was truly a community event that surpassed expectations. Having organised committees, yielded action plans and fostered a sense of renewal, empowerment and cultural dignity, these results speak to the success achieved and the promise held by the GAC, especially the European region.

Please join us at the official GAC international website:
www.globalafrikancongress.com
GAC-European Website:
www.globalafrikancongress.europenet.nl

Look out for future events.
For further information contact: 0031 618213802

BARRYL A. BIEKMAN, GAC Europe
ESTHER STANFORD, GAC Europe
CIKIAH THOMAS, GAC International Chair
**RESOLUTION: (DUTCH) ANTILLES & SURINAM
CAUCUS LINKED TO GAC EUROPE**

Organisations in the (Dutch) Antilles and Surinam are already working to give body to an Antillean and Surinam caucus. It is realistic and logical that this caucus be a part of the Caribbean region, but also natural, from an historical perspective that an Antillean and Surinam caucus be linked to GAC Europe, due to the triangular and forced relationship between the Antillean islands, the Netherlands and Surinam.

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Therefore, be it resolved that the GAC Europe accept that it is good and beneficial to implement an official caucus of GAC in the Antilles, the Netherlands, and Surinam.



RESOLUTION:
GAC-NETHERLANDS, GAC-BELGIUM & GAC-FRANCE

With the persistently false, negative and racist misrepresentation of Afrikan people in the European controlled media, (mis) education system, and all other European and European controlled institutions,

With a consistent European programme that presents a false and misleading history that is ethnically cleansed of all Afrikan content,

Further, that such unjust acts are oppressive and injurious to the spiritual, social, psychological and economic health and well-being of all Afrikan people, and constitute affronts to human dignity and crimes against humanity,

Considering the vast number of examples demonstrating unjust practices i.e. *ZWARTE PETE* in Netherlands, *PERÉ FOUETTARD* in France and the exhibition of Afrikans in Belgium animal parks,

Be it resolved that the GAC recognize such practices as a basis for Reparations,

Be it further resolved that the GAC calls upon the United Nations to investigate these past and continuing human right infringements,

Be it further resolved that the GAC call for the immediate cessation of all such practices, with a forth coming recognition of the wrongdoing in the form of a written apology from the offending parties,

And be it further resolved that the GAC institutes measures to monitor and report the incidence of these, and similar, practices in these named countries and those around the world.

RESOLUTION:
GAC-UNITED KINGDOM

- (1) Be it resolved that the term "SLAVE TRADE" be discarded as an unacceptable term to describe Our history of enslavement and genocide, from Continental invasion to (present) globalisation, at the hands of the Arab and European Nations alike, and replaced with the Afrikan terms "MAAFA and MAANGAMIZI".
- (2) Whereas all Afrikans are workers and We recognise that all Afrikan workers must be organised, We strongly urge that all organised Afrikan workers must work towards the liberation of Afrikan workers world-wide. To this end, the Global Afrikan Congress must work towards building an (independent) "Afrikan Trade Union" (movement).
- (3) Whereas, We recognise that as Afrikan people We have and continue to suffer from European and Arab terrorism as a direct result of the events that transpired in the "TRANS-ATLANTIC" and present-day "SUB-SAHARAN" ENSLAVEMENT" of Afrikan people, and that this (historical) terrorism has not ended, for wherever Afrikan people are found We are still subject to the devastating effects of this "Global Terrorism",

Be it resolved that the GAC take a firm stance to oppose the attempt by the governments of the United States and United Kingdom, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the war on Afghanistan, Iraq, and the so-called war on terror, to label Afrikan people and the Afrikan continent as terrorists or terrorist states.

Be it further resolved that the GAC takes an oppositional stance against the internal and external, national and international anti-terrorist legislation and, or laws designed to be used to target the continent of Afrika and Afrikans in the Diaspora.

Be it further resolved that the GAC call upon all Afrikan governments and political forces on the Afrikan continent and in the Diaspora to cease and desist from the overt and covert support of the white supremacist, imperialist war of aggression masquerading as a war against terrorism.

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

South Africa's Civil Society Conference Decisions on Reparations

From: george@sn.apc.org

The civil society reparations conference, "Opening Civil Society Dialogue on Reparations", was held in Randburg on 27 and 28 August 2003. It was attended by some 50 organizations -- including those of national and more localized characters -- and ranging from organizations directly interested in reparations 'per se' to others actively bringing together people around reparations-related issues.

The conference had its origins in the South African Government's response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in April this year, to which Jubilee and Khulumani responded by announcing a call to South Africans to come together to develop another position on reparations that would serve as an alternative to that announced by the Government. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) had also indicated an intention to hold a conference, and thus efforts were made to work towards a single 'civil society' event.

These efforts were hampered by tensions, leading to a meeting convened by Archbishop Ndungane resulting in the establishment of a steering committee to organize the conference. A Jubilee preparatory event, including 35 organizations, was held on the dates originally scheduled for the conference, namely 18 and 19 July 2003.

The steering committee was comprised of the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF), Jubilee South Africa, the Khulumani Support Group, the National Congress of Trade Unions (NACTU), the National Land Committee (NLC), the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF), the SACC, the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO), the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) and the Womens' National Coalition (WNC).

The conference was opened by Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane. The Minister of Justice, Penuell Maduna, presented Government's position on reparations, and Advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza and Father Mi-

chael Lapsley critiqued the TRC and Government's response to the TRC, in addition speaking to the topic of the lawsuits filed in the United States.

Khulumani presented their critique of Government's response to the TRC. Jubilee and the Apartheid Claims Taskforce described the process towards and developments in relation to the lawsuits. COSATU, the Landless Peoples Movement (LPM), EJNF, the APF and SANCO talked to reparations and the workplace, land, the environment and the community.

The final sessions of the conference identified areas of agreement amongst the participating organizations. In the first instance, organizations reached a common understanding on who the "victims" are, what constitutes reparations, and who should pay. Then the conference reached decisions in relation to responses to the TRC, the lawsuits and a reparations movement.

Who are the "victims"?

The negative connotation of the word "victims" was raised, and alternative terms such as those affected or survivors were suggested as being more appropriate.

The following were described as affected people:

- ~ People directly affected by Apartheid violence, including police and military brutality;
- ~ All other South Africans more "indirectly" affected by Apartheid;
- ~ People dispossessed of their land;
- ~ People removed to make way for dams;
- ~ People forced to move for plantations;
- ~ People dispossessed of their land before 1913;
- ~ Workers suffering low wages and appalling working conditions;
- ~ People in the townships;
- ~ People affected by mining pollution, including those suffering ill health as a result;
- ~ Workers and communities affected by industrial pollution;
- ~ Fisherfolk;
- ~ People victimized in the post-1994 period; and
- ~ Affected people throughout the Southern African region.

The structural, psychological and physical aspects of

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damage were also raised, and this was not seen as a definitive or an exhaustive definition of those affected.

What constitutes reparations?

It was agreed that reparations has a monetary component that is both legitimate and necessary.

Other forms of reparations were mentioned, including:

- ~ Individual and collective reparations;
- ~ 'Targeted' reparations vs reparations for the whole society;
- ~ Debt cancellation as a form of resources for reparations;
- ~ Exhumation and reburial;
- ~ Memorials;
- ~ Those forms of reparations identified in Volume 5 of the TRC report;
- ~ Uncovering the truth;
- ~ Historical documentation;
- ~ Rewriting our history;
- ~ Education;
- ~ Reparations as an element of change to a more equitable society.

Development was seen as a form of repairing historical inequities, but it was stressed that general government policies and development activities are not a substitute for other forms of reparations.

Who should pay and who should effect reparations?

It was agreed that the money 'is there', and that all those who benefited from Apartheid should pay. More specifically, business, local and foreign, should pay.

Government has a major responsibility, and needs to identify mechanisms to increase income from business.

Foreign governments that supported Apartheid and business activity in contravention of sanctions also have an obligation to make reparations.

It was also noted that reparations is a complex issue, but that this should not deter us from addressing the complexities. On the contrary, it is important to lo-

cate individual struggles for reparations within the broader context and for people, communities and organizations, and to support each other's struggles as part of the broader struggle for reparations.

Responses to the TRC:

The conference agreed that the Government's response to the TRC recommendations is inadequate. The amount of 30,000 South African Rand is less than a quarter of the amount recommended by the TRC as long ago as 1998. The announcement that 19,000 people are due to be receive this amount fails to address the vast numbers of people affected. The TRC recommendations themselves are absolutely minimal - - representing less than one half a percent of the national budget -- and fall well short of what could be provided.

Khulumani made various proposals for structures and services to meet the needs of those affected, including the establishment of a reparations desk at the highest level, better resourcing of the National Prosecuting Authority, and the inclusion of victim representatives in all memorialization projects.

The conference endorsed the spirit of these and other proposals made during the conference. Due to time considerations, the conference could not consider the proposals in detail. The consolidated proposals were circulated in written form, and all organizations agreed to forward detailed comments on the specific proposals.

Lawsuits:

The conference stressed the right of all affected South Africans to legal action in any court that best represents their interests anywhere in the world.

The conference recognized that lawyers have to take their mandate from their plaintiffs, and that the conference had no powers in this regard. The conference encouraged lawyers to work together in the best interests of all affected.

Participants expressed their openness to dialogue, mediation and settlement, and encouraged Archbishop Ndungane to take the lead in dialogue.

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN REPARATIONS MOVEMENT

However, the conference also noted the antagonistic approach of business. It condemned business for its failure to respond positively to the invitation to address the conference, and identified this as a 'slap in the face'. The conference also noted that Government is taking the side of business, as evidenced by its affidavit to the US court calling for the dismissal of the lawsuits.

The conference expressed support for the litigation in the United States against Apartheid-supporting foreign companies. The spokesperson for the SACC indicated that the SACC can't pronounce on the specific lawsuits before the US courts.

It was stressed that those affected in South Africa must lead the legal process, that organization 'on the ground' in support of the lawsuits must be strengthened, that the lawsuits must be located within a broad view of reparations, and that they must be embedded in a reparations movement.

It was noted that current litigation is only the beginning and that those that aided and abetted Apartheid, both foreign and local, must make reparations.

It was noted that dialogue or mediation requires a fundamental change of approach by business and government. This includes full disclosure by business of their activities. It was stressed that any mediation or settlement on a specific claim should not close the door on other potential claimants' rights to pursue the legal route. The need to elaborate upon what exactly is meant by mediation was identified.

The conference demanded that the South African Government withdraws its affidavit to the US court. It agreed to look into the constitutionality of the Government's approach in making the affidavit, and into the possibility of a civil society affidavit to the court.

The conference agreed on the need for more dialogue and increased levels of cooperation amongst the participating organizations. It agreed on the need for more education around -- and pamphlets on -- the lawsuits. Participants agreed to deepen grassroots support for the lawsuits and work towards maximum unity.

A Reparations Movement

The conference agreed to work towards building a reparations movement. It was agreed that this movement should include different organizations, should enhance communication and relationships between the organizations, and create circumstances where they can support one another's struggles.

The conference agreed that the Apartheid Debt and Reparations Task Team should act as a point of coordination for the movement, and that it should be expanded to include organizations not currently part of the task team. Partners of the Interfaith Mission in Southern Africa and the South African Reparations Movement indicated an interest in participating. The Freedom of Expression Institute highlighted the need to address the role of the media under Apartheid, and the conference agreed upon the need to avoid confusion between the reparations movement and the South African Reparations Movement.

It was agreed that the task team should carry forward work in progress and tasks arising from the conference.

The conference was informed of the call by the President's Office for a list of participants to the conference, and expressed its condemnation of this approach as an invasion of participants' rights.

Reparations, Repatriation and the threat to Africa's survival

Ras Tafari Global Reasoning 2003 Conference
University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica
July 16th – 24th

by Bobo Greg (bobo_greg@yahoo.co.uk)

Greetings in the Name of the Most High, Emperor Haile Sellassie I, JAH RASTAFARI!

The subject Reparations, Repatriation and the threat to Africa's survival, has become the most imperative topic of the 21st Century. We Africans have reached the point for decisions that will alter our fate and shape our destinies for the survival of our race.

In summary, we are to decide whether to :-
(i). Integrate into trade groups/zones for our survival.
But in the words of H.I.M. Emperor Haile Sellassie I;

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by turning to one or another major power groups we risk engorgement; that gradual process of assimilation which destroys our personality and identity. And this assimilating process is known today as GLOBALISATION!;

(ii). Agitate for reparations for the atrocities of colonial slavery and with it comes a structural plan; socially, politically, and economically in order to exist in the midst of these same oppressive colonial infrastructures; or

(iii). To continue the struggle for total emancipation from every slave ground for the redemption of our race; a struggle which now demands reparations for resettlement and for crimes against humanity. These I believe are now the main choices for the Black Race's survival. Since these decisions are being contemplated because of the consequences of colonialism, I strongly believe that the real answer for our race survival lies within the course of struggle for our emancipation from slavery. It becomes our duty to set the records straight so that in the course of seeking redress the succeeding generations will have the benefit of history to acquire success if we had failed in our lifetime to gain the victory for the justice of REPATRIATION and REPARATION.

We begin at August 1st 1834/8, the date that the British slavers were given £20,000,000.00 to emancipate Africans within the British Empire. To this date this sum for reparations was never used to repatriate us back to Africa! This became the decisive division for the African diaspora: those who insist on working for their masters, 'the good slaves', who do not see the necessity to return to Africa wanting instead to emulate their masters in the quest for power and dominance; and those that struggled to be truly free someday; the rebelling Souls!

Fifty years later the Prophet Marcus Mossiah Garvey was born, the champion instigator for the Back-to-Africa movement. He didn't demand reparations for obvious reasons but instead roused the consciousness of the black peoples and instilled great hope and pride with the visions of an African Empire. The legacy he left behind should send a clear message to all black people in the diaspora that we cannot become an economic power outside of Africa but will always be mere hedges in the white-men yard! The Black Star Liner was to be, for start, a major trading, shipping enterprise between the diaspora and home for where your

economic strength lies, there you shall be!

In March 1958, the 'good slaves' reached the heights of their emulation by wanting a Federal Caribbean instead of British rule, utterly refusing Garveyism to this day, calling it the final freedom from colonialism. But the rebelling Souls began chanting down this act of betrayal under a gathering of over 3,000 Rastafari children (surpassed only by the Emperor's visit) because the full course for emancipation was never materialized. The month March 1958 saw the rise of the NYA-HBINGHI Priest-hood Order in the leadership of Prince Emmanuel (Bongo Eddie) whose settlement (Back-a-Wall) was then destroyed by the police before he was dragged to court. Aided by barrister Evans who defended the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya, he defeated the 'good slaves' and Elizabeth's councils which was seen as a great victory for InI Rastafari Movement. Why is this very significant historic NYA-HBINGHI Gathering only enshrined in the founding Principles of the E.A.B.I.C. and not taught no where else amongst the Rastafari Movement InI would really love to know?

It was because of the developments that followed that the 'good slaves government' was forced to send a delegation to Africa as I quote: (Star, April 14th 1961) Mr. Elliston Wakeland (J.L.P., northern Trelawny) remarked while speaking on the Budget that if he was Premier, and his head was at stake, he would likewise have provided £12,000.00 to send the mission to Africa.

Did you know: that this delegation had proposed to the queen £300m. for reparations for the resettlement of the entire diaspora; that the Queen declared a provision of £140m. to resettle Jamaica's rebelling Souls if Africa wanted us; that independence granted to Jamaica was geared towards crushing the repatriation demands and by thus the resettlement payments for they had hoped that Africa would have done it instead. And this can also be confirmed by Jamaica's refusal of membership state in the O.A.U. in 1966; that the Rastafari Movement was severely persecuted afterwards which are strong grounds for reparations demands. (eg. Coral Gardens, Back-a Wall, Hero's Circle etc.).

Did you know that the dual economic process of Privatization and Liberalization orchestrated by the World Bank and implemented by the Jamaican governments

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that imported Transnational Corporations into the island, is in fact neo-colonialism and will develop into GLOBALISATION by the year 2005 as dictated by the W.T.O. with the aid of the computer age; that Transnational Corporations(TNC) have almost total control over the process of Globalisation with the ten largest TNC having a total income greater than that of a 100 of the world's poorest countries; that CARICOM, the new federation, is now being organized to counter this new threat for survival, yet is being warned by the African Union President that Globalisation will further widen the gap between the richer and poorer nations. The A.U. has offered to CARICOM closer economic ties but no racial ones like was previously presented by the O.A.U. under H.I.M. Haile Sellassie I; a very great disappointment! This new federation now promotes freedom from poverty and underdevelopment.

Economically, it is impossible for poorer countries to compete against the richer ones without being impoverished into starvation. Morally, it defies the Divine Laws of the Universe.....This is GENOCIDE! The white supremacist doctrine of GLOBAL 2000! And we know the truth about A.I.D.S. We remember William Lynch, the instigator of a slave plan to control the mental space of the African slaves.

Let us not deceive ourselves. The diaspora is now faced with the decisive decision to develop either the E.U., the F.T.A.A., CARICOM, or the A.U. for our survival! What has Europe, or the Americas, or the Caribbean have to offer to Africans for the maintenance of our identity and cultural development? Where is the bridge to Africa? We are being revisited with the times of 1838 and 1958. Must we sell out our birth-right disgracefully to these economic systems of servitude to integrate into Babylon? The African Union must receive several strong messages from her exiled children. As Rastafari, InI choose to work with and in the A.U. for an African Empire. InI choose to be in Africa!

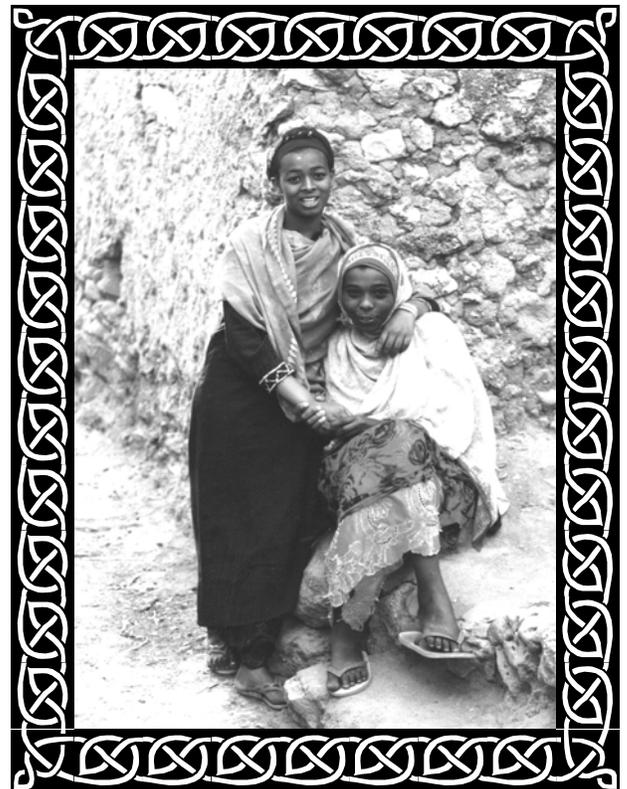
Were we ever warned about this? Yes we were. (Speech by Hon. Marcus M. Garvey).

The World Conference Against Racism of 2001 at Durban, South Africa has rekindled new strength in the diaspora. After 40 years in the wilderness like unto the Israelites, we now possess real power to bring the

case against slavery into the U.N. Law Courts as N.G. O.s for justice sake equaling to one case in 1952 when Fed. Rep. of Germany paid Israel \$822m. for the resettling of a half million Jews who fled Nazi countries. InI strongly support this process as the Jamaica Reparation Movement has proposed. As the new generation in the struggle for emancipation we must rekindle the Spirit of 1958 to invoke the presence of the Most high to guide and protect InI in our stance towards the redemption of our race; Back to Africa! The conclusion is this: So long as there remain a deafening silence throughout the diaspora for the demands for repatriation and reparations, will mean that the integration process is very alive! If they captured InI from Africa, then they must begin to free InI there. Justice must be served! Everything else becomes secondary.....

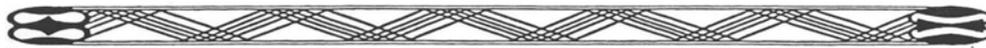
Give Thanks and Praises;
Holy Emmanuel I, Sellassie I, JAH RASTAFARI!

Presented at: Ras Tafari Global Reasoning 2003 Conference University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica July 16th – 24th



Young Women of Harar, Ethiopia Photo by Wautella

National Coalition Of Blacks for Reparations in America



PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

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

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

Reparations United Front

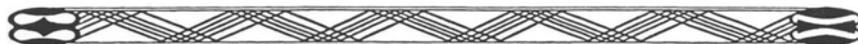
1. Functioning as a "Reparations United Front," is critical to maintaining a unified public posture. Members of the Collective (organizations and individuals) agree not to attack each other, especially regarding Reparations.
2. In instances where there may be differences of opinion, members will emphasize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

We Believe

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

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

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.

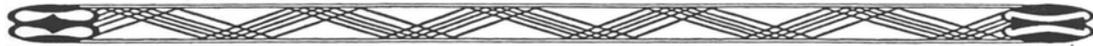
For the past 14 years, N’COBRA has been an organization of volunteers, who have funded the movement with their own resources, in order to supplement annual membership dues, which fall short of the Coalition’s actual needs. It is now time to take the Reparations movement to another level. It is now time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

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

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

General Ali X. Rashid, Elder Advisor
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Dr. Ron Walters, Elder Advisor
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Taiwo Kugichagulia (Oakland, CA)
Baba Dr. Imari Obadele (BR, LA)

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Human Resources

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Sababu Shabaka, Baltimore, MD

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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

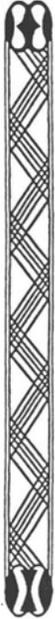
Shereeta Lacy (Indianapolis, IN)
Nuri Madina, (Chicago, IL)

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
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In This Issue...

*MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN
Offers His Life To The Reparations Movement*

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!