

The



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The Bloody Massacre Of Our People On October 23 At Miracle Valley, Ari- zona Is Further Evidence Of The Need To Put The U.S. On Trial For Its History Of Genocide Against Our People

Look of Grim Determination on the Face of Pastor Frances E. Thomas, Shows the History of Struggle and Resistance displayed by African Women and our Whole People Since our Capture and Loss of Freedom to European Barbarians and Thugs. See Story, Page 3.



**Con La Plataforma del Partido Socialista
del Pueblo Africano—En Espanol, p.2.**

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Reparations Now! An Idea Whose Time Has Come



Queen Mother Moore, the oldest and certainly most persistent revolutionary in the United States, is an African woman, an African Internationalist who has stood with such giants of our people as Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X. Her consistency and deep commitment are revealed in her history of raising the demand for Reparations, pushing forth the right of African people to have justice, throughout the decades. Queen Mother Moore's political leadership points to the fact that African people have been struggling for liberation from European-North American domination, and for reparations for the historic crimes that have been committed against Africans, from the very beginning of the European assault on our people.

African people fought the invaders on the coast of Africa and rebelled on the slave ships and in the labor colonies. An example is the great Cinque, who led the seizure of the slave ship *Amistad*, threw the pirate crew overboard, and attempted to sail the ship back to Africa in the end of the 18th Century. When the winds blew the *Amistad* to the U.S. shore and it was seized, Cinque and his people went before the U.S. courts and successfully argued that they were free Africans who had been wrongfully kidnapped, and they therefore deserved their freedom and the funds necessary to return to the Continent.

Throughout the 19th Century, African people fought against the conditions of slavery, fought for justice, and recognized that the capacity to rebuild our underdeveloped and victimized people was based on our winning reparations from our oppressors as part of the settlement extracted from a thoroughly defeated enemy. Such an understanding is central to the liberation strategy of any subject and colonized people, as we have seen recently when the Vietnamese forced the U.S. government to sign a treaty saying they would pay reparations for destruction wreaked on Vietnam over the past decades.

The stand for reparations, for extracting payment from the oppressor as part of winning real liberation, was held by those who favored return to Africa as well as those who looked to a liberated independent life in North America. For the latter, 40 acres and a mule was put forth as the popular demand, forty acres and a mule for every African who had been held in slavery, a basic amount to allow each African to be a free-holder, what was known as a "freedom indemnity." Those who favored return to Africa as the only way to win independence and African progress also called for reparations. Bishop Henry Turner in 1900 made the following estimate:

We remained in slavery two hundred and fifty years, and have been free the best end of fifty more years. In other words we have been dominated over by the buckra, or white race, for about three hundred years. We have worked, enriched the country and helped give it a standing among the powers of the earth, and when we are denied our civil and political rights, (many) ridicule the idea of asking for a hundred million of dollars to go home, for Africa is our home and is the one place that offers us manhood and freedom, though we are the subjects of nations that have claimed a part of Africa by conquest. A hundred million of dollars can be obtained if we, as a race, would ask for it. The way we figure it out, this country owes us forty billions of dollars, and we are afraid to ask for a hundred million. Congress, by its legislation, throws away over a hundred million annually. (*Black Nationalism in America*, ed. by Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick, New York, 1970, p. 172).

And the African nationalist Arthur Anderson said in 1913:

We, the colored race of the USA and our representatives, your wards, your half brothers and sisters by blood, demand of the Government of this United States 600,000,000 dollars indemnity for slavery, for the trail of blood sacrificed in human lives, the loss of country. The years of tyranny and oppression that followed and continues until today on the ex-slaves and their offsprings, created by the institution of a cruel slavery by the American people of the U.S.A. (*Ibid*, p. 180).

And so it has gone throughout our history, through the Garvey movement and its demand for African independence and into the growing civil rights movement for democratic rights in the 1960's. Even Martin Luther King spoke of the right of black people to economic compensation, calling it an "overdue promissory note" and the A. Phillip Randolph Institute in 1966 put forth a Freedom Budget calling for 355 billion dollars for black people for economic development. Malcolm X called the truth much more directly when he said:

demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

Likewise, the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO) in Florida, forerunner of the African People's Socialist Party, put forward the call for Reparations in all of our mass work. Similarly, African people in the Caribbean through such organizations as the National United Movement of Barbados and the New Jewel Movement of Grenada have called for Reparations for African people through documenting the wealth stolen from African people over the centuries and through uniting with the call of the Non-Aligned Nations Conference for Reparations of 300 billion dollars for the "underdeveloped" countries of the world from the imperialist gangsters. African people in Britain, France, and on the Continent have also called for Reparations. Just as African people in the U.S. should not have to beg for food stamps after we created the wealth of the U.S., newly "independent" African states should not have to beg for foreign aid and support when the countries of Europe built up their vast wealth by carting it off from the labor of Africa.

One of the most well-known demands for reparations came towards the peak of the U.S. military assault on the Black Power Movement. James Foreman and the National Black Economic Development Conference called for 500 million dollars in reparations from U.S. religious institutions for the beginnings of black development. In the "Black Manifesto" produced at that conference and taken throughout the country, African people pointed out:

We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.

We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism, that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding 500,000,000 dollars from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. (*New Republic*, June 21, 1969).

Soon after, in 1972, the Black Political Convention made a major platform item the ways to make the campaign for Reparations a practical reality, and in 1973 the *Review of Black Political Economy* carried a whole issue on the subject—seeking to determine ways to estimate the amount of reparations owed and the economic basis of the campaign.

At this time, however, the Black Power Movement was facing vicious attacks and was unable to carry out the mass campaign that the reparations demand was beginning to mobilize. Indeed, the U.S. government assaults came at a time that the mass mobilizations of Africans for independence, and for historical justice and reparations, threatened to destabilize the whole imperialist power. It is appropriate, then, that after 10 years, after the African movement for freedom and independence has again struggled to put forth its strategy and after African people have begun to move in a massive way, that Reparations should once again be picked up, should be put forward by all those who can contribute data, understandings, testimony, history, and truth about the right of African people for reparations. And then it will be taken by the masses of African people, will be carried forth as it has been developed through the centuries, and will ignite our people's struggle for freedom and independence. Reparations now!

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Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return—I mean without a *dime* in return. You let the white man walk around here talking about how rich this country is, but you never stop to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich because you made it rich.

Throughout the growing Black Power Movement in the late 1960's, the elements of African people's necessary strategy for liberation began to take shape. These elements included the necessity of hooking up with other anti-colonial struggles around the world, the identification of our condition as domestic colonialism, the need to demand reparations as a necessary component of winning our independence and free development. Robert Williams, at the founding of the Republic of New Africa, called for 400 billion dollars in reparations as well as the territorial settlement from imperialism. (*Esquire* magazine, Vol. LXXI No. 1, Jan. 1969, p. 72). The Black Panther Party put forth the demand for reparations in all the work they did, as seen in Point 3 of the Panther 10 Point Program:

We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community. We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are

The "Oldest Revolutionary in U.S." Supports Party's Reparation Effort

NEW YORK—Many people who are aware of the Party's drive to build the World Tribunal and Reparations Conference think that the demand for reparations is one that the African People's Socialist Party began with Point Number 11 of our 14-Point Working Platform which reads in part: "We want the U.S. and the international European ruling class and states to repay Africa and African people for the centuries of genocide, oppression, and enslavement of our people."

But while the Party's Working Platform is designed to inform us of the means of achieving the needs of the people in a practical way, the reparations demand has been with our movement for a long time and Point 11 of our 14-Point Working Platform is the Party's way of implementing a basic Party policy of "from the People to the Party; from the Party to the People." For many years the people have demanded in different ways that we be paid back for the crimes the U.S. has committed against us. Now the Party has taken that demand and summed it up in Point 11 of our Working Platform, and we are actually organizing the people around their own demand.

One of the longtime leaders of the demand for black reparations is 85-year-old Queen Mother Moore, who prides herself as being "the oldest revolutionary in the United States." Queen Mother Moore, who has worked with a variety of organizations during her sixty years of activism, was an early follower of the great Marcus Garvey. During recent discussions with members of the African People's Socialist Party at her Manhattan home she talked about Garvey and the Party's plan to build a mass organization to press the demand for reparations after all these years of only having it talked about in our movement.

One of the stories Queen Mother Moore relishes is the time in 1920 when Marcus Garvey came to speak in her hometown, then in New Orleans. The mayor and other local officials had barred Garvey from speaking, but Garvey was going to ignore the ban and carry his message of black freedom to the black people who had assembled at the longshoremens hall.

The hall was surrounded by police, and as Garvey began to speak, he was interrupted by cops who, just as today, had no respect for the First Amendment of the Constitution when it comes to the free speech of black people who are speaking about freedom. When the police threatened to "run him in" if he spoke, the people rose up as one and raised their guns, chanting "Speak, Garvey, speak!" Queen Mother Moore's eyes lit up as she told how the defiant, freedom-seeking black people of New Orleans backed the cops down and allowed Marcus Garvey to speak on that day some sixty years ago.

Queen Mother Moore remembers the beginning of the reparations demand in the U.S. as 1957 in New Orleans, organized by the Association of Ethiopian Women. The Association took their documentation and their demand to the United Nations, but were told there was nothing the U.N. could do unless a member nation of the U.N. would intercede in our behalf. At the time the U.N. was absolutely dominated by the U.S. and its stooges, and it was impossible to get a member nation to

"I was very happy, very happy to see you young ones take it on," Queen Mother Moore said of the present effort being made by the African People's Socialist Party. "It makes me feel good to know that it is a demand our people will always make until we are paid!" Queen Mother Moore also thought it is "very good" that the Party is using the approach of the two-day World Tribunal preceding the reparations convention as a way of presenting evidence and documentation to the world justifying



APSP Chairman Yeshitela with Queen Mother Moore at N.Y. Reparations event.

intercede in our behalf. Therefore, the reparations demand did not get the hearing it demanded.

However, although the U.N. did not hear the demand for reparations, it was clear that the demand struck a deep and instant response from African people throughout the world. According to Queen Mother Moore, "When we did our demand we received boxes of letters from black people all over the world saying 'I want my reparations. Please file my reparations for me.'" Unfortunately, in recent years those boxes of letters were destroyed in Philadelphia.

our demand.

In the African People's Socialist Party we have a saying that we must struggle from generation to generation for independence in our lifetime. Queen Mother Moore is living testimony of the truth of that saying. Now from the lips of the Queen Mother Moore we must add another slogan in our struggle for reparations: It is a demand our people will always make until we are paid.

BREAD, PEACE, AND BLACK POWER!

AT COMMUNITY JUSTICE HEARING

Dessie Woods Supports Tribunal and Reparations Demand

1978 Demonstration to free Dessie Woods in Plains, Georgia by Party-organized Committee to Free Dessie Woods



OAKLAND, Ca.—One of the tasks taken up by the local committees which are building for the World Tribunal and Reparations Convention, scheduled for New York during November 13-16, is the organization of community Justice Hearings. The Justice Hearings are conducted as a means to collect testimony from black people throughout the U.S. to be presented at the World Tribunal as evidence of our oppression.

The first Justice Hearing held by the Oakland committee was on October 7th at the Uhuru House, National Office of the African People's Socialist Party. A "mysterious" fire on October 1st had

caused damage to the office and there was no electricity, so the Justice Hearing was held with the help of an oil lamp which provided the light.

On October 7th committee members were able to hear testimony from Dessie Woods, who spent several years in a Georgia prison for shooting and killing a white man who attempted to rape her and a woman companion. The African People's Socialist Party led the five-year-long struggle which freed Dessie Woods and made her name a household word throughout the U.S. and the progressive movement in Europe. Although Woods joined with an anti-Party group of ex-Party members in attacking the Party during the last year of the campaign to free her, she has enthusiastically endorsed the Party-led

campaign to build the World Tribunal and Reparations movement.

During her testimony, Woods talked about how she had been drugged, beaten and tortured by reactionary officials of the prison at Hardwick, Georgia where she was held. Woods also attributed her release to the movement of the thousands of people around the world who had been mobilized to her defense by the leadership of the African People's Socialist Party.

Thus, in addition to providing testimony of the brutality of the U.S. judicial system, including prison, Woods was also able to demonstrate by her endorsement and open support of the Party and the Tribunal and Reparations Campaign, the unifying significance of the campaign for the struggle to overthrow U.S. domination over our black lives.

Convention Set to Organize Mass Reparations Organization On November 15-16 in New York; Steering Committee Elected, Agenda Established



Steering Committee planning Convention to build National Reparations Organization.

NEW YORK—Although the African People's Socialist Party is armed with the invincible theory of African Internationalism, we recognize that theory alone cannot resolve the contradictions that keep our people oppressed and poverty-stricken within the U.S. and Africa, and equally brutally exploited throughout most places in the world where we have been forcibly dispersed. Theory alone can be compared to headlights without an automobile. Although the path to be travelled is well lighted, no distance is ever travelled because there is no power, no engine to provide the transportation. Therefore, along with our invincible theory there must be an engine, there must be power; there must be action.

The African People's Socialist Party is a Party of theory and action. But ours is not simply a Party of theory and action (practice). **Ours is a Party based on concrete theory that is tested and proved in all its action (practice).** The unity of practice and theory is given life through the African People's Socialist Party. Our Party is the material realization of the unity of theory and practice. Ours is a Party of action.

The theory of our Party is an invincible theory because it is the theory of the people. It is not a passive and sterile, purely abstract theory of the professional philosophers and professors. It is not a theory that begins and ends in the classroom. The theory of our Party is a guide to action. **African Internationalism arms our people with the philosophical ammunition necessary for continued struggle toward total liberation. The theory of our Party is a practical theory that reflects the practical and concrete contradictions facing African people.** This is why it was never enough for our Party to simply acknowledge that the demand for black reparations

But in keeping with our understanding that the black reparations organization has to be a genuine mass organization, capable of attracting the participation and support of the broad masses of our people, the Party organized a pre-convention meeting of people from throughout the U.S. who we asked to serve as the national steering committee which would have the responsibility of planning, convening, and presiding over the founding convention up till the point when the officers of the organization would be elected.

The pre-convention meeting was held in New York on October 16. Twenty-one individuals from throughout the U.S. who are well respected for their work and commitment to the cause of black freedom had been invited to the pre-convention meeting. Although 20 people turned up for the meeting twelve of those were steering committee nominees, the others being observers. A problem for other steering committee members had to do with disruptions in the APSP National Office caused by an October 1 mysterious fire which resulted in extensive smoke and water damage, a two-week loss of electricity and general chaos. Therefore, some nominees either didn't learn of the meeting or were not informed of the time and place of the meeting. The steering committee nominees who were present came from California, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the different boroughs of New York.

The pre-convention meeting was presided over by the New York based National Committee to Build the World Tribunal on Black Reparations.

The New York National Committee conducted the October 16 meeting in the same tradition that has established it as one of the hardest working committees building for the World Tribunal and the reparations founding convention.

Following extensive reports from Mario Drummonds, chair of the outreach committee, and from

defense, anti-sexism, and unity with the call for reparations by the Native people and the non-aligned nations. Then Laura Dalton, a leading member of the National Steering Committee who also is a founding member of the hard-working New York committee, laid out a proposed structure and constitution for the organization to be pulled together at the November 15-16 founding convention.

Using graphs and a map Sister Laura asked the committee to consider adopting the constitution as a document that the Steering Committee would take to the founding convention for ratification. After much discussion the Steering Committee voted to adopt the constitution although certain changes were suggested to guarantee that the role of some officers would be spelled out with more clarity.

The rules of procedure for the convention were also adopted, and the Steering Committee voted to call the organization being built the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO). The Steering Committee planned the following agenda for the founding convention:

Monday - November 15		
I	Registration (\$2.00 fee)	9 a.m. - 11 a.m.
II	Orientation	11 a.m. - 12 noon
III	Lunch	12 noon - 1 p.m.
IV	Opening Session	1 p.m. - 2 p.m.
V	Adoption of Constitution	2 p.m. - 3:50 p.m.
	Break	
VI	Election of National Officers	5 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.
VII	Regional Conferences	5 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.
VIII	Reports from Regions	6:30 - 7 p.m.
Tuesday - November 16		
IX	Registration	9 a.m. - 10 a.m.
X	General Assembly	10 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.
XI	Workshops	10:30 a.m. - 1 p.m.
XII	Lunch	1 p.m. - 2 p.m.
XIII	Plenary	2 p.m. - 5 p.m.

All in all the October 16 conference was an historic occasion. It helped everyone to understand a little bit better how our movement, with the proper leadership, can put its money where its mouth is, that our movement can carry out a concrete demand of the people. For some of us there has never been any doubt of this. One such person is Dorothy Lewis, a sister from Maryland who is also a member of the National Steering Committee. Since 1964 Sister Dorothy has travelled the length and breadth of the U.S., struggling to win unity and support for the reparations demand. Finally, after all the meetings, unkept promises and disappointments, Dorothy Lewis, who was at the October 16th meeting is about to see her dream come true.

Then there is Brother Ben Golson-El, from Philadelphia, who was also at the October meeting and who is presently building a reparations committee in Philadelphia. Brother Ben Golson-El is already the director of a Philadelphia-based organization which has already filed claims for reparations with various U.S. agencies, demanding \$500 billion dollars as a collective settlement for our whole people, and ten thousand dollars per each individual.

Sister Dorothy and Brother Ben Golson-El are only two of the thousands of African people in the U.S. who understand the need for Bread, Peace, and Black Power. They are two among the thousands who understand there must be justice and reparations for African people in this country. The African People's Socialist Party understands this also. We have learned it from the people like Sister Dorothy and Brother Ben, and as we are a Party of action we have taken this understanding from the people and we will return it to the people on November 15 and 16 in the form of their own fighting organization.

**FROM THE PEOPLE TO THE PARTY;
FROM THE PARTY TO THE PEOPLE!**

Mahdee Nabawi and Laura Dotton Two Discussion Leaders At Convention Planning Meeting



has been with our movement for a long time and that it would be good to make the struggle to get reparations from the U.S. government. This is why our Party put forth a 14-Point *Working Platform*, with Point 11 demanding reparations. This is also why the Political Report to the First Congress of our Party also raised the struggle for reparations as a practical question to be pursued by our Party.

Since our First Party Congress some thirteen months ago, our Party has been doing concrete work to bring about a real capability of our people to begin *doing* something about the reparations owed to us by the U.S. government. What soon became clear to us is the fact that our people need a mass, U.S.-wide action-oriented organization to make our just fight for black reparations. We knew that in order to make the demand real it would be necessary for the masses of working and poor black people throughout the U.S. to take up the demand as their own and to have their own fighting organization that they could use to shove the demand down the throat of the U.S. government.

This is why our Party is calling for the November 15-16 convention in New York to build the black reparations organization immediately following the two-day World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S.

Junis Wilson who heads up the fundraising committee and also acts as treasurer, Mahdee Nabawi made a report of how the general organizing work was going throughout the U.S., listing the cities with actual committees such as Seattle, Wash.; Oakland and San Francisco, Calif.; Miami and St. Petersburg, Fla.; two cities in Maryland, one in Tennessee, Chicago, New York, etc., and the other places such as Washington, D.C., where work for the Tribunal and reparations conference is going on although no committees exist there.

The afternoon session of the meeting resulted in installing the National Steering Committee, with a commitment to re-contact persons who were unable to make the October 16 meeting, send them minutes and other information from the meeting and attempt to get them to accept their nomination and participate in a follow-up meeting in New York scheduled for October 31st, at the office of the Black Veterans for Social Justice located in Brooklyn at 1119 Fulton Street.

After the lunch break the National Steering Committee got down to the actual planning for the founding reparations convention. The Steering Committee established the convention's principles of unity as: anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, political and economic self-determination, self-