A successful Tribunal, a successful movement

Reparations Tribunal Holds 10th Commemorative Session

PHILADELPHIA — The 10th Commemorative Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. was convened to consider a success even before the first person testified before this court, which was founded by African people colonized in the United States to put the U.S. government on trial for its history of terror and colonial slavery waged against our people.

It marked the anniversary of the first of more than 200 people who attended the commemoration ceremonies and the reparations tribunal here in Philadelphia from November 10-12, 1982. The only session of the reparations tribunal, the growing strength of the reparations demand was obvious throughout the U.S. and the growing strength in Africa itself. Nowhere else in the world is the struggle for reparations moving forward.

A variety of organizations have also been founded to pursue the reparations demand. In addition, several personalities who were active within the demand in the past have recently re-emerged, enthusiastically demanding reparations, some having been active for decades and years without having done any work to win reparations.

Chairman Omali Yeshitela tribunal.

Like all but one of the sessions of the reparations tribunal this past week, the 10th Commemorative Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for Africans in the U.S. was sponsored and conducted by ANRO and the Afro-Patriot National Government of the Organization, a mass organization founded by the African People’s Socialist Party in 1982 and led by the APSP since its founding. The only session of the reparations tribunal not sponsored and conducted by ANRO was the initial tribunal held in Brooklyn, New York in November, 1982. This historic founding tribunal was organized and conducted by the African People’s Socialist Party, although it was not intended by the APSP to be a Party institution when it was initiated.

When the initial reparations tribunal was conceived by the Party, it was seen as a means to advance the entire anti-colonial movement within the U.S. and to unite all African anti-colonialist forces around a concrete program that most of us could wholeheartedly endorse.

The attempt to unite the movement around the reparations tribunal was a failed attempt to unify anti-colonial anti-imperialist organizations for the unity meeting called by the Party in preparation for the founding tribunal was negligible. The then-president of the Pan-African Movement for the Republic of New Africa (RNA), Imari Obadele, came to the meeting only to condemn an unrelated article that had appeared in The Burning Spear, the party's news organ, at a much earlier date which had challenged the philosophy of New Afrikanism which is embraced by the RNA.

But if Imari’s RNA used an old Burning Spear article as the basis of its hostility to the founding of reparations tribunals in the U.S. and the African National Reparations Organization as the mass anti-colonial organization through which our struggle might achieve practical unity through work around reparations, other organizations and personalities, some of which actually boycotted the founding reparations tribunal, had no such excuse.

The National Black United Front (NBUF), which like the RNA had adopted reparations as a founding doctrine of its organization whose national office was then located in New York, the site of the founding reparations tribunal, refused to support the founding reparations tribunal. When NBUF’s leader at the time was not given the leading role at the reparations Council lest they be left out of an ability to acquire money and resources in the current climate, they initiated from reparations demand. This and the achievement of reparations against the Japanese for their internment by the U.S. government in the U.S. during the imperial war made active believers out of nationalists and the liberationists as well.

Now there is a growing unity within the primitive petty bourgeoisie around the reparations demand. This does represent somewhat of a problem since although the primitive petty bourgeoisie were masses of African workers and other impoverished black people, does suffer from colonial oppression, its interests, tactics and goals are different from those of the revolutionary African working class. Indeed, as a social force the petty bourgeoisie has better connections, more resources and is generally better organized than the African working class.

Nevertheless ANRO organizers of the 10th Commemorative Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. were able to view all of the current reparations activity even before it was well defined.

The three day Commemorative event began with a banquet at the Church of the Advocate, where an enthusiastic banquet crowd was treated to food, culture and political analysis. Not only were there activists and banjo players from Philadelphia, but participants came from 13 other cities and 10 other states including Washington, D.C.

The banquet was opened by ANRO Chairwoman Junis Wilson who, after offering an ANRO self-criticism for the delay in beginning the event for the difficulties in organizing and difficulties explained the work of ANRO and the significance of the reparations work under discussion.

Comrade Sister Junis Wilson explained how although many others did reparations work in the past, before ANRO and the African People’s Socialist Party, the Party has really advanced the concept of reparations and advanced the question within the context of political economy that no one economic or political difficulty explained the work of ANRO and the significance of the reparations work under discussion.

Sister Junis also explained how the many years of the existence of the reparations tribunal had built our “own international arena within which to put the U.S. government on trial” and to begin the process of international isolation of the U.S. government among the laboring and exploited masses of the world. She also explained how ANRO was built nine years ago to take the reparations demand out into the homes of the African community and to paint the whole world of reparations by so many forces was evidence of ANRO’s success.

After thanking everyone for coming out Sister Junis then pointed out that the time for hard work was just beginning, and that the state of the world economy which is throwing African people into every economic disaster makes reparations work more important than ever. Sister Junis then reminded everyone present that ANRO’s upcoming July convention was...
should result in the creation of an even bigger ANRO reparations organization and movement.

The culture for the banquet was provided by the Revolutionary Poet, J and B Strongarm, a Philadelphia-based rap group. The cultural presentations by the two different acts served to bring revolutionary meaning behind the Black Revolution of the Sixties and now.

Wazuri is an electrifying artist whose performance style made the best of the conscious cultural workers of the Black Revolution of the Sixties. He began his cultural performance with a rendition of "Reformation Day" by the late Bob Marley. This was followed by an Uhuru Movement favorite, "Africans Must Be Organized."

After four more excitingly performed readings, Brother Jabali was followed by J and B Strongarm, whose group name as well as the adopted names of the artists themselves mock the relationship that colonized Africans have with the court system, prison, and the police.

J and B Strongarm came to the stage raising the chant "Free Mumia Abu Jamal" and calling on the audience to join in the chant demanding the freedom of the popular political prisoner who is on death row on a frame-up police killing charge. Standing before a huge ANRO banner which adorned the stage calling for the Liberation of all political prisoners, J and B Strongarm kicked off their performance with a rap entitled "Trial by Fire" which summed up the experience of Africans colonized within the U.S.

The keynote address at the banquet was provided by APSF Chairman Omal Omshale. He sung of his nine years of work that has put reparations on the map. The Chairman presented the history of ANRO's reparations work and how showed that work has set the pace for all reparations work in the U.S. today. The Chairman began his presentation by dedicating:

"Sisters, brothers and comrades, I'd like to express our great appreciation, especially to ANRO, the African National Reparations Organization, for the tremendous work that it has done in pulling these three together that we're going to be here in Philadelphia. ANRO has done an excellent job on reparations. ANRO has reason to be proud of the work that ANRO has done. The fact that they have been able to bring together the African community and to talk about reparations has been an important development. It is an important development because reparations are a fundamental issue for the African community. The African community needs reparations in order to build a strong, self-reliant, and independent community. ANRO has been at the forefront of this effort."

On November 9th, the second day of the ANRO Reparations Tribunal 10th Commemorative Session, a awards program was also held at the North Philadelphia Church of God. This program was given to recognize and awards to some of the people in and out of the Uhuru Movement who have made contributions to the black reparations movements within the U.S.

The program was also for the purpose of allowing the various reparations groups to put their best foot forward to the people at the tribunal for consideration. This would allow for all the reparations groups to win support for their programs.

ANRO Chairwoman Junis Wilson was the first speaker introduced by Troy Henderson the Philadelphia-based representative of the National Concerning Committee. Brother Troy had acted as moderator for the entire Commemorative program.

Chairwoman Wilson continued her assessment of the seriousness of the reparations work and repeated her call for the Africans present to join the African National Reparations Organization. Declaring, "Reparations means liberation... Once we get the masses involved in this process we're on our way. Chairwoman Junis challenged any suggestion that the demand for reparations was unattainable. "Just look what we have done" she exclaimed. "We have built the entire infrastructure for U.S. imperialism. It's on our backs. We have fed the entire Earth while we wallow in hunger, while we die in ditches. ANRO has a lot of work to do." she continued. Chairwoman Junis introduced the theme of the day's ceremonies as dedicated to recognition of those people in the colonized African community for their "tremendous work around this question of reparations."

Among those to be recognized for their reparations work, either separately or directly through ANRO, were Dr. Yusef K, an ANRO supporter and leader of human rights work through the U.N. recognized International Human Rights for African American Minority (IHARM), Illness precluded Dr. K from being present and Arkansas activist lawyer Victor Hill was also unable to present.

It would also be the following day, during the actual tribunal session, following the 10th Commemorative Session. Dr. Leonard Jeffries, the noted African historian who is currently under assault by the entire ruling class establishment in New York, would also make his presentation during the actual court session.

The case of reparations Jeffries was particularly meaningful to ANRO leaders because Jeffries was not only present for the founding tribunal nine years previous, but it was his presentation in November 1982, that made the basic historical case which justified the existence of the court; the charges against the U.S. colonial government and the press of the demand for African reparations.

But on this day, November 9, 1991, the awards ceremony of the 10th Commemorative Session of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S. was going full blast. Everyone was excited to see African American women, because the national president of the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, widow of Fred Hampton and revolutionary in her own right, Dame Shabazz, was going to introduce APSF Chairman Omali Yeshi- tela who would be receiving the first award of the day.

In introducing Chairwoman Omali, Sister Akua called on those gathered to thank the Chairwoman for his work, not only for the cause of reparations Jeffries was founding of ANRO. "We need to thank him," declared Sister Akua, "for continuing to involve us in the only real struggle being waged in the United States of America for the liberation of African people."

Continuing, Sister Akua said that the Chairman should be thanked for providing the only correct sum-up description of the Liberation Movement of the Sixties. "Chairman Omali has been the only person to come forward and expose the counterculture," she said.

"He made it possible for those of us involved in the Black Liberation Movement of the Sixties to have a home to come back to. We want to thank him for the theory of African Internationalism and for the vision to call for the creation of the National Peo-

Testifier on police brutality and murder at Tribunal

African People's Solidarity Committee Chairwoman Penny Hess was introduced for her award acceptance by Philadelphia-based Mahmoud Shabazz, chairman of the African National Prison Organization. In his comments before calling Hess to the platform, Shabazz explained how the "African People's Solidarity Committee brought science to the question of our relationship to whites in the liberation struggle against U.S. domestic colonialism and for socialism. Shabazz explained how most people work with a definition of white people are that is provided by white power itself. However, explained Shabazz, "White people is a concept they created to give a subjective cover to the parasitic relationship between Europeans and others."

Shabazz explained that the African People's Solidarity Committee (APSC) was created as an organization of the APSF and functions under the leadership of the Party in U.S. imperialism, and the opportunity that is inherent in the relationship between Europeans and other peoples. "Nobody understood this question of solidarity before the Party," Shabazz continued. "This is the most principled relationship we can have: white people engaged in white citizen's reparations."

APSF Chairwoman Penny Hess, in accepting her award for the work she has done in supporting reparations and in organizing African National Concerning Committee. Shabazz also noted that reparations work has "opened up for us an opportunity to break with the myth that we are African (Africa is your land!)

The awards ceremony was then interrupted by the entrance of Queen Mother See Tribunal, page D
Tribunal
Continued from page C

Moore whose presence was greeted by a thunderous round of applause by those present. The 88-year-old wheel chair bound Mother Moore was introduced by Chairman Omali as "truly a giant." Queen Mother Moore was also at the founding reparations tribunal and the accompanying creation of the African National Reparations Organization which would pursue the demand for reparations. It was for her then the realization of a life time dream, leading her to declare in attendance nine years ago: "You must assume the leadership in the fight to win reparations."

The awards ceremony then recognized the presence of Orlando Matthews from Memphis, Tennessee. Brother Orlando had received literature on the 10th Commemorative Session and had made the trip to Philadelphia to represent the African American Political Action Committee and win support for a planned April mule train caravan from Memphis to Washington, D.C.

Brother Vince Godwin, vice chairman of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (NCOBRA), was next. Brother Vince began his presentation by thanking the ANRO organizers for holding the event, adding:

"I thought it important to recognize that this [the reparations tribunal] has been one of the most constant and creative forums that we have been able to use in our interment here to show the world that we are one people in moving against this system, constantly. I think it’s important to recognize that the fact you are doing here is astonishing a history that has never ceased in terms of struggling for our freedom."

Much of the work of NCOBRA seems to revolve around the Conyers Bill, identified as H.R. 3745. The Conyers Bill calls for the U.S. colonial congress, "To acknowledge the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumane of slavery in the United States and the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865 and to establish a commission to examine the institution of slavery, subsequent de jure and de facto racial and economic discrimination against African Americans, and the impact of apartheid in South Africa, to make recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies, and for other purposes."

The Conyers Bill calls for the U.S. Congress to establish the "Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act." Among the purposes established by the Conyers Bill are:

- "(a) The examination of the institution of slavery which existed from 1619 through 1865 within the United States and the colonies that became the United States, including the extent to which the Federal and State governments constitutionally and statute-

 built with this in mind," he said.

The presentation by Chairman Omali recognized the difficulty of organizations find unity in ideology. However, the Chairman said we can get around ideology through unity in action in the reparations. Chairman Omali stated that the Uhuru Movement works the existence of the various organizations do reparations work, because reparations is a strategic demand, bigger than what most of the reparations organizations see as a political question.

Stating that "there is no way to put price on what has happened to us," Chairman Omali explained how the value of reparations in the capitalist world is ultimately tied to the exploitation of African labor. The theory of reparations work particularly recognizes the slave trade and the subsequent stolen value of African labor to the key to the establishment and continuing existence of the parasitic white capitalist system.

A presentation by African People's Solidarity Committee Chairwoman Peggy Helm followed that by Chairman Omali saluted ANRO's 10th Session of its reparations tribunal and announced that everyone is now in reparations because of the ANRO work. Explaining that when APSC was formed it was a Pan-African organization it was given the responsibility of bringing the white community to organize for the revolution, Helm declared, "The only way we can bring the white community that considered progressive is to deal with the question of reparations for African people. That is fundamental because that is a continuation of this system, its perpetration and foundation."

Helm said that APSC sees the reparations question as being deeper than economics. It has to do with the history of white supremacy and the smart system's attack on African people. Included in this complexity were the hundreds and thousands of white people who participated in lynchings of African and the white women who lynched others with the blown charge of having raped or even looked at white woman.

Helm included the tremendous cultural rig that African and African-American white power as also indicative of the need for black reparations. This includes the great civilizations of Africa whose people were destroyed in the process of creating the white capitalist system of the U.S.

Helm continued that white people must say, "if the entire pan of the party government, because the entire system is for white people. Declaring the reparations has nothing to do with clarity that nothing to do with anyone for anyone else. Helm declared that "All the problems in white society have to be dealt with in a colonial nation."

"Our understanding of preparing the way to this is not to use white community, is our liberation as well. We recognize that Africa can only be a true civilization of Africa when the Africa who is the liberation of everyone," he ended.

The awards ceremony essentially ended with a presentation by the 10th Commemorative Session of the International Reparations Tribunal on Reparations for African People in America. On the following morning Monday, March 10th, the tribunal itself opened at Temple University to talk testimony and evidence supporting reparations. The international reparations tribunal usually lasts for two days this tenth session of the tribunal was equal in quality to any of the previous tribunals.
It's our turn — Reparations Now!

By Jumis Wilson

A tremendous debt is owed to African people. We are committing ourselves to righting those wrongs because our lives depend on it. We are committing ourselves to rectify this situation for our children who are yet unborn and our children of today who are today. We must redistribute the wealth back into our own hands so that we can take control of our lives.

It's been a long, long time. This banner over here says “Four hundred years,” but it's more than 400 years. Either way, it's still too damn long to owe anybody anything.

Before we leave here today, we must fill out an African National Reparations Organization application. Fill out an application to pertain to the philosopher who, according to the way he says “participate,” we are talking about making a commitment to get involved. This is a different period. Right now the crisis for black people is at a deep level. Our very backs are against the wall. We don't have any time anymore.

We see the suffering as we look around trying to eke out a meager living as we do, trying to feed ourselves. We can see the condition that our people exist in. We can see the teacher's face in the streets corners in Philadelphia where it gets brutally cold, huddling over these little vents trying to get some heat. We see our people in the food lines. We see our people huddled under trees and around burning garbage cans, just trying to survive.

It has to be that 400 years is too long. It has to be that enough is enough. And it has got to be that there is something that you can do other than just live and die in this cycle.

That's what it means right now when we start saying, “This is what I can do.” What I can do today is go down to the kitchen and help Sister Anditu cook some food to feed the people who are here. That's a start. It could be that I go to the Uhuru House tomorrow and ask Brother Troy if there's anything I can do that I can take so I could organize somebody out there myself.

We all live in communities. I could organize a community, even the brothers that I see huddling over that vent, because he's looking for a way out. So I could bring it to him.

The responsibility of us not doing this reparations work like we should. We are damning the people to prolonged misery. It is as if we are saying consciously, thoughtfully, and in concert and are taking on this responsibility, that we will sit by and let this system exist for the people for another 400 years. We will keep this from the people.

But the people have a contribution. They want out of this. Nobody can tell me that our people don't want out of this. I know that they do and that we have the responsibility to open it up because our people have been the recipients of the vicious blow of the United States, imperialist, worldwide imperialism. We have been the recipients of continuous blows. We have been beaten bloody, but we still have the strength. We are still here.

It's time for us to begin to reciprocate. It's time for the people to begin to dish out. It's time for the people to begin to fight back.

That's what it means for us to bring it to the people, to give them an opportunity to begin to fight back, to equip them with the tools that are necessary to stop the brutal savage beating that U.S. imperialism has been giving us for 400 years. I would ask you again to go to the back of the room and to sign up; I want to see everybody sign up.

There's also a reparations claim. This is your indictment. You are making your individual reparations claims. But we don't see reparations in just this stagnant way. We don't see it as just these "X" amount of dollars. Right now we see as a general sense of the figures that are owed to us, but that's not the full question. We have to begin to make the political struggle and in that process advance the reparations struggle which is for total liberation from the grip of United States imperialism and worldwide imperialism.

We want to say yes to your claim for reparations. Join the struggle to make this fight. We want to begin to develop ANRO chapters in other places as well. ANRO's got a tremendous part of the responsibility. But I want to say to all the other Party forces here that you have to struggle to take reparations out in your work. It is also a part of your responsibility to delegate somebody in your organization for this work. We have a lot of places where the Party is just starting up and there's just a few of us.

But even if you don't have the forces, you must understand the centrality of the reparations question to the movement that we have today. You must understand what it means and the struggle that we have to make. That's all that I mean. That's not the problem. The problem exists with us in not organizing the people to the reparations demand, organizing the people to reparations.

Party forces must begin to mobilize right now for July, when we are having a convention. This is a part of the overall process to overturn the bourgeois dictatorship and to move us in the direction of reparations question forward.

There have been several different periods in the reparations work as ANRO has known it. In one period we were fighting merely for the whole question of reparations to emerge in an organized way within the Black Liberation Movement. We made that fight in 1982 when we beat down the path and knocked on all the doors and tried to get what was left of what we called the movement to unite with this question.

But we got the response that it was "not germaine" and other different things. We ran into the forces that professed to be staunch revolutionaries. We see some of these people talking about reparations today. We think they're selling us a bill of goods.

These were the same people that we talked to then and who told us that the question wasn't germaine.

The period right now is one where we have to convince the United States government that it's getting ready to un-ass reparations for black people! They are going to get up off of some reparations!

As far as I'm concerned, it's still not germaine for them. We don't say that lightly. We have evidence that it's not germaine. Even the fact that they're calling reparations reparations is not to say that the question of reparations is germaine to them. What is germaine is that they see another way in which they can get back at African people. They see a new deal for themselves. That is what's germaine.

Imperialism usually buys off some colonial subjects to sustain itself. We have the same kind of leaches inside our movement, inside our community. They go from one to another and by the use of African people as pawns. That's what we see existing today.

We're not waiting for them. The question is not with them, the question is with us and the people. This is the period to do it. It is not the period to convince us that ANRO's reparations is germaine. Nor is it the period to convince the movement as a whole, although I know a lot of times what I'm talking about when I talk about a Black Liberation Movement. I think that's another question for another time.

The period right now is one where we have to convince the United States government that it's getting ready to un-ass reparations for black people! They are going to get up off of some reparations!

That's what we should be looking for. This is a new day. That's where we should be saying we can't do anything out of the people except that they have to un-ass our money is by mobilizing African people. We can't do it any other way. To continue the struggle with and mobilize African people. We have to mobilize everything that can be in alliance with us on our own terms. Mobilize, organize, fight, and struggle. And this is what I can line up for the question of reparations.

This is a period where we can just conservatively deal with our adversaries. We have to be in this with U.S. imperialism all our lives, and the lives of our people before us, for 400 or more years. We've been in a death struggle with the African people. We have to see that things like 'read the man'-shackle. It is in their survival or our survival.

So we aren't conservative. We are not modest. We don't believe there's anything we can't do. This is what we have done because we want to boast. We say these things because African people need us to understand that we have the responsibility of their survival and the will to defend ourselves and to liberate ourselves.

We can do it. It's in our hands. That's why we hold it up before each other. That's why we hold it up before the Africa

See Reparations, page

Akeem Jamali, a Tribunal judge, and Jumis Wilson, national ANRO Chairwoman

struggle to take reparations out in your work. It is also a part of your responsibility to delegate somebody in your organization for this work. We have a lot of places where the Party is just starting up and there's just a few of us.
"We’re in a heroic struggle for humanity"

by Leonard Jeffries

Uhuuru brothers and sisters! It is a pleasure to come back to Philly and be a part of this tenth commemorative tribunal.

I remember my presentation in Brooklyn at the first tribunal. It was a very significant presentation for me, one of the most meaningful things I’ve ever done. Dr. Clark and Dr. Ben could not come, so they recommended me. Then Sister Margaret Burnham and others could not come either because of the system blocking them. So they said, “Brother, you’ve got to make a statement.” I found the courage to do that.

You have to understand that we have been part of a heroic struggle for humanity. It has not been a question of just fighting for ourselves. We’ve been fighting for humanity. We have never targeted another group, even today.

Nevertheless, it is important for us to make the statement about rich Jews with property and power that are a part of the rich white man syndrome, because the denial is so enormous. There’s nobody from that community, not one single person, whether he is left, right or center, who has stood up to say, “Yes, some of our people are involved in the destruction of African people.” Not one single person. The denial is so great that we have to expose it. It reflects the process of control over African people’s minds, spirit and particularly their ability to think critically.

I tell the people wherever I go, "Don’t get mad, get glad. Don’t get mad, get prepared." Dr. Jeffries is not out here for himself; he’s out here for the African future. These young brothers who sit here, that’s why we’re raising this serious question. Black men have to stand up and be counted at this juncture of our history.

We have to understand that there’s a process that’s been in place for years to destroy us. But that does not mean that we cannot and do not have the obligation to stand up. It is the African male who is the special target of this society. You can almost name a date, 1965, after the Watts rebellion, that the system decided to go into a heightened intensity against the African male.

If you don’t put the African experience at the center of whatever your educational process is, even for white youngsters, you’re not educating them. I was part of a four person task force, a Latino, Dr. Patricelli an Asian, Dr. Yu, a Native American and myself, a White, and we studied 150 documents of the New York State Board of Education. All of us, never having met with each other, concluded that none of those documents dealt effectively with true education of our people. None of them dealt with the world community. None of them helped develop a global perspective.

We came up with our recommendations that went to a task force. My recommendation was submitted November 1988. Then I did a summary report of the four reports in January 1989, and submitted the final report in March 1989. I was out of the curricular battle by March 1989.

The task force took it. In July 1989 they came with a “curriculum of inclusion.” Its strategy was devised to use Dr. Leonard Jeffries as the whipping boy, scapegoat and red herring for the curriculum struggle. Its strategy was to paint him as anti-white and anti-Semitic, as someone with crazy theories, as a person being superior because of melanin.

We don’t have such theories. I wish we did. It is black people who believe that, because of our courage, our understandings and our history of struggle, it doesn’t have anything to do with pigment. The truth shall set us free.

The pigment does allow us to withstand the ultra-violet rays of the sun for many, many, many thousands of years. It is not as a pigment; they’re not white people. That’s science and that’s history.

There’s only one human race, based upon this scientific data, and that is the African race extending from the northern tip of African genes. We just have to lay that out there. But people can’t deal with that. They’d rather play games around anti-Semitism. Now they’re coming up with the anti-white and anti-gay claim.

We don’t have time for that. We are pro-African people. We feel that the people get themselves organized, they will help the masses of people get themselves together and make an enormous move toward destroying the system of white supremacy.

The major problem is white supremacy. How do we define it? White supremacy is the systematic and institutionalized process of what I call the three “D’s” — domination, destruction and death, put in place, maintained and expanded by rich white men with property and power.

They employ a whole host of others to participate. It doesn’t make any difference what color that person is, they have the same VIP — values, interests, and principles and precepts. When they can find some others who are fully in agreement with their value, with their interests and are following their precepts and their principles, then they have a coalition of interests. That’s what happened with white folks being involved in the suppression of blacks.

The Catholic Church initiated the enslavement of black people, along with the Portuguese in the 1400s and 1500s. When they accomplished that, the Catholic Church reached out for the Spanish throne.

Then when Martinism, the Protestant reformation emerged in 1517, the Protestant nations attempted to roll off the system of enslavement from the Catholic nation. They enlisted other countries, they called Jews who had the means, some of them very rich who had the connections and the financial connections.

This is not an indictment of most Jews who are suffering under everything; it is of those who at that time were particularly being persecuted. But you have to deal with the truth.

If folks can’t deal with the truth, then it blinds us. It doesn’t allow our people to make a critical analysis of who our friends are and who are not. If you keep raising some civil rights movement which was a distortion of the human rights struggle, and you keep talking about some civil rights workers, you’re just blinding yourself. It creates misconceptions. While the civil rights workers had a commitment of self-sacrifice, the truth is, that is not a reflection of the millions of white folks. That is not a reflection of many black folks. And it’s certainly not a reflection of Jews.

I can speak that truth because I was with them. I am not some Johnnycome lately.

But if you look at this system before the 1400s and 1500s, Europe was in a devastated situation. It was land poor, resource poor, and people poor. That’s why they had to maintain its political integration. The German nation was disintegrating. Even the Catholic Church had trouble. There were two popes, one in Avin, France protected by the French army and one in Rome protected by the German army.

European health was impossible to maintain. The bubonic plague (they call it the black plague, I call it the white plague) was running throughout Europe. From 1300 to half of the population in many areas was wiped out.

Of course the situation of European humanity was being devastated. Look at what folks did, they go back and forth. If white women need to do an analysis of what the white man has done to them, The death and destruction of hundreds of thousands of European women as witches needs to be understood. The symbol of the witch hunt is right there in the European history in the 1300s.

Joan of Arc, one European woman who said she followed the spirit of god and the call to raise the banner of the people, led the fight against the English. While she helped bring victorious armies to her people, the leadership of the Catholic Church went to war against her. That is what she did. She said, “A spirit told me to fight for my people.” So they said, “A spirit? Could you come to a meeting of a little group of men?”

Poor Joan, innocent as she was and heroine of her people, went to the tribunal. The people asked her, “Why did you do what you did?” She said, “A spirit told me,” property, and a spirit told me to help my people mobilize, organize and fight for their freedom.” “Put her ass in the stake and burn her.”

Joan of Arc, symbol of European female freedom and courage, was burned at the stake. So you see what the system of domination, destruction and death means to us. It has to be understood.

People of color all over the world in this period of time were trying to raise their
"We can get reparations if we are organized."

The following presentation was excerpted from a speech given at the International Tribune in Philadelphia, Pa., on November 10, 1991, sponsored by the African National Reparation Committee. Dorothy Lewis, who belongs to Black Reparations Commission and has been instrumental in educating African people throughout this country about the demand for reparations...

by Dorothy Lewis

Thank you very much. I'm so happy to be here. It's amazing that it is 10 years now, because I think when we started out 10 years ago, we had people who had this handled in about three years. Time has not borne that out to be true. I want to acknowledge ANRO and APSF and all of its leadership that are still struggling, that we've done in keeping this issue on the front burner.

It's a speech that's going to keep the issue alive. When you think about all of the issues out there, the one that is most closely analogous to ours is that of the Jewish holocaust. The holocaust is what it is alive in people's speaking it. We don't really read about it much, but we hear about it all the time in the news. It's incumbent on us daily, as we make our issue known by keeping it out on the front lines, to continue that speech in our speaking.

One of the things I've attempted to do in recognizing that fact was to enroll all of the people who were talking about our different problems and concerns by hooking the reparations issue up to those issues. It's not just enough to tell us all the problems. We know all the problems. We express them daily. But we have to know, what the solution is.

We had a real task getting people just to say "reparations." Now 20 years later, I remember when I started out in Alaska. We had tried to enroll the NAACP in talking on the issue of reparations. That didn't happen. Now some 20 years later the NAACP, at its national conference adopted a reparations resolution. The National Urban League has a reparations component to their annual state of the race program.

I find it really exciting to be here because usually when I speak, I have to speak to things around, I think that's very much about reparations. But I know you're fully informed, so there's a lot that I don't have to say. But every message that we have sent out, as we are confronted with people who don't know what reparations means and have no idea of their relationship to it.

It means that we still have a big job to do. There's a big vacuum out there to be filled. I think our bottom-line task is to fill that vacuum to make it so that every time you hear "jobs," you also hear "reparations." Every time you hear "health care," you hear "reparations." Every time you hear "education," you hear "reparations." And all of these issues that relate to our community, which we're making demands for, are reparations issues and we should call them that. Not only about the black, the charitable people. People have lived off of our backs. We've got to turn that around.

The Japanese reparations bill turned things around. I think that was sort of the turning point, because we were up against a wall of apathy and resignation. Our people would hear about that, but that is what we did, and agreed with it but say, "Oh it will never happen." "Oh, the U.S. government won't do that." "It's impossible." Now we have organizations talking the issue on. The National Bar Association has made a statement, that they said they were going to support it, but they didn't believe it would really happen. That's why we're up against it, that's the kind of resignation and apathy.

I say their belief is in the wrong place. We're not doing this because we believe the U.S. government will do it. We're in this because we believe you will do it. We know that the power is in the people. When we make up our minds to do something, then we will get it done.

The U.S. government hasn't given us anything. Never. We're not talking about a gift, we're demanding what is owed to us. When we get it, we will not be that "they gave it to us." They paid it. They returned some of what they stole. We have to be clear on the language that we use.

The bill that's now before Congress -- you have one here also in Philadelphia. If your Congressman is introduced -- is not a perfect bill. But it is what we've got. What can we do with what we've got? We can use it to a certain degree. It's one way of further politicizing the issue, raising it to another level.

There's a big vacuum out there to be filled. I think our bottom-line task is to fill that vacuum to make it so that every time you hear "jobs," you also hear "reparations." Every time you hear "health care," you hear "reparations." Every time you hear "homelessness," and so on.... People have lived off of our backs. We've got to turn that around.

We know we're not a monolithic community. We have our own problems and ideas about how things get generalized. But the reparations bill in Congress has given us a kind of credibility. Where people before wouldn't let us on programs or let us talk, now they will do that. For years I've been employed in the U.S. government and wanted to have a reparations agenda. I've been ostracized because I kept raising the issue. Now this past year, because it was on the agenda, Grenda, I was able to get a workshop within the government to deal with the agenda. We've got to make this issue an issue that's everywhere -- in our schools and all of whatever organization you're in -- it's got to be that generalized.

I know that we can get reparations. I believe that it's just a matter of time. In three years if we make up our minds, if we are organized. To me, just getting reparations isn't the issue. But once we make up our minds, we can accomplish it.

Is it worth the effort? I say that the demand may be worth more than the money. Just putting up that kind of demand and what has been in that, may be of more value than any reparations amount that we could ever receive no matter if we got everything that we've asked for or everything that we demanded. That's because there is a lot that has to happen on the way to reparations.

When we talk about our demand for reparations, we have to say for what. You have been finding out for "what" during this tribunal.

Dorothy Lewis

There are all kinds of "for what.",

It indict the U.S. government. It indict our oppressors. We're so quickly and easily enrolled in going out and fighting everybody in this country and in the world, but our own enemy. We don't even seem to know who our own enemies are. We look at each other and shoot and kill each other.

I think that it's important to raise this issue so we can begin to look at who we are in the world, who we are in this country. I'm reminded of a movie that I saw some time ago. You've probably seen it too. It's called "Total Recall." The advertisement for that says something like, "When you steal a man's mind, erase his memory, give him a new identity, the worst thing that can happen is total recall." Yes, that's it. That's what this is all about -- total recall. Once we've totally recalled what has been fully done to us, then it's all over. Not only will we get reparations, we'll know what direction we're really looking for: to reclaim our minds.

I have one other poem to share, and then I will sit down. When I first got involved with this bill, I left Alaska, there was a group dealing with the Bakke decision, affirmative action. Now we've come full circle with Clarence Thomas out there.

We can see from what happened with Clarence Thomas that we are not a community of one mind. But for those who were involved in preferential treatment, this is not an updated version. "Reparations.

Not Preferential Treatment.

Pay me my inheritance,
I'll send myself to school,
You've done nothing but teach me lies anyway,
I'll treat myself like I prefer to be treated.

Release my inheritance; Don't give me no jobs.
Ain't been paid for the last 400 years of jobs you kidnapped and gave me.
Besides, you've already given me plenty of work to do.
Got to rebuild the Nation you kidnapped, raped, pillaged, terrorized, genocided and stole.
I'll do for myself what needs to be done.
Give me back my sons and daughters from your military.
They ain't got no enemies over there.

Open them prison doors. The crooks are out here.
Hadn't committed no crime in your stolen America.
If you hadn't stolen him, his family, his livelihood, his manhood and the fruits of his labor.
Open them prison doors.
The mass murderers are in the Oval Office.

See Dorothy Lewis, page K.
The Story of MOVE

Alphonso "Moe" Africa

The following testimony was given at the 10th Tribunal sponsored by ANRO in Philadelphia, Pa. on November 10, 1991. This year's Tribunal gathered testimony on the consequences of the MOVE community, and how this counterrinsurgency directly impacts on the lives of African people. MOVE presented a moving accounting of the horror committed against it by the police agencies of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, as with all the testimony, this is just an excerpt.

by Abdul and Alphonso Africa

...On March 28, 1976 several MOVE members were just getting out of jail for contempt sentences. This was late at night. As the people were sitting out of the bus that had brought them back from Holmesburg prison, police converged on the scene, claiming that MOVE was causing a disturbance. But all MOVE was doing was being happy and jubilant about our people coming home from jail. As usual, the police shot at MOVE for no reason and was an attack against MOVE by the police. Chuckie Africa told the police to leave us alone, that all we were doing was celebrating our people coming home from jail. The police ignored him and everybody else. They pulled out their night sticks and began beating MOVE people. Jerry Africa was struck over the head with a night stick so hard that the night stick broke in half. Janine Africa was trying to protect her husband Phil Africa when she was grabbed by a cop and knocked to the ground while she had her baby still in her arms. She was stomped and nearly beaten unconscious. At the same time her baby's skull was crushed and the baby died.

The next morning MOVE notified the media about the attack the police launched against us. We notified the community and everybody who we came in contact with. The police denied that any such beating took place or that any baby was killed. They attempted to deny it based on the fact that we don't have birth certificates for our babies.

They had made charges against MOVE people based on this incident. But after we brought forward this evidence, they dropped all the charges against the MOVE people who had arrested that night. They tried to deny that anything at all took place.

As a result of these accumulated incidents of brutality and mistreatment, MOVE decided to launch a demonstration. This demonstration was on May 20, 1977. It was a massive rally demanding the release of all our political prisoners and an end to the harassment by the city of Philadelphia. It was also to make a stand to the police in the city of Philadelphia that we weren't going to take any more of these undercover beatings.

We told the cops that there weren't going to be any more undercover deaths. This time they better be prepared to murder us in full public view because if they came at us with fists, we were going to come back at them with fists. If they were going to come at us with clubs, we were going to come back at them with clubs. If they came at us with guns, we were going to come back at them with guns.

The reason we were coming back at them with things such as guns is because we knew that that's what they respected. When MOVE came out in front of our house with those guns and sticks police commissioner O'Neal stated that it was no crime for us to have the guns.

But four days later the city side-stepped that statement and Judge Ler Abraham issued warrants for 11 MOVE members on riot charges and possession of instruments of crime and so forth. The city of Philadelphia put the complete break away from the MOVE. After that blockade, they started a raid on MOVE based on some warrants that were issued in a civil court.

I want you to understand this. They issued criminal warrants for MOVE out of a civil court. That is illegal all across the country. You cannot practice criminal law in a civil court. The DA went to the court to get criminal warrants for MOVE members, and that's what they used on August 6, 1978 to come in and raid MOVE.

But it's illegal to get criminal warrants out of a civil matter. The DA doesn't have any jurisdiction in a civil court. The city solicitor is the one to bring MOVE warrants from the civil court. This is one reason that the warrants were illegal.

They used these warrants to com in May 13, 1981 when they went up to Rochester, New York to raid MOVE. The illegal warrants have been used on every raid that they have ever raided MOVE. On May 13, 1985, again it was an improper legal procedure that took place.

The city of Philadelphia refused to talk to anybody about MOVE. Whenever MOVE had stated to officials, city officials, the news media and everybody that would listen, that the warrants were illegal and gave a good faith effort to honestly look into the grievances that the MOVE organization was speaking about, then there wouldn't be a need for a confrontation. But they refused. They refused to be level-headed and do what they are always talking about: listen to reason, talk about the problem, talk to us.

After they refused to do any kind of talking to MOVE, the police launched a full scale military operation. We met the police with gas, water cannon, shot guns, Uzis, M-16s, silence weapons, brownie automatics, M-60 machine guns, 20 mm anti-tank guns and SO weapons. Many of these weapons were illegally obtained with the help of the U.S. Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Agency. It was a wide-ranging conspiracy to eliminate the MOVE organization.

After the May 13th disaster, Ramona Africa was in prison for 14 years and multiple counts of simple and aggravated assault. She was the victim, but they blamed her for riot and conspiracy. They convicted her on the same warrant for the May 13th bombing. They made practice runs with C-4. They had make...

Myra Grant
Myra Grant Testimony on Brother's Murder

My name is Myra Grant. I'm from Philadelphia. I am the sister of the late Michael Grant who was beaten to death on the fourth of April of this year by the Philadelphia police department.

From what I was told, my brother was on his way to pick up his family. He was stopped by the police at 40th and Parkside. To this day, we still don't know what the violation was supposed to have been.

He had a white Acura Legend. I believe that's the only reason he was stopped.

From what the witnesses said, the police said something to my brother. My brother never said anything back, but they snatched him out of the car. They never even asked him for his license. They didn't even give him a chance to put the car in park. They just snatched him from the car and commenced beating him with flashlights and night sticks until he fell limp and stopped moving. They even continued to beat him after he died.

We got the police report and it said that he was stopped for a traffic violation. We still don't know what that supposed violation was.

I believe that it just had to do with the kind of car he was driving. Other people who have been beaten by Officer Debellis have gotten in touch with me. They said that they were also stopped, even though they didn't do anything, but one person had a Jeep, another one had a Mercury, another one had a Mustang. They believe that's why they were stopped too.

Both of the people in these other cases were brothers with nice cars and they were young, in their 20s. One was 28 and one was 25. My brother was 35.

One of the policemen who beat my brother is named Debellis and another is named Deboe. Perhaps three months after the incident, someone from the Inquirer did a story in which the record of Debellis' police brutality was so long that it covered two pages of the Inquirer discussing the people he's already beaten and brutalized.

We're suing the police department. We're suing the commissioner. It's being...
"I'm here to tell you that my son was brutally murdered"

by Shawsia Martin

Uhuru. Salaam Alaktun. My name is Shawsia Martin from Baltimore, Maryland. I am up here to speak about the death of my son, Sadig Ali Martin on September 23rd.

Brother Jeffries said dominance, destruction and death. It well describes the insecurity of white America.

I lost my son by a vicious and violent attack of the Baltimore police department on September 23rd. My son and two other young men, Africans, were on the grounds of a neighborhood high school. My son, 19 years old, a twin, was murdered by the Baltimore county police, allegedly at the door of the radio station. He was in his 1988 Dodge Raider truck which had a radio inside. He didn't have a need for another radio. So they were very hard to believe.

The officers backed off the entrance of the school and called for back-up because they alleged that my son and his friends had taken a wife from a church and taken the radio out of it. When the back-up arrived, my son and his friends decided to leave the school grounds. At least 20 to 25 officers fired on my son, causing him to panic.

As they tried to leave the school grounds, in his panic, my son was circling a tree at least five or six times because he didn't know what to do. As he started to circle this tree the last time, an officer jumped from behind the tree, took a stance and shot my son in the heart. Prior to the fatal shooting, 20 to 25 officers were shooting around him, and for some reason this one officer (or more than one officer, we don't know because we haven't received an autopsy report), shot my son either one time, which they are saying, or three times, which we believe.

My son's vehicle came to a stop. The officers searched him from the vehicle, threw him to the ground, put their foot on his back, and handcuffed his feet and his hands. They claim that a helicopter was on route to take my son to an airport, but they took him way across town to another hospital. They also cancelled the helicopter. At the time, my son worked for the United States Postal Office. He had just gotten off work that morning, so I didn't know why he hadn't come in. He usually came in around 7:00 to 7:30.

At 12:15 someone called me and said that it looked like my son's truck on the TV. They said that something had happened at the school and that someone had been shot and he was fighting for his life at St. Anthony's Hospital. Immediately my husband went to the school. I stayed at home because I had missed the reporting. By the time I got to the TV it had gone off.

The police officer came to my home. He said that my son was in the hospital. He said that they just had to give me support. Later it came over his radio hat it had been a homicide and he took me to St. Anthony's Hospital. In the meantime, they had my husband there waiting for 3 minutes to an hour hop- ing and praying that my son would sur- vive, but my son had already died. He was dead on arrival at the hospital. They gave him CPR on the field, but they still had my husband believing that they were working on him.

I'm here to give testimony to the death and brutalization of young Africans all over the United States. We African moth- ers and fathers have to put an end to it. We are losing our men and we are losing our women. My child was not a criminal. My child was unarmed. My child lost his life over a petty theft, a piece of a car.

Why such deadly, violent force was used is because the society that we live in is here to take the lives of young African males all over the world. I'm quite sure that everyone can bear witness to the fact that every day something happens to some young African man. We have to put a stop to it.

I'm doing everything in my power to get justice for my son's death, because the criminal was not my son. The criminal is the United States of America. I think that America feels that we Africans will not fight for our children. But if it takes every breath in my body, I will make sure that my son did not die in vain. I will bring the culprits to justice who caused my son's death, because I lost a part of my life when they took his life.

He had a future and he was a father of a two-year-old. He was going to attend college in the spring. He had a twin sister who attends Delaware State College. He has another sister who attends Spellman College in Atlanta, Georgia and he has an older brother who attends Howard University in Washington, D.C.

I don't say this to say that all our chil- dren have to attend school. I say this to say that America feels that our children don't deserve anything, that our children cannot drive Jeeps, that our children cannot attend college, and that our children do not work.

They want a fight and I will give them a fight, because my son would expect this of me. My son would not rest until the injustices that have been brought against him are settled.

The grand jury found that the officer was justified and no charges were brought against him. We have obtained a well- known African attorney, Will Murphy and John Cochran from Washington, D.C. But as I have said many times, even though there will be a civil suit and there will be a monetary suit, I'm not here to get rich off of my son's death. I'm here to make sure that justice is done because they are there to serve and protect us, not to take our children's lives.

I brought some of the things that we're doing in the Baltimore area. We have flyers out that have a list of demands to find out why deadly force was used, was there any other measure that they could have used.

why was he taken across town to an area hospital, and why was there a delay in informing the family. They came to us this day to my home and informed me of anything that my son did. We have pick- eted two police stations in Baltimore and, as said, it goes on.

the police officer said to me, you have to understand, you are not alone. I felt that I needed to make this known here at the tribunal because it needs to be known not only in Baltimore, but world- wide. All the deaths of young African males should be known worldwide. We do not fight as parents who let their children be slaughtered like animals. We are coming back to do this thing. That's why we continue to kill our children. We have to stand up and start fighting. We brought them into this world. No one has the right to take them out. Thank you.

"Testimony on murder, terror and brutality"

by Shukara Jamila

The following presentation is an excerpt from testimony given at the International Tribunal in Philadelphia, Pa, on Sunday, November 10, 1991. The Tribunal was sponsored by the African National Reparations Organization.

Uhurul I'd like to say that I'm honored and glad to be a part of the tenth season of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People. This is a serious event for me. It's serious because this government has absolutely no regard for the democratic rights of African people. Even more than that, this government and State power has absolutely no regard for the life of African people....

On December 7th, almost one year ago today, a brother by the name of Dayton Wilson, Jr. was on his way home. His home is in Haywoodsville, Kansas, about six or seven miles south of Wichita. Dayton worked in Wichita. He was on his way home by 6:00 o'clock in the evening.

A North American said that he had come over into his lane, so he followed Dayton home. Dayton didn't know what was going on. This man took it upon himself to say that Dayton must be drunk. So he was going to do a citizen's arrest and try to get the police because this man came over into his lane. We don't know if that really happened either.

Dayton got out of his car on his own. A man walked out, a young North American, possibly about 18 or 19 years old, and started to argue with him. Dayton got out of his car. He didn't have a gun.

Dayton went inside his house and told his wife and his daughter to get in the back seat of the car and didn't know what was going to happen. He got his pistol. I think he really just wanted to scare the man away. He just wanted him off of his property.

According to his wife, Dayton had looked for his shells for his pistol, but he couldn't find them. So he went back outside with an unloaded gun. I think you should never mess around with unloaded guns.

Dayton went back outside. The North American had gone down the street. See Brutality, page 0.
Reparations Tribunal Scheduled for Philadelphia This Year