

The



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**U.S. GOVERNMENT FOUND GUILTY
OF CRIMES AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE**

**OWES BLACK PEOPLE DEBT OF \$4.1 TRILLION
FOR 400 YEARS OF STOLEN LABOR**

INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL
ON REPARATIONS
FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE U.S.



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

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U.S. Government Found Guilty Of Crimes Against Africans in U.S.

NEW YORK—The People's Advocate read through the charges one by one and asked the Panel of International Judges for their verdict. A silence fell over the hall. "Charge number one: Is the United States guilty of genocide against African people in the U.S. as defined by the United Nations *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*?" "Guilty, by unanimous vote."

"Charge number two: Is the United States guilty of violation of the *United Nations Charter* as it relates to its (the U.S.) treatment of Africans in the United States?" "Guilty, by unanimous vote."

"Charge number three: Is the United States guilty of violation of the spirit and intent of the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*?" "Guilty, by unanimous vote."

"Charge number four: Is the United States guilty of violation of the spirit and intent of the *International Bill of Human Rights*?" "Guilty, by unanimous vote."

The audience made up largely of African people broke out in spontaneous and sustained applause, probably the first time a guilty verdict in a legal proceeding inside the U.S. had been greeted with joy by African people in the last 400 years. After being restored to order, the court proceeded with the judgement of the panel on punishment and/or rectification:

"1. Are African people in the U.S. due reparations from the U.S. government? (This had been estimated in the course of the Tribunal as \$4.1 trillion in stolen labor alone, with damages to be determined later)." "Yes, by unanimous vote."

"2. Should imprisoned black revolutionaries be granted political prisoner and prisoner-of-war status based on the Geneva Convention and other United Nations determinations?" "Yes, by unanimous vote."

"3. Does the U.S. treatment of Africans in the U.S. represent a serious enough breach of the *United Nations Human Rights Charter* to justify eviction of the U.S. from the United Nations?" "Yes, by unanimous vote."

"4. Does the testimony and documentation presented at the Tribunal justify the establishment of a permanent international body to monitor U.S. treatment of African people in the U.S.?" "Yes, by unanimous vote."

Again applause swept the auditorium, along with a feeling of satisfaction at the collective achievement that had been reached in proving beyond a doubt the just case of African people for reparations, of anger at the endless tales of suffering and injustice that had been related in the past 2 days of testimony, and of strong determination to take the judgement of the Tribunal out into the world, to build a people's struggle that will make the conclusions recognized as law, as the fair judgement of history and of the people of the world.

The International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. was a precedent setting and mobilizing legal hearing, the first time in history that the U.S. government has been formally put on trial for crimes against black people in the U.S. This Tribunal was conducted with the utmost seriousness, adhering to the rules of evidence to support the charges that the U.S. had violated international law. Many of these laws, such as the *International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, have never been ratified by the U.S. Senate precisely because the U.S. government fears it will be brought before a world court to answer for its treatment of African people and Native peoples in the U.S. The task of the hearings, then, has been to amass evidence while at the same time pressing for the U.S. to be called to accountability for its historic crimes, and fighting for the right of African people, who do not possess state power, to have a hearing before international panels on human rights. This is the work that Malcolm X was just beginning to bring to fruition when he was assassinated to silence his leading voice.

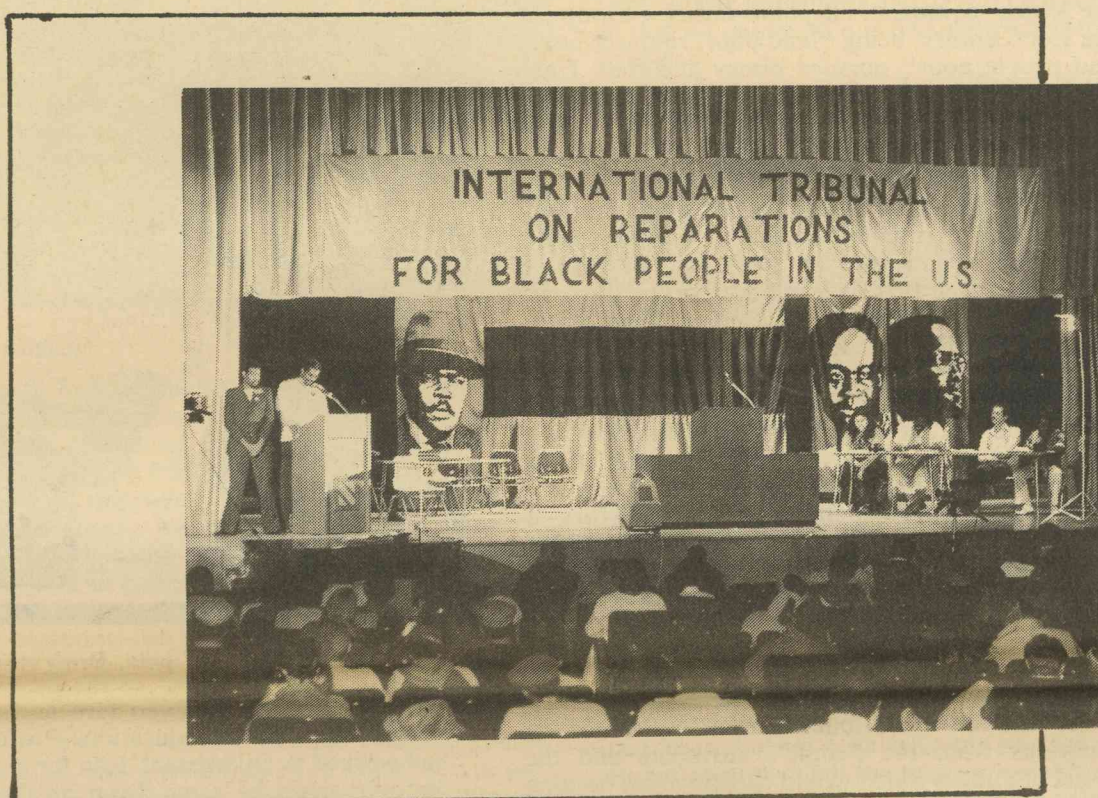
The Tribunal had been in the building stages for the past year, as the African People's Socialist Party established committees across the U.S. to build awareness of the upcoming Tribunal, to gather thousands of Reparations Claims by individual Africans to be presented at the Tribunal, to assemble evidence and international support for the Tribunal. Participants from these committees arrived from Seattle, Maryland, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Oakland, St. Petersburg, and New York, while other committees who intended to come ended up unable to for logistical reasons, including people from Miami, Chicago, and Memphis. The breadth of African organizations and

other colonized peoples who endorsed the Tribunal was truly inspirational and showed the great support which the reparations demand can win. And participation in the Tribunal itself was equally as broad. Queen Mother Moore, of the Association of Ethiopian Women and an activist in the struggle for reparations since her days working in the Garvey movement, sat in the front row of the auditorium with a number of her associates from across the U.S. during the entire two days of hearings. Members of the National Black United Front, Black Vets for Social Justice, Grand Jury Project and many other community groups fighting for African freedom were in attendance, along with unaffiliated Africans and some progressive North Americans.

Notably absent were the white Ideological Imperialists and professors of the revolution who clog up

of North American progressive people, Rick Ayers, the Chairman of the Committee in Solidarity with African Independence. Two other African representatives who were eager to attend as judges, Rosie Douglas, Secretary General of the United Labor Party of Dominica, and M.W.K. Chiume, Chairman of the Congress for the Second Republic of Malawi, were prevented from entering the U.S. by visa denial in the first case and by economic constraints of the travel from Africa in the second.

Unfortunately, it was never possible to get a firm commitment for a representative judge from Native People in the U.S. or from Colombia, and the promised participation by a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the New York Casa El Salvador Farabundo Marti fell through in the last days. The importance of international par-



so many progressive events, for this was a Tribunal established by African people on our own terms. Also, many of those large national black organizations, from the NAACP to the National Black United Front, did not lend endorsement or support to the Tribunal. In the absence, then, of all those forces which might try to seize hegemony over the struggle of poor and working class African people, the Tribunal was overwhelmingly made up of serious and honest forces. While many of the thousands of people who signed Reparations Claims and in other ways came forward to give support to the Tribunal were not able to get to Brooklyn's N. Y. Technical College on November 13, several hundred people did sign in on Saturday and Sunday. Coverage from the African media, from the *Amsterdam News* to the APSP's *The Burning Spear*, helped to amplify the impact of the Tribunal.

SELL THE SPEAR!

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The International Panel of Judges, as well as the International Observers, were primarily African people, reflecting the solid international solidarity which Garvey first mobilized with the slogan, "Africa for Africans, Those at Home and Those Abroad." Among the Observers was Kaseam Ashbourne of the Black American Law Students Association, Ike Mfoli of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, a representative of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Garveyites), and Sue Velez who works with the solidarity movement with Chile. As for the International Judges, two of them had travelled considerable distance, and faced harassment and repression from the U.S. repressive forces for their work on the Tribunal—the important figure in the African struggle in the Caribbean, Piankhy Ladepoo Salankey, Chairman of the National United Movement of Barbados, and the representative of the revolutionary Senegalese community in exile in France, Samba Mbuub; in addition, a representative of the Congolese National Liberation Front which is waging armed struggle against the puppet Mobutu regime, Serge, was in attendance as a judge, along with a representative

participation and international solidarity from these and other peoples struggling against U.S. imperialism must be won, as African people have always demonstrated a high degree of internationalism and sacrifice in the common struggle against imperialism. These and other international allies of our struggle will have an opportunity to come forward to participate in future Tribunals which our people will sponsor.

With all of these different peoples present, as well as the range of activists and witnesses to genocide from the African community who brought forth testimony, truly the Black Liberation Movement was fully represented at the International Tribunal. And while our movement has many different tendencies and contending strategies, something profound occurred over the two days of the Tribunal. As the testimony was unravelled, as the depths of the crimes of U.S. imperialism were laid before those assembled, the continual focus provided by the **People's Advocate, APSP Chairman Omali Yeshitela**, brought forth again and again that the anti-colonial struggle of African people, the struggle that targets the U.S. government as our enemy and unites with the anti-colonial struggles around the world, the demand for Reparations Now, is the unifying, mobilizing, and militant cry which will put our movement back on the offensive. The Tribunal built unity in our movement, not a liberal unity based on nothing but accommodation and passivity, but a unity borne out of a common focus and a growing commitment to join together to boldly advance our struggle against the U.S. government.

The Tribunal was opened on Saturday, November 13, with a procession of the Judges and opening remarks by People's Advocate Omali Yeshitela. He explained that the Tribunal would be held under international law, that the International Panel of Judges had a legal responsibility to weigh the evidence in coming to their verdict, and that African people do have a right to call such a Tribunal. Even though we do not have state power, we are a people who have been wronged and have a right to petition for redress, as well as to struggle for state power in order to achieve that redress.

Following this, the first witness was called in order to establish that a crime has been committed by showing that African people were in a positive state of existence before the kidnapping of African (See U.S. Guilty, Page 4)

U.S. Guilty of Anti-Black Crimes

Continued from Page 3

people which began in the 15th century. Dr. Leonard Jeffries, Chairman of the Black Studies Department of the City University of New York, spoke for an hour and a half, giving the greatest detailed account of African history that could be condensed into that time period. He defied the question raised by the patronizing academics of the West as to whether Africans had made any contribution to civilization by asserting that "Civilization itself is African." The very beginnings of human pre-history, as well as the proto-historical period in which social organization and production were begun and the classical period in which the basic sciences and humanities were developed, were all African. What bare civilization that did exist in Europe was all derivative from Africa in the Ancient era and in subsequent historical periods.

Dr. Jeffries drew out in great detail the seven periods of African history, and described the techniques used by the Europeans, first the Portuguese and Spanish, later the English, to assault and bleed the African continent. He points out how Europe in the 15th Century, being "land poor, resource poor, and people poor" pursued piracy and theft from other peoples as the primary way of moving beyond subsistence economy, and found the richest civilizations in Africa. Unable to penetrate the strong societies on the Continent, they settled on the beaches and began a process of kidnapping individuals which eventually weakened and subjugated the whole Continent. In 1482 the Portuguese established their first slave military fort on the coast of Ghana at Elmina of St. George. One of the builders of this fort was Christopher Columbus. Over the next decades, Portugal set up 50 fortified ports and castles on the coast of Ghana alone. The slave trade was the basis for the establishment of a world economy and provided the basic capital for the industrialization of Europe and later the U.S.

After documenting the four hundred years of degradation and exploitation at the hands of the Europeans, Dr. Jeffries concluded by describing the years from 1900 to today as the period of the African Renaissance and Revolution, in which African people on the Continent and around the world have moved to seize back our destinies and our resources. Following his presentation, Dr. Jeffries followed the Tribunal format by answering questions from the People's Advocate and the Panel of Judges which would explain areas needing fuller detail for the judges' deliberations.

Following a lunch recess and press conference, the Tribunal resumed with the Statement of Charges/Indictment of the U.S. Government. At this time, People's Advocate Omali Yeshitela reviewed the pertinent international law, law which was designed to prevent the barbarity of genocide and colonialism, law which underscored the justice of our struggle for liberation. He read the law which had been provided in the Judges' packets and the press packets: *The International Bill of Human Rights* (which includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), *The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, *The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, *the Charter of the United Nations*, *the Statute of the International Court of Justice*, and *the Foreign Relations Law of the U.S.*

Anticipating the testimony that was to follow, the People's Advocate summed up in broad strokes the case against the U.S. government. Wherever there are African people in the U.S., there is forced sterilization, high infant death rates, disproportionate imprisonment, police terror, subhuman housing. These are just some of the conditions that make up the conditions of domestic colonization which Africans suffer in the U.S. This oppression is historic, as is the struggle against such conditions. And clearly the present condition of African people has a direct relation to the loss of self-determination, as the conditions of African people today have their origin in the trade in African flesh.

Following the statement of charges was supposed to be testimony from SNCC founder Ella Baker on the Southern Struggle for Democratic Rights. Unfortunately, the comrade was not able to attend because of health reasons, so she sent her greetings and solidarity.

The next witness was **Gwen Wilson of the National Black United Front** who put forth evidence on the case of Eddie Carthan, the progressive black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi. Eddie Carthan was elected in 1977 because of strong black community support, and immediately began to defy the white power structure by refusing a \$10,000 bribe and working to save the city medical clinic which was being cut back. When Carthan tried to fire racist police chief Clark, the rightists on the city council decreased his pay to \$60 a month and began

setting him up for legal charges. First they charged him with assaulting the police chief, and later began trying to connect him with any robbery or killing that occurred in Tchula. Because of national and international support, Mayor Carthan was acquitted of the recent murder charges, but is still in prison over the alleged assault. The National Black United Front representative explained that the organization is involved in struggles for the rights of black people all over the U.S. They pointed out that the attack on Eddie Carthan is part of a political repression seeking to destroy meager black gains of the Civil Rights Movement, just as the Black Reconstruction gains were smashed after the Civil War. Any illusion of gradual progress for Africans in the U.S. is refuted by the statistics on black education, employment, pay, imprisonment, and by such stories as that of Mayor Eddie Carthan of Tchula, Mississippi.



Job Mashiriki of
the Black Veterans for
Social Justice

Following Sister Wilson, **Professor Del Hunter of Medgar Evers College of the City University of New York**, came forth to give testimony on the struggle for African education. Professor Hunter had worked as an assistant dean for a year, but was removed when he came down on the side of the African students who were fighting over the last year to remove a reactionary black petty bourgeois president and establish a progressive administration. Medgar Evers College represents the typical type of educational institution reserved for African students. Located in the heart of Brownsville in Brooklyn, the college is under-funded and allows no control by the immediate African community.

Professor Hunter pointed out that it is always necessary for an oppressive ruling class to control knowledge and values. The purpose of universities is first the discovery, production, and distribution of knowledge and, second, to reproduce a class of people with responsibility to see that knowledge is passed on. When Africans were first brought to the new world, we were not allowed to read or study or develop the arts. With the end of chattel slavery, the ruling class came up with the strategy of creating the "negro" out of Africans in an attempt to internalize their subjugated status. The U.S. ruling class has set up a black petty bourgeois class of intellectuals and mediocre schools like Medgar Evers College so that African students are not engaged in institutions that discover and produce knowledge related to our needs. Instead we are required to simply repeat the point of view and values handed down by the dominant North American powers. Although African students won some Black Studies departments during the Black Power wars of the 1960's, they have been under-financed and undermined so that black people still do not have our own institutions, have not been able to redefine our mission. It will require a revolution of all U.S. society before Africans can get a real education, and part of the struggle for revolution is African people creating our own base of knowledge.

During questioning by the People's Advocate and the Judges, Professor Hunter reviewed the role of the black church, the struggle by the oppressors to suppress African heritage and cosmology, and stated that black intellectuals can and must make a contribution to the struggle of African people in the U.S. for nationality.

Next to testify was the honorable **Job Mashiriki, Chairman of the Black Veterans for Social Justice**. Comrade Mashiriki spoke representing the thousands of Africans who have been sent to wars by the U.S. ruling class since the War for Independence against Britain, who have been promised their freedom on each occasion, and have only suffered the highest casualties, lowest benefits, and constant armed harassment. He opened his remarks thus:

Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to be among such a noble and august body. We know that you have travelled far and inconvenienced yourself to be present here on this historic occasion, to give our organization and our people an opportunity to vent our long-standing grievances against this government. We hope our short testimony will contribute to your inevitable conclusion that the U.S. government is guilty of mass genocide and degradation against Africans here in America.

Our organization has known this fact for centuries. History has taught us. Historically, black people have always fought for this country inside and outside of the military. The economic wealth and development of this country was built on the backs of black slave labor. All persons who enjoy the fruits of so-called democracy today enjoy it at the expense of black blood, sweat, tears, and lives.

As an organization of black veterans from World War II to the Vietnam War, who fought in

these wars, our motto is, "Blacks fight no one else's war no more." We have adopted this motto because of our experience in this country. However, this motto doesn't exclude us from fighting our own war, I want to be clear on that, such as in Azania, Namibia, Mississippi, or New York.

In the course of reviewing the criminal history of the U.S. Government's treatment of Africans in the U.S. military, Comrade Mashiriki brought out many profound facts to underline his argument. For instance, while black GI's suffered disproportionate casualties in Vietnam because the officers placed us in the line of withering fire, Vietnam veterans face the highest unemployment rate in the U.S. for that age group, and African veterans have the highest rate among these; the military gave 257,000 "Less Than Honorable" Discharges to Vietnam vets in order to punish the defiant or strong and deny them all veteran benefits; of these, 3/4 are black and Latin. Africans have always had to fight on two fronts, overseas and in the U.S., as the suppression of African soldiers in Brownsville, Texas testifies to; in fact, prior to World War I, more black people had been killed by the KKK than in U.S. wars. Many statistics are hard to uncover, and in fact members of Black Veterans for Social Justice were barred from the Pentagon when they went there seeking statistics on black casualties, tour of duty, and discharges. Finally, in response to questions, Comrade Mashiriki pointed out that Africans in the military have always provided the backbone of resistance to imperialist military ventures, and gave real heart to the slogan "Hell No, We Won't Go!"

The next witness was **African Revolutionary Health Activist Eburn Adelona**. Sister Adelona pointed out forcefully the ways health is too often neglected or looked at from a narrow perspective. She stated:

We are involved in the struggle for the health of the people, and we see the struggle for health as one of the most basic and fundamental, because if you do not have a people that are healthy, you do not have a people that can engage in any kind of struggle in any of the areas that we struggle in. We cannot wage a liberation struggle without a people that are healthy; you cannot wage an armed struggle if you are not able to take care of the health of the people; you cannot in any way move forward if you are not dealing with health.

Comrade Adelona proceeded to bring forth the most extensive documentation on the health status of African people in New York and throughout the U.S. in order to demonstrate further our right to reparations. She pointed out that for African women negative pregnancy outcomes are highest and infant mortality rates are at least 36 percent

higher than whites. In many cases, African activists have had to carry out independent research, block by block studies, to uncover the causes of African health oppression. Often such studies reveal the relation between health status and the environment. For instance, studies on the high asthma rates for African children suggest an association with the high incidence of roaches in apartments rented to Africans, and an allergic reaction to roach droppings in the children. Studies of people who freeze to death in the winter require extensive work since the Department of Health of New York masks such tragedies by listing the cause of death as "heart failure."

She testified about the ways that the multi-billion dollar health industry and the government are conspiring to provide less services to Africans while concentrating on the lucrative white middle class market, thus pushing the African population below the survival level, meaning genocide. For instance, bankruptcies of hospitals are the result of government pulling back funding sources. Of the 48 hospitals closing nationally this year, 39 served a predominantly black population. Of the \$10.7 billion spent in New York City for medical facilities in 1980, more than 50 percent went to support a little string of hospitals in the wealthy East Side. In Manhattan, the city closed Sydenham Hospital in Harlem because it was allegedly operating at a deficit. You don't hear the term "deficit" in relation to the mammoth police department budget.

Comrade Adelona pointed out the ways struggle to save Sydenham Hospital had documented the state's complicity in genocide. This and other hospital closings mean death for African people, pave the way for gentrification of African neighborhoods by killing off the inhabitants, and create a captive population which must act at the will of the government planners. African people are in struggle to get decent health care for our people while breaking from the ideological definitions of health processes which have evolved by capitalism in the pursuit of profit. Much more documentation was provided in written form, including the important areas of mental health, sterilization, and abortion rights.

Unfortunately, **Dr. John Bolling, Director of the Mandala Center and member of the Association of Black Psychiatrists**, was forced to leave for other commitments when the Tribunal testimony was running late. Unable to testify, Dr. Bolling submitted his testimony in writing on the effects of oppression in the U.S. on African psychology.

The last witness to appear before the International Tribunal on Saturday was **Mafundi Lake**, one of the founders of the heroic **Inmates for Action** in Atmore and Holman prisons in Alabama and a long-time African prison resister. Brother Mafundi came forward and remarked that this was the first time he had been before a judge when he wasn't on trial himself. He then proceeded to recount, through personal experience, the damning proof that prison functions as a form of genocide, that it serves the same function as those terroristic slave-drivers known as "nigger breakers" because they were assigned the responsibility of breaking the will and resistance of Africans who would not submit to slavery.

He exposed the ways the prisons of Alabama, and in the rest of the U.S., use terroristic violence and isolation to break the spirit. Mafundi himself served 13 years of a 13 year sentence for a 27 dollar robbery he did not commit. Because he would not submit to the brutal ways of the administration, he was singled out for beatings and thrown in the punishment cell, which had no bed, no heat, no toilet except a shallow hole in the cell, no blanket, and one meal a day. For months naked in this cell, Mafundi had to struggle to keep his mind and body intact, to live another day. Comrade Mafundi showed how the guards also caused prisoners to turn on each other, including using extensive sexual violence that included rape, dominance, and sadism affecting 90 per cent of the prisoners. Prison authorities used religion as well, allowing religious groups to form when they agreed to preach passivity, cooperation with authorities, and even informing. In all, the prisons represent extensive behavior modification centers based on crude techniques of reward and punishment.

Comrade Mafundi also brought out the ways Africans have managed to fight back. In Atmore, the African prisoners formed **Inmates for Action (IFA)**, which was both a military resistance formation committed to establishing conditions in which Africans could survive—by threatening and taking retaliatory measures against guards and white lackeys—as well as being a political and cultural formation which would raise the consciousness and sense of purpose among African prisoners. The IFA held classes every night, not in meeting rooms, but on the prison tiers by calling out to each other. The class leader would establish the theme for the evening, and if the guards took him away, the next assigned teacher would take over. If the guards continued removing teachers to the hole, ultimately the class would resume down there. Different themes were pursued in these classes, from political education to history to literacy to cultural night. On cultural night, every IFA member would have to be prepared to present something he had created during the week—a song, a poem, a call or some-

thing—when his cell was called.

IFA proved to be the strongest prison formation in the South, and organized work stoppages as well as ending the degrading "yessir...nossuh" stance that African prisoners had been forced to take with the guards. Finally, with the overall decline of the Black Power Movement in the 70's because of government military assault, the prison authorities were able to break down IFA. They transferred leaders like Mafundi out of the prison, and brutally murdered many others, such as Frank X Moore. Those who took up the struggle in Atmore and Holman, however, have not been entirely wiped out and the struggling African people keep coming back. Although prison leaves physical and mental scars on all Africans who have been subjected to it, it also educates our people to the terms and the seriousness of the struggle.

International Judge Samba Mbuub'asked Mafundi about the use of prisoners as involuntary



Eibun Adelona

laborers. Mafundi pointed out that Atmore prison, for example, is a multi-million dollar agricultural industry, producing all types of farm products which are marketed by capitalist businesses, even though the prisoners get to eat none of the fresh food produced. Kaseam Ashbourne of Balsa asked if Mafundi tried to organize in his most recent period in prison and if he found some of the brothers to be unreachable. Comrade Mafundi, a true organizer and people's leader, said he never found anyone who was unreachable. He pointed out the fact that the movement is in a weakened state today, but there is always another battle to take on, and structures to rebuild and strengthen. During his entire testimony, you could hear a pin drop in the auditorium, so dramatic and moving was his story. When he finished, the audience gave him the tribute of sustained applause, and he left the witness stand to handshakes from those present.



Mafundi Lake

If one day had condensed so many aspects of our people's oppression and exposed so many aspects of our struggle for liberation, from health care to the prison system to the military to the schools, it was simply evidentiary over-kill to conduct an entire second day of hearings and testimony. In fact, however, many days could be conducted of this Tribunal, and it could be convened in every black community in the country and have lines of our people waiting eagerly to present testimony.

The second day of testimony at the International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. opened with an explanation by the People's Advocate, APSP Chairman Omali Yeshitela, of the **Historical Brief** which was being presented to the International Judges. This **Historical Brief**, 58 pages long, was prepared under the leadership of the African People's Socialist Party to summarize extensive research on the history of stolen labor and wealth from African people in the past 400 years. The brief looks at three historical periods: Chattel Slavery from 1619 to 1865, Southern peasant labor from 1865 to 1945, and urbanization and proletarianization of the African domestic colony from 1945 to today. This research explained in great detail how the primitive accumulation of capitalism was carried out on the

backs of African people and the colonization of Africans in the U.S. provided the basic wealth of capitalism in every period of history, and in fact the amount of wealth extracted from Africans has increased over the centuries. This research has proved that, even by conservative estimates, African people are owed \$4.1 trillion (that's \$4100 billion) by the U.S. government for stolen labor alone.

Following the **Historical Brief**, **Kwame Brathwaite** of the **Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the African Jazz Art Studio (AJAZ)** came forward to present testimony on the theft of African culture. Brother Brathwaite reviewed the capital offenses that were committed by the Europeans in kidnaping African people. He pointed out that the kidnapers did not just take laborers, but also scientists, teachers, and peoples' healers and leaders. In other words, they stole the culture by attempting to destroy it in Africa and outlawing the practice of African culture in the Americas. In addition, African cultural expressions such as jazz, blues, and other forms have been taken over by white capitalists, and even black practitioners are dependent on white promoters, club owners, and record companies to make a living today. Moreover, these capitalists set the terms for the type of culture that comes out suppressing such rhythm and blues songs like "Unity," "Wake Up Everybody," and "Don't Call Me Brother" while promoting contentless words like "I Love Music." He called for Africans to seize back our culture and develop self sufficiency so that we can build our own national identity and struggle.

The next witness called was **Penny Hess** of the **Committee in Solidarity with African Independence**, a North American (white) woman who was called to give testimony on the political stand of the white working class and the potential for internationalist solidarity between African and North American people. She gave testimony on her work over the last 6 years in campaigns led by the African People's Socialist Party which called for solidarity and support from the North American population, including the African National Prison Organization Solidarity Committee and the Dessie Woods Support Committee, as well as solidarity work for the International Reparations Tribunal.

She brought out the basic truth that African people are colonized inside the U.S. and therefore provide a buffer for the North American working class, since the brunt of the attacks and exploitation from the U.S. government is aimed at the African community. For this reason, there is no progressive movement possible in the U.S. without solidarity with the struggle of Africans for independence. In order to go beyond a cynical bargain with the capitalist class for the division of colonial spoils, North American workers must have the courage to build strong solidarity with the African people's demand for reparations. In giving thorough testimony on the real class interest of North American workers for revolution and the reactionary choices that have so often been taken by North Americans because of the material benefits they derive from colonialism, Comrade Hess strongly exposed the international importance of the African anti-colonial struggle.

While the African struggle for independence has so often been betrayed by North Americans, sometimes especially those who profess to come forward to give solidarity to our struggle, the honest and courageous testimony of Penny Hess was a welcome expression of solidarity. She was questioned at length by the international judges to learn of the kinds of U.S. State attacks the solidarity movement has suffered, the efforts that are being made to win North Americans to solidarity, the way the solidarity committee takes on the political expose of the so-called multi-nationalist leftist organizations, and how reactionary movements in the white community are being countered.

The next witness was **Afeni Shakur**, a former member of the **Black Panther Party** in New York who was jailed and tried in the COINTELPRO-led Panther 21 case in 1969-1971. She is working now in the **Grand Jury Project** to counter U.S. State attacks on the African struggle. After pointing out that she was testifying not as an expert but as a victim of COINTELPRO, Sister Afeni proceeded to give the most detailed account of the functioning of the U.S. government's repressive apparatus against the Black Liberation Struggle. She exposed that the COINTEL Program of the FBI is a military operation with specific functions, goals, and objectives—to neutralize a hostile people's movement. Because of the mass resistance of black people in the U.S., the U.S. government has murdered thousands of our youth and attacked our community which resulted in such changing statistics as the fact that the New York prison population was 30 per cent African in 1956 and is 80 per cent African today. In struggling to free such political prisoners and Prisoners of War as Sundiata Acoli, Geronimo Pratt, Safiya Bukari, Dhoruba Moore, Herman Bell, Nuh Washington, and Anthony Bottoms, the black movement has been trying for a long time to gain international support and awareness. The only international examination we have been able to get was from Amnesty International which issued the "Proposal for a Commission of Inquiry into the Ef-

(See U.S. Guilty, Page 6)

U.S. Guilty According To Findings Of World Tribunal

International Panel of Judges, from left to right Serge Mukendi, Samba Mbuub, Rick Ayers, & Ladepoo Salanke



Continued from Page 5

fects of Domestic Intelligence Actions on Criminal Trials within the United States."

Comrade Afeni brought out information about some of the most notorious traitors and informers our movement has had to deal with. For example, Gene Roberts was a New York and Federal government informer when he worked with Malcolm X, even acting as his body guard and pretending to give Malcolm mouth-to-mouth resuscitation at the Audubon Ballroom when he was assassinated in 1965. Roberts then went on to infiltrate the Black Panthers, using his credentials as a trusted security cadre for Malcolm X, and set up the arrest of the Panther 21. Likewise, the security cadre in the Chicago Panthers who set up the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was a pig named O'Neill who supplemented his informers pay with armed robberies he was never prosecuted for. When asked by Ladepoo Salanke of Barbados how she suggested we keep informers out of our organizations, Sister Afeni replied:



Afeni Shakur

I can't give the last word, I can only give this word. But it is really my opinion that in reality this is not something that can be prevented; that in the history of any people's liberation movement, I do not believe anyone has been able to eliminate this possibility. By the revelation of these things, people are made to be more careful. But my whole point about the case of Gene Roberts is that I'm not sure how much more careful anybody could have been around that particular person. And that to me is really a great example of how, even though most people should remember how paranoid the Panthers were—people would be searched before they could come in and when someone would be speaking there would be people here on all sides. But in fact what I have found to be true is that there is no way to prevent infiltration. What we have to have as our priority is first of all we have got to know that we are fighting a just war; we have got to know that our struggle is just; we have got to personally and individually be moral people. We can't be corrupt, you know, because it's in the areas of corruption that we are most vulnerable. It is in our areas of weakness where we have vices that we are most apt to be corrupted and thereby subverted. So for each one of us that is serious, we just really have to be a moral people. Not that we should not be concerned about agents, you know, but I know for me I'm sure that I come across agents every day of my life, and the only defense that I have is that I have made up my mind that I'm going to fight this until it's over and nobody's going to intimidate me and get me off my point.

After extensive further testimony, covering the current grand jury investigating the Brinks expropriation of last year and the attacks on such freedom fighters as Sekou Odinga, Sister Afeni entertained more questions. International Observer Ike Mfoli of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania asked about the Panther community programs. He said:

It is clear the methods used here are the same as in South Africa, with the goal of the total physical

liquidation of the movement. These are not short term, they are long term goals. Therefore we should also accept that our struggle is a long and protracted and arduous one. I would like to ask what happened to the Black Panther Party programs that built the mass movement, programs which were also adopted by the Black Consciousness Movement in Africa and which today gives a mass base and ongoing strength to the struggle.

He described how the dual power institutions of the African population in Azania were inspired by the Black Power movement in the U.S. and the Panther Breakfast for Children program, medical clinics etc. and these dual power institutions allowed the African struggle to maintain continuity, to produce new leaders when Steve Biko and others were murdered.

Sister Afeni responded that "it is one of the sorrows of my life that we lost these programs. We don't do it enough and as forcefully as we should." She explained how the African revolution requires both a strong community institutional base and the capacity to defend it. The Black Panther Party was overwhelmed by a massive military assault, but the black movement continues to build all levels of the struggle.

Following a break for lunch, People's Advocate Omali Yeshitela called the court to session and welcomed formally **Queen Mother Moore** and put into evidence the reparations claim which African people had made in 1962 against the U.S. government. Then **Akil Al-Jundi**, an **Attica Brother** who was involved in the rebellion of 1971 at Attica Prison in New York and continues working today in the fight for black freedom was called to the witness stand. Comrade Akil greeted the Tribunal on behalf of the 61 revolutionaries who were tried for the Attica rebellion, and the 43 who were murdered by the military assault ordered by New York governor Nelson Rockefeller on September 13, 1971. He put forth for a matter of record the names of comrades killed at Attica and the cause of death as reported by the McCabe Commission, such dear and brave heroes as William Allen, L.D. Barkley, John Barnes, Alan Durham, William Fuller, Melvin Gray, Tommy Hicks, Immanuel Johnson, Lorenzo McNeil, Ramon Rivera, Santiago Santos, and Rafael Vasques.



Akil Al-Jundi

Brother Akil Al-Jundi revealed that the widows of the prison guards killed in the military assault on Attica recently won reparations of 1.6 million dollars from the State because they proved that excessive force had been used in taking the prison. He said that the families of the Attica victims are pursuing a \$2.8 billion civil suit against the Rockefeller estate because of the wrongful deaths which have already been established by the white guards' families. Akil presented a copy of this suit to the International Body to be entered into the documentation to be taken before the world in African peoples' struggle for reparations.

Comrade Akil testified that the Africans held in prisons in the U.S. stand in strong solidarity with the African and other colonized people in the world such as the revolutionary African people of Grenada, and that we join the people of the world in saying we will no longer be a colony. He concluded:

I want to say to the Chairman Omali Yeshitela, to the International Observers, to the International Jurists. We thank you for allowing us to be part of this Tribunal seeking reparations. The Germans have had to pay reparations to the Jews because of their dastardly acts against those people. The Nipponese, the Japanese, raised the same question here in the United States of America seeking reparations from this government. No one, no one on the face of the planet earth has borne witness to the dastardly acts, the brutalizing acts, the hatred, the levels of racism, you can go from A to Z, no one has borne witness to it such as the African people who happen to occupy this part of the planet Earth, in the United States of America. So if anyone on the face of the planet Earth has the right to seek reparations, then you know that we definitely should be on the top of the list. And so to those persons who assume responsibility to formulate the teach-ins that were being held throughout the United States, to raise the issue again in this part of the century, because we are at the end of the 20th Century, and Sister Afeni spoke of her young son and daughter whom I have the honor to know, we want them to know that the issue of reparations is a valid issue within the struggle for our liberation. So whenever there's a call around the issue of reparations, there's a need for all of us to be as supportive as we can, for us to try to bring our friends, people from our work place, our families, to an event such as this because it has historical significance. Yes, the auditorium is not filled up with 50,000 people, but each of us represents 50,000 people and more. So it's not always the quantity that determines the significance or the tenability of what people are attempting to do, it has to do with the quality, with the efforts that are put forth by the people that assume the responsibility to do that.

Brother Akil Al-Jundi was questioned by the International Judges on the Attica rebellion and the police attacks.

The Tribunal then moved on to testimony from committees, individuals, and organizations concerning the struggle for Reparations and the evidence of the need for reparations from their communities. **Malik Shakur** from the **San Francisco Committee to Build the Reparations Tribunal** testified on the case of African children who were brutally murdered by a self-styled preacher who was outraged at the rejection he received from the African community. Malik also testified on the continuing struggles in Hunter's Point and other neighborhoods of African people for survival and liberation. Then **Lester Lewis**, from the **Caribbean People's Organization** in London testified on the struggle of Africans in Britain and the Caribbean against imperialism, and revealed the leading impact that the African struggle in the U.S. has on Africans all over the world. Lewis pledged to carry out his duty to expand African Internationalism and the struggle for reparations.

Next, **Shatahete** of the **St. Petersburg Committee to Build the Black Reparations Tribunal** testified on the history of police attacks on African people in that part of Florida, such as the murder of Willie James Daniels in 1978 and the murder of Willie Grey in March of 1982. **Wayman Earls** from the **Seattle Reparations Tribunal Committee** testified on the conditions of Africans in the Northwest and refuted the myth that the region of that country is cleaner, safer, or less colonialist than the rest of the country; in proportion to the African population, Washington has more Africans in prison than the Eastern and Southern states. The bourgeoisie of Seattle is struggling to move Africans out of the Central Area in order to build white middle class housing; Comrade Wayman Earls also testified as to police murders such as Larry Ward, police harassment such as the arrest of Alice Smith, and the astronomical unemployment rate of Africans in Seattle.

Oronde Takuma, from the **New York Reparations Tribunal**, testified on the conditions of Africans in New York City. See U.S. GUILTY, Page 9

National Organization Formed To Lead Struggle For Black Reparations

NEW YORK—In the final analysis, it is the work we are willing to do for our freedom which will determine whether we will have it. In the final analysis, it all boils down to whether there are the black men and women who are willing to organize ourselves to do the work, to make the necessary sacrifices for our freedom. This and this alone will make the difference in simply having a good idea about freedom or engaging in exciting conversations about the freedom of our oppressed and colonized African people in the U.S.

On November 15 several black people from New York, Alabama, Maryland, D.C. and California got together to make history, to begin the single step in the tortuous journey for black reparations from the U.S. government, for revolutionary justice and total independence. They were there, young and old, men and women, for two days of work to build the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO), and they were serious.

They had come from different geographical regions of the U.S. Most of them had attended the two days of the World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S., and they had heard all the testimony and seen the irrefutable evidence that the demand for black Reparations Now is a just demand whose time has come. They were here on a Monday and Tuesday, many of them having missed work in order to initiate the founding of this most important mass organization which will give our movement a focus again and reawaken the African masses who have been bludgeoned to a state of near-unconsciousness since the U.S. government murdered and jailed many of our leaders during the late nineteen sixties and early seventies.

Laura Dottin, who chaired the ANRO Founding Convention, said it best in her opening statement to the convention:

Reparation was a concept I united with immediately because it contained the elements necessary to mobilize, educate, and agitate an indictment of U.S. imperialism. It contained a just answer to the atrocities committed against African people; it is based on accepted international laws of Justice.

The demand inherently defines us as a people, gives a focus to the Black Liberation Movement in this country—a focus that has been sorely lacking for the last decade. This lack of focus may be one of the major deficiencies of mass movements recently formed which may have started out with a bang, but gradually—or in some cases—quickly, degenerated into organizations which served the needs of its leadership or served the needs of none of us.

One sign of the seriousness and commitment of the group attending the ANRO Founding Convention was the presence of 85-year-old Queen Mother Moore, her elderly sister who had to utilize two canes in order to walk, and a 77-year-old woman comrade of Queen Mother Moore. Queen Mother Moore has been leading the cause for black reparations for more than 40 years, and as a show of respect and appreciation for her leadership, one of the first items on the Convention agenda was the presentation to Queen Mother Moore of an ANRO-created award called the Queen Mother Moore Award which will go to Africans who make outstanding contributions to our movement.

The ANRO Founding Convention was presided over by a National Steering Committee comprised of respected activists in our movement from throughout the U.S. This committee had come together in New York on October 16 at the request of the African People's Socialist Party, which wanted to see created a non-sectarian mass organization with participation open to all U.S.-based revolutionary nationalist organizations. The National Steering Committee approved the draft constitution to be presented at the Founding Convention, developed the Principles of Unity for participation, established convention rules of procedure, drew up the Convention agenda, and decided upon the creation of a special honor for the venerable Queen Mother Moore.

The November 15-16 ANRO Convention opened with registration, orientation, and a main address by African People's Socialist Party Chairman Omali Yeshitela, who commented on the fact that the demand for reparations was a demand of the black working class. Omali also called upon the Convention participants to take notice of the working class character of the Convention itself, and to struggle to overcome all obstacles to create a genuine black working class organization that can match and surpass the efforts of the black petty bourgeoisie in organization and professionalism. This, Omali declared, would be the only guarantee that the

efforts and struggles of the black poor and working class will serve our own interests and not the limited and collaborationist interests of the black petty bourgeoisie.

Following Yeshitela's presentation, Laura Dottin opened up discussion on the proposed constitution for the organization. Its adoption by the body was greeted by self-congratulatory applause. With the adoption of the ANRO constitution, the way was established by which local action groups may become ANRO chapters, by:

1. Sending written notice of intent to organize, and apply for affiliation as ANRO Chapter;
2. Operating for 90 days following notice of intent;
3. Having a minimum of five active members; and
4. Paying \$50.00 affiliation fee.



ANRO Chairwoman Laura Dottin

The ANRO Constitution also contains five progressive Principles of Unity which define the organization as anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, anti-sexist, and for self-defense, political and economic self-determination. The Constitution also establishes the structure of ANRO, with the Annual National Convention, composed of representatives of the local organizations, being the highest governing body. The next highest body is the 29-member National Coordinating Committee which entrusts the day-to-day activities of the organization to the Executive Committee comprised of the Chairperson, Treasurer, Secretary, First and Second Vice Chairperson and the National Coordinator. The Constitution also calls for a Regional Coordinating Committee, and local ANRO chapters.

tion Organization are tied to mass grassroots work in the Miami area where the concentration of Cuban, Salvadorean, and Nicaraguan reactionaries in league with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) have changed the nature of political struggle in the area, with more and more of these reactionary forces becoming integrated into the local government and arms of the State such as the police department.

Elected as Second Vice Chairwoman was Kya Lamboka from Los Angeles. Sister Lamboka was part of a group that made a reparations claim to the United States government in 1962, some twenty years ago. ANRO is further strengthened by her election, for she has clearly revealed her commitment to the demand for reparations, having never given up the struggle and travelling to New York to the World Tribunal and ANRO Convention at her own expense.

Junis Wilson, a woman with a long history of struggle in the New York area, first as a member of the Metropolitan Black United Front, was elected as national treasurer of ANRO. Sister Wilson was the driving force for the New York-based National Committee to Build the World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. Sister Wilson, a mother of two, became well-known within the committee and the black militant community through her tireless work and the great sacrifices she and her family made in the months of building for the World Tribunal and ANRO Convention.

Milroy Bobb was elected as ANRO National Secretary. Brother Milroy was also from the original New York-based National Committee. It was his leadership as chairman of the logistics committee that is responsible for the actual occurrence of the World Tribunal and ANRO Convention. Brother Milroy had the responsibility for the security of the Tribunal and the actual building where the Tribunal occurred, the materials used for the Tribunal, and housing for all the persons who had to be accommodated. Milroy Bobb, like Junis Wilson, and Laura Dottin, is also a former member of the New York Metropolitan Black United Front.

Following the election of the Executive committee, the ANRO Convention broke down into Regional meetings where Regional leadership was elected, resolutions were advanced, and each Region elected the person it wanted to represent it on the Resolution Committee which would actually organize the resolutions and present them to the general assembly.

On November 16, the second and last day of the ANRO Founding Convention, workshops were conducted on Reparations and Black Women, Reparations and Black Workers and basic organizing. The workshops were well-received by all the participants, the exception being the workshop on



ANRO Officers, Junis Wilson foreground center, and Dorothy Lewis, far right

After adoption of the Constitution, ANRO elected its Executive Committee which will be responsible for charting the course of ANRO within the context of the resolutions and program coming from the Convention.

Elected as the National Chairperson of ANRO was Laura Dottin, the chairwoman of the ANRO Convention, member of the National Steering Committee, and former secretary of the National Committee to Build the World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. Chairwoman Dottin had established her leadership and commitment by the tremendous workload she had carried for the months of activities and struggles leading up to the ANRO Convention.

Leo Harris of the Malcolm X Liberation Organization in Miami, Florida, was elected First Vice Chairman. Harris and the Malcolm X Libera-

Black Women, where some backward men showed total disrespect for the women conducting the workshop and declared that the proposals the women were making to concretize the reparations demand in the lives of black people were "petty." However, this backwardness was militantly met head on by the women present and by most of the other men who followed their leadership.

Following the workshops the resolutions were brought back to the general assembly for discussion and adoption. Among the resolutions adopted were:

1. The National leadership will develop an international section of ANRO which will seek and develop international support and allies with the demand for reparations by black people in the U.S.; the international section will also designate an
- (See ANRO, Page 11)

OPENING STATEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE OF THE WORLD TRIBUNAL ON REPARATIONS FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE U.S.—November 13, 1982, New York City College, Brooklyn, New York by Omali Yeshitela



Sisters and Brothers; Africans, and Peoples of the World:

On today, we are initiating a two-day process which is remarkable and historic in its implications for the use of international law as a means of addressing the crimes against oppressed peoples who do not have the benefit of state power and the use of national and international courts which are traditionally only available to those groups who do possess state power. On today we are initiating a two-day trial of the U.S. government for crimes it has committed against the black or African population of the United States.

This two-day World Tribunal will be conducted in the most serious manner possible. Indeed, the seriousness with which we conduct ourselves during these proceedings will be one of the factors which will contribute to our ability to establish the important precedents in international law. These precedents will allow, from this day forward, other peoples who also do not have state power to bring those who do possess state power and are responsible for oppression and violation of commonly held principles of international law, before the world community to be held accountable for their crimes.

The seriousness of this World Tribunal ought to therefore be clear to all who are present here today.

At this juncture it seems important to establish the authority of this Tribunal to conduct this World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. We would therefore like to assure this panel of international judges, as well as all the official observers and the people attending this World Tribunal, that every effort has been made to insure that the conduct of this World Tribunal will be fair and that it will meet with the highest standards of justice as is understood throughout the world. In those instances where such standards have suffered, it has only been due to the conditions from which we suffer due to the crimes and conditions imposed on us which have made this World Tribunal necessary. For example, we have given serious consideration to the need for representatives of the U.S. government, past and present, to be here for these proceedings and to give testimony as to their role and responsibility for the charges being brought against the U.S. government on this day.

To this end serious consideration was given to the idea of subpoenaing former U.S. presidents Gerald Ford, Richard Milhouse Nixon, and James Earl Carter, as well as the current U.S. President, Ronald Wilson Reagan, along with the entire Congress of the United States. However, as the result of much discussion, which included the views of those licensed to practice law by the U.S. government, it was decided that such subpoena would more than likely result in the loss of license by any participating attorney at these proceedings who received their authority to practice law within the U.S. from the U.S. government. We are therefore confronted with the contradiction of such a hearing as this one being able to effectively bring to trial those who are charged with breaches of international law when they are in possession of state power and are being charged by those who do not possess state power.

Nevertheless, we have made it possible for representatives of the U.S. government to attend these hearings should they so decide, and we declare today at this public hearing that should there be representatives of the U.S. government or those who are willing to speak in its defense, this World Tribunal is open to such participation. Moreover, this World Tribunal has been widely publicized throughout the U.S. through announcement posters, more than seven thousand of which were posted in this city alone; through announcements and articles in black newspapers; through widely listened to radio talk programs and announcements; through leaflets distributed at mass meetings, and through public community hearings organized by the National Committee which organized this World Tribunal. Therefore it should be clear that nothing about this World Tribunal has been secretive; there has been no attempt made to exclude the participation of the U.S. government from these hearings.

Sisters and Brothers; Africans and Peoples of the World:

We are confident that we will be quite capable of establishing the rules and principles of international law which will give legitimacy to these proceedings. I will deal with these shortly. However, the fundamental legal questions we are confronted with regarding the authority of this World Tribunal is tied to the question of state power. We are not aware of an historical precedent where those who do not possess state power have been able to make a legal judgement against oppressors who do hold state power which has been accepted by the world community.

Sisters and Brothers; Africans and Peoples of the World:

Never before has the United States of North America been brought before a world court to answer for its crimes against our people. On those occasions where it was attempted at the United Nations, we were confronted with the obstacle of these requirements: 1) the necessity to possess state power; or 2) the agreement of the U.S. government to allow such charges to be brought against it; or 3) the willingness of some other member state of the United Nations to act in our behalf. Being unable to meet any of these procedural requirements, the oppressed African population has been therefore relegated to the authority of the U.S. government and crimes by it which have become legendary in notoriety and proportion.

Sisters and Brothers; Africans and Peoples of the World:

This matter of state power demands a precedent in international law. We must establish this precedent with these proceedings at this World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the United States. To do otherwise makes a mockery of international law and its intent. For it may very well be that the crime being protested is the actual denial of self-determination and state power, such as we contend is the case with the oppressed, domestically colonized African population of the U.S.

Sisters and Brothers; Africans and Peoples of the World:

I would bring your attention to the Charter of the United Nations, which in its preamble declares its purpose to be, among other things:

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrows to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

We should also pay attention to Chapter I, Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations, which reads:

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts and aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determinations of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging

respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Sisters and Brothers; Africans and Peoples of the World:

These excerpts from the United Nations Charter are important in that they clearly reveal the intent of that great body. All members of the United Nations are bound to the principles which are explicit in this intent found in the preamble and first article of the United Nations. However, after having established the intent of the United Nations, procedures have been introduced in the Charter which contradict the ability of the United Nations to realize the purposes for which it was explicitly established. For the questions of peace and self-determination spoken of in the United Nations Charter are but so much paper which mocks the oppressed peoples of the world if those who are struggling for self-determination have no recourse except the revolutionary dispossession of the oppressors as a means of achieving legal status in the eyes of the international community of nations.

Finally, as regards this matter of the intent of the United Nations, it is our contention that implicit in its founding and in its preamble are clear indications that the United Nations was founded in part as a means of challenging the ability of those holding state power to make prey of the oppressed and powerless who do not have possession of state power. It should be remembered that the United Nations was founded on June 26, 1945, two months prior to the official conclusion of the second world war and the defeat of Nazism which saw 6 million Jews brutally murdered by fascists who held state power over the lives of the Jewish people. This fact, along with the Preamble to the United Nations Charter, as well as the references made in respect for human rights and freedoms for all without regard for race, religion and language—references made near the conclusion of a war which achieved much of its reknown because of the genocide against the Jewish people—must necessarily be considered while addressing the questions of the right of the powerless to conduct these proceedings today.

Sisters and Brothers; Africans, and Peoples of the World:

The German Nazis were able to murder 6 million Jews who were not in possession of state power, this notwithstanding the fact that the Jewish people made constant pleas to the international community as have we Africans here in the U.S. and elsewhere. It was only subsequent to the defeat of Germany that the Nuremberg Trials were held which resulted in the trials of some of the Nazi perpetrators of the genocide of the Jewish people. While the Nuremberg Trials may have given some satisfaction to the living, there was nothing it could do for the 6 million dead. We should also mention that the establishment of the Nuremberg Trials after the defeat of Germany to try Nazis for war crimes committed prior to the establishment of the U.N. and the World Court presupposes a belief in the existence of international law which does not receive its legitimacy from official pacts between consenting states.

The importance of the question is to be seen today in the peace-shattering dispossession of the Palestinian people and the constant aggression against the Arab peoples in the Middle East by the illegitimate state of Israel, which was established in bloodshed, using as an excuse the inability of the international community to address the needs of the Jewish people when they did not possess state power. And what about the dispossessed Palestinian people? In the absence of the possession of state power, aren't they compelled to utilize armed struggle to realize their just aims? Is this the world peace spoken of so hopefully in the United Nations Charter?

This World Tribunal must give a resounding no to the answer of this last question. This World

Tribunal, the people present and our international observers must affirm the authority and legality of these proceedings, otherwise there will be no peace on the face of this earth, for the oppressed and colonized African community in this country has demonstrated over and over again that we will fight for our freedom. Indeed, U.S. prisons are filled with the sons and daughters of our struggle for freedom. This World Tribunal must affirm the legality of these proceedings in order to validate within the international community those whose love of freedom is so great that they would put their lives and limited liberty on the line in its pursuit and defense.

Sisters and Brothers; Africans, and Peoples of the World:

To do less than this, to withhold the right to justice to the powerless, to those whose greatest victimization has been the forced theft of liberty, of self-determination, of state power, is to give countenance to international piracy and brigandage. To withhold the right to justice and international legality to the powerless, oppressed African people in the United States would be to validate the most cynical concept that "might makes right." It would give credence and validity to the awful concept of the right of the powerful to make and enforce international law. Such law as that is no law at all. It is accepted tyranny. Therefore, this World Tribunal must determine whether international morality might prevail in the interests of the powerless. This Tribunal will determine whether, even in the absence of state power, the rights of the oppressed will be recognized as rights which may be respected in the form of applied international law, whether they may be respected in the form of an international trial of an oppressor state power.

In order for international law to operate effectively, it must be law which is respected by the international community as a body of jurisprudence. This World Tribunal is well aware that when much of the law that today is respected as international law was recognized, the vast majority of the world's population was under some kind of colonial bondage. Of the more than 150 recognized existing nations today, there were only 55 member nations of the United Nations upon its founding, some seventy-five percent of the other recognized nations existing under a state of colonialism. This meant that some seventy-five percent of the world's population had nothing to say concerning the development of this international law. Clearly this state of affairs could not promote a respect for international law, law which was determined and interpreted by those who held state power.

This World Tribunal must establish a respect for international law by contributing to its further development; it must do this by establishing the precedent which gives legal sanction for these proceedings. In the first place this will be done by the active participants on this international panel who with your findings will validate these proceedings. Secondly, the legality of these proceedings will be established depending upon the seriousness with which we all treat the findings of this World Tribunal subsequent to its completion.

This World Tribunal will adhere to general international law in making its determination. We will utilize the definition of international law as that provided for in Article 38 of The Statute of the International Court of Justice, which defines international law in the following manner:

- a. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;
- b. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
- c. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
- d. ...judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

In addition to this general international law under which this World Tribunal will function, especially paragraph c of Article 38, this World Tribunal is being asked to rule on four specific documents which have become widely accepted as having the weight of law in the international community. These documents are the United Nations Charter itself, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9 December, 1948; the International Bill of Human Rights, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

This Panel of International Jurists of the World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the United States will be asked to indicate "yes" or "no" on ballots already in your possession as to whether the U.S. has violated any of these basic documents on international law, with a majority decision indicating the will of the court. In order to facilitate this procedure, the International Panel of Jurists has been distributed copies of these documents so as to make them available for careful reflection during your deliberations concerning the testimony and evidence to be provided at these proceedings.

Having made your rulings on the law, the International Panel of Jurists will then be asked to mark "yes" or "no" on a ballot to determine a remedy. This ballot will require a ruling on the following questions:

1. Are African people in the U.S. due reparations from the U.S. government?
2. Should imprisoned black revolutionaries be granted political prisoner and prisoner of war status based on your understanding of international law?
3. Does the U.S. treatment of Africans in the U.S. represent a serious enough breach of the United Nations Charter to justify eviction of the U.S. from the United Nations?
4. Should there be created an international body to permanently monitor U.S. treatment of African people in the U.S.?

Affirmative answers in this area will serve to give international sanction to the struggle of black people to pursue these aims, some of which are embedded in the tradition of our struggle for freedom and self-determination.

Finally, I would like to explain my role as Peo-

U.S. Government Found Guilty

(Continued from Page 6)

tions Tribunal Committee, testified on the work of the New York committee to gather evidence concerning the case of Africans for reparations, including three particular programs which were held: black workers, black political prisoners and prisoners of war, and the special oppression of African women. Comrade Oronde Takuma entered statistics and evidence on police terror and murders of African people in the New York region.

From the **Oakland, California, Reparations Tribunal Committee**, two people gave testimony. **Calvin Evans** testified on the case of the police murder of young Melvin Black in March of 1979, as well as other incidents of police harassment. **Feazar** brought forth testimony from the African women struggling for reparations in the Oakland committee, on the incidents of police terror, medical terror, and attacks on their survival; this included testimony from Dessie Woods on her imprisonment for defending herself and a companion against rape and murder at the hands of a cracker reactionary, Ronnie Horne, in Georgia.

Next, **Sister Akila Akuoko** from the **National Committee to Free Yusef Alhakk** testified on the courageous struggle of this leading revolutionary of the Buffalo nationalist community who has been given 12 years on a framed charge of robbery in 1977. Because of the pressing time problems, the International Judges then retired to consider their verdict while further testimony was put forth from African people who have a claim for reparations, as well as thousands of filled out reparations claims certificates being submitted.

When the International Judges met in private, they had an opportunity, with the Observers present, to review the evidence and discuss the basis on which they would be making a judgement on the U.S. government. The Judges discussed the United Nations, the fact that the pressure of the masses of the world is required to make that body take any positive stands, and the reactionary role the U.S. has played in all international affairs, including trying to block any meaningful human rights action while pretending to be the world champion of human rights. The International Judges returned and let the People's Advocate read the ballots, which were unanimous for conviction of the U.S. government on all four counts charged and on the punishment. The International Panel had legitimized and formalized the right of African people to fight for reparations and an end to domestic colonialism. Following the verdict, each judge summarized his reasoning for the verdict rendered and explained the struggle in their own location.

Pianhky Ladepoo Salankey, Chairman of the National United Movement of Barbados, led off with the most thorough recounting of the testimony and how it applied to international law that had been violated. He concluded that the evidence has been irrefutable (see transcription of P.L. Salankey's summary, this issue).

Rick Ayers of the Committee in Solidarity with African Independence pointed out that North Americans had sat in judgement too long on African people, and the evidence of the Tribunal was not something for North Americans to pass judgement on. Rather, the Tribunal itself has passed judgement on North American society. The U.S. is clearly guilty as charged and the task of North Americans is to build militant solidarity with that judgement. **Samba Mbuub** of Senegal agreed with the guilty verdict and expressed enthusiasm for his opportunity to meet with so many African people here and deepen our unity internationally; he exposed the neo-colonial conditions in Senegal and how the French bourgeoisie, allied with the French left, has conspired to maintain colonialism just as

ple's Advocate in these proceedings. In the final analysis, I am simply a facilitator for this court, acting in the interests of the oppressed, domestically colonized African population. It is my responsibility to present the testimony, the witnesses and the evidence before this body so as to facilitate the discovery of truth in order that justice may be done. I make no pretense at impartiality, for I am partial. I am partial to truth and justice as exemplified in the international law which guides these proceedings. Therefore, the fact that I am acting as an advocate of the interests of the oppressed, domestically colonized African population of the U.S. should not be seen as evidence of any predetermination that justice cannot be done.

We reject any notion that one nationality cannot do justice by another nationality. We shall hold true to the notion that international law shall be the property of the peoples of the world, and that when adhered to in spirit, principle, and fact, shall represent a truth and justice which are inclusive of the interests of all of humanity.

Having so determined, let us proceed with the hearing at this World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S.

happens in the U.S. **Serge Mukendi**, of the Congolese National Liberation Front (FNLC), added his guilty verdict, saying, "History has never recorded a slave who accepted his condition passively. We are held in bondage by force, so we fight for freedom by force." He explained the parallels with the Congolese struggle against the U.S. puppet Mobutu after the great African patriot **Patrice Lumumba** was murdered.

Following the summaries of the judges, the People's Advocate, **APSP Chairman Omali Yeshitela**, summed up the proceedings in a most powerful address which captured the overwhelming sense of African justice which two days of testimony had accumulated, and called on all Africans to take up the struggle for reparations. He began, "Sisters and brothers, Africans and peoples of the world, we've heard the testimony of some of the finest representatives of our people. We've heard testimony which confirms like nothing other than our very existence confirms, greatness, the greatness of this people who brought civilization to the earth and who, it is very clear, have the responsibility to bring civilization back to the face of this earth." This summary (reprinted in this issue, page 12) was the mobilizing culmination of the entire International Tribunal process, because it pointed out that "in the last two days we have set about creating another institution, and this institution at this juncture in history does not have a permanent place to rest except in us. This institution is a World Tribunal which brought the United States government for the first time in history to trial for the crimes it has committed against black people in this country."

He pointed out how the African struggle for reparations would give focus and an understanding of people's justice to our struggle, would set the terms for strong solidarity between the struggle of African people and the colonized peoples all over the world, for international relations with the North American working class, which must be denied the power to dictate to African people the direction of our struggle. In the end, the International Tribunal has established the right of revolution, the right to fight for independence and socialism, for all African people.

This summary by the People's Advocate was greeted with the most enthusiastic applause, as the African people present paid tribute to the tremendous struggle that had been taken on to build the Tribunal and pledged to make it strong and legitimate by taking up the struggle for Reparations Now. Ultimately, the Tribunal was an overwhelming success because it drew together the honest sector, the working class base, of our revolutionary movement for national liberation. As has always been the case in the past, the working class of the African population is the class which takes the initiative, which sets the terms for advancing our struggle against the real enemy and oppressor, the U.S. government.

The International Tribunal brought out Africans from the communities all across the U.S., brought forth Africans who have fought the close quarters combat known as the prison system, brought forth African veterans, health workers, and laborers. This is who made it happen. Notably absent were the black petty bourgeoisie, the "talented ten-thens," who are always given the title of "black leaders" by the white press. Reparations is a revolutionary demand and demands an indictment of the U.S. government; you won't see the black petty bourgeoisie able to say, "could we please have a little reparations, boss?" Absent from the Tribunal were **Jesse Jackson's PUSH**, or the **National Urban League**, or the **National Associa-**

(See U.S. Guilty, Page 11)

A Review Of The International Law World Tribunal Was Based On

NEW YORK—On November 14th when all the ballots were in at the International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S., held in Brooklyn, N.Y., the U.S. government was unanimously judged guilty of crimes committed against our people. For nearly 5 centuries U.S. imperialism has denied African people every human right respectfully due to a people.

On November 14th when the verdict of guilty was returned by the international panel of jurists, after hearing two days of testimony from African people who came from throughout the U.S., it was based upon international law. The verdict that the U.S. is guilty of denying us our basic human right to a decent living, and guilty of committing genocide against us, was based on ideals generally accepted by the majority of the peoples of the world. The verdict was based on ideals which have been ascribed to in a number of treaties at the United Nations.

In 1948 the United Nations put into writing the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," based upon the principles stated in Article 1 that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood." The goal of the U.N. at the time was to create an international Bill of Human Rights which would contain this Declaration as well as Covenants which would state explicitly the ways in which these ideals were to be carried out. However, the U.S. having overwhelming power in the United Nations, blocked the passage of these covenants because they did not include the "right" to own private property, or in other words the right of the ruling class to continue to exploit the majority of the peoples of the world, in order that they might live in opulence. But in 1966 enough peoples had won their independence from U.S. and Western imperialism, and had gained state power, that the International Bill of Human Rights became a reality. This Bill includes: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol. In addition to these treaties, the United Nations has passed an International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It is these laws which the U.S. was charged with violating, in its treatment of black people at the International Tribunal.

In 1978, the Black Liberation Movement had been militarily defeated, and Jimmy Carter, as President of the United States, was trying to convince the world that the problems our people face under domestic colonial rule in the United States had been solved by U.S. colonialism itself. So, Jimmy Carter sent Andy Young to the United Nations to represent the U.S. and then he asked the Senate to ratify the human rights treaties. But to this day the United States has not ratified these treaties, nor has it ratified the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which it has discussed on 11 separate occasions since 1948. Despite the hundreds of excuses the U.S. gives for not ratifying these treaties, it has not done so for one simple reason and that is that it intends to continue to violate every human right which our people are respectfully due. The fact is that the existence of U.S. imperialism itself is based on the very violation of every one of our human rights. The only thing which will guarantee us our human rights will be our own struggle for freedom and independence from U.S. colonialism. The fact is that our very struggle for freedom and independence is an indication of the violation of our human rights by the U.S. government.

On November 13th and 14th in New York City, the U.S. government was brought before an international body for the first time to answer for its crimes against black people. What was lacking at that Tribunal was state power for African people, for if African people who are now colonized within the U.S. had state power, it would not have been necessary to hold such a Tribunal. For if we did have state power we could have utilized the existing forms of international justice such as the International Court of Justice established by the United Nations. However it is important to establish the legitimacy of the International Tribunal and our right to hold the U.S. government accountable to the international law we have just quoted.

The People's Advocate, Omali Yeshitela, Chairman of the African People's Socialist Party, took up this question in the following way:

Never before has the United States of North America been brought before a world court to answer for its crimes against our people. On those occasions where it was attempted at the United

Nations, we were confronted with the obstacle of these requirements: 1) the necessity to possess state power; or 2) the agreement of the U.S. government to allow such charges to be brought against it; or 3) the willingness of some other member state of the United Nations to act in our behalf. Being unable to meet any of these procedural requirements, the oppressed African population has been therefore relegated to the authority of the U.S. government and crimes by it which have become legendary in notoriety and proportion.

This matter of state power demands a precedent in international law. We must establish this precedent with these proceedings at this World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the United States. To do otherwise makes a mockery of international law and its intent. For it may very well be that the crime being protected is the actual denial of self-determination and state power, such as we contend is the case with the oppressed, domestically colonized African population of the U.S.

Article 1 of both the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights proves this analysis of the crime to be correct. This Article guarantees us the right to control over our own lives and resources. It states:

1. All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principles of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

It is the denial of the right of African people to "self-determination" and of our "own means of subsistence" which has created the very opulence and wealth of U.S. society on the one hand and the conditions of underdevelopment in Africa and in our colonized communities inside of U.S. borders on the other. It is the denial of self-determination and the denial of access to our own means of subsistence which is the basis for further violations of our human rights according to these same international laws.

For example Article 23 of the Universal Declaration guarantees us the right to work. It states in part:

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented if necessary, by other means of social protection.

Article 7 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination guarantee us the same human rights. Yet in 1982 nearly 40 percent of our colonized African people are unemployed and nearly 90 percent of African youths in the urban areas face unemployment. When we do work, the lowest, dirtiest most dangerous jobs are reserved for African people. When we do work, the African family on the average brings home 57¢ for every dollar that the North American family brings home. When black and other colonized workers struggle for better jobs we get physically attacked by the police and white workers, such as the attack on our people in New York when on July 20th of 1981 black and Puerto Rican construction workers demonstrated at a construction site for jobs. It was for conditions such as these we brought the U.S. government before an international court on November 13th and 14th. It was for this violation of our human rights that the international judges found the U.S. guilty. For this we demand reparations now! And there's more.

Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights guarantees us the right to good health and quality health care. It says:

1. The States parties...recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.
2. The steps to be taken...to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for: a) the provision for the reduction of the stillbirth-rate and of infant mortality and for the healthy development of the child;...d) the creation of conditions which would assure to all medical ser-

vice and medical attention in the event of sickness.

Compare these standards with the actual conditions of our people where 47 percent of our children are born into poverty, where one in every 40 women has to see her baby die before it reaches the age of one. Compare these standards to the infant mortality rate of 17 deaths per 1,000 live births in East Oakland, California, while the nearby white community of Piedmont experiences an infant mortality rate of 3 per 1,000 live births. African women die in childbirth 3 times as often as do white women and receive pre-natal care only half as often as white women in this country. Article 5(e)1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination also guarantees us "the right to public health, medical care, social security and social services." But today statistics show that while nationally there is one doctor for every 700 persons, in the inter-city areas the average is one per 3,000 persons. While African people make up 12 percent of the population, only 1.7 percent of the doctors in this country are African and only 2 percent of the dentists. Our children die of heart disease twice as often as do white children, of accidents one and a half times as often, and contract tuberculosis 5 times as often. For these conditions of life, the International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. found the U.S. government guilty of violating international laws on human rights.

Our people are guaranteed a right to decent education according to international laws on human rights. Article 13 of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights says in part:

...education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups...Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all;...Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;...The States parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions. No part of this article shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions,...

Yet when we struggle to have control over our own schools, such as the struggle at Medgar Evers College in New York, the school boards and city governments do everything they can to stop us. Our children are put into classes for the mentally retarded and "special education" classes at exorbitant rates, and it becomes more apparent every day that the school system does not attempt to teach our children any real moral standards or dignity and pride. When our movement was strong in the late 60's and early 70's and the cry for community control rang out from every one of our colonized communities across this country, we took this struggle on by establishing Freedom Schools, but today most of those freedom schools have been closed for lack of funds or "lack of certification."

Article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination also guarantees us "the right to housing," and yet thousands of our people have no homes to go to, especially in the urban areas, and those of us who do live in rooms the ceilings are falling in, the heat never comes on and rats and roaches take over our children's beds. In New York City alone 4,000 people per year, mostly African and other colonized people die by freezing to death because the criminal landlords refuse to spend our rent money to pay the heating bills. When we try to take these landlords to court, we're confronted with arrogant clerks and judges who either have no time to deal with us or demand that we put up amounts of money in extreme excess of the amount of rent we're withholding for repairs. Such is the case of Sharon Smith who testified at the World Tribunal that she was forced to put up over \$1200 or be thrown out of court when she fought for dignified housing conditions for herself and child.

According to international law our human rights are violated almost every time we are forced to deal with the judicial and prison systems in this country. Article 7 says that, "All are equal before the law and are entitled without discrimination to equal protection of the law..." Article 9 says that, "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."

Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also says that:

Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him...It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial...Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

Article 10 states that "All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person..." And Article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination also guarantees "the right to equal treatment before the tribunals and all other organs administering justice..."

That's how international human rights law reads. But in the U.S. one out of every four black men go to prison in his lifetime. Eleven to seventeen year old black youth are arrested 7 times as often as white youth. Over half of the people on death row in this country are black, even though we make up only 12 percent of the population of this country. Mafundi Lake testified at the World Tribunal that he had spent 13 years in prison for a crime he did not commit, and those thirteen years were filled with one human rights violation after another from being forced to sleep on a concrete slab in isolation during the winter months, without a blanket, to attempts on his life. Dessie Woods spent six years in a Georgia prison for successfully defending herself and her friend against a rape attack by a white man. Pitts and Lee spent 12 years in a Florida prison for a murder that white men had confessed to several years before their release. In all these cases—and there are more—it was not the courts' belief in human rights that freed these African people, but the struggles of African people and our movement that freed these comrades.

The International Bill of Human Rights guarantees many other rights which are constantly denied us by the U.S. government. For example, Article 15 of the Universal Declaration says that, "everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality, nor denied the right to change his nationality," and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination guarantees us the same right.

The Universal Declaration says in Article 20 that "everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association."

Article 12 says that, "no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks." And Article 23 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights says that, "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State." Yet how many times does the welfare agency go snooping into our personal relationships and living situations, and how many times do the courts break up our families and take away our children?

Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights guarantees that, "Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice." We know, however, that the U.S. attempts to disrupt any kind of communication among ourselves or between ourselves and those people who are our allies in the fight against U.S. imperialism, which could lead to our liberation. *The Burning Spear* newspaper, which is today the only revolutionary newspaper that black people have in this country, is constantly intercepted by the U.S. government. There have been times when we have had to travel hundreds of miles to find a printer who would print *The Burning Spear*.

There are more rights, which these treaties protect, which the U.S. government violates daily in its treatment of African people. The International Tribunal was one step toward holding the U.S. accountable to international law regarding human rights, for it cannot continue to get away with these crimes without being challenged in every way possible. Some people would argue against this by saying that the U.S. is not bound by these treaties because it has not ratified them. To argue such is to allow the criminal to make the laws which would outlaw its crime, and it is unlikely that the U.S. government would take such a step. Furthermore, there are precedents in history which make it legally possible for the U.S. to be charged with violations of these treaties. The Statute of the International Court of Justice in article 38, states that the Court may apply, "...international custom, as evidence of

a general practice accepted as law;..." As recently as this year The American Law Institute in a Restatement of International Law declared that the U.S. was bound by the human rights treaties at least in part, and that a violation of these treaties may itself constitute a violation of the United Nations Charter to which the U.S. is a member. And in the federal appeal of the case of *Filartiga vs. Pena* in New York recently, the Federal Court of Appeals determined that the human rights treaties may be quoted in domestic courts. To deny the right of African people to charge the U.S. government with violations of these treaties would be to support the crimes which the U.S. perpetrates against us.

We know from the history of our struggle

against the genocidal oppression of U.S. colonialism that every gain that we have won has been due to our unending resistance in the struggle for our freedom and independence. Such too is the case in our struggle to gain our human rights. Only an anti-colonial struggle, led by a conscious black working class party, such as the African People's Socialist Party, will guarantee that we finally have our human rights, the right to see ourselves and our children live in a healthy and dignified way. It is exactly these things that we wish to gain in our struggle for freedom. As the first point of our Party's 14 point Platform reads: "We want peace, dignity and the right to build a prosperous life through our own labor and in our own interest."

U.S. Guilty as Charged

Continued from Page 9

tion for the Advancement of Colored People—and also absent were even such formations as the National Black Independent Political Party. While individual members of the National Black United Front did come forth to help build the Tribunal, NBUF never did endorse or help build the Tribunal officially. No, the Reparations Tribunal consolidated the working class sector, the revolutionary sector, of our people. Certainly, no white left so-called communist or socialist party endorsed or gave any support to the Tribunal.

These were the forces who stayed away in droves. The African working class, which had signed thousands of Reparations Claims, which had attended events to build the Tribunal over the last 6 months, which had raised funds and put forth testimony, were the people who made it happen, were the people represented at the International

Tribunal. We will see the black petty bourgeoisie, which always tails and seeks to defuse the initiative of the working class, desperately try to take over the forward motion which the Reparations Tribunal has created. If they can't unite with the demand for Reparations Now, they will seek to hold tribunals on conditions in the black community, to bring forth their white media contacts and professionals, to wipe out the ongoing Reparations Tribunals which the African National Reparations Organization has called for. This pitiful competition which such forces put forth is only a desperate effort to protect the power of the imperialists which has granted the "talented tenth" their minor thrones. The Reparations Tribunal, and the national organization built in the following days, have taken the leadership, however, and demands that honest forces, working class forces, take up the struggle for justice, for a future, for independence and liberation in our lifetime. Reparations Now!

Some Tribunal Participants During One Of Court Recesses



ANRO LIVES

Continued from Page 7

International Day of Solidarity with the demand for reparations by black people in the U.S.;

2. The National leadership will develop a program around the special oppression of black women and the demand for reparations;

3. The National leadership will develop a program for mass non-payment of taxes by black people as a part of the demand for reparations;

4. ANRO will establish a permanent tribunal to monitor and document U.S. mistreatment of black people in the U.S.

5. ANRO will develop a program and strategy to force U.S. ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Bill of Human Rights, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Following the adoption of these and the several other resolutions, APSP Chairman Omali Yeshitela was asked to make the closing remarks. However, Yeshitela chose to turn that honor over to Queen Mother Moore who among other things, offered these profound words:

I am pleased with everything that happened in this conference. I support everything that has been done here. We must remember that reparations is not for our personal enrichment. It is not meant for any individual. Reparations was meant for our children's children for four generations of damage. We must make sure that we are not pompous; we must go out with humility, and if we work diligently and responsibly and not have any loose ends, we will be successful in getting reparations.

These words of Queen Mother Moore typified the seriousness and the strength and dignity of the ANRO Founding Convention. These serious and dignified words were anticipated by the actual work of the ANRO Convention and by these words of ANRO Chairwoman Laura Dottin in her opening statement at the convention:

The people united with the concept (of reparations), the demand, immediately. But the people are not used to moving behind ideas. There has been a different atmosphere in our communities which discourages movement. But the people are ready to move. We all just have to be reminded that it is our duty to win our independence, that the time for the struggle is now.

It's difficult to say conditions are ripe now, because for black people conditions have always been ripe. But perhaps they are riper than, say a couple of years ago, because people recognize the lack of movement, the lack of direction and are sick of the so-called leaders who are not leading and definitely not following the masses.

ANRO's duty is to take up where the Tribunal Committee left off, to afford the masses a direction to move in. The Tribunal Committee worked under the leadership of the APSP. The African National Reparations Organization will work under the leadership of the people, while giving focus and direction to our struggle for independence in this country, in the world.

For more information, please write ANRO at this temporary address: ANRO, P.O. Box 345, Brownsville Station, Brooklyn, New York 11212. Or call Laura Dottin at (212) 789-7322; Junis Wilson at (212) 342-6756; Dorothy Lewis at (301) 279-2635.



POINT OF THE SPEAR

TAKE THE VERDICT OF THE WORLD TRIBUNAL OUT INTO THE WORLD

Summation at World Tribunal by People's Advocate Omali Yeshitela

Sisters and brothers, Africans and Peoples of the world:

We've heard the testimony of some of the finest representatives of our people. We've heard testimony which confirms like nothing other than our very existence confirms, greatness, the greatness of this people who brought civilization to this earth and who, it is very clear, have the responsibility to bring civilization back to the face of this earth.

That is an objective responsibility independent of the wills of those of us in this room. We've heard testimony and there has been introduced documentation that shows that it is the oppression of African people here and throughout the world which is the very foundation, the cornerstone, of the existence of this terrible world economic system that causes destruction throughout this earth. Such being the case, it is very clear that if you remove the cornerstone, buildings will come tumbling down.

This is in no way an attempt to refute the struggles of the various peoples around the world and the need to be in solidarity with them. It's just like any structure and building—if you want to take it down, there are several routes. You can take it down brick by brick or you can target the cornerstone and snatch it out and the entire building comes down. African people, the oppression of African people, the continuing oppression of African people, which every reactionary, oppressive force on the face of the earth is in unity to maintain; African people, our oppression which has never ended, which has been continuous and which has operated on various fronts at the same time, represents the cornerstone and at the same, the weakest link in this imperialist country, this imperialist world. Therefore, the judgement which comes from a Tribunal such as this is very, very important.

Someone may think that to be able to make such a statement as this statement, to be able to make a statement as those statements made by these jurors, represents partiality or biasedness. Such a person thinking such a thing would be absolutely correct. But to say it represents biasedness is not to say that it represents unjustness or injustice.

It is recognized that all institutions are given birth by the societies from which they are developing. If you live in any situation, in any country, whether there is a court there, a police force, an army, a bank or what have you that exists in that situation, it will have the nature of the society that it comes from. If you live in a country or world that is built on slavery, barbarity, thievery, genocide, the institutions of that society in any place in the world will be there for the purpose of sustaining the enslavement and the genocide. There is the bourgeois court in this society, that is the court of the slavemaster, of the ruling class. There have been continuous attempts to prove objectivity when they take us there before lynching us legally if they don't lynch us on the streets like so many people testified about in the last two days. But what they do when they talk about objectivity is attempt to obscure the nature of the institutions themselves and the fact that these institutions cannot but be about maintaining that which gave it birth, that which enriches it, that which keeps the powerful powerful and the powerless powerless.

For today, in the last two days, we have set about creating another institution, and this institution at this juncture in history does not have a permanent place to rest except in us. And this institution is a World Tribunal which brought the United States government for the first time in its history to trial for the crimes it has committed against black people in this country. And this Tribunal is a biased Tribunal; it is a Tribunal that moves on the assumption that black people must be free and that anything that stands in the way of that liberation must be removed. We are biased.

This World Tribunal stands in opposition to virtually every court that exists in this country. They

are opposing and contending forces. This World Tribunal stands in opposition to the United States Supreme Court. They are opposing and contending forces. One represents the powerful and the oppressive, one represents the oppressed and those who are determined to be free. It is a biased Tribunal; it does not attempt to represent the interests of those who are oppressors; it does not pretend to represent the interests of those who are oppressors. There is no such objectivity on the face of the earth. Some pretend that there is such objectivity. We do not pretend and if only for that reason, with all of its biasedness, this court is a much more just court than those courts which exist in this country.



I must say that one very important difference we are confronted with here is that we must not take the holding of state power lightly. It is the possession of state power by our oppressors that makes them able to carry out their oppressive will. When we talk about state power, we talk about control of the courts, the police, the army, the navy. We are talking about an apparatus that has the ability to coerce, to force people to do what they want done. We must not take lightly the notion of state power. We don't have state power at this time, but we have the capacity for revolutionary people's power. And the question that is before us today, the question that is more important or that will give significance to anything that any witness stated here, more significance than any solidarity shown and that not shown by those who did not have the courage to come and act as judges, the most significant thing that's going to give meaning to any of this—to the risk of life and liberty of those International Jurors who sit here, because they face tyrants where they come from, tyrants that are upheld by this government: The thing that will give it meaning is what we do upon leaving this building. If this Court and its verdict is going to be recognized as having meaning in the world, it will be because of those of us who are in here. Take it out in the world, understanding its meaning and understanding its legality and forcing everybody else to recognize that legality.

Let me tell you something: we started off this Tribunal giving a history of the solidarity that African people have given to every revolutionary force in this world. We started off building for this Tribunal with promises of solidarity from virtually every revolutionary force in this world. Look at what is here with us in terms of the Judges and the world observers. They know the power of U.S. imperialism. We must teach them the power of international solidarity. We shall teach them the power of international solidarity by the forcefulness of the focus that our revolutionary movement in this country finally has. Reparations is a demand whose time has come. Therefore we can sum it up very easily for anybody, whatever nationality, anybody who presupposes that they are friends of black people in this country; do you support the

judgement which came from the World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People, one, and what is your position on the demand by 40 million African people in the U.S. for Reparations Now?

The thing that will give meaning to everything that has happened in this room for the last two days is our willingness and our capacity to make everybody have to answer that question, everybody. I can't talk about the importance of this too much for too long. Our international allies have accepted the definition of the white ruling class of the world for who we are and our significance all over the world. I am telling you what I know. I can tell you revolutionary countries where I've visited, I've watched Tarzan on television. So now we tell the world, our allies objectively speaking are our objective allies. Some people are our allies objectively and are just too dumb to know it subjectively. What we have to do is educate them. We call it positive criticism. What's your stand on reparations for black people? We say the movement has a focus. We don't ask you your position on housing; we don't ask your position on busing—frankly we don't give a damn. What's your position on reparations? What's your position on the 4.1 trillion dollars?—that's just in wages. We'll get to the damages later. What's your position senora, companero, however you say it. That's the question that has to be raised.

On tomorrow, the 15th and 16th, we'll be pulling together the beginning of the African National Reparations Organization. That's going to be a part of taking this demand out into the world. We have a long process to be involved in in terms of bringing all this testimony and organizing it and putting it out in the world. I'm not exactly sure what methods are going to be used yet. Our Party has a minor capacity at publishing. I'm not quite sure what that means in terms of how we do it. I am hoping that this reparations organization that we create will have the ability to take on that task. There's a publishing company in England which had written when they knew that this Tribunal was going to happen, suggesting that it would be willing to publish these proceedings. Then, the reparations organization must be created to take it out in the world. Then, these international sisters and brothers from various places where African people have been dispersed, have to take it back and unite our brothers and sisters around the world with this demand, because as quiet as it's kept, for legal purposes we are targetting the U.S.A. right now. But the U.S. government and all of Europe understand the implications of a single nigger anywhere on the face of the earth demanding reparations. James Brown made a song about it called "The Big Payback."

United Nations. The brother said a little about its structure and its inherent injustice. It is an unjust, undemocratic organization, and the U.S. has proved itself to be the most undemocratic of them all. Here's a country preaching democracy all over the world, and you hear this ugly human being, Kirkpatrick is her name, you see this nauseating criminal, false species of a human being, acting like a fool, talking about because people voted against the U.S., voted against Israel, "if you don't do what we say, we're gonna take all the cash from the important programs that take medical aid to peoples around the world," that take, in theory, food-growing techniques to people around the world; if you vote against us this bastion of democracy says we'll take the money away, we'll starve you to death, we'll make this organization collapse.

So we'll start a rearguard action with all of the oppressed people around this world who don't have possession of state power. If you're as eager to leave as you say you are, then we'll demand that you go because of the treatment of black people in the U.S. And we'll demand of our allies and people who say they support our struggle that they demand

that the U.S. go. There was a great man once whose name was Chairman Mao. He said, "U.S. imperialism ain't nothing but a paper tiger." And here we have the peoples of the world quivering because of a punk organization like the U.S. saying we'll pull out. And you know it's a punk organization because every time we fought back against it, we won. Only time we lose is when we don't fight.

The question, every question that's around black political prisoners and prisoners of war, would be recognized as a just and righteous demand by the United Nations, the World Court, any court, depending on what we do. Assata Shakur is welcome here depending on what we do. There should be no place and no black community anywhere in this country that a Sundiata Acoli can't come, and there should be no one that is not willing to do the kind of work that makes it possible for Sundiata Acoli to come there. What we do, what we do, we should never allow anybody else to take from us those revolutionary men and women whose difference from us is that they dared at the critical junctures of history to put their bodies on the line in the struggle for freedom and justice for black people.

If we, those of us in this room, take this stand outside this room, we legalize it ourselves. States give themselves legality. What do you think imposed legality on the U.S. government? Do you believe that garbage that the Israelis talk about, that they went out on top of the mountain and the great hand wrote something out on a piece of stone and sent it down by Moses? No! States give themselves power. So the people must have power, and the people must indicate that we confer upon the people ourselves the revolutionary power to carry out the will of this World Tribunal. If you don't do it, there won't be no freedom and this Tribunal will be meaningless.

I'm hoping that one of the things that can come out of the African National Reparations Organization is the creation of a permanent Tribunal. Some people may have the most mercenary interest in Reparations. Whatever the interest, if you intend to collect, you are going to have to keep tabs on the damage done. So we need a permanent Tribunal established and we need to confer, African people need to confer on the African National Reparations Organization that is to be built, the right, the duty, the obligation to establish a permanent International Tribunal to monitor the treatment of African people in this country. We have to do that in my opinion. That's not to liquidate a lot of the other things which are going to happen. I'm sure, for example there is going to be sometime shortly after this Tribunal a convening of some international jurors of some repute who will take the documentation, the testimony, the indictment that we have made, who will review it, who will initiate legal opinions, legal writings, which is part of a legal effort to introduce the outcome here to the body of international jurisprudence, which is very important. On the legal front we will do that. We will hopefully initiate some movement through the Black American Law Students Association, understanding the protracted nature of our struggle, catching them there, tying them up with the implications of this World Tribunal and the demand for reparations and hopefully building something among the black law students in this country so that they can have an opportunity to use law which comes from the state in the interests of the aspirations of black people in this country, by contributing to this precedent in international law that we are talking about.

There are other things that I am sure will come out of this African National Reparations Organization. But in the last analysis, it will be we who will free us. It will be black people willing to take on the task at hand which will be responsible for our liberation. For most of us, I'm sure that's not shocking at all. Most of us understand exactly what our struggle is about. We have had two days of testimony which I suspect has probably resulted in the most concentrated amount of documentation and information on the struggle and history of black people in this country that has been amassed in a very long time, if ever before. If nothing else, it seems to this People's Advocate that one thing that we should have perceived from all of the testimony that's been presented is the absolute necessity for black people to make our struggle on our own terms. When I say "make our struggle on our own terms," I mean in the most important way that part of those terms must be ideological. That is, we must control the ideas, the ideas that motivate those who would make revolutionary struggle in the interest of black people. Those who define, rule. You may call them what you will, anybody who's defining for black people in this country in the last analysis are those who are making the determinations for black people in this country. Anybody, anyplace on the face of the earth, who has someone else making determinations for them, are a people who are living in bondage. We must make that determination. We had that determination in our hands up until the late 1960's and early 1970's. Our movement was attacked viciously and we heard some of the testimony about that. It was attacked viciously. It was a method that the CIA had first attempted in Vietnam, but failed. It was a method which in South Vietnam they called the Phoenix Program. The idea

of the Phoenix Program was to decapitate the leadership of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam. The CIA murdered, assassinated—and this is documented—39,000 cadres of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam in an attempt to decapitate that movement, to crush the people's struggle to be free.

In the United States of America, the United States government used that same Phoenix Program. It decapitated the Black Liberation Movement. Everywhere you looked up, black people who stood on the side of freedom and justice and socialist democracy for black people found themselves either in prison all over this country, dead, or underground. But they (the U.S.) had learned something from Vietnam, that it is not enough merely to decapitate a movement by killing its leaders. Fred Hampton said it very well, "You can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill a revolution." And so what happened to our communities in the late 60's and early 70's is that someone else began to define for us ideologically other than ourselves.

The last, most important part of this movement we've been involved in for the last 10 years, has been a fight to take control of our own movement once again from those who call themselves our allies. Now, if nothing else, I think this Tribunal shows us the very need, the absolute need, to control our own movement.

Final remarks: There are North Americans in this country who say they are friends of the struggle of black people. There's a representative, one of the best, of the North American working class here, who has put forth his understanding of the tremendous task that is ahead in order to win the North American working class. It too must accept the Black Liberation Movement on our own terms. It cannot set terms for us. This left, listen to me sisters and brothers, because this is very important, we've got to walk out of here with this: this left says it's for redistribution of the wealth. Don't you hear it said all the time? "We're for redistribution of the wealth." We must say this to the left: "So are we. We want four point one trillion dollars. And all the struggles that you're involved in where you say you're talking about black folks, you've got to raise the demand for reparations." If they don't raise the demand for reparations, we're supposed to call them funny names.

This left, that saw a million people spend a million dollars on a march, a picnic, against the so-called nuclear war, when black people in this country have a life span which is on the average 7 years shorter than white people in this country, and they're worried about a nuclear war. When the people in El Salvador are dying like flies from the imperialist power of this country, they're talking about a nuclear war. Those folks who are interested in that campaign, they tell us this thing, they put forth slogans like, "Money for Social Programs, Not for Bombs and War." They say that the money going for nuclear armaments and armaments generally is money that should be going into programs for the people. We say we agree. We want four point one trillion dollars reparations. And the next time a million of you walk down the streets in New York, raise the demand of reparations for black people. Not a single dollar for a single bullet. Four point one trillion dollars for black people in the United States for 400 years of oppression.

Black folks don't like to deal with white folks and the white left. Ain't nothing wrong with dealing with nobody if you do it on your own terms. Establish your terms. This World Tribunal has established the terms. The African National Reparations Organization will establish the terms. And yes, we'll talk to the anti-nuke movement about 4.1 trillion dollars. The next time there's a march down the streets in New York, if they don't have no banners calling for reparations for black people, they might have to fight us to get to where they're going. I say that in all honesty and all seriousness, sisters and brothers.

They are talking about the possibility of nuclear accidents, nuclear war. Do you know that there are peoples around the world who would dance in the streets if a nuclear accident took this monster off the map? Do you know there are peoples around the world who would shout to the heavens if a nuclear accident took this monster off the map? The North American population, the working class included, must be able to recognize that it's going to have to unite with the masses of the people of the world, but it has consciously or otherwise united with its own ruling class. And every victory around the world against U.S. imperialism, because of their false unity and false identification, puts their backs up against the wall. And if the North American working class keeps its back up against the wall in the face of the struggles of the peoples of the world, if it keeps its back up against the wall, how in the hell is it going to read the writing that's on the wall? It won't be able to read the writing that's on the wall.

So what has to happen is we have to make struggle on every level. If there's a negro politician running for office anywhere, ask him about the decision of this World Tribunal, make him say, "Yeah. I think it's legal, it's right." You've got to do it, but do it in public. Don't whisper it with your little letters to him. Ask him in the next meeting where he's

having questions: "Congressman, what's your position on the World Tribunal?" Make these negro people who live off the blood of black people, whose struggles, the masses' struggles, made it possible for them to be doctor so and so, these parasites who don't work for a living but make their living off teaching us how to pray, make them say that they unite with the outcome of this Tribunal and with the demand for reparations. When your liberal politicians come through your community, you got to put it to the sucker: "Well, what is your position on the World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People? It came to certain particular conclusions about the United States and the oppression of black people. Do you agree with them? What is your position on the demand for reparations for black people in this country?"

And then there are other things that will happen too. But most importantly, this thing about this World Tribunal must be taken out into the world and must be made legal in the sense that the masses of black people and other peoples in the world understand it. If you do that, sisters and brothers, there ain't nothing that we can do wrong making this revolution.

I'm going to just clarify that and end. There are some black people who are being chased, some are dead, some are underground, ostensibly because they were involved in a robbery of a Brinks truck. This government has been able to paint those men and women as criminals. They call them robbers. There are people on the West Coast of California, who've been organizing in the prisons and in the black communities; this government is able to paint them as criminals. If we take this out into the world, if we take this World Tribunal and its conclusions out into the world, we clarify who the criminals are. And in addition to clarifying who the criminals are, if a Brinks truck should be expropriated, everybody understands that a revolution needs funds. Nobody is going to have no problem with that. What's \$1.6 million compared to 4.1 trillion?

If we take this out into the world, they can't take a person like they did in the 60's and bring them before the courts and say well, these people killed policemen in their communities while they were talking about freedom and get away with it. Cause if you take this out and make it legal in the eyes of the peoples of the world, and you understand that it's our just struggle, then everybody else will understand that the oppressor sometimes, and as often as possible, will have to die for the oppressed to be free. Nobody holds it against the Vietnamese people for having killed the Americans when they came there raiding their country, no rational person on the face of the earth, because the peoples of the world recognize that the Vietnamese struggle is a just struggle.

I shall tell you this, that it was the oppression and enslavement of African people in this world that gave birth to U.S. capitalism and world imperialism, that the first crime that was committed by imperialism was committed against black people, that we are the oldest victims of imperialism in the world, and that there can not possibly be any struggle more just than the revolutionary struggle of African people here or anywhere on the face of the earth.

I would like to thank this great, great, great African people for coming out, for making this possible. I would like to thank Sister Queen Mother Moore for being a living example in 1982 that we will fight from generation to generation. I would like to give a special appreciation to our panel of International Jurors and ask black people again to remember what came out of this testimony, out of this World Tribunal today, because there was one other thing that came out of it, that we got the same problems same struggles everywhere black people are located. And that being the case, sisters and brothers, you and African people throughout the world must demand that we unite this struggle around the world. You must demand it. You must not allow any nigger anywhere on the face of the earth to stand up and say they stand for black people and they ain't united in some practical organizational way. You must demand it. We don't want no more discussion about Pan Africanism; we want a demonstration of practical organizational unity that's coordinating the revolutionary struggles of black people around this world. If we ain't willing to do that, then we shouldn't be standing up talking about no unity among black people. That's what Marcus Garvey said. Does somebody want to call him a liar? He said, "Africa for Africans, those at home and those abroad." That was the only internationalism in that period of 1917 when the European Communist International collapsed in the face of their national chauvinism. It was Garvey and the black movement around this world that held up the internationalism for the world to see. And it was that movement that was moved on by imperialism all around the world.

I'd like to thank our official observers for coming here and being with us, and with that, sisters and brothers, Africans and peoples of the world, this World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the United States is officially adjourned. Thank you.

For Western European, U.S. Plunder

All Africa Must Demand Reparations

We share the fundamental concern that African people worldwide should be informed internationally of the incredible monetary wealth our stolen labour has provided for our historic oppressors. This should galvanize our people, where ever globally, to make similar calculations from organized research so that African people can present internationally the case of African humanity for Reparations, Black Power and Peace.

—Pan African Congress Movement (United Kingdom) statement of support for International Tribunal and Reparations campaign.

OAKLAND, CA—U.S. imperialism's immense crimes against African people in the U.S., the lives, labor and wealth stolen from black people here by this avaricious blood-sucking system, crimes whose enormity could only be outlined in the barest detail over the two-day International Tribunal, are only a fraction of the crimes committed by U.S. and Western imperialism against African people the world over. The Tribunal's verdict, that U.S. imperialism is guilty of the genocide of African people here in the U.S., of the massive rip-off of labor and wealth, and must repay African people here some \$4.1 trillion (which includes neither interest nor punitive damages), is only the first step in the struggle of African people in the Caribbean, in Latin America and on the Continent of Africa itself to reclaim what is our due.

The Current Condition Of the Black World

Wherever we are on the face of this globe, our children are malnourished and dying early deaths; we are overcrowded into shelter without protection from the elements, without proper sanitation, infested with vermin, without access to health care; there is unemployment, drugs, and alcohol; there are massacres of our people and armed thugs (police and other agents of the state) prowling our communities and intimidating our people. From Barbados to Bridgetown to Birmingham, from Durban to Detroit, wherever we are located we are confronted by colonialist and neo-colonialist terror and outrages.

Africa may certainly be the richest continent on the face of the earth. As far as that portion of the world still in the chains of the capitalist-imperialist center is concerned, Africa takes first place in the export of gold, diamonds, cobalt and chrome and provides substantial portions of manganese, copper, vanadium, uranium, and asbestos. In the field of agriculture, Africa produces cocoa, coffee, cotton, groundnuts, tea, tobacco, rubber and sisal in abundance. Africa is located at the juncture of two great continents, Asia and Europe, and trade between the two has historically passed through parts of Africa. Africa's shores are washed by two great oceans, the Atlantic and the Indian, and her ports have been used as stop-over points in the route between Asia and the eastern coast of North and South America.

Yet, for four hundred years the wealth of our Continent, the might of our arms, our very lifeblood, has been drained to build the industry and skyscrapers and wealth of U.S. and European imperialism. This is why, with our land so rich, we are so poor. This is why we demand reparations!

U.S. Theft of African Wealth

November 13 and 14th's International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. exposed in the most practical and concrete manner the essential structure, origin, and functioning of the world's dominant economic system, imperialism. By focusing on the question of the amount of wealth stolen from the Continent of Africa, we see with particular clarity the methods by which imperialism plunders Africa.

On most U.S. investments in Europe or investments domestically, the rate of return on dollar investments is in the range of 5 percent. Yet the average rate of return on U.S. direct investments in Africa from 1957 to 1968 was 15.62 percent (*Survey of Current Business*, Aug. 81). Later data indicates that the return from investment in Africa during the 1970's ran as high as 25-30 percent (*Columbia Journal of World Business*). Even in the mid-1960's, return from investment in U.S. imperialism's main partner in Africa, South Africa, ran from an astonishing 25 percent per year in manufacture to an astounding 40 percent per year in gold mining (Smith, *U.S. Neo-colonialism in Africa*, p.62).

By taking the amount of U.S. capital invested in Africa since the second imperialist war and figuring in the average rate of profit over that time, we conclude that U.S. profit on direct investment in Africa was approximately \$10.4 billion for the years 1946-1980. And make no mistake about this: that is \$10.4 billion of wealth created by African labor and

enriching the U.S.

In the period before the second imperialist war, by looking at the amount of capital the U.S. invested and assuming the average rate of return to be slightly less than the current period, we come up with the figure of approximately \$3 billion taken from Africa—or for the entire twentieth century, approximately \$13 billion stolen from Africa. But this just represents the wealth taken out of Africa by the U.S. capitalists. Still more African-produced wealth was re-invested by the U.S. in increasing its existing capital on the Continent, thus laying the base for a still more intensive exploitation of African people. If that extracted wealth is added to the wealth taken back to the U.S., it can be seen (*Survey of Current Business*) that income to U.S. companies was more than twice as much, or \$26 billion in the twentieth century.

Most of the U.S. investment in Africa takes place in South Africa, where some of the big names of American industry place their dollars. Rockefeller financial interests, Morgan mining interests, American Metal Climax Corporation, the late Charles Engelhard's mining interests and the Anglo-American Corporation, to name a few, share in the plunder of Azanian labor and resources. In Liberia, Firestone Rubber exploits some 100,000 acres of rubber trees and Goodrich, an additional 50,000 acres. In comparison with this, the local bourgeoisie in Liberia commands a meagre \$2 million in capital, or less than 1/100 of the foreign capital operating in Liberia. This brings out with sharp clarity the absolute inability of a local African bourgeoisie to assert any sort of control or independent development for Africa. In Zaire, Standard Oil of Indiana controls the Tenke Fungurume coal mine and in Ghana, Kaiser controls the Bauxite mining. Of course, wherever oil is found on the Continent, the giant U.S. oil firms are found, Gulf, Texaco, Standard and so on.

But even with this massive drain on the Continent of Africa by the U.S. it must be recalled that the U.S. is a relative newcomer to the exploitation of the Continent itself. Hitherto, the U.S. has had to content itself with sucking the blood of African people it had brought to the U.S. and the Caribbean, as well as exploiting the peoples of Latin America and parts of Asia. It was only the second imperialist war which allowed the U.S. to begin to penetrate the older colonial territories of Africa. Previously, Europe's "great" colonial powers—England, France, Belgium, Portugal and earlier, Germany—had allotted to themselves huge blocks of Africa. In the mid-1960's, the U.S. portion of capital invested in the Continent was roughly one-fifteenth that of these other capitalist states. If we say then that the U.S.'s share of the plunder of Africa for the century as a whole and through direct capital investment alone was one-twentieth that of all the imperialist powers, then we get a figure on the plunder of the Continent for this century of some \$520 billion. This by no means exhausts the actual amount of wealth stolen from African people on the Continent, as it only indicates the return on invested dollars. But the exploitation of Africa is carried on in a much more extensive fashion than just the straight dollar return from investment.

Vast amounts of wealth are stolen from Africa by the imperialist use of military and industrial advantage to force more and more favorable terms of trade for imperialism. Almost the entire foreign trade of Africa is handled by the U.S. and Europe—inter-African trade since World War II comprising less than 10 percent of the total trade, while trade with the imperialist powers has been most of the remainder.

The kind of profits the U.S. companies can take out by handling foreign exchange of African countries can be seen by examining the U.N. Yearbook of International Trade Statistics to compare the amount U.S. companies pay for commodities when they buy them from African countries and how much they receive when they sell these same commodities to other countries or companies. In copper sales, U.S. companies boost the price by 20 and 30 percent when reselling the mineral, realizing a profit of \$64 million in 1978 and \$109 million in 1977. With coffee, U.S. companies boost the prices from 20 to 40 percent realizing additional income of \$150 million in 1980, \$226 million in 1978 and \$223 million in 1974. Extensive research is necessary to review the trade advantage the U.S. gains in the whole range of African products bought and sold and to examine the prices Africa is forced to pay to the monopoly industrial imperialist powers. However, it is clear that for the U.S. alone, trade advantage has worked to the tune of \$1 billion a year since the second imperialist war, or some \$36 billion

dollars. Again, for European powers, for whom Africa has been the traditional colonial turf, this same figure must be many times the American figure. More research is necessary to determine the overall trade advantage the U.S. and Europe have exacted from Africa; nevertheless, here too it is clear that we are talking about figures in the hundreds of billions of dollars.

Now we see the futility of approaching these robbers and pirates in their institutions—the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund—which rescues South Africa each and every time it is in trouble—the various aid and bilateral credit plans of the imperialists. They're not going to help alleviate the suffering of our people—the hundreds of billions of dollars they've ripped off—the wealth, labor and resources of our Continent, the control over the economy that was once ours. This is the cause of our suffering; this is the reason 7 million African youth will die this year of malnutrition and curable disease; this is the reason so many of our people live in hovels—and this is the reason that a Rockefeller or Rothschild can jet set about the world in their own private jets.

African mis-leaders like Jamaica's Siega, lackeys for imperialism, will go on their hands and their knees for such aid, agreeing to all sorts of "austerity" measures—measures by which even more wealth is extracted from our people in the form of "cutbacks." The result of this imperialist devised path of "development," if it were not criminal, would be laughable. In addition to our economies being structured more tightly in the service of imperialism, these loans have left our countries in debt to imperialism—more wealth taken from us. In his 1979 speech to the U.N. on behalf of the Non-Aligned Nations, Comrade Fidel Castro reported that the debt of the underdeveloped world to imperialism amounted to some \$335 billion, with over 20 percent of the underdeveloped world's export earnings going to service that debt each year. After having robbed us of our resources and labor to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars in this century alone, we are in debt to these gangsters! What could be clearer proof that the misery of our people is only the normal functioning of this criminal system? Some, like the lately deposed Eric Gairey of Grenada, would spend time in prayer or developing theories on unidentified flying objects as means of describing or understanding this system. The better answer, the only answer for African men and women, is the ruthless exposure of this system, the exposure of the wealth it has stolen from us and the demand that we be repaid.

Imperialism Founded on Genocide and Suffering of Our People

If imperialism today sustains itself off the genocide and suffering of our people, it cannot be forgotten that the relations that imperialism imposes on our people today are only the refined product of 400 years of history; it cannot be forgotten, as the evidence presented at the International Tribunal clearly demonstrated, that the imperialist system could not have come into being without the crime of the slave trade and the attack on Africa.

*The slave trade involved the kidnapping by European bandits of some 100 million human beings, upwards of 20 percent of whom did not make it across the Atlantic. Walter Rodney points out that at the beginning of the slave epoch, the populations of Europe and of Africa were roughly equal, but that 300 years later, Europe's population had quadrupled and Africa's population had barely grown at all. For this crime, Africa must seek reparations!

*Some of the big names of European capitalism, Barclay and Lloyd to name two, directly trace their origin to the slave trade. More important than this, however, is that the profits of the slave trade created the English shipping industry, created the banking, insurance, lumber and textile industries, and these industries were the first industries Europe had known.

Queen Mother Moore, longtime fighter for African people, said:

England was nothing but a little village. Manchester was nothing but a village of mud huts when she engaged in the slave trade. She got rich off of slavery. They went to Africa and usurped all our wealth, our diamonds, our gold, our tin, cobalt and rubber.

We demand repayment then for having brought the advanced scientific technology and wealth of today into being off the sweat and blood of our toil.

*Serious historians like John Henrik Clarke affirm that advanced civilizations had flourished on the Continent of Africa long before the European

(See Africa, Page 21)

P.O.W. Status Now!

U.S. Treatment of Captured Black Freedom Fighters Violates Geneva Convention

NEW YORK—Basheer Hameed (James Dixon York), former Black Panther and currently an African Prisoner of War, angrily and militantly pointed his finger at Judge Kenneth Browne, calling him a “bootlicking 20th century house Negro” during a pre-sentencing hearing in a Queens County courtroom November 17. With his bold stance Comrade Hameed exposed to all the fact that the U.S. colonial courts have no right to try our people on any count, and certainly not those brothers and sisters whose “crime” is fighting for our freedom and independence.

Framed on trumped up charges involving the shooting of two Queens policemen last year, Hameed and co-defendant Abdul Majid (Anthony LaBorde) have had their sentencings continually postponed after their 13-week trial, during which the brothers were able to show every piece of evidence to be fabricated while the neo-colonialist judge pushed for their railroad. (See September and October, 1982, *Burning Spear* for details.)

The fact is, York and LaBorde, like so many others of our people, are Prisoners of War who have been arrested, detained, tortured and tried illegally for their histories of fighting for our people's liberation. York and LaBorde are illegally on trial for having been Black Panthers, for having been part of the Black Power Movement, at a time when the U.S. government was at open warfare with the black freedom movement in the U.S.

The Prisoner of War status of many of our leaders and heroes is not empty rhetoric. The International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. held November 13 and 14 in New York was no mock trial of the U.S. government. Based on established international law, the Tribunal, among other things, exposed that the inalienable right of our people to self-determination is an accepted fact under international law. Therefore when any of our people are captured by the enemy for “political activity,” they are clearly Prisoners of War.

The Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War was adopted by the United Nations on August 12, 1949. It applies “to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them.”

Prisoners of War are then defined in Article 4 by this Convention in part as persons “who have fallen into the power of the enemy” who are in any of the following categories:

1. Members of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict, as well as members of militias or volunteer corps forming part of such armed forces.
2. Members of other militias and members of other volunteer corps, including those of organized resistance movements, belonging to a Party to the conflict and operating in or outside their own territory, even if this territory is occupied, provided that such militias or volunteer corps, including such organized resistance movements, fulfill the following conditions:
 - a. that of being commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates;
 - b. that of having a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance;
 - c. that of carrying arms openly;
 - d. that of conducting their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.
3. Members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the Detaining Power.
4. Persons who accompany the armed forces without actually being members thereof...
6. Inhabitants of a non-occupied territory, who on the approach of the enemy spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading forces, without having had time to form themselves into regular armed units, provided they carry arms openly and respect the laws and customs of war.

In word, the U.S. government has not acknowledged the state of war between Africans in this country and the U.S. itself. In the same way, the vicious U.S. government has never recognized that we are fighting an anti-colonial liberation struggle right here even though our people inside U.S. borders are without state power. However, in action, the U.S. government has acknowledged the state of war time and time again, most recently through COINTELPRO, the military assault launched in 1967 against our movement and our people. In fact, COINTELPRO, the program which killed and jailed our leaders, which brought tanks and machine guns into our communities across the country and which

disrupted our militant organizations, was a program similar to the Phoenix program used in Vietnam, where the U.S. was at declared war until its defeat by the Vietnamese people in 1975. And, just as the U.S. refused to call its armed attack on the Vietnamese people a war until international pressure forced them to do so, so must the same pressure come to bear for international recognition of our people's liberation struggle in the U.S. and an open declaration of war by the U.S. government.

Article 5 of the POW Convention goes on to state:

Should any doubt arise as to whether persons, having committed a belligerent act and having fallen into the hands of the enemy, belonging to any of the categories enumerated in Article 4 (the one just mentioned), such persons shall enjoy the protection of the present Convention until such time as their status has been determined by a competent tribunal.

In the absence of revolutionary African state power in the hands of our people, in the absence of a body of codified law and a system of courts governing African people by African people, our people's World Tribunal last month represented a viable step toward developing that state power and judicial system.



LaBorde and York

The World Tribunal began by trying the U.S. government *under the law* not just for 400 years of exploitation and crime against us, but also for the political detention of our people held under military occupation by the U.S. without open declaration of war. This political and military detention of our people is known around the world as *colonialism*, the foreign and alien domination of a people by another people for profit and political advantage.

In effect, the World Tribunal was our people's political declaration of independence, a declaration that will continue to be defended militarily as it raises the just demand for reparations.

At the close of the historic two-day hearings, an international panel of judges unanimously pronounced the U.S. guilty on four counts:

1. Yes, the U.S. government must repay African people for the centuries of crimes committed against us.
2. Yes, black political prisoners and prisoners of war qualify for such under international law.
3. Yes, the treatment of African people by the United States qualifies it for eviction from the United Nations.
4. Yes, a permanent U.N. body should be created to investigate and monitor the U.S. treatment of our people colonized within current U.S. borders.

In fact, the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War automatically guarantees the right of a monitoring body for political prisoners. In addition, the Convention makes it clear that the U.S. government has no legal right to bring to trial a prisoner for the act of war during which he or she was captured. What's spelled out in the body of the Convention is that the courts of the Detaining Power (in this case the U.S. government) have no legal rights over the Prisoner of War except in purely disciplinary matters which come up during the captivity. And even disciplinary judgements must be highly monitored by neutral powers.

This legitimizes in law what has in fact been the political defense built by the African People's Socialist Party for our POW's. For Geronimo Pratt, Dhoruba Moore, Assata Shakur, Herman Bell, Sundiata Acoli, Albert “Nuh” Washington, our Party has always stated that colonial courts *cannot try them for activities no African person would find to be anything but patriotic service to our people or courageous self defense upholding the personal and African national integrity.*

Under the Convention, escape is treated mildly, while the U.S. government openly shoots us down for attempting to flee to our freedom. The Convention states, “Escape or attempt to escape, even if it is a repeated offense, shall not be deemed an aggra-

vating circumstance if the POW is subjected to trial by judicial proceedings in respect to an offense committed during his escape or attempt to escape.” Simply stated, it is recognized internationally that it is the first duty of a political prisoner to escape!

To define Prisoner of War status for African political prisoners also exposes the fact, brought out by our Party for the past several years both through our defense committees and our Platform, that U.S. courts do not have the rights over any of our oppressed, exploited and brutalized people. Every African prisoner swelling the U.S. prison system is there in violation of his or her human right to trial by peers. U.S. courts are illegal in regard to us!

But a list of our people who classify as POW's, living and dead, well-known and unknown, would fill volumes. Over the years, *The Burning Spear* has chronicled thousands of such cases, as well as documented their human rights violations inside prison. Looking back through the pages of *The Burning Spear* we find articles about the defense work for Assata, Sundiata, Dessie and Geronimo, York and LaBorde. We also find the story of Mafundi Lake, the courageous organizer for the Inmates for Action at the Atmore-Holman Prison in Alabama who spent 12 years in the hole without proper clothing or bodily protection; we read about Safiya Bukhari, an imprisoned Black Panther Party member; we read about Joann Little, the RNA-11, Dhoruba Moore, imprisoned members of the Black Liberation Army, Jomo Omowale and Dalou of the Attica rebellion, Eugene Allen and Ernest Graham, and countless others.

The rights guaranteed by the Convention, of which the U.S. is in nearly universal violation, include:

First of all, the right to have access to read and study the Convention in order that POW's and the population at large know the rights afforded the prisoners.

Other rights guaranteed a POW under the Convention include:

- ★ Clothing, underwear and footwear supplied by the Detaining Power with allowance for climate and regular replacement thereof.
- ★ Sanitary measures necessary for cleanliness and healthfulness—baths, showers, soap, water and laundry facilities.
- ★ Adequate infirmaries.
- ★ All medical personnel and chaplains while detained shall not be treated as POW's.
- ★ Religious freedom and the right to “political opinions.”
- ★ Respect due to age and rank of officers of the POW's army.
- ★ Suitable working conditions.
- ★ Pay for work determined by rank.
- ★ Ability to send and receive mail, food, clothing, medical supplies and cultural materials.
- ★ The right to a POW Information Bureau headed by a neutral power.
- ★ The service of the International Red Cross.

As has been said by so many people around the world, all oppressed peoples everywhere look to our movement here for leadership, so powerful are we in our attack on the U.S. government. And we look to many places and peoples in the world for the confidence that the colonized and poor and oppressed of this earth, properly organized, can win our freedom and independence against all the technology and sophisticated brutality of U.S. imperialism.

The African National Reparations Organization has been formed to show that the U.S. is guilty for every aspect of the colonial oppression of our lives and owes us reparations.

We have the African People's Socialist Party, which was formed by African working class people to give us the organizational and political strength to win our total liberation from U.S. domination and to build our bonds with all the world's peoples to create a socialist world where the real needs of the people are met and our lives and culture are under our own control.

Our movement causes the U.S. government to tremble and rightly so, for we represent the crushing blow to the U.S. systems from within. As we take up the demand for reparations and for international recognition of the POW status, our success will not only free James York and Anthony LaBorde and other POW's, it will also be the key to the recognition of Native American, Puerto Rican and Irish POW status, the key to victories of national liberation around the world, the freedom of our people, and the total destruction of U.S. imperialism.

An Explanation of Judges Ruling By Barbados Judge

*A Transcript of Statement at the World Tribunal on Reparations
for Black People in the U.S. by Ladepoo Salankey.*



Fellow distinguished Judges, honorable People's Advocate, honorable members of the press, honorable audience:

A people who have faced the horrors as outlined in the testimony of these two days must congratulate themselves to have the moral fortitude to be here for this historical Tribunal. The detailed amount of documentation and testimony presented to us would make it impossible to deal in depth with the judgement, so we have decided to look superficially, but very carefully, at the main reasons the judgement is based on. During the two days of the International Tribunal on Reparations for African People in the U.S., irrefutable evidence has been brought before this Tribunal to indict the U.S. government without a shadow of a doubt. As a matter of fact, there may have never been a court in the world in session which has had the benefit of such an array of intellectual talent of its witnesses. Justice has come to be seen in the Western capitalist world today as the biased directive of the ruling class against the oppressed class.

Millions of Africans in the United States of America have been railroaded into the courts, virtually all of whom have possessed low levels of literacy. The first question that we had to decide on and this is the judgement in relation to this, African people in the United States are indeed due reparations from the U.S. government. The crime against African people in the U.S. is, without fear of contradiction, the greatest crime in the known history of human civilization. It is the crime of crimes. It makes Hitler's extermination of 6 million Jews appear to be child's play, for over 200 million Africans were removed from Africa, their civilization destroyed, their culture stolen and over 150 million Africans brutally murdered under the worst possible conditions. In the U.S. up to today, African people remain colonized. African people in the U.S., therefore, have a just reparation claim for 4,100 billion dollars.

I just have three short excerpts in relation to that because the evidence was not presented to the court this morning because of a lack of time. The most abundant evidence for wage reparations has been outlined in the booklet, *Historical Brief for the International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S.* Here are a few relevant points:

In Chapter 2, "Chattel Slavery, the Primitive Accumulation of Capital from 1619 to 1865," p.9, paragraph 3, "For Britain in the 16th and 17th centuries, the slave trade and the sugar triangular trade was the basis for the concentration of capital leading to the first factories and the beginnings of the modern capitalist system."

The document also supported this by pointing out in the text, *Africa and the Rise of Capitalism* by Wilson Williams, Howard University, 1938, p.11 of the same document, paragraph 2, "Wealth stolen from African people held as slaves in the United States was not a pre-capitalist anachronism but rather the essential factor in the explosive growth of capitalism on a world scale, in the enriching of European and North American societies, in developing the capacity of their petty rulers to lord it over the people of the world because of their superior instruments of production, machinery and war equipment."

The question of wage reparations was also clearly pointed out in relation to the calculation of data. On p. 15 under the heading "Profits Accruing to Planters," p. 16 paragraph 1, "Estimates are made based on three kinds of data: the profitability of investments in slaves from the records of planters; direct division of cotton crop production by the number of slaves put to work on it; and records of rental of slaves by owners to other industrial and agricultural hiring agents."

In the final analysis, I have accepted the economic argument of this particular document which provides evidence that African people are due reparations from the United States government of \$4,100 billion.

2. I've made a judgement, too, that imprisoned black revolutionaries must be granted political

prisoner and prisoner of war status based on the Geneva Convention and other United Nations determinations. The relevant document here was the Geneva Convention #972 relative to the treatment of prisoners of war of August 12, 1949, which came into force on October 21, 1950.

I want to examine briefly Article 4A. "Prisoners of War in the sense of the present convention are persons belonging to one of the following categories who have fallen into the power of the enemy: 1) members of the armed forces of a party of the conflict; 2) members of other militias; 3) members of other volunteer corps, including those of organized resistance movements." Paragraph 2,

Article 13: "Prisoners of War must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act causing death or seriously endangering the health of a Prisoner of War is prohibited and will be regarded as a serious breach of the present Convention."

Based on this document, and supported by the testimonies of such comrades as Mafundi, who spoke on the oppression of blacks in prison, the testimony of Afeni Shakur, who spoke on the secret police attack on the black movement, the testimony of Akil Al-Jundi, who spoke on the oppression of blacks in prison, this particular brother appears to have an extremely intimate knowledge of his territory and must be protected and regarded as an internationalist revolutionary. In relation to these testimonies, we have no doubt whatever in our minds that black revolutionaries must be granted political prisoner and prisoner of war status.

Rights which in essence forms the basis of the Human Rights Charter and specifically, Article 1: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Evidence shows that in the United States of America this is not true and that all individuals do not have equal rights. Article 3: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." Evidence also shows that this is not the case, particularly for the African population. Article 4: "No one shall be held in slavery or servitude." And there is no more conclusive evidence than the statistical facts relating to the number of Africans and non-Africans locked down in the prisons in the United States of America. Article 5: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." Article 7: "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law." In addition, we can point now to Articles 6, 9, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 21, 23, Section 1, 26 Section 2 and 27, Section 2 with all due respect to the provisions of Article 30. In this respect, we must make a specific comment: That the United States government must be exposed for its fraudulent hypocrisy on the face of the planet earth. It screams from the mountain tops in the face of human rights, but more atrocities are committed against Africans and non-African people in the United States of America than anywhere on the face of this earth. Therefore, we must act as quickly as possible to seek to evict the United States government from the United Nations.

Finally, Section 4, the judgement is that the testimony and documentation presented at the Tribunal indeed justifies the establishment of an international body to monitor the treatment by the U.S. government of African people in the United States. Abundant evidence has come to our attention in the two days of the hearings of the International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the United States that the treatment of African people must be monitored. As a matter of fact, if it is not monitored, African people in the United States face imminent genocide. I will go further. Countries which maintain a presence in the United Nations and which are sympathetic with the just demands for reparations must be used to carry forward the monitoring regularly to the United Nations as well as all of the other support committees in the United States who have expressed solidarity with the International Tribunal we have convened.

To have served in the capacity of a judge in this great historic Tribunal has probably provided me in two days with more evidence and testimony than some judges have heard in ten years, particularly in relation to its qualitative and expert substance. In itself, those who have attended this Tribunal have received an education. Reparations, for which if they had to pay, would amount to several thousands of dollars. It is an education which would take several ordinary lifetimes to acquire. Indeed, we are fortunate to have been part of this historic conference. And we should and must share this knowledge.

In relation to Barbados, I shall be brief. I have been talking for several days in different parts of the United States on the conditions in Barbados. I do not wish to say anything more than that the conditions in Barbados and the Caribbean are exactly the same as those which exist in the United States of America at present, except to a lesser proportion. Consequently, there must be solidarity with progressive white United States forces, African forces and all other conscious forces in the world who face similar types of problems.

My job as judge does not end here. We who are blessed with a little extra intellectual potential will have to judge on behalf of the fifty million developing African peoples wherever we are in this world. We shall always remember, and I particularly, that history has been created in these two days and I wish to ask you a very important question, and I am sure that you are very delighted to be part of this history, AREN'T YOU?

UHURU!

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3. The judgement has also been held that the United States' treatment of Africans in the U.S. represents a serious enough breach of the United Nations' Human Rights Charter to justify eviction of the United States from the United Nations. For the relevant documents, one does not have to go further than the Universal Declaration of Human

Building The African Socialist International

International Organizing Committee Formed

NEW YORK—On November 17, immediately following the World Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S. and the successful founding convention of the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO), Africans from Europe, the U.S., Africa, and the Caribbean got together to map out plans for consolidating the November 13-16 victory and to develop a strategy to take the demand for black reparations throughout the world.

The group which met to pull together the International Organizing Committee to Build the African Socialist International decided that one way to consolidate the victory of the World Tribunal and ANRO was to start a mass movement in Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean demanding U.S. ratification of the basic international documents used as the legal basis for the World Tribunal but never ratified by the U.S. government. These documents are the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, and the International Bill of Human Rights.

The group decided that the refusal of the U.S. government to ratify these basic international principles and laws, which guarantee human rights and punish offenses against human rights, is evidence of U.S. fear of exposure for its crimes against African people in the U.S. An international campaign to force the U.S. to ratify these documents was seen as one way of exposing the plight of African people in the U.S. and offering a modicum of security for African revolutionaries fighting for freedom and independence from U.S. domestic colonialism.

The body also voted to spread news of the World Tribunal throughout the world, to fight for acceptance of its legality under international law, and to promote a practical international response to its unanimous verdict that the U.S. is guilty of:

1. Genocide against Africans in the U.S. as defined by the United Nations' Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide;
2. Violation of the United Nations' Charter as it relates to treatment of Africans in the U.S.;
3. Violation of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination; and
4. Violation of the International Bill of Human Rights. The punishment and/or rectification called for by the World Tribunal for U.S. crimes against black people was also supported by the group, and an international campaign is to be launched to carry out the World Tribunal's punishment/rectification verdict of:

1. Reparations for black people in the U.S.;
2. Permanent prisoner and prisoner of war status for imprisoned black revolutionaries;
3. Eviction of the U.S. from the United Nations because of crimes against black people; and
4. Creation of a permanent international commission to monitor U.S. treatment of black people by the U.S. government.

The group also voted to build international support for the demand for reparations from the U.S. government by Africans in the U.S. and to adopt Point 11 of the Party's 14-Point Working Platform which reads:

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.

We believe that U.S. and European civilization were born from, and are presently maintained by, the horrendous theft of human and material resources from Africa and its people. We also believe that this theft of human and material resources is responsible for the present under population and underdevelopment of Africa and her people and the political servitude, material impoverishment, and cultural discontinuity and disintegration of African people throughout the world. We believe that Africa and African people are due reparations, just economic compensation, billions of dollars which must be paid to the Organization of African Unity or any other legitimate international organization of African people, for equitable distribution for the development of Africa. We also believe that reparations must be distributed to the various independent African states dispersed throughout the world, and to the legitimate representatives of African people forcibly dispersed throughout the world who have not yet won liberation.

The November 17 meeting was called together to do more than discuss the immediate victory of the

World Tribunal and the ANRO founding convention, however. The main reason it was called was to begin work toward the creation of the African Socialist International (ASI), an international association of African people throughout the world which would provide coordination and leadership of the struggle for African liberation and socialism wherever it is occurring in the world, and to protect the autonomy and self-hegemony of the worldwide Black Revolution.

The meeting was chaired and called to order by a comrade from the Caribbean. Following election of a secretary, the African People's Socialist Party laid out the purpose of the meeting and talked about the significance of creating the African Socialist International. The resolution calling for creation of the ASI, from the September, 1981 First Congress of the African People's Socialist Party was read and adopted as the official call to the First Congress of the African Socialist International after a suggested modification by a comrade from West Africa who wanted to see another principle of unity added which would protect the autonomy and self-hegemony of the worldwide Black Revolution (See resolution, Page 23).

The group at the November 17 meeting established itself as the International Organizing Committee to Build the African Socialist International, after identifying other Africans in Europe and Africa whose interests in attending the meeting were thwarted either by visa problems or lack of funds. These groups will be immediately contacted and asked to join the effort to build the African Socialist International, helping to carry out the following tasks, among others, established by the Organizing Committee:

1. Build for Founding Congress of ASI in August, 1983, in Africa or the Caribbean;
2. Publicize the existence of the Organizing Committee and use the U.S. APSP office as an information clearing house and international contact base; and
3. Initiate an ideological and informational campaign which will deepen the consensus and understanding of black people being one African people everywhere with our oppression and poverty being born out of the same set of unresolved historical circumstances.

The enthusiasm of the Organizing Committee was reinforced by the knowledge that with an international African socialist organization, committed to an ongoing revolutionary campaign against imperialism, the African liberation movement would never again lose its direction due to ideological and strategical confusion caused by either friends or enemies who would give direction to our movement. Also, the creation of the African Socialist International would guarantee that our movement will never be absolutely defeated anywhere on the face of the earth as long as the international exists. The African Socialist International will allow African revolutionaries to establish international training centers and to send organizers anywhere in the world where they are needed, regardless of their place of birth.

For more information concerning the ASI and the upcoming August Congress, please contact APSP, P. O. Box 27205, Oakland, California 94605, U.S.A.

AFRICANS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Africa Must Demand Reparations For 500 Years of Plunder

(Continued from Page 17)

had made his way out of the cave. To enslave our people, the European had to destroy our culture and the control we had over our own affairs and pretend that he was bringing us into culture and civilization. For the destruction of our civilization, for the theft of our culture, repayment is due.

Payback Due African People

Though much research still remains to be done to determine the payback due all African people for the stolen labor, resources and lives of the last 400 years of European rule, several preliminary conclusions can still be drawn.

First, Europe and the U.S. have had a deep historical appreciation of the value of Africa and African labor. The commercial wars of Europe of the 16th and 17th century, wars between England, Spain, Holland, Portugal and France, were fought to determine who would control the slave trade and Africa. Washington and Jefferson, the leaders of the U.S. fight against England, were both slaveholders, and in reality their fight was one to determine who would receive the benefits and wealth created by the million African slaves on U.S. soil at the time. By 1885, it had become necessary to amicably divide Africa among the ravenous European powers. But so greedy were those powers that the agreement did not last 30 years, and Europe was soaked in the blood of some 20 million people during the first imperialist war—again, to determine who would run Africa. Germany lost, and was stripped of all its African colonies. By feeding the white nationalism that hundreds of years of colonial practice had implanted in the German people, the Nazis rose to power on the platform of the innate right of the German people to rule the world. This sparked a second imperialist world war which again soaked all of Europe in the blood of even more millions. But the real content of the war was demonstrated by the fact that the major fighting in the war from 1940-43, was on two fronts: between the Germans and the Soviet Union, the socialist state which the entire capitalist world wanted destroyed, and in Africa between the Germans and the "allies," the other imperialist powers. Thus, time and again, Europe and the U.S. have soaked the world in the blood of their own working classes to win or seize hegemony over Africa.

Second, we know that of the slave colonies of Latin America, the Caribbean and the southern U.S. it was the sugar colonies of the Caribbean that were considered the most valuable to Europe right up to the beginning of the 19th century, when the great slave revolt of San Domingo (now Haiti) shook the entire slave world. Contemporary economists in Europe at the time acknowledged that a slave on one of these sugar plantations "was a hundred and thirty times more valuable to England than one (worker) at home," and that the sugar plantations brought to England four times the wealth that was brought to the leader of the world's merchants from the rest of the entire world. There were as many slaves brought to Brazil in Latin America as were brought to the southern U.S. and so we know that the wealth they created must have been roughly comparable.

Third, we have the adjudication of the International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S., which affirms that on the basis of back wages alone, and not counting interest or penalty for the vicious and genocidal crimes the U.S. has committed against black people here, some \$4.1 trillion is due the 40,000,000 black people here. We know that reparations due the 400,000,000 African people the world over must be considerably greater than this.

Call For Reparations Will Shake Imperialist World

Africa has been balkanized, carved up into tiny units and scattered throughout the world by the capitalist-colonialist system. What can unite us all, what can mobilize us all, as the comrades from the Pan African Congress Movement (UK), rightly point out, is the real understanding of the basis for imperialist wealth and our poverty in today's world. It has been our labor upon which Europe's and the U.S.'s mighty cities and comfortable homes have been built. It has been to secure the continued economic supremacy of these imperialist powers that millions of our people are poor and hungry. When the masses of our people understand this, when the anger of the entire African world 450,000,000 strong is mobilized to take back what has been stolen from us, then we will have an unstoppable movement that will certainly attain our **REPARATIONS NOW!**

Honest Whites Building Solidarity With Demand for Black Reparations

NEW YORK—During the historic International Tribunal on Reparations for Black People in the U.S., the audience and participants were overwhelmingly African people. Among the small number of North American (white) people in attendance, some were sent by various ideological imperialist groups, formations whose goal is to seize leadership over our people's struggle, who came to take a peek and see what was going on. Another group, however, represented honest working class North Americans, either those actually doing solidarity work with the African People's Socialist Party through the Committee in Solidarity with African Independence or others who were interested in learning about the reparations demand and the struggle of African people against U.S. colonialism.

North Americans who have been active in El Salvador, Chile, and Ireland solidarity work, anti-nuclear struggles, the Grand Jury Project, as well as others new to political activism came to the Tribunal. The Committee in Solidarity with African Independence (CSAI), which had been active in building support for the Tribunal in Oakland and New York, set up a table in the lobby to talk with North Americans about the campaign for reparations and how they could express solidarity with the leading struggle of African people. The CSAI called a meeting for the following Wednesday night, November 17, at the Park Slope Food Co-op in Brooklyn to establish a committee of North Americans to take up work in solidarity with the African campaign for reparations.

This meeting at the Food Co-op was the occasion for APSP Chairman Omali Yeshitela and CSAI Chairman Rick Ayers to sum up the importance of the Tribunal for the African struggle and for the North American working class struggle against imperialism. Present at this event was a woman who had started taking on solidarity work only two weeks before the Tribunal, and others who learned of the solidarity work while at the Tribunal and came forward to learn what they could do to help build this work.

Omali Yeshitela spoke of the importance of the Reparations Tribunal and the initiative and leadership which the black working class is taking in building the national liberation struggle of Africans in the U.S. He recalled how the Garvey movement at the beginning of the century represented the mass and militant expression of the freedom struggle of African workers, while at the same time the NAACP was establishing a petty bourgeois strategy which called for advancement of the "talented tenth" to administer the rest of the African colony. After the Garvey movement was smashed by the concerted government attacks, the NAACP was allowed to flourish up to today. The corruption of the white left movements, and the suppression of any internationalist support for the black population, thrived during those same decades.

Yeshitela pointed out how the struggle of African people went through critical changes in the 1960's, as the working and poor people pushed ahead the democratic rights struggle to a liberation struggle fighting for Black Power. This split between moderates and revolutionaries was also seen on the Continent of Africa, for instance with the development of the Pan Africanist Congress out of the African National Congress, and Zimbabwe

African National Union out of the Zimbabwe African People's Union. The same process, the same leap forward for the revolution, occurred when revolutionary forces split from the legalistic and conservative Communist Parties of Latin America in Cuba, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Colombia and elsewhere. The Tribunal brought out very few professors or doctors, few of the old and traditional forces. But the honest, the forward moving, the committed forces in the Black Revolution did step forward to build the Tribunal. This challenges North Americans to recognize such leading developments and come forward to support the African National Reparations Organization and the work of the African People's Socialist Party.

Rick Ayers spoke next and brought out the significance of the Tribunal in challenging the U.S. government and advancing the leading struggle which is overturning U.S. power. He showed the centrality of the African struggle in all forward motion in U.S. society, and the contradiction of the North American working class interest which has caused North Americans to repeatedly betray the African struggle when it came under attack. During the 1960's, when African revolutionaries called for black community control and dual power institutions, North American progressives attempted to set up parallel institutions in the North American communities. These dual power institutions, borne out of a rejection of U.S. imperialist systems and inspired by the black struggle, included food co-ops, child care centers, tenants unions, and community newspapers. Just like the NAACP survived the attacks on the Garvey movement, however, the white community institutions survived the military assault on the black movement, and in fact were responsible for vicious attacks on the struggle of African people at a time when militant solidarity was called for. North Americans must sum up the past 20 years just as African revolutionaries do, must recognize that forward revolutionary motion in the U.S. has been set back by the white left's betrayal of the African movement. For this reason, the North American left and working class must be challenged, must pay its own reparations to black people by taking on strong solidarity. Now, with the Reparations campaign, we have an opportunity to build an accountable, a revolutionary, and an objective movement in solidarity with African people.

The meeting in Brooklyn then proceeded to discuss the Reparations Solidarity Committee, how it would be organized and the kinds of projects that would be taken on. The Principles of Unity agreed upon are:

1. To build support for the black community demand for reparations from the U.S. government as determined by the verdict of the World Tribunal.
2. To build support for the anti-colonial struggle of black people in the U.S.
3. We are a committee of North American people building political and material support for the reparations demand in the North American working class community and we recognize the exclusive right of black people to organize in the black community.
4. We work under the leadership of the African People's Socialist Party.
5. Because of the conditions of colonialism in African communities in the U.S., a primary part of our work is to develop fundraising to turn over resources in an accountable way for use by the APSP in building the Reparations Campaign.

Points 4 and 5 are seen as temporary points which will allow the Party to contribute resources to ANRO until it becomes consolidated and can establish its own leadership over the solidarity work.

The meeting went late into the night as the participants worked out initial plans for outreach to get the word out, to build stronger support, and for fundraising projects to help with the Reparations Campaign. The committee decided to begin work on African People's Solidarity Day for the Spring to bring out the broadest support possible for the African Independence struggle and the campaign for Reparations Now.

On the West Coast, the CSAI had been carrying out solidarity work for the Reparations Tribunal through the work of the Reparations Solidarity Brigade. Besides educational events leading up to the Tribunal, the committee had carried out extensive fundraising to support transportation expenses for some of the African committees travelling to New York. In addition, the North Oakland Kajukenbo Kung Fu School sponsored an evening of educational pieces which exposed the true history of U.S. imperialism and the struggle of African people, as a fundraiser and organizing effort in support of reparations.

The week after the Tribunal, the Oakland CSAI sponsored a meeting for everyone involved in reparations solidarity work to present a full report on the Tribunal including a description of all the aspects of the Tribunal and playing excerpts of tapes from the Tribunal itself. A few days later, the Committee was honored to host a pot luck dinner for one of the International Judges, Samba Mbuub, of Senegal, who was travelling on the West Coast. Besides giving much fuller information on the struggle of the people of Senegal against French neo-colonial domination, Comrade Mbuub put in sharp perspective the importance of the solidarity work which the African People's Socialist Party has established. He explained that this kind of solidarity has been a crucial advance for the African struggle and the struggle of all peoples against imperialism since it smashes the historic stance of the white left of trying to control and direct the African struggle, but allows the working and colonized people, who lead the struggle against imperialism, to set the terms.

In all, the Reparations Solidarity Committee has gotten a strong start in New York and Oakland. The impact of the Reparations Tribunal has been to expose many progressive North Americans to the just struggle of African people and start a new level of solidarity work with the African struggle for Reparations, which will include new committees in other cities very soon. In the next year, further fundraising activities, the Walk Against Genocide, the African People's Solidarity Day, and solidarity demonstrations and educational will be built by this committee. North Americans interested in work on this committee can phone (415) 653-9652 in the West and (212) 788-3025 in New York.

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Build the African Socialist International

Resolution adopted at the First Congress of the African People's Socialist Party, September 1981, and the International Organizing Committee to Build the ASI, November 1982.

This Resolution to Build the African Socialist International was adopted at the First Party Congress of the African People's Socialist Party in September, 1981. It was adopted by the International Committee to Build the African Socialist International on November 17, 1982, with one change. That change is the inclusion of point number 1 in the tasks of the African Socialist International, whereas the original resolution included only points 2, 3 and 4.

For several hundred years now African people have had to endure the worst possible forms of political oppression and economic exploitation. This oppression and exploitation have their origin in the brutal attack on Africa by European bandits and merchants who initiated the capture and sale of black men, women, and children into slavery throughout the Americas and the Western world, and who captured the Continent of Africa itself, the national homeland of all black people, divided it into illegitimate geographical state territories which facilitated foreign political domination, frustrated and distorted the process of achieving national consolidation, and created new exploitative economic structures which have resulted in an historical and massive transferral of human and material resources from Africa and African people to the centers of the imperialist empire led by U.S. imperialism.

This oppression and exploitation of African people gave birth to the world economy and the international capitalist system which in its most developed form is known as imperialism and is led by the U.S.

It is this system of imperialism, built and developed off the blood, sweat, and liberty of African people, which is responsible for the underpopulation, grinding poverty, and underdevelopment of Africa; this system is also responsible for African people being oppressed and exploited throughout the world, dominated by foreigners, aliens, and capitalism, and prevented from achieving national liberation and the consolidation of our nationality itself.

Today Africa is a center of political turmoil and turbulence as African people in one place after the other are throwing off the chains of oppression and struggling to break the exploitative economic structures developed off those which were created during the slave trade and the colonization of Africa.

This struggle in Africa is also creating turmoil within the centers of world capitalism led by U.S. imperialism. This struggle is part and parcel of the leading force in history today, the force of the ascendancy of the slave, the struggles of the world's peoples to throw off colonialism, neo-colonialism, and economic dependency.

The struggles to throw off colonialism, neo-colonialism, and economic dependency represent the most serious threat to imperialist domination and economic exploitation of all the workers and toiling masses of the world. They represent a direct attack on the economic and political structures which are necessary for the very existence of the oppressive and exploitative system of imperialism, structures which have their origin in the slave trade, the colonization of Africa, and the dispersal of African people throughout the world.

The present conditions of existence of African people throughout the world are the results of the development of economic and political structures which gave birth to the capitalist system and which led Karl Marx to the observation more than 100 years ago, that:

Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance.

Without slavery North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe out North America from the map of the world, and you will have anarchy, the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations.

The African People's Socialist Party calls on all African revolutionaries of all countries to understand that the enslavement of the African has not ended, even today. We call on the African revolutionaries to understand that today the African remains enslaved by the very same economic and political structures, developed to a higher, modern form, that enslaved and dispersed us throughout the centuries.

The African People's Socialist Party calls on all Africans in all countries, in Africa, and forcibly dispersed throughout the world, to take an active, conscious stance in the struggle to reverse the verdicts of imperialism in the struggle to overthrow imperialism and the oppression and exploitation it causes for all our people, and the workers and toiling masses of the world.

FOR A JOB WITH A FUTURE, JOIN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The African People's Socialist Party is looking for aggressive freedom-loving working class and poor black people to train as professional revolutionaries. We need people who will dedicate their whole lives to the liberation of our people as opposed to their spare time. If you believe that all African people throughout the world must be free, and if you believe in revolutionary organizational discipline, then this is the Party for you. Fill out the coupon below if you want to form a Bread, Peace and Black Power study group in your neighborhood, on your campus, in prison, at your school or on your job.

★ Sign me up for the Black Liberation Movement. Send me information on how I can help organize for Bread, Peace and Black Power.

★ I am (circle one) planning to organize

- a) in my neighborhood
- b) on my job
- c) at my school
- d) in their prison.

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A New Beginning BREAD, PEACE & BLACK POWER

The African People's Socialist Party calls on all African revolutionaries in all countries to unite, for in the words of the late Kwame Nkrumah:

The African revolutionary struggle is not an isolated one. It not only forms part of the world socialist revolution, but must be seen in the context of the Black Revolution as a whole. In the U.S.A., the Caribbean, and wherever Africans are oppressed, liberation struggles are being fought. In these areas, the Black man is in a condition of domestic colonialism, and suffers both on the grounds of class and colour.

The core of the Black Revolution is in Africa, and until Africa is united under a socialist government, the Black man throughout the world lacks a national home. It is around the African peoples' struggles for liberation and unification that African or Black culture will take shape and substance. Africa is ONE continent, ONE people, and ONE nation. The notion that in order to have a nation it is necessary for there to be a common language, a common territory and a common culture has failed to stand the test of time or the scrutiny of scientific definition of objective reality. Common territory, language and culture may in fact be present in a nation, but the existence of a nation does not necessarily imply the presence of all three. Common territory or language alone may form the basis of a nation. Similarly, common territory plus common culture may be the basis. In some cases, only one of the three applies. A state may exist on a multinational basis. The community of economic life is the major feature within a nation, and it is the economy which holds together the people living in a territory. It is on this basis that the new Africans recognize themselves as potentially one nation, whose dominion is the entire African continent.

The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an all-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress toward world communism, under which, every society is ordered on the principle of—from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

The African People's Socialist Party calls on all African revolutionaries in all countries to unite with us into one all-African international socialist association which would enhance our ability to realize our historic mission to free and unite our people and motherland, and to defeat imperialism and issue in a new day of peace, freedom, and world socialism.

The African People's Socialist Party calls on all African revolutionaries in all countries to unite with us into one all-African international socialist association which would assume the tasks of:

1. Struggling for the genuine autonomy and international self-hegemony of the international African revolution wherever it is being waged in the world, guided by the principle of revolutionary international self-reliance;
2. Liberating and uniting all of Africa under a single, all-African socialist state;
3. Uniting, coordinating, and giving general assistance and direction for the revolutionary struggles of all African people wherever they occur and whenever the aims of such struggles are consistent with the aims of the international socialist association;
4. Achieving the objective consolidation of African nationality for all African people wherever we are oppressed and exploited throughout the world due to the machinations of imperialism.

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TAKE HISTORY IN YOUR HANDS!
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BUILD THE AFRICAN SOCIALIST
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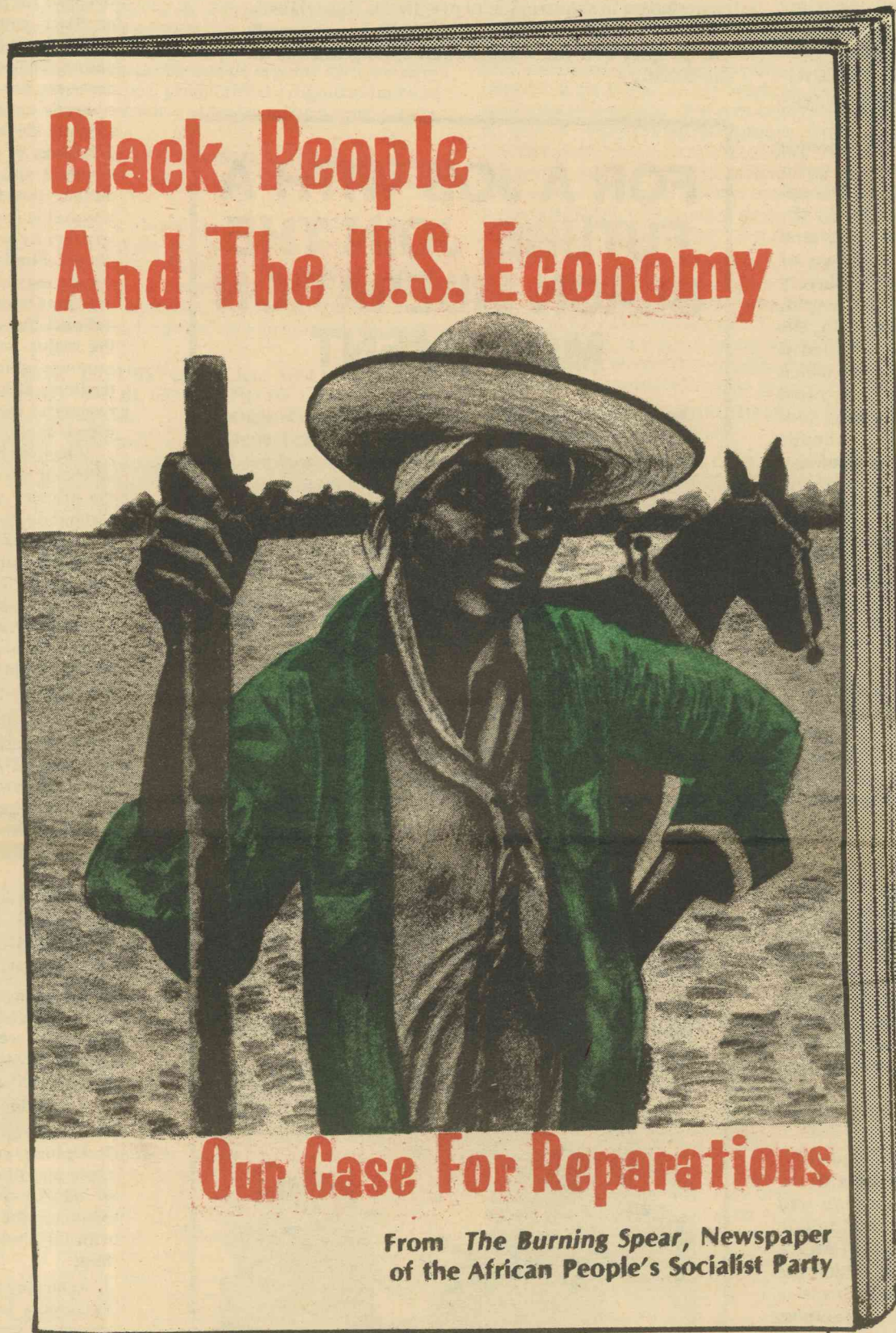
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